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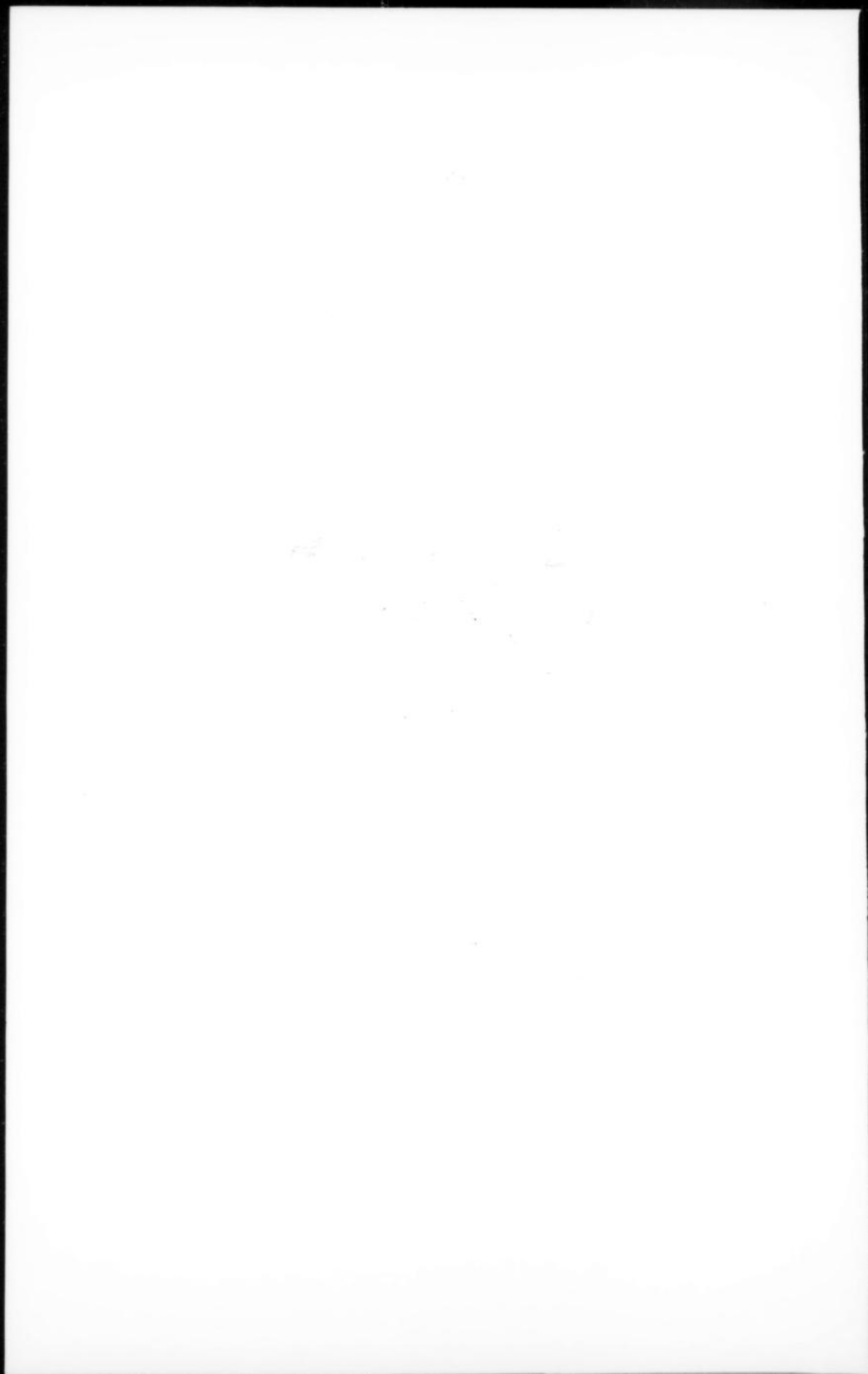
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In Memory of Konstantin Chernenko

ON March 10, 1985, after a grave illness, Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, winner of three Hero of Socialist Labour awards, passed away at the age of 73.

The heart of an outstanding leader of the Communist Party and the Soviet government, of the international communist and workers' movement has ceased to beat. Konstantin Chernenko selflessly devoted all his life and work to the cause of the party and the people, to the struggle to strengthen the economic and defence might of our country, increase the well-being of the Soviet people, improve all aspects of our socialist society, and preserve and consolidate universal peace.

Konstantin Chernenko was born into a peasant family in the village of Bolshaya Tes, Novoselovsky District, Krasnoyarsk Territory, on September 24, 1911. He began his working life early as a labourer hired by kulaks. All his subsequent work record is connected with leadership in YCL and then Communist Party organisations. In 1929-1930 Konstantin Chernenko was in charge of the propaganda and education department of the Novoselovsky District YCL Committee in the Krasnoyarsk Territory. In 1930 he enrolled as a volunteer in the Red Army: as a serviceman, he joined the Communist Party in 1931. Up to 1933 he served in the Border Guards and was party secretary of his frontier post.

Upon completion of his army service, Konstantin Chernenko worked in the Krasnoyarsk Territory: as chief of the propaganda and education departments of the Novoselovsky and Uyarsky district party committees, as director of the Krasnoyarsk Territorial Centre of Party Education, as deputy chief of the propaganda and education department and as secretary of the Krasnoyarsk territorial party committee.

From 1945, upon graduation from the Higher School of Party Organisers under the CPSU Central Committee, Konstantin Chernenko worked as a secretary of the Penza regional party committee and from 1948, as chief of the propaganda and education department of the Communist Party of Moldavia Central Committee.

In 1956 he joined the staff of the CPSU Central Committee as a section chief in the Propaganda Department. From 1960 Konstantin Chernenko worked as Secretariat Chief of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In 1965 he was endorsed as Chief of the General Department of the CPSU Central Committee. From 1966 to 1971 he was an alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee. At the 24th Congress of the party in March 1971 he was elected member of the CPSU Central Committee and at the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee held in March 1976, after the 25th Party Congress, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

From 1977 Konstantin Chernenko was an alternate member and from 1978, a full member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee.

The extraordinary Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee held on February 13, 1984, elected Konstantin Chernenko General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Konstantin Chernenko was a member of the Seventh to Eleventh USSR Supreme Soviets and of the Tenth and Eleventh Russian Federation Supreme Soviets. At the first session of the Eleventh USSR Supreme Soviet in April 1984 he was elected Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Konstantin Cherenenko discharged the high responsibilities entrusted to him by the party as a dedicated and staunch Marxist-Leninist, as a vigorous fighter for peace and human happiness. Drawing on his rich experience, profound knowledge of theory and outstanding political and organisational skills, he made a great contribution to the collective efforts of the party Central Committee to elaborate and apply the CPSU's overall policy, implement the decisions of the 26th Congress, and promote and consolidate a Leninist style of party and government work.

In his report at the June 1983 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and in other statements Konstantin Cherenenko thoroughly substantiated the CPSU's strategic course aimed at perfecting socialism in the USSR. His efforts were connected with the further deepening and specification of the party's concept of developed socialism, a concept that underlay the work to prepare a new edition of the CPSU Programme.

Konstantin Cherenenko devoted a great deal of effort and attention to the perfection of the forms and methods of the party's ideological, educational and organisational work among the masses, to the party policy towards its cadres, to the improvement of the work of the Soviets, trade unions, the YCL, artistic associations and people's control agencies. He made a substantial contribution to the elaboration of the school reform.

Konstantin Cherenenko paid great attention to increasing the growth rates of social production, ensuring comprehensive intensification of the economy, accelerating scientific and technological progress, perfecting the economic mechanism, and strengthening discipline and organisation. In his speech at the October 1984 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee he developed the party's agrarian policy and outlined topical objectives for the drive to implement the Food Programme and steadily raise the people's living standard.

As head of the USSR Defence Council, Konstantin Cherenenko did much to strengthen the defence capacity of our country and enhance the combat efficiency of the Soviet Armed Forces.

In a complicated international situation, Konstantin Cherenenko worked tirelessly to realise our party's Leninist peaceful foreign policy, aimed at consolidating peace and international security, curbing the arms race, and removing the nuclear war threat. This policy has been and is unanimously supported by the Soviet people and by all people of goodwill.

Konstantin Cherenenko attached priority attention to the promotion and strengthening of the cooperation and unity of the socialist community countries. He consistently advocated greater unity of the world communist and workers' movement and supported the national liberation struggle.

Konstantin Cherenenko sponsored many constructive proposals of the Soviet Union, designed to improve the international situation, to firmly establish the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

In recognition of his great services to the country, Konstantin Cherenenko was three times made Hero of Socialist Labour and awarded four Orders of Lenin, three Orders of the Red Banner of Labour, many Soviet medals and the highest decorations of fraternal countries. He was also a Lenin Prize winner.

Konstantin Cherenenko enjoyed profound respect and confidence of the Soviet people and our foreign friends. Always sensitive to the needs and concerns of working people, he was a principled and modest man.

The entire life of Konstantin Cherenenko is a vivid example of unshakeable

dedication to the great cause of the party of Lenin, a model of selfless work for the triumph of the communist ideals.

The noble image of Konstantin Chernenko will live forever in the hearts of the Communists and all Soviet people.

**CPSU CENTRAL
COMMITTEE**

**PRESIDIUM OF THE
USSR SUPREME
SOVIET**

**USSR COUNCIL OF
MINISTERS**

features

Along a Leninist Course in Foreign Policy

Andrei Gromyko – Political Bureau member, CPSU Central Committee, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs

THE world, as we see it today, presents a varied and complex picture. A tense political atmosphere reigns in it. The rate at which international events develop has increased sharply and, at times, becomes particularly rapid.

Never before has such a large number of states taken part in world politics. Over 150 countries are now represented at the United Nations.

Each day one has to deal with an avalanche of problems, their scope ranging from the seabed to outer space. This is particularly true of the foremost problem, unprecedentedly urgent in its global significance—that of safeguarding peace and driving the thunderheads of the war danger away from the world's horizon.

After all, our planet is literally groaning with the weight of the accumulated armaments in which an unheard-of destructive power is concentrated. Should these weapons be put to use—and on the international scene there are forces whose militarist policy is pushing the world closer to catastrophe—this would call into question the very survival of life on the Earth.

Given this nature of the current international situation it is especially important to gain a correct understanding of the essence of what is happening and to be able to properly get one's bearings in it. We Communists can do it using a tried and tested instrument which makes it possible to clearly see the motive forces behind world developments, behind the policy of this or that state and therefore, to move confidently in international affairs.

The theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin remains the most reliable instrument for grasping the realities we do and will live in tomorrow. In all aspects of their activity—and, naturally, in foreign policy—our party and state have always unswervingly followed Marxism-Leninism, this ideology of revolutionary creative effort and peace. Today, the Soviet Communists, the fraternal communist parties, the international working class movements and all progressive mankind are extensively commemorating a great event, the 115th anniversary since the birth of V.I. Lenin, brilliant thinker, leader of the Great October Socialist Revolution, creator and leader of the Bolshevik Party and of the world's first state of workers and peasants.

It is impossible to overstate the credit due Lenin in developing and enriching all component parts of Marxism and in applying it consistently in new historical conditions. Leninism is the Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, of the era of the collapse of colonialism and the victories of national liberation movements, of the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism and of the building of communist society. It has been and it will be a victorious weapon of the world proletariat, of all those who fight against the old world and build a bright future.

'Leninism,' Konstantin Chernenko emphasised, 'is the eternally vibrant spring which we tap for ideas and wise advice.'¹

The secret of the unfading freshness and inexhaustible vitality of Lenin's doctrine—and of Marxism-Leninism as a whole—is that its principles and ideals are clear and close to millions upon millions of working people, that each generation invariably finds in it answers to the acute questions that arise.

I

One cannot but feel admiration in considering the huge amount of work Lenin performed both in the prerevolutionary period and after the October Revolution to identify and scientifically substantiate the central goals, major principles and aspects of the international activities to be pursued by the Communist Party and the Soviet government. Directing these activities in the course of several years, he was the first to combine the theory of scientific communism with the foreign policy practice of the Soviet republic.

This fruitful merger gave birth to socialist foreign policy which, since the October Revolution, has been a reliable bulwark in the struggle of peoples for peace, freedom, independence and social progress.

Lenin accorded priority attention to a strictly scientific approach to international developments and foreign policy, an approach incompatible with arbitrary or time-serving action, shallow improvisation or scholastic theorising. 'Marxism,' he wrote, 'requires of us a strictly exact and objective verifiable analysis of the relations of classes and of the concrete features peculiar to each historical situation. We Bolsheviks have always tried to meet this requirement, which is absolutely essential for giving a scientific foundation to policy.'²

Regarding the foreign policy pursued by states as an expression of the interests of the classes ruling in those states and the essence of world politics as the class struggle of opposite socio-economic systems, Lenin always skilfully revealed the class interests that were central to any international issue, no matter how deeply they were concealed. 'When it is not immediately apparent which political or social groups, forces or alignments advocate certain proposals, measures, etc.,' he stressed, 'one should always ask: "Who stands to gain?" . . . In politics it is not so important *who* directly advocates particular views. What is important is *who stands to gain* from these views, proposals, measures.'³

From the very first years of Soviet government, Lenin viewed the creation of the new society and the efforts to ensure favourable external conditions for this creation in organic unity and in dialectical interdependence. 'It is fundamentally wrong, un-Marxist and unscientific,' he pointed out, 'to single out "foreign policy" from policy in general, let alone counterpose foreign policy to home policy.'⁴

Lenin emphasised that the state of affairs with the socialist revolution in Russia should underlie all efforts to identify the international tasks facing the Soviet government, that it was imperative to subordinate everything to the interests of safeguarding and consolidating socialist gains in our country. That is how he himself acted.

Lenin contributed fundamentally to the elaboration of the tactics and strategy of socialist foreign policy and to the emergence of its diplomacy. This contribution included scientific forecasts of the course the revolutionary and liberation struggle would take, due regard for interimperialist contradictions, and skilful use of the entire range of forms, techniques and methods in the arsenals of socialist diplomacy.

Lenin dealt directly with all matters—whether big or small—concerning Soviet policy and diplomatic service. He accorded unwavering attention to the diplomatic aspect of statesmanship: he sent messages to heads of states and governments, directed talks and personally conducted them, met and talked with many foreign representatives, diplomats, public figures, journalists and writers.

Lenin was the author of hundreds of documents on foreign policy issues: from the Decree on Peace, the first foreign policy instrument of Soviet Russia, to guidelines for Soviet delegations which took part in international conferences, to memos and instructions for our representatives abroad. The salient features of these documents are profound meaning and pithy, always extremely precise and expressive form.

Lenin advocated a realistic and sober approach to the varied realities of international relations. The ability to anticipate the course of developments in these affairs many steps ahead was the basis of Lenin's tactical flexibility which so impressed his contemporaries. The courses he mapped out often baffled those who kept thinking in terms of the past, who failed to see that the situation had changed. These qualities Lenin possessed rose to particular prominence at responsible historical junctures, such as the peace of Brest-Litovsk, the Genoa Conference and the Rapallo Treaty with Germany.

Lenin regarded the use of interimperialist contradictions as an imperative rule of Soviet foreign policy. He offered a brilliant example of such use at the time the peace of Brest-Litovsk was concluded, when it proved possible to gain the breathing space our country needed so badly and to temporarily use one imperialist predator as a shield against others.

Were it not for the ability, fostered by Lenin, to identify and differentiate between trends and nuances existing among the bourgeois quarters and the differences and clashes of interests among the imperialist countries, there would have been no anti-Nazi coalition in which the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France took part. And though we know that friction and differences were present in the coalition, it went down in history and in the memories of nations as a case of cooperation of countries belonging to different social systems in the struggle against a common enemy.

Lenin's activity in the field of foreign policy is the most vivid and eternally meaningful example of commitment to the party's interests and to lofty principles, of skill in assessing social, economic and political processes and phenomena in their indelible and contradictory interrelationship, of prompt response to the changes that occur.

Naturally, both the position of our country on the world scene and the international situation have changed radically compared to the period when Lenin stood at the helm of the Soviet state. The victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War was accompanied by the emergence of the world socialist system in which countries of three continents—Europe, Asia and America—are represented today, and its advent transformed the world's image.

Historically, socialism determines the main content and direction of the development of human society. It is a firm mainstay of peace, democracy and progress. Thus life itself confirms the wisdom of Lenin's prediction that socialism would become an international force 'capable of exercising a decisive influence upon world politics'.⁵

The might and the international prestige of the Soviet Union have grown

incomparably greater than they were in Lenin's lifetime. Our country has earned, in world affairs, the unconditionally recognised status of a great power without which no problem of any significance can be solved. Among other things, this is clear from the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements. This is reflected in the United Nations Charter under which the Soviet Union, as a permanent member of the Security Council, bears special responsibility for the maintenance of universal peace.

But even now, when we face newer and newer tasks in the field of foreign policy, we are still deeply committed to the meaning Lenin's behests have for today.

A product of a socialist revolution, Soviet foreign policy has been and remains an instrument of revolutionary transformation in our country. It is a policy of internationalism, for the interests of the Soviet people coincide with the interests of working people in all countries. It is permeated with a spirit of solidarity with all revolutionary and progressive forces of today's world.

The salient features of Soviet foreign policy are genuine democracy, genuine and effective recognition of equal rights for all states, of the equality of all races and nationalities. It is a thoroughly humanitarian policy, for it is consistently peace-oriented. Socialism knows no objectives other than concern for the people's interests, and, first and foremost, this implies tireless efforts to prevent war.

The class, socialist nature and content of Soviet foreign policy are embodied in its fundamental Leninist principles—proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

II

With the victory of the October Revolution, proletarian internationalism became the cornerstone of Soviet foreign policy, reflected in the steady support extended to the revolutionary and liberation movement of the working masses and of oppressed peoples. Explaining the essence of this principle, Lenin wrote that 'Capital is an international force. To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood, is needed. We are opposed to national enmity and discord, to national exclusiveness. We are internationalists.'⁶

In terms of the relations existing among socialist states, proletarian internationalism assumes its highest form of socialist internationalism. This is a logical stage in the development of the international solidarity of the working class in a situation when it has become the dominant class and its Marxist-Leninist parties have turned into ruling parties in many countries, when they have to tackle, on a practical plane, new tasks of building socialism and communism, deepening and developing the international relations of a socialist type, consolidating the international positions of the world socialist system, and jointly defending socialist gains. And, despite all obstacles its class adversary tries to erect in its path, world socialism continued its comprehensive consolidation and is confidently gaining strength.

Over a short historical period socialism, as a social system, has convincingly demonstrated its essential advantages over capitalism. Briefly, these are social and national equality, planned economic development, ideological unity of the society, concern for man and all-round development of the personality; this lays a firm basis for continuously enriching the socialist way of life, for perfecting the political system of socialism, socialist democracy which truly and effectively guarantees to man the broadest possible rights and freedoms, as well as access to the highest planes of knowledge and to cultural values.

The world of capital, unable to rid itself of far-reaching economic crises and severe socio-political upheavals, can offer nothing to counter such cardinal accomplishments.

Steady progress of the many-sided interrelationships existing among the socialist countries has led to the emergence of the socialist community. It is an entity composed of states whose typical features are joint action which the ruling communist parties, government bodies and civic organisations take on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, intensive development of economic integration, and an unprecedented scope of cooperation in all spheres of life, including effective coordination of foreign policy efforts. Relations of a new type have been established among these countries. Along with genuine equality, non-interference in the internal affairs and mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of one another, they also feature fraternal friendship and comradely mutual assistance.

This, as a whole, is what is at the heart of socialist internationalism.

The objectively inevitable comprehensive process in which the socialist community countries, bound by the same type of their political and socio-economic systems, their common philosophy and the community of their goals and ideas in the struggle for peace and socialism, are growing closer to one another consolidates their unity. The close cooperation of these states, co-operation in which national and international interests are in harmony, has now assumed the quality of fraternal unity.

For thirty years now the Warsaw Treaty has been standing guard over socialist gains. Safeguarding the interests of international security, it generates collective initiatives aimed at strengthening peace.

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance operates an effective instrument of economic integration of the socialist countries, of the international socialist division of labour.

A system of bilateral treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance has taken shape.

History vividly bears out Lenin's conclusion that the increase in the number of questions requiring 'uniform, principled decisions in different countries is striking proof that socialism is being welded into a single international force'.⁷ The community of the socialist states is a healthy and vigorous organism which has a great salutary effect on the situation in today's world. This community has become the principal obstacle to aggressive imperialist policies, the vanguard of the revolutionary and national liberation movement, of the broad front of the anti-war forces.

The fraternal socialist countries are profoundly aware that the effectiveness of socialist foreign policy and success in the drive to preserve peace depend to a considerable degree on how vigorous, purposeful and concerted their action on the international scene is. They have accumulated a rich store of experience in their cooperation in the sphere of foreign policy today, one can speak of a single strategy these countries pursue in world politics.

A mechanism which coordinates the international activities of the socialist countries has taken shape and is functioning smoothly. Here, a special role is played by meetings of the Political Consultative Committee (PCC) of the Warsaw Treaty member-states. PCC meetings have produced major proposals on key issues of European and world politics; many of these proposals served as a basis for discussions at the United Nations and other international forums or were reflected in a number of important treaties and agreements concluded by countries with different social systems.

Guided by a clear awareness of their historical responsibility for the future of the world and of socialism, the socialist community countries preserve and cherish their unity. They strive invariably to make it ever closer. The strengthening of friendship and cooperation with the fraternal countries will continue to be a priority aspect of the foreign policy pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet government.

III

'The socialist revolution,' Lenin stressed, 'will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against the bourgeoisie. . . . It will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism.'⁸

The October Revolution merged in a single current the struggle of the proletariat for socialism and the movement of the imperialist-enslaved peoples against colonial oppression. It has thus demonstrated that these peoples are an active anti-imperialist force, an ally of the socialist revolution.

One of the historical accomplishments of Lenin's thought is that he identified the main laws governing the development of the national liberation movement, predicted the collapse of the colonial system, substantiated the idea of a non-capitalist development path and elaborated the issue of building the new society in economically underdeveloped countries.

Lenin mapped out specific tasks of socialist policy and diplomacy vis-a-vis countries long subjected to colonial plunder and oppression: support of their efforts to consolidate their national independence, aid in all their progressive undertakings, help in overcoming economic and cultural backwardness, strict observance of equality and non-interference in their internal affairs, understanding and respect of their national and historical traditions, assistance in their full-fledged participation in the solution of international problems, solidarity in the struggle against the forces of imperialism.

Upholding the cause taken up by Lenin, Soviet foreign policy has done much to bring closer the hour of triumph of the liberation struggle waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, a struggle which, having received a powerful impetus from the October Revolution, entered the stage of a new upsurge as a result of the victory over Nazi Germany and militarist Japan which was won 40 years ago and to which the USSR made the decisive contribution.

Of great help to all those who were to fight against colonial rulers was the incorporation, on Soviet insistence, of the demand for the equality and self-determination of peoples into the UN Charter. An outstanding landmark on the way to the elimination of the infamous system of colonialism was the 1960 adoption, on Soviet initiative, of the UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Many times, resolute moves by the USSR have enabled young independent states to withstand imperialist attempts to interfere in their internal affairs. The opportunity to fall back on the solidarity and assistance of the Soviet Union is still of vital importance to many of them.

Our country extends broad political, economic and other support to newly liberated countries. The high level attained by the USSR in its relations with these countries is clear from the series of friendship and cooperation treaties it has concluded with India, Syria, Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, the PDRY and other countries. These are treaties between equal and independent countries dedicated to peace.

The Soviet Union and the socialist community stand firmly for a kind of international law and order, for a system of international relations in which the people of any country, big or small, could live in genuine freedom and independence and shape their own destiny.

No state has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another state, to impose alien ways on other peoples. Any outside moves to forcibly change or undermine a country's social system or overthrow its government must be ruled out.

Meanwhile, such moves are practised increasingly often lately, by those who would

like to hold sway over the world, who regard as an affront any free expression of the peoples' will. They aim at eroding the possibility of ensuring peaceful relations among states, of building up mutual trust.

In a nuclear age, such gross violations of elementary international norms of conduct and ethics are especially inadmissible since this can have disastrous effects not only for the freedom of peoples but also for their very survival.

The overwhelming majority of the UN membership made their attitude to such moves perfectly clear at the 39th session of the United Nations General Assembly. A resolution based on a Soviet draft was adopted, proclaiming that the policy of state terrorism must not be tolerated. That was an important step in the struggle to safeguard the sovereignty of independent states and the inalienable rights of peoples.

It was a severe indictment of the policy of state terrorism exemplified in the US occupation of Grenada, in the gross interference in the internal affairs of El Salvador committed by the United States to preserve the rule of an anti-popular regime, and in the undeclared war launched by the United States against Nicaragua.

Again denounced was the Washington-encouraged policy of permanent aggression followed by Tel Aviv with regard to Arab states. Also resolutely condemned was another course sponsored from across the Atlantic—that of the racist regime in Pretoria which stubbornly tries to keep the people of Namibia in colonial chains and does not cease its interventionist forays against the neighbouring African countries.

Peoples of the world shall never accept the arbitrary action taken by imperialism. They reject with indignation its way of thinking and its mode of political conduct. And so imperialist diktat is a course that is historically doomed.

The Soviet Union regards prevention and elimination of the dangerous sources of tensions and armed conflicts—and they are an inevitable consequence of this course—as an expression of internationalist solidarity with the peoples and countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, as an important aspect of the struggle to consolidate universal peace.

We are profoundly gratified to witness full-fledged participation by scores of newly independent countries in international affairs, their growing activity in the drive to uphold peace. The positive role played in world politics by the countries belonging to the non-aligned movement should be particularly singled out. It has turned into an influential anti-war and anti-imperialist force, and the USSR accords proper appreciation to this fact.

The CPSU and the Soviet government are steadily pursuing and will continue to pursue the course which is a legacy of Lenin: that of promoting relations of friendship and cooperation with developing countries, of further strengthening the alliance between world socialism and the national liberation movement.

IV

Lenin's discovery of the law of uneven capitalist development at the imperialist stage enabled him to deduce the possibility of an initial victory of socialism in a few countries or one, individual, country and, consequently, the inevitability of coexistence between countries with opposite—socialist and capitalist—social systems.

The rivalry of these systems is the main content of the era we live in. While emphasising the aggressive nature of imperialism, the highest stage in the development of capitalism which, as a historically doomed social system, reaches a cult of force and relies on militarism, Lenin rejected the fatalistic notion that this rivalry would inevitably lead to constant wars between capitalist and socialist countries. He pointed to the possibility and necessity of their peaceful coexistence.

The proletariat, Lenin noted, paves the way 'to *socialism*, which alone can give the

war-weary people *peace, bread and freedom*'.⁹ The October Revolution, with 'Peace to the nations' among its central slogans, was 'the first victory in the struggle to abolish war'.¹⁰

The emergence of existing socialism as represented by the Soviet government—and the principal course it pursued internationally was a policy of peace stemming from the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and from the requirements inherent in the building of the new society—gave a powerful impetus to the anti-war movement of nations, to the peace movement.

It was inevitable for Lenin's Decree on Peace to proclaim peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems as one of the fundamental principles of Soviet foreign policy. Ever since then we have upheld this principle unswervingly and worked to ensure its acceptance as an element of international relations as they are practised.

History has decided the dispute between socialism and capitalism about the possibility or impossibility of peaceful coexistence of countries irrespective of their social system, a dispute that started during the Civil War and the struggle against the foreign intervention and that was continued in the clash with Nazi Germany and her allies. This dispute has been decided in favour of recognition of socialism, of its foreign policy charted by Lenin.

Peaceful coexistence is a distinctive form of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism. This struggle is being fought and will continue to be fought in the economic, political and, of course, ideological spheres since the philosophies and the class goals of the two social systems are opposite. However, this struggle should be waged in forms which rule out armed conflict.

Differences in the social systems of different countries must not be used as a pretext for ignoring generally accepted norms of conduct in international affairs. Nor should ideological differences be transferred to the sphere of relations between states.

We do not impose our ideology, our values rooted in the very nature of the socialist system on anyone. The Soviet Union also firmly opposes any attempts to impose alien ways and views on socialist society, rejects the invention about a 'communist menace' and 'Soviet military threat', and maintains that it is inadmissible to recklessly advertise 'crusades' against socialism.

Innate to peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems is a vast constructive potential for developing good relations between them. After all, this is borne out by the record of the 1970s, when international relations turned from the cold war and confrontation to a policy of detente. And no matter how hard the enemies of this policy are now trying to make people forget it, the nations cherish the fruits detente yielded.

Advocating a restructuring of international relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence, socialist foreign policy regards it as an important element in the solution of the most pressing issue of the day—that of barring war from the life of human society, of establishing durable, just and democratic peace throughout the world. Naturally, in working to attain this goal, socialist foreign policy, which has nothing in common with appeasement of militarist imperialist quarters, combines unvarying dedication to peace with commitment to firmly rebuff aggression.

Strict observance of the principle of peaceful coexistence has now acquired a particular significance, for peaceful coexistence of socialist and capitalist states is the only rational alternative to nuclear catastrophe.

Today, Konstantin Chernenko noted, the choice is 'between the life and death of our civilisation. There is no "golden mean" here: you are either with those who are preparing for war, or with those who reject imperialism's adventuresome policy and are fighting for peaceful coexistence and disarmament.'¹¹

V

Against the background of the tense situation that the aggressive imperialist forces have recently created and that is fraught with sudden dangers, the world's nations see with particular clarity the Soviet Union doing everything within its power to reliably ensure the foremost human right, the right to life. This policy encourages their hope that things will not reach the stage of catastrophe.

Any sane man will agree that the road to a world without wars cannot lead through the build-up of military arsenals, across the new mountains of armaments that keep piling up. And the position of those who claim the opposite is not simply absurd. It is criminal.

The Soviet Union declared itself firmly and openly in favour of outlawing nuclear weapons as soon as they came into the world. Our country worked to have these weapons banned both when it did not possess them and after it created them. Today, too, we advocate immediate measures to reduce and, eventually, to completely eliminate nuclear weapons. This is the objective of a range of comprehensive initiatives we have advanced.

The USSR has taken an unprecedentedly bold step by unilaterally pledging not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. It continues to urge the nuclear powers that have not yet done so to undertake similar obligations. This would be a tangible, history-making contribution to the promotion of international trust too.

There also exist other urgent questions related to nuclear armaments that can be solved independently. For example, what prevents us from concluding, even now, an agreement on a complete cessation of nuclear weapons tests. We favour conclusion of this agreement at any time—the sooner, the better.

For all the diversity of views about how the dismantling of the nuclear pyramid should be begun, the demand of a freeze on nuclear armaments which has spread across the world is emerging as a common denominator. Believing that it is sensible and justified, our country has put forward a relevant proposal. It is well known to the other nuclear powers and still stands.

We are convinced that observance by all nuclear powers of certain norms by which they should be guided in the present situation—as it is proposed by the Soviet Union—would be of fundamental importance. If one strives for peace, these norms are self-evident.

Plans to militarise outer space are fraught with a new and deadly danger to mankind. These plans are evident in Washington's intention to create a large-scale system of missile defence.

Unless stopped in time, the extension of the arms race to outer space may become an irreversible process. The Soviet Union holds that effective measures are in order so as to preserve peace in outer space.

Any use of force in outer space, from space against Earth and from Earth against targets in space should be banned without delay. There is no other choice. This Soviet position has generated the broadest possible support throughout the world. This was expressed forcefully at the latest session of the UN General Assembly which acted on our proposal and decided in favour of preventing the militarisation of outer space and using it for exclusively peaceful purposes. Conversely, those who oppose the will of nations in this vitally important issue found themselves in complete isolation.

The news about the Soviet-American agreement reached in Geneva to begin talks between the two powers on space and nuclear armament was welcomed across the globe. The discussion we conducted with the American side on the subject and purposes of these talks was politically tense. Finally, the American side did agree that it was impossible to consider either strategic armaments or medium-range nuclear weapons without discussing the prevention of an arms race in space.

A step forward has thus been taken in developing a dialogue between the USSR and the United States on issues that have a decisive impact on our relations with the United States of America. Of course, it is only a step compared to the colossal tasks on the agenda of the Geneva talks.

Nor can one keep silent about the joint initiative of the socialist countries concerning the conclusion of a treaty on the mutual non-use of armed force between the Warsaw Treaty states and the North Atlantic alliance countries.

The Soviet Union has submitted basic provisions of such a treaty to the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security and Disarmament. This and a number of other major proposals of the socialist community countries have been put forward in combination with certain confidence-building measures in the military field. We want the Stockholm forum to be productive and to come to a successful conclusion.

The Soviet Union has maintained and remains convinced that no step leading to an easing of European tensions and to a positive development of international relations can be dismissed as superfluous. It is important to preserve and strengthen the process encompassing all Europe and begun in Helsinki with the signing of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe ten years ago.

To a great degree, the readings of the barometer of world politics depend on the state of affairs in Europe—witness the deterioration of this political climate brought about by the beginning of the deployment of new US nuclear missiles in the FRG, Great Britain and Italy.

One cannot—and one shall not—ignore the fact that in some places, the forces which still cling to a hope of revising the borders that took shape in Europe after World War II are rearing their head. There are also cases when the official quarters of some Western countries pat the revanchists approvingly on the back. Statements are also made by these quarters clearly indicating a desire to question the obligations undertaken by the members of the anti-Nazi coalition.

Postwar realities were born of the great Victory over fascism. They have been formalised in Allied agreements on the postwar arrangements, in bilateral treaties between a number of countries and in the Helsinki Final Act. Loyalty to all this is a guarantee of European security.

No one has the right to question the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements which have become pillars of international law and which have been the basis of European and world peace for four decades now. Nations paid a high price for these agreements. Twenty million Soviet people perished in the battle against fascism, for life on Earth, and other countries of the anti-Nazi coalition also suffered a heavy loss of life.

The essence of the obligations undertaken by the victorious powers is to struggle resolutely to prevent world war from flaring up ever again. This is also reflected in the UN Charter.

The USSR is true to his oath it swore and reiterates its commitment today, when all those who really hold the interests of peace dear are preparing to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II.

* * *

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee and the Central Committee Political Bureau continuously focus their attention on world politics and daily direct the international activities of the Soviet Union, invariably guided by Lenin's priceless behests. Our country will continue its efforts to implement the Leninist foreign policy strategy in the name of victory of socialism, in a name of a peaceful future for the present and coming generations.

Supporting the cause of peace are the other countries of the socialist community, the fraternal communist parties, the international working class movement, and the great popular masses on all continents. This powerful force is equal to the task of preserving peace on Earth.

¹ Konstantin Chernenko, *The People and the Party Are One*, Moscow, 1984, p. 72 (in Russian).

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 43.

³ Ibid., Vol. 19, p. 53.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. 23, p. 43.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. 31, p. 148.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. 30, p. 293.

⁷ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 75.

⁸ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 159.

⁹ Ibid., Vol. 23, p. 308.

¹⁰ Ibid., Vol. 33, p. 56.

¹¹ *Information Bulletin*, No. 22, 1984, p. 37.

An Alliance Born of the Battle for Liberation

Gyula Kallai – HSWP Central Committee
member, chairman, Hungarian National
Council, Patriotic People's Front

ON April 4, 1985, Hungary will commemorate the 40th anniversary of its liberation: in the spring of 1945 the Soviet Army drove the last Nazi invaders and their stooges from our soil. After a grim and trouble-ridden past, a new chapter began in the history of the Hungarian people; the way to a happy future opened before them. The many centuries of struggle for national independence and social progress finally made working people masters of their destiny. This was a decisive turning point in the life of our country.

Liberation was brought to the Hungarian people by the victory of the anti-Left coalition over international fascism. Playing the decisive role in this was the Soviet Union which, at the final stage of the war against Hitler's Germany, continued to bear the brunt of the struggle, dealing deadly blows to the enemy on major fronts. A great contribution to the victory was also made by the powerful world-wide anti-fascist movements, including the Resistance in which the finest sons of the Hungarian people fought both within our country and abroad.

Our country was liberated by the army of the world's first socialist state. More than 140,000 Soviet soldiers gave their lives in the battles fought for Hungary's freedom. For the first time in its entire history, the army of a great power entered our country as a true friend and liberator from foreign oppression.

The victories won by the Red Army destroyed not only the war machine of the Nazi invaders and their stooges; the state apparatus of Horthy's counter-revolutionary regime, guilty of the gravest crimes and hated by the people, collapsed. The pernicious policy of the Hungarian ruling classes, of Horthy's fascism and its government was defeated totally. The people attained their long-awaited freedom.

The Red Army's mission of liberation was not a case of 'export of revolution', for

no external force can replace the working class and its allies in discharging their historical tasks. The expulsion of the Nazi invaders opened the door to social progress for our nation.

The nation was squarely facing the indelibly interconnected problems of peace, national independence, social progress and revival of the national economy and culture. While the Nazis and their Nilashist lackeys still continued their terrorist outrages on part of Hungarian territory, the masses were developing their revolutionary activities in the liberated areas. Communist Party organisations were growing rapidly; the Social Democrats and other anti-fascist forces also got down to work. They worked to democratically transform the entire social fabric, while the Soviet Union supported the Hungarian people's desire of social renovation and a new system of government. The working class, the peasants and progressive intellectuals used the chance history gave them and immediately undertook a task of enormous importance—that of eliminating the remnants of the fascist regime and creating a political and state system of popular government. By this our people proved that, as before, they were committed to freedom and democracy, that the quarter-century rule of the counter-revolutionary regime failed to destroy the forces of progress in Hungary.

However, the struggle of the democratic forces was complicated by the resistance of the reactionaries and by the devastation the war brought to the economy: some 40 per cent of the nation's entire wealth was destroyed. The first thing to do was to revive elementary economic activity, to restore production and normal life as such. After centuries of suppression, the creative energy of the Hungarian people burst forth in a powerful upsurge. Under the guidance of the Communist Party and of other anti-fascist parties, mass democratic organisations—national and factory committees and 'committees to demand land'—were established to launch and pursue democratic transformations. The national committees, comprising representatives of political parties and trade unions, were the bodies which expressed the will of the people. These civic organisations exercised control of and powerful political influence on the local administrative functionaries and government officials.

Even before the country was liberated completely, 'committees to demand land' began to operate. They redistributed land in accordance with the demands of the peasants. After the official settlement of the land problem, over 3,000 committees on which more than 35,000 peasants worked were busy parcelling out land on a voluntary basis for many months. The reform put an end to large-scale property in land in Hungary and, together with it, to the economic power of the landowners; it also curbed capitalist exploitation in rural areas. Effected by working people themselves, it strengthened the class basis of people's democracy and consolidated the union of workers and peasants.

In the cities, the workers who took up, on their own initiative, the job of reviving production, established new elected bodies—the factory committees. Having started with economic steps that could not be delayed, they extended their sphere of competence to the regulation of industrial relations and to the solution of occupational and political questions: they purged former active fascists from factories, defended the production interests of working people and had their say in commercial transactions. In actual fact, workers' control was established over capitalist production.

The mass organisations embodied the joint strength of the democratic parties and of the nation's working people who moved along a broad front against reaction, for the establishment of a people's democratic Hungary. The committees were the new government in embryo; they were the source from which the government bodies of the free and independent Hungarian People's Republic sprang up.

The Hungarian Communist Party (HCP) invariably played the role of initiator and

leader in all these developments. Even before the last invaders were driven out, it emerged from the underground. By that time it already had the experience of the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919, and its record included a quarter century of clandestine struggle waged in spite of the brutal white terror of the Horthy regime, of savage persecution. The Communists had learned to combine clandestine activities with work in the open and were aware of the importance of cooperation with other workers' and democratic parties, of the need for a policy of a popular front.

The HCP appeared on the political scene full of vigour and energy, with a well-considered and clear-cut programme of action based on the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism and the experience gained by the party. In late November 1944 it published its 'Programme for a Democratic Revival and Rehabilitation of Hungary' in which it advocated the rallying together of all progressive forces in a Hungarian National Front of Independence (HNFI). Aware that the extremely complex problems of postwar development could only be solved by a concerted effort of most of the people, the Communists proposed a consistently anti-fascist and democratic programme acceptable to several other political parties, specifically to the centre parties whose following included the main body of the peasants, bourgeois intellectuals and the middle strata. The HCP demanded an immediate break with Nazi Germany, withdrawal from the war, dissolution of all fascist organisations, punishment of war criminals, democratic rights and freedoms, land reform, restrictions on the domination of big capital, better material conditions and social security for wage and salary earners, neighbourly and peaceful relations with all nations, and further friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

After minor adjustments, this became the platform of a national front which, besides the HCP, included four more political parties, as well as trade unions. The front advanced a slogan which made for confidence and optimism: 'Let Us Revive Hungary!'. Proceeding from the communist proposals, the HNFI adopted a broad programme, a comprehensive plan of national revival followed by the Provisional National Assembly elected in late December 1944 and by the Provisional National Government which was formed soon after that. Its political nature was actually determined not so much by the participation of bourgeois parties as by the policy guidelines of the Independence Front and by the great weight carried by the Left in the legislative bodies: it was executive power of the workers, peasants and middle strata. This was how the building of a free and independent people's democratic Hungary, the revolutionary democratic state of working people, began.

