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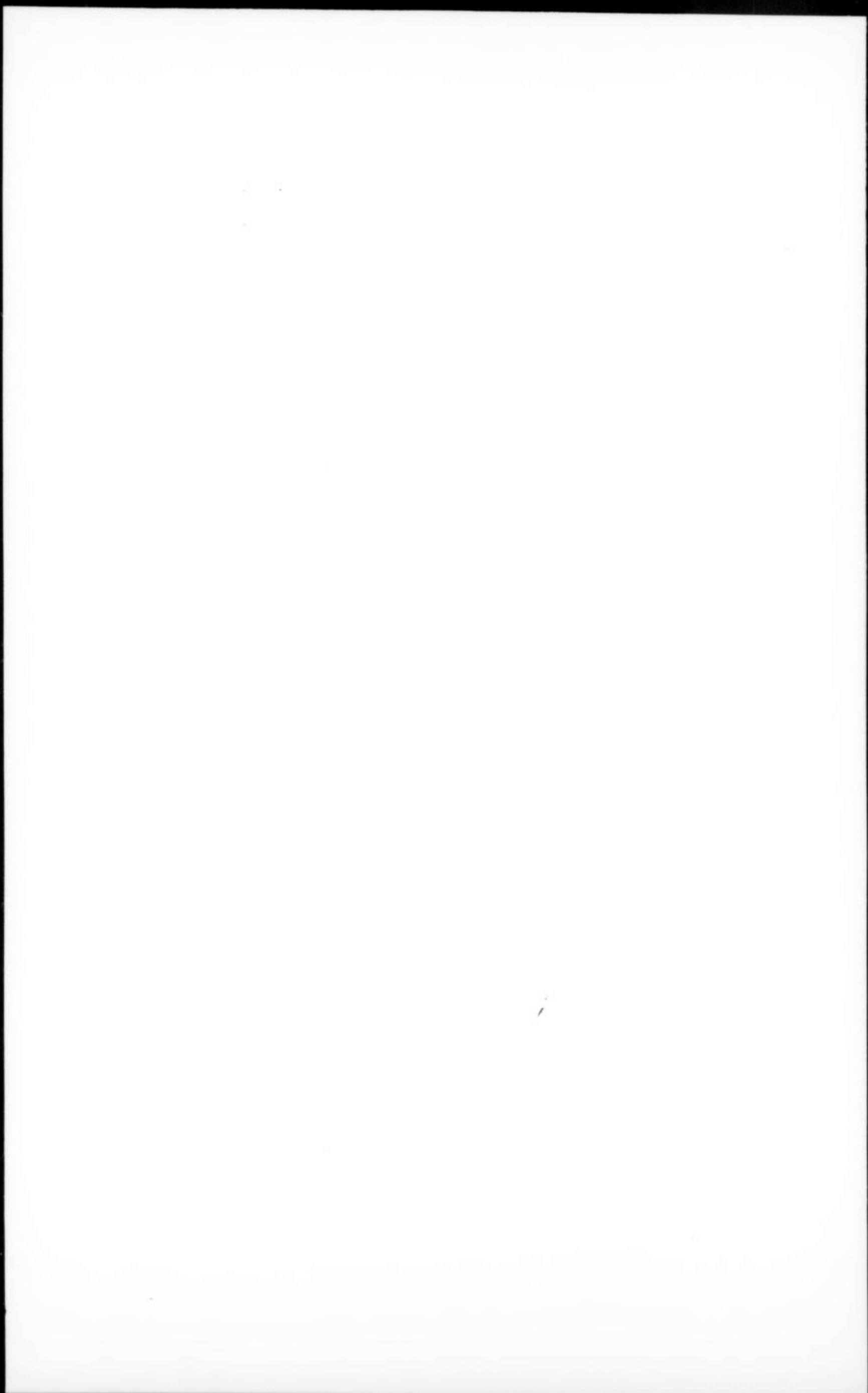
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Commentary

From a Year of Peace to a Century of Peace

AS it draws to a close, the year 1986—the International Year of Peace—evokes different emotions, moods and ideas. In assessing the events of the past months, we cannot avoid asking how well this year discharged its lofty mission and how well people felt and shared their historic responsibility for the future. This is a legitimate question, for the actual state of the world is a product of human actions, deeds, and the reality of today largely determines the shape of things to come.

'Peace constitutes a universal ideal,' the United Nations said in its declaration designating 1986 as the International Year of Peace. Everyone agrees with that; nevertheless, mankind is still far from this ideal. The danger of a nuclear conflagration persists. The arms race which squanders the nations' material and intellectual resources continues; the threat of its extension to outer space and of a springboard of aggression being created there is growing, all through the fault of imperialism, above all US imperialism. Hotbeds of armed conflicts in various parts of the world are poisoning the political atmosphere. There is universal alarm over the fact that a trend to use force for 'punishing' undesirable governments is surfacing in the policies of the US ruling quarters. The plight of many developing nations is growing increasingly acute.

Naturally, these negative trends that call international security into question did not spring up overnight. The task is to safeguard the future of humanity by stopping the downward slide to catastrophe, giving an impetus to detente and disarmament, and taking practical steps towards reductions in military activities, towards greater understanding, trust and cooperation between countries with different social systems. Such was the rationale behind the UN decision to launch a Peace Year. What has been accomplished in this sphere? How did different governments, political parties and the public at large respond to this call of the international community? Let us sum up some of the results.

It is a salient feature of the year that the communist and workers' parties, the governments and peoples of the USSR and other socialist countries have been working hard for practical action to replace talk about the need for disarmament and for removing the war threat.

All of 1986 was under the sign of the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests. Despite repeated refusals by the US administration to follow the Soviet example, the USSR extended the moratorium several times, seeing this approach as a tangible and effective step along the road to nuclear disarmament.

Striving to achieve this goal in which all mankind has a stake, the Soviet leadership

advanced a broad programme for gradually reducing and eliminating by the year 2000 nuclear arsenals and chemical weapons, as well as the industrial base for their manufacture. Nuclear disarmament was linked to a ban on the development of space strike systems (SDI).

This large-scale programme was incorporated into the integral concept of building a secure and nuclear-free world, a concept adopted by the 27th Congress of the CPSU. Fundamental principles of a comprehensive system of international security were approved, covering the key security spheres—military, political, economic and humanitarian. The peace policy of the Soviet Union was fully supported at the congresses the fraternal parties held in 1986. This policy was complemented and developed by these parties' proposals on the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans and chemical weapon-free zone in Europe. From Budapest, the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty countries proposed to the NATO members and all European nations a programme for cuts in the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, for promoting trust between the two alliances and for reducing their military activities. The socialist community submitted an item 'On the Creation of a Comprehensive System of International Security' for consideration by the United Nations.

The movement of the peoples for the establishment of peace zones has spread to vast areas in Asia and the Pacific. The Soviet proposals on involving the Asian and Pacific region in the overall process of ensuring peace and security are consonant with the vital interests of the peoples. Such is also the aim of the proposals put forward by the Mongolian People's Republic; they are consonant with several Soviet initiatives. The socialist countries of Indochina are working steadily to transform Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and stability. At an international conference in Pyongyang in September, participants from 78 countries supported the efforts of the DPRK to turn the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone of peace. People's China also favours the prohibition of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and their tests.

The Soviet-US working summit in Reykjavik, held on the initiative of the USSR, was a logical continuation of the broad peace offensive of socialism and a landmark in international life and in the struggle of the world's nations against the arms race, for the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons.

The Soviet stand at the meeting was open and honest. It reflected the views and the hopes of a very broad spectrum of peace forces, proceeded from the principles of equality and equal security and took into account the interests and the proposals of both great powers, of their allies and of all mankind. This stand was a specific expression of a new approach, a new way of political thinking demonstrating awareness of the realities arising in our age of nuclear missiles.

On the negotiating table in Reykjavik the Soviet side put a package of radical and interrelated measures which, if implemented, could have led to a breakthrough in the international situation as a whole. Essentially, these measures proposed:

- reducing all types of strategic armaments by 50 per cent on both sides within five years and subsequently proceeding to eliminate them completely;

- eliminating all Soviet and US intermediate-range missiles in Europe and proceeding to a radical reduction of such weapons in Asia too;

- undertaking a mutual pledge not to pull out of the Soviet-US ABM Treaty of 1972 for at least ten years so as to rule out the possibility of either side developing weapons of a new type and thus attaining military superiority while the disarmament process is underway; and for this reason restricting SDI activities to laboratory research.

In the course of the meeting the Soviet side displayed its readiness to make serious concessions for the sake of achieving a mutually acceptable compromise. As a result, it proved possible to reach agreement on reductions in strategic arms and inter-

mediate-range missiles. However, the stubborn refusal of the US administration to forgo the implementation of the 'Star Wars' programme made it impossible to translate this agreement into binding accords between the two nuclear powers. Reykjavik has thrown into bolder relief who really champions the cause of peace and disarmament striving to deliver mankind from the nuclear threat, and who works to block these efforts. The international community has had yet another opportunity to see for itself that the US administration merely pays lip service to peace and in this way tries to camouflage the self-serving interests of the military-industrial complex which, having convinced itself of a US technological superiority, wants to use SDI to secure military supremacy and world domination. It is the influence of the forces of extreme imperialist reaction that prevents the US leadership from hearing the voice of reason.

That the considerable hopes the world pinned on the Reykjavik meeting failed to materialise is, of course, a cause for regret. Because of Washington's destructive position, a historic chance to stop and reverse the arms race and lead mankind into a nuclear-free world was forfeited. Nevertheless, the Reykjavik meeting was useful: it was a new step in a complicated and difficult dialogue. It produced important experience and highlighted more clearly the positions of the two countries and their attitudes to today's most topical issues—those of ending the arms race and of banning and eliminating nuclear weapons.

A qualitatively new situation has emerged. A higher level has been reached in the struggle for nuclear disarmament and no one has the right to remain aloof from it. The lessons of Reykjavik are becoming a powerful stimulus for all peoples, civic organisations and all governments irrespective of their orientation to join in the common struggle for normalising the international situation and strengthening peace. The USSR has reiterated its readiness to continue its policy of peace. 'We shall act,' Mikhail Gorbachov has declared. 'We shall not abandon our course of peace, of the struggle against the arms race, for the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons, for deflecting the threat from the entire world.' Progress will become a reality if the US administration displays political will and a sense of responsibility for the future of its own country and of the world as a whole. However, this process depends not only on the two, albeit great, powers: it calls for vigorous participation on the part of all those who really have a stake in a peaceful future for humanity.

People all over the world should be informed objectively about the positions of governments, parties and political leaders on issues of security and disarmament. This is all the more necessary because, in the wake of the meeting in Iceland, militarist quarters in the United States launched a misinformation campaign designed to whitewash Washington's destructive approach to nuclear disarmament, to ascribe to it proposals made by the other side, and to present SDI as a road to peace. Meanwhile, SDI was the main reason behind the rejection of Soviet proposals in Reykjavik—proposals that opened an opportunity to enter the twenty-first century without nuclear weapons. Even if one puts oneself in the US administration's place, one fails to understand what use SDI, advertised as a defensive system, will be in a world without offensive nuclear weapons. Why then undermine and destroy the agreements that have been restraining the arms race on Earth and in outer space?

The outcome of Reykjavik prompts many sincere friends of peace to wonder whether there is any force in our world capable of overcoming and offsetting the influence of the military-industrial complex on the ruling quarters in the United States and other imperialist countries, of forcing them to take real steps towards peace and universal security. We hold that such a force does exist. It is all those who oppose war and uphold peace.

The year which is about to end was marked by increased activity on the part of the

peace-loving public. The steady and consistent peace-making efforts of the socialist countries, the realism and feasibility of their initiatives have helped to produce a new socio-political and psychological atmosphere in the international community. Despite the campaign of slander and misinformation mounted by the militarists, there is widespread and open dissatisfaction on the part of world public opinion with the US position at the Reykjavik meeting. This is additional proof that it is becoming more and more difficult for Washington and its NATO allies to respond negatively to concrete peace proposals and practical steps. Lip service to peace is becoming increasingly worthless. The positions of those who advocate the build-up of armed force and its use as an instrument of politics are becoming eroded. The prestige of those who support equal security for all with fewer weapons worldwide, of those who favour disarmament is growing.

The movement of peace champions has attained a radically new and higher level. Never before have so many people been involved in its actions. Increased anti-war activity on the part of trade unions and other organisations of working people has acquired a particularly great significance. Their participation in the peace struggle is essential for making the actions of the peace-loving public more effective because, working by hand and by brain, it is industrial workers, engineers, technicians and scientists who create both tools for constructive labour and weapons of war. The results of the Dublin Conference of trade unions on disarmament,¹ the documents adopted at the 11th World Trade Union Congress in Berlin and the decisions of national trade union associations demonstrate that the desire to act for peace and fight against the nuclear threat is spreading among the working masses.

Concern for the survival of the human race and preservation of civilisation is everyone's concern. This is why the movement for rational policies, for disarmament and consolidation of peace is securing an ever broader social base. Suffice it to recall only a few events of 1986. The movement Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War held its sixth congress in Cologne; Moscow hosted an international meeting of scientists for an end to nuclear testing; an 'Ecoforum for Peace' was born in Sofia; a congress of educators for peace, disarmament, international understanding and education of the younger generation for peace was convened for the first time in Copenhagen. The academic community is switching from information and warnings about the nuclear danger to practical efforts for solving arms control and nuclear disarmament problems—witness the cooperation of Soviet and US seismologists. Side by side with scientists, members of the artistic community, lawyers, athletes, feminist organisations, youth associations, ethnic communities and solidarity movements are becoming ever more active participants in peace projects. An awareness of the fact that people bear a collective responsibility for the future of mankind prompts religious quarters, too—Christians, Moslems and Buddhists—to take resolute action in defence of peace and life, and this has been reflected at several international forums.

Even in the United States where all peace initiatives, no matter where they originate, have long been presented by the bourgeois press and the officialdom in a distorted light, condemned or suppressed, changes are occurring in the awareness and conduct of the public. In the spring, only 42 per cent of the Americans favoured a ban on nuclear testing, but their share increased to 56 per cent in the summer and to 80 per cent in the autumn of 1986. The number of US groups and coalitions for peace is growing despite the authorities' attempts to malign them as 'unpatriotic' and allegedly manipulated from abroad. In 1984 there were 1,350 such organisations in the United States; today they number 5,700.

The Peace Year has demonstrated that millions upon millions of people in all regions of the globe have become convinced: an end to nuclear testing would offer the key with which to lock the sluice gates of the nuclear arms race because without tests,

it is impossible to perfect or create new types of nuclear weapons or implement the SDI project. World public opinion demands that Washington join the Soviet moratorium on such tests and respond to the relevant proposals of the Delhi Six.