The HCP's clear goals and political and organisational unity made it the most prominent participant in the affairs of the nation. The working masses saw Communists as unswerving champions of the people's interests. The party's prestige was rising rapidly. Its ranks grew, mostly due to the admission of workers: by the autumn of 1945 Hungary's Communists already numbered more than 500,000. It wielded great influence in the trade unions.

The HCP's social positions were growing steadily stronger. At the 1947 elections to the National Assembly it was the biggest and the strongest party. Political changes led, in the first months of 1948, to what was actually a merger of two biggest working class parties: entire organisations of Social Democrats joined the Communists; merger meetings and conferences were held both in the capital and locally. In the spring of 1948 the Left gained the upper hand in the SDP leadership. Talks were held on the formation of a single party of the working class. On June 12 the Fourth Congress of the HCP and the 37th Congress of the SDP announced the establishment of the Hungarian Party of Working People (HPWP). Its policy statement stressed the need for closer unity of the nation's democratic forces and proposed a reorganisation of the HNFI. A new Popular Front of Independence was to develop from a relatively loose coalition into an HPWP-led mass political organisation of popular unity which

would comprise the allied parties purged of right-wing elements, organisationally restructured trade unions, cooperative, as well as youth and women's organisations. The move was to ensure greater unity of the socialist and democratic forces aimed at building the new society as fast and as successfully as possible.

Three years after the liberation from fascism our working class, led by its party, emerged victorious from the class struggle and took power into its own hands for the second time (the first time was the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919). Closely allied with the peasants and progressive intellectuals in the struggle against reaction, the working class ensured the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat which formed the political basis of the new social system. The socialist-oriented thrust of the popular struggle already surfaced in the period between late 1944 and early 1948. This thrust was brought about by the activities of domestic forces possessing a broad social base—forces such as the anti-fascist Resistance units and the mass democratic organisations which appeared immediately upon liberation. And then the popular masses joined the building of socialism in the broadest possible way.

Over the past forty years, our society has traversed a path which has no analogy in the past. It was a period of fundamental transformations it would have taken past generations centuries to effect. Popular rule gradually transformed mines, factories, banks and transport into public property, eliminated the capitalist class and exploitation. At the price of great sacrifices, working people created a socialist industry: big factories and whole industrial centres were built. The peasants also took the road of social progress: the land reform decree removed the main power basis of reaction—the class of big landowners. Land was handed over to those who worked it.

The land reform, the gradual nationalisation of the main means of production, industrialisation and the completion of the socialist restructuring of agriculture resulted in the fact that socialist relations of production took firm root by the early 1960s. The Hungarian people were wholly committed to the new system. From a backward agrarian-industrial country, Hungary turned into a modern industrial nation with an advanced agriculture. Planning regulates its economy. Progress along the socialist path has forever delivered Hungarians from poverty, unemployment, a feeling of insecurity and oppression. Full employment has been ensured; socialist democracy is flourishing. Working people enjoy free medical care and education. The overall cultural level, political consciousness and occupational skills have increased dramatically, the people's very way of life has changed radically, and a national unity has emerged.¹ All these are historic accomplishments, made possible largely by the fact that the masses have rallied around the party.

Unfortunately, we did not advance along a straightforward path. For a certain period, our progress was impeded by sectarian and dogmatic mistakes, by violations of legality, by the pernicious activities of the revisionists and by the counter-revolutionary revolt. There have been tough challenges, setbacks, mistakes and forfeited opportunities. Still, all this cannot belittle the historic significance of Hungary's socialist gains. The new system has made it possible to overcome the nation's economic, social and cultural backwardness within four decades. Today, side by side with other socialist countries, our republic is marching in the front ranks of social progress.

The Hungarian Communists have always been the leaders in our advances. They have always been the most dynamic force mobilising the masses. The entire experience of our party confirms that the working class has indeed been and is the key factor in the progress of socialist society. But it is equally obvious that this class and its political vanguard cannot fulfill their historical mission if they are not followed by the masses.

It is a well-known fact that the idea of creating a single front and rallying the popular masses together was advanced by the Communists even before World War

II. This policy has since vindicated itself repeatedly and has enriched the store of reliable, tried and tested methods for uniting forces that uphold peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The leading role of the party is indispensable. But the people themselves are the force that shapes history, and a socialist society can be created only by the entire people. For reasons of its numbers alone, the party could not have built a socialist society on its own. The new society is being built for all the people, and it must be created jointly, under the party's leadership, by Communists and non-party people, by the whole people, the masses who shape history. The results achieved by the party which directs socialist construction depend on its ability to rally the masses of non-party people around it. Without allies who share the party's goals, without the masses, there can be no victory.

The Hungarian working class and its party found their allies and comrades-in-arms in those classes and social strata which were interested in the creation of people's democratic government. Thanks to the policy of alliances pursued by the Communists, Hungary developed very dynamically, and not only when our people were clearing the debris of the past but also later, when we were building a new life. As a result, what the HCP called for and what the people believed in came to pass: Hungary was reborn.

The formation of the popular front in our country went through several stages—from the organisation of the anti-fascist Resistance to the attainment of power by the people, to the building of the new society. The composition of the allied social forces and the immediate tasks of the policy conducted by the alliance changed with time, but its basic essence persisted and developed: it was cooperation and unity of the working classes and strata on the basis of their common interests and goals.

To this day, the purpose of the alliance is to unite all those who consider peace, national independence, prosperity for our country and further improvements in our people's well-being a cause that is close to them and who fight for this cause. The desire to achieve these goals is behind the concerted action taken by Communists and non-party people, atheists and believers, those who are ready to make certain sacrifices in the name of our social system and those whom it takes longer to grasp the close connection between their own interests and the good of the nation. We develop this broad national unity because we are convinced that the building of socialism cannot be an exclusive mission of the Communist Party and only one class; here, success hinges on the joint, creative efforts undertaken by the entire people, by all of us.

To the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP),² the continuous strengthening of ties with the masses, of the union of all classes and working strata has always been and will remain a fundamental principle of its operation, and not a transient tactical slogan or manoeuvre. The policy of alliances is essentially based on class considerations: it serves the cause of attaining major social goals through the cooperation of different classes and strata. The alliance of the working class and the peasants has always been and will always remain the basis of our party's policy. But, although these two large classes of working people make up most of the nation, the HSWP does not confine its activities to the representation and defence of only their interests; it works to involve other social strata, all honest and progressive people in socialist construction. Of particular importance is the fact that the best members of the intellectual community are on the side of the Communists, of the working class.

However, life has shown that the closeness or even objective coincidence of the interests of different classes and social strata does not guarantee that the masses would support the party constantly and automatically. If they are to follow the advance guard of the working class, they must be patiently persuaded, and the links binding the allies together should be strengthened tirelessly. The experience our

party has accumulated over the years, its advances and setbacks prove that the building of socialism was most successful when not only the working class but also other social forces accepted the Communists' policy and leadership. Conversely, when these bonds grew weak, when the party left the masses behind, was too hasty and forced society to develop at an accelerated rate, it had to go back and look for ways and methods to ensure acceptance and support on the part of the people.

Hungarian society is gradually becoming more and more homogeneous, although considerable social differences still exist both between the classes that are growing closer to each other and within these classes. Our country is marching forward. It is building a developed socialist society. The struggle to attain this goal gradually creates the conditions for a complete and definitive elimination of class differences.

Over the 40 years that have passed since Hungary's liberation, the party has succeeded in persuading all our people to share its fundamental political goals. As concerns the rate at which they are to be achieved and the specific steps that could be taken even now, we maintain that this calls for consulting the people, exchanging opinions and reconciling different interests. It has become well-established political practice for the HSWP to address the masses and to hold open, constructive discussions both within the party and with non-Communists, including those adhering to different philosophies. The party resorts to dialogue not only when difficulties arise but conducts it continuously. This has enabled the party to develop the broadest possible form of a policy of alliances—a policy of the nation's social unity. The very possibility of pursuing this policy is inherent in the elimination of social antagonisms, in the gradual drawing closer together of the classes and strata of working people, in the adoption of the building of developed socialism as a national programme, and in the striving of all the people for peace and progress.

The shaping of the nation's social unity is a protracted historical process which is still far from its completion. As I have noted earlier, this process can be traced to the struggle against fascism and for national independence in the 1930s and the 1940s. After the liberation of Hungary, this unity found a power base in the broad mass movement, gained new ground when the working class took power and continued to gather strength as the new society was being built. As socialism develops further, we are yet to work a long time to ensure indestructible national unity.

Almost simultaneously with the 40th anniversary of liberation from fascism the 13th Congress of the HSWP will be held. Preparing for these two major events, our party and people are taking stock of their efforts. Assessing the overall situation in the nation, the HSWP Central Committee has stated in its Points to be Discussed at the Congress that it considers the socialist system and popular rule firmly established, socialist national unity strong and the domestic political situation balanced. Our people live in peace and security, trust and support the party's policy. Over the years that have elapsed our country has grown richer, we have preserved our principal gains and improved the national economic balance. The political consciousness and cultural level of our citizens have increased.

The party takes a realistic view of our accomplishments in the building of socialism; it neither exaggerates them nor conceals our weak points. Confident in the creative potential of the people, it involves all politically conscious forces of our society into the elaboration and implementation of political and economic decisions which contribute to further increases in the people's well-being, promote democracy and cultural growth.

In recent years, as we began our transition to intensive development and as international tensions increased and changes occurred in the world economy, we encountered certain difficulties and contradictions. This threw into bolder relief imbalances unfavourable to the nation, phenomena running counter to socialist objectives and drawbacks in our work. Economic growth rates slowed down and the

living standard of working people ceased to increase. This led the HSWP to take a number of consistent steps so as to overcome the difficulties.

Efforts to improve Hungary's foreign trade balance and maintain its solvency have emerged as an important objective of our policy. Despite the growth of protectionism in the capitalist world and the deliberate discrimination of socialist countries, the Hungarian national economy has reasserted its stability, strength and viability. Our foreign trade has increased and our solvency on foreign markets has become more secure.

The country's national wealth continues to grow. Further improvement of all elements of the economic mechanism has made it possible to raise the efficiency of social production, tangibly increase labour productivity and reduce the amounts of energy, fuel and raw materials used. Of particular importance is the fact that, in spite of a forced temporary reduction in the use of the nation's income for domestic purposes, in spite of cutbacks in capital and technological investment, we have preserved the principal gains of the socialist social system—full employment, social stability and adequate supply of goods to the population.

The plan for the current year and the basic guidelines for the coming five-year period provide for a further economic upturn which already began to be felt in 1984, an increase in the domestic spending of the national income, stabilisation of real wages and salaries and a reduction of the external debt. The tasks we face are to create more favourable living and working conditions for our citizens, increase personal consumption, expand the range of goods offered, make the service sector work better—in other words, ensure a perceptible improvement in the well-being of the people.

Success in the solution of these complex tasks calls for a whole range of important measures, including more vigorous Hungarian participation in the international socialist division of labour and further expansion of economic cooperation among the countries of our community. Hungary is vitally interested in the promotion of socialist economic integration, since this creates additional opportunities for solving important issues such as the swiftest possible transition to the path of intensive economic development, the raising of economic efficiency by improving the structure of social production, efforts to ensure its dynamic yet balanced growth, more rapid scientific and technological progress, and improvement of the people's living standard.

These issues were the key questions discussed at the CMEA Economic Summit held in Moscow in 1984. The HPR will do its utmost to help in the implementation of its decisions and to take part in the follow-up on the jointly charted programmes of multilateral cooperation. Convinced that the CMEA member-countries are well equipped to raise their economic cooperation to a higher plane, Hungary advances initiatives to develop new forms and methods for it. We are confident that promotion of socialist economic integration, of cooperative efforts in production and of scientific and technological cooperation will play an important role in the solution of the economic issues facing our country and will assist in a comprehensive advance of our nation.

The Hungarian people is firmly committed to its status of a member in the great family of the socialist nations which pursue a course of peace and social progress. Together with them, we conduct a concerted foreign policy and jointly strengthen our security. Of special importance to us is our close friendship with the Soviet Union, without whose internationalist assistance Hungary would have been unable to win its independence and freedom or to create a new state and social system. Hungarian-Soviet friendship rests on the community of our two peoples' national interests. Their unity is a reliable guarantee of our sovereignty and independent national existence, of the peaceful life and successes of the Hungarian people.

In the past, Hungary had no true friends. Horthy bound the future of his regime to a country whose rulers scorned and despised our people and considered them useful only as a tool of their domination. The struggle of liberation the Soviet Union waged against fascism enabled the Hungarians to join the family of free and independent peoples advancing towards socialism and united by the indelible bonds of internationalism.

Forty years after the rout of German fascism and Japanese militarism we are again witnessing hostile moves by the aggressive imperialist forces which threaten to extend the nuclear arms race even to outer space. But today's international alignment of forces is not what it was on the eve of World War II. Together with the peoples of the socialist part of our globe, other peoples committed to peace oppose the barbarous plans of the militarists. In capitalist countries, not only communist but also certain bourgeois parties and realistic statesmen and public figures raise their voice in defence of peace. We are therefore convinced that in the present era, a global nuclear conflict is not fatally inevitable.

Today, the defence of peace is the most pressing need which unites popular masses across the world. The 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism imbues the peace movement with new strength.

The working people of Hungary are earnest champions of the policy of peaceful coexistence and cooperation. Guided by our national interests and by the interests of all mankind, our country is fighting against the arms race and supports any steps leading to more durable peace. To us, the foremost guarantee of such peace is our unity with the USSR and other countries of the socialist community.

Led by the Communist Party, the people of the HPR have been working in peace for four decades now. A nation that has lost over two million of its countrymen in the world wars is well aware of how valuable that is. Our record of forty years has convinced us that in order to successfully build socialism, issues of peace, national independence, social progress, economic growth and the people's well-being must be approached as an integral whole, and action should be consonant with this approach. To us, peace is the prime condition of further creative efforts, just as the fruits of these efforts are a substantial contribution to the drive to ensure peace. Tackling the big issues facing our country, we are advancing towards our national goal—the building of a developed socialist society in Hungary.

In the Forefront of Social Progress

The 13th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is taking place at a time when our people are commemorating a momentous occasion in their history—the 40th anniversary of their liberation from fascism. Four decades have passed since the time when the Soviet Army, which made the greatest sacrifices in World War II and which bore the brunt of the struggle against fascism, won its victory together with the armies of the Allied powers. Soviet soldiers, sons of the Soviet people, delivered our country from the yoke of Nazi invaders. A new stage began in Hungarian history; our country attained independence. The Hungarian people made good use of their freedom, overthrew the power of the landowners and capitalists and began to build a new social system.

History-making accomplishments have been made since liberation: popular government has been created and consolidated; the means of production have been socialised; the economy has been put on a planned basis; industry has developed on a large scale; agriculture has been reorganised on a socialist basis; full employment has been ensured; economic management has improved; socialist democracy has expanded; national unity has been attained; the general level of culture, of political and occupational knowledge and skills has risen; well-being has increased; social

security has become widespread; and fundamental transformations have occurred in the way of life.

By pooling their efforts, the party and the people have overcome considerable social, economic and cultural backwardness, and Hungary is now in the forefront of social progress.

(From the HSWP Central Committee's Points to Be Discussed at the 13th Party Congress.)

¹ In Hungary, 'national unity' means that the people are morally and politically united.—*Ed.*

² So called since November 1956.—*Ed.*

Allies, Not Rivals (The Communists and Social Protest Movements)

Jorgen Jensen, — Chairman, CP
Denmark (CPD)

A NEW social, political and ideological phenomenon with which we, Communists, have not had to deal with earlier—on such a scale, at any rate—gradually took shape and began rapidly to develop over the past several years in Denmark, as in most other West European countries. It is the emergence of diverse non-traditional social movements which are exceptionally patchy in social and age composition, and peculiar in make-up and objectives. Their participants variously style themselves as 'alternativists', 'ecologists', 'anti-authoritarianists', and 'greens'. Within the framework of that variegated and original trend are active 'civil initiatives', 'one-cause movements', and so on. What they have in common is that they all reject some aspect of the present-day capitalist reality, seek a new way of life, and strive to make a contribution to the solution of vital problems.

Why has there been such a seething upsurge of these movements? What is their objective role in social and political life? How are the Communists to arrange their relations with them? These are not idle questions by any means, because it is not a matter of indifference to the revolutionary working class party which way the new movements develop, and where they stand in the confrontation between the forces of peace, democracy and social progress, on the one hand, and the militaristic, reactionary circles, on the other.

The various association, unions, committees, and civic initiative groups, which at first sprouted like mushrooms after a fall of rain, were regarded by Denmark's traditional political forces with some scepticism and mistrust, for they assumed them to be a temporary and transient phenomenon. Indeed, many of the movements broke up once their concrete objective had been attained (such as the building of a children's playground or playing field in the neighbourhood). Others gradually gained in strength, won the sympathies and support of broad strata of the population, and some even developed into genuine mass movements.

In virtue of their activity and popularity, the latter were unwittingly established as a fairly important factor in social relations. Suffice it to say that in the early 1980s 36 per cent of Denmark's adult population—or three times the number involved in all the political parties—were active in diverse ecological groups and associations.¹

We now have a broad spectrum of social protest movements. They differ in scale and importance of objectives, and their social make-up is uneven. The most massive of them have been developing over cardinal problems like defence of peace, solidarity with developing countries, unemployment, education, the emancipation of women, and protection of the environment and the atmosphere of the workplace. Other movements are oriented towards everyday problems, carrying on drives for the right to housing, lower rents, development of culture, stable prices and higher food-product quality, and against noxious chemical additives in foodstuffs, the sale of drugs which are injurious to health, and so on.²

These numerous and so dissimilar movements have obviously sprung up in protest against the injustices and inhumanities of the capitalist society and mandates for change. In other words, the motives for the upswing in the social activity of the masses are primarily rooted in the all-pervading aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism as a system, and it is perfectly obvious that a specific form of democratic protest corresponds to virtually every aspect of the crisis.

Thus, imperialism's spiralling of the arms race and nuclear blackmail, and the sharp worsening of the international situation in the late 1970s and early 1980s, generated an unprecedented mass protest and led to the emergence of an anti-war movement that is qualitatively new in scope and make-up. For the overwhelming majority of Danes, the arms race symbolises a mounting threat to life, and spells privation, hunger, misery, waste of natural resources and destruction of the environment. That is why men and women of every age, walk of life, social origin, political convictions and religious beliefs are involved in the struggle for peace.

Over the past five years, the anti-war movement has gained in stature and become stronger organisationally and politically. The traditional Easter marches attract ever more participants. The rallies staged in 1983 and 1984 within the framework of the UN Peace Week were the largest in our postwar history. One such rally in Town Hall Square in Copenhagen drew more than 100,000 people. The peace movement's political scope, purposefulness and concrete approach have made it so strong that it got the Folketing to support its demands, so having a favourable influence on the country's stand on NATO's voting on the 'Euromissile' issue.³ Finally—and this is very important—trade union action in defence of peace has acquired great scope. In 1984, it was so powerful that the Central Association of Trade Unions of Denmark called on all the wage-workers to stage a brief stoppage in defence of peace, and its call met with extensive support among the population.

What is also valuable is that, despite the imperialist propaganda pressure, the peace-fighters have remained united, have found the right bearings in the struggle, and have formulated demands which the people can widely understand and accept as their own: 'No New US Nuclear Missiles in Western Europe!' 'No to the Agreement on Stationing Foreign Troops in Denmark!', 'A Nuclear-Free Status for Denmark!', 'Yes to a Nuclear-Free Zone in Nordic Europe!' and the like.

That the anti-war movement is politically broad and nation-wide is simultaneously both a strength and a weakness. After all, not everyone fighting for peace realises that imperialism is the real culprit behind the mounting menace of a thermonuclear conflict; many erroneously equate the USSR and the United States in the responsibility for the arms race and military preparations.

Such views are far from being innocent, because they tend to confuse and disorient the participants in the peace movement. That is why, while insisting on the unity of all the anti-war forces, the Communists believe that their task is to expose the aggressive

nature and policy of imperialism, and to show socialism's role as a factor for peace and the security of the nations. The CPD's principled and simultaneously flexible line, with constant efforts to give its ideological explanation, has helped to strengthen the peace movement and enhance the Communists' authority within it.

The characteristic objectives of most of the new social movements are: preservation of peace, a freeze and reduction of nuclear arsenals, a switch of the vast material resources being incinerated in the cauldron of the arms race, for the solution of global problems (hunger, underdevelopment, illiteracy, epidemics and disease, and protection of the human habitat). Such demands have been vigorously pressed for by the numerous ecological groups alarmed by the destruction and pollution of man's environment a result of the predatory policies of international and Danish corporations.

Danish ecologists inform the population about the problems in the use of nuclear power, seek alternative sources of energy, resist pollution of the atmosphere, waters and forests, and criticise the negligent attitude to the nation's natural and energy resources. What is more, many 'green' movements are effectively engaged in an anti-monopoly drive (against the oil companies; concerns manufacturing harmful food products; the EEC, and so on), but their activity tends to bypass the true cause behind the degradation of the environment.

Apart from positive ideas, the programmatic documents of the ecologists proposing their own ways for solving economic and social problems, contain much that is naive, contradictory, plainly unfeasible and even harmful. Many of the 'greens' reject all use of nuclear energy, including its use for peaceful purposes; they reject economic development; and they call for a 'return to nature' and ecological harmony, as if that could 'obviate the need for a social revolution'.

Alongside the global problems, exceptional importance attaches to the social roots of the social protest: unemployment, growing prices, and the worsening of living conditions for large masses of people. The responsibility for that state of affairs falls on big capital and the string of governments (including social democratic governments), which have tried to solve their problems on the backs of the working people.

In Denmark, the crisis makes itself known daily all over the country: there are now more than 300,000 'unwanted people', many of whom have lost all hope of finding a job; the families of working people, especially those with children, are finding it hard to make ends meet; people are being sweated by the new stepped-up and exhausting forms of organisation in production; old-age pensioners, unemployed, single mothers and young people live in the toils of poverty. All of which shows that a society which creates such conditions is unsound at root.

Many Danes regard the problems which have invaded their lives as inexorable, and so live in fear of the future (this even applies to children). They have a sense of their own utter uselessness, a feeling that is most widespread among the unemployed, old people and youth. As a result, some seek a way out of closing in upon themselves or waxing nostalgic for the old days; others fall into apathy, lose heart and stop resisting, an attitude of mind that results in a terrible number of attempted suicides and tragedies involving drug addiction.

At the same time, the lack of prospects tends to generate in the masses an ever more pronounced sense of alarm, resentment and a flat refusal to accept the existing state of things; it induces men and women who find themselves in a desperate plight through the fault of the society to act in unison. There is growing criticism of the capitalist society's poor spiritual values and its consumer attitudes, which tend to reduce the meaning of human life to a scramble for goods.

The sharpening socio-economic contradictions for an ever greater number of men and women in Denmark shed a harsh light on the obvious limitations and rottenness

of the much-vaunted bourgeois democracy, with its political scandals, corruption, and bureaucratic practices. There is growing mistrust and resentment among the masses of professional politicians and a public structure under which government, Folketing and municipal council are reduced to running errands for big capital.

Such attitudes are now highly widespread in Denmark, and they are expressed in the refusal of voters to go to the polls, the tendency to keep aloof from parties and politics generally, the desire to make do 'without a state' and to find alternative lifestyles and ways of behaviour. Indeed, on the crest of the acute discontent of the masses with various aspects of the capitalist reality have taken shape diverse civil initiatives designed to solve the plaguing problems with grassroots support.

In a sense, there are two typical forms of civil initiatives. One group, the most numerous one, consists of people getting together (like the inhabitants of a township, neighbourhood or house) in prosecution of a definite objective (greening and urban renewal, opposition to the felling of a wood or the pollution of a lake); others do not confine themselves to 'one cause' and go on to full-scale criticism of the bourgeois state, suggesting alternatives (sometimes naive and confused) to the state of affairs they refuse to accept in the economy, public health, education, culture, recreation and so on.

In the new conditions, the old and long-established forms of participation in social and political life by various strata of the population have been transformed, and this applies above all to women's and youth organisations whose activity has been markedly radicalised over the past several years. It is true that one should not ignore the fact that alongside anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist positions, the platforms of some of these are a peculiar symbiosis of the most contradictory view of the society: abstract humanistic, nihilistic, feminist, religious and the like. That should not, of course, obscure the fact that women and young people have a prominent role to play in the anti-missile protest, peace marches and peace camps, and the fight against the destruction of the environment.

The factors behind the upswing in the political and social activity of the masses are, therefore, exceptionally diverse, and we have pinpointed only some of those which we believe to be the most crucial ones. But even so, there is apparently good ground for the conclusion that as a phenomenon the new movements are neither secondary nor casual, but a natural and long-term factor reflecting the deep changes in the consciousness of large masses of people.

Why does the Communist Party, one may well ask, have more difficulties in winning the sympathy of the masses than do the new movements, considering the depreciation of the values of bourgeois democracy, the growing socio-economic tensions, the widespread discontent with the state of affairs in the society and the awareness of the need for change? How is one to explain that their calls have met with a broader response, whereas the Communists have frequently failed to make much headway, despite their consistent expression of the feelings and aspirations of the working people and their long championship of some of the problems (like environmental protection) round which the new movements are now rallied?

There is, indeed, a growing mistrust of the bourgeois parliamentary system, but the disappointment over its effectiveness far from always leads to a spread of sympathies for left-wing progressive forces, just as unemployment, inflation and social discontent do not automatically raise the anti-capitalist consciousness of the masses.

There are several reasons, we believe, which largely explain the nature of what at first sight appears to be such a paradox. First of all, because of their political inexperience and deep disappointment with the parties as a traditional public institution, sizable strata of those involved in the new social movements fail to draw a distinction between the political entities existing in Denmark. Now and again one will hear the CPD being reproached for its 'excessive rigidity', 'over-organisation', and

'undemocratic' character. Such statements as a rule come from political innocents who either have a very faint notion of history and the objectives and character of the CPD's activity, or judge it in accordance with the anti-communist stereotypes of the bourgeois press. Meanwhile, the new movements are attractive, especially to young people, because they are spontaneous and open-ended, because they run themselves in accordance with a democracy that is 'boundless', and reject the traditional forms of inner-party life.

There are other reasons as well. Thus, the Communist Party's clear-cut class stand and orientation towards a socialist perspective are viewed in a negative light by some middle strata which do not regard socialism as the alternative to capitalism. They are content to accept the vagueness and lack of clarity in the platforms of many non-traditional movements also because participation in them does not entail any unambiguous ideological and political commitment, as membership of the CPD or even voting for it requires.

But it is also important to note one other thing. The original experience of the new social movements shows that we have not always managed to discern in due time all the new elements which are generated by life and mass creativity, and to transcend the traditional demands and habitual forms of struggle. We have now and again taken a wait-and-see attitude as a result of which initiative has been lost here and there, and opportunities missed for winning potential allies for the proletariat among the middle strata.

While these movements are diverse and have many faces, some 'generic' marks common to them all can be identified, so helping to make a more correct assessment of the place of the new phenomenon in socio-political life and to see its role in the class struggle.

First, open-endedness and loose organisational structure are typical features of their 'initiatives'. Those who sponsor them have a good knowledge of the problems in their field but, as a rule, rarely go beyond its framework. Such movements lack a homogeneous basis and rest mainly on the middle strata, youth, intelligentsia, unemployed, pensioners and, to a lesser extent, on the industrial workers.

How is one to explain the relatively thin proletarian stratum in the non-traditional movements? it is hard to give a complete answer, because we do not have at our disposal anything like complete data on their evolving social composition, for, in contrast to the Communist Party, they do not have anything like the concept of 'membership' itself. Still, one could safely say that one of the reasons is that the objectives of many 'initiatives' lie outside the sphere of the immediate material, social and trade union interests of the working class.

Furthermore, the fact that a sizable section of the industrial proletariat had initially refrained from actively joining in the popular anti-missile demonstrations was due above all to the prevalent influence of social democracy⁴ and reformist trade unions. Finally, there is good ground to assume that the workers' circumspection over the diverse 'initiatives' was to some extent a response to the wide spread within them of attitudes like high-handedness with respect to the traditional working class movement, denial of its inherent forms of struggle, and refusal to cooperate with its organisations.

At the same time, practice testifies that the more active and consistent the working class support for social movements, the more effective their actions. So, when the trade unions joined in the anti-war protest and resorted to short work stoppages and 'peace strikes', they brought in greater organisation into the ranks of the peace forces, and produced concrete positive results. The most important of these was Denmark's refusal to fund the deployment of US 'Euromissiles', and the Folketing's decision binding the government to take a stand for the country's nuclear-free status in time of peace and of war.

But there are other examples showing that the proletariat also stands to gain from cooperation with the new movements. Thus, cooperation between students and workers, who showed and explained the social hazards of an unhealthy production environment and the noxious effects on the human system of some labour processes and chemical substances used in production, led to an activation of the left wing of the trade unions and helped to make their central organ work more vigorously for labour protection and a clean environment.

Second, social movements reflect keen discontent among broad strata of the population with this or that aspect of the capitalist reality, as I have said, and while the bulk of their participants deny the revolutionary way of social transformations and do not entertain the idea of fighting for socialism, the efforts of the movements are effectively aimed against the capitalist civilisation and the values and way of life it offers. So, however, imperfect or inarticulate their demands, it is a rebellion against capitalism and its system of exploitation, which means that, objectively, they and the working class can be allies in the struggle for advanced democracy.

Third, there is no doubt about the anti-imperialist, anti-war and anti-militarist tenor of most of the new social movements and their profound concern over the exacerbating international situation. The multifarious activity of the ecologists and the 'alternativists', the feminists and participants in civil initiatives has helped thousands of men and women to become aware of the reality of the mortal threat impending over the world and to join in the anti-missile and anti-nuclear struggle.

The 'Stop the Nuclear Missiles' movement displayed resource and sagacity in working out forms of action of interest to individuals, groups of people and entire cities. Many Danes have declared their homes 'nuclear-free zones', and the same has been done by some communities and towns. The movement also set up a joint-stock company, 'Nuclear-Free Europe', which sells its shares to anyone who wants to donate funds to the cause of peace. When the turnaround towards disarmament is brought about, its earnings will go to improve the social security of its members. In short, the new concrete and emotional forms of protest (the pitching of peace camps, 'vigilance watches' at the head offices of arms corporations, 'car caravans and bikes for peace', etc.) have substantially enriched the earlier notions of ways to defend peace.

Fourth, the strength of the new movements lies in the fact that they are aimed at concrete objectives, however insignificant, which brings in people of diverse political views and social status. 'Act here and now!' is the motto of thousands of men and women who have lost faith in the capacity of the traditional parties and government institutions to solve the burning problems. Thanks to the massive initiatives, the protest movements have come forward with numerous interesting ideas and proposals; they have drawn public attention to the various dangers threatening man and Nature, and have worked out unconventional ways of beating the bureaucratic system.

At the same time, the multi-class basis, the inconstancy and fluidity of their make-up and the refusal to have the minimum of organisational principles make these movements susceptible to fluctuations in the political situation and outlook; they present a favourable soil for the spread of the bourgeois ideology and of diverse scientific and conservative views;⁵ and hamper the formulation of a coherent programme of struggle designed for the long term. But it would be an unforgivable mistake to contrast the working class and the social movements for that reason and to assume that, because of the existing differences, cooperation with them is impossible, and discussions with their supporters—a sheer waste of time.

Here it is important to take account of yet another aspect of the problem. The bourgeois print media (and in Denmark they own 90 per cent of all the periodicals) have tried to exert an ideological influence on movements protesting against the

injustices of the exploiter system and the undemocratic distribution of profits. The press and the police, for instance, have managed to secure control of a section of the young people fighting for jobs and housing, and to make them take action and express views which have isolated the young people from working class organisations and deprived of popularity the movement for the use of empty flats. The apologists of capitalism have been trying very hard to weaken or neutralise the opposition, rebellious element within the protest movements and to channel their energies along a way that would do no harm to the system. The strategic objective of the revolutionary party, by contrast, should consist in combining the strength of the working class and of the non-traditional movements, developing their latent democratic capacity, and giving the social protest a clear-cut anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist orientation.

The new social movements undoubtedly help to expand the potentialities of alliances between the working class and the middle strata, but the question of how such alliances are to be built up in practice is not a simple one at all. There are many among the 'greens', feminists and pacifists, after all, who make no secret of their hostility for the Communists, reject them as a political and ideological force, and flatly refuse even to discuss the probability of unitary action.

It follows that cooperation with non-traditional movements rules out any ideological neutrality on the part of the Communists. On the contrary, there is bound to be a struggle against various alien conceptions (both rightists and ultra-leftists) and one-sided views, and for the widest possible spread of Marxist ideas among the participants in social protest. But this kind of ideological activity should be carried on by the Communists as a well-argued and patient dialogue, with practice as its main attribute.

Our experience and life itself testify that the most formidable and at first sight insuperable obstacles cannot serve as justification for unwillingness to work '*wherever the masses are to be found*',⁶ as Lenin put it. The Communists have the duty to make a thorough study of the non-traditional movements, to join them without timidity, and to support their every positive initiative which gives an impetus to the joint struggle.

The struggle for peace, against the arms race, and for a nuclear-free status for Denmark and Nordic Europe is the main field on which the Communists and the numerous supporters of the new forms of social protest can cooperate. In the recent period, as I have said, our goal has been to combine the defence of our principled positions with a readiness to compromise so as to safeguard the cohesion of all the anti-war forces and to make their action more telling.

What have we achieved? Many CPD activists are working in defence-of-peace committees, so helping to strengthen and develop unity of action in the struggle against the deployment of US nuclear missiles in Europe, and to neutralise attempts to shape peace-fighter structures without Communists. It is now clear to many that if men and women who are card-carrying members of the Communist Party are excluded from the active movement, it will be deprived of the capacity and possibility of uniting the peace forces which are broad and powerful enough to gain the upper hand over the warmongers.

Another example is the movement against Denmark's participation in the EEC, in which the Communists have not only handled many organisational tasks, but have also formulated the platform for joint political initiatives. In the process, the party has acquired experience in unitary work and has done much to assert the unitary approach to activity and tactics of the movement and the shaping of its cadres.

In view of the population's growing concern over the capitalistic use of Nature and the barbarous destruction of man's natural habitat, the Danish Communists have continued their study of problems in the production and natural environment and the

working out of pertinent initiatives and proposals. We already have such traditions. One need merely recall that after the party's 26th Congress (1980), the CPD CC Commission on the Environment did much to help grassroots and district party organisations to research number of difficult problems, such as our line on the pollution of waters in the Little Belt. The situation now calls for even more resolute struggle against the 'economic swinishness' of enterprises.

The CPD's stand on social security and health care, formulated at party conferences and made public, should help the Communists to establish better mutual understanding with their allies in the trade unions, organisation of consumers, old-age pensioners and other mass movements.

The housing crisis with its speculative machinations and deficiencies in building makes it ever more pressing for the Communists to join the movements of tenants and persons in need of housing. That is why, it was said in the discussions before the 27th Congress of the CPD in 1983, it is now so important to increase our contribution to such movements, and to tie in the explanations of the party's housing policy more closely with work in these movements.

We seek to use our experience to continue our advance in cooperation with the various women's organisations, with special emphasis on extending women's participation in the struggle for peace, against part-time work, and for equality. Thus, thanks to the work of the March 8 committees, which formulated unitary slogans and determined forms of unity-promoting action, the Communists succeeded in tying in the women's movement with the trade union and social struggle. We also strive not to lose sight of the problems of women's equality in view of the conservative views of their role in family and society which are entrenched in the bourgeois consciousness.

Even a cursory and far from complete enumeration of the Communists' tasks in the non-traditional movements shows that the CPD is taking a responsible attitude to this form of mass social activity, and is seeking to bring into their ranks organisation, consciousness and a vision of perspectives.

We accentuate the common and primary objectives in the joint struggle, without abandoning our own principles, and use constructive criticism of ideological notions which hamper such cooperation. Here, we believe, it is highly important to have a sense of the 'golden mean': on the one hand, it is not right to fence oneself off from one's allies by means of the 'revolutionary catchword', and to demand their unconditional support of the Communist Party's stand and views; on the other, abandonment of principles, currying favour with them, and make concessions 'on matters of theory, programme, or banner'⁷ are intolerable.

Our duty is to help make the protest movements a solid part of the democratic struggle for transforming the society, and that can be done only if we take a firm stand on our own class positions, if we are sensitive to the social pulse, if we analyse the burning problems in due time, and offer the masses clear-cut, realistic and understandable alternatives. We believe that it is especially important to act in such a way as to help the numerous participants in the new movements to shed as soon as possible the false notions about the Communists, which are being implanted by bourgeois propaganda, and to enable them to see the Communists as true and consistent allies in the struggle against the defects of capitalism, and for democracy, social justice and world peace.

¹ See *Tiden Verden rundt*, No. 3, 1981, p. 30.

² Among the non-traditional movements active in Denmark are: Danish Alliance of Friends of Nature, Popular Movement against the EEC, Alliance of Fighters for Public Transport, Cooperation among the Peoples, Friends and Animals Alliance, groups of ecologists, tenants and consumers, lovers and propagators of folk music, advocates of the search and use of new energy sources, and so on.

³ Under pressure from the anti-war movement, the Folketing has repeatedly come out for an end to Denmark's funding of the programme for the deployment of new US missiles, and authorised the government to act to keep the country free from nuclear weapons in time of peace, crisis and war.—Ed.

⁴ The Social Democratic Party of Denmark initially approved the NATO decision to start the deployment of new US first-strike missiles on the European continent, and it was some time before it abandoned that stand and condemned NATO's 'twin-track' decision under pressure from the anti-war mood of the masses.—*Ed.*

⁵ The ideological patchwork of, say, the ecologists will be seen from their behaviour at the polls: 40 per cent vote for bourgeois parties, 34 for Social Democrats, and 25 for left-wing Socialists (*Tiden Verden rundt*, No. 3, 1981, p. 30).

⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 53.

⁷ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 331.

Offensive: The Substance of Revolution

Schafik Jorge Hándal – CC General
Secretary, CP El Salvador (PCES)

THE war in El Salvador has now lasted for more than four years. The US administration has included our country in its geopolitical schemes as a part of a zone 'vital' for the United States. Indeed, to impede the victory of the Salvadoran revolution and to crush it has been a 'matter of honour' for Ronald Reagan ever since his inauguration as President on January 20, 1981. He has repeatedly had to stake his prestige in order to get the Congress to authorise growing military and economic appropriations for the genocidal Salvadoran dictatorship.

When analysing developments in El Salvador, one should not lose sight of the fact that US imperialism has been meddling in the country's affairs not for the purpose of getting hold of its extremely scanty natural resources. Washington has much more serious objectives: it hopes to crush the Salvadoran revolutionary movement and so to demoralise and spread frustration within the liberation forces on the scale of Latin America as a whole (and to some extent throughout the whole Third World), thereby obtaining arguments for fanning imperial chauvinism among the US people themselves. Let us bear in mind that such chauvinism is the underpinning for the political domination of the military-industrial complex and its anti-Soviet and general anti-socialist line of whipping up the arms race.

Material supplies to El Salvador were followed by US military advisers, now already numbering more than 300. They are implementing the Pentagon's strategic and tactical plans in the light of their Vietnam experience. These plans are backed up with recommendations from politicians like Henry Kissinger, Alexander Haig, George Shultz, deputy secretaries of state for Latin America, and analysts from the State Department, the National Security Council, some universities and, of course, the CIA.

In order to get an idea of the scale of the US intervention, one should bear in mind that our country is territorially the smallest state in the continental part of Latin America (just over 21,000 sq.km), while its pre-1980 budget was just over \$1.5 billion.

The generous US aid to a corrupt, blood-stained and moribund military dictatorship, which has been formenting El Salvador for 50 years, and the ultra-reactionary bourgeois-and-landowner oligarchy was designed to help them humiliate and subject a people which repeatedly repudiated the hated regime at the polls.

Having failed to bring about any change and despairing of realising their historical aspirations through due process of law, the Salvadorans took up arms to fight for democracy and social progress. Stripped of all legitimacy, the dictatorship has resorted since 1974 (as it did in 1932 and 1944)¹ to massacres with the use of state terrorism, the only method at its disposal for surviving. This has meant mass tortures, raids, arrests and the 'disappearance' of men and women. The 'death squads' unleashed an orgy of bloodshed and the daily spectacle of mutilated bodies lying along the public highways. Even the Archbishop of San Salvador Monsignor Oscar Arnulfo Romero became one of their victims.

President Reagan has turned the United States into an accomplice of the criminal tyranny, which that great power has not only supplied with dollars and weapons but has also provided the military and political direction of the Salvadoran regime's war against its own people in an effort to add the dimension of genocide to state terrorism under the pretext of fighting 'Soviet expansionism' and 'Cuban-Nicaraguan intervention'. 'Made in USA' weapons have already been used to assassinate almost 50,000 innocent civilians.