Peoples refuse to accept the presence of the Pentagon's military bases, nuclear weapons and missiles on their national territory. Courageous women at Greenham Common have been fighting for years to have US missiles removed from Britain. In Hasselbach, FRG, as many as 200,000 peace champions demonstrated against the deployment of cruise missiles. In Australia, Japan, Greece and many other countries the movement is spreading for ousting US military facilities and proclaiming districts, cities and communities nuclear-free zones. In Latin America, ever more people are protesting against Washington's practice of using its bases and mercenaries for aggressive moves.

The potential of the peace forces has expanded considerably in the developing countries. The bombing raids on Libyan cities, the pressure on Syria, the open military assistance to the Nicaraguan contras, the new forays against the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the intervention in Lebanon, increased cooperation with the South African racist regime and support for the counter-revolutionary gangs that terrorise the population and try to overthrow popular governments in Angola, Mozambique, Afghanistan and Kampuchea—all this inevitably and logically leads political figures and the popular masses to the conviction that the anti-imperialist struggle must be intensified.

Simultaneously, there is a growing understanding of the truth that efforts to ensure the security of the developing countries must not be confined to the military sphere alone. The peoples are realising ever more clearly that there is a close connection between the arms race and development. Arms reductions, disarmament and cuts in national military spending will make it possible to release huge material, financial and manpower resources to be used for peaceful, constructive purposes, including the elimination of economic underdevelopment, of hunger and epidemics in many parts of the world. Conversely a stepped-up arms race leads to cutbacks in outlays on the needs of socio-economic progress and infringes on the vital interests of the masses. Significantly, the proposals put forward by the presidents of Brazil and Argentina on demilitarising the South Atlantic and proclaiming the region a zone of peace and cooperation free from nuclear weapons not only play a major peace-making function and uphold a sovereign policy for Latin American countries but are also motivated by the interests of economic solidarity involving the peoples and countries opposed to the sway of the TNCs and the International Monetary Fund.

As it was stressed at the Eighth Non-Aligned Summit in Harare, for the vast majority of humanity, development is impossible without peace, and peace is impossible without development. The interests of security—both global and regional—demand a renunciation of neoglobalist policies and of attempts to interfere by force in the affairs of independent states. Purposeful efforts are needed to restructure the entire system of international relations along democratic lines, establish a new international economic order, overcome underdevelopment and equitably settle the foreign debt problem. Advocating this are the socialist countries, the developing nations, and realistic politicians in the West. On the one hand, this leads to the emergence of a basis for a broad international consensus essential for a successful solution of the problems affecting the interests of all mankind; on the other hand, new strata in the Third World are joining the struggle for peace and disarmament, against the imperialist threat of war; this adds to the overall potential of the peace forces.

As a result, no one can brush the peace movement aside or disregard its scope any more. This movement is exerting an influence on the way people think and act, affecting civic leaders and statesmen and helping to promote a *new quality of*

international life—the desire and readiness of a sizable part of the international community to assist peace. The Stockholm Conference on Confidence — and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe has ended successfully. A special session of the IAEA has approved conventions on notification and assistance in case of nuclear accidents. At the Manila Conference, the ASEAN countries have approved the concept of setting up a nuclear-free zone in their region. The member states of the South Pacific Forum have concluded a treaty proclaiming the South Pacific a nuclear-free zone, and the USSR and the People's Republic of China have voiced their readiness to respect the will of these peoples. The results achieved at a number of international forums show that *the political will of statesmen to achieve disarmament and ensure cooperation needs powerful support of all peace forces to become effective.*

A new way of political thinking which reflects the awareness that the nuclear danger threatens the future of all mankind is gradually sprouting in the governments, parties and among the public of many countries. True, this trend is only nascent as yet. To say that it is dominant would be an exaggeration. Practical manifestations of this way of thinking in concrete policies are far from universal. Still, the new approach to assessing the world situation, the prospects of development and the tackling of international issues by joint efforts is gradually making headway despite the stubborn resistance of the militarist quarters. And that is the most important thing.

The sprouts of the new way of thinking are also evident in the fact that more than ever before, favourable conditions are emerging for cooperation between the Communists and the Social Democrats to safeguard international security. The 17th Congress of the Socialist International held in Lima in the summer of 1986 confirmed that the positions of both political forces on a number of basic issues in the struggle for disarmament and the improvement of the world climate were close or identical—take the positive response to the Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions and the appeal to the United States to follow suit; the condemnation of the 'star wars' programme and of Washington's aggressive moves in Central America and other regions; the stand on the establishment of nuclear-free zones and on many other issues. The fact that positions on these problems are close makes it possible to submit joint concrete proposals—for example, the initiatives of the SUPG, the ruling party of the GDR, and the West German Social Democrats, also joined by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, on the establishment of a European zone free from chemical weapons and of a nuclear-free corridor along the borders of their three countries. The decision of the British Labour Party to work for the removal of US nuclear weapons from Britain and for a policy of non-nuclear defence was a major political step.

The Peace Year has thus confirmed that the forces of peace, reason and conscience carry great international weight and have truly inexhaustible reserves. One should, however, admit that so far, these forces are not always capable of securing changes in favour of rational policies. The peace forces are adding to their capacity and to their experience of resisting militarism. Peace movements in several capitalist countries are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that the power structures existing in those nations prevent the will of majority of the people from prevailing. The outcome of the anti-missile actions in Western Europe has shown that effective results will become possible only when the involvement of the masses in the movement can exert a decisive influence on the process and the sources of political decision-making. Today, after the Reykjavik meeting this is particularly important.

The peace champions who gathered at their World Congresses in the capital of Denmark in 1986 analysed the present international situation and advocated effective steps towards nuclear disarmament with fuller participation of all popular and political forces and of all nations in this process. At that congress, some 2,500 delegates—several hundred activists of peace movements from 136 countries and

spokesmen of 94 international organisations—represented a diverse spectrum of world public opinion. Their views did not coincide fully or always. But they agreed on the main thing—on the fact that mankind must remove the danger of self-destruction, eliminate the nuclear threat and embark on genuine disarmament. The Copenhagen Appeal, sponsored by the representatives of the Delhi Six and signed by the congress participants, says: 'To halt the nuclear arms race on Earth and to prevent it in outer space, to eliminate all nuclear weapons, we demand as urgent practical steps: Stop all nuclear-weapon tests immediately! No to star wars!' A campaign in support of this document is broadening on all continents.

Expressing the interests and aspirations of the working class and all working people, the Communists are acting vigorously in the peace movement and striving to raise the effectiveness of its struggle against militarist policies. For example, in Argentina they are doing their utmost to acquaint the masses with the 'Appeal of One Hundred', a document signed by the country's prominent political and civic leaders to rally the people to the struggle against the nuclear threat and in defence of life. The German Communist Party has suggested that the federal government and the Bundestag enact a law on the 'Peace Charter', summing up the principles and demands which guarantee security and which are advocated not only by the Communists but also by other political and civic forces, and that a new policy of security be judged according to these principles and demands. Signatures in support of the 'Peace Charter' are now being collected in West German cities.

The communist parties realise that joint action taken within a broad coalition of anti-war organisations and groups on all questions and in every concrete situation results from a multilateral accommodation of interests. These interests must be duly taken into account because otherwise one can lose one's allies and partners, given the efforts of the forces which seek to fragment the peace movement and to promote discord among its participants. Equality, mutual respect and readiness for cooperation on a jointly elaborated basis are a guarantee of success in rebuffing the forays of the imperialist quarters.

This approach expands opportunities for cooperation among different socio-political currents at national and international levels. What has occurred in the course of the Peace Year demonstrates the resolve of the peace-loving public to work even more vigorously and consistently for practical progress along the path of detente and disarmament. Such is the basis enabling all anti-war forces to collaborate closely and to exert a growing influence on the positions of governments and on future international developments.

As emphasised repeatedly at the World Congress in Copenhagen, the platform proposed by the Soviet Union in Reykjavik provides a tangible foundation for cardinal solutions to the issues of war and peace. Although a decisive turn for the better in international affairs proved impossible in 1986, the new way of political thinking is forging ahead, bursting through the logjams of confrontation. The obvious trend towards the isolation of militarist and imperialist forces fosters optimism. The year 2000 is not far off. And if we want the twenty-first century to become the first century in a nuclear-free era, a century of peace, there must be no delay. It is time for the peoples to take new, broad and resolute action for disarmament—action which will shape the future of all mankind.

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¹ The Second World Trade Union Conference on the Socio-Economic Aspects of Disarmament (May 1986) was sponsored by the standing International Trade Union Committee for Peace and Disarmament (Dublin Committee).—*Ed.*

A Reunited, Nuclear - Free Korea: An Important Element of Universal Security

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Committee for the Peaceful Reunification
of the Homeland

THE general political and economic crisis of imperialism is one of the most important factors determining the international situation today. After the Second World War, the successes of the socialist and revolutionary liberation forces led to a substantial limitation of the old world's sphere of domination. But the imperialist powers have refused to accept the loss of their positions. They have knocked together a coalition, headed by the United States, which has conducted a policy aimed, on the one hand, against socialism and the spread of its influence and, on the other, against the newly independent states and all the other less developed countries. This coalition has plundered these countries, pushing them into ever deeper poverty and making them increase their already vast external debt, so that their purchasing power and their capacity to pay have continued to decline.

But while this plunder does help the imperialist powers to wax richer, it cannot but have a negative impact on their own economy, which largely depends on the deliveries of raw materials and fuel and energy resources by the less developed countries, and on the state of their markets. The worsening condition of these areas goes to deepen the crisis of imperialism.

One would think that in order to ease the crisis, the industrialised capitalist countries should abandon their neo-colonialist policy, based on the old international economic order, and help to make the national economies of the Third World countries more self-sufficient. But that is something imperialism simply cannot do because of its nature. It is in the habit of overcoming its difficulties by aggressive and piratical methods. So, as the crisis deepens, the imperialist powers plunder their weaker partners ever more aggressively. As is their wont, they expect to escape from the crisis primarily by starting a war, which means steadily stepping up the militarisation of the economy and the arms race.

Here, US ruling circles have pride of place. In their efforts to exert power pressure on the socialist and other progressive countries, and to restore their world domination, they have been endlessly multiplying their military outlays, stepping up the production of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, and striving to deploy them in various regions of the world. Washington has overtly carried out war-mongering acts in Europe and Central America, in the Middle East and in South Africa, i.e., wherever the US militarists have secured a footing.

The result is a trampling of the sovereignty of many countries, breaches of the

peace and security of the peoples, and the growing possibility of a world nuclear war. That has produced an extremely dangerous situation in which a threat is posed to the great values created by the sweat and blood of human beings throughout the centuries, and, indeed, to mankind's very survival.

Tensions in the Korean peninsula have also continued to grow despite the active efforts of the Korean and other peoples of the world to normalise the situation and strengthen peace in the area. This is becoming a dangerous factor threatening peace and security.

Here again, the blame falls primarily on the US aggressors. In the recent period, they have intensified their militaristic policy in Asia and the Pacific, attaching key strategic significance to South Korea, lying as it does close to Japan, which is contiguous to the Asian mainland and which has declared itself to be a reliable ally of the United States, and its 'unsinkable aircraft carrier', a country prepared to join in the preparations for 'star wars'.

The US militarists claim that the twenty-first century will be a 'Pacific era', and so have spun out the idea of what they call a Pacific Community which they intend to turn into NATO-type military bloc underpinned by the United States-Japan-South Korea triangle. US global strategy designates the Korean Peninsula as an area of US 'vital interests' and a forward line in this strategy. Accordingly, the United States is preparing for aggression against our republic, using South Korea as a staging area and simultaneously trying to establish military control over Northeast Asia by putting pressure on other countries.

The United States keeps 40,000 troops in South Korea, with more than 1,000 units of various types of nuclear warheads and neutron weapons. It also intends to deploy medium-range Pershing II and Cruise missiles in the area, so turning South Korea into yet another forward position and a dangerous hotbed of nuclear war against the socialist countries. That would pose a grave threat to the Korean and all the other peace-loving peoples of the world. If a nuclear war broke out on our peninsula, it would at once escalate into a world-wide all-incinerating conflagration.

The Korean people have resisted the policy of aggression by working hard to cut short and thwart the war-mongering schemes of the US imperialists and their lackeys, and to defend peace and the gains of the revolution in the eastern outpost of socialism. These efforts, an important element of the common cause of peace and social progress backed by the peoples of the world, are closely tied in with the struggle for the Koreans' supreme national aspiration: the peaceful reunification of their homeland.

Our whole nation's lifeblood is that of our common ancestors. Since time immemorial it has been one nation living in friendship on one territory, with one language, one culture and one set of customs. Therefore, there are no internal conditions or causes for the partition of Korea, such as its present unfortunate dichotomy. Our nation has had to endure the sufferings and calamities of partition for more than forty years now, because South Korea is occupied by external forces, the US imperialists, which have turned it into a colony and a military base. They are the ones who endanger peace in Korea and prevent its reunification. If the alien invaders left the south of the peninsula, if the United States stopped meddling in our internal affairs, the hotbed of war in Korea would disappear, it would become an area of lasting peace, and the issue of our homeland's peaceful reunification would be settled. Let me emphasise once again this interconnection: Korea's peaceful reunification necessarily implies peace in the peninsula, while its peaceful reunification is the pledge of lasting peace in the area.

Our reunification is essentially a matter of our final national liberation, because it requires an end to the domination and interference by the external forces, and the nation's exercise of full sovereignty on the scale of the whole country, and of its right

to self-determination. It is a sacred right, and the external forces have no justifiable reason for blocking it. It is an issue to be settled by none except ourselves.

Since our struggle for the country's reunification is essentially patriotic and is aimed against the US imperialists' schemes to perpetuate the existence of 'two Koreas', and for national cohesion and sovereignty, it is not some single class or stratum that is the subject and champion of this struggle, but the Korean nation as a whole, which includes all the classes and social strata of North and South. It is the foreign imperialists and their hirelings that are the object of the struggle, the antagonists seeking to keep the nation divided and opposing its self-standing independence. The reunification of Korea must, therefore, be realised on the principle of the great national consolidation of all our compatriots.

The struggle for Korea's unification is not aimed to overthrow or establish either the communist or the capitalist system, for it is a struggle in which the nation's independent forces face the aggressive forces of imperialism, a struggle in which the patriots are opposing the traitors. The people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the circles in South Korea which are guided by national interests live under different social systems and have different political convictions, but as compatriots they are united in a common cause: their homeland's reunification. That is why this great endeavour can and must be carried through without the use of force, by peaceful means.

If the people of the North and South of Korea were to start a war of national liberation to expel the invaders, who are keeping the country divided, it would, of course, be a just war. However, in present-day conditions, which are determined by the long-term partition of Korea, and the confrontation of large armed forces along the military demarcation line, with the South turned into a US nuclear base, a national-liberation war is not just unrealistic; it could well spark off another world war.

Conscious of these circumstances, the Workers' Party of Korea and the DPRK government have formulated three principles as the point of departure in settling the issue of our homeland's reunification; independence, peaceful reunification, and great national consolidation. We have firmly adhered to these principles as the basis of all our acts towards this goal.

These just principles are embodied in the proposal put forward by General Secretary of the WPK CC Kim Il Sung at the party's Sixth Congress in 1980 for the establishment of a Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo. It is a proposal that has met with active support and approval by many peoples of the world, to say nothing of the entire Korean people. It envisages the formation of a confederate state with the preservation of the ideologies and social systems existing in the North and the South, i.e., a state settling the issue of the nation's reunification, without establishing a common social system in the North and the South, and without resolving the existing class contradictions.

Our point of departure is a realistic assessment of the situation. After all, if the North and the South, where different social systems and ideologies have existed for a long time, were, each for its part, to start absolutising them and imposing them on each other, there would be clash and conflict, with nothing but a further widening of the rift. One could, of course, say that the difference of ideology and social system is essentially a reflection of class contradictions. But the existence of such contradictions and of people with different ideologies and ideals in Korea does not preclude the formation of one national state, since the whole nation regards the homeland's reunification as its supreme goal.

We believe that if a policy meeting the vital requirements and general national interests is worked out and correctly applied within the framework of a Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo, as a single state covering the country's entire territory

and people, the cohesion and cooperation of the population of North and South will grow stronger and a new historical phase will open up in the Korean nation's coherent development.

Our party and government have been doing their utmost for a peaceful solution of these problems through a dialogue, being mindful of the Korean people's cherished hope of reunifying the country, and impelled by a noble sense of responsibility for the all-human cause of peace. If these problems are to be solved, we believe, it is important for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States to conclude a peace agreement in place of the existing armistice agreement, and to adopt a declaration on non-aggression between North and South. In our efforts to attain this goal, we have long insisted on Korean-US negotiations, and put forward a new proposal in early 1984 for trilateral negotiations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the United States and South Korea. But Washington has failed to respond to our proposal to this day, and has deliberately embittered the atmosphere by talk of some kind of 'threat of attack on the South'.

There is no such 'threat' at all, nor is one conceivable, both because the Workers' Party of Korea and the government have firmly adhered to the three principles for unifying the country, and because of the different armed forces potentials of North and South. Peace is the basic condition for the existence of socialism, so that the threat of aggression never comes from socialism.

What actually exists in our peninsula is not a 'threat of attack on the South', but a threat of attack on the North. The vigorous struggle by the population of South Korea, notably its students, for a withdrawal of US troops and elimination of their nuclear bases, shows that the people in the South do not believe that there is a 'threat of an attack from the North', and are aware that the US military occupation of the country and the US militarists' plotting, which could lead to a nuclear war, are the only potential source of aggression.

The United States has not accepted our proposals because it is aware that if trilateral negotiations result in the conclusion of a peace agreement between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States, and the adoption of a declaration on non-aggression between North and South, their noisy claims about a 'threat of attack on the South' will be nailed as a lie, so leaving no pretext for the continued stay of US troops in South Korea. The fact is that the United States intends to keep a grip on South Korea, and the facts cited above show that it needs South Korea as a bridgehead for wide-ranging armed aggression and a base for delivering a nuclear strike—and not only against the DPRK. After all, if the United States intended to attack us alone, it would have had no need to stockpile in South Korea so many nuclear weapons with their tremendous yield and long range.

The United States has tried to camouflage its occupation of South Korea and its true intentions, by presenting South Korea's rickety colonial puppet regime as a sovereign and independent state which has requested the presence of US troops in the South. That is why this regime is being given vast military and economic aid, and why efforts are being made to turn South Korea into a venue for various international conferences and international athletic competitions including the Olympic Games.

Even in the light of all these facts, the DPRK government has been seeking new ways for a North-South dialogue. Since it is hard to carry on trilateral negotiations in the present conditions, we have proposed that a start should be made with inter-parliamentary negotiations and other bilateral meetings along various lines in order to reduce tensions in the peninsula and to create an atmosphere favouring the country's peaceful reunification.

We have also recently made the proposals for an end to all military exercises on the territory of North and South, and for negotiations between the military leaders of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the United States and South Korea to

discuss ways of easing military tensions. But the US imperialists and their South Korean puppets have refused to yield on any point—and in defiance of the hopes of the Korean and other peace-loving peoples—have relentlessly continued their diverse military exercises, including the large-scale joint Team Spirit-86 exercises.

Since the incipient dialogue was broken off, armed preparations in the South have gone ahead and the confrontation is being intensified, the atmosphere in the peninsula is being exacerbated, and this creates a situation in which peace in the area may be breached at any time.

The Korean people are confronted with large and extremely dangerous armed forces, and have to carry a heavy burden for the noble cause of peace. Together with our party, they regard the struggle for peace in Korea both as an important national and as an international duty to ensure the security of mankind as a whole. That is the context in which Kim Jong Il, Political Bureau Presidium member and Secretary of the WPK Central Committee, said: 'The most important task now facing progressive mankind is to cut short and thwart the imperialists' aggressive and militaristic moves and to preserve peace and security throughout the world.'¹

Our party's unwavering course is to fight against war, and for peace. The Korean people will not allow a nuclear war to break out on its peninsula. The DPRK government has recently put forward the important proposal of turning the area into a nuclear-free zone, a zone of peace. The emergence of such a zone would remove one of the most hazardous hotbeds of nuclear war, so marking an important stride forward in ensuring peace and security in Asia and throughout the world.

An international conference was convened in Pyongyang last September to help solve this problem. It was attended by more than 120 delegations from 78 countries, and by the representatives of some international democratic organisations. All the participants in the conference supported the efforts of People's Korea to turn the peninsula into a nuclear-free zone.

The population of South Korea, including its students, is involved in the movement to preserve peace and unite our nation. But these forces are confronted with Chun Doo Hwan's fascist-military regime. Last May's summit of the Western Seven in Tokyo showed that the imperialist powers, headed by the United States, overtly and jointly support the Seoul regime and approve of its savage repression of the progressive circles.

We are, nevertheless, confident in our strength, because we have on our side the socialist countries and the international communist movement, the mightiest revolutionary forces of our epoch, which have the crucial role in the struggle against imperialist aggressions and armed provocations, and for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

Cohesion and cooperation are the basis of the strength of socialism and the world communist movement. The wilder the aggressive militaristic attacks by the imperialists, the more vigorous, we are sure, will the socialist countries, and the communist and workers' parties be in uniting even more closely under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism to carry on the struggle for peace and socialism.

The Korean people highly appreciate and warmly support the peace initiatives and efforts of the Soviet Union, the fraternal socialist countries and all the other peace-loving states aimed to do away with nuclear and chemical weapons, effect conventional arms and troop cuts, ease international tensions and avert a nuclear war. The Korean people voice firm solidarity with the anti-war and anti-nuclear movement sweeping Europe, Asia, Latin America and other regions of the globe. The Workers' Party of Korea and our entire people will keep holding high the banner of anti-imperialism and peace, firmly uniting with the socialist countries, the international working class and all the progressive forces, especially from the non-

aligned countries, to bend every effort to preserve peace in Korea, to bring about its peaceful reunification, and to establish peace in Asia and throughout the world.

The facts show that historical development has run a course in favour of socialism and the anti-imperialist peace forces. The imperialists' reckless and desperate acts are not a sign of strength, but of the fact that they are doomed. Their wild thrashings about tend to deepen the general crisis of imperialism. Its collapse, like the victory of socialism and the anti-imperialist peace forces, is inevitable. Such is the ineluctable law of history.

¹ Kim Jong Il. *We Advance Holding High the Banner of Marxism-Leninism and the Ideas of Chuchhe*, Pyongyang, 1983, p. 36 (in Korean).

Socialist Experience in Agrarian Transformations

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THE Hungarian people's choice of socialism has made for accelerated development in every sphere of our life, including agriculture, a highly significant element of the socialist economy. It yields a quarter of our national income, meets our people's food requirements up to a high level, and helps to balance our foreign trade. Our agrarian sector also compares favourably with those of other countries. We share the top four places on some key indicators with the most developed states of Europe. Thus, our cereal output comes to roughly 1.3 tons per head, and meat output to over 150 kilogrammes. We are also among the best in egg and apple output. The value of produce per hectare of farmland in Hungary is five times the world average.

We also have dynamic growth in the agrarian sector of our economy, and the growth indicators are markedly higher than those of the other European countries: 4.6 per cent a year from 1971 to 1975; 2.9 per cent from 1976 to 1980, and 4.2 per cent from 1981 to 1985. Over the past five years, our food industry has increased output by 2.4 per cent a year. Our food output is half as great again as the population requires, over the five years, food exports have gone up by 37 per cent. Many states have been importing ever more widely the technologies and complex systems for the production of some produce developed in our republic, and this is evidence of international recognition of Hungary's agriculture.

Our successes are sometimes linked to what is called a 'Hungarian model' of socialism. The leaders of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party have repeatedly stressed that there has never been any such model, but that there are original methods of socialist construction within the framework of the general law-governed processes in the context of national conditions and the use of the experience of other countries.

What has been achieved is the result of our party's purposeful and consistent agrarian policy started in the late 1950s, which harmonises the socialist transformation of the countryside with the all-round development and intensification of production, in the light of the actual potentialities for economic growth and the specific conditions in the Hungarian countryside. This policy was given a positive assessment at the 13th Congress of the HSWP (1985), which further elaborated it, with special emphasis on the requirements of the economic situation in the world and at home. Below I intend to consider the continuity of this course, its basic features

and results.

Hungary got down to major revolutionary transformations in agriculture after 1945, when the people's power was instituted in the country and socialist construction got under way.

The first thing we did was to break up the large feudal estates and to share out the land. Roughly 35 per cent of the entire territory (3.2 million hectares, or about 3 hectares per head) went to 110,000 farm labourers, over 260,000 agricultural workers, 214,000 smallholders, i.e., about 650,000 persons who won the right to hold land in the process of democratic change, and also to the state and local authorities. The social significance of these measures is obvious, because 90 per cent of the new land-holders had earlier either owned tiny parcels of land or had no land at all. They are the ones who received 93 per cent of the redistributed farmland. The land was transferred into private ownership. The number of farms with not more than 29 hectares of land went up from 52 to 79 per cent, and those with under 10 hectares from 32 to 56 per cent. That made petty-commodity private production the dominant form.

The sharing out of land brought about a radical change in social relations in the countryside. The number of people making up the agrarian proletariat was reduced by roughly two-thirds, and the number of rich peasants and capitalist landowners by 60 per cent, while the number of petty-commodity producers increased by 68 per cent. The party's policy won over broad masses of rural working people, consolidated the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and created the prerequisites for shaping the social base of the new society.

There followed the cooperation movement, which in terms of time largely coincided with the sharing out of the land. For the agricultural workers, the landless farm-labourers and some of the peasants without the necessary material resources of their own association in producer farming cooperatives presented the shortest way to improving their living conditions. That process was promoted by the party and the government.

But this was not an easy way by any means, and until 1957 the cooperative movement developed unevenly. There were some breaches of Lenin's cooperation principles, such as voluntary association, gradual development, and all-round material and political assistance. Now and again, the local authorities put administrative pressure on the peasants and forced them to join cooperatives. As a result, there were breakdowns in the organisation of cooperatives on two occasions (in 1953 and 1956), and some of the cooperatives fell apart. Many were restored in 1957, but at the time they accounted for just over 10 per cent—and together with the state farms, for only about 25 per cent—of total farm output.

In those conditions, the HSWP worked out the principles of its new agrarian policy, which is still in operation. That was when it spelled out its 'Theses on Agrarian Policy' (July 1957), summing up past experience and drawing the necessary conclusions. The party came down firmly against the political errors with respect to the peasantry, the setting up of cooperatives and the management of agriculture, while stressing its adherence to the socialist reconstruction of the countryside. It said that this historical task had to be put through with the consent of the labouring peasantry and in stronger alliance with the workers. The party's important goal was steadily to increase agricultural output.

There was a growing understanding of the fact that the solution of the problems in Hungary's agriculture on a consistent socialist basis was the key to maintaining and strengthening economic and social stability, while the correct alliance policy was the basis for consolidating the political power. That is why the historic socialist transformation of the countryside was carried through in a historically short period of time by the efforts of the society as a whole. The party subsequently continued to

formulate its agrarian policy in the light of the concrete economic and social conditions and consistently applied Lenin's ideas.

Hungary's agriculture is now based on large-scale socialist enterprises, i.e., producer cooperatives, state farms and associations, which cover 95 per cent of the cultivated farmland and which yield over two-thirds of the farm produce. Household and auxiliary farms owned by cooperative members and industrial and office workers have an important role in Hungary's economy. They are an organic complement of the large enterprises, and make significant use of the raw and other materials produced in the state and cooperative sectors. These farms yield the remaining one-third of the produce.

The HSWP regards cooperative property as a form of socialist property on a par with state property, and pursues a policy of their joint and concerted development.

It is most essential that we have succeeded in arranging a rational division of labour between the various types of farms. In our country, the existence of small-scale production depends on the support it gets from cooperatives and state enterprises, which handle the machine cultivation of house-and-garden plots, provide the feed for their cattle, and purchase, process and market their produce. Everyone does what the available conditions and potentialities warrant: small farms help to make fuller use of living labour, perform the labour-intensive processes and make efficient use of the implements they own, while large-scale farms provide the back-up with the required services.

The rational division of labour has gradually enabled the house-and-garden farms to make ever wider use of modern machinery and new strains and breeds, as small-scale producers of specialised commodities. Their activity lends itself to planning on the scale of the national economy as a whole, their material, personnel and economic prerequisites can be reliably determined, and the results and probable consequences solidly predicted. The economic benefits of the house-and-garden and auxiliary farms on which the individual labour of family members is used are obvious. Besides, these farms have an important role in increasing the incomes of all the classes and strata of the society and in aligning their living standards. The intention to go on consolidating this important sphere of agriculture is reflected in the documents of the party's 13th Congress.

A characteristic feature of the HSWP's agrarian policy from the outset has been to develop close ties between agriculture and other sectors of the economy, as mirrored in the urge to achieve optimal proportions in the development of industry and agriculture, and in the steady improvement of material and technical facilities in the agrarian sector.

HSWP policy is designed for steady modernisation and qualitative improvement of the industrial back-up in supplying the means of production, because there can be no modern agriculture without a modern industry, an approach that has already fully justified itself in the past period.

Much was done to modernise the material facilities available to agriculture in the 1960s and 1970s, when production was almost completely mechanised. Thus, 95 per cent of the draught facilities have been machine-propelled, while sowing, cultivation, plant protection and harvesting of crops have been almost entirely mechanised. Complex mechanisation systems have emerged. Industrial technologies have been rapidly developed. Hundreds of specialised farms for the breeding of cattle, pigs and poultry have been started. The re-equipped food industry processing animal products has also made a major stride forward. The use of chemicals is widespread: more artificial fertilizers, plant protectors, herbicides and biological stimulators are being used. Artificial fertilizers have gone up from 60 to 300 kg per hectare, and plant

protectors have multiplied 18-fold.