In accordance with the Pentagon's 'counter-insurgency' models, US aid in the military sphere has resulted in the buildup, modernisation and re-training of the dictatorship's armed forces, which numbered not more than 14,000 men in late 1980, and 43,000, in December 1984. The fire-power of the regime's army has been increased several times over. It now has an air force (including helicopters) and light warships adapted to counter-insurgency operations. The troops have been or are being trained under the direction of US instructors in modern warfare, including airborne helicopter landings. Under pressure from the US Embassy, the command personnel has been gradually replaced in order to make the Pentagon's 'counter-insurgency' doctrine entirely pre-eminent, and the manning and organisational structure of the troops has been altered accordingly. As a result, the old pro-oligarchic army has been converted into a modern puppet armed force, largely dominated by US politicians and military.

That has proceeded in the midst of the most acute contradictions within the ruling elite. On the one hand, the terrified oligarchy anxiously looks to salvation from the United States, but on the other, finds it hard to accept its new subordinate role, which is why it has been desperately trying to regain the main instruments of power.

Our national sovereignty and independence have been trampled. Meanwhile, aping the cheap style of US politicians, Duarte keeps issuing statements about his government allegedly being 'independent'. At the same time, Washington has been putting constant pressure on governments, especially those of Latin American and West European countries, in order to secure support for Duarte, to prevent his condemnation at international forums and to isolate the FMLN-FDR.² US State Department exports have worked hard to groom their puppet for strutting with his 'own' line of behaviour in the world arena.

Despite the ever deeper US involvement in the fight against the FMLN-FDR, our forces have kept growing qualitatively and quantitatively. We have maintained the offensive initiative in the course of the war, and we control roughly 40 per cent of the national territory, while actively contesting with the enemy for the rest of it in virtually every part of the country, including the vicinity of the capital. In the four years of war, the FMLN has put out of action nearly 19,000 military personnel of the puppet army, capturing more than 6,000 rifles, hundreds of guns, mortars and other fire-support weapons, a great many radio transmitters, and hundreds of thousands of rounds of ammunition. Summing up the results of these years, it is now quite safe to say that the tyranny's armed forces would have been routed long ago, but for the US support.

In 1984, FMLN-FDR action invalidated the US imperialists' new strategy and

tactics in El Salvador, according to which the revolutionary army was to have been pushed back into a small (and most backward) region in the north of the country, leaving control of the vital territories of the centre and the south (the most populated and economically most developed) entirely to the puppet army. In accordance with a plan worked out by the Kissinger Commission, these zones were to receive vast investments for rehabilitation and development, while we, besieged in the North, were to have been deprived of influence in the masses and isolated internationally with the aid of the 'centrist' Duarte government, thereby plunging El Salvador even more deeply into neocolonialist bondage and gradually turning it into a citadel of counter-revolution and US domination in the Caribbean.

For that purpose, the puppet troops were being built up numerically, and their mobility, coordination, fire-power and combat capability were being improved. They were preparing to wipe us out by pushing us up against the border with Honduras and using that country's army as an anvil for the 'Salvadoran hammer'.

At the end of 1984, the situation, plainly speaking, was characterised by the following elements:

a) the FMLN inflicted heavy casualties on the puppet army, so frustrating its plans for deployment and demoralising its ranks. We have consolidated and extended the zones controlled by the revolutionary forces and the hinterland, and have intensified our military presence in the north, in the centre and in the south of the country, and guerrilla action in the major cities and their environs;

b) our military operations were also extended to El Salvador's western provinces, a key agro-industrial zone which has been the enemy's deep and tranquil rear in recent years;

c) as a result, and especially following the FMLN strikes at war-related economic installations, the Salvadoran economy has entered a new and more acute crisis, so that even greater dollar injections will be required if it is to be kept afloat. A sizable part of the increasing aid which Washington plans to give the puppet government in 1985 will, therefore, merely go to cover its losses, without giving it an offensive potential;

d) a strike movement which started in the country at the end of 1983 continued and grew throughout 1984, and there was more and more action in defence of human rights. The National University restored its campus, which had been invaded and sacked by the troops of the dictatorship in 1980 (it now has more than 20,000 students). The working people in the countryside, demanding land and higher wages, stepped up their struggle and improved their organisation.

The Duarte government has never been and will never be able to satisfy the aspirations of the masses, for all its demagogic declarations, and that for a very good reason: on the one hand, it has shown itself to be totally incapable of increasing the inflation-eroded salaries of government employees, who have made up the main contingent of the strikers. On the other, it has clearly demonstrated its impotence, having failed to check the oligarchy, to make it raise the wages of workers and employees and accept an agrarian reform. Indeed, the oligarchy's deputies in the Legislative Assembly voted down the agrarian transformation laws, while the state bank has kept credits to peasants on a miserable level. Meanwhile, the prices of farm facilities, services and fertilisers have been going up;

e) the FMLN-FDR have consolidated and extended their diplomatic ties through their consistent new initiatives aimed to seek a dialogue and negotiations for a political settlement of the armed conflict. Back in early 1981, i.e., at the very start of the war, they put forward various proposals on this issue both to the US administration and to the government of El Salvador and its armed forces.³ Up until September 1984, our peace proposals were invariably rejected;

f) as a result of the favourable changes in the balance of forces on the military,

political, and diplomatic levels, the Duarte government, pretending that it itself was taking the initiative, was forced in October of last year to start a dialogue with us, naturally after having obtained Washington's blessings. Thus, Reagan and Duarte decided on what was an evident and highly painful recognition of the FMLN-FDR, which raised our international authority, and gave a powerful impetus to the people's struggle for its economic and political rights, promoting its legalisation, especially in San Salvador and other cities, where the masses went out into the streets despite the 'death squad' terrorism and in defiance of the state of siege, which has been in effect since 1980.

Although the decision to start a dialogue at first raised Duarte's prestige at home and abroad, the results of the meetings held up to now have shown our partners' lack of sincerity. It has simultaneously become clear that the army command will not take orders from the government. It refused to abide by the terms of the Christmas and New Year's ceasefire agreement reached between the authorities and the FMLN, and in fact violated it. The acerbity of the contradictions between the government and the oligarchy, which had appeared to be on the point of resolution, became even more evident.

The hopes which at least a part of the people could have pinned on Duarte's advent to power have been dashed: it has proved incapable of winning over the masses. The Duarte government, a key element of the US counter-insurgency scheme in El Salvador, has far from bolstered its positions and has, in fact, markedly weakened them. Its prestige is obviously plummeting both at home and abroad, and as this is being written, the ruling circles are in the grip of a grave crisis.

In November of last year, Mexico, France, Spain, Greece, Sweden and Algeria put before the UN General Assembly a draft resolution condemning the Salvadoran government for its growing violations of human rights, and in particular for its bombings of the civilian population. The text of the document characterises the situation in El Salvador as a 'general state of conventional war', so refuting the charges of 'terrorism' levelled against us by Reagan and Duarte, a fact which undoubtedly testifies to the ever broader recognition of the FMLN-FDR abroad.

Summing up what has been said, one must emphasise that the US plans have totally failed: the FMLN-FDR has not been weakened politically, has not been driven into a confined area, and has not been isolated internationally. On the contrary, we have gained in strength, and have launched even more vigorous offensives in the military, political and diplomatic fields.

The banner of sovereignty and independence, the cause of the people betrayed by the puppet regime, is in the hands of the revolutionary movement, round which all the patriotic forces now seek to rally, regardless of the degree of their organisation. This movement is the vanguard in the struggle for democracy and social emancipation, for the sake of which it was started in the first place.

A superficial view of events in El Salvador could suggest the following conclusion: 'The revolutionaries have had more than enough time to win, but they will never succeed because they are firmly opposed by the United States.'

That would be a shortsighted conclusion. Even the Reagan administration, which in January 1981 declared its ability to crush the revolutionary forces within three to six months, is perfectly aware that the fact of our four-year resistance to the growing US pressure and intervention is in itself a resounding victory for the FMLN. Washington is also aware of the price of the FMLN's political and diplomatic successes scored by inflicting crushing and debilitating strikes at the puppet armed forces, which it costs the United States more than \$1.5 million a day to keep going.

In order duly to evaluate the importance of the four-year revolutionary people's struggle in El Salvador, one need merely imagine the international consequences if the FMLN were defeated. The people's Sandinist Revolution in Nicaragua would

face even greater difficulties, because it would be confronted by a seasoned, expanded and modernised Salvadoran army doing the will of imperialism, and also by our country's rich and ultra-reactionary oligarchy. The US hawks and the whole of Latin American reaction would be given a fresh incentive for wild attacks on democratic and revolutionary movements. The 'golden dream' (in the spirit of Hitler) of invading Cuba, something the United States has never quite abandoned, would be even more tantalising, while peace on the globe would be even more fragile than it is today.

By fighting and winning, the Salvadoran patriots and the whole of our people are making a contribution to the continuity of the revolutionary process in Central America and the cause of Nicaragua's defence, so ultimately advancing the democratic and national liberation movement in Latin America. And the successes are there for all to see. Fascist regimes implanted by the US imperialists in the south of our continent in the 1970s have recently been swept off the political stage. Fresh forces are now arising in that area: broad masses of Chileans are coming out against Pinochet's CIA-fostered bestial tyranny. Our impressive victories daily help to expose and neutralise the Reagan administration's brazen and aggressive policy both in its own country and in the international arena, and this, for its part, reinforces the struggle against imperialism and for world peace.

Such, in our judgement, is the only correct evaluation of the international significance of the Salvadoran people's struggle.

It has taken tremendous efforts to stand our ground and continue the offensive in a small country which has no common borders with any progressive state, which is close to the United States and is very far from the Soviet Union, and in order to resist US imperialism, which seeks to defeat us at any price. These efforts could be concentrated only through the unity of all the forces within the FMLN, its correct line, its solid alliance with the FDR-led democratic forces, the deep roots of the revolutionary process within the masses of working people and the people as a whole, and also the active international solidarity with our struggle.

How do the US administration and the Salvadoran dictatorship explain the obvious fact that their plans have failed?

They claim that the FMLN has been getting large consignments of weapons from the Soviet Union, Cuba and Nicaragua, but they cannot provide any hard evidence. Journalists of all ideological trends and different nationalities, including those from the United States, have unanimously reported from the war fronts in El Salvador that our fighters have been using US-made weapons identical with those the Reagan administration has been supplying to the dictatorship. For their part, the sophisticated US military intelligence services are perfectly aware that all this talk about a 'vast flood of arms' from Nicaragua is a lie. However, even if that had been true, it would not explain the results on the field of battle. After all, everyone, including the Pentagon, has admitted that the volume and firepower of the US weapons being delivered to the dictatorship's army are more than a hundred times greater than the volume of the alleged arms supplies from Nicaragua (to say nothing of the advisers, the training of the troops, the collaboration in military intelligence, and so on).

To this should be added the fact that the FMLN has no helicopters, planes, howitzers, light warships or armoured troop-carriers. Nor has anyone cast doubt on facts such as these: the FMLN has a contingent of officers and men which is only a small fraction of the enemy's; it controls no industry or trade; it does not receive tens of millions of dollars in the form of aid from abroad for the purchase of uniforms, foodstuffs, medicaments and means of transport; it is not served by a state machine, and lacks the immense resources available to the bourgeois clan of entrepreneurs. In

short, the FMLN is deprived of everything that the puppet regime's army has at its disposal.

The Reagan administration has yet another explanation of the defeats inflicted on reaction in El Salvador. US government officials reason on roughly these lines: 'Salvadoran military commanders are, with a few exceptions, incapable and corrupt, and fail to understand and assimilate what their advisers teach them; in contrast to US soldiers, who usually have ten years of schooling, Salvadoran soldiers have no more than four or five years, which is why the Salvadoran troops are incapable of absorbing modern knowledge; the government's civilian functionaries are also corrupt and this tends to reduce the effectiveness of US aid.'

We say nothing about the glaring and ever growing corruption of the officers and civilian functionaries—they were chosen by imperialism itself for its 'friends', and are being used as an instrument in 'defence of the free world' in our region—and so no one has any moral ground to complain about them. Let us consider the Salvadoran working people's alleged 'incapacity' to become excellent officers and soldiers.

More than 80 per cent of the FMLN fighters come from the working strata of town and country, and a large part of them join our ranks unable to read or write, undernourished and in poor health. All of that is a reflection, however partial, of our country's social realities: the result of the people's brutal exploitation by the insatiable oligarchy of the big landowners, industrialists, bankers, importers and exporters, and the monopolies of the United States and other countries. All of that puts limitations on us and demands of the FMLN great efforts to overcome the difficulties in the face of incredible privation. But these problems are also an indispensable component of the deep-seated motivations impelling the Salvadoran people to revolutionary action. Formed in such conditions, the principal forces of the FMLN have within their ranks experienced commanders and fighters well versed in the art of popular war in a small and densely populated country. By contrast, the enemy's soldiers, most of whom are doing a bad job at fighting (which gives the USA some ground for the numerous reproaches), become first-class fighters as soon as they go over to our side, bringing with them valuable military information.

In other words, there is obviously no ground for the claim that the Salvadoran working people are in some way 'inferior', that being a specimen of imperial arrogance and insulting disrespect for our people.

In sum, the FMLN is gaining the upper hand in the war because it is on the side of the people, the true and chief protagonist of the revolutionary war in El Salvador. The high moral spirit and combat efficiency of our officers and men stem from the fact that they are fighting for a just cause, and that is the reason for the striking contrast: the high combat qualities of our fighters, and the mediocrity of the puppet-army soldiers.

The FMLN is the guide, organiser, leader, armed hand and indisputable vanguard of the Salvadoran people. It is no exaggeration to say that it is blood of our people's blood and flesh of our people's flesh, its feelings, will and conscience.

Following a series of defeats, and being subjected to tough control by the Pentagon, the dictatorship's armed forces are beset by deep internal contradictions, and this, together with the fierce inter-factional strife in the reactionary camp, and the national economy in a shambles, tends to develop into a general crisis of the whole ruling forces bloc.

We have drawn a number of lessons from our experience, and they testify that the revolution can advance in the most difficult conditions if there is a united vanguard closely linked with the masses, equipped with the right revolutionary line, and displaying an unbending will and resolve to fulfil its historical mission and win. Any people will follow a vanguard with such qualities.

We have become convinced that offensive is the substance of revolution as a historical process, and that the main task is the winning of power and its defence.

There can be no truly revolutionary line without the prospect of power and without the continuity of offensive action, and without such a line it is impossible either to mobilise the masses or to lead them along the right way. Otherwise, the revolution will not develop and will mark time.

The FMLN-FDR's activity is a combination of armed struggle, and political and diplomatic struggle. In each of these lines, separately and taken together, we seek to maintain a continuous offensive. Such are the fundamental principles of revolutionary leadership stemming from our experience.

Apart from a correct understanding of the character of the revolution, sustained offensive action requires a build-up of forces at every stage, in the light of the actual conditions of the moment, and calls for organisation, direction and realisation of the consistent advance from one level of class struggle to the next, higher level, without in any way containing it or allowing it to stagnate.

Unless the vanguard carries the masses to higher stages of the struggle when the need for it has already matured, it ceases to be such a vanguard, and is faced with the threat of fragmenting into groups and factions, vegetating, and even integrating with the political mechanism supporting the system of 'one's own' and foreign exploiters. The class struggle does not allow of any 'intermediate position', or anything like a 'limbo'. Temporary retreats and zigzags, which are now and again indispensable, must go to reinforce and maintain the momentum of its offensive. Endless retreats or the marking of time signify an abandonment of the revolutionary content of the class struggle. That tends to feed the illusion, which has never been realised in life, that the rule of the exploiters, that exploitation itself can be eliminated and the country freed from the imperialist yoke by means of reforms, without any revolution.

The PCES does not lose sight of the fact that unity is the basic condition for rallying the working people and the popular masses to the revolutionary banners, something that is crucial for achieving and maintaining a solid alliance with all the other democratic and patriotic organisations. A divided and isolated vanguard cannot become the standard-bearer of democracy and national interests, without which it is impossible to confront imperialism and its lackeys either with a real force or an unbending will for struggle and victory, for them imperialism, with its immense wealth and military and political strength, will be able to prevent a revolution or crush it, even after power has been taken.

Life shows the great difference between the weight and influence exerted on the nation, the prestige and international support enjoyed by the revolutionary forces after unification, and in the period of division. Unity is something greater than the mere sum of its parts. It is a new quality: it is the formation and subsequent building of the vanguard.

The Salvadoran Communists' revolutionary line was worked out by our party's Seventh Congress in 1979, which ended the vacillations and slide down to reformism. The PCES has taken a fitting place among the participants in the Salvadoran people's heroic struggle, to which it has made a contribution of its own.

The Congress mapped out the line whose correctness has been borne out by years of persevering struggle, a line for unity of the revolutionary forces and participation in the armed struggle which is being realised consistently, and without inner vacillations.

The Fourth Plenary Meeting of the PCES CC was held in a FMLN-controlled zone in March and April 1984. Together with other items on the agenda, it considered the state of the party after the Seventh Congress, and drew the conclusion that the Congress formulations are being successfully translated into life: the PCES has become a participant in the alliance of the country's revolutionary forces. The first step along this way was the conclusion in 1979 of an agreement to set up the Military

Political Coordination Centre (CPM), which led to the subsequent formation of the FMLN.

Our party has been engaged in military operations since 1979, and took part in the general offensive of January 10, 1981. Since then, its military organisation—the Armed Forces of Liberation (FAL)—have been actively fighting within the FMLN on the battle fields of the popular war.

Ours is now a party at war, and that determines the nature of its tasks, its organisation, the style of its work and its ideological seasoning. We have set up grassroots party structures within FAL units, and also an intermediate echelon, thereby solving the difficult problem of ensuring direct leadership of our armed forces at every level. The Central Committee, the Political Commission, and the regional committees have become organs of political and military leadership, and our workers are now capable of tackling both political and military matters.

The party has also kept up its activity in the trade union movement, among the rural population, the students and the intelligentsia. We have been carrying on political work despite the brutal and bloody repression, which has cost the lives of many of our leaders, including some members of the Central Committee.

The party has set up and has ramified the network of its organisations in parts of the country where its influence before the war was weak. Extensive international activity has been started by experienced cadres in the countries of North America and in Latin American and European countries.

The PCES is now much stronger numerically and qualitatively, and is still growing.

A revolutionary situation took shape in El Salvador in the latter half of 1979 and the early half of 1980, and the unification of the progressive military and political organisations proceeded under its influence. A Revolutionary Coordination Centre of the Masses (CRM) was set up in January 1980, and a Programmatic Platform of a Democratic Revolutionary Government was subsequently worked out as the political basis for the alliance of all the left-wing and democratic forces within the FDR, which was set up in April.⁴

A strike movement of unprecedented proportions swept the country, peasants ever more frequently took over plots of land, and mass street demonstrations were staged (like the one in San Salvador on January 22, 1980, in which 300,000 people took part). All these actions, fuelled by the energy of the masses, went hand in hand with armed action by the emergent revolutionary army, which gained in strength in the fighting and was further qualitatively developed within the FMLN framework.

There was a growing readiness among the masses to risk life and limb and even to die for the triumph of the revolution, as was made evident from day to day over a period of months in the clashes in the streets which could not be prevented either by the brutal shootings, the wholesale arrests, abductions or killings by the regime's army and the police.

The economic crisis was sharply deepened. An acute struggle was under way within the ruling classes, and a split developed in the army.

However, the fact that no unity had been achieved among the opponents of the regime in the previous years hampered the timely maturing of the subjective prerequisites of revolution, the formation of its vanguard, the overcoming of hegemonism within its ranks, and the elaboration of a plan for joint action in organising and staging an uprising.

Nevertheless, the favourable situation was used, and on January 10, 1981, the FMLN started its offensive, so inaugurating the people's revolutionary war and the strengthening of our armed forces, which are the concentration of a large part of the vast social energy of the masses awakened by the revolutionary situation. In other words, the inadequate development of the subjective factor was overcome in the course of the military operations, which helped to build up and give stature to the

revolutionary vanguard. That blocked the bourgeois way out of the structural crisis and, in consequence, the period of the general revolutionary situation was prolonged.

Up until the beginning of 1984¹, the puppet dictatorship managed to retain control in the capital and the major cities, and also in the western part of the country, a brutal control based on terrorism and genocide. In these zones are concentrated the most progressive, battle-hardened and organised masses of working people, the hard core of the working class, the intelligentsia, the students and the rural proletariat. That is where the most important class battles were fought in the past, including the 1932 uprising, the April, May and December actions of 1944, the large-scale disturbances of August-October 1960, which almost developed into armed clashes, and the events of October 1979-June 1980.

A fresh tide of mass action is gathering momentum in San Salvador and other cities. At the same time, we have started guerrilla struggles in their environs, stepped up armed action in the area of the capital, and have initiated vigorous combat operations and organisational work in the west of the country, the enemy's 'quiet' hinterland.

There is no doubt that the FMLN will continue to grow and develop through the involvement in direct revolutionary struggle of vast contingents of the forward-looking population in the heartland of the territory controlled by the enemy. It may appear to be incredible, but it is a fact that in the four years of war, the energy and forces of the heroic, even if small, Salvadoran people have not yet been fully deployed. There is in reserve an impressive part of its revolutionary potential, which is bound to unfold fully in the coming battles.

There is now evidence of factors which must produce a new revolutionary situation. In contrast to the 1979-1980 period, we have a united and experienced vanguard, which is battle-hardened in fighting against the armed forces. This makes it possible to conduct an active policy of offensive in the military political and diplomatic fields, and to have more solid, more extensive and diverse ties with the masses, and also developed international relations.

The dawn of the Salvadoran people's victory, for which it has shed and continues to shed so much blood is not far off. The dark night of genocide is nearing its end. But that is precisely why there is now a growing danger of direct armed aggression by the United States.

Together with the democratic forces of Central America and the rest of the world, including the progressive and sober-minded circles in the United States itself, the FMLN-FDR are fighting and doing their utmost to prevent the imperialist aggressors from invading either Nicaragua or El Salvador, or both at once. We are working hard to achieve a political—fair and dignified—settlement of the armed conflict through negotiation. Together with the people of Honduras, the Salvadoran patriots are fighting for an end to the US military presence in the country, for frustrating the Pentagon's plans to turn its territory into a permanent base of aggressions against the Central American and Caribbean peoples. In short, we are fighting for the right to self-determination and peace for our own people and for all the other fraternal peoples.

The FMLN-FDR are simultaneously working in every field to prepare the masses for repulsing and defeating any direct armed intervention by US imperialism in the event this project of Reagan's is carried out, despite the resistance which it is meeting in the United States itself and throughout the world.

¹ In 1932, General Martínez's reactionary dictatorship swamped in blood one of the major revolutionary actions in the whole history of Central America, when nearly 30,000 workers, peasants, students and progressive intellectuals were killed including nearly all the PCES leaders. In 1944, a civilian-backed section of the armed forces came out against the Martínez tyranny, and this was followed by a general political strike, which toppled the dictatorship in spite of brutal repression.—Ed.

² The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), which emerged in 1980, is a military and political alliance of five left-wing insurgent organisations, including the military formations of the PCES. The author of this article, Schafik Handál, is a member of the FMLN General Command. The Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) is a political association (1980), which is much broader in composition and includes more than 100 political, trade union, public and other mass organisations opposing the puppet regime.—*Ed.*

³ For details see Jaime Barrios, 'Combat Drive and Political Initiative', *WMR*, No. 4, 1983.

⁴ For details see Ruben Sanchez, Orlando Millas, 'Resolutions Are Never the Same', *WMR*, No. 4, 1982.

40th Anniversary of Victory Over Fascism Remembering the Past to Shape the Present

Ezekias Papaioannou – CC General
Secretary, Progressive Party of the Working
People of Cyprus (AKEL)

IT will soon be 40 years since the great victory of the anti-fascist forces in World War II. A great deal is known and has been written about the events of the time. But as I witnessed and took part in some of those events, I believe this is a suitable occasion to look back at past history and recall its lessons. This may be useful to the postwar generation and instructive for anyone who wants to draw on past experience and for the millions fighting to safeguard peace and prevent a third world war that would be thermonuclear if it came.

The victory over fascism was won in unprecedentedly hard and bloody battles, at the cost of 50 million lives, including those of 20 million Soviet people. It opened a new stage of history characterised by the downfall of colonialism, the achievement of independence by many peoples and the establishment of a socialist system in a number of countries.

The Soviet Union, a creation of the Great October Socialist revolution, was the chief military, moral and political force that defeated the fascist hordes. This is why humanity owes an immense debt to the first and biggest socialist country.

After the fascists had seized power in Italy and then in Germany, the Berlin-Rome Axis came into being and was subsequently joined by imperialist Japan. This provided the prerequisites for three-power aggression against independent nations. Hitler Germany was the leading force of the Axis.

In both Italy and Germany, the imposition of fascist regimes was made possible by divisions among the democratic forces due primarily to the Social Democrats' attitude. These underestimated the danger and rejected cooperation with the Communists and other democrats although it would have helped stop fascism. Had the social democratic parties of these countries agreed to form a united front with the Communists or other anti-fascist political blocs, I believe things would have taken a different turn and the fascists would have been barred from power.¹ The inference is clear: fascism cannot win where the working class and progressive, democratic forces act together.

The seizure of Manchuria by Japan in 1931, with West European countries and the USA offering no resistance, whetted the appetite of fascist Italy. In 1935 Italy attacked Abyssinia. In this case as previously, bourgeois democracies refused to proceed with determination in order to halt the aggressor; they failed to close the

Suez Canal,² through which Italian troops and military supplies were shipped to Abyssinia.

Republican Spain was a third object of fascism's preparations for World War II. There the Popular Front, composed of several democratic parties and the General Union of Workers, won parliamentary elections and formed a government. And then home reaction, above all army officers led by the fascist general Francisco Franco, staged a rebellion.

The counter-revolution would have been routed in the very first days of the rebellion had the military forces of the Popular Front been properly armed and led by a unified command. However, the formation of a unified command was opposed by the Iberian Anarchists Federation for one, which had a powerful military organisation. And when its leader, Buenaventura Durruti, finally accepted the idea he was killed by his own followers.

Meanwhile major troop contingents arrived from Germany and Italy as well as the Spanish colonial zone in Morocco to aid Franco. As the result of a war which lasted from 1936 to 1939, he succeeded with the support of 300,000 Italian, German and Moroccan troops in overthrowing the democratically elected, legitimate government of the country and in establishing a dictatorship that held power for about 40 years. And once again the Western powers—their policy of 'non-intervention'—helped the aggressor, this time in imposing fascism on Spain.

Soviet Union was the only country to back the Popular Front government to the extent that its geographical situation made possible.³ A splendid example of international solidarity with Spain's democrats was set by the approximately 35,000-strong International Brigades. By fighting on Spanish soil and shedding their blood, they created an excellent tradition of militant anti-fascist solidarity that went down in history. I had the privilege of fighting in their ranks along with 80 other Cypriot Communists. Fourteen of them fell doing their internationalist duty.

The occupation of Manchuria by the Japanese militarists and of Abyssinia by Italy plus the success of the German-Italian aggression against Republican Spain encouraged the fascist Axis powers to go to war in a bid for world domination.

In 1938 Germany annexed Austria. Nevertheless, the Western powers did nothing to prevent the aggressor from swallowing one country after another. When Czechoslovakia's turn came Britain and France delivered it to Hitler by signing with him the Munich agreements, an act of the most disgraceful betrayal.

I remember that on the night when the British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, came back from Munich I spoke to a rally near London's Victoria Station. Official propaganda made a fuss the day before, claiming that Chamberlain was bringing peace from Munich,⁴ and many Britons believe it. When I told my British audience that the Prime Minister had brought war and not peace some flung insults at me, telling me to 'go back to Cyprus', occupied and turned into a colony by the British.

After Hitler's seizure of Czechoslovakia the Soviet Union continued in accordance with its policy for a collective security system in Europe to work for the formation of a united front against the aggressor. On March 18, 1939, it proposed to hold immediately a conference on measures against further aggression. Chamberlain rejected the proposal, calling it 'premature'. Whether it was 'premature' was shown by the fact that a mere four days later, March 22, Germany seized the Lithuanian seaport of Klaipeda (Memel) and that on April 7 Italy invaded Albania.

In the meantime action by democratic opinion in favour of signing a treaty with the Soviet Union assumed such proportions that Britain and France were compelled to agree to talks. The Soviet Union proposed a pact on mutual aid against aggression providing, furthermore, for the granting of collective guarantees to other countries.

There followed weeks and months of procrastination and sabotage by the

Chamberlain cabinet. First of all, it wanted the Soviet Union to commit itself unilaterally to aid victims of aggression but refused to make similar commitments in regard to the Soviet Union. Second, it did not want guarantees to extend to neighbours of the Soviet Union, such as Finland, Latvia or Estonia. Third, it refused to act in the event of indirect German aggression in the form of blackmail and threats against other states designed to force them into accepting the Nazis' demands 'of their own free will'.⁵

Inasmuch as the British and French governments, acting in concert, were stalling in various ways, it was becoming increasingly clear that they had no intention of concluding a treaty of mutual aid with the Soviet Union and only wanted to go on hoodwinking public opinion. Seeing this, the Soviet Union insisted on specifying the contribution which each of the three countries was willing to make in order to repulse aggression. In response to its proposal (July 1939) for talks to be held by military missions, Britain and France sent delegations to Moscow. However, these were made up of subalterns and not of competent and high-ranking military men as the situation required. Besides, when the delegations arrived in Moscow it turned out that they had no authority to make any decisions.

At the military missions' talks the Soviet Union declared that its armed forces could take a real part in joint operations to stop aggression only by assisting Polish troops on Poland's own territory. If Warsaw agreed, the Soviet Union would be ready to use the whole power of its ground and air forces in any battle which Germany might impose on Poland. However, the Polish government refused, not without instigation from Britain and France, to admit Soviet army units into Polish territory on any condition whatever.

With World War II already on, former British Prime Minister David Lloyd George sharply criticised the Chamberlain cabinet in the press. He wrote that there was no denying the tremendous opportunities which an offensive against Germany by powerful Soviet armies would have presented to Britain in the war. He stressed that this was precisely the plan proposed by Kliment Voroshilov, People's Commissar for Defence of the USSR, at the military missions' talks. In conclusion Lloyd George demanded that those responsible for depriving Britain of Soviet support be called to account and severely punished.

What the rulers of Britain and France were trying hard to bring about, however, was to set Germany against the USSR. In these circumstances the Soviet Union, seeing that hopes of forming a common front against the aggressor were fading, was compelled to take an alternative step by signing a non-aggression treaty with Germany. This was to enable it to gain time in the face of the growing war menace.

On September 1, 1939 Hitler Germany attacked Poland. On September 3, Britain and France declared war on Germany. What was the nature of that war? Who is responsible for it? Primarily Germany and the other Axis powers, of course. But also those bourgeois democratic governments whose position encouraged Hitler to make further conquests and did nothing to stop aggression. Much of the responsibility falls on the Social Democrats, since they rejected cooperation with the communist parties aimed at eliminating the fascist threat.

The war was imperialist; for the peoples attacked by the Axis powers, however, it was an anti-fascist, national liberation war. The working class had a special role to play in it. After all, fascism is nothing but the most inhuman manifestation of capitalism; it tries to do away with all the achievements of the working people and to exploit them by the most brutal, most merciless methods.

The progress of the war showed that the Western powers had underrated the aggressor's strength. Having entrenched themselves behind the Maginot line,⁶ they imagined that the Wehrmacht would be unable to break through it. But the Germans outflanked the French fortifications in the north and the front collapsed a few days

after. In June 1940 Paris was surrendered and Marshal Henri Pétain the traitor signed the capitulation of France. The British expeditionary force was evacuated via Dunkerque. It was not long before Germany began massive air raids on Britain.

World War II found me in London. I volunteered for the Royal Air Force as a pilot but the medical board declared me unfit. I wonder whether their decision was also prompted by political considerations. After that I volunteered for London's ARP.

I was assigned along with a Scotsman working for the same employer as myself a neighbourhood beyond Oxford Street and Regent Street. We had to put out fire-bombs and tell people to take cover in a shelter when time-bombs were dropped.

We used sand to put out the bombs. Some of them were very large and we were expected to cover them with nearly three inches of sand in roughly three minutes to keep them from exploding and causing a fire. My companion was a supporter of Chamberlain. One night Hitler's air force carried out a particularly heavy raid on London. It was my turn to rest and I was sleeping in a campbed. Suddenly the Scotsman shouted: 'The bombs are coming thick and fast, get up, let's put them out!' Dead tired of overstrain and lack of sleep, I told him to ask his friend Chamberlain to do it because he had brought war and not peace from Munich and yet I had been insulted for saying so. But I got up, of course, and we put out as many bombs as we could.

The Nazis bombed London every night and sometimes they did it by day. Quite often we escaped death by mere chance. The British were short of planes and their air defence was inadequate—a further sign of underestimation of the Axis powers' strength.

However Hitler decided not to invade the British Isles at that stage. One of the reasons was, in all likelihood, his overestimation of the strength of Britain as well as his desire to set it against the Soviet Union. (It will be recalled that to this end Rudolf Hess, Hitler's deputy in the Nazi party, was sent on a special mission to Britain in May 1941.)

Greece was the next victim of aggression. In October 1940 it was attacked by Italy, which met, however, heroic resistance from the Greek army backed by the people. The Greeks saw the war as a just one for all that ever since 1936 their country had been ruled by a fascist dictatorship under General Ionnes Metaxas. The aggressor was defeated for the first time since the beginning of World War II; this was done in Albania by the Greek army.⁷ However, Mussolini's German ally came to his aid. Due to the enemy's enormous superiority in strength, Greece could not resist for long.⁸

On December 18, 1940 Hitler signed a plan entitled 'Directive No. 21, case Barbarossa'. It set out the general idea of a war against the Soviet Union and contained instructions on waging it. The strategic foundation of the plan was the idea of a blitzkrieg envisaging the defeat of the Soviet Union in from eight to ten weeks.

Before the attack on the USSR, the three Axis powers signed a military alliance among themselves.⁹ Hitler also prevailed on Finland, Hungary and Romania to join actively in preparations for aggression against the socialist country. Germany was backed by the puppet governments of Slovakia and Croatia; Franco Spain, the reactionary rulers of Bulgaria, the collaborationist Vichy regime of France, Portugal and Turkey cooperated with it.

To carry out the 'Barbarossa' plan, the Nazis made use of the economic and manpower resources of occupied Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Yugoslavia and other countries, or almost the whole of Europe. Germany and these countries had a population of nearly 300 million. The Soviet Union was also threatened by militarist Japan.

The Nazi leaders were so confident of being able to put their schemes into effect that in the spring of 1941 they proceeded to evolve the subsequent strategy of winning

world domination. The supreme command of the Wehrmacht made an entry in its official diary saying that after the completion of the eastern campaign Hitler intended to seize Afghanistan and prepare for an attack on India. These operations were to be carried out late in the autumn of 1941 and in the winter of 1941/42. They were written into Directive No. 32, which dealt with preparations for the period 'after the realisation of the Barbarossa plan'.

Hitler's strategists were going to proceed in the autumn of 1941 to the conquest of Iran, Iraq, Egypt and the Suez Canal zone, and subsequently India, where they expected to join hands with Japanese troops. They planned to annex Spain and Portugal, take possession of Gibraltar, cut off Britain from its raw material sources and lay siege to it. Thereupon the Nazis intended to 'eliminate Anglo-Saxon influence in North America'. To this end they were preparing to land large forces on the east coast of Canada and the USA from bases in Greenland, Iceland, the Azores and Brazil and on the west coast, from bases on the Aleutians and Hawaiians. They regarded the blitzkrieg against the Soviet Union as a decisive prerequisite for conquering the world.

On June 22, 1941 Nazi Germany moved huge forces unprecedented in history against the Soviet Union: 190 divisions, over 4,000 tanks, about 5,000 aircraft and nearly 200 warships.¹⁰

As a result of their treacherous attack in an undeclared war, the German troops succeeded in capturing the initiative for a time and in overrunning a considerable part of the Soviet Union's European territory. But in spite of enormous difficulties, the Soviet people and their army, led by the Leninist party, withstood the invasion, changed the balance of forces and struck crushing blows at the aggressor. It was on the Soviet-German front that the offensive of fascism's hordes was irrevocably stopped for the first time and that three-quarters of the Wehrmacht's manpower and material was destroyed in the war years.

In the very first days of the aggression the CPSU and the Soviet government declared that the goal of the patriotic war against the German fascist invaders was not only to remove the danger threatening the USSR but to help all the countries fighting against fascism. 'In this great war,' Joseph Stalin stressed in his speech to the Soviet people on July 3, 1941, 'the peoples of Europe and America will be our loyal allies. . . . Our war for the freedom of our country will merge with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic freedoms.'¹¹

These words of Stalin's were a call for the formation of an anti-Nazi alliance of peoples and states. The Soviet Union's efforts for the establishment of a collective security system in prewar years paved the way for the future anti-Hitler coalition. And while bourgeois governments of the West failed at the time to respond to the Soviet Union's proposal, the USSR defeated, none the less, the attempts to set up a common anti-Soviet front and awakened politicians and the general public in capitalist countries to the need for extensive cooperation to beat fascism.

The heroism of the Soviet people and their army and the untold sacrifices made by them in fighting against the Nazi monster earned them the sympathy and admiration of the whole of freedom-loving humanity. Faced with an extremely dangerous enemy and hard pressed by their peoples, the British and US governments had to accept military and political cooperation with the USSR.

In December 1941 the USA and some other countries joined in World War II. The alliance of the states at war with the fascist Axis powers was strengthened by the Declaration of United Nations which representatives of 26 states signed on January 1, 1942 in Washington. The signatories included the Soviet Union, USA, Britain, China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, India, Canada and Yugoslavia.

On a proposal from the Soviet Union, a most important provision was included in the introductory part of the Declaration. It said that a complete victory over the

aggressors was necessary for defending the lives, freedom and independence of nations and for preserving human rights and justice. The signatories pledged to use all their military and economic resources against the Axis, cooperate among themselves and refrain from signing a separate peace or armistice with the enemy.

Although the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and Britain and the United States, on the other, signed in 1941 and 1942 agreements and treaties on mutual aid, the Soviet Union bore the brunt of the resistance to the fascist aggression. The Anglo-American imperialists believed at first that it would be unable to withstand the onslaught of Germany and would only hold out a few weeks or at best months. On seeing Hitler's hordes stopped on the Soviet-German front, where they suffered huge casualties, the rulers of Britain and the USA adopted the tactic of doing nothing and sabotaging the agreements. They calculated that the war would exhaust the Soviet Union and enable them to impose on the peoples the kind of peace they wanted, a peace meeting their interests. This is why the Western powers kept from opening a second front until June 1944.

Less than twenty years after its formation the multinational Soviet Union was put to an unprecedented trial. The years of the Great Patriotic War were a period of the most exacting test of the foundations on which the Leninist national policy rests. The results of the test were truly impressive. Operating in incredibly adverse conditions, the USSR showed how very wrong were those who had looked on it as a 'colossus with feet of clay' that would allegedly collapse under the aggressor's blows, being shaken from within by centrifugal, separatist forces. The peoples of the Land of Soviets furnished proof of their indestructible unity and their cohesion around the Communist Party.

The victorious battles of Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad and Kursk and many other military operations went down in the history as battles that decided the destiny of humanity. The battle of Stalingrad, which lasted four months, was followed with bated breath by all freedom-loving peoples; the whole world was eager to know whether or not Stalingrad would fall. The answer was given by the invincible Red Army, by the courageous Soviet people. In Stalingrad they fought for every neighbourhood, every street and every house. They not only held the city but turned World War II.

I remember those four crucial months very well. The British press carried reports on the battle of Stalingrad every day as the principal news. The working people read these reports attentively, rightly considering that the fate of Britain, too, hinged on the outcome of that battle. However, it was going to decide not only the destiny of Britain but that of the world.

At the London factory where I worked, reports on the progress of the battle were a daily topic. Members of the management often joined in discussion at the lunch break. From the first to the last day of the battle, I affirmed during those discussions that the city would hold out. I spoke with such deep conviction that many said my 'Communist fanaticism' blinded me even to the fact that Stalingrad had fallen already. Shortly afterwards, reality showed who was right.

One morning, after a night raid during which I had had to put out many bombs, I had no time to buy my paper on my way to work. When I stepped into the shop everybody stared at me in silence. The manager came over and asked: 'How did you know Stalingrad wouldn't fall?' They showed me a report on the Soviet counter-offensive and I realised why the question was asked. Some had come to the conclusion that since I had claimed for four months running that Stalingrad would hold out it could only mean that I had 'special information' or was a 'Soviet agent'.

This digression into the sphere of personal experience should give an idea of the psychological atmosphere in the capitalist West during the war.

The powerful offensive of the Red Army, which began with the defeat and

capturing of a whole Nazi army at Stalingrad and ended in raising the glorious Soviet flag atop the Reichstag in Berlin, led to the liberation of Europe and to the collapse of the Wehrmacht and the Nazi regime.

The Soviet Union and its valiant armed forces saved humanity from the Nazi enslavement threatening it: they made countless sacrifices to free the peoples of the fascist-occupied countries. Even fanatical anti-communists, such as Churchill, had to admit the Soviet Union's decisive contribution to the great victory.

Resistance throughout occupied Europe played its part in the defeat of fascism. The Soviet, Polish and Yugoslav guerrillas, the Greek National Liberation Army, the Resistance fighters in France and other countries constantly inflicted telling losses on the enemy and hastened by their heroism the long-awaited liberation from the invaders. The Communists and their parties were the core and main force of this movement, which began during the anti-fascist struggle in Spain.

Tens of thousands of sons of the peoples of colonial countries fought in the ranks of Allied, primarily British troops. For them, the war against fascism was also a battle for a better social organisation of the world and the destruction of the chains of colonialism. My small country alone mustered 30,000 anti-fascist fighters—Greek and Turkish Cypriots. They included hundreds of AKEL members, who volunteered for military service in response to the appeal sent out by our Central Committee on June 16, 1943. Their confidence in victory and their energy added to the morale of the Cypriot fighters' pledge to liberation.

As regards the ruling quarters of Britain and the USA, they delayed the opening of a second front in Europe until they saw that the Red Army, which was advancing irresistibly, was equal to defeating the enemy unaided. The second front was only opened on June 6, 1944 with the landing of Allied troops on the north-western coast of France. It took Britain and the USA 18 months to prepare for the operation. The Allies had three times as many troops and tanks and 60 times as many aircraft as the enemy plus absolute superiority at sea. The German troops stationed in Western Europe were much weaker, for the Wehrmacht had sent its main forces to the Eastern Front.

Even so, on December 16, 1944, the German fascist troops mounted a strong surprise offensive north of the Antwerp-Brussels-Luxembourg line. The US divisions retreated. The attacks on their positions were extremely fierce and losses were very heavy. Early in January, 1945 General George Patton of the USA wrote in his diary that Britain and the United States might yet lose the war.

On January 6, 1945 Churchill asked the Soviet leadership to order a Red Army offensive with a view to easing enemy pressure on the Western Front. The USSR rushed to the Allies' aid. Afterwards General Dwight Eisenhower, Commander of the Allied forces, admitted in a report to the US government that without that aid the US troops would have found themselves in a very difficult situation.

Today the imperialists distort history by asserting that Europe was freed by the United States and Britain. This prompts me to say again that humanity owes its liberation primarily to the Soviet Union; but for the Soviet Union, fascism could have taken possession of the world.

The chief lesson to be learnt from the history of World War II is that it could have been averted had a united front of peace-loving peoples taken a stand against fascism in time. This lesson is all the more valid today.

Forty years after victory over fascism, the United States lays claim to world domination. It is the USA that is preparing for a surprise nuclear strike against the Soviet Union and is therefore siting Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe and other parts of the globe. It is the United States that is deploying intercontinental MX missiles and militarising space as it prepares for 'star wars' against the Soviet Union. The US imperialists are following in Hitler's footsteps, imagining that they

can impose their will on the world if they achieve military superiority. They try to speak from positions of strength, forgetting that times have changed. The peoples' victory over fascism in World War II created an entirely new situation in the world. The US leaders also forget that the USSR will never allow them to gain military superiority. It should be perfectly clear that the Soviet Union can only agree to parity of strength. And it has demonstrated more than once that its words and deeds are never at variance.

A powerful peace movement is under way all over the planet, a movement committed to stave off a nuclear disaster. It is more and more evident that the struggle against imperialism and for national independence, democracy and social progress is also a struggle for peace. The anti-imperialist solidarity of peoples, with the world communist movement as its most active force, is the decisive factor in this struggle. It was thanks largely to this solidarity that heroic Vietnam defeated the US aggressor, thereby ensuring its independent development and social progress and, moreover, dealing a blow to imperialism's hegemonistic ambitions. Today this solidarity helps Nicaragua defend its sovereignty. It is the mainstay of the growing resistance of the Cypriot people to the occupation of part of their country and to its transformation into a US and NATO bridgehead.

The war danger threatening humanity is very great again. Only by implementing the Soviet peace proposals, which meet support among the overwhelming majority of people the world over, is it possible to pave the way for an end to the nuclear arms race and for detente and greater international security. None but the most vigorous efforts by all nations can safeguard lasting peace. And this is what the great victory over fascism calls for today, 40 years on.

¹ The Popular Front formed in France in 1935 played a big role in mobilising the people to resist the fascist threat.—Ed.

² The canal was owned by British and French capital, which operated it through the Suez Canal Company.—Ed.

³ The Soviet Union supplied Republican Spain with foodstuffs, medicines and armaments. About 3,000 Soviet volunteers fought on the Republicans' side. The USSR also defended the Spanish people's interests in various international organisations, including the League of Nations.—Ed.

⁴ In exchange for Britain's betrayal of Czechoslovakia, Hitler agreed to sign a German-British declaration tantamount to a non-aggression pact. Afterwards Germany broke it in the same way as all its other international commitments.—Ed.

⁵ This approach could not serve as the basis for a front of peace-loving European countries. The Soviet government's answer made the following point: 'The absence of guarantees for the USSR on the part of Britain and France in the event of a direct attack by aggressors, on the one hand, and the exposed state of the north-western frontier of the USSR, on the other, may serve as a provoking circumstance for directing aggression towards the Soviet Union.'—Ed.

⁶ Fortifications built by France along the French-German border.—Ed.

⁷ The Greek rulers led by Metaxas had no intention of offering serious resistance to the invaders. But the people rose to defend the sovereignty and independence of their country. In an atmosphere of great patriotic enthusiasm, the Greek army succeeded early in November 1940 in pushing the Italian troops back into Albanian territory and then in taking the counter-offensive.—Ed.

⁸ A powerful Resistance developed in Greece during the occupation. In October 1944 it freed the whole country from the fascist invaders.

⁹ The three-power pact was signed on September 27, 1940 in Berlin. Its signatories came to terms on the division of the world into spheres of influence and on closer coordination of their activities.—Ed.

¹⁰ This includes the armed forces which Germany's satellites had deployed at the borders of the USSR by then. See *Istoria vtoroi mirovoi voyny, 1939-1945*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1974, p. 341.—Ed.

¹¹ *Vneshnaya Politika Sovetskogo Soyuza v period Otechestvennoi voyny*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1944, pp. 29-30.—Ed.

the party

Communist Congresses

For an Advanced Democracy

Edgar Caicedo – CC member,
Colombian Communist Party (CCP)

Colombia

THE 14th Congress of the CCP was held in November 1984, just when there was evidence of a new political situation taking shape in the country. There was recognition of the CPSU's 1980 proposal on the need to start a process of democratisation, and the country is now living in a state of armistice between the guerrilla movement and the government. It is also a time of nation-wide discussion and struggle for approval of institutional reforms, which should lead to important progressive changes in the existing system.

The Colombia Communists are consistently pressing for the liquidation of the regime of 'restricted democracy', so as to extend and deepen the mass struggle and go on to a pluralistic advanced democracy with power exercised by a broad coalition of democratic forces. That is why the Congress held its sessions under the 'For an Advanced Democracy' slogan. Our advocacy of the winning of social and political reforms and democratisation of institutions does not imply any restoration of the old bourgeois democracy, which for our people also meant exploitation and oppression, but the creation of conditions for revolutionary mass action for real and radical change. We remember Lenin's idea that 'the development of democracy sharpens rather than dampens the class struggle'.¹

Our Congress met to analyse the changes in the country's political life over the last two years of the presidency of Julio César Turbay Ayala and the early years of the administration of Belisario Betancur. Over these four years, the class struggle has been axacerbated to an almost unprecedented extent. The action of the masses has been steadily rising in quality and assuming new and diverse forms. There was greater evidence of revolutionary and democratic forces, which to some extent repulsed the retrograde circles seeking to continue the repressions and to impede positive changes.

The Congress was held in a difficult and contradiction-saturated atmosphere in which the Communists' responsibility to the people had markedly increased and in which their voice was ever more attentively heard by the masses. It successfully

fulfilled the tasks before it, scrupulously observing the norms of inner-party democracy. The grassroots organisations started a discussion of its theses, on which the Central Committee Report was based, four months before the Congress opened. There was also a preliminary examination of a report on work in the masses. Many of the Communists' opinions were published in eight issues of a special newspaper *Tribune del Congreso*, and the discussion culminated in 30 regional and zonal conferences, with the Congress summing up its eventual results. The Congress was attended by almost 600 delegates.

The Congress clearly showed our party's internationalist positions. The delegates warmly approved the resolutions of solidarity with the peoples' struggle for freedom, and against dictatorial regimes, voiced warm sympathies for the Cuban Revolution, the Nicaragua of the Sandinists, and the Salvadoran patriots. There was a proposal to set up a broad anti-imperialist front against the US intervention in Central America and the dictates of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). There was emphasis on the pressing need to intensify action in Colombia for world peace. The CCP also believes that its duty is to go on promoting the unity of the international communist movement. The Congress was attended by highly representative delegations from 20 fraternal parties from Latin America and Europe, including the USSR, Cuba, GDR, Czechoslovakia and other socialist community countries.

Despite the attempts by reaction to gloss over the Congress in silence, there was a noticeable response to it in the national mass media. In this context, CCP CC Executive Committee member Alvaro Vásquez wrote in the weekly *Voz*: 'The importance of our Congress is nothing but a reflection of the new political role which the Left is beginning to play.'²

In Colombia, power is held by a compact oligarchy which owns large industrial and commercial enterprises, the banking system and the latifundia. The mix of interests, in which finance capital predominates, and in which each sector or groups is jockeying for the most advantageous position, has produced the closed and exclusive political system that accords with the monopoly concentration of the economy. The country's presidential system has heavily curtailed the powers of parliament and the other elective bodies. It is a veritable bipartisan system, with the traditional bourgeois parties—the Liberal and the Conservative—taking turns on a parity basis in running the government under a pact which has been constitutionally legitimated. Under the so-called National Front (1958-1974), their representatives took turns in filling the presidential office.

All of this has made it easier for the bourgeoisie to subject the working people to super-exploitation. The 'neoliberal model' of economic policy may have benefited one set of monopoly circles or another, whatever the economic outlook, by maximising their profits, but it has not brought about an overall economic upswing, and has not helped to avoid the worst effects of the crisis that have further worsened the people's condition.

Neglect of the social problems of the masses and persecution of the trade unions have been a common feature of the alternating governments. The major strikes were banned and put down with the force of arms. The result has been a growth of pauperism. Today, 'almost 55 per cent of the wage-workers have incomes on or below the level of the official minimum wage, which makes it possible to satisfy even half a family's elementary wants'.³

The illusory rights and freedoms of citizens are being constantly violated, and a state of siege has existed in the country virtually without interruption for the past 36 years. With it as a shield, the reactionary militarists, fostered in the spirit of the imperialist 'national security' doctrine and infected with rabid anti-communism, have stepped up their intervention in the government's affairs and the persecution of and

terrorism against the people, a practice enshrined as official policy and most sharply stepped up under President Turbay Ayala.

Despite the authorities' resort to violence, the people have never stopped fighting, and their combat experience in the recent period includes: strikes by workers demanding higher wages; civilian strikes in protest against poor communal services and high charges for them; meetings in defence of human rights; and participation in electoral campaigns. The people have also resorted to the higher forms of struggle by starting a guerrilla movement, which has staged a number of major operations in several parts of the country.

In other words, the Colombian people have stood up both for their immediate and their long-term interests, making use of every form of struggle, ranging from legal to armed action. While the latter form has not assumed a universal character and has not become the principal one, it has been developed even in the absence of a revolutionary situation. Let us emphasise that this form of struggle accords with the historical traditions of peasant resistance. It was not foisted artificially, but originated in response to the violence of the authorities.

The CCP, feeling the pulse of the peoples and aware of the actual conditions of the revolutionary process, has based its tactics on a combination of various forms of struggle. In accordance with Lenin's conception, we take a historical approach to this matter, and seek to learn from the masses before trying to teach them. Lenin says: 'Marxism differs from all primitive forms of socialism by not binding the movement to any one particular form of struggle. It recognises the most varied forms of struggle; and it does not "concoct" them, but only generalises, organises, gives conscious expression to those forms of struggle of the revolutionary classes which arise of themselves in the course of the movement.'⁴

At one point in his administration, and in view of the growing political pressure and demands for an end to the militaristic violence, Turbay Ayala resorted to the trick of declaring a partial and variously hedged amnesty in the hope of getting the guerrilla movement to surrender. But such an 'amnesty' was rejected. The idea of a genuine and democratic general amnesty put forward by the progressive circles has, however, won recognition because it met our people's long-cherished desire for peace.

Having analysed the existing situation, the CCP said that while the oligarchic system was daily becoming more rightist and dictatorial, the attempts by reaction and militarism to crush the working class movement and isolate the revolutionary forces met with massive resistance, while the line of fascicising the regime was spreading indignation among broad public strata. These can be curtailed, the party said, for the democratic forces have enough reserves capable of uniting for this purpose. The party called on the masses to join in the battle for democratisation. The 13th Congress of the CCP in 1980 emphasised that 'our main task at this stage is to contain and then to defeat the offensive by militarism, and to prevent the development of the reactionary trends now dominant within the country's leadership', and stressed the 'need for a turn leading to the start of democratisation'.⁵

As Betancur assumed the presidential duties (August 1982), he announced his intention to speed up the search of ways to peace. At his inauguration he declared: 'No more shedding of Colombian blood!'. Peace was, in fact, one of the central themes of the electoral campaign which led to his victory. He took the popular mood into account and made the new mandate the keynote of his administration.

Both his domestic and foreign policy differed markedly from the old ones. Colombia's adherence to the non-aligned movement (even if without any commitments on fundamental principles), and active participation in the Contradora groups are the two most important aspects of international relations which the CCP has qualified as positive. Betancur also promoted the approval by parliament of a new amnesty law that was general and unconditional. This led to the immediate release of

about 500 political prisoners. He started a wide-ranging dialogue at the highest level with all the parties, including the left, and began to negotiate (directly or through a special 'peace commission') with the guerrilla units, which later led to the signing of a cease-fire agreement and an armistice.

The 14th Congress reaffirmed the evaluation which the CCP leadership had given to the Betancur government, whose policy was marked by a new style and which 'reflected not only the processes developing within the Colombian bourgeoisie, but also those maturing on the scale of the continent'. This was chiefly a reference to the effects of the Sandinist Victory in Nicaragua and the outcome of the war over the Malvinas. But in class make-up, the regime continued to be an oligarchic one, with power remaining in the hands of the big monopoly bourgeoisie, and with an even greater pull by industrial groups. This has predetermined Betancur's contradictory line and 'explains both the positive aspects and its deep limitations'.⁶ In certain circumstances, the bourgeoisie could retreat in the political field under mass pressure in order to preserve the existing system and to ensure its domination. But it is absolutely intransigent when it comes to profits. That is why the President wants to ease the economic crisis by means of pragmatic measures designed to safeguard the interests of the monopolies at any price, at the expense of the working people's incomes. Meanwhile, his labour policy in no way differs from that of his predecessors. All of this, taken together, has eroded the conservative President's prestige.

Nor has the government been consistent in seeking the country's pacification through a dialogue with the revolutionary movement and an agreement with the guerrillas. While negotiating, it has slid down to concessions to the reactionaries and militarists, who have been sabotaging such initiatives. The point is that the establishment of peace cannot be separated from democratisation, and political and social reforms designed to change the regime for the benefit of the people are a necessary condition of the process. And no amnesty, however comprehensive, will alone suffice. For their part, the members of the ruling classes must have imagined that through an amnesty alone, without ending the policy of repression and dismantling the apparatus of suppression, that is, without liquidating the objective causes of the armed struggle (whose existence was not denied by the President himself), they could get the guerrillas to lay down their arms and disband their formations.

Moreover, when the reactionary military leaders realised that in the new conditions their plans for an imperialist-incited 'internal war' could be complicated, they began with financial support from the latifundists, to organise a new type of 'death squads' in the form of paramilitary bands, which under the Betancur government have killed some fine leaders and activists of left-wing organisations, mainly Communists.

We find, therefore, that the oligarchy, oppressing the working people, and its agents, on the one hand, and the people, being subjected to repression, on the other, have different conceptions of 'peace'.

The Colombian revolutionaries have not envisaged peace in general, but a democratic peace cemented with effective changes, whose quality will depend not on the favours of the bourgeois rulers, but on the scale and radicalisation of the mass struggle and on the extent of popular unity. The 14th Congress declared: 'Despite the resistance of reaction opposed to the very idea of change, the Communists are convinced that there are conditions for advancing towards fundamental political and social reforms on the basis of a powerful mass movement raising these banners and structuring its action in the unity and coordination of all the social and political forces concerned with the country's democratic renewal.'⁷

Our revolutionary optimism, based above all on our confidence in the capacity of the popular struggle does not prevent us from realising that the present difficulties

will increase in the future. A heated controversy has been ignited by the amnesty and the subsequent contacts and negotiations with the armed movement, and opinion is effectively polarised over the incipient process. Contradictions emerged within the traditional parties themselves and on the top echelon of the ruling circles. It was also obvious that there was a danger in the conflict between the President and the top military led by Defence Minister General Fernando Landazábal, who publicly emphasised his disagreement with the policy of peace. Although Betancur did force him to resign, he continued to make concessions to the army command and the reactionaries. As a result, the state of siege was re-introduced throughout the country in May 1984.

The guerrilla movement, displaying a high level of political maturity, did not rise to the provocations aimed to torpedo the negotiations with the government. There was the signing, first, of the agreement with the strongest (and oldest) guerrilla formation, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia—People's Army (RAFC-PA), and then also with the April 19 Movement, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and the Workers' Self-Defence (WSD), providing for a cease-fire between the revolutionary contingents and the government troops and paving the way to an armistice. Our Congress declared: 'These agreements deal a blow at militarism, one of the most negative elements of the Colombian political system.'⁸

The cease-fire and the armistice could promote (with the prospects of other forms of struggle being developed) a more favourable balance of forces for attaining the Communist Party's tactical objective, namely, democratisation, which, for its part, should stimulate the revolutionary process in Colombia.

It is important to note that the guerrilla movement has remained intact and that its fighters have not laid down their arms. On the contrary, at the latest stage the movement even became more robust. The agreements, signed with reliance on broad mass action, have given the movement a qualitatively new political tenor on a national scale. All of this is evidence that our line on the forms of struggle is flexible and correct.

Having voiced that view the delegates wholeheartedly welcomed a message of greetings to the Congress from the RAFC-PA, while Gilberto Vieira, re-elected CC General Secretary, emphasised in his closing speech that the CCP's supreme body 'has reaffirmed the viability of the tactical and strategic line of the Colombian Communist Party: the simultaneous use of all the forms of mass struggle . . . which is being enriched with new elements by the initiatives in the Colombian people's struggle'.⁹

But the military elite and the ultra-rightists were not sitting idly by. They opposed the armistice and resorted to diverse moves and provocations, plotting to topple Betancur either in a military coup or by forcing him to resign. The oligarchy's periodicals made no secret of these intentions, and the head of state was himself forced to give the reactionaries a rebuff. For their part, senior army officers not only tried in vain to force the guerrillas to lay down their arms (something that was not provided for by the agreements) but also declared their disagreement with the government's allegedly 'too soft' stand, which allowed for the existence of revolutionary armed organisations, and surreptitiously issued orders to their troops to violate the cease-fire agreement. This caused numerous incidents, including some grave ones, which the reactionaries used to discredit the policy of peace that had so alarmed them.

Concerning the terms for peace and democratisation, the CCP believes that it is necessary above all to dismantle the official policy of repression and its most venomous instruments, which means the lifting of the state of siege, demilitarisation of the country, an end to punitive operations in the peasant areas, dissolution of paramilitary groups and punishment of those guilty of crimes against the people.

There is a need for a number of reforms designed to alter the bi-partisan structure of the political regime and to ensure civilian and trade union freedoms. That means facilities of access for all the parties to the mass media (especially radio and television), establishment of a fair electoral system and introduction of proportional representation for the national minorities; direct elections to mayoral and gubernatorial posts; re-establishment of the role of parliament, the assemblies, and the municipal councils to the fullest extent, and so on. In the economic and social fields, there is a need to solve the problem of unemployment, adjust wages to the growing prices, and show respect for the rights of the working people in town and country.

These are the elementary reforms and measures which are perfectly attainable in the present conditions if the democratic forces support them. The CCP has not only drawn attention to them, but has also got its members to table the relevant bills in parliament. The reactionary liberal-conservative bloc with a majority in the legislatures, is trying to impede the passage of our proposals, as it did with the proposal on direct mayoral elections, which still hangs in the balance.

Our party's 14th Congress stressed that 'the immediate political reforms are aimed against the most regressive aspects of the present system. The Communists' struggle is also aimed to achieve deeper changes paving the way to advanced democracy.'¹⁰ In other words, they are aimed to do away with everything that is obsolete, with the ossified institutional barriers erected by the ruling classes for the protection of their interests. Our plan for the full democratisation of the Colombian society includes more major social reforms, such as an agrarian reform (which has already assumed the form of a bill for discussion in parliament), a housing reform, a labour reform, and a demand for the nationalisation of natural resources controlled by imperialist corporations, foreign trade, the banks, and the financial system, and the municipalisation of public transport.

In any case, the most important thing is action by the masses, and the main aspects of ties with them were analysed by our Congress, with emphasis on the need to overcome the negative factors which, despite the level attained, hamper the rise of the struggle to a new level. There is the division of the trade union movement, the weaknesses of the worker-and-peasant alliance, and the low level of organisation of broad strata of workers, peasants and other inhabitants in the popular neighbourhoods. But there is above all the inadequate politicisation of the working people. It is the Communists' cardinal task to work to change this state of affairs, while defending the armistice agreements and giving an impetus to democratic change. This applies especially to the big cities, 'which should be turned into the main arenas of mass action for democratisation'.¹¹

The Colombian working class has taken up a more determinate place in the social struggle, and the party intends to direct its efforts above all to get the working class to fulfil its mission of revolutionary vanguard. Positive results are being produced by the efforts to unite the trade union movement. Following the Fourth Congress in 1983, the Trade Union Confederation of Working People of Colombia, a class-oriented centre, and most of the trade unions not affiliated with any centre or which have been shedding the influence of right-wing opportunism, have started to lay the foundations for organisational merger. This means the formation of a unitary and pluralistic association, which the Communists regard as 'a link in the chain of our efforts to set up one united trade union centre of the Colombian working people'.¹²

Problems relating to the Democratic Front (DF) and our alliance policy were also an important element of the discussion. The Political Declaration adopted by the Congress says: 'In the new conditions which have been taking shape, elections will be of major significance for the revolutionary forces.'¹³ The hopes we are pinning on the Democratic Front spring from the assumption that it can become a pole of attraction

not only for the parties within or not yet within it, but also for the guerrilla movement, which has concluded the armistice, for groups of believers, and for other most diverse popular organisations. The Congress recommended the search for the nomination of a common presidential candidate for all the democratic forces at the forthcoming elections in 1986.

In the course of the discussion, delegates pressed for the need to work out methods, style of work and organisational forms helping to fortify the CCP, perfect its internal structure and increase its membership for tackling the tasks which the situation sets before the Communists. There is a pressing need to resolve the contradiction which emerged between the growing political influence of the CCP and our organisational deficiencies.

There is no doubt that our party has been growing, but not evenly. In some regions it is undergoing a process of rejuvenation through the accelerated influx of new members. In others, unfavourable political conditions are causing the party ranks to shrink. The situation in some towns is relatively unfavourable. The party's highest forum devoted much attention to analysing these problems and finding ways of solving them.

The military mood in evidence at the 14th Congress, and the serious self-criticism of our shortcomings, which is so necessary for their elimination, are a guarantee that the CCP is capable of meeting the new challenge. Once again, the party has displayed its monolithic unity. The unanimity of decisions testifies not only to the Communists' ideological and political cohesion, but also to their confidence in their leadership. When, relying on all these factors, and also on the well-proved political line, our party succeeds in further enhancing its authority in the masses by indicating the right way of struggle, nothing will be able to stop the revolution in Colombia.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 463.

² *Voz*, November 8, 1984, p. 5.

³ *Punto de vista*, No. 15, 1984, p. 12.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, p. 213.

⁵ *Documentos del 13º. Congreso del PCC*, Bogota, 1980, pp. 27, 28.

⁶ *Punto de vista*, No. 15, 1984, p. 13.

⁷ 'Declaración Política del 14º. Congreso del PCC', *Punto de vista*, No. 16, 1984, p. 5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹¹ 'Sobre el trabajo de masas de los comunistas. 14º. Congreso del PCC', *Punta de vistas*, No. 16, 1984, p. 8.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

The Road Chosen By Us

Semou Pathe Gueye – Political Bureau
member and Secretary CC, Senegal Party
of Independence and Labour (SPIL)

Senegal

THE political situation in Senegal may appear rosy at first sight. Indeed, 15 legal parties, a dozen independent newspapers—and all this in a country of 5.8 million people—an intense intellectual and ideological atmosphere, a President who agrees without hesitation to meet with opposition leaders: this is, among many other facts, what could, in the present situation of our country, charm somebody looking from outside. But as soon as some of the varnish is removed reality turns out to be far less idyllic.

Political power today is in the hands of a bureaucratic bourgeoisie and other parasitical strata turning round it. The ruling class, initiated long ago into the subtleties of bourgeois democracy, operates inside it with disconcerting ease, but it has also proved that it can be cynically brutal when defending its privileges. This leading class is now divided by deep internal contradictions into different factions over the issue of controlling the state and party apparatus as well as over the ability of the current 'democratic experiment' to guarantee the regime's stability. Two decades after the winning of national independence, the main economic levers are still in the hands of foreign—French and Syro-Lebanese¹—capitalists, who only give the domestic bureaucratic bourgeoisie the leavings. As for those who are grandly called the 'national bourgeoisie', they get nothing but crumbs. In an effort to keep Senegal dependent, something against which the patriotic opposition declares most emphatically, international capital tends to take a very sceptical view of the regime's ability to stabilise itself by using current political forms and is contemplating the prospect of authoritarian rule.

We believe it is important to bear this contradictory background in mind and to heed both the face and the reverse of the Senegalese 'coin'. This helps understand the main strategic and tactical guidelines which our party adopted at its Second Congress, held legally in Dakar, the Senegalese capital, in the autumn of 1984.

The Congress drew 835 voting delegates and was also attended by delegations of fraternal parties, in particular from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, representatives of the Senegalese opposition and numerous public figures.

Preparations for it as well as its work followed democratic procedures never known before in our country. This enabled us to go beyond an inner-party discussion of major social, economic and political problems and to raise discussion to a national plane. As we see it, the scope and fruitfulness of the discussion was fresh evidence of the superiority of Leninist standards and principles over verbose bourgeois and revisionist ratiocination about 'democracy'. We think it is particularly important to underline that such ample democracy convinced us more than ever of the correctness of our ideology and class policy and closely united us in support of a programme which every one of us had helped work out without any idea alien to Marxism or to the nature of our party coming to pollute our minds. Indeed, every single meeting of the ruling party degenerates today into a brawl or even a bloody battle. From what government sources have disclosed, about ten people have lost their lives in skirmishes between 'Socialist' Party clans. Foreign Minister Moustapha Niasse was relieved of his party duties and cabinet post because at the height of a Political Bureau meeting of the ruling party he beat up a colleague before the eyes of the head of state. This seems incredible. Curious 'democratic' manners like these, with fists used as an argument, are current in a party which noisily proclaims itself an adherent of

'democratic socialism with a human face' and never misses an opportunity to come out in defence of 'human rights' in countries of existing socialism.

Current Stage of the Liberation Process

The Congress unanimously approved the Central Committee Report submitted by Amath Dansokho, who was elected General Secretary of the CC SPIL. Seydou Cissokho was elected to the newly established post of party Chairman. The delegates approved a number of documents as the result of a discussion inside the party and throughout the country on the Orientation and Action Programme Theses and on the party's Action Programme itself. The Congress passed several special resolutions, including one on the international situation. This resolution re-emphasises the importance which we attach to the struggle for peace as part of the struggle for national independence, democracy and socialism, calls for the unity of the world communist and working class movement and expresses deep gratitude to the CPSU and other fraternal parties on behalf of Senegal's Communists. It reaffirms our solidarity with the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and other parts of the world who resist imperialism, neocolonialism, Zionism, racism and apartheid.

The Congress summed up the results of the party's struggle to date and approved guidelines for the period ahead. It gave clear answers to the following questions: What is the present stage of our struggle? What are the main motive forces of this struggle? How and under what specific programme do we expect to win and hold power?

Coming out and intertwining at the stage of national democratic revolution which we are passing through are its anti-imperialist and increasingly evident anti-capitalist aspects (the abolition of foreign capitalist domination and neocolonial power in the former case and the removal of the social and economic foundations of class exploitation in the latter). Needless to say, carrying out the political, economic and social programme of the revolution will be no easy matter and will exact much sacrifice from our people. There are several reasons for this: the Senegalese economy is tied to the world capitalist market; the country is still affected by the negative legacy of our colonial past; the burden of patriarchal survivals has a visible impact on social relations, behavioural standards and social consciousness. What compounds the task is that we want to take the road to national democratic development in a country where capitalism never completed its vaunted 'civilising' mission of destroying the relics of precapitalist structures which hamper the development of new productive forces and production relations more advanced than feudal ones.

Another fact to take into consideration is the Western powers' bid to make Senegal a strongpoint of their militarist activity in Africa, taking advantage of its favourable geographical situation. This was exemplified by the British aggression against the Falklands (Malvinas), for it was at Dakar that British bombers landed on their way to the islands. Under formal (public or secret) agreements signed by the Senegalese government, NATO countries have been granted 'facilities'—the right to use our ports and airfields for aggressive aims. France has large military bases on Senegalese soil; its soldiers move about our country as in colonial days. Recently the United States was allowed to use the air base at Thiès, our second biggest city.

Imperialism has assigned Senegal the role of an important propaganda relay station for the dissemination of anti-Soviet and anti-communist ideas. It also uses the country as a convenient testing ground for various neocolonialist and reformist conceptions. All this is a source of difficulties which we encounter in striving to ensure that our country takes the road to real national independence, democracy and socialism.

Our definition of the present stage of the revolution as a twofold process of anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle is not prompted by anything like a maximalist or voluntarist approach intended to adjust history to our wishes. The

Congress was guided by the approach first formulated by Lenin, who stressed that the national liberation revolution will tend increasingly to develop into a struggle against the exploitation of man by man. The correctness of Lenin's approach has now been confirmed by the entire course of the national liberation revolution in Africa and the world. This follows from the general content of the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and has been made possible by favourable conditions developing in step with a changing balance of international forces. Countries like Senegal have the opportunity to skip the capitalist stage of development and to advance to a socialist future with the aid and support of world socialism.

Our party came to this conclusion on the strength of an objective assessment of the political and economic situation in Senegal. The analysis made by us suggests that as Senegal has been following a capitalist road at imperialism's bidding for nearly a quarter of a century, there is no overcoming the deep contradictions existing in our society. In fact, the choice made by the country is a threat to our national sovereignty, it has made Senegal more dependent on imperialism, undermined the potentialities of effective economic advance, multiplied structural imbalances and greatly exacerbated regional and ethnocultural distinctions endangering national unity. Last but not least, the capitalist choice has been reproducing and even aggravating social inequality to a greater extent than was the case under colonial rule. These aspects of the domestic and foreign political situation fully warrant the conclusion that the orientation chosen by the ruling quarters has nothing in common with the interests of the people. Such a situation is favourable to a resolutely anti-capitalist orientation.

The Congress noted that the substantial experience gained to date proves the position of the masses correct. Unquestionable social, cultural and economic achievements are in evidence in countries which have chosen socialism and have been putting their choice into effect without deformations due to subjective mistakes that make some people doubt its prospects. In a period as long as that of Senegal's independent existence, these achievements are far superior to the results attained in our country under neocolonial, pro-capitalist rule.

Just what does an anti-capitalist orientation mean in a country like Senegal, where simple small-commodity production (fettered, moreover, by precapitalist relations) still predominates despite the existence of a modern capitalist sector whose 'logic' ultimately moulds the whole economy? In our view, this orientation should be aimed at fulfilling a double historical mission: solving the social and economic problems inherited from an immature capitalism, and creating and building up the objective and subjective prerequisites for more solid national independence and the transition to socialism. The concrete political, social and economic content of the present stage is set out in the Theses and the party's Action Programme approved by the Congress. They call in essence for concrete measures to wrest the state apparatus from the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and establish the democratic power of anti-imperialist classes and sectors; to ensure national sovereignty over the economy and diversify the economy so as to combine the dominant role of an effectively managed public sector with the functions of the mixed and private sectors; to modernise and develop the productive forces; and to raise the standard of living, step by step.

The case of countries which have already set out on a non-capitalist road indicates that needed among other things are a perspicacious and realistic-thinking leadership, a truly revolutionary vanguard, for it alone is able to lead the process successfully. Comprehensive cooperation with socialist countries and judicious utilisation of the aid rendered by them are an earnest of progress on this road.

Opportunities for Class Alliances

Our party considers that due to the scope and content of the tasks in question, they cannot be put into practice by one class. First of all, no class in Senegal is strong

enough to do this by itself, and second, the goals of the national democratic revolution appeal to a number of classes and social sectors and meet their interests. The SPIL stands for unity on a broad basis and a joint democratic struggle by these forces against imperialism and neocolonial practices. Success in this struggle is in the interest of the working class, peasantry (we are not forgetting about the differentiation going on among the peasants), middle strata, and lastly, that part of the national bourgeoisie whose positions are injured by the domination of foreign capital.

At this stage, our Congress stated, the party's strategy and tactics are intended to do everything possible for the formation of the front in question. The front would be the political and social framework of a democratic state whose essence would be the joint political power of all the allied anti-imperialist classes and sectors.

During the extensive pre-Congress discussion, many participants asked: Does not the anti-capitalist character of our action clash with the desire to bring the national bourgeoisie into the common struggle? Who is going to lead the democratic front? These questions are answered in the documents approved by the Congress.

The national bourgeoisie as a class cannot survive alone, that is, if it refuses to ally itself with other social forces. That is why it is important to persuade this class that it stands to gain from participation in the common struggle. The SPIL considers that 'the national bourgeoisie will have to play a role very useful to the whole nation in a private sector of the economy which will help provide the requisites for a viable and profitable economy without holding dominant positions'.² This sector would function on definite principles, without undermining the progressive orientation. And we wish to underline that this is seen by our party as a strategic and not a tactical matter and that its significance goes beyond overthrowing neocolonial rule.

As regards the political role of the national bourgeoisie, we do not think this class has the qualities entitling it to lay claim to leadership of the front. It lacks the historical and ideological prestige as well as the political ability that would be needed, since it is condemned by its own conditions of existence to constantly 'hedge' between the different social and political forces. There is also the fact that, expelled from the most profitable economic fields, which are in the hands of foreign capital, the national bourgeoisie seeks certain privileges from the state, such as priority in the distribution of contracts, protection from foreign capital (leaving certain economic activities to the Senegalese), state credits for investment or safeguards against the banks. The need for this kind of aid makes for the dependence of the bourgeoisie on the forces controlling the state apparatus, a circumstance which compels it to make concessions to these forces and, on the other hand, leads to a certain tendency to compromise with imperialism. At the same time, with the anti-imperialist movement and the prospect of effective struggle against foreign predominance growing, Senegalese business is beginning to take interest in alliance with advocates of a consistent anti-imperialist orientation.

Can the Senegalese peasantry, which is influenced by a variety of pseudo-socialist ideas, lead the movement on anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist lines? Our party says no.

There is no doubt that in an agrarian country such as Senegal, patriotic forces have a stake in winning over the bulk of the peasantry, which has economic, social and a measure of political weight. Nor can we discount the fact that the rural population, unlike other population groups, lives in appalling material and cultural poverty. Primitive small-scale (individual or family) households are dominant in the countryside; the peasants are strongly influenced by patriarchal customs and defer to the traditional authorities and religious chiefs, a reality cunningly exploited by the regime to maintain its control. Most peasants yield readily to pressure and

intimidation from domestic administrative bodies, which never hesitate to take sides with the ruling party.

Thus the peasantry cannot smash the chains of its mediaeval bondage and make an effective contribution to the liberation of society without alliance with the working class. While it is a decisive force in this alliance due to its social and political leverage, it cannot be the leading force in it. Our party stresses the need 'to work out and popularise appropriate agrarian reform measures meeting the most pressing aspirations of the rural masses'.³ Such a conclusion appears to us to be an essential basis for mobilising the peasantry in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Who, then, is going to lead the future democratic front?

The Congress confirmed that no one can be recognised beforehand to have priority in this matter. The struggle will be led by the class which proves that it is better equipped for the task, possesses adequate political consciousness, is well organised and enjoys proper influence on other classes and sectors, and which makes a real contribution to the future victory.

In Senegal today, despite the dynamism of our proletariat on the social front and its great contribution to the anti-colonialist struggle, the political leadership is, in fact, assumed today by the middle strata, mainly their urban, intellectual and salaried sections. That objectively puts them at an advantage from the point of view of leading the front through the parties in which they amply identify themselves. The SPIL Congress concluded that it is necessary to evolve and carry out measures strengthening our influence on the middle strata in order to win them for revolutionary ideals and the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the working class. However, the party is convinced that the final success of the struggle can only be guaranteed if the front is led by the working class together with other working people.

Certain objective obstacles still prevent the proletariat from fully assuming the historical responsibility of leading the anti-imperialist movement. Our working class is relatively young. Most of its members come from a peasant environment and are still linked with it by social, spiritual or family ties. Its political organisation is inadequate. Being small in number and scattered mostly over minor industrial or handicraft enterprises, it is influenced simultaneously by petty-bourgeois ideology, religion and patriarchal survivals, to say nothing of the harmful influence of the right trade unionist idea of 'responsible participation', as the Senegalese variety of the concept of social partnership is called.

Along with this the ruling classes, well knowing that the proletariat played a role of paramount importance in the struggle against colonialism, would like to neutralise it and reduce its influence by any device. They bribe trade union leaders by appointing them to parliamentary or cabinet posts; they do not hesitate to use repression against independent labour organisations, and foment division even in pro-government unions. The regime has passed anti-labour laws to suppress workers' actions; it never thinks twice before pitting the 'forces of order' against strikers. And while these measures of the government have failed to paralyse the activity of the working class, which continues to show great social dynamism, they are instrumental, nevertheless, in slowing down the growth of the workers' class consciousness and prevent the working class from asserting itself as leader of the revolutionary struggle.

To resist the policy of the ruling quarters and ensure the leading role of the working class, the Congress pointed out, the party must accomplish the 'key task of providing ideological, political and organisational conditions for the proletariat to play the role corresponding to its historical mission'.⁴ It is important to redouble efforts towards educating and organising the workers and inculcating in them habits of political leadership while at the same time extending communist influence on other social forces, primarily the working peasantry. The SPIL, Congress documents state, is

working to form around the working class a solid bloc of urban and rural working people capable of decisively influencing developments.

Defend Democracy

All these considerations are elements of a unique prospect, that of steadfastly implementing the democratic strategy of winning and holding political power. What this means for the Communists is that they must in all circumstances lean on the masses for support and strive for advance as the social consciousness and actual possibilities of the masses grow; define the forms and goals of the struggle in a way enabling the masses to understand them and to act accordingly; and create conditions for more extensive and conscious participation of the people in the solution of problems as they crop up.

The road chosen by us will be anything but easy, whatever armchair guerrillas may say. It binds us to be always at our 'post', in the thick of political and social struggles, and to explain, to argue, to persuade. We must get rid of the sluggishness and narrow-mindedness born of a long period of clandestinity, must lend ear to the masses and know their lives. The Congress stressed that in the intricate context of the ongoing social struggle there is no room in the party for musical comedy 'revolutionaries' or paper fighters.

In line with its strategy, the party took a stand on what we describe as a 'democratic opening', that is, realisation of the democratic rights and freedoms recognised by the Constitution of Senegal. We approach this issue with a full sense of responsibility, as a party which spent 20 of its 27 years of existence in clandestinity or semi-legal conditions and borne the brunt of repression and therefore knows the value of the slightest particle of regained democracy. Our party regards it as a valuable if nominal, limited asset. The Communists of Senegal, the Congress stated, are prepared 'to engage fully in action within this framework and to spare no effort in fostering democratic consciousness and practices'.⁵

The above is not to say that we are 'delighted' with the situation or that we overlook the ploys of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which by virtue of its parasitical nature owes its existence solely to the benefits it derives from government. This class will certainly never forego its privileges of its own free will. It is prepared to prove this daily by flouting laws enacted by itself and discrediting democratic electoral procedures by fraudulent practices. Thereby the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which is prone to make ill-considered decisions, assumes responsibility for hastening the adoption of forms of political struggle more dangerous to the country.

Our party, which remains a consistent supporter of the democratic process, declares that it is well aware of the possibility of an authoritarian or even fascist drift of the regime. To stave off such a development, we must organise, educate and unite the masses and encourage them to intervene effectively by methods acceptable to them in the struggle and in the shaping of their own destiny.

For those who start on a journey that is likely to be long, it is particularly important to know where they are going so as to travel with greater confidence, whatever the difficulties. Senegal's Communists know that today, when the prospects of the struggle are clear, they will come up against difficulties more than once. However, they also know that their Second Congress aroused great hopes among our people. To justify them, the party is now working to carry out the decisions of its Congress.