Much has also been done in selection: our own and foreign achievements have been widely applied in producing new and potentially more valuable, productive and internationally competitive plant strains and animal breeds. The qualitative changes in the material and technical facilities took us well along the way to industrialising agriculture.

The consistent intensive development policy has led to a concentration and specialisation of production, and to wider economic cooperation between enterprises in various sectors and regions. The 13th Congress of the HSWP set the task of further invigorating these processes. We plan to make agriculture more efficient, with broader use of high technology and the tapping of reserves. Hence the need for the most modern industrial products and equipment as the only way to fulfil the task we have set ourselves, which is to enhance the role of the agrarian sector in creating the national income, increasing deliveries of produce abroad, and making it more competitive.

If the agrarian sector is to be further developed, it must have a more ramified organisational structure and more diverse forms of interaction between producer units. A great many new intereconomic unit organisations and various forms of cooperation have emerged in our country over the past decade. Associations of enterprises and cooperatives have spread rapidly. These associations differ markedly from each other in organisation and business, ranging from the provision of all kinds of services to the establishment of new joint and juridically self-standing enterprises and even agro-industrial associations ensuring a high degree of integration.

Cattle-breeding and cropping systems set up on the initiative of large and advanced farms have been especially successful, with a rational division of labour between the head enterprises and their partners, joint projection of development, and the use of modern technologies and management techniques. As a result, the productivity of all those involved in such cooperation has markedly gone up. Experience shows that such systems are an effective instrument for the industrial development of agriculture. Twenty-one complex field-cropping systems integrate more than one-half of the farmland, i.e., 2.5 million hectares, and they take the credit for achieving good results in cereal production. Our complexes provide services in many countries, among them the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and even Mexico.

The new type of agro-industrial associations, first set up in the mid-1970s, have great prospects before them. These include state farms, producer cooperatives and processing enterprises, i.e., elements of both forms of socialist property. These associations help to integrate the interests of those involved and have a higher profitability than other enterprises in the industry when the required material conditions and personnel are to hand.

Our party gives special attention to steadily improving the management of the agrarian sector, and the development of flexible economic regulators aimed to enhance its efficiency, boost output, provide more lucrative incentives to the farms and make wide use of scientific and technical achievements.

Three decades ago, the HSWP took a number of important decisions in this sphere: the system of mandatory deliveries was abolished, a new policy instituted on prices, taxes, credits and subsidies, and the production and marketing of produce were organised on different lines. The agriculture management system was subsequently modernised, and administrative methods were gradually supplanted with economic methods.

This approach was also the main one in the reform of the whole national economy in the 1960s and 1970s. Enterprises were given an even freer hand in the process of expanded reproduction by the improvement of wholesale prices, by the new system of state subsidies, credits, funding and income formation, and by the regulation of

commodity turnover.

The period since then has shown that the new system of economic management has had a favourable effect on the rate of production growth, improvement of product quality and higher profitability of enterprises. The use of economic instruments and commodity-money relations has meshed well with the advantages and requirements of economic planning. Agricultural enterprises and cooperatives draw up their own annual and medium-term plans in the light of their own specifics and potentialities, on the basis of the contracts they conclude, and under the active influence of economic incentives and normals laid down by the state.

The rights, duties and autonomy of enterprises are ensured by the law on producer cooperatives, and the state-farm organisation system, while our economic and financial incentives induce the work collectives to fulfil plans, display imaginative initiative and go in for common-sense ventures.

In the 1980s, the same economic management conditions have been extended to all types of large agrarian enterprises (state farms, cooperatives, agro-industrial associations, etc.) and also to the food industry, which maintains close ties with them. Such a coherent system of regulation makes it easier for enterprises in the various industries to cooperate with each other, to harmonise their interests, and promotes the development of horizontal and vertical integration. We expect this mechanism to go on raising the initiative of work collectives, without which there can be no intensive economic development or higher competitiveness for our goods.

The steady consolidation and extension of cooperative democracy likewise promotes successful work. Democracy cannot and must not be merely formal. It is important that every working person, manager and management body should constantly feel the influence of the work collectives, while their members and individual units should have the right and the duty to participate in economic decision-making and bear full responsibility for implementing such decisions and for their consequences.

As it did in the past, so today our party attaches primary importance to implementing a full-scale social programme, including efforts to raise the well-being of rural working people. Within a historically short period, living and working conditions in the Hungarian countryside have been drastically improved, and its age-old backwardness eliminated. The HSWP has won the trust of the peasantry by steadily conducting such a policy, and that was especially important in the 1960s, when steps were taken to do away with the differences in the living standards and incomes of workers and peasants. The living standards of cooperative members used to be about 15 per cent lower than those of industrial and office workers, but the gap has now been closed. The policy of raising the peasants' well-being has been closely tied in with the boosting of agricultural production, and also with the growth of urban living standards.

Major changes in social conditions, the provision of pensions and medical care for the cooperative peasantry were started in the 1970s. They were assured of equality with other classes and social groups in our society in terms of rights and opportunities in receiving social goods and services from social consumption funds.

It was stressed at the 13th Congress of the HSWP that a tangible rise in the living standards of the population, including the peasantry, is to be brought about by making the national economy more profitable, and by intensifying the rural economy, including higher labour productivity, better use of working time, and tighter discipline. Within the structure of rising incomes more attention is to be given to distribution according to labour, without any cutbacks in the provision of basic types of social security. The condition of families with children and low-pension seniors and newly married couples is simultaneously to be improved.

The activity of large-scale socialist enterprises has brought about qualitative

changes in the peasantry's way of life, culture and everyday conditions in the Hungarian countryside as a whole, and this applies, in particular, to school education, the training of specialists and other spheres. Thus, roughly 15 per cent of peasants now have a general secondary and higher education, and one-third special occupational training; 40,000 specialists with a higher education work at large agricultural enterprises and associations, with technicians and skilled workers numbering 250,000. The young generation has a considerably higher level of general culture and occupational skills than their elders, and this gives ground for expecting further economic and spiritual progress in the countryside.

Gradual urbanisation is an organic part of the social development of the countryside, as populated localities are modernised and their supply improved. It is not surprising, therefore, that the amenities available in many villages are on a par with those in the cities. Our agriculture has now once again become attractive for the working people, including youth. This applies especially to branches with a prevailing use of modern machinery and scientific and technical achievements.

Not very long ago, we had to lay emphasis on the quantitative indicators of agricultural development, and here good results have also been achieved. There is a relatively high level of supplies of foodstuffs to the population, growing agrarian exports, and high crop yields in international terms.

The greatest effort is to be made to meet the diverse requirements of our people with respect to the quality of products, the degree of their processing, packaging, their attractiveness and variety. On the other hand, the saturation of the internal food market makes it necessary to raise the role of food in external trade, which helps to develop the agrarian sector, as these data show: agriculture and food account for 11.6 per cent of world exports, and for 22 per cent of Hungary's exports. By contrast, the figures for raw materials and fuel are 28.3 and 8.3 per cent, respectively. Hence the obvious need to go on developing the production and export of Hungarian foodstuffs capable of competing on the world market.

That requires some reassessment of the activity of enterprises, specialists, managers, managerial methods and economic ties, and a higher level of discipline and organisation. It is obvious in many cases that what was in the past regarded as successful now has to face new demands: we now have to maintain a high rate of intensive growth with some reduction in farmland, a smaller labour force and lower economic inputs. In the present challenging international situation, the basis of our agriculture can be made more stable both through the use of everything in the available experience and through the quest for new approaches.

The development of agriculture and the food industry has never been a simple matter, either after the socialist reorganisation of the agrarian sector, when the emphasis was on consolidating the cooperatives, or when there was a need markedly to boost output, or even now when there is a need to increase profit margins, make foodstuffs internationally more competitive, and improve their quality. It is no simple matter also because it involves large material and labour inputs.

But the efforts being made by our society, notably the rural working people, to advance the agrarian sector have completely justified themselves. They have helped to stabilise Hungary's economic and the entire internal political situation. Our agrarian production and, indeed, the whole of our economy would have been in a hard condition just now but for the major resources marshalled in the 1960s and 1970s to develop agriculture, once it took the socialist way, and but for the efficient use of these resources by the workers and peasants.

There are, of course, outstanding problems and new difficulties. Fairly many farms are not quite efficient, and the per-unit inputs of materials and energy are often higher than the established normals. There are still great difficulties in the haulage, storage and processing of farm produce, in the food industry and marketing.

The HSWP's 13th Congress has oriented our agriculture towards tackling the problems before it. Large-scale agricultural enterprises with experienced personnel are quite capable of coping with their tasks with the aid of science. As in the past, this calls for well-concerted social, political and economic activity, and much effort to advance along the intensive way. In the complicated external economic conditions, success largely depends on cooperation with the fraternal countries, on greater integration within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, but we continue to rely mainly on our own efforts. Hungary has the required potential for further socialist progress.

Honduras: A Focal Point of Confrontation with Imperialism

Rigoberto Padilla Rush – General Secretary, Communist Party of Honduras (CPH)

WORLD public opinion is monitoring closely the situation in our country, and for a good reason. The outcome of the intense conflict in Central America will depend to a great degree on which course the developments in Honduras will take. We therefore strive to inform the fraternal parties and all progressive quarters about the situation in our country, which has been occupied by the US military and transformed into a springboard of subversion and aggression against the neighbouring nations.

Imposed by US imperialism, the arms race saps the already meagre national budget, aggravates the socio-economic crisis and reduces the living standard of the population. Mikhail Gorbachov was right to call the plight of the developing countries a major global problem. It is this plight, not something else, that is the true source of local conflicts. That is the truth, no matter how hard imperialist propaganda tried to peddle lies about the "forays" of Moscow, Havana or Managua in an effort to justify Washington's policy of neoglobalism which is pushing the world to the brink of nuclear catastrophe.

At this historically responsible juncture, the Communists and other revolutionary forces of our country regard it as their duty to help the masses develop a patriotic consciousness, to foster a profoundly hostile attitude to the invaders and to promote a vigorous commitment to peace. We cannot allow Honduras to be drawn into a fratricidal war against the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador because this war would only serve the interests of imperialism and would bring incalculable suffering to the region.

In assessing the political situation and by charting specific directions of our work to implement the guidelines of the Fourth Congress of the CPH (held in 1986), we are helping to strengthen the mass movement for the expulsion of foreign troops from our national territory, for peaceful coexistence with the neighbouring countries, for the observance of constitutional rights and liberties in Honduras and for revolutionary democratic transformations. On the eve of new class battles, the CPH is calling on all fraternal parties and on progressive world public opinion for solidarity with the just struggle of the Honduran people.

The Economy and the Corruption

Less than twelve months after Azcona Hoyo installed himself in the Stone Palace,¹ the forecasts of the Fourth CPH Congress have come true. In its political report to the

forum, our Central Committee said that the new government would come to power amid great hopes and expectations of the people, against the background of hostility to the Suazo Cordova regime which trampled the aspirations of the masses underfoot. The report also stressed the instability and inconsistency of the cabinet which would inevitably bow to US diktat and look to an alliance with the National Party² for support. That is precisely what has happened.

The initial record of the Azcona Hoyo regime shows that we are dealing with a policy that is even more treacherous and confused than that pursued by the former president. While the latter raised at least some objections to the moves of the imperialist quarters, the current head of state docilely agrees to take part in the attempts at derailing the peace-making efforts of the Contadora Group and to continue the confrontation with Nicaragua, submits to Washington's aggressive schemes and accepts the continued presence in Honduras of US troops and Somoza's counter-revolutionary gangs. For all his high-handedness with the people, the president is unabashedly grovelling before the imperialist predators and seems to have forgotten his pre-election promises.

His rule began with the economy in a relatively favourable state,³ which opened an opportunity to somewhat alleviate the effects of the socio-economic crisis. However, self-serving class interests prevailed, and the funds were channelled into maintaining of the bloated bureaucracy, into the pockets of the parasitic section of the bourgeoisie, and into military spending. Now that the situation on international markets has deteriorated dramatically and the hopes for considerable export earnings have evaporated, the Liberal government is no longer either willing or even able to combat the crisis.

Disdain of national interests is also reflected in the fact that instead of improving the performance of and strengthening the state sector, Azcona has allowed it to be plundered: he has yielded to the pressure of the imperialist financial corporations which demand privatisation of enterprises created by previous governments. This pressure is designed to increase the infiltration of US capital into the national economy. These enterprises are acquired directly or with the help of unscrupulous local middlemen.

The corporations also want the Honduran government to devalue the lempira (the national currency) which would deal another blow to the incomes of large sections of the population and worsen the position of the people. Until recently, the lempira exchange rate in relation to the dollar was a steady 0.5. This was rooted in several factors. First, competent economists believe that there is no desperate need for investment or plant because the country's economic policy can be summed up as 'doing nothing'. Second, the government has been artificially maintaining a relatively stable lempira exchange rate, aware that in case of devaluation, virtually everyone—above all, the unions and other civic organisations—would demand higher pay, in addition to the fact that they are steadily protesting against rising prices as it is. Third, the 'dollar influx' that has swept the country also plays an important although transitory role, connected with the presence in Honduras of US troops who have money to spend and of the contras who receive US financial assistance via channels that cannot be monitored.

Dishonest deals and scandalous exposes have become a regular feature of the nation's life. For example, in early August a detachment of the 'cobras' (police forces specialising in urban counter-insurgency operations) raided, without consulting the civilian authorities, the house of Rodolfo Zelaya, a National Party congressman. After a brief exchange of fire, the congressman and his retinue surrendered. Zelaya freely admitted that he was in contact with the contras, to whom he sold military hardware 'possibly intended for the Honduran army'. He also declared that the raid was organised by Colonel Nunez, chief of army intelligence, to oust Zelaya out of a

'lucrative business'. The government dismissed Nunez and the chief of police. An investigation was begun. Meanwhile, the Congress took no disciplinary measures against Zelaya.

The way the debts of a small group of capitalists who secured loans from the National Investment Corporation were cleared by dipping into the national budget is an example of the brazen shamelessness exhibited by the present government and Azcona himself. The people were simply robbed of 300 million dollars (54 per cent of the national budget). Information about this leaked to the press. It turned out that several people who received part of the 'gravy' fled to the United States. A scandal ensued. In order to allay public indignation, the authorities arrested some of the small fry; the principal swindlers are thriving as before—although the debtors could be made to return this huge sum, and the money could be used for promoting economic recovery, specifically among medium and small-scale businesses.

But the authorities care only for 'their own business'. They fawn on the transnational corporations, exempting them from taxes under the pretext of their alleged inability to compete. Natural resources are still exploited by a handful of foreign and local business interests. Their deposits in foreign banks are growing because our wealth is being plundered and those who now hold political power have assumed an anti-national stand.⁴

The Contradictions Are Mounting

The Azcona government 'lost face' sooner than the previous administration had. The government is also losing the support of the political and social quarters that voted for it in the November 1985 elections. Its disdain of popular needs, its weakness and timidity are now perfectly obvious. The impression is that the government is kept afloat only with the help of the US Embassy, the top brass and the political alliance with the National Party—the 'Callejistas' who are backed by big capital at home and abroad.

Allied as they are, the two parties differ considerably in their approach to foreign and domestic policy. The fact that Azcona has made the 'Callejistas' a present of the courts and certain administrative agencies has prompted many Liberals to defect from him. Differences are growing between supporters of the President and representatives of the People's Liberal Alliance⁵ in the government apparatus and in the ruling party, between military and civilian authorities, between the top brass hitched to the militarist juggernaut of US imperialism and the patriotic army officers.

The confrontation between the Continental Group and the Galaxy Group⁶ is intensifying. It stems from their conflicting claims to domination over the national economy. Contradictions between bourgeois industrialists and middlemen are becoming more acute. Unlike the middlemen, the industrialists would like to develop trade with Nicaragua, and they oppose an armed conflict with that country. The fragile 'truce' with this part of the bourgeoisie the President secured when he took office collapsed when the National Industrial Association supported the demands of the trade unions and peasants' and teachers' organisations that the government officials in charge of economic policy be dismissed.

Clashes between the producers and the exporters of coffee continue unabated because the former gained little from the rise of international prices. Meanwhile, the entire 'coffee sector' is levelling serious charges at the authorities in connection with the extortionist taxes levied on both the producers and the exporters while transnational corporations (specifically, the banana companies) are receiving subsidies. There is growing antagonism between, on the one hand, medium- and small-scale entrepreneurs who lack the money to stay in business and, on the other, big capital which has a monopoly on all types of credits.

The grave crisis developments in the socio-economic and political structures of

Honduran society have put the spotlight on the contradictions between labour and capital, workers and employers, and on the age-old conflict between the landless peasants and latifundismo, a holdover of feudalism flourishing under the sway of the banana corporations.

Anti-monopoly and anti-government actions have continued in Honduras without let-up since the January 1986 dispute between United Fruit employees and the management over the dismissal of more than 100 people. Texaco workers, Mochito miners, employees of the Communications and Public Works Ministry and the National Agrarian Institute, secondary school teachers, physicians, medical students, transport and other workers are on strike. Small-scale landowners and members of cooperatives are adding their voice to the demands that their vital needs be met and to the protests against the brutal arbitrary rule and the treacherous, anti-national policy of the ruling clique. The Ministry of Labour, the civilian authorities and the military resort to all sorts of provocations to take the edge off these actions which are becoming increasingly organised and political.⁷

Today we are fighting, as are all other revolutionary forces in our country, for socio-political democratisation and advancing specific objectives. We want human rights respected, the armed forces reorganised, the officer corps purged of the corrupt elements and of those who participated in reprisals, paramilitary units disbanded, terroristic laws repealed; we want an end to persecution for political reasons, permission for exiles to return home, non-interference by the government in the affairs of civic organisations, and guarantees of freedoms of operation to all political institutions. This programme underlies the joint action taken by a broad spectrum of revolutionary democratic and patriotic forces which only extreme reactionaries have refused to join.⁸

The struggle to implement the programme has led to the enactment of a decree granting amnesty to all political prisoners, although this document does not make it possible for political exiles to return home because 'their personal safety cannot be guaranteed'. May Day demonstrations are another success; they were organised in major cities in spite of the incidents provoked by the anarchists and the instigative position assumed by some leaders of the Workers' General Centre. Hundreds of thousands of workers, peasants, urban dwellers and representatives of various social strata poured into the streets under the slogans 'No' to Intervention!' and 'For Democracy and Peace!'

New class battles lie ahead. The intricate knot of contradictions too numerous to list is tightening. This means that one can expect the development of a possible 'power vacuum', as well as the danger of a palace coup similar to what happened not too long ago, when the government *was already unable* to control the situation, and the progressive forces *were as yet* unable to take power into their own hands. To prevent this situation from recurring and the reactionaries from seizing the initiative means to discharge one's duty to the nation.

Sinister Symptoms

The aggressive US policies in Central America have been recently toughened considerably. Euphoric with their success in pushing the 100 million-dollar aid package for the Nicaraguan contras through Congress, the more reactionary quarters of US imperialism have started preparing for large-scale armed intervention.⁹

All forms of pressure are being used, assistance to 'desirable' governments is increasing, and so is the destabilisation of the 'undesirable' ones. The Contadora process, a major obstacle to the aggravation of the local conflict, is among the prime targets of these activities. An obvious attempt is underway to either derail it completely or at least frustrate the efforts to normalise the situation in the region.

Naturally, the imperialist quarters have to reckon with new realities—the emer-

gence of the Support Group and the broad international popularity of the Contadora effort of which even some of the United States' NATO allies have spoken favourably. The line of attack has therefore shifted: 'arm-twisting' is being applied to individual participants in the Contadora process in a bid to disunite them. The governments of Costa Rica, Honduras and Salvador have been assigned the unseemly role of advocating an anti-Contadora policy. They are 'pulling US chestnuts out of the fire' by advancing obviously unacceptable proposals concerning the settlement and blaming the Sandinists or the Salvadoran insurgents for the deadlocks that develop in the course of the talks.

A purge of the US diplomatic and military personnel in our country was a sinister indication that imperialism was toughening its Central American policy. Ambassador Ferch, ministerial counsellor Lowman, political adviser Wilkinson and director Carterucci of the Honduran branch of the Agency for International Development were dismissed from their posts. As the purge was drawing to a close, General Galvin, chief of the US Southern Command based in Panama, arrived in Honduras for a brief 'changing of the guard' ceremony in Palmerola (the biggest military base and the headquarters of the permanent US contingent in the country).

President Reagan is reported to have personally issued instructions to this effect. Apparently, Washington now needs 'more resolute' men who can conduct a policy of overthrowing the Sandinist government in Nicaragua and suppressing the revolutionary movement in El Salvador. Some observers believe that this is the result of rivalry between the CIA and the Pentagon over who gets to direct operations in Central America and of a drive to dismiss those officials who advocate a moderate way of settling the regional conflict.

The escalation of imperialist interference is also evident in the further militarisation of Honduras, in the continued expansion of the logistical infrastructure and in the establishment of new bases and other facilities. Plans for their construction at Caratasca have been disclosed; drainage operations, including the clearing of the Caratasca lagoon, are already underway. The Defence Ministry has 'confidentially' warned stockbreeders and farmers in the Bajo Aguan area (Yoro Department) that they should put their land ownership papers in order because the land might be expropriated in connection with the military base project. Finally, a camp is being hastily set up near Juticalpa (Olancho) in which foreigners, mostly US Green Berets, will train contras, although the government, offering a blatant example of hypocrisy, has officially declared that it will not allow them to be trained on our territory.

We have repeatedly stressed that Honduras has been turned into an occupied country, into a vast proving ground for military hardware and all sorts of military operations, into a springboard of aggression at the heart of Central America. US army, air force and navy units are conducting virtually continuous instigative exercises on our territory close to the Nicaraguan border. Meanwhile, world public opinion is not informed fully enough about the privations the regime of occupation and the presence of the contras bring to the Honduran people. But understanding of these matters is now of extreme political importance.

The Invaders Must Go

The contras whom the Pentagon strategists call 'indigenous forces' and President Reagan, even 'freedom fighters', are in fact forward-based units and cannon-fodder of the US armed forces. These units are made up of cut-throats ready to commit any crime. By no means all of them are Nicaraguan anti-Sandinists. There are also many Cuban counter-revolutionaries and other mercenaries among them.

These stormtroopers of imperialism are to discharge a triple function. First, there is the practical implementation of the notorious 'wars of low intensity' doctrine

spearheaded against the peoples of Central America and of other flashpoints. Second, they are to provoke an armed conflict between Honduras and Nicaragua. The third objective is that of creating a smokescreen to obscure the constant presence of the US army and air force contingent. This camouflage was, until recently, used to make the presence of these troops look less odious in the eyes of the Honduran people.

In terms of numerical strength, the contras are equal or perhaps even superior to the Honduran armed forces. Well armed, well trained and experienced in the skills of 'special operations', including the techniques of noiseless murder and the like, the mercenaries pose a constant threat to public order. They are an army of occupation that has overrun large areas along the Nicaraguan border and imposes its own 'rule of law' there, thus cancelling out the role of the Honduran armed forces as a military institution of the republic charged with defending its sovereignty and territorial integrity.¹⁰

Hence the statement of Honduran members of parliament who can hardly be described as communist sympathisers to their counterparts on Capitol Hill to the effect that the anti-Sandinists must leave our country and the 100 million dollars earmarked for them should be handed over to the Contadora Group. Following up on this idea, President of Congress Carlos Montoya has stressed that the mercenary army can turn Honduras into 'another Lebanon'. He added that all political means for settling the Nicaraguan problem should be used to prevent violence from spreading.

This justified concern has been caused by numerous cases of arbitrary and terrorist acts. Without regard for anyone or anything, the contras have driven thousands of our countrymen from the areas along the border, deprived them of their property, food and shelter and turned them into refugees in their own country, thus giving rise to a new socio-political phenomenon in Honduras.¹¹

The mercenaries have become so arrogant that they not only attack peasants and coffee producers but also insult the Church and even the army of Honduras. The people were outraged at the savage assassination of a Canadian priest, and clergymen lodged a sharp protest. Clashes between contras and Honduran troops are becoming more frequent. The attempt to assassinate the journalist Rodrigo Wong Arevalo for publishing exposés led to a demonstration of solidarity staged, for the first time in our history, by mass media workers and joined by the correspondents of the BBC, CBS and other foreign networks and agencies.

Alarming reports are pouring in from all over the country. The quiet and conservative town of Comayagua, formerly the nation's capital, has been overrun by the mercenary cut-throats, who, completely amoral and dissolute, indulge in unheard-of debauchery. These things that invariably accompany the regime of occupation are the source of numerous disturbances and at the same time its greatest weakness.

The occupation of Honduras not only threatens peace in the region but also hampers the advancement of the revolutionary process in our country. But, according to the dialectics of socio-political development, it also exacerbates the contradictions between the Honduran nation and US imperialism and becomes a factor behind the establishment of a broad patriotic front.

The nation is raising its voice in protest against the outrageous behaviour of the invaders. Public opinion firmly demands restoration of the sovereignty trampled underfoot by the contras and the US military hiding behind their backs; the people denounce the corrupt rulers, politicians, businessmen and conspirators who act as middlemen assisting in the attempts to bury our sovereignty and turn Honduras into a US protectorate.

Our party regards the struggle against the aggressive policy of imperialism in

Central America and for the expulsion of the forces of occupation as an extremely important political task, as the central element in the activities not only of the Communists but also of other parties and representatives of various social classes, strata and groups. The task is to act together with these forces and to fill the 'power vacuum' by advancing a realistic and feasible revolutionary democratic alternative the popular masses will support. We are convinced that it is time to unite for the sake of the nation's deliverance.

¹ Hondurans call the presidential palace in Tegucigalpa the Stone or the Pink Palace.—*Ed.*

² The National Party is a political current of bourgeois and landowning quarters, often referred to as 'Callejismo'. The party and its leader Jose Leonardo Callejas express the interests of the oligarchy which is linked closely with US imperialism.—*Ed.*

³ World prices for coffee and bananas, the traditional Honduran exports, increased in 1985. The nation's output of these commodities grew 12-13 per cent. Oil was imported at a lower price, and its consumption dropped with the launching of a hydroelectric power plant at El Cajon. New loans were also secured.

⁴ The oligarchy is getting richer, while the masses are in the grip of poverty. In 1982 the annual per capita income was 233 dollars; in 1984, 221 dollars, and this downward trend is gaining ground. (See 'Consultorio popular', *Frente*, February 1986).

⁵ A Liberal Party current affiliating representatives of the northern banking interests and other groups opposed to Azcona's policies.—*Ed.*

⁶ The former is an alliance of business interests connected with the People's Liberal Alliance. The latter is a group of capitalists who supported Cordova.—*Ed.*

⁷ This question was considered at a special meeting of the National Security Council which threatened to deprive more than 24 striking trade unions of their legal rights. This is a new attempt on democratic freedoms and a challenge to the United Federation of Honduran Workers.

⁸ The policy objectives of the CPH and the character of the revolutionary process in Honduras are discussed in greater detail in *Programa del Partido Comunista de Honduras. IV Congreso, 'Héroes y mártires' del PCH*, 1986.

⁹ Even before the contras got hold of the 100 million dollars, a suspicious scuffle over the money began. The Azcona government and the Honduran top military are in a hurry to get a slice of the pie. They came into conflict with the US Embassy over the technique of assisting the contras. Shootouts, raids on the houses of Somoza's henchmen, 'discoveries' of weapons caches by the Honduran police and army and similar happenings are reflections of a behind-the-scenes struggle for the right to manage the money earmarked by the US Congress. One should also remember that the public in Honduras and other countries is incensed at this largesse to mercenary thugs.

¹⁰ Somoza's mercenary henchmen cynically refer to the Honduran areas they have seized as New Nicaragua.

¹¹ Small-scale landowners affiliated in the Coffee Producers' Association, one of the stronger organisations (up to 40,000 members), have been treated brutally by the contras. The mercenaries are raiding farms to loot and requisition. This has aroused widespread indignation and vigorous resistance on the part of associations of industrial workers, peasants and other working people.

The Trade Union Movement after the World Congress

Ibrahim Zakaria – General Secretary,
World Federation of Trade Unions

THE working-class movement in various countries is now developing under the strong impact of the results achieved at the Eleventh World Trade Union Congress held in Berlin (GDR), from September 16 to 22, a congress which was unique in many respects.

First, it was the most representative world trade union gathering held so far, with the participation of 1,014 delegates from 432 national, regional and international organisations representing an organised trade union membership of 296 million workers from all continents.

Second, it was a congress of world trade union dialogue bringing together a broad

cross-section of trends in the international trade union movement—452 participants from WFTU-affiliated organisations and 562 participants from trade unions belonging to other international associations and from autonomous unions.

Third, despite differences in political and ideological orientation and the fact that the WFTU which sponsored the congress did not have a majority of delegates, the congress reached unanimous conclusions. It approved all major documents reflecting the common approach of all trade unions to the principal problems now facing workers in different countries.

The congress thus demonstrated the possibility of uniting the forces of the working class and all workers and of mobilising world public opinion in favour of the ideas of peace and international cooperation, in favour of the 'new thinking' and norms of international behaviour so essential in this nuclear age, bringing workers to act in defence of their interests, for democracy and social justice.

Of great significance was the composition of national trade union delegations. Despite political and ideological differences and even rivalries at the national level, virtually all national trade union organisations from a large number of countries were eager to participate in the congress. This showed that they were all extremely concerned over the worsening international situation, the war danger, the economic and social consequences of the arms race and the severe impact of the world capitalist crisis, all of which demanded global joint action on the part of the workers and trade unions.