¹ The Syro-Lebanese are settlers who come from the Middle East.—*Ed.*

² *Daan Doole*, special issue, July 1984.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

Communists in the Knesset

Tawfiq Toubi – Deputy General Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Israel (CPI), member of the Knesset

THE Communist Party of Israel has been represented in the Knesset, the country's parliament, since the day it was constituted. The party succeeded in winning seats there both in relatively favourable periods and in the years of blatant and rampant reaction. Prior to 1977 the CPI had its own faction in the parliament; then, with the establishment of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality¹ in which it plays the leading role, the party began to nominate its candidates on the Front's ticket. The Communists act in the Knesset in accordance with the general course, programme and election platform of this progressive bloc.

Throughout the Knesset's history, the CPI (and later the Democratic Front) faction has been composed of three to five members.² In the latest elections, held in July 1984, we succeeded in retaining our positions in the parliament: the Democratic Front now has four seats in the Knesset. Three belong to Communists and one, to a representative of the Black Panthers. This stability is in itself a great accomplishment, given the policy of war, aggression and expansionism pursued by the ruling quarters and fully supported by US imperialism, and taking into account the domestic situation which has almost invariably bred chauvinistic, nationalist and anti-democratic trends in Israeli society.

This stability of the CPI positions is rooted above all in the unswerving and consistent struggle for working people's interests our party has waged since its creation. The CPI secured a legal status as early as 1942, long before the State of Israel was established, and after two decades of clandestine work under British colonial rule in Palestine. The international and domestic political situation that resulted from the victory over fascism to which the Soviet Union had contributed decisively did much to strengthen our party and transform it into a significant political force.

Subsequently, another contributing factor was that the ruling quarters of the Zionist movement who climbed to the commanding heights in the State of Israel recognised, at least in part, the United Nations resolution of November 29, 1947 and formally undertook to respect human rights and consequently, the legal status of political parties, including the Communist Party. And since, for reasons stemming from distinctive features of Israel's historical and social development, these quarters still exert the strongest political and ideological influence on the Jewish population of Israel, they can afford to preserve the appurtenances of bourgeois democracy. The Communist Party thus has the right to operate in the open and, consequently, to be represented in the parliament.

At the same time, everything possible is done to hamper CPI activities by invoking anti-democratic administrative regulations. From time to time, special military orders are issued to restrict its activists' freedom of movement. Some of them have been subjected to administrative detention and are constantly facing this threat. Others are forced to register with the police daily. Communists are discriminated against when they try to enter government service. The authorities often resort to police moves to curtail the CPI's public activities. Special military decrees bar Arab members of the party from visiting occupied Arab territories. Circulation of *Al Ittihad*, the Arabic-language Communist Party newspaper, and of other Communist

¹ This article opens a new series of features on the experience of Communist participation in the legislative and executive bodies of capitalist countries (parliaments, governments and municipal councils).

publications is also prohibited there. When anti-democratic trends gain ground, voices among the ruling quarters are raised in favour of banning the Communist party and outlawing its activities.

Communist members of parliament—and since 1977, members of the Democratic Front faction—have always had to contend with discrimination against them in the Knesset. For example, in order to exclude Communists from the major parliamentary committees dealing with financial, defence and foreign policy matters, it has been decided that only members of factions with the number of seats exceeding that held by the Democratic Front even if by one seat may serve on these committees. Parliamentary regulations in every new Knesset are bent to toe the anti-communist line.

While realising that today, the parliamentary form of struggle for a change in the political course of the Israeli ruling quarters has a limited influence, the CPI attaches great importance to it as a part of its general activity. One of the reasons is that reactionary attacks against the existing parliamentary system have mounted sharply in recent years. Now, after the 1984 election of the Eleventh Knesset, this has become especially obvious. Encountering difficulties in forming a new government,³ Likud and Maarakh (Labour Alignment), the two major political blocs, are planning to raise the quota of votes won by a political party as sufficient for its representation in the Knesset from one per cent at present to three or even five per cent of the country's electorate. This move would obviously be aimed against smaller parliamentary factions and especially against the Democratic Front faction. And, given the acute political, social and economic crisis afflicting Israel, the danger that this move will be taken is clearly growing.

The anti-communist, reactionary and chauvinistic atmosphere and the pro-imperialist and anti-Arab views which are dominant in the Knesset and in all of Israeli society mean that our members of parliament must fight against great odds. Nevertheless, they are vigorously conducting parliamentary work which is very important for all progressive forces. Its foremost objective is to publicise and disseminate the views and proposals of the CPI and the Democratic Front on major political issues and to use the rostrum of the Knesset to aid in mobilising public opinion against the policy of the Israeli ruling quarters.

Members of the Front believe that the paramount problem is the issue of war and peace. And so members of our faction invariably stress in the Knesset the need for a settlement of the Mideast crisis and for just and durable peace between Israel and her Arab neighbours; they demand a just solution to the Palestinian problem, withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. This is the only way to ensure independence, security and sovereignty for all countries in the region, including Israel and the future Palestinian state. The Front's members of the Knesset are fighting resolutely against the anti-democratic repressive practices applied by the authorities to the Palestinian population of the occupied territories. Our faction vigorously opposes the entire pro-imperialist, reactionary and anti-Soviet course pursued by Israel's leaders.

Another area of the faction's constant concern is action to defend the rights, interests and living standards of working people from the capitalist offensive. Members of the faction continuously advocate better social services and equality for women, oppose discrimination of the Arab population of Israel and of Sephardic Jews and raise specific questions concerning violations of civil and social rights.

Initiating debates in the Knesset, submitting their proposals for the agenda, criticising and exposing government moves, sending interpellations to various ministries and securing replies to them, the Democratic Front members of parliament

respond to all of the more acute problems the country encounters and strive to influence the course of events as much as possible.

The activities of our faction in the previous Knesset (1981-1984) are a case in point. As today, at that time it numbered four members. In that period, power was in the hands of the nationalist rightist Likud bloc which had a small parliamentary majority compared to the opposition Maarakh bloc.⁴

The faction focused most of its efforts on resisting the government course over the war in Lebanon. A few days after Israel's leaders launched this aggression in June 1982, the Front's members of parliament proposed a vote of no-confidence. Significantly, no other faction of the opposition followed suit. They all voted to support the government; only ten members of the Labour Party and some other groups dared abstain. However, the fact that the aggressive, pro-imperialist, anti-popular and unjust nature of this war from the Israeli side was exposed in parliament, coupled with the work among the people conducted by the Democratic Front, the Communist Party and other peace forces made an impact on different political forces and played an important part in organising mass action of protest against the aggression and the monstrous crimes that accompanied it. The first anti-war demonstrations, sponsored by the CPI and the Democratic Front, were held in the country's major cities soon after Israeli troops entered Lebanon. Then, with vigorous CPI participation, the Committee Against the War in Lebanon was established; it organised a number of demonstrations and protests in Tel Aviv, Haifa, Jerusalem, and Nazareth. These were followed by even more powerful action which involved a broad cross-section of the population.

Significantly, after the Democratic Front faction cast its vote of no-confidence, more and more members of parliament came to support its position on the issue of the war. Some leaders of the Maarakh block later publicly expressed regret that they had failed to support our proposal. The activity of the Democratic Front members of the Knesset was one of the factors which forced the government to set up the well-known Commission of Inquiry into the massacre in the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian refugee camps.

Some initiatives of our faction on issues of domestic policy secured broad support in the Knesset—for example, that concerning existing legislation which discriminates against Arab children in giving them access to social benefits from the national social security funds. Our efforts have prompted the factions which previously supported this legislation to change their position. For example, members of the Labour Party have undertaken to support its repeal during the forthcoming vote in the new Knesset.

The Democratic Front and the other groups represented in the Knesset hold divergent views on most of the political and ideological issues facing Israeli society. Nevertheless, between 1981 and 1984, a certain degree of cooperation between us and the Maarakh bloc was in evidence, especially on matters of a social nature. The objective was to offer the greatest possible resistance to the Likud bloc. Since Likud did not have an absolute majority in the Knesset, the votes of the Democratic Front members were on occasion instrumental in the adoption of parliamentary decisions aimed against the Likud government. Chaim Herzog, the Maarakh candidate, won the Presidential elections in mid-1983 only due to the support our faction gave him. Our votes were also an important factor in the March 1984 decision of the Knesset to dissolve itself and to hold interim elections, a decision taken despite the resistance of the ruling bloc. This decision was passed by a very small margin (62 out of 120) and was made possible only by an agreement between the Maarakh and the Democratic Front factions.

The anti-communist moves to which the ruling quarters resort routinely and during elections prevent the CPI and the Democratic Front as a whole from winning a

number of seats in the Knesset which would reflect the actual influence the Communist Party and the Front wield in Israeli society. At the same time, it is obvious that Israel's leaders are unable to solve the country's major problems—above all, to ensure peaceful coexistence with the neighbouring Arab states and to overcome the deepening socio-economic crisis brought on by the policy of aggression and of subordinating the country's interests to the regional and global dictates of US imperialism. This leads more sectors of the population to see the programme of durable Mideast peace advanced by the CPI and the Democratic Front as the only way out of the prevailing situation. This has become especially evident recently, after the debacle of the Israeli aggression in Lebanon, and is reflected in the greater number of votes cast for the Democratic Front in the July elections: 70,000 against 64,000 in 1981.

Although television, radio and daily newspapers prefer to ignore the positions, proposals and moves of our parliamentary faction, the voice of its communist and other members does reach the public thanks to the efforts of the Communist Party itself and of its press. The slogans and proposals long advanced exclusively by the CPI often begin to gain support from other quarters. For a long time, the notion of 'national rights of the Palestinian people' was regarded as purely communist phraseology. Today, ever wider sections recognise the need to solve this problem, and the refer to the 'right of the Palestinian people to self-determination'. The same can be said about the war in Lebanon: at first, only the CPI and the Democratic Front denounced it, but soon our position was taken into consideration by representatives of various forces both in the Knesset and outside it, and this influenced significantly the sentiments and demands of a large segment of Israeli society.

The results of the July 1984 elections changed the alignment of the forces in the Knesset. Since neither of the biggest parliamentary blocs succeeded in forming a government of its own, they agreed on a coalition cabinet and on a rotation of premierships, with Peres of the Labour Party serving the first two years, to be followed by Shamir of the Likud.

This agreement gives the government the support of 97 members of the Knesset out of a total of 120. The opposition on the left is composed of 16 members, our faction being the more consistent champion of peace and democracy. Since for all practical purposes, the new government continues to pursue a domestic and foreign policy which is traditional for Israel's ruling quarters, the tasks facing the Democratic Front faction remain the same.

Foremost among these tasks is that of resisting the right-wing extremists and chauvinists who succeeded in electing Meir Kahane,⁵ a rabid racist, to the Knesset on a platform calling for the expulsion of the entire Arab population from the occupied territories and from Israel proper. Our party, the Democratic Front and all progressive forces launched a broad campaign against Kahane and its slogans. The campaign culminated in a demonstration the Arab and Jewish population held in the town of Um-El-Fahm⁶ to protest against the visit that right-wing extremist was to pay there. The demonstrators blocked all routes leading to the town and, before the eyes of the hundreds of policemen detailed to protect Kahane, prevented him from entering Um-El-Fahm.

Mass action exerted a decisive influence on the Knesset which, after drawn-out debates, adopted a resolution on December 25, 1984 stripping Kahane of his parliamentary immunity and restricting his freedom of movement within the country. In an effort to accomplish even more, our faction, acting jointly with the Mapam faction, proposed a draft bill against racism. However, on January 1, 1985 it was rejected by the ruling majority on the pretext that it was already preparing legislation on 'incitement to acts of racism' to be submitted to the Knesset. Nevertheless, we are fully resolved to keep up our action against the ideology and practice of racism; and in

Israel this means to struggle against the policy of discrimination applied to the Arab population, against the denial of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

Summing up, one can say that despite all obstacles we effectively discharge our principal function—that is, we aid in publicising the positions and proposals of the Democratic front and the Communist Party of Israel. More and more people in our country realise that when the authorities violate civil rights and democratic norms, the best thing to do is to appeal for help to our members of the parliament. Among the more politically conscious people, the parliamentary faction of the Democratic Front is known as the most vigorous and efficient group in the Knesset upholding peace, democracy, the rights of Israel's Arab population, and social progress.

¹ Established, on the CPI initiative, in 1977, the Front unites the Communist Party, the Black Panthers progressive organisation, and representatives of working people, students, intellectuals and middle strata.—*Ed.*

² Out of a total of 120 members elected to the Israeli Knesset.

³ In the latest elections neither Likud nor Maarakh succeeded in winning a number of seats which would enable either of them to form a government of its own.—*Ed.*

⁴ Previously, consisted of the Labour Party of Israel and of the United Workers' Party (Mapam). The latter withdrew from the bloc soon after the 1984 elections. Currently, Maarakh comprises the Labour Party led by Shimon Peres and several other, smaller political organisations.

⁵ Head of the KAH fascist group.—*Ed.*

⁶ A major Arab community in Israel.—*Ed.*

new experience

Our Interviews Lofty Responsibility, a Constructive Approach

Mohammed Ennafi – CC Political
Bureau and Secretariat member, Tunisian
Communist Party

—At the start of the last year there was in Tunisia a wave of food riots caused by a drastic rise of the price of bread and other foodstuffs. Under pressure from the people the authorities had to restore the former prices. But has this normalised the political situation in Tunisia?

The events of January 1984, which aggravated social tensions and affected large sections of the population, continue to influence political life in Tunisia. The crisis has grown to such an extent that it has generated public uncertainty and fear for the future. Anxiety has been caused, on the one hand, by the illness of the republic's president and the accompanying problem of the succession; on the other, it is due to the overall situation that is increasingly highlighted by the country's slide into the unknown.

The deterioration of the internal situation is largely the result of the rejuvenation of the one-party doctrine, which denies recognition to political plurality.¹ The government is refusing to conduct a serious dialogue with other public forces. Steps are being taken that are in effect limiting the ability of legal parties to function and violating the rights and autonomy of the trade unions.

Moreover, some external quarters have stepped up their efforts to control developments in Tunisia. In the view of the TCP Central Committee, this state of affairs may prejudice the most significant gains of the Tunisian people, including our national independence. A situation governed by uncertainty and fear may open the door to all sorts of gambles.

In this situation our party, which acts from class and patriotic positions in defence of the working people's interests and the nation's independence, has appealed to all of the nation's militant forces, regardless of their politics and orientation, to rise against the looming danger. It is our common duty to undertake the responsibility for Tunisia's destiny.

—What measures are the Communists suggesting in order to halt the crisis and resolve acute national problems?

While it steadfastly propounds its own view about the causes of the present crisis, the TCP underscores the need for an alternative democratic policy. We are urging radical economic, social, and political changes as the condition for genuine harmonious development benefiting the whole people instead of only a privileged minority. At a plenary meeting in November 1984 the TCP Central Committee formulated immediate aims that could, in our view, comprise an action platform for all of the nation's healthy forces.

The party is pressing for steps guaranteeing Tunisia's independence and its right freely to adopt decisions affecting its future and protecting its sovereignty from infringements from without, chiefly from the USA.

In the socio-economic sphere the issue is chiefly that of safeguarding the interests of workers, the poorest peasants, and the jobless. To this end it is necessary, in particular, to establish effective control over prices, increase the population's purchasing power, and run a campaign against corruption.

The government is trying to prove that the Tunisian economy will not stand the strain of a higher living standard for the masses. In reply to this we stress that without meeting the most vital needs of the working people it will be impossible to improve the socio-economic situation as a whole.

There are urgent problems in the sphere of political democracy as well. The Communist Party is calling for an end to all impingements of the principle of pluralism; for guarantees of the independence and unity of the trade union movement and strict compliance with the agreement concluded between it and the government; and for the lifting of all restriction on civil and personal freedoms. For instance, we are demanding a change of the present legislation on the press that in effect gives the authorities total freedom to confiscate individual issues and even forbid opposition newspapers.

—Four years have elapsed since the ban on the Communist Party was lifted. What is the party's present place in the country's social life and what are its relations with other political forces, notably, with the ruling Destour Party?

In July 1981, after an interval of 18 years, the TCP regained its legal status. The Communists had to relearn from scratch, as it were, to live and fight, to adapt to qualitatively new conditions.² For any organisation such a restructuring is no easy matter. We were unexpectedly assisted by a circumstance, which the authorities were planning to use against us. Immediately after it was given legal status the Communist Party had to participate in parliamentary elections (November 1981), for which it was, of course, unprepared. In view of this circumstance and also because of the absence of guarantees of a free expression of will our candidates stood for election in only a few constituencies.

The support that our candidates got from the population exceeded our expectations, demonstrating that the Communist Party has deep roots among the people. During the election campaign the Communists acquainted various sections of the population with their programme and restored their positions in regions (Gafsa, Gabes, Tunis) where they traditionally enjoyed influence.

Today the party is a solidly rooted component of the nation's political scene. Its opinion is respected. Workers, intellectuals, young people, and other sections of the population are gravitating towards it. A prominent role is played in society by our weekly *Al-Tariq al-Jadid*.

Also significant is the fact that the Communists are not isolated from other

organised opposition forces. Apart from the SDP and TCP, there are on the Tunisian political scene the Movement of Democratic Socialists, the Movement of Popular Unity, and the Movement of the Islamic Trend. We have proper relations with them, and meet and compare positions and views. Of course, differences come to the fore, but there also are points of contact, for instance, in questions related to the democratic development of political life, the autonomy of the trade unions, the satisfaction of the workers' socio-economic demands, and so forth.

As regards our relations with the Socialist Destour Party, they are by no means hostile. We are critical of it, since it is the ruling party and bears all the responsibility for the situation in the country. While supporting the positive changes that have in recent years facilitated the democratic process in Tunisia, the TCP constructively criticises the government's actions that are deepening social inequality, limiting civil rights and freedoms, and complicating the activity of the opposition forces. We believe this stand is correct, for the future of Tunisia worries not only the Destour Party. It is the object of our common concern. For that reason all the public forces and opposition movements should have every possibility of playing a role in the nation's life.

¹ The 11th extraordinary congress of the ruling Socialist Destour Party (SDP), held in April 1981, proclaimed the principle of political pluralism and resolved that in addition to the SDP there could be other political parties and social organisations.—*Ed.*

² How the TCP restructured its work under conditions new to it is dealt with in *WMR*, No 11, 1982, pp. 42-50.—*Ed.*

Days of Protest: Mustering of Forces

Luis Gonzalez — CC functionary,
Communist Party of Chile¹

—The reports coming from Chile are that there has been a further hardening of the confrontation between the Pinochet clique and the democratic opposition, which has already conducted eleven National Protest Days. How does the Communist Party of Chile assess this form of opposition to the regime? What are its highlights and significance and how is it influencing the political situation in the country?

The National Protest Days have become an important milestone of the Chilean people's resistance to fascism and a powerful manifestation of their growing opposition to the reactionary dictatorship. They are the result of the people's distinctive creative initiative, which has made it possible to direct popular anger and resentment against fascism's crimes, the mass non-acceptance of the regime, and the inexorable aspiration for freedom into the channel of struggle. The National Protest Days have borne out the urgent need for the immediate restoration of democracy in Chile. They have shown that we are on the correct path by steering towards a nation-wide rising. More, they demonstrate that the people are prepared to follow that path.

It should also be noted that the National Protest Days are increasingly acquiring the form of strikes during which work is stopped by people belonging to different

strata. For example, the first-ever general strike against the dictatorship was held at the close of October 1984 on the initiative of the National Executive Council of the Working People.² These Protest Days and strikes are accompanied by a growth of political and social unity among the opposition—chiefly at grassroots level, the working class has strengthened its leading role, the front of forces opposed to the reactionary dictatorship has widened, and the methods of struggle have grown more diversified.

Being the result of the joint action of all opposition currents, the Protest Days have been given their most striking political expression in the activities of the People's Democratic Movement coalition that came into being at the height of these Protest Days in 1983. In the coalition itself the Communist Party is winning growing recognition.

The exceptionally broad composition of the forces taking part in the Protest Days determines the diversity of the forms and methods of struggle. The Communists highly value every manifestation of resistance to the junta—the popular 'clanging of pots and pans', the protests by telephone, the leaflets, the slogans and drawings on walls, the hunger strikes, the marches, the 'go slow' work, and the strikes; the organised self-defence of the population is gaining momentum; the open clashes with the police, the acts of sabotage, the armed attacks on army barracks and on security forces—all these diverse actions, creatively utilised by the masses, are enhancing the organisation and determination of the people and reinforcing their faith in their own strength.

These battles have placed the regime in a deeper crisis and fostered the maturing of the subjective factor of struggle. The Pinochet dictatorship is tottering: its upper echelon, the cabinet of ministers, is undergoing a protracted reshuffling. Debates are growing sharper in the military apparatus over a way out of the crisis and these can no longer be concealed. All this is worrying the US Department of State, which is undisguisedly interfering in Chile's internal affairs, displaying nervousness over the rapid shrinking of the dictatorship's space for manoeuvre.

—Could you say a few words about other areas of the struggle the democratic forces are waging against the Pinochet regime?

As I have already said, various means are used and perfected during the National Protest Days: old and new, violent and peaceful. All are designed to achieve the common aims of the democratic forces, aims that are expressed in the call: 'Down with Pinochet! Democracy Now!' People are demanding respect for civil rights and freedoms (association, speech, the press, assembly, and so on), the release of political prisoners, and permission for exiles to return home. At the same time, the various groups of working people are making their own demands. For instance, it is important to note that the call 'Down with Pinochet! Democracy Now!' has the central place in the programme of the National Executive Council of the Working People. This programme consists of 21 points and touches mainly on labour issues.

The democratic forces have to counter the dictatorship's wide-ranging ideological offensive spearheaded by anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, which underlies Pinochet's policies. On the other hand, an ideological confrontation (true, in an entirely different dimension) is unfolding between the Communists and the other opposition currents. Some quarters are trying to rule out in advance the possibility of the Communists participating in the country's administration after the dictatorship is deposed and are attacking them. It is consequently a matter of removing the obstacles being erected by some elements with the purpose of making it difficult to achieve unity. Equally, it is vital to conduct a polemic with proponents of conciliation and to

fight for a correct understanding of the role of the masses, for hegemony in the opposition movement.

The question of violent actions, for instance, has become the subject of debate in some opposition circles. In this connection, the Communists are, above all, championing the people's right to self-defence and are trying to prove (naturally, not in the abstract but in the course of the struggle itself) that in the battles against a regime like the Pinochet dictatorship it is by no means enough to use peaceful, non-violent methods. Moreover, the self-defence of the masses is a matter for the people themselves and not a question of subjective desire.

Resistance to the dictatorship has brought to life military-political organisations. Among these mention must be made of the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front, which has proclaimed itself the 'armed hand' of the people. We sympathise with the front's patriotic fighters, who are risking their lives for the lofty and humane ideals of democracy, justice and freedom. The Front's acts of sabotage against strategic agencies, its seizure of radio stations, and its attacks on various headquarters and barracks of the repressive forces are an important and vital part of the common struggle. It is already now making a contribution to the offensive against the Pinochet regime, a contribution that has the respect of the Chilean people, and in the future it is its mission to become an indispensable component of the anti-dictatorship rising of the masses.

—In early November 1984, seeking to suppress the actions of the people, the dictator proclaimed a state of siege in Chile. Will this hardening of the repressions not cause a certain decline of the national protest movement?

It is our belief that an unprecedented crisis situation, which is to be observed in all spheres of life, has now taken shape in Chile. This is acknowledged not only by the democratic forces but also by an important social institution like the Catholic Church. It is obvious to everybody that the Pinochet regime has been weakened and in greater isolation than ever before. It can offer society nothing except anti-communism and repressions. The pillaging of the country by imperialist capital, the parasitism of the local financial oligarchy, and the poverty and starvation of the masses have reached incredible proportions. These conditions are witnessing a mounting struggle by the Chilean people, who are displaying miracles of courage and heroism, a high level of organisation, and an unflinching revolutionary spirit.

The proclamation of a state of siege and the intensification of repressions are a sign of the regime's weakness, not its strength. By stepping up terror, the fascist dictatorship is trying to save itself from the people's anger. But this measure will not help it to surmount the crisis, nor will it serve to resolve the regime's own contradictions, which are growing.

In the situation following the enforcement of the state of siege the people are developing new ways of struggle.

—What are the Communists and their allies in the People's Democratic Movement doing to end the disagreements and draw closer to the other anti-dictatorship forces?

A sense of unity has become widespread and sunk deep roots among the masses. But the social organisations are heterogeneous politically, and this demands day-to-day effort in order to achieve unity. The fact that this problem can be successfully resolved is borne out by the appearance of what we call 'social concord tables'³ in many places.

On the political level we are seeking to conclude an agreement between the three major coalitions of the democratic opposition. Apart from the People's Democratic

Movement these are the Socialist Bloc and the Democratic Alliance. At present the views of the coalitions coincide in three main directions. Each wants the resignation of Pinochet as the primary condition for a return to democracy, the formation of a provisional government, and the convocation of a Constituent Assembly that would draw up a new Constitution and submit it to a national referendum.

The People's Democratic Movement is calling for broad national concord. In the Socialist Bloc, too, there is a predominance of elements urging unity among all opposition forces without exception. Meanwhile, in the Democratic Alliance a sharp debate is under way between two currents: one is prepared for joint actions, but the other is dominated by a trend that favours a smaller opposition and conciliation with the regime.

National concord is vital not only to put an end to the dictatorship but also to take the country out of the crisis. To achieve this it is important, in the first place, to reinforce and widen mutual understanding at grassroots level. In many cases there already is understanding that all the opposition forces have to be mobilised. For example, with the active participation of the Communists there is now a representative organ of joint action. This is the National Leadership of the Movement of Protest and Struggle for Democracy, which, in addition to the three political coalitions unites public and trade union organisations. Stronger links are being forged between the People's Democratic Movement and the Socialist Bloc which make a large section of Chile's left-wing forces. As a precondition for a political agreement the Democratic Alliance insists that the PDM, including the Communists, should withdraw support for the people's vital and legitimate right to violence in the anti-fascist struggle. However that may be, in the DA and SB there is a growing body of opinion in favour of unity with the People's Democratic Movement. This is facilitating dialogue and helping to promote the unitary process.

Of course, the regime is doing all it can to prevent agreement between the opposition forces. It is seeking understanding with the Democratic Alliance or at least with one of its currents. Hitherto, these attempts have failed but it is obvious that the dictatorship will go on making them.

Thus, for objective reasons the opposition is still divided. The forces comprising it are putting forward two projects that differ from each other in strategic terms. One calls for advanced democracy and, in addition to the overthrow of the Pinochet regime, urges the reorganisation of the material basis and superstructure that permitted fascism to appear and develop in Chile. The second is limited to traditional bourgeois democracy. Naturally, in the opposition—which consists of a wide spectrum of social forces—a struggle is going on for supremacy. In our view, all these matters should be settled in the course of joint action against the common enemy.

¹ The replies were received from the author directly from Chile.—*Ed.*

² This Council unites practically all unionised working people.—*Ed.*

³ These are regional and local committees consisting of representatives of diverse social forces, including the Communists.—*Ed.*

Documents

ITALY

A CALL THAT STARTED A CAMPAIGN

The Leadership of the Italian Communist Party has called upon all party organisations to join in a massive political campaign to demonstrate the communists' mature approach to the nation's most acute problems and boost the party's influence and militancy.

The document notes that the large-scale actions by the working class and the whole people in 1984 allowed easing the effects of the brutal assault on the interests of the working people and taking the first timid steps in the direction of fair taxation. The international economic situation facilitated some vitalisation of the Italian economy. However, this did not bring about any improvement of the living standard and working conditions of the masses. On the contrary, the problems of unemployment has grown more acute, the burden of exploitation has grown heavier, and there has been a deterioration of the condition of the needy—mainly of pensioners who have the smallest incomes. On the whole, there has been an aggravation of inequality and social injustice in Italian society.

Millions of men, women, and young people understand and feel that a moment of decision is impending, that economic, social, and political changes are imminent. No democratic changes are possible without the participation of the Communists, the document says. In this context it is crucial to strengthen the ICP all-sidedly, to reinforce, above all, its role as a large organised force that serves as the most stable and dependable bulwark of the working people, of the cause of democracy in Italy. For the Italian Communists the party is not an end in itself but a key and indispensable instrument for championing the interests of the people.

Proceeding from the imperatives of the present stage of the socio-political struggle, the Communists are appealing to workers, working intellectuals, women, young people, and senior citizens, to all who feel the need for active participation in society's life, to join the ICP in order to help, with their experience and ideas, to strengthen and rejuvenate the party.

In the Mirror of the Press

GROWING ROLE OF 'STRONGPOINTS'

In the socialist countries the ruling parties are giving steadily growing attention to their primary organisations. This is quite natural, for these organisations function in the midst of the people, mobilising the latter for the fulfilment of the new society's creative tasks and being, to use Lenin's words, a 'base' for the Communists in their agitation propaganda, and practical organising work among the masses.¹

Considerable assistance is extended to primary organisations by journals specialising in reporting party life. The topical themes addressed in these journals include enhancing the militancy of the lower party organisations; reinforcing their significance as the political core of the work collective; improving the style, forms, and methods of party leadership; and educating young Communists.

The regular features constantly attracting reader attention in *Partiinaya zhizn* (Party Life), journal of the CPSU Central Committee, are 'Extra-Mural Seminar for Secretaries of Party Organisations', 'School of the Party Group Organiser', and 'Party Monitoring of Management'. Under these headings the journal carries articles that help elected activists to master many forms of work; inform Communists of the experience of advanced organisations; offer advice helping to promote inner-party democracy, criticism and self-criticism, initiatives, and sense of responsibility of Communists, and fostering their activity in working out and implementing decisions.

Many of the articles in *Partiinaya zhizn* are designated for young Communists. The journal seeks to help them master the fundamentals of Lenin's teaching on the party, the principles underlying the party's revolutionary-transformative work, and the norms of inner-party life. A book headed *School for Young Communists* has been brought out on the basis of theoretical and scientific-methodological articles published in recent years.

Party journals give constant coverage to matters related to the party's leadership of the national economy. For instance, *Neuer Weg*, journal of the SUPG Central Committee, carries many articles on the role of party organisations in furthering the efficiency and intensification of production and reducing costs; economising on resources, materials, and funds; introducing advanced forms of organisation and providing labour incentives. Large-scale tasks in carrying out the SUPG's economic strategy, as has been stressed in many articles printed in the journal, require a steady improvement of the work with people in the first place. The Communists make sure that every step in intensifying and rationalising production is discussed substantively with the workforce and accompanied by an improvement of their working and living conditions.

Neuer Weg has supported the initiative of party organisations that have adopted what are now known as 'militant programmes'. As distinct from commitments taken under emulation programmes, these envisage ideological, political, and organisational measures through which the Communists ensure the all-sided fulfilment and overfulfilment of plan targets; individual party assignments are determined on the basis of these 'militant programmes'. This advanced experience is disseminated by articles written by secretaries of factory party committees and by advice on how to turn the 'militant programmes' into a means of political guidance of the economy.

El militante comunista, journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, likewise gives considerable coverage to economic issues. For instance, under the feature heading 'Why We Are Working Profitably' it disseminates the know-how of party organisations in giving political backing to a high level of efficiency in production. Seeing the topicality and significance of articles of this kind, the municipal committees of the Communist Party of Cuba often recommend that Communists study them collectively or individually. Frequently on their own initiative members of primary organisation discuss articles from the journal at their meetings.

Among Cuban Communists much popularity is enjoyed by material that *El militante comunista* has recently begun to print under the heading 'Concise Economic Dictionary'. This briefly and in popular form addresses basic laws and concepts of political economy that each person has to know in order to understand the party's economic policy. Many Communists make their own collections of this material

and—this is the important point—use the knowledge they gain from it in their day-to-day work among the people.

In giving closer attention to economic problems, the party journals see one of their main aims in helping Communists, especially new members of the party, to acquire a better understanding of their personal role in and responsibility for the implementation of party policy.

¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 354.

A Further Insight

FOR A UNITED YOUTH FRONT

It has already been reported in our journal that a new Marxist-Leninist organisation, the Young Communist League of the USA,¹ has been founded by activists of the Young Workers' Liberation League with the support of the Communist Party.

Two years have passed since the League was constituted. Joseph Simms, Executive Committee member of the YCL's National Committee, speaks of its experience, problems, and assessment of the situation in the US youth movement.

Our organisation has been founded at a time that is not easy for the young generation in the USA. The ruling class is feverishly trying to turn young people into tools for imperialism. They are being ideologically prepared for war, for service at the new nuclear missile sites in Europe, for unquestioning fulfilment of the will of US reaction in flashpoints throughout the world. US monopoly capital is endeavouring to demoralise young people, to corrupt them morally, to divert them from the path of social struggle, to turn them against existing socialism in general and the Soviet Union in particular. At the same time, attempts are being made to incite youth against the organised working class with sophisticated anti-union propaganda.

To counter all this is a very difficult and complex thing. And still, even the first two years of our League's existence have proved that a mass action-oriented Young Communist organisation can be established in the USA. Already during and after the preconvention period (April-May 1983) a large number of working youth, black and white Americans, young people from racially and nationally oppressed backgrounds, joined the YCL.

How does this tie in with what I have already said? A dialectical analysis of reality allows bringing to light not only negative but also positive elements. It is becoming increasingly obvious that something very new is taking place in the United States. A very profound and deeply-rooted movement of the people for basic changes is growing. This has been shown, for example, by the massive demonstrations for jobs and against the war preparations.

Young Americans are not standing aloof from the new tendencies. Today's generations are vastly different from past generations. Underlying this distinction is the qualitatively new international and domestic situation. Americans have never before had to face such serious problems as today. Very many young people have to

cope daily with problems such as getting enough food, clothing, and shelter. A significant number confront the problem of unemployment, the prospect of spending their lives in a fruitless hunt for jobs.²

The present administration is cutting the programmes of aid to the needy, slashing budget allocations for social security and medicare. It has strung up social security payments to college students, school lunch programmes, and professional training programmes. The public education system is deteriorating, tuition fees are rising, and illiteracy is growing. And all this is done in an effort to divert funds to go on increasing the already swollen military budget.

The Reagan offensive against young people is forcing the latter to respond. More and more young people of different political orientation are protesting against racial violence, budget cuts, and the arms race. Anti-monopoly tendencies are growing. There is a process of accelerating radicalisation taking place. Young people tend more to see the class struggle as a point of reference for the solution of their problems. There has been an important change in how young Americans view words like 'Communist' and 'socialism'. They now want to know what the Communists think about the problems facing the nation. And we have to give them Marxist-Leninist evaluations of developments at home and on the international scene.

Of course we still have to do much to burn racist, anti-working class, anti-socialist, and anti-Soviet influences out of their consciousness. That is why we feel it is so important to acquire, as quickly as possible, experience of ideological work among young people, of advocating socialism. Much will depend on how the YCL's activity is related to the class struggle of the workers. We are seeking to defend the rights of young people at all levels, to bring special youth issues and problems to the trade unions for effective action. This is the only way the YCL can prove to young people that it is in fact championing their interests.

The issues of peace, democracy, and progress have become the centrepiece of the struggle of young workers, college students, and racially and nationally oppressed youth. This means that greater coordination, cooperation, and joint action of the various fronts, forces, and organisations can be realised within the framework of opposition to the policy of ultra-reactionary imperialist circles.

From our point of view it is necessary to use different forms of struggle to give all sections of the younger generation the opportunity to voice their protest; to combine work in election campaigns with legislative actions and mass forms of struggle; to organise actions under democratic slogans as well as under political, class ones. The League is trying to introduce advanced, socialist ideas and working class experience and tactics into the democratic youth movement.

We are getting inestimably valuable assistance in all our work from our senior comrades, the Communists. Having played a key role in forming the YCL, the Communist Party is giving it the benefit of its vast experience of work with the youth movement and drawing YCL members into active participation in the struggle for peace, social progress, democracy, and equal rights for nationally oppressed minorities. Last year we were able to take part in the CPUSA's election campaign. YCL activists solicited signatures under petitions to obtain ballot status for Communist candidates³ and distributed pre-election literature. In his summation of the election results the CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall spoke highly of the YCL's contribution.

We think that at present it is necessary to take practical steps to form a united youth front. As a matter of fact, the basis of such a front began to be laid during last year's election campaign, when we put forward our platform. Its key issues are the struggles against the anti-popular policy of US ruling circles and against the threat of a nuclear war.

It must be stressed that the fight for peace in the USA is at a new level and the youth

constitute a major part of it. There is a growing understanding that the country's problems—the crisis, the unemployment, the decay of the cities, the problems of the environment, and many others—can be solved if there is a massive shift from military spending.

The YCL cooperates with all peace forces irrespective of their ideological views. Young Communists participate in organising and conducting practically all the anti-war actions in the country and are active in the campaign to freeze the production and testing of weapons of mass destruction.

We think that the preparations for the World Youth and Students Festival, to be held in Moscow this summer, are an important step in rallying the American youth. On the eve of the festival the YCL is concentrating on the problem of peace and building festival committees on as wide a basis as possible, to include youth organisations from the trade unions and the civil rights movement, as well as unaffiliated young people, who constitute the majority of the younger generation.

We think that it is very important that the festival is to be held in the capital of the world's first socialist country. Young Americans will have the opportunity to learn at first-hand the views of the Soviet people, especially of the Soviet youth, and what socialism means for young people. We are sure that the festival will help us to counter anti-communist and anti-socialist influences in some youth circles in the USA.

¹ See *WMR*, No. 8, 1984, p. 124.—*Ed.*

² Approximately 25-30 per cent of the youth are jobless. For Afro-Americans and other oppressed minorities the unemployment statistics are even higher.

³ The CPUSA obtained ballot status in 23 of the 50 states and in District Columbia.

In Brief

A CALL FOR UNITY

The second conference of the communist and workers' parties of the Eastern Mediterranean, the Near and Middle East and the Red Sea area has been held in Nicosia, Cyprus. The participants adopted a statement in which they called on all peoples in the region to step up their action against imperialist bases, aggressive pacts and local wars. They also said they were convinced that it was time to convene an international conference of communist and workers' parties to coordinate joint action against the imperialist threat, for detente and peace.

AUSTRALIA

In accordance with a decision of the Fifth Congress of the Socialist Party of Australia, the previously published bimonthly party organ *The Socialist* has been replaced with *The Guardian*, a new publication. Now the newspaper which reflects the Australian Communists' view of national and international issues appears every week.

BANGLADESH

The Communist Party of Bangladesh sponsored a mass rally at Dacca's central square and a demonstration of many thousands of people, conducted, in February 1985, under the slogans 'Down with US Imperialism' and 'Guarantee the Rights of Workers and Peasants'.

BULGARIA

A plenary meeting the BCP Central Committee held on February 12 and 13, 1985 decided that the next, 13th party congress would be convened in the first half of April 1986.

BRAZIL

The leadership of the Brazilian Communist Party has sent a message to Tancred Neves, the country's president-elect, proposing a number of socio-economic and political reforms. The party believes that anti-democratic and authoritarian appurtenances of the military dictatorship should be eliminated and that an independent course should be pursued in international affairs; specifically, relations between Brazil and Cuba should be restored.

VIETNAM

A conference on the theoretical and practical aspects of 'The Leading Role of the CPV in Socialist Construction at the Initial Stage of the Transition Period' has been held in Hanoi, attended by party workers, scholars, representatives of various sectors of the national economy and guests from several socialist countries.

ITALY

A theoretical conference on 'Democracy and Socialism in the Works of Palmiro Togliatti' has been held in Rome, sponsored by the Antonio Gramsci Institute. Attending the conference were prominent political and public figures and CPI leaders.

NORWAY

Friheten, the Communist Party of Norway newspaper, has successfully concluded its fund-raising drive. Party members and sympathisers have contributed a total of 460,000 kroner (about 50,500 US dollars) to the treasury of the party organ—five per cent more than the target figure.

PORTUGAL

Over 10,000 new members, many of them young people and women, were admitted to the Portuguese Communist Party from June to December 1984.

UNITED STATES

Topical issues concerning ways to step up the struggle of working people for curbing the nuclear arms race and for durable world-wide peace have been discussed by the participants in a seminar organised in Philadelphia by the Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware branches of the CPUSA.

exchange of views, discussion

Contradictions Under Socialism: Analysing the Dialectics

Academician *Alfred Kosing* – GDR
Academy of Sciences, Vice-President,
International Federation of Philosophical
Societies

THE numerous discussions in the fraternal countries on contradictions under socialism show the tangible growth of theoretical and practical interest in these problems.* Experience indicates that the new society is a social organism whose dynamic progress runs through the development, resolution and purposeful use of internal contradictions as the motive forces.

Practice over the past decade has enabled social scientists in the GDR to gain a better comprehension of the great fundamental and applied importance of the dialectical law of the unity and struggle of opposites for the balanced construction and perfection of developed socialism. A *theoretical analysis* of the system of interacting contradictions, of their content and of the mode required for their resolution in each case is especially important for consciously mastering and using contradictions to make the socialist society dynamic and stable. That is why the fraternal parties attach so much importance to these problems in their theoretical work.

Social scientists have also considered the sharpening antagonism between socialism and imperialism owing to the line of confrontation in international relations which is being conducted by influential imperialist circles. The recent growth of interaction between internal and external contradictions in the development of the socialist society is also meaningful.

None of these problems can be discussed or clarified outside the context of the ideological struggle between socialism and imperialism. One of the important lines of imperialism's current ideological subversion against existing socialism consists of claims that the problems and difficulties in its development, above all its contradictions, are antagonisms that cannot be resolved and that allegedly lead to inevitable social conflicts and crises. In this ideological situation it is undoubtedly important to analyse with the utmost thoroughness the content of the contradictions under socialism and to determine their character. The one-sided, unfounded, ill-

* See, for instance, P. Fedoseyev, 'The Dialectics of Social Life', *WMR*, No. 9, 1981; N. Stefanov, 'The Role of the Subjective Factor in the Resolution of Contradictions under Socialism', *WMR*, No. 5, 1983.

considered and hasty formulations and conclusions which are made in some discussions do little to clarify the matter.

Further elaboration of the problems arising from contradictions in the development of the new society is an exceptionally important aspect of the study of its dialectics, and it is closely bound up both with the conception of developed socialism and with the Marxist-Leninist parties' practical experience in building and improving it. The aim of such studies is to help improve the theoretical, methodological and conceptual instruments which are required for the practical resolution of contradictions by the Marxist-Leninist party and the socialist state, and for the conscious use of contradictions as the motive forces of social progress. In view of the internationalist character of the conception of developed socialism, as of the existing socialist society, such theoretical work can proceed successfully if the experience and knowledge of all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries are encompassed, considered, compared and summed up in the discussion.

In the light of the experience and theoretical quest of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), we should like here to discuss some of the relevant problems, on the assumption that this could promote the collective shaping of views and advance of knowledge.

Theoretical and Methodological Platform

The idea that the development of the socialist society is also characterised by the origination, movement and resolution of dialectical contradictions is undoubtedly an ineluctable tenet of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, and it is one which in the GDR has been elaborated over the decades with a solid tradition behind it. It is true that there have been simplistic notions of contradictions under socialism and of ways to surmount them. Contradictions, for instance, have often been equated with difficulties or shortcomings, but this is an immature approach that has been overcome in the advance of socialist social science, notably through the extensive discussions of the early 1970s.

The practical experience, the many theoretical discussions on contradictions under socialism and their scientific analysis in the GDR were summed up by an SED CC social sciences conference in December 1983. The report by Kurt Hager, CC Political Bureau member and CC Secretary, gave an analysis of the contradictions reflecting the level of knowledge attained in the GDR and providing the basis for further research. It also formulated the demands in the light of the theoretical and practical tasks in further building a developed socialist society in the country. The report said: 'Over the past several years, our party's philosophers and propagandists have done much to clarify the character and role of dialectical contradictions under socialism and to clear them of the stigma of negativism. But one should not stop there; there is a need for even higher-level studies, because for the time being some tend to confine themselves to a formal recognition of the existence of contradictions. There is a need to delve, in even greater detail, into the substance, content and forms of motion and the mode in which the key contradictions of the socialist society operate. There is a need above all to outline the ways of resolving them for the society's further development. That is a necessary prerequisite for their conscious application as the motive forces of social progress.'¹

If the substance, content and forms of motion and the mode in which the key contradictions of the socialist society operate are to be grasped in detail, there is a basic need to clarify their social character. Are there antagonistic or non-antagonistic contradictions? Or perhaps their character defies precise definition, since antagonistic contradictions may develop into non-antagonistic ones, and vice versa? There is no consensus among our scientists or in international scientific circles on this issue. Nor is this a mere terminological matter, although the less than precise use of the Marxist-

Leninist terminology now and again does have a role to play. We are dealing here with important substantive problems whose solution has considerable political and ideological consequences, and which ultimately involve an assessment of the degree of the socialist society's development and the formation of its new socio-economic quality. That is why there is so much interest in the socialist countries in discussing this question.

What is the theoretical platform for determining the character of contradictions in the socialist society? Marx showed that social contradictions become antagonistic when the separation of labour and property, of the subjective capacity for labour and the objective instruments of labour (that is, private property in the means of production) provides the basis for the emergence of classes and social groups which are ranged against each other, and whose interests, aspirations and objectives are irreconcilable. Consequently, antagonisms originate from the social relations of exploitation and class oppression. They are resolved through sharp class clashes and can ultimately be eliminated only through the revolutionary transformation of the society.

'The bourgeois relations of production,' Marx wrote, 'are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production—antagonistic not in the sense of individual antagonism, but of one arising from the social conditions of life of the individuals; at the same time the productive forces developing in the womb of bourgeois society create the material conditions for the solution of that antagonism.'²

That is sometimes taken to mean that in theoretical terms a distinction should be drawn between two types of antagonisms: social antagonisms and individual antagonisms. From that is drawn the conclusion that social antagonisms in the socialist society are overcome, but that individual antagonisms may remain, with the social antagonisms being reduced to individual antagonisms. We think that such an interpretation cannot be accepted because, in Marx's view, an antagonism is a contradiction which necessarily springs from social conditions, and has nothing to do with the casual hostility of individuals, something that can exist in any society for the most diverse reasons. We think that there is no ground for deducing from that proposition the concept of individual antagonism, because Marx distinctly says that it is not individuals but the social conditions and the social classes they necessarily generate that are the source and subject of antagonisms. The use of the concept of 'individual antagonism', as proposed by some analysts, would produce the notion of antagonism as an everlasting social phenomenon that exists throughout the whole of human history, regardless of the specifics of the society.

As we see it, Marx used the concept of 'antagonism' for the sole purpose of designating a specific type of social contradictions which have for their content the irreconcilable interests of hostile social forces or which were intertwined with them. In social formations based on private property, the class antagonism leaves an imprint on the mode of production, on the social structures, political institutions and social consciousness, in short, on every sphere of social life. It is not only the contradictions rooted in the mode of production, but even many of those which are by nature non-antagonistic acquire the character of antagonism. They acquire such a character because they are interwoven with the interests of hostile classes and also involved in the irreconcilable class struggle. This applies, for instance, to the contradictions between Nature and society, town and country, manual and mental labour, and living and materialised labour.

When the social conditions causing such contradictions to turn into antagonisms disappear, and when these contradictions cease to be an expression of the antithesis and struggle of hostile classes, they lose their antagonistic character. That is what happens throughout the more or less lengthy historical period of socialist revolution and the building of a socialist society. The practical experience of many socialist

countries, including the GDR, shows that the key antagonistic contradictions of the capitalist society are overcome through class struggle and revolution. Meanwhile, other antagonistic contradictions (such as those between Nature and society, town and country, and mental and manual labour) gradually become non-antagonistic. Under favourable conditions, even notorious antagonistic class contradictions can be transformed step by step into non-antagonistic ones and then overcome by exerting due influence on them. Here we have gained some interesting experience. For instance, the rural bourgeoisie and rich peasants were involved in socialist agricultural producer cooperatives, which led to their gradual social transformation into an element of the class of socialist cooperative peasantry. Small and middle industrialists were also involved in developing the socialist national economy. Their social make-up underwent a change: first they acted as co-owners of people's enterprises, and eventually many of them became members of the executive personnel at socialist enterprises without any right in property.

Lenin consistently developed Marx's views and gave a concise formula characterising the relation of antagonism and contradiction in the epoch of the world-wide historical transition to socialism: 'Antagonism and contradiction are not the same thing at all. The former will disappear, the latter will remain under socialism.'³ What does '*will appear*' mean? Does it mean (as some assert) that antagonisms exist throughout the whole of the socialist phase of the new formation, and that they cease to exist only after the society's transition to its higher phase of communism?

I have already said that the replacement of antagonism by non-antagonistic contradiction is a protracted historical process, and not a one-off act. That is an important aspect of the world-wide historical process in which the last antagonistic class society is overcome and transition to the communist social formation is effected. There is no doubt that the time-scale of this process in the various countries will differ depending on the concrete circumstances, but they can be determined more or less objectively. In particular, the length of the process depends on how soon the social conditions which determine the character of contradictions are transformed and stabilised. This transformation is effected mainly at the stage of transition from capitalism to socialism, when there is a radical change in socio-economic and socio-political relations and so a gradual elimination of the basis of antagonisms.

But one should bear in mind that owing to the specifics of the various spheres of social life this process runs an uneven course. Whereas *socio-economic transformations* can take place more or less rapidly, it takes much time to change the *social consciousness, the social mentality and way of thinking*. There the 'relics' of the old society can be preserved for a long time. Even after socio-economic and socio-political transformations have in the main been completed and consolidated and, consequently, after the basis for the existence of antagonisms has been liquidated, their relapses in the sphere of social consciousness, social mentality and way of thinking may exist for a long time. Experience shows that such relics are being fed by the external antagonistic contradiction between socialism and imperialism.

However, in a developed socialist society, social contradictions can no longer become antagonistic, and that is quite natural. After all, at the stage of developed socialism social property in the means of production reigns supreme, the political power of the working class has been solidly established, a socio-political and moral-political unity of classes and strata has been shaped under its leadership, their interests, which are in the main identical, have been historically formed, while the Marxist-Leninist party and the socialist state are engaged in shaping and realising the common social will in a balanced manner. Consequently, in the developed socialist society, there are no longer any objective conditions for the origination of antagonisms.

In our republic, the tasks of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism were in the main fulfilled by the early 1960s. In the more than two decades since then—and most purposefully since the SED's Eighth Congress in 1971—a developed socialist society has been under construction. At this stage, the social antagonisms have been finally surmounted, mainly through their resolution and partially through their conversion into non-antagonistic contradictions, which does not, of course, rule out the existence of relics and relapses in the sphere of social consciousness, social mentality and way of thinking.

The SED CC social sciences conference made a clear-cut statement of that fact and theoretically summed up our party's long practical experience and the results of its theoretical work: 'With the completion of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, with the full triumph of the socialist relations of production, the character of social contradictions tends to change in the course of building a developed socialist society. The capitalist class society, based on man's exploitation of man, has been eliminated, and together with it the irreconcilable struggle, the antagonistic contradiction between the hostile classes. Under socialism, the working class, the cooperative peasantry, the intelligentsia and other social strata closely cooperate with each other and have identical interests. The contradictions between social and individual interests, which emerge in the process of development, in the search for new approaches and the application are non-antagonistic.'

'Indeed, the fact that the contradictions of developed socialism are no longer antagonistic gives the party and the state a great advantage, which is the capacity to exert a conscious influence on these contradictions in unfolding them, directing them, giving them the necessary forms and consciously using them as the motive forces of development.'⁴

Untenable Thesis on Antagonisms

By contrast, some social scientists in the GDR and other socialist countries believe that antagonisms also originate and operate within the developed socialist society, while non-antagonistic contradictions may be transformed into antagonistic ones or may acquire antagonistic features, a thesis frequently backed up with references to the sharpening of the class struggle between the forces of socialism and counter-revolution in some socialist countries. But is it right to draw the conclusion in the light of such facts that under socialism there are antagonistic contradictions, struggle and crises? Elementary methodological errors are evident in that line of argument.

First, there is a breach of the principle of the concrete historical approach: what is meant is 'socialism' generally. Second, the individual is elevated to the rank of the general: a wide-ranging conclusion is drawn from a fact that is determined by concrete historical causes. Neither the one, nor the other is admissible from the standpoint of the dialectical method. Materialist dialectics is incompatible with such indiscriminate snatching of isolated examples from the concatenation of socio-economic phenomena. In contrast to such an undialectical approach, it requires the *concrete historical and comprehensive* analysis of the given level of development of the socialist society in the given country, of its relations of production, of its social structure, political system and ideological superstructure. Only then is it possible to discover the origin, content, social character and trends in the development of contradictions.

It appears that social antagonisms, which have a considerable role to play in definite conditions and which are variously interlaced with newly emerging non-antagonistic contradictions, may appear in a socialist country, until it has fulfilled the tasks of the transition period and has completed socialist transformation in every sphere. It would be clearly groundless to try to deduce from that the origination,

existence and operation of antagonistic contradictions 'in socialism', to say nothing of a developed socialist society.

Now and again references to the origination of social crisis in individual socialist countries are made in discussions concerning the antagonistic or non-antagonistic character of contradictions under socialism as an argument for the existence of antagonistic contradictions. However, we believe that it would be an oversimplification to explain these situations of crisis exclusively or mainly from the operation of antagonistic contradictions.

The external antagonistic contradiction between socialism and imperialism undoubtedly has a definite part to play in the origination of social crisis. Through its policy of blackmail, threats and sanctions, and also active support of internal counter-revolution, imperialism invariably tries to split up the socialist community and to wrench this or that country from it. However, the fundamental question is: the aggravation of which internal contradictions tends so gravely to disorganise social life and the functioning of the state system as to produce a situation of crisis? There is no doubt that such a situation does not always result from the antagonistic contradictions which still exist in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. It can also originate in consequence of mistakes, as a result of which a section of the working people were now and again alienated from the Marxist-Leninist party. Experience shows that with unity and trust between the working people and the socialist state, and also the Marxist-Leninist party, the internal and external forces hostile to socialism have never had any favourable opportunities for their activity, that it was possible to maintain control of the still existing antagonisms, and to prevent a situation of crisis from developing.

Let us formulate the question in this way: does the sharpening of the relations which has occurred in some socialist countries mean that truly antagonistic contradictions arose between the working people, on the one hand, and the socialist state power and the Marxist-Leninist party, on the other, i.e., that there was a clash between the irreconcilable interests of hostile forces? Obviously it does not. Let us note in this context that many ideologists of imperialism have not only been constantly trying to ascribe all kinds of antagonisms to the socialist society, but have also claimed that the working people's interests are allegedly antagonistic to those of the socialist state power and the Marxist-Leninist party. But there can be no question of such antagonisms even when social conflicts arise in consequence of major mistakes. After all, the fundamental common interests continue to be the objective foundation for the resolution of these contradictions.

In-Depth Study of Actual Problems

The thesis that antagonistic contradictions tend to originate and operate in the developed socialist society necessarily suggests that there should also be social forces in that society whose interests are irreconcilable and antithetically hostile to each other. Those who advocate the thesis do not find it easy to discover such contradictions which cannot be resolved within the framework of socialism, especially in the developed socialist society, where the common basic interests of all the classes and strata have the predominant role, and where a solid alliance of the working class and the class of cooperative peasantry, intelligentsia and other working groups has been forged under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party. Even if one takes into account the fact that the replacement of antagonism by non-antagonistic contradictions is a protracted historical process which tends to run an uneven course in the various spheres of social life, we shall hardly be able to find that kind of antithesis of interests between the strata of the society in the GDR under the level of development of socialism which has now been attained. Antagonistic

contradictions between the interests of classes, strata or groups in that society have lost their social basis.

The attempt to substantiate the thesis concerning antagonisms under developed socialism has produced what I believe to be the untenable assertion that members of the former exploiter classes, the petty bourgeoisie, the former civil-servant bureaucracy and anti-social elements are the social vehicles of these antagonisms. Such an assertion is true for the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, and that is an element which must certainly be reckoned with at the following stage in building the new society that is immediately contiguous to it. But the situation undergoes a drastic change with the establishment of developed socialism, and that is why this line of argument appears to be simply untenable in theoretical terms.

In political and ideological terms, however, it may merely disorient social practice. The GDR's experience fully bears out the idea that in the course of the socialist revolution, socialist construction and the building of a developed socialist society, the classes and strata are subjected to radical social transformations. In the course of such an in-depth restructuring, there is a qualitative change in the social, political, ideological and moral make-up both of social groups and individuals, a fundamental and law-governed tendency which does not at all lose its strength just because survivals of the past remain in the social consciousness, the social psychology, etc. There is, in fact, no objective ground for trying to find the social groups which could be regarded as representatives of former exploiter classes.

In the discussion of these problems, there is also evidence of yet another line of argument maintaining the assertion that antagonisms do exist under developed socialism. The fact that under definite circumstances contradictions may be sharpened is now and again used as evidence that these contradictions are antagonisms, or at any rate, that they acquire antagonistic features. In our view, those who back this line of argument suggest that any social contradiction falls within the model of antagonism. The shaping of such an approach may be due to the long history of antagonistic social formations and the domination of antagonisms, but it cannot be seen as justified. Indeed, such a view tends to reduce non-antagonistic contradictions to the level of inferior contradictions. But it is clear that under definite conditions, any non-antagonistic social contradiction may be sharpened in the process of its movement, because there is always a struggle of opposites.

The sharpening occurs because the contradiction has developed in an inadequate way, or because the institutions of the socialist society failed to exert a conscious influence on the process of its movement and to seek the necessary forms for its resolution, letting things take their course instead of controlling the situation. A contradiction may also be sharpened in consequence of miscalculations, when the wrong direction is imparted to its movement, so generating new contradictions which lead to difficulties and tend to slow down the society's development. (Let us note in passing that just because it is not right to identify contradictions and difficulties, it does not follow that contradictions, their development and resolution do not involve any difficulties. These are not contradictions, but they are frequently the signs and symptoms of existing contradictions.)

We assume, in this connection, that the widely accepted view that any sharpening of contradictions under socialism must be regarded as a negative phenomenon is wrong. Such a view highly oversimplifies the concept of the dialectical process. As the socialist society develops, non-antagonistic contradictions are always resolved through the struggle of opposites, and that is frequently preceded by a phase in the movement of contradictions at which they are sharpened. That is a law-governed phenomenon which has a positive role to play, because contradiction is a relation striving for resolution.

The experience being gained in the GDR shows that the line of intensifying the

national economy and rapidly accelerating scientific and technical progress necessarily sharpens numerous contradictions in the organisation of production, in the technological regime, and in the thinking and behaviour of men and women. All of that makes the resolution of these contradictions even more vital. But the emergent situation is not a result of mistakes. On the contrary, it is produced by the urge to resolve definite contradictions by means of correct and timely measures. In short, such a sharpening of non-antagonistic contradictions has nothing in common with their conversion into antagonism. Nor does it signify that such contradictions acquire antagonistic features. Such notions are ultimately based on the view that antagonism is the only true contradiction, so that a sharpening of contradiction is seen as the criterion for its conversion into antagonism, the latter simply being regarded as the norm.

In the light of what has been said, is it right to rule out the possibility of antagonisms originating or non-antagonistic contradictions being converted into antagonistic ones in the process of building a developed socialist society? Does not dialectics teach, after all, that opposites can develop into each other? It would, of course, be an inadmissible absolutisation to deny such a possibility altogether, but the concrete historical approach requires a very precise indication of the conditions under which such an abstract potentiality could become a reality

From the store of practical experience available in the GDR, we draw the conclusion that a fundamental prerequisite for that would have to consist of socio-economic changes within the foundation of the socialist society resulting in a revival and clash of hostile and irreconcilable class interests. In that sense, 'we have to take into account the constant attempts by the imperialist forces to retard the development of the socialist states and to weaken socialism. But such attempts can lead to the origination of antagonistic contradictions in the socialist society only in the event that, as a result of such encroachments, counter-revolutionary activity got under way, a grave threat to socialism was posed, forms of capitalist property in the means of production originated, together with the reappearance of hostile class opposites, and the working class party ceased to cope with its leading role.'⁵ But in that case, it would not be a matter of non-antagonistic contradictions being converted into antagonistic ones, but of the origination of antagonisms on the basis of hostile classes with irreconcilable interests, aspirations and objectives as the result of a counter-revolutionary elimination of socialism as a social system.

* * *

There is much theoretical and practical significance in a thorough clarification of the character of contradictions under socialism, alongside the other problems of the dialectics of contradictions, which it has been impossible to discuss on these pages. Such an effort will help more deeply to comprehend and more fully to master the processes in the building and perfection of the developed socialist society. That is why international exchanges of opinion on the problems of contradictions under socialism are so important.

¹ K. Hager, *Gesetzmässigkeiten unserer Epoche—Triebkräfte und Werte des Sozialismus. Gesellschaftswissenschaftliche Konferenz des ZK der SED am 15. und 16. Dezember 1983 in Berlin*, p. 71.

² Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, p. 504.

³ *Lenin Miscellany XI*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1931, p. 357 (in Russian).

⁴ K. Hager, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

Anti-War Potential of the National Liberation Forces

An international research group, set up by the WMR Commission for Problems of Peace and Democratic Movements, has looked into basic issues of the relationship between the national liberation movement and the peace struggle. The group consisted of **Jose María Lanao** (CC member, Communist Party of Argentina), **Donald Ramotar** (CC Executive Committee member, People's Progressive Party of Guyana), **Roland Bauer** (CC member, Socialist Unity Party of Germany), **Randolfo Banegas** (CC member, Communist Party of Honduras), **Kadhim Habib** (CC member, Communist Party of Iraq), **Rafic Samhoun** (CC Political Bureau member, Communist Party of Lebanon), **Jose Lava** (CC Political Bureau member, Communist Party of the Philippines), **Raja Collure** (CC Political Bureau alternate member, Communist Party of Sri Lanka), **Ahmed Azad** (South African Communist Party), and Academician **Evgeni Primakov** (Director, Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences), who prepared the following summary of the discussion.

THAT the destiny of peoples is indivisible and that there is a dialectical relationship between the national liberation movement and the anti-war struggle are objective realities of the present. These realities stem from socio-economic, geopolitical and, lastly, military-strategic factors. Such was the primary thesis of the committee discussion in the research group. The participants declared that the various forces interpret the substance, character, and effects of this relationship differently, in accordance with their class positions.

Earnest of Independence and Development

The research group flatly rejected two current extreme viewpoints, the proponents of one of which demand 'sacrificing' the aim of preventing war for the national liberation, revolutionary struggle, and of the other—urge 'peace at all costs'.

An ultra-leftist thesis that ignores the possibility of a situation giving rise to the danger of a world thermonuclear conflict breaking out is in circulation to this day. More, such a conflict is in some cases made out to be the condition that allegedly can favourably influence the course of the national liberation struggle. In present-day circumstances this guideline, it was noted, is tantamount to an extremely dangerous provocation threatening humankind's existence.

On the other hand, some bourgeois politicians and politologists are endeavouring to pound the belief into the mass consciousness that peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-political systems is possible provided the 'social status quo', including the abandonment of the struggle for national freedom and independence, is preserved.

Marxism-Leninism categorically rejects this formulation of the question. In their theory and practice the Communists are consistent in the belief that progressive social changes are objectively irreversible. The substance of peaceful coexistence, they say, lies in excluding military means of settling the historical dispute between the opposing socio-economic systems, between socialism and capitalism. Socialism uncompromisingly champions the interests of national liberation, while capitalism generates neocolonialism and is inseparably linked to it.

At the discussion it was shown that an analysis of misconceived and sometimes dangerous interpretations of the relationship between the national liberation and anti-war movements cannot be confined to a criticism solely of the above antipodal notions. In particular, examples were given to demonstrate that so-called

intermediate views are articulated in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Their proponents reject thermonuclear war as a means of ensuring the independence and progress of the developing nations but, at the same time, refuse to acknowledge that these processes are beneficially influenced by detente and the accompanying cessation of the arms race and by the promotion of peaceful coexistence between states with different socio-economic systems.

The experience of the close of the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s compellingly bears out that this stand is wrong. The pattern of those years—they witnessed an easing of political tension globally and a trend towards lowering the military confrontation between capitalism and socialism—limited, directly and indirectly, the possibility of the USA and its partners putting into effect the counter-revolutionary functions implicit in imperialism. This benefited the course of the national liberation struggle.

At the discussion it was noted that precisely during the detente period favourable conditions took shape for consolidating the advances made in upholding the independence of Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Iran, Afghanistan, and some other countries. Important political and socio-economic progress was made by the peoples of a number of Arab states. Prospects arose for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East: Washington and Tel Aviv had to consent to a conference on this matter with the participation of all interested sides, including the Soviet Union.

Detente gives rise to an international political climate facilitating the consolidation of the sovereignty of the new, liberated nations. The arguments enabling the imperialist powers to maintain military bases and strongpoints on foreign territory lose their credibility. The probability of the confrontation between states of the two systems spreading to the national liberation zone decreases.

It has long been universally acknowledged that an end to the arms race and disarmament are dependable (and perhaps the main) means for effectively resolving such acute problems as, for example, the food, the raw materials, the energy, and the ecological crises, and for extending international economic, scientific, and technological cooperation. Would it not be superfluous to say how this is wanted by the developing countries, whose population suffers from poverty, malnutrition, disease, and illiteracy?

These are only a few of the facts explaining why the most perspicacious leaders of the national liberation movements are emphatically in favour of international detente and looking for ways to enable them to contribute effectively to improving the overall world situation in order to resolve their own problems.

If we look at the beneficial effects of a normalisation of international relations from, so to speak, the opposite end we shall clearly see that imperialism's military preparations are in themselves having an extremely negative impact on the developing nations. An example of this is the aftermath of the resumption by the USA and its closest allies in the mid-1970s of the course towards direct and total confrontation with the socialist world. This aftermath is the extension of this course 'horizontally' (i.e., in breadth) from a global to a regional level, chiefly through the inclusion into the NATO 'sphere of interest' vast areas of the world situated outside the 'North Atlantic region' and the formation of new militarist alliances as police outposts in places where imperialism is finding it hot. Simultaneously, the confrontation is being extended 'vertically' (i.e., in depth) by 'ideologising' politics, by giving it the nature of an anti-communist 'crusade'. Imperialism acts under its banner in the hope of preserving its positions in various parts of the world and retrieving them where they have been lost.

The abandonment of detente by the USA and its closest allies had an immediate effect on the national interests of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Washington's purposeful actions in drawing nations of the three continents into the

orbit of its military-strategic planning have led to a growth of the US military presence there, including the oceans and seas washing these states (the Pacific and Indian oceans, the Persian Gulf, and the Caribbean).

Undisguised attempts have been resumed to remove forcibly regimes unsuited to imperialism and give every support to reactionary forces. With international tension rising it has become much harder to counter the expansionist policies of Israeli Zionism and South African racism. The USA has brazenly occupied Grenada and landed marines in Lebanon. US warships have shelled Lebanese towns and villages. In violation of international law the USA has laid mines in Nicaraguan territorial waters. The tactics of undeclared wars have been reactivated (Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Angola, Nicaragua). Aid is being given to reactionary regimes to suppress popular revolutions—El Salvador and the harassment of apartheid fighters in South Africa are cases in point.

The militarisation of economies and of the whole of social life in the leading capitalist countries is having a pernicious economic, social, and political effect on Asian, African, and Latin American states. In their drive for superprofits the armaments monopolies are using the political situation created by neocolonialist forces to dump obsolete weapons and set up subsidiaries in developing countries. The zone of these countries accounts for from two-thirds to three-fourths of the world's armaments imports.

The USA and its main allies are the principal suppliers of military hardware. In 1978-1982 they accounted for 60 per cent of the world's exports of armaments and military equipment.¹ Further, US armaments are going precisely to countries that are usually the source of aggression or, at least, of the threat of aggression. Large quantities of armaments are supplied to, for example, Israel, which is in occupation of Arab territories and has deprived the Palestinian people of their right to national existence; to Pakistan, that has attacked India time and again and has been turned into a springboard for armed intervention in Afghanistan's affairs; to Honduras, which has become a base for suppressing the revolutionary movements in Central America, notably in Nicaragua and El Salvador; to Thailand, where the Pol Pot butchers of the Kampuchean people have dug in; to South Africa, bastion of apartheid and racism in Africa and of aggression against neighbouring independent nations. Washington is helping Israel, Pakistan, and South Africa to develop their own nuclear weapons.

The military expenditures of the developing nations are inexorably continuing to grow. In 1970 they amounted to 27,800 million dollars or 7.2 per cent of the world's total military spending, while in 1982 they reached correspondingly 100,000 million dollars and 19 per cent. In the gross national product the share of these expenditures—5.9 per cent—is larger than in the GNP of industrialised capitalist countries. According to dependable estimates, a one per cent rise of these expenditures is attended by a 0.23 per cent reduction of investments in the economy and this in turn slows down economic growth by 0.25 per cent. From this it follows that under the present level of military spending by developing nations, the rate of their economic growth is falling by roughly 1.5 per cent annually.²

The socio-economic development of these states is very negatively affected by the fact that a considerable proportion of their military expenditures is in foreign currency. In recent years the increase of the currency portion has been faster than the growth rate of military expenditures as a whole. This is due, in the first place, to the change in the nature of the armaments deliveries from the principal exporting nations. For instance, until 1973 most of the US armaments going to developing nations was supplied gratis, but now commercial transactions have become the predominant form. In 1983, for example, the share of 'aid' was only 0.6 per cent of

these supplies from the USA; the remaining 99.4 per cent consisted of exports on the basis of commercial agreements.³

Further, the numerical growth of the armed forces of Third World countries necessitates enormous outlays of labour resources. This involves the categories in the shortest supply, namely, technical cadres. Militarisation is diverting the most skilled workers, technicians, and engineers from productive employment. Nor is the enlargement of the war industry helping to absorb the huge army of unemployed chiefly because it slows down overall economic development.

Another factor to be taken into account is that the militarisation of the economy of the imperialist powers themselves is creating conditions that are prejudicial to the developing nations harnessed to the capitalist economy. The possibility of their effective participation in the international division of labour is being curtailed, and they are getting a steadily smaller share of the world's trade, which is their chief source of foreign currency. This means that they are getting less and less equipment, technology, and other material products of the scientific and technology revolution needed for the successful solution of socio-economic problems. Spurred by reactionary imperialist circles, the arms race is limiting the possibility of effectively helping nations lagging behind in economic development.

Lastly, the militarisation of the developing nations is very adversely affecting the political processes taking place in them. It is strengthening the social groups and strata linked to the armed forces and to the armaments industry. In turn, this is preventing the democratisation of social life and, in many cases, creating the conditions for reactionary coups and for the establishment of dictatorial regimes, while where such already exist it hinders the struggle against them.

The Struggle Proceeds on Two Levels

The participants in the discussion were unanimous on the point that the imperialist forces have been unable to ease the pressure from the national liberation movement either by specious promises, intimidation, or inventions about a 'communist threat' and 'Soviet expansion'. Although the growth of international tension is creating difficulties for consolidating national sovereignty and socio-economic progress in the new states and for the abolition of the last fragments of colonial possessions, the struggle for the attainment of these goals remains tense.

Asian, African and Latin American countries have been turned from an object to a subject of international relations. The peoples who have won and are defending their national independence have a powerful anti-imperialist potential. In some instances and on major issues the leading capitalist powers can no longer permit themselves to ignore the stand of developing nations. The latter's voice comes loud in the United Nations Organisation, in which they form a large majority.

An extremely important and promising political phenomenon of our day is that progressive forces and public opinion in the developing nations are understanding with growing clarity that for the destinies of peoples it is important to preserve world peace. Hence their mounting striving to take a more active and more effective part in the efforts to consolidate international security, achieve disarmament, and promote mutually beneficial economic, scientific, technological, and cultural cooperation.

These questions have lately been getting priority attention at one of the world's most prestigious forums, the non-aligned movement. In a document adopted at the Delhi conference (March 1983) by the top leaders of its member-nations it is stated: '... Peace and peaceful coexistence, independence, disarmament and development are the central issues of our time. But peace must be based on justice and equality because the intolerable inequality and exploitation established by colonialism and imperialism remain the most important causes of tension, conflict and violence in the world.'⁴

In keeping with this line, the non-aligned states are working for peace, security, and disarmament at two levels—global and regional. Most of them are acting together with the socialist community for general and complete disarmament under effective international control, and are demanding, as partial steps towards nuclear disarmament, the implementation of adopted decisions on the creation of zones free of nuclear weapons. The non-aligned movement's innumerable initiatives for settling local conflicts (the Middle East, the Iran-Iraqi, and other conflicts) constitute a significant contribution to the preservation of peace.

With the growth of the mainstream tendency towards an increase of the role played by developing nations in international relations (as was noted at the discussion, there should be no delusions, of course: this is not a smooth process—there may be setbacks and temporary deviations) they are increasing their contribution to the struggle for peace. However, it should be acknowledged that far from the entire anti-war potential of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is used. There are objective and subjective reasons for this.

First, note was made at the discussion of the extreme economic backwardness of most of the countries concerned. In these countries poverty-stricken masses are absorbed in the day-to-day struggle for existence, for the satisfaction of elementary requirements. This circumstance is selfishly used by the imperialist forces that are resisting a more active inclusion of the peoples in the struggle for peace, against the arms race. They are intent on isolating the developing nations from the global anti-militarist front. The attempts to keep developing societies concentrated on domestic problems have become a method of neocolonialism aimed at pushing these countries from their advances into the backyards of history, at depriving them of their natural allies in the struggle for economic development and social progress.

In the Third World imperialist propaganda is spreading the fable that detente and disarmament are a matter for the great powers, and that the developing nations should be interested only in problems of development. A current variety of this fable is: 'First development, then disarmament.' All these tales are founded on an artificial setting off of related problems, on a distortion of the actual character of the dialectics of their interrelation.

Let us note, however, that a deterioration of socio-economic conditions does not necessarily lead to a relaxation of the struggle for peace. The reverse is to be observed here and there: the decline of the living standard is accompanied by an increase in the number of strikes that more and more frequently acquire an anti-war orientation. In other words, the struggle for jobs is intertwining closely with the struggle against militarism. This was pointed out at the discussion, in particular, by representatives of Latin American communist parties.

From the aforesaid it follows that the struggle for world peace cannot be considered in isolation from the aims of preserving the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and viability of former colonies and semi-colonies, from the struggle for the satisfaction of the people's day-to-day needs. The anti-war movement in Asian, African and Latin American countries can only be invigorated by making the people see the organic unity of the listed problems.

The limitations on democratic rights in some of these countries is a serious obstacle to the peace force. In exchange for military, political, and economic support from imperialist circles the regimes in these countries have become partisans of the latter's neocolonialist expansion and preparations for a nuclear war. A natural outcome of this policy is the ban on anti-war and, especially, anti-imperialist actions. Where, in spite of this, such actions occur brutal retaliation is taken against their participants.

Various regional conflicts—national, religious, caste, and so on—divert public opinion of the national liberation zone nations from the need to invigorate the struggle against the threat of war. In most cases these conflicts are the product of

imperialist provocations. A most tragic confirmation of this is the Iranian-Iraqi conflict,⁵ which the US administration is today using for an ever deeper and massive interference in the affairs of the already explosive Persian Gulf region. Moreover, conflicts of this kind are dangerous in that they may detonate another world war.

Lastly, a vital point is that Asia, Africa and Latin America are situated far from Europe, the epicentre of the nuclear confrontation. This often generates the illusion, encouraged by pro-militarist elements, that the peoples of these three continents will escape the catastrophic effects of another global conflict. Every effort is being made to deny to the people the understanding that with the growth of the destructive power of weapons of mass annihilation another world war would snuff out civilisation as such. As Lenin had warned long before nuclear weapons were developed, an armed conflict with the use of the latest scientific and technological breakthroughs could 'undermine the very foundations of human society'.⁶

At the discussion it was pointed out that in developing countries there is an obvious dearth of truthful information about the foreign political efforts and actions of the socialist community countries and other peace-loving states. The peoples of these states are the object of an increasingly intensive psychological war conducted in unison by innumerable centres of imperialist propaganda. It has to be noted that in some areas they have been successful. For instance, their allegation that the USA and USSR bear an 'equal' or at least a 'mutual' responsibility for the arms race and the dangerous aggravation of the international situation is sowing a certain measure of confusion among the peace fighters, making them indifferent to the problem of global disarmament, and pushing their militancy in the wrong directions.

There is another extremely complex problem, which judging from the opinion of many participants in the discussion, is growing steadily more acute: some influential quarters in developing countries are trying to combine anti-imperialist policy in international affairs with a reactionary and anti-communist domestic policy. The danger is arising that such a tendency will ultimately lead first to a weakening of their anti-imperialist stance and then to compromises and, possibly, even a coalescence with imperialism and other reactionary forces.

Tendencies of this kind are often linked to quests for an ephemeral 'third war' of development—this being very distinctly seen on the example of the 'Islamic explosion'. For instance, the 'anti-imperialist' course of the Iranian fundamentalists,⁷ who have advanced the slogan 'Neither East, Nor West', is particularly odious. In effect, it boils down to harassment of and repressions against the genuinely revolutionary forces in that country, to ever increasing compromises with external imperialist circles.

In considering various aspects of the dialectical relationship between the peace movement and the struggle for national liberation, the participants in the discussion stressed that today it is no longer enough to formulate this question 'traditionally', according to which the national liberation movement adequately facilitates the cause of world peace by striking at neocolonialism. Of course, the successes of the new sovereign nations in strengthening their independence and the economic, political, and cultural advances are a major factor consolidating the position of the peace forces. However, in order to allow for the full utilisation of the anti-war potential of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in the direct struggle to avert a thermonuclear catastrophe there has to be a qualitatively new activation of their efforts to halt the arms race and imperialism's war preparations.

Clear-Cut Landmarks and Dependable Support

The consistent foreign policy line of the socialist community is a powerful counterweight to the imperialist policy of suppressing social and national freedoms. The socialist community, it was noted at the discussion, is a dependable ally of

peoples upholding their sovereignty and independence. Its initiatives may serve as milestones guiding the peace forces in their struggle against the threat of new bondage hanging over Third World countries, if not incineration in nuclear flames.

The socialist world's course towards ending the arms race and achieving disarmament, towards consolidating international security and promoting mutually beneficial cooperation is contributing to the social and economic progress of developing nations. By relying on the global balance of strength that is changing dynamically in favour of socialism, the developing nations have the possibility of implementing their state sovereignty more fully and defending their national interests more reliably.

The military-strategic balance that took shape at the close of the 1960s and the early 1970s between the Soviet Union and the USA and between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO is of special significance to the national liberation movement as a whole. It has limited the potential of the imperialist powers for depriving the developing nations of what they had gained from the abolition of the colonial system. The actions of the socialist countries against Washington's aggressive aspirations are bridling its imperial ambitions by, among other things, effectively helping the new nations to reinforce their economic and defence potential.

The proposals made by the Soviet Union in April 1984 for a mutual restriction of the operations of the Soviet and US navies and also for a mutual withdrawal of missile-carrying submarines from their present extensive military patrol areas and a restriction of their navigation to agreed boundaries are of immense importance to Asia, Africa and Latin America. These proposals are intimately linked to the idea, put forward by the non-aligned movement, of turning the Indian Ocean into a peace zone. From the outset this idea has had the unqualified support of the socialist community.

A major buttress for the peace efforts of the non-aligned countries has been the Warsaw Treaty Organisation's call for an end to the further extension of NATO's sphere of action to any new regions of the world, to the Persian Gulf in particular. The significance of this call is made all the greater by the fact that its initiators have declared categorically that they have no such intentions themselves.

There has been massive support in the Third World for the Warsaw Treaty Organisation's proposal to NATO for a cut-back of military expenditures. The money released by this action could be used for economic and social progress, including assistance to developing countries.

The discussion put special emphasis on the significance of the USSR's contribution towards the settlement of international conflicts in the world's volatile regions, notably in Asia. 'It is the Soviet Union's immutable policy,' said Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 'to waste no precious time in getting down to active, conscientious quests for ways and means of improving the situation on the Asian continent.'⁸

In this context universal attention was attracted by the Soviet proposal of the close of July 1984 for settling the Middle East problem through the collective efforts of all interested sides at an international conference. Indispensable conditions for a just and lasting settlement in that region are: Israel's withdrawal from all the territories occupied by it in 1967; assertion of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the creation of a state of their own; assertion of the right of all the states of the region to security and independence; the elaboration of international guarantees. The significance of the 1980 Soviet proposal for the demilitarisation and neutralisation of the Persian Gulf and the region around it has today grown rather than lessened.

With the firm support of the socialist community, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea

are steadfastly looking for ways to ensure peace in Southeast Asia. They want an active dialogue with the region's other states in order to achieve a mutually acceptable agreement with them. This would be consistent with the interests of the peoples of that region and with the aim of ensuring security in Asia and the whole world.

There has been a considerable international response to Mongolia's proposal for a conference of Asian and Pacific countries with the participation of the UN Security Council's permanent members with the purpose of drawing up a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force. In order to improve the situation in the Far East the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has proposed ending the confrontation on the Korean peninsula, replacing the armistice agreement with a peace treaty between it and South Korea and adopting a declaration on non-aggression between them and on the withdrawal of US troops from South Korea and the dismantling of the US bases in that country, and on prohibiting the deployment of nuclear weapons in South Korea.

The socialist countries are giving their vigorous backing to the efforts being made by progressive forces to find a peaceful, political solution for Central America's pressing problems. The possibility for settling these problems has been opened by the constructive stand adopted by Nicaragua and Cuba, which have pledged support for the proposals of the Contadora group.

The many initiatives launched by the socialist states have compellingly shown that in their policies they proceed from two inseparably linked fundamental provisions—unconditional support for the aspiration of peoples for full political and economic independence and the creation of the conditions for peace and cooperation between all countries, including countries with different socio-political systems. In the developing nations the progressive forces see in this dialectical fusion of the two orientations of the anti-imperialist struggle a dependable road towards the attainment of their most cherished aims.