Our forum was convened at an extremely tense and difficult juncture which can even be described as decisive. On the one hand, revolutionary gains and progressive transformations have broadened and the peoples that have freed themselves from colonial and imperialist domination have consolidated their national independence. On the other hand, the reactionary imperialist forces that refuse to accept progressive change on the world scene and oppose the overall trend of independence and social progress become increasingly active.

The international economic situation is deteriorating. The monetary and financial policies and the protectionist moves of the industrialised capitalist powers are actually threatening the developing countries with catastrophe. The unprecedented increase of the Third World's external debt, high interest rates and other hardships imposed by the International Monetary Fund and other financial agencies of big capital have compounded the instability to a considerable degree. The developing countries are increasingly plagued by unemployment, underemployment, inflation, the exodus of the population from rural areas, lack of housing, transport and education opportunities, food shortages and hunger. Alarm has been recently growing over the falling living standards of workers in industrialised capitalist countries—another direct consequence of the crisis that is sharpening. More people in more countries are forced to live below the 'poverty line'.

Supported by bourgeois governments, capital has launched an offensive against the living standards and rights of workers—an onslaught unprecedented since the end of World War II. Not only collective bargaining and social security systems but also the very future of trade unions are being threatened. The offensive is aimed at depriving the working class of the gains it has won over long decades of struggle, at reversing social development.

With millions of people suffering from hunger, economic underdevelopment and poverty, the ruling imperialist quarters are expanding the arms race. Supported by the militarist forces of other NATO countries, the policy of the US administration kindles and stokes hotbeds of tensions and encourages aggressive moves by the Zionists in the Middle East and racists in South Africa. Washington supports dictatorships and reactionary regimes in Latin America, Africa and Asia and escalates international tensions and the threat of global nuclear catastrophe. The

direct connection between the one trillion-dollar debt of the Third World and the more than one trillion-dollar US military expenditure over the past five years is obvious. The losses in the incomes of workers in capitalist countries due to the decrease of real wages and salaries are also in the trillions. All these sums are channelled into the arms race and end up as profits of the military-industrial-financial complex.

The complicated development of the economic, social and political situation calls for effective influence and action on the part of the trade union movement and for concerted trade union leadership of the workers' struggle to uphold their vital interests. The congress has outlined three major aspects on which the international trade union movement is to focus its efforts in order to prevent mankind from either sliding dangerously towards destruction in a new world war or slowly expiring in the grip of the economic, environmental and food crisis.

First, *more vigorous and broader trade union participation in the struggle against the war danger*, for an end to the arms race, for channelling these resources into socio-economic development, for disarmament and for peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

Second, *an intensified and more widespread struggle to defend the vital interests and demands of workers*, against unemployment, hunger and poverty, and for large-scale socio-economic and democratic transformations that would overcome the capitalist crisis and its consequences, but not at the expense of workers.

Finally, *an intensified and more widespread struggle to secure respect and consolidation of trade union rights and freedoms*, to thwart the offensive of big capital against the masses' social gains and against the trade unions.

A comparison of the situation after the Eleventh Congress with what prevailed on the world scene a mere five years ago shows how at the present time, the trade unions have become ever more deeply involved in the struggle for peace and against the economic and social consequences of the arms race. The direct linkage between the struggle for peace and disarmament and the struggle for economic and social demands of workers, the linkage that was discussed at the congress, has now been proved to the hilt. The trade unions cannot remain passive in such a situation.

The congress unanimously came to the conclusion, as stated in the Main Document, that 'the burdens imposed by the arms race have now become so colossal, the dangers so serious that workers, trade unions and peace-loving forces have to considerably intensify their action and unite their forces. There can be no winners in a nuclear war. There can be no winners in the arms race. Therefore, the guarantee of security becomes a political task. The urgent item on the agenda is: the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security covering the military, political, economic and humanitarian aspects. The trade unions and other mass democratic movements have an important role to play in the world-wide mobilisation to fulfil this task.'

Numerous studies, including those published by trade unions, demonstrate the fallacy of the claims made by the advocates of the military-industrial complex to the effect that an end to the arms race would result in unemployment and lower living standards for workers. On the contrary, the conversion of the arms industry to civilian production will increase employment; all national economies will benefit greatly as a result. Peace and detente will encourage economic cooperation and trade between capitalist and socialist countries, and this will create new jobs and accelerate economic growth. A climate of cooperation would contribute to the establishment of a new international economic order. An end to the arms race and the attainment of disarmament would release huge funds that can assist directly in the solution of major social problems. A ten per cent reduction in arms spending—a demand supported by the entire world trade union movement—could finance a decade-long programme of

development which would benefit millions of people deprived of elementary means of livelihood.

The Main Document unanimously adopted by the congress participants offers a broad platform for stepping up world-wide trade union involvement in the struggle for the right to life, the foremost human right. By taking concerted and vigorous action, workers and their trade unions can avert the threat of a new and totally destructive war; they can also curb and reverse the arms race. The World Federation of Trade Unions is ready to take such action together with all trade unions, whatever their orientation or international affiliation.

Intensification of the struggle for peace implies a broadening, not a contraction, of the trade union struggle for the workers' socio-economic rights—the rights to employment, medical care, social security, education and housing. It is becoming increasingly clear not only to trade union leaders but also to the masses that an end to the militarisation of the economy is interconnected dialectically with the workers' improved socio-economic position and with the preservation and expansion of trade union and democratic gains.

It is worth repeating that the large-scale and concerted offensive of big capital against the vital interests of workers is a salient feature of the present situation. The employers are trying to use the advances of the scientific and technological revolution and new technologies and the consequent structural changes within the working class to introduce discriminatory practices of employment and to cut wages and salaries. The norms established over long years of collective bargaining are being changed or completely abolished. We are witnessing an undisguised drive to transform collective bargaining into 'concession bargaining'. Resorting to blackmail and pressure, the monopolies demand that workers accept cutbacks in social services, wages and salaries and waive employment safeguards.

The governments of capitalist countries are yielding increasingly to monopoly pressure and dismantling the existing mechanism of government management, regulation and control of the economy. This policy, advertised as 'economic liberalism', implies 'deregulation' and 'denationalisation' designed to grant capital full power and complete freedom of action necessary for securing maximum profits. In fact, 'denationalisation' means the transfer of all highly profitable industries from the public sector into the hands of the industrialists and bankers and the retention in this sector of the industries plagued by crisis that often results from the blatant plunder of the national resources by the monopolies.

'Denationalisation' and 'privatisation' are widespread in the OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries and in some developing nations. The International Monetary Fund makes the granting of loans to Third World countries conditional on the introduction of these measures. Today, big capital routinely pillages national resources, public property and funds from the national budget. Government policy is turning increasingly into an anti-popular policy serving the interests of the monopolies. Degradation and corruption are becoming typical of the system itself, and it is no accident that we have recently witnessed numerous scandals over the way big corporations openly bribe and buy leaders of ruling political parties.

The massive economic onslaught is accompanied by an ideological offensive: it is claimed that only the private capitalist sector can effectively organise production and that, with a scientific and technological revolution underway, it is sufficiently flexible and prompt to be successful in managing the economy.

For many years now, the Centre on Transnational Corporations of the UN Social and Economic Council has been vainly trying to draw up an *international code of conduct* that would regulate and limit TNC activities. Supranational monopoly capital is openly bringing pressure to bear on the governments of those countries

where it operates, opposing any attempt to adopt such norms. Moreover, the TNCs assert that only they can ensure the transfer of high technology and that they are an indispensable element of the world economy.

All this sets new and complex tasks before trade unions at different levels, before the entire international trade union movement. First, one must emphasise that the problems raised by the scientific and technological revolution highlight the irreconcilable contradiction between the rapid development of the productive forces and their public essence on the one hand and the private mode of appropriation on the other: these truly immense productive forces are owned by a tiny minority, by a handful of monopolists. Second, it is perfectly obvious that in its efforts to introduce technologies of the twenty-first century, big capital makes use of nineteenth-century economic theories and production relations—that is, theories and practices which make capitalism 'totally unacceptable', as some prefer to put it.

Judging by the social content of economic policy, the introduction of new technologies in conditions of obsolete relations of production merely pushes the world backward.

The worsening crisis of capitalism is adversely affecting all workers and all peoples. To a certain extent, it affects the socialist countries too. Maintaining trade and other economic relations with the capitalist world, the socialist nations are forced to pay much more for the goods and raw materials they import. However, public property in the means of production and the democratic nature of planning and management in these countries have prevented the emergence of the ills that have become endemic under capitalism. There is no poverty, no attacks on the social gains of workers, no cutbacks in government allocations on education and health care, no soup kitchen lines that can now be seen in New York, Chicago or London. In the socialist countries, the ruling parties are working to drastically accelerate socio-economic development, to promote prosperity and to raise the cultural level of their peoples, with the full involvement of the trade unions.

The technological advances already made and about to be made in informatics, communications, automation and biotechnology not only open an opportunity to increase material production but also affect economic activity as a whole and all aspects of the social fabric. Tremendous changes are underway in the structure of the labour force, in the content of work, in lifestyles, social behaviour and intellectual development. The application of advances in science and technology provides the necessary means for meeting the needs of workers, reducing social injustice, overcoming backwardness and eliminating hunger, illiteracy and underemployment. However, new technologies can either help to intensify capitalist exploitation or assist in promoting general welfare. They can either contribute to social progress in the interests of workers or encourage the greed of the transnationals who strive to maximise their profits. They can either pave the way for economic development that will bring about a better order or aggravate the existing disorder. All this will depend on the outcome of the social struggle.

The industrial application of advances in science and technology, the closer interdependence within the world economy, the activities of the TNCs, the concerted anti-labour policy of the TNC home countries and the demands of solidarity *call for better-coordinated trade union action in defence of the workers' cause*. It is becoming clearer with each passing day that no organisation can cope alone with the problems arising in this connection. It is time to act resolutely to step up international trade union cooperation and coordination, to promote joint action on important socio-economic issues. Social progress is unthinkable without democratic intervention by workers and whole peoples; therefore, the trade unions are to use their strength in favour of a democratic orientation in economic management.

Naturally, different priorities of the trade union struggle may exist in different

countries, but for all the differences, it must be aimed at *ending the bourgeois governments' policy of overcoming the crisis at the expense of the workers*. Trade unions believe it imperative to enhance the purchasing power of wages, salaries, assistance payments and pensions, to control prices, reduce inflation, improve the workers' social protection, specifically, to end the discriminatory remuneration of women, young people and migrant workers and to provide for the unemployed and their families. Trade unions of different orientation have broadly backed the demand for tax, democratic and agrarian reforms that would ensure greater social justice. Since the congress, there has also been a rise in the struggle for shorter working hours without reduction in earnings, for longer paid holidays, for a lower pension age and bigger pensions.

Here one can repeat that the crisis of the capitalist system and the exacerbation of this crisis affect the developing countries particularly painfully. This makes it more topical than ever to secure the establishment of a new international economic order and of fair and equitable economic relations that would stimulate the advancement of all countries, above all, of the developing nations. Workers and their trade unions have a vital stake in immediately ending the steady deterioration of the situation in the Third World and in completely removing the causes of underdevelopment. Priority steps in this direction include the elimination of the foreign debt. The foremost objective is to secure a suspension and indefinite deferment of principal and interest payments.

Since the emergence of the trade union movement, different concepts have been put forward regarding the possibility and scope of its involvement in politics. Initially, there were disputes over whether trade unions should pursue political objectives, play a political role and share, in this form or another, in the exercise of political power, or limit their activities only to issues such as employment safeguards, wages and salaries, and working conditions. Different views on the scope and forms of trade union influence on politics persist to this day. Some want merely to 'correct' the capitalist social system instead of replacing it; others hold that it is not enough to reform capitalist structures because they are now completely outdated.

The Eleventh World Trade Union Congress, attended by representatives of these trends from countries with different social systems, has demonstrated that the positions of trade unions are evolving in different ways. However, instead of debating whether this or that concept is right or wrong, it is important to emphasise joint action and a summing up of the experience attained by workers in the struggle for peace, progress and social justice. This pooling of efforts is particularly topical now that we are facing the threat of a new, totally destructive war and a policy of social revanche essentially aimed against all trade union concepts and views. As participants in the movement, we can afford the luxury of holding different views on some subjects. But as soon as the very survival of trade unions and the freedom to discharge our duties are called into question, all these differences must be relegated to the background. History will indict us if we act to appease our opponents, if we fail to rally together, strengthen our unity and create a powerful international front to repel the internationally concerted offensive of capital.

The proposals drawn up at the World Congress concerning the action to be taken by trade unions at the UN and ILO level and the range of our demands to governments and employers will no doubt assist in further invigorating the working-class movement. In order to coordinate trade union action at the national, regional and international level, the congress had proposed the *establishment of an International Centre for the Defence of Trade Union Rights*.

The congress has confirmed that our movement is an important social factor that must be taken into account in dealing with contemporary social development in the interest of the world's peoples. However, unity must be attained at all levels if the

activity of trade unions is to be enhanced in the struggle for political, economic and social rights of workers, against repression, for national sovereignty, peace and social progress. Conditions for such unity do exist. Specifically, the positions on peace and disarmament worked out at the last congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) held in Oslo, at the Baden congress of the World Confederation of Labour (WCL) and at the Milan congress of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), as well as the views of other regional and autonomous organisations, are similar to if not identical with the position of the WFTU. Attitudes to several socio-economic and legal problems of concern to masses of union members are also similar and often identical.

The congress participants called on the workers and trade unions of all countries to find ways of further strengthening joint action and attaining trade union unity at the national, regional and international level. They urged the WFTU, the ICFTU, the WCL and other international and regional organisations to work together on the many common issues of importance to workers. The conviction was expressed that this world-wide trade union cooperation could develop fruitfully, particularly in the following areas:

- prevention of nuclear war, complete elimination of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, prohibition of militarisation of outer space, cuts in military spending, conversion of the arms industry to the production of socially useful goods, and other measures in the field of disarmament;
- political settlement of all international disputes, renunciation of the threat or use of force, elimination of hotbeds of tension and war;
- elaboration of a job creation programme aimed at ensuring full employment;
- application of advances in science and technology for human progress instead of for war and destruction;
- economic security and social advancement for all countries and the establishment of a new international economic order;
- defence and extension of trade union rights;
- effective coordination of international solidarity actions against racism and apartheid, against violations of democratic liberties and human rights, against colonialism and for national independence;
- labour protection, environmental protection and the elaboration of international labour safety standards concerning the manufacture of new products and the use of new processes hazardous to health.

Unfortunately, the three biggest international trade union organisations have so far been unable to discuss, at the negotiating table, how best to pool their efforts and rally the more than 500 million organised workers to joint action. The blame for the fact that such negotiations have not materialised is borne by those quarters in the trade union movement that still cling to the positions they took in the grim years of the Cold War. For example, in May 1986 President Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO sent a circular to the affiliated unions confirming the 31-year-old ban on contacts with the WFTU and with the trade unions of the socialist countries. The AFL-CIO continues to supply the US State Department with 'reasons' for denying visas to trade unionists from the socialist nations.