* * *

This exchange of views in the research group has further reaffirmed the enormous importance of linking the struggle for peace with the defence of national independence and the attainment of the aims related to socio-economic progress. It would be a reliable way of extending and deepening the anti-war movement. The multi-million populations of Asia, Africa and Latin America are the powerful reserve of this movement. This reserve has to be set in motion, and the Communists are prepared to do their utmost to achieve this end.

¹ *The Arms Race and Arms Control (The Shorter SIPRI Year-book, 1983)*, Stockholm, 1983, pp. 14, 159.

² *Security for All. Disarmament Programme. Report of an Independent Commission for Disarmament and Security Under the Chairmanship of Olof Palme*, Moscow, 1982, p. 141 (in Russian); R. L. Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures*, 1983, Washington, 1983, pp. 34, 36.

³ Computed from *Congressional Quarterly Report*, Washington, April 3, 1982, p. 721.

⁴ *New Time*, No. 23, 1983.

⁵ According to available statistics the total number of killed and wounded in this conflict is nearing the 800,000 mark; some three and a half million people have been left homeless; the economic damage is estimated at 350 billion dollars.

⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 422.

⁷ Fundamentalism is propounded by religious schools proclaiming the immutability of dogmas and insisting on a rigid compliance with all the traditional prescriptions of religion. Iranian fundamentalism is a conservative current in Islam, championing the interests of various groups of the petty bourgeoisie. Underlying it is the principle of 'rejuvenating faith', which is seen as a quest for models of society's development on the basis of 'Islamic values'.—Ed.

⁸ *Pravda*, May 24, 1984.

viewpoints

Current Significance of the Struggle Against Fascism

*Salomão Malina** – CC Executive
Committee member, Brazilian Communist Party
(BCP)

THE fortieth anniversary of the Victory over fascism in World War II is an excellent opportunity for all democrats, and especially Communists as the most consistent and resolute champions of a democratic structure for today's world, to again consider the experience which, although comparatively remote in time, is very important in the tackling of the problems we face at the end of the century.

One must not forget that the military defeat of fascism in 1945 saved the world's nations from their worst enemy. This was brought about by the action of a broad coalition of allied states, with the Soviet Union, at that time the world's only socialist country of workers and peasants, playing the decisive role. However, while the defeat of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis put an end to the fascist claims to world domination, it did not destroy the soil giving nourishment to the phenomenon of fascism.

True, socialism has expanded by adding to its ranks new states where the working class clearly has the political upper hand after it has ended bourgeois domination (including fascism) in its countries; in the capitalist world, the class struggle is mounting; decolonisation and national liberation are gaining ground everywhere—all this is self-evident. But it is also a fact that the roots from which this or that strain of the fascist weed may sprout have not yet been completely destroyed.

The reason is simple: in its imperialist stage, capitalism continuously produces and reproduces conditions which make possible the emergence of fascism—what Gheorgi Dimitrov aptly defined as the openly terrorist dictatorship of the more reactionary quarters of finance capital.¹ It follows that the final eradication of the fascist threat on the global scale depends on the elimination of imperialism itself and on its revolutionary replacement with a social system that will lead to communism.

It is in this connection that reflection on the lessons of the past struggle against fascism is not only of historical significance but also, and above all, is an important political task in today's world.

The modest purpose of this article is to retrace the instructive Brazilian experience of anti-fascist struggle and to grasp its contemporary meaning by considering the

* Salomão Malina fought in World War II serving with the Brazilian Expeditionary Force (BEF) in Italy and was awarded Brazil's highest combat award.

community of its manifestations both at the international level (Brazil's participation in World War II on the side of the United Nations) and on the domestic scene (action against the 'new state' and later, against the military dictatorship of the 1960s and 1970s, the Brazilian model of fascism).

Our Prewar Experience

Firmly led by the Communists, Brazil's democratic forces launched their struggle against fascism, organisationally represented by the Brazilian Integralist Action party,² in the early 1930s. In 1935 the Communist Party ideologically sponsored a broad anti-fascist mass movement, the National Liberation Alliance. In November 1935 it staged an armed uprising which was brutally suppressed. Militant solidarity with the Spanish Republic in the years that followed was also an important chapter in the history of the Brazilian people's struggle against fascism—this time on an international scale.

In the course of the past two decades Brazilians again had to face a military, and sometimes openly fascist, dictatorship which, in 1964, started a cycle of reactionary coups in South America, a cycle which is now rapidly approaching its historical end.

While our experience of the 1930s and early 1940s cannot be considered in isolation from previous and subsequent developments, it does deserve special attention, for that was when the close connection between the anti-fascist struggle Brazil was waging in the war against the Axis powers and action for democracy at home was thrown into particularly bold relief. Those were the years that witnessed the emergence of a range of interrelated conditions which highlighted the interconnection between the purposes of anti-fascist action and the objectives of the democratic front.

The tribute we pay to the role Brazil's Communists played in all these efforts does not at all mean that we engage in self-praise: today, even historians far from the working class movement acknowledge that in the political developments of those years the BCP, having applied a correct strategy, effectively linked these two aspects of the struggle in question.

In November 1937, brandishing the demagogic bugbear of 'communist threat' and having unleashed mass reprisals, the reactionaries brought off a classic coup d'état and established a 'new state' regime in Brazil.

The architects of this reactionary political move were no doubt inspired by the record of European fascism: elimination (including physical liquidation) of the democratic opposition by force was accompanied by an expansion in the powers of the executive which refused even to consider any principles of legality. All civil guarantees and rights—true, they were not really typical of the Brazilian tradition—were abolished.

However, the resemblance between the 'new state' and the fascist regimes did not denote a simple transplantation of a political model. It emerged after the defeat of popular and democratic forces in 1935 and, according to the distinctive features of capitalist development in Brazil, was aimed at preventing revolution. As a model in society the 'new state' was an expression of a reactionary alliance between the bourgeois-latifundist elite and the exporters of agricultural produce who represented imperialist interests.

Up to 1940 the 'new state', endorsed by the top brass and officially personified by the caudillo Getúlio Vargas, severely restricted the activities of the opposition. By unleashing reprisals against the more militant section of the working class movement, and taking especially brutal action against the BCP, the dictatorship (which had earlier secured the cooperation of the vacillating liberals) made any democratic moves virtually impossible.

Brazil Enters the War

In 1941 signs clearly heralding a change in the situation appeared. The Nazi aggression against the Soviet Union and the Japanese-US war in the Pacific introduced new elements into the international situation; it became clear that the foreign policy of neutrality pursued by the regime was highly favourable to fascism. The course the war took contributed to a shift in public opinion: the heroic resistance of the Soviet people instilled in the masses confidence that Nazi barbarism could be defeated. At the same time, the US government brought pressure to bear on the Vargas regime, demanding that it take a clear stand.

A series of sinkings of Brazilian vessels by the Nazi navy in early 1942 also played a prominent part. The people responded to these attacks with a powerful and broad movement of protest. Thus anti-fascist sentiments acquired a mass base: opposition to the 'new state' spilled over into the streets, demanding an end to neutrality. In August 1942 Vargas was forced to formally declare war on Italy and Germany.

The following year, clearly, brought a turning point: the Battle of Stalingrad turned the tide of the hostilities on the Soviet-German front. This event generated a widespread response in Brazil. The understanding began to grow that the outcome of the war was a foregone conclusion. The BCP advanced an initiative designed to make tangible Brazil's formal participation in the war on the side of the Allies: shortly before its reorganisation at the Mantiqueira Conference³ the party, together with other democratic currents existing at that time, conducted a national campaign advocating the creation of a Brazilian Expeditionary Force. The force was formed in June 1943.

For the Communists, mobilisation of the masses in support of direct participation by Brazilian troops in the war was not simply action taken against European fascism but had a more far-reaching, strategic significance. They held that Brazil's contribution to the military defeat of the Axis powers would bring a radical change to the alignment of forces at home and that this would open the way to the creation of a broad anti-fascist alliance in Brazilian society. For the BCP, the option of entering the war was a *fundamental political option*: the intensification of the external struggle against fascism that was losing ground was accompanied, in Brazil, by the emergence of conditions favourable for the rallying together of the democratic forces which wanted to *eliminate the 'new state'*. In short, the BCP was well aware of the dialectical unity of the armed struggle against the Axis powers and the battle for democracy at home.

Certain differences of opinion had to be overcome before this strategic course was adopted. Many party members asked how it was possible to advocate action against the fascist bloc taken jointly with those who pursued a profascist domestic policy. Many people saw the overthrow of Vargas as the foremost task.

Nevertheless, the correct course—that of mobilising Brazilians for direct participation in the hostilities—emerged victorious. The creation of a strong expeditionary force and the rout of the 'new state' became the dual purpose of the party's struggle. It called on Communists to join the BEF; many BCP members responded to this appeal and fought like heroes in the war.

The division-strong Brazilian Expeditionary Force (about 20,000 men) fought along the Apennines and then in the Po Valley. Operating together with the Fifth Army (composed mostly of US troops) and the Eighth Army (mostly British) under the Italian Front Command, the BEF fought valiantly at Forno, Collecchio, Monte Castelo and Camaiore. Over 1,000 of my countrymen were killed on Italian soil fighting against fascism. Also fighting on the side of the Allies were units of the Brazilian Navy and Air Force and Merchant Marine sailors.

The Democratic Front and the End of the 'New State'

In 1944 and 1945 the forecasts of the Communists were borne out. The defeat of the Axis powers produced in Brazil an upsurge of a mass movement, and this upsurge isolated the fascist sections of the regime.

Popular action against European fascism opened the way to the formation of a democratic front. Since there was fragmentation and polarisation in the socio-political bloc of the forces supporting the 'new state', leaders who personified the dictatorship—even Vargas himself—gravitated towards the Left. By the end of 1944 clear indications appeared that the 'new state' was no longer viable. In the year that followed the democratic forces launched an offensive and secured the release of political prisoners, an amnesty and a promise of general elections.

The surrender of Nazi Germany accelerated this process. The upswing of the mass movement gave rise to new political parties. Even prior to its legalisation, the BCP came out into the open: it gained ground in the streets, inspired working people and was turning into a big, mass party.

However, even isolated, the reactionary finance bourgeoisie, blatantly supported by the US Embassy, began to hatch plots so as to reverse the developments in the nation. Having somewhat regrouped its ranks, the oligarchic elite drew up a plan for preserving its domination without the help of the still existing but completely demoralised 'new state' apparatus. On October 29, 1945 the elite brought off a palace revolution, deposed Vargas and tried to stop the process of democratisation.

This attempt was frustrated by the supporters of democracy; their forces had grown as a result of the policy of unity in the anti-fascist struggle pursued by the Communists. The putschists were forced to respect the election schedule that had been determined earlier, and at the elections, held in December 1945, champions of democracy won a considerable number of seats in the parliament. The BCP faction emerged as the fourth biggest; the Constituent Assembly which was convened shortly afterward drew up a new political order for the nation and adopted the most democratic constitution in the history of the Brazilian republic.

Over the two years that followed the policy of the party bore new fruit: in 1946 and 1947 the mass movement grew in size and organisation, the people won significant social gains and the BCP, which in 1942 had numbered no more than 5,000 members, was now 200,000-strong.

An analysis of this process, soon interrupted by the advent of the cold war which, in Brazil, took the form of mass reprisals against Communists and popular movements, offers very useful lessons. It is important to single out a highly significant aspect in the collapse of the 'new state': its defeat had a direct connection with the rout of European fascism and with the course pursued by Brazil's Communists. The following features were salient in this course: (a) the political and organisational combination of the struggle against European fascism and the action against the 'new state' regime; (b) the recognition of the military defeat of the Axis powers as the principal task; (c) the concentration of efforts on specific action against these powers; this made it possible to rally the opponents of the 'new state' into a democratic front which eventually isolated Brazilian fascism; (d) the broad scope which the movement attained and which prevented fascist elements, even those that infiltrated the state apparatus, from reversing the political and constitutional course of developments.

Towards the Anti-Fascist Front of Today

I have already mentioned that the anti-fascist struggle in Brazil was not confined to the period we have examined, that is, to the 1930s and 1940s.

Almost twenty years after the fall of the 'new state' a dictatorship was again established in Brazil. As in the worst times of the Vargas rule, the regime imposed on the Brazilian people culminated in the reign of openly fascist methods in the nation's

politics. The military coup of 1964 was aimed at putting an end to the growing revolutionary mass movement. The generals who came to power and who stayed at the helm of the authoritarian state from 1964 to 1984 tried to transform Brazil into a beachhead of imperialist infiltration of the continent, into a US deputy sheriff in Latin America. As early as 1965, Brazilian troops took part in the Pentagon's invasion of the Dominican Republic; the military government severed its diplomatic relations with Cuba, officially granted the armed imperialist intervention in Vietnam, and later granted sizable loans to Pinochet's fascist regime in Chile.

Domestically, the policy was to brutally suppress left and progressive forces. Except for the ruling National Renaissance Union and the then quite docile opposition represented by the Brazilian Democratic Movement, all political parties were banned, thousands of people were thrown into jail or stripped of political rights (this even happened to three former presidents of the country). Under the dictatorship, especially in the mid-1970s, when it assumed an openly terrorist form, the BCP, operating deep underground, suffered heavy losses at the highest, middle and grassroots levels. Over 1,000 Communists were arrested and among them many (including ten members of the Central Committee) ended up 'missing'—in all probability, there were tortured to death. As early as 1973 all this led the party to regard the regime imposed on the country as a fascist military dictatorship—although, naturally, contemporary fascism, which often uses what looks like forms of bourgeois parliamentary rule as a disguise, differs from the fascism of Hitler or Mussolini.

In the wake of the 1964 coup the Brazilian Left widely debated the issue of whether the Communists had taken the right course when they did not take up arms at the time of the military coup. But the party was confident, and openly stated, that only a broad mass movement could put the nation back on the track of democracy. The answer to many questions of concern to Communists and all honest patriots was supplied by the Sixth Congress of our party which was held in 1967, in the extremely difficult conditions of mounting state terrorism. Drawing on the previous experience of anti-fascist struggle, the congress reiterated that there was only one effective way to overthrow the regime—the creation of a broad front of all those opposed to the dictatorship and to the policy of tyranny and ready to fight for a restoration of democracy, even though their efforts were not always consistent. At the same time it was stressed that the nucleus of the front should be made up of the proletariat, the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie and that the bourgeois quarters ousted from their positions in government could also take part.

In the section entitled 'Our Tactics' the resolution of the congress stated, among other things, that 'the priority we accord to the defence of democratic freedoms stems from the need for mass popular participation in politics and in the revolutionary process. The struggle for civil liberties—from freedom of assembly, association and demonstrations to freedom of the press and political parties—is linked with the struggle of the masses at all levels for their urgent demands, with the decisive struggle for power. Each victory, big or small, even each setback in the struggle for democratic liberties enriches us with new experience which will help the masses to attain their goals, to form and temper their organisations and their leaders, and to play an instrumental role in political action leading to the defeat of the dictatorship.'⁴

The Sixth Congress decisions which laid the foundation of the long-term tactics of the struggle against the reactionary regime remain, to this day, the guiding light for the working class and all other forces advocating a democratisation of the nation's politics. One should note that in terms of its two main elements, the course mapped out at the congress can be traced back to the experience which we have already examined and which concerns the actions of the united anti-fascist front during World War II. First, just as in those years long gone, the emphasis is on the role of an

organised mass movement and its pressure on the regime, and any forms of struggle implying undue haste are rejected since they can first lead to an isolation of the working class and then to the destruction of its organisations. Second, special attention is devoted to a democratic elimination of the dictatorship, that is, to the use and perfection of mechanisms of bourgeois parliamentary rule, the prospect being the establishment of a broad democratic front (which, eventually, did deal the mortal blow to the regime). In accordance with these guidelines, both ultra-leftist rhetoric and the practice of resorting to putsches, so typical of authoritarian rule, are rejected.

Let us note that in the course of the transformation of Brazil's military dictatorship into a fascist military one—the transformation which began after the passing of the so-called Institutional Act No. Five,⁵ the prospect of rallying the anti-fascist forces in a mass political movement was becoming increasingly feasible. Moreover, conditions were ripe for expanding it further. The onslaught of fascism prompted more and more political and social forces to confront the regime in various ways, and this boosted popular discontent. And so, just as the Communists foresaw, a democratic front against the dictatorship was gradually being replaced with an anti-fascist front with a more diversified composition, uniting even those who, while not being democrats, opposed fascism.

This unification of a broad spectrum of political forces sent the regime into its historical death throes which recently came to an end.⁶

The Latter-Day Fascists

With the election of Tancredo Neves, the Democratic Alliance⁷ candidate, as President of the republic, the military dictatorship quit the Brazilian political scene. However, this does not mean that the roots of fascism have been extirpated and that there is no danger of its resurrection. The more than 50 years' experience of the struggle against the brown-shirt plague both internationally and in our country indicates that the germ of fascism may be dormant in a society even during a democratic recovery. The task of the Communists is to remain vigilant, exposing the inhuman nature of right-wing extremism and rebuffing the fascist organisations and groups which still operate in our society.

Significantly, it was in Brazil that Tradition, Family and Property (TFP), a well-disguised pseudo-religious sect—in actual fact, a fascist organisation—with its headquarters in São Paulo emerged shortly before the 1964 reactionary coup (and was one of the forces behind it). Its Parliamentary training camps operate in our country to this day. Since the early 1960s, a certain Professor Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira who preaches both 'defence of the purity of Christianity' and diehard anti-communism has been the 'ideologist' and godfather of the TFP. The record of this organisation which has branches in many countries (including Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Argentina and Uruguay) features complicity in anti-democratic coups, vitriolic anti-democratic, anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda and instigative calls for the physical extermination of its ideological opponents.

Quite recently (in November 1984), after sensational exposes, the government of neighbouring Venezuela banned the local TFP affiliate—the so-called Civic Resistance Association. It subjected young people to ideological brainwashing and recruited them into terrorist groups of religious fanatics whose purpose was reshaping of the world by force and 'destruction of communism' at the hands of the 'international army of the TFP'. Not surprisingly, available information indicates that the TFP, with its sinister continent-wide network, is financed by the more reactionary US and Brazilian monopoly capital interests.

It is common knowledge that fascism is not only an inhuman dictatorship of the more rabid quarters of world imperialism but also a constant source of aggression and

international tensions. For example, the 'association' mentioned above (just as neofascist groups in other Latin American countries) takes credit for noisy campaigns of solidarity with the US invasion of Grenada and with imperialist forays against Nicaragua, El Salvador and Cuba, and for propaganda of a 'crusade' against socialism. This is why all those who hold the ideals of democracy dear—and Brazil's Communists have always been their champions—realise full well that by rebuffing latter-day fascists they contribute tangibly to the solution of the foremost issue mankind faces today—that of preventing nuclear war and preserving world peace.

The lessons of the struggle against the brownshirt plague the Communists, inspired by the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, waged in the 1930s, 1940s and subsequent years, remain as topical as ever. And today, as before, life itself confirms that the militant anti-fascist position of our party is the only stand that is right.

¹ See G. Dimitrov, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1957, p. 376 (in Russian).

² The Brazilian Integralist Action was a fascist party founded in October 1932 and led by Plinio Salgado. The 'Integralists' represented extremely reactionary interests and, using Mussolini's 'experience', fought for a 'single (integrated) and corporate state'.—Ed.

³ Held in the town of Mantiqueira in August 1943, the Second National Conference of the Communist Party put forward the slogan of building a mass revolutionary party of the Brazilian proletariat and reinstated the National Committee—the central and leading body of the BCP.—Ed.

⁴ *PCB: vinte anos de política 1958-1979, (documentos)*, Sao Paulo, 1980, pp. 174-175.

⁵ This Act (adopted in 1968) enabled the head of the government to dissolve the parliament at any time, strip its members of their powers, suspend the Constitution, replace the Congress as the legislative power, and dismiss civilian and army officials at will.—Ed.

⁶ An analysis of the political situation in the country and of the party's tasks in connection with the collapse of the fascist military regime was made in the BCP document entitled 'A Democratic Alternative to the Brazilian Crisis' (1984). For more information, see Noé Gertel, 'The Communist Alternative', *WMR*, No. 8, 1984.—Ed.

⁷ Alliance of forces in opposition to the regime, including the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party, broad sections of the Social Democratic Party which is represented in the government, and Democratic Labour Party.—Ed.

Equality for Women: Slogan or Reality?

Marie Kabrhelova – Secretariat member,
CC CPCz, Chairwoman, Czechoslovak
Union of Women

THE women's question which consists above all in guaranteeing half of the planet's population complete social, economic, political, legal and moral equality, in one of the biggest and most complicated problems that humanity has been wrestling with from old. Past experience indicates how unrealistic it is to try to solve it in societies based on exploitation and oppression. Marx and Engels proved in theory that the task of ending discrimination against women is inseparable from the struggle of the working class as a whole, and Lenin carried their thesis forward and proved it correct in practice.

Of all the revolutions recorded in history, it was only the socialist revolution that initiated the real liberation of working women. And it was only the new social system

that proved equal to ensuring women's liberation. Socialism's victory brings women real equality in every walk of life and on all levels.

However, socialism is by no means a godsend. It is born in battles with capital and matures in the course of sustained creative effort. Women hold a fitting place in both these battles and this effort. To quote Marx, 'great social revolutions are impossible without women as a ferment'.¹ 'There can be no real mass movement without women,' Lenin stressed in a conversation with Clara Zetkin, one of the great revolutionaries of our times.² This makes it very important for every working woman to realise her place in the struggle for a better future for humanity and to join actively in it.

In working out and implementing its policy towards women, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has invariably proceeded from Marxist-Leninist principles. Their objective soundness is confirmed by both the steady enhancement of women's status in socialist construction and the serious difficulties still confronting women in the capitalist world. The CPCz has been putting these principles into practice judiciously, with due regard to prevailing conditions.

In the years of the bourgeois republic our party succeeded in drawing women into the struggle of the working class against capitalist exploitation. They formed a large and staunch contingent of Communists and were active in every battle of the working class notwithstanding repression. Many thousands of women patriots gave their lives fighting in the anti-fascist resistance for the freedom and happy future of their country. In February 1948, when the problem of the country's definitive choice of a socialist road came up for solution, the majority of Czechoslovak women aligned themselves implicitly with the Communists.

In the ongoing construction of a developed socialist society, the policy of the CPCz is geared to increasing women's role in this effort. It creates ever greater opportunities for women to realise their equality with men as producers of material and cultural values, to participate in government, contributing effectively to the promotion of socialist democracy, and of course, to perform their biological role of having children and bringing them up in conditions fit for human beings. We see our goal in harmoniously developing and strengthening this trinity.

Gustav Husak, CC General Secretary of the CPCz, President of the CSSR, pointed out that 'Communists have always linked women's liberation with the struggle for social justice' and that this approach has been proved correct in the years of the socialist development of our country. 'The equality of women in the family and in like and work,' he said, 'is enshrined in our Constitution and reflected in our laws. Furthermore, the policy and everyday effort of our party, the socialist state and the parties and organisations affiliated to the National Front are aimed at consistently carrying these principles into practice.'

The positive results of this policy are beyond doubt. More and more women enter professions that until recently were seen as an exclusively male domain. Women's standard of education is going up and so is the proportion of women specialists. There are more and more women holding administrative posts or prominent in public life or the cultural sphere and successfully combining this activity of theirs with maternal duties and care of the family.

Those who imagine that it is easy to achieve equality in practice are very wrong, as are those who believe that we have already solved all problems. To be sure, the radical social changes brought about by February 1948 swept away, along with other attributes of the exploiting system, laws discriminating against women. However, the formal proclamation of equality turned out, just as had been expected, to be only a first step towards women's actual liberation. There was a need for concrete measures ensuring the full application of our principles.

In other words, we needed deep-going and durable political, social, economic and

cultural changes paving the way for the all-round formation of women's personality. The three lines of this process mentioned above are closely interlinked and condition one another. Jobs requiring general education and vocational training foster women's abilities, add to their knowledge and widen their horizons, which is a prerequisite for unhampered public activity. Both benefit the upbringing of children and quality of private life. By the same token, a dependable family background is beneficial to professional work and helps women strengthen their civic position. The unity of all the social functions guaranteeing real liberation can only be attained by working continuously to rid everyone's, hence also women's, thinking of survivals of the past as the working people's growing material and cultural requirements are met more and more fully.

Participation in social production is a major factor for the equality of women. Over a hundred years ago August Bebel, one of the early champions of women's liberation, wrote in his famous work, *Woman and Socialism*: 'There is no happiness without work.'³ Work helps women develop their personality and take a fundamentally new place in society and the family. Under capitalism, however, the employment and dismissal of women depends entirely on the employers' passing selfish requirements. It is only socialism that enables women to join in the production process, with equal pay for work of equal value and hence a status equal to men's.

The road to guaranteed employment for our women did not follow a straight line. Prior to the victory of the socialist revolution in Czechoslovakia, there was much political controversy over the issue. Opponents of liberation openly insisted on barring women from the rehabilitation of the war-ravaged economy. They wanted this to wait until there was an adequate number of day nurseries, nursery schools and various everyday services. However, even women rejected this approach. After the revolution their numbers in factories, the service industry and management grew year after year and finally became stable several years ago, after rising to 48 per cent of all wage workers.

Under socialism work assures women both economic independence and a rising standard of living for their families. Sociological research has shown that moral incentives for women's participation in social production are gaining in importance. Prominent among them is the desire to be useful to society, to belong to a collective, to use acquired knowledge for the good of compatriots. Work has become an important form of women's moral and social self-expression.

In a developed socialist society, prompt application of the achievements of science and technology is a decisive prerequisite for furthering women's equality. These achievements help perfect the production process; they improve work conditions, reduce the share of manual labour and create an objective need to raise people's standard of education and proficiency. The service sector expands. The prospect of a gradual reduction of working hours becomes more real, a circumstance meeting working women's specific requirements.

Mastering new professions and gaining professional experience are objective prerequisites for women to participate adequately in the attainment of scientific and technological progress. Whereas their proportion among Czechoslovak specialists in 1958 was 37.8 per cent, today it is 60 per cent in the case of specialists who have received a secondary education and 40 per cent, in the case of specialists with a higher education. Women add up to 36.8 per cent of all research workers.

All this is evidence that socialism rejects the prejudice still deliberately kept up in the capitalist world that women do not aspire for creative effort and prefer trades involving monotonous operations. In the years of the new life, the growth of Czechoslovak women's general and professional knowledge has assumed the character of an explosion and become, in fact, an aspect of the social revolution. This is also true of other socialist countries.

Drawing women into public activity is an equally important aspect of real equality. With socialist democracy going steadily deeper, more and more women come to hold elected posts at diverse levels of government. The proportion of women members of the Federal Assembly, Czechoslovakia's highest legislature, stands at 28.3 per cent today. In the legislatures of the Czech and Slovak republics it is 28 and 29.3 per cent, respectively, and in regional and local National Committees, more than 30 per cent.

Millions of women were enabled to participate directly and comprehensively in the management of public affairs while at the same time upholding their particular interests within the National Front of the CSSR and its member-parties as well as in other mass organisations. Working women make up more than 42 per cent of the membership of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and upwards of 44 per cent of its officials. In the Socialist Youth League, over 45 per cent of elected posts are held by young women. And of course, the nearly one-million strong Czechoslovak Union of Women plays a big role.

Socialist society has deep respect for motherhood, recognised in our country as a *function of social significance*. The state sees one of its primary duties in care of mothers, children and the family and appropriates huge funds for the purpose. Eight per cent of the national income is spent on aid to families with children. From 40 to 60 per cent of the money spent on educating the rising generation comes from social consumption funds.

These appropriations are spent on paid maternity leave, which lasts from 26 to 35 weeks and may be prolonged until the child is two years old, as well as on an extraordinary grant after childbirth and a monthly allowance (paid until the child has received a higher education), whose amount increases considerably with the growth of the family. They also go for deductions from income tax and rent, reductions of public transport fares, the maintenance of day nurseries (which care for 23 per cent of all children) and nursery schools (attended by more than 90 per cent of all children between three and six years of age), cultural and sports facilities, holiday homes and recreational centres for children and youth.

The reality of women's equality largely depends on the extent of development of the productive forces and the social division of labour. We must admit that in our country neither makes it possible as yet to fully meet peoples' everyday requirements through large-scale social commodity production. As a result, women are still compelled to perform a number of non-social duties. This applies primarily to housekeeping, and so there is a need to provide conditions making women's domestic duties easier.

'Small-scale' mechanisation of housekeeping is only a temporary solution, since it does not radically solve the problem of housework, which is a burden on women and other members of the family. The most effective way is to run down 'small-scale production' at the family level and replace it by a system of communal services. This is why we have lately been giving greater attention to every sphere of the service industry.

Improving women's situation in all countries is inseparable from the struggle for peace and disarmament and against the threat of nuclear disaster. One reason for the importance attached to active peace efforts in Czechoslovakia is the tragic experience of Nazi occupation and war. For us, peace and freedom are inseparably bound up with the Soviet Union, which played a decisive role in the defeat of Nazism and disinterestedly helped the Czech and Slovak peoples cope with postwar dislocation. It invariably supported us in the worst period. This is why in all our thoughts and efforts we are at one with the world's first socialist country and why we inspire our children with love of the Soviet Union and will educate our grandchildren in the same spirit.

Czechoslovak women confirm their desire for peace by joining in mass rallies and marches and collecting signatures to resolutions and petitions. They fully support the

principled and yet flexible Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence which the Soviet Union, the CSSR and the socialist community as a whole are consistently pursuing.

We identify ourselves in the fight for peace and against the war danger with the whole international anti-imperialist front. We render and will go on rendering effective moral, political and material assistance to women and women's organisations championing together with the peoples of their countries freedom, independent development, democracy, social progress, equality and peace. To this end the Czechoslovak Union of Women is cooperating with 134 women's organisations on all continents.

We spare no effort to contribute more tangibly to closer unity among women who stand for equality and peace. Our country has sponsored successful seminars for working women from Africa, Asia and Latin America. In 1981 Prague played host to the World Congress of Women. Women championing friendship and cooperation among nations spoke out at the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War held in the capital of the CSSR. The Czechoslovak Union of Women took an active part in its organisation.

At the head of the world-wide movement of women for the preservation of peace is the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), which will mark the 40th anniversary of its founding late in 1985. The Federation is the largest progressive mass alignment of women. It comprises 135 organisations of 117 socialist, capitalist and developing countries. Its priority objectives are to defend peace, seek equal rights and proper living and working conditions for women and a happy future of children. 'There are many organisations concerned with problems of peace. . . ' said Eugenie Cotton, the first President of the WEDF, an outstanding public figure, 'but we concern ourselves with women's position and their defence and advance women's arguments in our struggle. . . . Our arguments say that we whose human dignity has been flouted for so long can see better than anyone else the deep humiliation of peoples suffering from colonial and imperialist oppression, aggression and war.'

This year the WEDF is carrying on an international campaign to collect signatures to the appeal 'For the Peoples' Right to Peace'. The appeal will be circulated among the delegates to the world conference which is to complete the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985) and will take place in July 1985 in Nairobi, the Kenyan capital.⁴ The very motto of the Decade—'Equality, Development and Peace'—indicates that the international community recognises the connection between women's aspiration for complete liberation and the need to stop war preparations and prevent nuclear disaster.

It is safe to say that in the socialist countries the past years have witnessed further all-round progress in women's position and role. Beneficial changes have come about in every sphere of life. This is perfectly natural. The demands set out in UN documents on women's problems, primarily the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979), have long been part and parcel of legal norms and laws in these countries. The right to work, education, rest and recreation, medical aid and pensions is an everyday reality in the Socialist world. It helped mould women's personality in their own interests and in the interests of society as a whole.

We know well that this is not the case in non-socialist countries, either developed or developing ones. Many of even those countries where the bourgeoisie boasts of its 'democracy' have still a long way to go to real equality for women. In the Common Market countries, for example, it is only the Italian Constitution that grants women, at least nominally, equality in regard to jobs and civil and political rights. On the other hand, the Irish Constitution binds the state to safeguard women against 'any activity likely to divert them from their household duties'.

Unemployment is the most burning issue for women in the capitalist world. In

France women account for 39 per cent of blue and white collar workers and more than half of the jobless; in the FRG the respective percentages are 38 and 55. Inequality in pay between women and men persists. In most EEC countries the difference ranges from 25 to 30 per cent and in the USA, from 35 to 47 per cent and will not disappear but only drop to 26 per cent even by the year 2000, according to a Rand Corporation estimate. Women make up nearly three-fifths of Americans living below the poverty line,

People in these countries realise more and more that the roots of their social and economic difficulties lie primarily in the imperialist-imposed militarisation of the economy. The military build-up leads to greater unemployment, inflation, higher prices and cuts in social programmes, including aid to the mother and child. Realisation of this is an important factor for the active involvement of women and their politically different organisations in the peace movement. It is conducive to joint anti-war efforts.

Reactionaries of every shading are out to divide the ranks of women championing peace and social progress; they substitute nominal legal means of solving women's problems for class means and attribute discrimination to women's biological and psychological characteristics and not to their social status. Bourgeois ideologists are working hard to depoliticise the final stage of the Decade and to restrict its aims to women's specific problems'. These attempts come up against the efforts for unity which women fighting for their rights are making. Resistance to the threat of nuclear war is the cementing basis for this unity.

Communists approach the women's question in the context of the struggle to end the exploitation of man by man, build a just society based on the labour of all its members and exclude war from the life of humanity. This is unquestionably a correct approach. It has enabled the socialist countries to translate the call for women's equality into a social and economic reality. And it paves the way for women's liberation in the capitalist world, where it is still a meaningless if high-sounding slogan as far as the ruling classes are concerned.

¹ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Werke*, Band 32, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, S. 582.

² *Vospominania o Vladimire Ilyiche Lenine*. In five volumes, Vol. 5, Moscow, 1969, p. 50.

³ Quoted from *Women of the Whole World*, No. 4, 1984, p. 32.

⁴ The Nairobi conference will be the third world meeting of this nature. The first, called in the 1975 International Women's Year in Mexico City, defined its chief goal as fostering women's social consciousness. The Copenhagen conference, held in 1980, evolved an Action Programme providing for specific actions in defence of equality, development and peace.—*Ed.*

The US Administration Taking Orders from the Monopolies

Daniel Rubin — Political Bureau member,
Communist Party, USA

TO better examine the path ahead for the working class and all democratic strata following the re-election of the Reagan Administration, it is necessary to look at certain long-term processes in the development of US state monopoly capitalism. They are rooted in what Comrade Gus Hall, General Secretary of our party, calls the

'triple layered crisis': 'The economic developments are the product of three layers of separate, but overlapping and interrelated crises—the general crisis, the structural crisis and the on-again, off-again cyclical crisis. . . . The triple layered crisis is a programmed, law-governed outcome of state monopoly capitalism. . . .'¹ The dialectical relations of these different kinds of crisis become very important. These have to be seen against the background of the further sharpening of the main contradiction of capitalism, that between the increasingly social nature of production and private appropriation, increasingly characterised by concentration and centralisation of capital.

Shortly after World War II, the US economy was overwhelmingly dominant in the capitalist world. But it gradually lost ground to others even while continuing to expand. From the early 1970's on, this process continued to the point where it turned into a substantial slowing of the rate of growth and much greater instability. The United States began to lose its erstwhile domination, and its share of the world economy and industrial production declined substantially, as compared to the Soviet Union and as compared to the other monopoly capitalist countries, especially Japan and West Germany.

In Pursuit of Profit

It is good here to recall Marx's point that capitalist relations of production both stimulate growth of the forces of production and act as a brake on them, more of the former in the early period of capitalism, more of the latter, but not exclusively so, in this last period. This point is valid to this day.

For years many US industries such as steel and auto did no substantial retooling to produce better products at less cost because their monopoly market positions, domestically and internationally backed by US political-military domination, could slow entry of competing products from more up to date production facilities. As capitalist competitors became increasingly active, these US monopolies made up for a loss in market share with higher prices, especially in the huge domestic market.

Such monopoly administered prices together with huge military spending, continuous immense government deficits and other factors produced chronic inflation, which in turn is a major cause of high interest rates. All these factors tend to slow down investment in plant and equipment. Most of the renewal that took place aimed at reducing the cost of labour power through lay-offs. There were no prospects for an expanding market internationally, given the overall weakening position of US imperialism. Domestically from the early 1970s onward, there has been a decline in real disposable income of the working class and mass of the people thus barring any substantial growth of this market.

These developments created pressure for industrial capitalists to seek maximum profits in the short run and avoid uncertain longer term payoffs from large investment in plant and equipment. The conglomerate and transnational forms of monopolies were developed. By now all major US corporations are conglomerates, involved in many often unrelated lines of economic activity, and are also transnationals.

The top 400 transnationals, 200 of them US based, in the mid-70s controlled 40 per cent of industrial production, 60 per cent of foreign trade and 90 per cent of direct investments abroad of the capitalist countries. This form of monopoly organisation makes it easier to maximise profits and greatly increase the mobility of capital, most often in a non-productive, speculative and parasitic way. Now the biggest steel company, US Steel, receives only 26 per cent of its revenues from steel and has major investments in oil, real estates and financial services.

Internationalisation of economic activity and rapid movement of capital has created much greater pressure for quick profits and against longer term productive investment. A possibility has arisen of almost instantaneous response to changes

anywhere in the capitalist world in currency valuations, stock market movements and speculation in food and raw material commodities, etc. Tax laws and other regulations have been written to make it easier for monopolies to move in and out of various economic sectors in search of bigger profits and to move production in and out of other countries. Tax benefits from such operations often lead to the government paying tax funds to corporations.

Huge military spending has also acted as a deterrent to productive investment. That spending, at \$259 billion for Fiscal Year 1985 (FY) (begins October 1984) or 38 per cent of the Federal Budget and 7 per cent of the Gross National Product, is proposed to increase by 13 per cent after inflation in FY 1986. In 1982, the General Accounting Office reported profits before taxes on military contracts were 56 per cent higher than in the civilian sector. Thus it is much more profitable to achieve bigger military orders than to invest in renewal of civilian plant and equipment.

Only a few large corporations produce exclusively for the military. But virtually every large corporation receives a significant amount of revenue from military spending. Thus nearly all top monopolies have a stake in the high levels of military spending and the international policies connected with this. However, since many corporations receive the bulk of their revenues from civilian production, some of them favour somewhat lower rates of growth of military spending.

A major problem for the government and for monopoly is how to reduce the immense government deficit estimated at \$210 billion without affecting military spending. The deficit promotes high interest rates which in turn slow investment, cause over-valuation of the dollar and increase imports while decreasing exports, resulting in a trade deficit of \$130 billion in 1984. All of this also threatens a new major cyclical crisis.

The Imbalances Are Mounting

Beginning in the early 1970s, a number of phenomena of a crisis nature began appearing in the economy that were not tied to this or that stage of the economic cycle. These included the slowing of the average rate of growth of GNP and industrial production and of labour productivity and a low level of production investment. Now high rates of inflation exist even during the bottom of the cycle and there is growth of a massive reserve army of the unemployed even during the top of the cycle. Another chronic feature is monetary instability disrupting the capitalist market process. There is also an agricultural crisis for family and small farms reflecting a long term price scissors. Destruction of the environment and waste of natural resources due to the rapaciousness of the monopolies is now at crisis proportions. Other aspects of a raw materials crisis could also be discussed. There is also a crisis of the public education system, with the content inadequate for a modern technological society and still declining.

In the cities, there is chronic trouble in the infrastructure, in mass transit and social services. Starved for funds, cities are unable to keep in repair and replace sewer, water and electrical systems, roads and bridges. The New York subway system is in such disrepair that there have been 4,500 fires in 1984.

Another expression of structural crisis is the relatively rapid abandonment by the monopoly owners of older industries, in which there is a heavy investment in constant capital as well as a high level of variable capital (workers), in favour of newer, more profitable, so-called high tech industries. This process is taking place over a number of years, starting with the least profitable factories but greatly accelerated with each new cyclical crisis. US steel production now reaches only 68 million tons a year, whereas it was almost twice this amount in 1973. Its recovery from the 1980-1982 cyclical crisis reached only 80 per cent of capacity in the spring of 1984 and was down to 56.5 per cent by October. Actually the figures are lower. In October all of

industrial production was at 81.8 per cent of capacity compared to 90 per cent in the 1970s.

Many monopolies close a plant in the US only to open the same type in certain developing countries at much lower wages, with tax exemptions and other imposed concessions. It may also arrange with another monopoly, US or foreign, to import products at initial stages of production or parts in order to reduce the costs of the finished product.

A crisis of state monopoly regulation is also in evidence. Measures like the 1981 Reagan tax cuts for the monopolies and wealthy aimed at stimulating the economy, overcoming slack production and large scale unemployment and reducing the Federal deficit through economic growth, had other results. Contrary to expectations, 'supply side' economics did not stimulate investment. The big increase in military spending at the same time did not stimulate the economy and prevent the deepest and longest cyclical downturn since the Great Depression of the 1930s. To partially offset the decrease in tax revenue and big increase in military spending, the government cut social spending by \$110.2 billion. Besides causing great material hardship in the midst of the cyclical crisis, the cuts intensified the crisis by decreasing consumption.