As we stated at the congress, on the international bargaining table for the world's trade unions to take up are issues which affect the future of the world and the future of humanity. These issues include the crucial question of how to prevent the immense wastage and misappropriation of resources which the arms race plunders from the workers. It has become the task of the world trade union movement to mobilise the masses to win back these resources and return them to those who were deprived of them as well as to ensure their rational use in creating jobs and building a better life for all. In order to accomplish this task we have to overcome all the obstacles which

obstruct the unity of the world trade union movement. The congress in its appeal has put forward a realistic platform for international trade union cooperation to be raised to a still higher level. And that is the need of the hour, to fully mobilise the immense forces of the world trade union movement in the struggle for the defence of workers' interests, for peace and social progress.

The City of London: A Financial Octopus

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THE City is the name given to the financial and banking centre located in London. The name specifically relates to the small maze of old streets in one area of London where the London banks, finance houses, brokers and dealers in stocks, bonds, and commodity contracts have had their offices for centuries. Their business has historically revolved around the great financial markets physically located in the area, such as the London Stock Exchange, Lloyds (insurance market) and the London Metal Exchange. But despite the small area of land it occupies, the City has always been the centre of a vast international network of financial dealing, borrowing and lending, and in recent years the global, international integration of the financial system has increased enormously.

Within the operations of the City, there are two elements which, although they are unified in practice, can be distinguished in principle. The City is the financial centre for Britain and it is also one of the leading financial centres for international capitalist economy. In its first capacity, the City controls the savings and investment funds of the British economy. In its second capacity, the City receives vast sums of capital from all over the world and disburses them internationally, in the mid-1970s, for example, it was the leading centre for the bank deposits of the Arab oil-exporting states, and London was the main centre which marshalled loans to Third World countries that have now matured into a debt crisis.

The Bank of England is, formally speaking, the arm of the state with responsibility for the City (especially since it was nationalised in 1946) but, instead of simply implementing the government's financial policies, it represents the interests of finance capital whether British or international. Under the leadership of the Bank of England, the City has had a concentrated economic and political power with which it has dominated industry and trade, strongly influenced the direction of the state, and acted as the principal channel for the imperialist expansion of British capital overseas.

Under Britain's present right-wing government, two particular issues have become noticeable: the City's support for the reactionary economic policies of this government, and the current restructuring of the City itself to create giant financial trusts.

Since the Conservatives regained power in 1979 under Mrs Thatcher, their economic policy, known as monetarism, has consistently had three elements: increasing the freedom of markets to respond to private forces, attempting to control the rate of growth of the money supply, and attacking the trade unions. These policies have coincided with the deep economic crisis of the late 1970s and early 1980s, the most recent of the great crises which mark the history of the international capitalist economy. From the workers' standpoint, they have, therefore, imposed great costs in the form of unemployment, impoverished public services and the disruption of existing trade unionism. But from the City's standpoint, monetarism has been a

victory for the policies which serve its interests. Under Thatcher's regime, the banks and finance houses of the City have greatly expanded their business and their profits, while manufacturing industry in Britain has shrunk and been debilitated, a process illustrating Marx's distinction between the interests of finance and industrial capital. Having struggled to obtain monetarist policies, finance capitalists have been gaining the benefit from it. However, the ills of the latter are fraught with the danger of a financial crash, and that has led to a growing turn away from monetarism.

What makes monetarism so attractive for the City? The policy of increasing market forces' freedom from government intervention, especially in credit and foreign exchange, is central to the interests of finance capital. One of finance capital's distinguishing features is its liquidity, a freedom from being tied down to specific industries or, in other words, a freedom from having to confront the labour force directly in the production process. That is a principal reason for the City's concern for free markets.

Another reason why the City favours monetarism's free markets is that its profit comes to a large extent from trading, buying and selling commodities, money and securities of all kinds; indeed, its purely financial operations of borrowing, lending and investing to obtain an interest return require freedom of action. That is provided by the well-developed stock exchange (for trading securities and shares), and money and foreign-exchange markets (offering attractive liquidity conditions).

Since World War II, both under Labour and under Conservative governments, the City has consistently struggled to obtain market freedom and withdrawal of government restrictions on its operations, particularly on foreign-exchange dealing and international lending. For example, their freedom from restrictions (while banks in the United States were regulated) enabled banks in London to turn the City into the leading centre for Eurodollar trading and lending, the new form of international money and credit that has transformed world finance since the 1960s. Until 1979, there were restrictions on the export of British capital, which hampered investment abroad. One of Thatcher's first acts was to abolish those long-standing foreign-exchange controls. In a move that was interpreted as ensuring that controls could not be easily reimposed by a future Labour government, the Bank of England disbanded the team of hundreds of experienced and skilled staff that had administered exchange controls.

The effect of this action giving total freedom to the City's international operations has been a huge export of finance capital, with portfolio investment overseas rising to £14 billion by 1984. In part, this is a renewed acceleration of the export of capital from a crisis-ridden advanced capitalist economy, which Lenin identified as being typical of imperialism, but it is also a reflection of the growing internationalisation and interlocking of the finance capital of different countries.

Another key instrument of monetarism is the attempt to control the rate of growth of the money supply. The monetarists argue that money supply growth rate involves high state spending, financed by borrowing, so that a lower money supply growth rate required control of state spending. In financial circles restrictions on state spending were viewed as a guarantee that the role of the state in the economy would be reduced and room created for private enterprise.

Indeed, the attempt to restrict state spending has involved the return of major state industries to private ownership. This trend is strongly welcomed by finance capitalists. At the same time, if government deficit spending is not successfully cut the state's attempt to restrict the money supply means that it has to be financed by borrowing, and that increased demand for credit will only be supplied by the City. Under Thatcher, the attempts to restrict the money supply have not yielded the desired effect and mainly resulted in extremely high real interest rates. These high interest rates have been a crucial factor in precipitating the underlying industrial

crisis, but they have brought great profits to the City, although some banks have suffered.

Monetarism has ultimately brought considerable dangers for finance capital as well as destroying much industrial capital in Britain. The weakness of industry has led to corporate bad debts for the banks. The international economic crisis, deepened and worsened by monetarism, has precipitated a huge debt crisis in Third World countries. At the same time, the freedom created for financial markets has meant the spread of inherently risky speculative financial operations based on borrowing from the banking system as a whole, and so imposing risks on the financial system of the entire capitalist world.

The underlying cause of the current substantive restructuring of the City is the internationalisation of finance capital and the competition between London and New York for the domination of international finance. Its immediate outcome is the creation of financial monopolies and trusts on a much greater scale than ever before. London's financial institutions have historically combined great inventiveness in financial operations with conservatism in structure. Their conservatism has meant that each type of institution has to a large extent retained its specialist functions and not encroached upon those of other institutions. Commercial banks have been distinct from merchant or investment banks (although with interlocking ownership), building societies specialising in personal savings and mortgage loans have had different business from banks, stockbrokers and market-makers in stocks (jobbers) have had quite distinct functions and have operated a cartel with rules restricting their ability to compete among themselves.

Since abolition of the cartel arrangements in the early 1970s, the distinctions between the banks have become less rigid. The present Conservative government has initiated a much greater set of changes; it got the Stock Exchange to agree to abolish the cartel arrangements through which stockbrokers and jobbers had regulated stock-exchange business. The change will permit large stock exchange houses to gain a great advantage in share dealing and will open stock exchange dealings to foreign stockbrokers. As a result, in the past year international banks and finance houses based in London and other centres have scrambled to buy London stockbrokers and stock jobbers, thereby creating giant financial institutions whose business rangers across the whole spectrum of credit and financial investment.

The City of London interests supporting these big changes saw them as vital for strengthening London's position as a world financial centre. However, the largest financial trusts able to dominate the London markets will, to a considerable extent, be those with American headquarters and US-based capital resources.

Time and again the City has acted to push monopoly capital in Britain in directions which increase the exploitation of the working people and worsen their living conditions. Overall it has challenged and weakened the state's intervention, undermining the welfare state, forcing cuts in state spending and stifling at birth even the most tentative, weak moves towards state planning. Specifically, its influence in favour of high interest rates and high exchange rates at crucial times has deepened capital's crises and raised the level of unemployment.

The monetarist policies of the last seven years or more are the most extreme expression of the ruling circles' pro-monopoly and anti-people course, ensuring benefits for the monopolies and financial corporations, and financial interests, while placing the burden heavily on working people: some 4 million people are unemployed, harm has been done to education and public health, the state housing sector has shrunk and new building has come to a virtual halt in that sector.

But that is not all. A key element in monetarism is the attack on the working people's gains, on trade union rights and organisational strengths. The Conservatives have introduced new laws to restrict the unions' rights to organise and strike, to

regulate the ways in which unions make decisions, and to make them financially responsible to the courts. They have used the policy forcibly to repress strikers and their supporters, and the end of the year long miners' strike was seen as a victory of this policy. They have waged an ideological war against the legitimacy of unionism. And by vastly enlarging the reserve army of labour the Conservatives have further undermined the unions' strength. Taking the view that strong unions have been the main obstacle to maximum profits, capital as a whole has regarded the attack on trade unions as largely positive.

The City has pushed for such a policy for the same reason, since its profits depend in part on the profits of British industry. But the City's support for the attack on trade unionism also has a more subtle rationale. For much of this century, the City has assumed some responsibility for the supervision and regulation of the economy. Thus, in the inter-war period when the government was unwilling to nationalise weak firms, the (then private) Bank of England rescued them instead. The banks also played a similar role in the postwar period. Various methods were used to influence and control the conditions under which profits are produced in industry. Until the 1970s, a key instrument of the City's regulatory power was its influence over the exchange rate; with the exchange rate set at a fixed target, the Bank of England would time and again argue that the pound had to be defended at that rate by the state cutting public spending and by trade unions' wage demands being reduced. In the 1960s and 1970s, the City attempted to force Labour governments to cut state spending and, at crucial points, to hold down wages. In order to preserve City 'confidence', Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson even removed the left-wing Tony Benn from a key ministerial post.

Since the early 1970s, the exchange rate has been allowed to fluctuate in accordance with market forces and the City has greatly profited from the freedom of foreign exchange markets, but this has meant that it has lost one of its central instruments for disciplining industry and the workforce. The Conservatives' attack on the trade unions and the growth of unemployment have meant that the City has no need for concern with industrial discipline through maintaining high fixed exchange rates. The City has benefited from every strand of the Conservatives' monetarist policy, and its might has become the main motive force in the Right's backing of Thatcher policies.

The labour movement's response to these attacks has to be directed against both the state's monetarist policies and the role of the City and finance. Its line has to be towards ensuring that a future Labour government adopts policies which improve the conditions of working people and ensure that the economy operates under democratic direction, instead of being dominated by bankers' policies. In order to achieve this, the Communists and the left wing of the Labour Party and the trade unions have struggled for an increased role for the state (both its central and its local machinery), curtailment of the power of the City, notably through nationalisation of the major banks and City institutions. But the Labour leadership is opposed to any effective measures in this direction.

The leadership of the Labour Party under Neil Kinnock and Roy Hattersley has worked to ensure that neither the Alternative Economic Strategy nor those parts of it specifically attacking the City's prerogatives are adopted. Hattersley has adopted a strong rhetoric blaming the City for the weakness of British industry, but it remains at the level of rhetoric and serves the purpose of making Labour leadership sound radical while not appearing to threaten any voters' interests. It is accompanied by two policy proposals—to create a small tax disadvantage for financial institutions investing abroad, and to set up a new investment bank to lend to industry—which will have no impact on the way in which finance operates and no effect on the role of the City in Britain.

In its present form, the City pushes speculation and financial trickery to the limit in the search for personal enrichment and this, interacting with the world economic crisis, makes a financial crash a significant possibility. If that were to happen, radical policies to control banking would be forced onto the agenda, sweeping aside the trivial reforms of the Labour Party leadership.

But the working people can struggle for fairly far-reaching measures even in the present circumstances. Socialist policy has pressed for strategies that can be fought for and implemented even in the near future. One of these is the rational use of the working people's pension funds, out of which large sums are invested in shares and bonds. These funds generally have trade union representatives on their board of trustees, and there has been a significant campaign to ensure that these trade unionists have a greater say in investment decisions. These funds should be directed away from overseas investment or unproductive real estate, while industry remains short of investment resources. There have been significant attempts to provide industrial finance through local enterprise boards set up by local authorities where the Labour Party holds power.

The Alternative Economic Strategy, which the Communist Party of Great Britain together with other left forces developed in the 1970s, calls for wider state ownership of industry, controls over foreign trade, and expanded state spending. It has been approved by large sections of the labour movement. One element the Communist Party has emphasised in this programme is nationalisation of the major banks and City institutions. Establishment of administrative controls over foreign exchange operations and foreign investment would help to keep track of the movement of bank funds and to channel them into expanding production and trade, a course that would benefit the working people. Such controls are, of course, unacceptable to the financial magnates who now reap large profits in the absence of state regulation. That is why in order to ensure that the City is harnessed to the programme to regenerate the economy, its leading institutions have to be brought into public ownership.

the party

A Realistic and Constructive Line

David Moraes – CC Political Commission
member, Communist Party of Bolivia

THE events of the outgoing year show that Bolivia's political, economic and social regress has continued since the right-wing regime took over in August 1985. National production has been virtually paralysed by its policy of bending to imperialism and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), with 60 per cent of export revenues going to meet the outrageous external debt obligations. Hunger and poverty are the daily lot of the working people.

The working class and the popular masses began to fight in defence of their legitimate rights. A wave of demonstrations and strikes rolled across the country. The overwhelming majority of those who took part in a referendum held by the Bolivian

Labour Centre (BLC) sharply condemned the government's policy.¹ There was most indignation over the government's intention to shut down a number of mining enterprises in the state sector. In August, miners and workers from other most deprived groups of the population in the Potosi and Oruro departments joined efforts in opposing these plans. They staged numerous strikes, a general strike, and a 5,000-strong protest march, which evoked wide popular support and solidarity. The authorities countered by decreeing a state of emergency and putting the army and the police on high alert. A large number of trade union leaders, party activists, members of women's organisations, and journalists were arrested and deported. The government tried to justify the repression by claiming that the Communist Party of Bolivia and other left-wing organisations had 'planned an insurrection'.

A plenary meeting of the CPB CC at the end of August stressed that the Communists' predictions concerning the grave social consequences of the government's policy had been fully borne out.

The situation was analysed at the First Extraordinary Congress of the CP Bolivia in April. The decision to convene it had been taken by the preceding, Fifth Congress in February 1985 in view of the need to consider the party's draft Programmatic Theses.² Meanwhile, the imperatives of our reality made it necessary to put on the agenda matters like a discussion of the situation, political and organisational problems, changes in the CPB Rules, and elections to fill the vacancies on the governing bodies.

The Congress was attended by 400 delegates, by representatives of the Young Communists of Bolivia (YCB), and by delegations from many fraternal parties. The opening ceremony was attended by the leaders of the country's political parties with which the CPB maintains friendly ties.