The policy of high interest rates caused a flow of capital into the US from Western Europe and elsewhere in the capitalist world, also in search of higher profits. The inflow of foreign capital did help fuel a recovery, but in lopsided ways. It helped finance the huge government deficit. It led to a big jump in imports which prevented the US monopolies from raising prices as much temporarily, keeping the inflation rate at 4 per cent. But the combination of high interest rates, high imports and low exports is aborting the recovery. Unemployment remained high even at the peak of the cycle: 8½ million officially, and about 15 million according to labour.

Huge debts overhang the economy and continue to grow, increasingly threatening a financial crash in connection with a cyclical crisis. Above all, this includes the \$1½ trillion Federal government debt that requires \$130 billion of the budget just to finance for this year; the huge budget and trade deficits; \$700 billion in consumer debt; the £232 billion farm debt and the \$800 billion owed by developing countries, a good proportion of which is owed to major US banks.

All of these particular long term ills afflicting the US economy are expressions of an overall structural crisis resulting from the sharpening of the basic contradiction. On the one hand production has become extremely concentrated and on an immense scale, with all its aspects interdependent. Not only are the different sectors of industry and the economy highly interdependent but there are prerequisite balances in research and development, science as a whole, education preparation of scientists, technicians and skilled workers, of raw materials and ecology and of monetary and financial resources. And these are all increasingly international in character.

Yet capitalist relations of production are now characterised by rather complete dominance of 200 US transnationals—many part of the military-industrial complex and 200 non-US based TNCs. When each transnational acts in an anarchistic fashion in pursuit of maximum profit, it has a great impact on the US economy and the world capitalist economy, often causing major imbalances and impeding and disrupting the process of reproduction, with grave social consequences for millions of workers and other working people. This overall structural crisis is a major underlying feature of a new deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Both make economic upheavals more frequent and more acute.

Reaganomics Harms the People

The policy of the dominant monopolies and the Reagan Administration to overcome the slower growth, labour productivity slowdown, to reverse the trend in world

position and maximise profits has several elements. Foremost in this effort is the attack on wages and working conditions. The monopolies try and force 'givebacks' from the unions. A campaign to weaken and destroy the trade union movement is part of the effort to substantially increase exploitation and profits. This is evident in the destruction of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Union (PATCO) by the Reagan Administration and the Phelps Dodge copper strike.

A major shift in the distribution of financial resources through the Federal budget has already been accomplished in Reagan's first term. A new assault on hard-won government programmes of benefit to working people is now underway. A cut of \$34 billion is being sought in these programmes for 1985 and a total of \$169 billion during the next three years. Taxes on corporations and the wealthy were severely reduced in Reagan's first year while total taxes for working people went up. As a result the corporations pay a steadily declining effective tax rate (16 per cent in 1983) and a declining share of total tax revenue—down from 12.5 per cent in 1980 to 6 per cent in 1983 (30.3 per cent in 1953).

In the years 1981-1983, 128 of 250 major corporations paid no taxes, while earning profits of \$56.7 billion. It is estimated the monopolies avoid the payment of some \$240 billion a year in taxes. They have won so many tax loopholes in the law that they now make many economic decisions based primarily on these tax loopholes.

There have been divisions in the ruling class on what is called 'industrial' policy. Some argue the US should go over as quickly as possible to a high technology 'service economy' and let the mass production, labour intensive industries go out of existence in the US. In this view, such production should then take place in developing countries and countries of middle levels of development with cheaper labour and other costs. The US would provide scientific and technological services, communications, information and financial services.

Others seek maximum government aid to raise profit rates in these older industries. The argument is that the US cannot afford to be dependent on other countries for essential production, even if much of it is owned by US based transnationals. In other words, a political-strategic-military argument is made. The argument is also made that the widest development of high tech 'service' industries will produce no more than 5-6 million new jobs by 1990 and the general elimination of these older industries will mean the loss of many times that number of jobs, with resulting social unrest.

In practice, however, individual monopolies continue to abandon the lower profit industries and seek to enter high technology production or go in entirely non-productive, speculative directions. At the same time, the current administration is seeking to do more to promote high tech industry but still is taking measures like increasing protectionist steps to preserve much of the 'smokestack' industries. In the military sphere, the main thrust is in favour of high technology but huge military spending also goes for conventional weapons produced by smokestack industries. There is even an occasional big business voice that argues some smokestack industries may have to be nationalised (a pro-monopoly form) to preserve them.

But these policies have not, and clearly will not, restore the economic growth rate and lost world positions. They only intensify the difficulties of US imperialism and sharpen the domestic class struggle. Research and development intensive industries are not growing at the expected rate. They are proving highly volatile. Those seeking the highest profit rates move in and out of them rapidly if they encounter difficulties. Smaller high tech companies are being swallowed up or driven under by giants like IBM. This, combined with continued reduction of smokestack industry despite government help, means no turn around in growth rates. On the contrary, it means more mass unemployment, lower living standards of working people, and further limits on consumption which in turn prevent any substantial sustained growth of production and the economy when the economic cycle is averaged but.

Internationally, the policy the United States pursues is aimed not only against the socialist countries but also against its own allies/competitors, to help restore US economic growth and profit rates for US transnationals through pressure and dictation. Many methods are used by the Reagan Administration—from threats of retaliation against West European countries for failure to accept Washington's export quotas or discrimination against the Soviet Union, to pressures to weaken competing economies as a result of greatly increasing their military spending.

All this is sharpening inter-imperialist contradictions and creating huge difficulties for developing countries. The self-seeking and reckless course is politically isolating the Reagan Administration as a rogue government running amuck and seriously threatening a nuclear catastrophe.

The attempts by the monopolies and the government to trust the burden of the deepening contradictions on the backs of the working class and all working people has resulted in a steady deterioration in their living standards. They have succeeded in driving down union wage settlements from an annual increase of 10.1 per cent (plus 2.8 per cent in inflation offset) in private industry and 7.8 per cent in state and local government employ for 1981 to 2.6 per cent (plus 0.6 per cent for inflation) and 4.8 per cent respectively in 1983.

Given the inflation that exists, especially in the consumer sphere, real disposable income of production workers has declined by 7 per cent from 1975 through 1984. For Afro-American families victimised by national and racial oppression as well, by 1984 their incomes had declined to 55 per cent of that of white families after having reached 61.3 per cent in 1971. In the first three years of Reagan's term, 30 million workers suffered joblessness at one time or another, while the percentage of jobless receiving compensation (usually no more than half the wages) declined from 50 per cent to 27.5 per cent.

Between 1980 and the end of 1983, the number of those living in poverty by government definition had increased to 35.3 million people or 15.2 per cent of all families, up from 11.7 per cent. Among Afro-Americans the percentage of families living in poverty had grown to 35 per cent, 10 million people. There are an additional 20-30 million living in families with so little that by any reasonable standard they are also needy. The number of people living on the streets without a home has increased during the last few years to as many as 3 million. Deterioration of living conditions forces 12.2 per cent of all youth to leave school without completing the required high school education. Among youth of Hispanic origin the rate is 45 per cent and slightly lower for Afro-American youth.

The intensification of extremes of poverty and wealth in the economy affects various sections of the population. Between 1981 and 1983, 73,000 businesses—mainly small—went bankrupt. In 1985, 200,000 owners of family farms are expected to go bankrupt and lose their farms, even if there is no new cyclical crisis.

The growth of extremes is seen with particular clarity in the fact that the richest 20 per cent of the population received 41.5 per cent of all income in 1977 and 49 per cent in 1982 by official figures. The poorest 20 per cent received 4 per cent of the country's income in 1983, the lowest percentage since 1947. In terms of property ownership, the richest five per cent of families now own 43 per cent of the net worth of the US, with the top one per cent owning 20 per cent and the bottom 50 per cent holding four per cent. Two per cent of all families had incomes over \$100,000 in 1983. They held 70 per cent of the dollar holdings of non-taxable bonds, 50 per cent of all stockholdings and 39 per cent of other types of bonds.

Working People Fight Back

The promonopoly policy of the Reagan Administration has produced different effects in the socio-political alignment of forces in the United States. There is a

limited growth and consolidation of an ultra-right trend to which a major part of the Reagan Administration and the Republican Party belongs. It has misled a section of the middle strata and a very small number of workers with national chauvinism, clerical fundamentalist reaction and racism.

Meanwhile, a much larger trend has emerged and is gaining strength. It includes peace champions, labour unions, the working class, all strata of the Afro-American people and other nationally oppressed minorities. It unites all those who are ready to fight back against Reaganism and advance a programme of peace, jobs, equality and democracy. Its development has been seen on the shop floor, in contract negotiations, in strike struggle, in the participation in electoral struggles and in the voting patterns, as well as in peace actions and actions of international solidarity. In the recent elections, the labour movement played the major role, together with the Afro-American people, in opposing Reaganism. The overwhelming majority of unions now support a nuclear weapons freeze and as a result, the top AFL-CIO leadership has changed its formal position on some international questions. In the current wave of mass solidarity with the struggle of the indigenous population against apartheid in South Africa, the Afro-American community and labour have been the two main forces.

Within this anti-Reaganist trend is the growth of the left and of those willing to seriously consider the Communist Party's programme. Despite laws written to prevent it, the party achieved ballot status in 23 states. The vote for our presidential ticket of Gus Hall and Angela Davis and for local candidates increased considerably, doubling and tripling in a number of states. There were some 200 referenda on issues of peace, the economy and social rights on the ballot in many states and cities. The outcome was positive, with majorities exactly opposite those Reagan achieved for President in the very same areas.

Our party's estimate of the total election outcome and the setback in Reagan's re-election was set forth by Comrade Gus Hall in his report to the December Central Committee Plenum: 'The overall '84 election results do not constitute a mandate in support of Reaganism. . . . There was no swing to the right in mass thought patterns. . . . Our approach to mass struggles must include many of the millions [80 million] who did not vote, the millions who voted for Reagan but not for Reaganism, the millions who voted against Reaganite candidates in other contests, the millions who voted right on issues [in referenda] but still voted for Reagan. . . . Our approach must include all the forces who voted against Reagan [36 million]. . . .' In assessing 'the growth of political independence [of labour and the Afro-American people], it is important to keep in mind that what the leaders of these movements are expressing is a real change in mass thought patterns. This is . . . a developing process that took a qualitative leap during the election campaign.'

Polls indicate America's peace majority remains opposed to the arms race and confrontation and is critical of the current administration on this issue. Defeatism has not set in among the people's forces, and labour and the Afro-American community are moving towards greater fightback on economic and social issues and the issue of equality. Peace and solidarity activities are again growing. Many of those who voted for Reagan because they thought the economy was doing relatively well have already had their illusions shaken by the bad news released within days after the elections. It is now acknowledged by some experts that the economy is on the edge of a new cyclical downturn and that Federal Government deficits will be much larger than the public was led to believe. Unemployment is beginning to increase again and there is the renewed attack on most remaining social welfare programmes.

In this situation Comrade Hall outlined the policy of the party at the recent plenum: 'The framework for these developments must continue to be the all people's front against Reaganism. And the basis for developing these movements must be the

cementing of relationships between the trade union movement, the Afro-American community and the Rainbow Coalition. . . .² As a party we must quickly move to consolidate and stabilise our new status within the movements for political independence so that we will be able to make our unique and indispensable contributions to these developments.'

The objective of the developing all people's front is to defeat the extreme reactionary attack and impose a direction towards peace, jobs, equality and democracy. Our party puts forward proposals of immediate steps and radical democratic anti-monopoly demands. These include nuclear freeze, a no-first-use pledge, non-militarisation of outer space, remove the Euromissiles, serious negotiations based on the acceptance of mutual security and parity, a return to detente, an end to US intervention and threats in Central America, in the Mid-East, Southern Africa, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, etc.

We seek to protect workers from the ravages of the state monopoly capitalist economy, specifically through democratic, anti-monopoly nationalisation of the steel, oil and other industries. Only this and a big programme of public works, new schools, public housing, etc. can save the steel industry and the jobs of the workers. We also call for a substantial shortening of the work week without reduction in pay and increase in trade with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Communist Party fights racism and all encroachments on democracy and favours specific measures for its expansion, including radical reform of the undemocratic election laws.

The period ahead in the US will clearly be one of a sharpening of the struggle between the forces who favour peace and progress and those who threaten nuclear annihilation and extreme reaction at home, and this means a sharpening of the class struggle in general.

¹ See Gus Hall, *For Peace, Jobs, Equality. Report to the 23rd Convention, CPUSA*, 1983, pp. 7-8, 10.

² The Rev. Jesse Jackson was the candidate around whom voters dissatisfied with Reagan, mostly members of national and racial minorities, rallied in this coalition.—Ed.

Against Repression and Persecution Stay the Hand of the Executioner!

ALARMING and tragic news continues to come from Iran where brutal terror now reigns supreme. Mass executions of the finest sons and daughters of the Iranian people, death sentences without evidence or trial, unbearable social oppression and exploitation—such is the actual meaning of the 'Islamic justice' the reactionary authorities promised to the people. The police, the 'Islamic Revolution Guards', the SAVAMA security services (heir to the Shah's SAVAK) and other repressive agencies have a completely free hand to arrest and punish those who, in their opinion, violate the draconian laws and regulations imposed by the authorities.

Over the past two years the number of prisons where scores of thousands of inmates, including women, old people and even children, are subjected to sadistic

torture, has multiplied several times over. Blindfolded prisoners are kept in solitary confinement, sometimes for months on end. Many cases are known when mothers have been tortured in plain view of their small children. People are beaten mercilessly, their arms and legs broken. Those who, in spite of the inhuman torture, stick to their convictions, are injected with psychotropic drugs to suppress their will and their ability to think and offer resistance. Blanked out, prisoners are made to take part in the executions of their comrades-in-arms. Summing up the information which has found its way from the torture chambers into the progressive foreign press, one can say that the number of political prisoners in Iran exceeds 100,000. At least 10,000 of them have already been executed.

No legal norms apply to those who languish in jails. The threat of death overhangs even those already sentenced to various prison terms.

Human rights have been trampled into oblivion in our country. Any protest is ruthlessly crushed. The authorities doom all who do not agree with them to agony and death and exterminate genuine patriots, above all members of the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh), the People's Mujaheddin Organisation and the Organisation of People's Fedayeen (Majority).

None of those who hold the ideals of freedom and humanity dear can remain indifferent to what is happening here today. In these days of trial for the Iranian people demands of an end to executions and torture, of freedom for political prisoners, for genuine patriots fighting courageously for their nation's democracy and progress are mounting throughout the world.

Mehran Bina
Iran

surveys, information and mail

Truth Will Out

Past and Present US Preparations for a Nuclear Attack Against the Soviet Union

DECLARING a 'crusade' against the forces of progress, President Reagan announced his intention to 'dump Communism on the ash heap of history'. This phrase essentially expresses the way of thinking and the mode of action displayed, since the October Revolution, by many predecessors of the man currently installed in the White House—whether during the US armed intervention in Soviet Russia or during the Cold War which aimed to 'contain' and 'roll back' socialism. Let us recall a telling fact: the first scenario of a US attack against the Soviet Union involving weapons of mass destruction was drawn up as early as eight weeks after the end of World War II.

Since then, many similar plans have succeeded one another and specific steps have been taken to implement them. Invariably their objective has been to secure nuclear military superiority, deliver a crushing blow to the USSR, suppress world socialism and smash the world's revolutionary forces. Naturally, the Soviet Union could not ignore this threat. While channelling its scientific and technological potential mostly into peaceful uses (the USSR was the world's first nation to build an atomic-fuelled electric power plant and an atomic-powered icebreaker, a civilian vessel; it also launched the first artificial satellite), it was forced to respond adequately to each new round of the race in nuclear missiles initiated by the United States.

The following reference material, based on declassified documents of Washington agencies, statements of America's leaders, papers written by experts and reports in the US press, highlights the dynamics of US imperialist war preparations for a nuclear attack against the Soviet Union dating back to 1945.

Building Up the Military Muscle

1945. Directives 329 and 329/1 approved by President Truman in November (sic), setting forth a plan of aggression against the Soviet Union and envisaging an atomic air strike against 20 Soviet cities. (*Restoring the strategic balance, the USSR developed the first-generation nuclear atomic bomb, first tested experimentally in 1949.*)

1946. The Strategic Air Command established, its mission to destroy the Soviet Union by delivering a 'single nuclear strike' against major industrial centres. Attack against the USSR to be launched between the summer of 1946 and the summer of 1947 under the Pincher Plan.

1947. The Broiler Plan drawn up, based on the 'earliest possible' use of nuclear weapons against 24 Soviet cities after the outbreak of hostilities.

1948. US National Security Council¹ Directive 30 adopted empowering the President of the United States to authorise 'immediate and effective' use of nuclear weapons without congressional approval. A surprise nuclear attack against the USSR two weeks after the outbreak of hostilities provided for in the Frolic Plan (later renamed Grabber). Destruction of 70 Soviet cities by 133 atomic bombs stipulated in the Fleetwood Plan (later renamed Halfmoon).

1949. An attack against the USSR with 300 atomic bombs scheduled for January 1, 1957 in the Dropshot Plan. Also approved: the Trojan Plan—115 atomic weapons to be used against major Soviet cities, and the Offtackle Plan—200 atomic bombs to be dropped on 104 Soviet cities, resulting in 30 million deaths.

1951. An 'emergency plan' approved by the US Joint Chiefs of Staff calling for strategic bombers to drop 20 atomic bombs in the Moscow-Gorky area, 12 bombs on Leningrad, 52 bombs on industrial projects along the Volga and in the Donets basin, 15 bombs in the Caucasus and 15 bombs on Vladivostok and Irkutsk.

1952. A thermonuclear device—prototype of second-generation nuclear weapons—exploded. (*The first Soviet thermonuclear weapon tested in 1953.*) Contemplating the use of nuclear weapons in the Korean War,² President Truman proceeded from the possibility of destroying Moscow, Leningrad, Beijing, Shanghai and other major Soviet and Chinese cities.

1953. The idea of an unprovoked nuclear attack against the Soviet Union at the 'most opportune' moment for the United States approved by President Eisenhower. The intercontinental strategic bomber and the intermediate-range missile developed. (*Soviet intercontinental bombers tested in 1957; intermediate-range missiles, in 1959.*)

1954. A report on 'deliberately precipitating' war against the USSR 'in the immediate future' prepared by the Policy Planning Group of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in accordance with the foreign policy concept of 'rolling back' socialism. A 'pre-emptive strike' against the USSR authorised by the US President.

1955. Preparations for inflicting 'heavy losses' on at least half the factories in Soviet industrial centres ordered by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The 'advantages' of a first strike against the Soviet Union to immediately destroy all its important military targets outlined in a Pentagon paper entitled 'Group for Weapon System Evaluation. Report No. 12'. A list of 5,000 to 6,000 targets in the USSR to be destroyed within two hours after the outbreak of hostilities drawn up by the US intelligence community. The first intercontinental ballistic missile developed. (*Similar systems of Soviet missiles tested in 1957.*)

1956. Programmes for Atlas, Titan and Minuteman ICBMs, Polaris submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) and Jupiter and Thor intermediate-range ballistic missiles developed.

1957. Preparation of programmes to militarise outer space, including the development of spy satellites and air and missile attack early warning systems authorised by top-level US political and military leaders. Plans drawn up for the stationing of bombers in Europe to be used for 'tactical nuclear purposes'. 'Limited nuclear war' concept advanced, envisaged immunity of the territory of the United States from retaliation.

1959. The concept of 'optimum combination' of nuclear strikes against the USSR and other socialist countries formulated by a National Security Council subcommittee on instructions from the President. A Comprehensive Strategic Targets List compiled, the plans envisaging the use of 1,850 strategic and medium-range bombers capable of delivering over 4,700 nuclear bombs in one sortie, as well as of hundreds of land-and carrier-based nuclear-capable fighter planes stationed in close proximity to the Soviet borders.

1960. Joint Strategic Planning Staff established. A Single Integrated Operations Plan drawn up, envisaging full-scale simultaneous strikes against all targets immediately upon the outbreak of hostilities with the USSR. The list of targets increased considerably, now covering targets both in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries. By that time the US nuclear arsenals had grown from 1,000 (in 1955) to 18,000 warheads. The Polaris missile issued to the armed forces. (*In the USSR, similar missiles appeared in 1968.*)

1961. A qualitative restructuring of the nuclear capability components and of plans for their use launched by the Kennedy Administration. The second Single Integrated Operations Plan for Nuclear Attack approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff providing for five strike options against the socialist countries. The targets: the Soviet strategic forces, and air defence systems of military installations and general purpose troops, the air defence system of large cities, the armed forces command and control system, as well as major population and industrial centres.

1962. The second Single Integrated Operations Plan fed into the computers of the armed forces. A plan for developing the capability for the 'first pre-emptive strike' against the USSR submitted to the President by the Secretary of Defence. The 'optimum pattern' of a 'preventive' nuclear strike against the Soviet Union run through computers.

1963. A new 'limited losses' strategic concept formulated by the Pentagon, stipulating that a first nuclear strike against the USSR would considerably reduce US losses in case of Soviet retaliation for aggression.

1964. Deployment of ground-launched strategic MRVed missiles begun (*Similar Soviet missiles appeared in 1972*).

1965. Decision taken to arm Poseidon C-3 SLBMs with Mark III warheads containing 10 to 14 MIRV's.

1966. Decision taken to arm the new generation of ICBMs with MIRV warheads (on recommendation of the RAND Corporation, aerospace industry think tanks and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology which were commissioned by the Pentagon to study first-strike strategy options).

1967. The third and fourth Single Integrated Operations Plans drawn up, stipulating a strike against the USSR with 400 nuclear weapons and aiming to wipe out 25 per cent of the population and 70 per cent of the Soviet industrial capacity. The list of targets in the USSR extended to 10,000 by including more ICBM launch sites, submarine bases and long-range nuclear missile command centres.

1968. First tests of the MIRV-equipped Minuteman III missile carried out. Construction of sites and components begun for the Sentinel missile defence system designed to give protection against isolated missile strikes. Plans approved to develop a strategic missile for Trident submarines.

1969. Development of a new first-strike weapon begun—an intermediate-range, enhanced-accuracy missile (Pershing-2).

1970. The first series of ten MRVed Minuteman III ICBMs made operational. (*Similar systems appeared in the USSR in 1975.*)

1971. Decision taken to re-equip most strategic missiles with MIRV warheads. The list of targets in the socialist countries increased to 16,000. Provision adopted for covering important targets with multiple strikes.

It would be logical to ask why none of these plans of nuclear aggression against the USSR were followed up. The reason can be found among the objective factors which shaped the overall alignment of forces on the world scene—the emergence of the world socialist system, the strengthening of communist and revolutionary-democratic parties, the disintegration of the colonial system, and the world-wide movement of peace champions who opposed aggressive imperialist schemes and vigorously supported the peace policy of the socialist community.

Here, of central importance was also the alignment of strategic forces. Even in the first postwar years, when the United States held a nuclear monopoly, Washington could not ignore the growing political and economic potential of the socialist system, the technological capabilities and combat readiness of its armed forces and, finally, the combat experience accumulated by the Soviet Union in the course of the war against Nazi Germany and militarist Japan. At that time the US nuclear arsenal was clearly inadequate to ensure victory.

The development of nuclear weapons and, later, of the delivery means in the Soviet Union laid the United States open to retaliation. Without a numerical and qualitative strategic superiority, the United States could not launch a war: that would have been tantamount to suicide. The measures with which the Soviet Union responded to each new step in Washington's attempts to secure such superiority ultimately led, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, to an approximate global and regional parity between the USSR and the United States, between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO.

Defence Secretary Robert McNamara noted at that time that 'the Soviet Union has acquired the capability to effectively destroy the United States' even after absorbing the full impact of an American first strike. President Nixon was forced to admit that strategic superiority which 'guaranteed US security' was a thing of the past.

Thus a favourable situation emerged for the Soviet Union and the United States to discuss the issue of arms limitation and reduction on the basis of *equality and equal security*. In the Fundamentals of Soviet-US Relations signed in May 1972, Washington officially agreed for the first time that, 'in a nuclear age, peaceful coexistence is the only basis of relations between them'.

After 1971 over 50 Soviet-American instruments were signed, among them those of extreme importance for the cause of peace, such as the Agreement on Measures to Reduce the Risk of Outbreak of Nuclear War, the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missiles Systems on a permanent basis, the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT-1), the Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War, the Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests, the Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes and, finally, the Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT-2).³

These and other instruments became an important element of detente and exerted positive influence on the international situation. The first half of the 1970s witnessed the emergence of tangible opportunities for reinforcing political detente which had begun in the previous decade with military detente; this could have made it possible to create a reliable structure of international security.

The Impotence of Force

However, developments of this kind failed to materialise. In the mid-1970s, drawing on the latest scientific and technological advances, the more aggressive imperialist quarters undertook a new attempt to alter the qualitative strategic parity in their favour and to exert, on this basis, political and, if necessary, military pressure on the socialist community.

Washington began to methodically close major channels of negotiations on the limitation and reduction of armaments, including nuclear missiles. Violations by the United States of international legal instruments it had itself signed were recorded.⁴ A painful blow was dealt to detente. And so, the imperialist forces again aggravated the international situation and sharply boosted the risks of a nuclear conflict.

Let us, once again, turn to facts.

1975. The fifth Single Integrated Operations Plan approved providing for four types of nuclear strikes: 'large-scale' (against industry), 'selective' (against military

targets), 'limited' (against individual targets) and 'regional'. List of targets extended to 25,000.

1976. The fifth Single Integrated Operations Plan fed into the computers of the armed forces. Consideration of 'new approaches' to the plans for a first nuclear strike against the USSR proposed by a committee set up by President Ford. Work begun to develop a new first-strike weapon—the MX three-stage missile with a liftoff weight of 80 to 90 tons and an impact weight of up to four tons, capable of destroying underground silos for ICBMs.

1977. Orders given to develop qualitatively new nuclear warheads to destroy 'highly protected' Soviet targets and thus prevent the Soviet Union from launching a retaliatory strike. The list of targets in European and Asian socialist countries enlarged again.

1978. The fifth Single Integrated Operations Plan modified. The list of targets in the USSR, other Warsaw Treaty countries, Vietnam, Cuba and unnamed 'allied' (with the USSR—*Ed.*) and 'neutral territories' extended to 40,000.

1979. Scenarios of attack against the USSR involving a first strike against all targets considered by the Pentagon. Adoption by the North Atlantic Council (under pressure from Washington) of the decision aimed at wrecking strategic military parity in Europe and authorising deployment of US first-strike nuclear weapons—Pershing-2 and cruise missiles—in Belgium, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands and the FRG. (Development of cruise missiles begun as early as 1973. *Similar Soviet missiles appeared in the mid-1980s*).

1980. Directive 59 signed by President Carter, containing guidelines for war preparations and formulating the concept of launching a first nuclear strike and concluding a nuclear war—in its different versions—on terms favourable to the United States.

1981. The thrust of Directive 59 developed by the Reagan Administration and main emphasis placed on 'sustained' nuclear war. The concept of 'limited' nuclear war—fought in areas remote from North America (specifically, in Europe) with the aim of deflecting the retaliatory strike from the United States—included, together with the 'all-out strike' notion, in the updated Single Integrated Operations Plan. The 'horizontal escalation' concept maintaining that military operations should be conducted in the areas 'of US choice' (Cuba, Vietnam, Angola, Ethiopia, etc.). Allocations to the strategic forces increased sharply, with the main emphasis on their air force and naval components. Plans approved for the development of Trident II SLBMs, long-range cruise missiles and B-1B and ATB (Stealth) strategic bombers. Decision taken to begin the deployment of some 40 MX missiles in 1985. Full-scale manufacture of the neutron bomb, the third generation of nuclear weapons, begun.

1982. A plan for 'prevailing in a limited and sustained nuclear war' drawn up on the basis of NSC Directive 13. All outer space activity in the coming decade to be subordinated to aggressive military purposes according to the President's directive 'On the National Space Policy'.

1983. Deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles begun in Great Britain, Italy and the FRG. Presidential Directive 85 on 'space defence' issued, essentially aimed at protecting the United States from retaliation for a nuclear attack. A plan involving nuclear strikes drawn up for invading Siberia from bases in Alaska, Japan, South Korea and the Philippines.

1984. Deployment of US missiles in Western Europe continued. Presidential Directive 119 adopted which follows upon Directive 85 and authorises a programme to develop an ICBM interception system. 'Defense Guidance 1984-1988', a Pentagon document, formulates the strategy of 'direct confrontation' between the United States and the Soviet Union, stipulating victory in a nuclear war by destroying the 'Soviet structure of military and political power, nuclear and conventional forces' and

the industries 'shaping the military capability'. The first ten space weapon contracts placed with industry by the Pentagon. Japan joins work on large-scale programmes to militarise outer space. US anti-satellite weapons tested.

True, many of the plans drawn up in the Pentagon and at the Brussels headquarters of NATO are designed for the distant future, while some of them—for example, the 'Star Wars' projects, as the outer space militarisation schemes have been nicknamed in the United States—are rather dubious. Nevertheless, the beginning of the deployment of US new-generation missiles, above all of Pershing—2 and cruise missiles, changed the strategic situation radically. Objectively, this increased the danger that the US ruling elite might succumb to the temptation of launching an armed conflict in the hope of attaining the overall objective formulated in President Carter's Directive 59—to destroy socialism as a socio-political system.

Faced with this critical situation, the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation as a whole were forced to adopt certain counter-measures fully commensurate with the scope and nature of the new threat. On agreement with the USSR, the governments of the GDR and Czechoslovakia stationed Soviet enhanced-range operational-tactical missile complexes on their soil. Then their number in the GDR was increased. In August 1984 the Soviet Union announced successful tests of its long-range cruise missiles and in October, that it was beginning the deployment of similar systems on strategic bombers and submarines.

The steps taken by the Warsaw Treaty Organisation began to restore the parity in nuclear missiles as early as about mid-1984. The US ruling quarters' hopes of securing military superiority collapsed, and so did attempts to create 'positions of strength' for a dialogue with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

This appears to have largely contributed to the fact that in the autumn of 1984 President Reagan, taking into account the growth of anti-war sentiments in the United States itself, was forced to take some tangible steps to placate public opinion and agreed to the Soviet proposal to open new talks aimed at attaining mutually acceptable agreement on the entire range of inter-related questions concerning non-militarisation of outer space and reductions in strategic offensive armaments and medium-range nuclear weapons. As Comrade Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said in late November 1984, the Soviet Union is prepared to explore all these avenues in search of the most radical solutions which would make it possible to advance toward a complete prohibition and, ultimately, elimination of nuclear weapons.⁵ Such talks are advocated with increasing firmness by the peace movements which exert growing political pressure on imperialist governments.

* * *

To sum up, the record of the postwar years leads one to at least two conclusions:

The first is that Washington has always initiated the arms race in nuclear weapons at all its stages.⁶

The second is that the economic, scientific and technological capacity of the Soviet Union and its sister socialist countries rules out any US superiority in the military confrontation it has imposed on the socialist world.

The determination of the Soviet Union and all other Warsaw Treaty countries to curb the aggressors is indispensable for the success of the struggle to prevent a nuclear war the US imperialist quarters would like to unleash. Nothing they do to upset strategic military parity produces any tangible results: the socialist community countries effectively block these moves, not only ensuring their own security but also creating favourable conditions for negotiations concerning the entire range of

disarmament issues on the basis of equality and equal security, the only possible basis for agreement.

The following sources were used in compiling this reference material: US Presidential Directives 329, 329/1 (1945), 18 (1977), 59 (1980), 13, 32 (1982), 85 (1983) and 119 (1984); records of the 1964 hearing on Department of Defence appropriations in the Senate Committee on Appropriations, of the 1974 and 1982 hearings on strategic questions in the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations: the 1973, 1975, 1977-1981 and 1983 Department of Defence Annual Reports to the Congress. The monographs used include: D. Ball *Deja-Vu: The Return to Counterforce in the Nixon Administration*; D. Ball, *Developments in the US Strategic Nuclear Policy under the Carter Administration*; J. Collins, *US-Soviet Military Balance. Concepts and Capabilities. 1960-1980*; T. Greenwood, *Qualitative Improvements in Offensive Strategic Arms: the Case of MIRV*; B. Greiner, K. Steinhaus, *Auf dem Weg zum 3. Weltkrieg?*; G. Herken, *The Winning Weapon*; Gerhardt Kade, *Die Bedrohungslüge. Zur Legende von der 'Gefahr aus dem Osten'*; F. Kaplan, *The Wizards of Armageddon*; L. Korb, *National Security Organisation and Process in the Carter Administration*; P. Pringle and W. Arkin, *SIOP. The Secret US Plan for Nuclear War*; P. Scheer, *With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush and Nuclear War*; R. Tammen, *MIRV and the Arms Race; The Superpowers in a Multinuclear World*. Ed. by G. Kemp, R. Pfaltzgraff Jr., and U. Raanan. Periodicals and newspapers: 1973-1984 issues of *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Defense Monitor*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Houston Chronicle*, *Inquiry*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Nihon Keizai*.

Compiled by the working group of the WMR Commission on Peace and Democratic Movements: Roland Bauer, Raul Valdés Vivó and Efstratios Koracas.

¹ The highest body of foreign policy and military planning under the US President.

² In the Korean War (1950-1953) US forces acted under the cover of a 'United Nations force'. —Ed.

³ The latter three instruments have not been ratified by the United States to this day because immediately upon their signing Washington's foreign policy exacerbated the military and political confrontation on the world scene. The US refusal to ensure these accords' entry into force was both a contributing factor in and a consequence of the new rise in international tensions.

⁴ See 'Rejecting the Language of Agreements' in *WMR*, No. 6, 1984.

⁵ See *Pravda*, November 27, 1984.

⁶ Over the postwar period, the United States has initiated the development of at least 95 new weapon systems designed to upset strategic military parity in its favour.

The Reader Wants to Know What Lies Behind an Anti-People Conspiracy

'Press reports indicate that Turkish troops are massing along the Iraqi frontier and have even intruded into Iraqi territory. Does this not signal another armed conflict and an addition to the Iraqi-Iranian war that has been going on for more than four years? What is behind these developments?'

Alvaro Martinez, Colombia

TO begin with, Turkey and Iraq signed a secret agreement in 1982. The most significant of its provisions is perhaps the one permitting the troops of each signatory to go deep into the territory and air space of the other for a distance of about 17 kilometres. To justify this they used the battered argument about 'countering the actions of subversive elements', which in fact means pursuit of and the mutual extradition of members of any armed patriotic opposition in either country.

Being militarily stronger, the Turkish government unquestionably benefited by this agreement. But what caused it to show such concern about 'protecting the security' of its frontiers with Iraq?

It will be recalled that the terrorist regime established in Turkey aimed brutal repressions against democratic progressive forces, including the Communist Party and the trade unions. Thousands of people have been arrested and manhandled. More than twenty patriots have been executed and hundreds have been savagely tortured to death in prisons. A policy of chauvinism and national and social oppression is pursued relative to the Kurdish population. The ruling circles refuse even to recognise the fact of the existence in Turkey of Kurds, who comprise roughly one-fifth of the nation's population, let alone their legitimate national rights.

The repressions against the Kurds are carried out on the pretext of fighting 'rebels'. This has been the argument used by Turkey's Prime Minister to justify the military operation along the Iraqi frontier. He asserted that it was undertaken in retaliation for an attack on a unit of government troops. However that may be, the statements by officials that insurgents have become active in Turkey's eastern regions cannot be considered outside the Kurdish problem that has grown acute in neighbouring countries—Iraq and Iran—i.e., the problem of the national existence and future of the Kurdish people, who populate a geographically compact region.

Moreover, the Turkish regime's repressions against Kurdish 'rebels' cannot be considered in isolation from the general strategic designs of imperialism, above all that of the USA, relative to the Middle East, which Washington regards as a sphere of 'vital interests' of the US monopolies. Turkey forms the southern flank of the NATO bloc and is a major arsenal of weapons bearing the legend 'Made in USA'. On its territory close to the frontier with Iraq and near Syria is a base of the US Rapid Deployment Force. This force, as was stated by the Washington Administration, is prepared, if US interests are threatened, to invade any part of a region extending from Pakistan to the shores of Africa. Meanwhile, the Turkish government has on several occasions used armed force against other countries too: in 1974 it invaded Cyprus and in May 1983 it sent troops into Iraq.¹

The punitive operations by the Ankara regime are a serious menace to the interests of all the countries and peoples of our region, to the national liberation movement unfolding in that region, especially to the freedom-loving aspirations of the Kurdish

people in Turkey, Iraq, and Iran. Nor are the Turkish military junta's expansionist ambitions relative to its southern neighbour a secret.

What, in this case, induced the Iraqi dictatorial regime to sign the agreement? The answer lies in its intense political and socio-economic crisis. The devastating war that it has started against Iran and is denounced by all democratic progressive forces is in its fifth year. This war conflicts with the interests of both the Iraqi and the Iranian peoples, threatens international peace and security, and gives imperialism, chiefly US imperialism, the excuse to increase its military presence in the Persian Gulf area. In the course of this war Iraq has lost almost all its currency reserves, its key economic installations—oilfields, power-generating facilities, and ports—have been laid waste, and its industrial and agricultural production has been paralysed, to say nothing of the colossal casualties among those who are being driven forcibly to the slaughter.

Vicious repressions against national patriotic parties and forces are not ceasing. The war is being continued against the Kurdish people, who are fighting for the legitimate national rights, genuine autonomy, and democracy.

For that reason true patriots, those in and outside the Democratic National Front, are fighting to deliver the country from its authoritarian administration and implement a democratic alternative. A large contribution is being made by the Kurdish people to this struggle, which is demanding heavy sacrifice. Faced by the mounting popular unrest, the widening partisan operations, and the intensifying actions of the population of Kurdistan, the regime signed the agreement with Ankara, counting on using Turkish troops against the patriotic forces.

The aggressive aims of the Turkish-Iraqi agreement, which was prolonged in 1984, and the practical implementation of its provisions are a serious threat to world peace and security. This act is fanning tension and plays into the hands of world imperialism, Israel, and local reaction. It is directed against the interests and legitimate rights of the Kurdish people in different parts of Kurdistan and is an element of imperialism's, chiefly US imperialism's, plans relative to the entire region.

This has motivated the fraternal communist parties of Turkey and Iraq to stress in a joint declaration: '... With the hands of Turkey, a NATO member, the powers belonging to that bloc are trying to extend its influence in this region. The role of regional policeman, played by Turkey is in line with the wishes of Turkey's rulers, for Turkey is itself aspiring to achieve expansionist chauvinistic aims.

'These aggressive actions and the immoral agreement undercut both countries' sovereignty, make it easier for foreign forces to interfere in their internal affairs, and create a threat to peace in this region and throughout the world.'

The Iraqi Communist Party and the Communist Party of Turkey have demanded an immediate end to the invasion by Turkish troops and their withdrawal from the border regions. Our parties appeal to progressive world opinion, to all who cherish peace in the world, to support the just struggle of the Communists and other democratic progressive forces of both countries against the dictatorial regimes, for the implementation of a democratic alternative.

Kadhim Habib

CC member, Iraqi Communist Party, and ICP representative on the *WMR* Editorial Council

Ali Ileri

CC member, Communist Party of Turkey and CPT representative on the *WMR* Editorial Council

¹ This is discussed by Majid Hamid Mussa, 'Facing the Onslaught of Imperialism and Reaction'. *WMR*, No. 8, 1983.—*Ed.*

the book scene

New Books

Rabochiy klass v Oktyabrskoy revolyutsii i na zashchite eyo zavoevaniy. 1917-1920 gg. (The Working Class in the October Revolution and Defending Its Gains. 1917-1920), Nauka Publishers, Moscow, 1984, 495 pp.

Prepared by the Institute of History of the USSR under the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, this is the first of the six-volume *History of the Soviet Working Class* which is to provide an in-depth and comprehensive presentation of the working class revolutionary and creative efforts from 1917 to this day. The first volume sums up the record of the struggle Russia's proletariat waged to win political power and use it in the interests of transforming society along socialist lines and defending the gains of the October Revolution. The book covers the more difficult period of Soviet government, when the working class bore the brunt of the struggle against the forces of internal counter-revolution and foreign intervention which tried to strangle the world's first state of working people. Workers made up the backbone of the Red Army and embodied its political consciousness, dedication to the cause of Lenin's party, courage and heroism.

Zakonomernosti razvitiya sotsializma i ideologicheskaya borba (the Development Laws of Socialism and the Ideological Struggle), Mysl Publishers, Moscow, 1984, 292pp.

Opponents of socialism concentrate on denigrating the new system. They distort its development laws and ignore or minimise its historic achievements. This monograph by a team of Soviet scholars refutes the lies and calumnies of revisionists and bourgeois theorists and demonstrates the inseparable connection between Marxist-Leninist theory and existing socialism. In today's ideological struggle, the authors stress, 'it is socialism that has brought to the fore the problems of achieving social justice and man's intellectual emancipation, using the fruits of scientific and technological progress for truly humanist purposes and preventing nuclear catastrophe.' The book shows the intimate connection between the concepts of socialism and peace.



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