The report, delivered by First Secretary of the Central Committee Simon Reyes Rivera, covered a short but important period between the two congresses. He said that a new situation had been produced in the country by a number of political, economic and social factors.

He explained the substance of the course being conducted by the government of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (NRM), which is headed by Victor Paz Estenssoro, and emphasised that its so-called new economic policy was nothing but an 'attempt at the country's capitalist reconstruction, a part of the integral strategy of capitalist development proposed by the Bolivian bourgeoisie, . . . which is thereby involved in the struggle to ease the general crisis of capitalism and modify the forms in which the subordinate economies are geared to the international division of labour'.³

This policy is designed to restructure the Bolivian society, its economic foundation, in the first place, for the benefit of capital, and goes to the root of domestic policy, ideology, relations between citizens and the state, the state as such, etc. The same intentions are pursued by the electoral law, which handicaps democratic and left-wing parties by hampering their free participation in electoral campaigns, while helping reaction to stay in power, and guaranteeing the oligarchy's 'right' to be represented on the electoral commissions and to take part in the vote counting. This arbitrary approach is rejected by the Bolivian people, who have firmly made it known that they are capable of defending their interests by using all the opportunities depending on the concrete conditions.

It was said at the Congress that the imperialist plans and measures with respect to the crisis and the less developed countries' problems are the long-term external factors determining the 'new economic policy', which provides for the winding up of the state sector of the economy, the abandonment of industrial development priority for agriculture, tighter control of every aspect of popular activity, and repayment of the external debt while it keeps mounting. The internal factors are determined not only by the grave economic depression, but also by the interpenetration of the cyclical

and structural crises because the accumulation system which took shape after the 1952 revolution,⁴ and which also produced a form of state corresponding to this 'national-populist model', has worked itself out. Another internal factor was the failure of the Democratic and Popular Unity (DPU) government as a working people's power alternative and the swing to the right in the course of the elections.⁵

The Congress analysed the mechanisms of the 'new economic policy', designed, according to the government, to pull the country out of the crisis, and stated that these had no 'clear anti-inflationary orientation, let alone helping to reactivate production'.⁶ In actual fact, it amounts to abandoning the leading role of the state in the economy, dismantling the foundations of the state sector and shutdown of enterprises, and financing exclusively for the benefit of the oligarchy. All of that indicates that the bourgeoisie is incapable of coping with the problems of national production development, and that its projects for pulling out of the crisis are flimsy and unviable. Meanwhile, the decentralisation of Bolivia's Mining Corporation (COMIBOL), the sackings, the 'free hire' and 'relocations', the lack of any legal protection for the working people's rights and other government measures testify to an intention to split the working class and trade union movement, primarily the miners, its most conscious force. In other words, the capitalist 'restructuring' has meant a downright war against the working class harming not only the working people, but also Bolivia's national interests.

The living standards of the masses are being gravely depressed by the government's policy. Eight thousand miners have already lost their jobs; the mining camps run by COMIBOL are in a state of agonising decline. For months, the workers have not had any food supplies, their miserable wages have remained unpaid, and no new equipment has come in. The government has decided to close down 11 mines in the state sector.⁷ The president of Bolivia's Central Bank had admitted that wages in the country are among the lowest in the world. Industrial workers, for instance, are paid no more than \$240 a year; 47 per cent of the Bolivian population suffers from malnutrition, while infant mortality has reached 250 per 1,000. Meanwhile, public health appropriations come to only 1.5 per cent of the state budget.

In the face of our people's tragic situation and the need to resist the oligarchy's integrated strategy, says the report to the Congress, the proletariat and all the other democratic and anti-imperialist forces need to respond by working out and steadfastly pursuing an equally integrated line of struggle. Here, the trade union movement, which best expresses the working masses' interests, has an important role to play, and our party has devoted the greatest attention to it, giving priority to the working class. That is the light in which the Congress examined the experience of trade union activity, with special emphasis on the miners' action in March 1985 in defence of their demands, and against the monetarist decrees of Siles Zuazo's DPU government, a period in which the sectarian slogans and the concepts of the left-wingers and the right-wing opportunists posed a perfectly obvious danger to the trade union movement.

While exposing the gist of these slogans and concepts, we, Communists, support the just demands of the Miners' Federation, and the positive proposals which have provided the prerequisite for maintaining trade union unity on the basis of the BLC. It is important to note that the erroneous line of the Miners' Federation and the BLC leaders was criticised by the working masses, who had become aware that by provoking clashes with the authorities under a false premise (the Siles Zuazo government is the arch enemy),⁸ most of the trade union leaders were weakening the organisation, having forgotten that the rightists were preparing a snap election and could even stage a coup.

The Congress said that the situation which had taken shape within the trade union movement was made most manifest in September 1985, just after the Right took

over. The government had imposed the state of emergency and had launched a wave of repression against the working people in an effort to divide and thwart the mass struggle in defence of the people's interests, and against the government's policy. Acting on the assumption that it was easier to 'make a deal' with the incumbent regime, and oblivious of the dangerous consequences, the same trade union leaders ignored the oligarchic nature of the government's policy and entertained illusions about the possibility of altering it. Eventually, responsible-minded trade union leaders acted with reliance on the masses to discontinue the working people's action in an organised manner, and through tremendous efforts to halt any further repressions, to secure the release of their comrades, and to force the government to discuss the people's demands in the face of a united popular movement.

The Congress noted the Communists' crucial contribution to this struggle and the role in it of our First Secretary: these developments helped to raise the consciousness of the working class, and this was reflected in the course of the Bolivian miners' recent 21st Congress, which upset the opportunist and anti-communist moves, so improving the prospects for developing a class-based trade union movement.

The Congress examined the international situation and stressed the exceptional importance of the Soviet Union's initiatives and practical steps for general and complete disarmament and an easing of tensions. The delegates sharply condemned the US administration's militaristic line and its policy of state terrorism, aggression and neoglobalism.

That conclusion was further borne out by the landing of US troops on Bolivian territory last July on the pretext of 'combating the drug traffic'. However, it was shortly announced that the landing had been made for 'US national security interests', and 'at the request' of President Paz Estenssoro. Despite the lying and hypocritical official declarations, the landing amounts to a gross and unprecedented violation of Bolivian sovereignty, of its Constitution, and of all the norms and principles of international law.

The country's popular and democratic forces believe that such US actions are aimed to set up a US military base in Bolivia, so threatening its independence and that of neighbouring countries, primarily those where there is a spreading struggle for independent development and against the dictatorships which continue to exist in the South Cone area. Imperialism is trying to 'fit' Bolivia with a policy similar to that which it has conducted in Central America against revolutionary Nicaragua and the Salvadoran patriots. The invasion is the result of an outright betrayal of the country by the incumbent government and its allies.

There was a storm of indignation in Bolivia over the US acts. It led to the founding of a Junta in Defence of National Sovereignty, which issued a declaration, supported by 48 trade unions and political organisations, and by 200 prominent public figures. It condemned the aggressive and interventionist policy of imperialism and called on Bolivians to fight for the expulsion of the US troops. Powerful demonstrations and general strikes were once again staged throughout the country as the people drove home the point that the right to solve internal problems (including the drug traffic problem) must belong to the Bolivians as a sovereign nation and to them alone.

The CC Report to the Congress reaffirmed the earlier assessments of the DPU government's activity, the CPB's role within it, and the reasons for which the Communists had withdrawn from the government. The Congress noted the invaluable experience in setting up the DPU front and its importance for the party, which sets itself the task of shaping a new political alliance. The delegates approved the Minimum Programmatic Platform, reflecting the basic and pressing popular and national aspirations, and urged the country's democratic organisations to act together.

Practice shows that such unity (and it is demanded by the people) involves the

need to fortify the proletariat and its party's capacity to influence developments in the country. The Bolivians' active struggle in between the two congresses put the party to a stern test and reaffirmed that it has its roots in the working class. With the strength and internal energy as the fountainheads of future development, the Communists can shoulder an even greater responsibility for the country's destiny.

The report also noted the failings and weaknesses in the party's activity which need to be overcome through considerable effort with rigorous observance of Leninist party principles. In the period under review, the Communists had to tackle their tasks in trying conditions.

First, our participation in the government led to an inevitable internal discussion, and this provided the pretext for anti-communist attacks both by rightists and by ultra-leftists. The party's perception of this hostile campaign has been taken in a spirit of self-criticism and the decisions of the Fifth Congress, and also with consistent ideological struggle and active explanation, a course that has helped it to restore confidence among the broad masses.

Second, the failure of the DPU government, which caused discontent and some confusion, was the basic political cause of our defeat in the latest elections, and also the overall swing of the electoral campaign to the right. That was induced by a number of factors: the Communists failed to form a broad front, the electoral campaign was too brief, we were short of funds, etc. To this should be added 'the overt sabotage by some members of the party leadership which even then showed signs of being a faction'.⁹ This petty-bourgeois group subsequently found itself in isolation and had to leave the party following the failure of its attempts to ram through its conceptions.

The Congress reached the conclusion that the party has surmounted the difficulties thanks to its ideological and political steadfastness. The CP Bolivia is united, and there is a normal atmosphere within its ranks. The delegates approved the new guidelines with accent on organisational activity within the working class, and concentration of effort on the politically exigent aspects: the problems of the rural proletariat and the peasantry generally, and also of the middle strata. There was also a discussion of the state of the YCB in the light of the new perspectives, which are sure to be assessed at its forthcoming congress.

The Congress approved the CC Report and considered the party's Programmatic Theses, whose study had been completed in the run-up to the congress at seminars, lectures, talks, courses and meetings. That had made it possible to widen the framework of discussion and to enable the whole party to make a collective contribution to this important matter. The draft document was worked out in the same spirit, and that eventually helped to formulate a set of Theses which mark an important step forward from the earlier ones not only in terms of a Marxist-Leninist analysis, but also of the new approaches to our reality and to the potentialities of future ideological and political advance.

The Programmatic Theses proceeds from the nature of the basic contradiction of our epoch and analyses the most diverse manifestations of the antagonism between the socialist and the capitalist systems, emphasising that the strength and example of existing socialism, which sprang from the Great October Socialist Revolution, and the other gains of the world-wide revolutionary process, confirm the proletariat's historical mission and the law-governed uniformities of transition to the advanced society.

The document explains some of the specifics and throws a stronger light on Bolivia's economic and social structure, with greater attention to the shaping of capitalist relations, the penetration of foreign finance capital, and the causes of the distortions, dependence and backwardness of the national economy. It says that the slow development of capitalism led to the conservation of semi-feudal relations until

the 1952 revolution, which introduced, along with the agrarian reform and the nationalisation of the mines, definite economic and social changes in the society, thereby facilitating the development of private capital and amplifying the scale of state capitalism. However, the anti-imperialist and popular potentialities of the revolution were neutralised as imperialism, notably US imperialism, entrenched itself in the country with the connivance of the local bourgeoisie. The accelerated capitalist development in the 1950s and 1960s, and mainly from 1970 on, favoured the concentration and centralisation of production and capital, and the fusion of finance, industrial and commercial capital, and Bolivia's stepped-up penetration by foreign capital and its association with local capital, a process promoted by the economic policies of the fascist-minded dictatorships. This led to the shaping of an oligarchy of big capitalists, while its links to imperialism have led to the emergence of a financial oligarchy in Bolivia.

The peculiarities of capitalist development and the present state of Bolivia's economy and society enabled the Congress to reassert that Bolivia is a capitalist, dependent and backward country.

The analysis of the society's social structure has been substantially amended. The proletariat (roughly 20 per cent of the able-bodied population) consists mainly of workers in the mining industry, factory and oil workers, railwaymen, workers in metallurgy, building and highway construction, and printing workers. To it should be added the mass of the other working people in town and country. The proletariat and its political vanguard have to act as the force giving a lead to all the exploited groups of the population, because of their importance in the system of production, development, vision and class consciousness. Their objective interests are identical with those of the working class in the fight against the oligarchic and pro-imperialist bloc, and for the changes demanded by our reality.

The Theses characterises the strata making up the Bolivian bourgeoisie and defines their role and potentialities in production, in defence of national and popular interests, and in attitude to democracy. The following conclusion is drawn: 'Imperialism and the big bourgeoisie, headed by the oligarchy, are the chief enemies of the country's democratic development, of national independence and social progress, being antagonistically opposed to the entire Bolivian people.'¹⁰

The analysis of the condition of the middle strata and the petty bourgeoisie warrants the assumption (despite all the vacillation within these groups) that their interests are mainly identical with those of the working class at the present stage. They can and must be won over as allies of the proletariat.

Finally, the Congress characterised the social structure in the countryside and noted that marked changes have taken place in it since the agrarian reform. The class of latifundistas has virtually disappeared, and a capitalist class and a proletariat have come on the scene with the emergence of the new relations of production in the rural areas. There is also a middle peasantry, while the petty bourgeoisie and the poor are the largest groups in the Bolivian countryside. The rural proletariat, the landless peasants and the vast masses of poor people are eager for economic and social change, and are natural allies of the working class.

The Theses examines yet another exceptionally important problem, namely, that of nations and nationalities. Within the Bolivian nation, there are national minorities, tribes and ethnic groups, which are subjected to dual oppression by the oligarchy: national and class oppression. The party has set the task of uniting the mass struggles against national and class exploitation.

The section on the political and ideological superstructure considers the various historical periods in the development of the state, and its class content at each of these. It analyses why the state apparatus has been fascicised, evaluates the people's democratic gains and the DPU government's activity, and examines the conditions in

which the rightists were returned to power, and the politico-oligarchic bloc moved towards authoritarianism.

The document sets the strategic task of winning power and transforming the country, and stresses the importance of transitional forms. In the light of experience and the balance of forces, it says, broad and comprehensive democracy is the form of state which paves the working people's way towards the establishment of a truly sovereign, democratic and popular republic.

The Theses speaks of the place and role of the political parties and various components of the superstructure, and draws the conclusion that the trade union movement in Bolivia, emerging from the 'classical framework of trade union economic demands',¹¹ is being involved in the country's politics and often turns out to be the crucial force. The document emphasises the progressive programmatic propositions of the Bolivian Labour Centre and other national trade union organisations, and points to some discrepancy between the principles they proclaim and the trade union action they take.

The concept of revolution in our country is based on the objective need to end the dependence and oppression and to carry out long-overdue economic, social and political changes. In the light of its analysis of the intricate internal and external situation, our party believes that the Bolivian revolution will be democratic, popular, anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic, so 'creating the conditions for steady advance towards socialism'.¹² The popular masses of town and country, led by the proletariat, will be the motive force of this revolution. Accordingly, and also in view of the historical experience, the Programmatic Theses emphasises that the ways and forms of revolution are determined in accordance with the objective conditions and the subjective factors in each concrete situation.

With this perspective of the Bolivian revolution, and also considering the identity of interests of the proletariat and those of other classes and social strata, and of the oppressed and exploited national and ethnic minorities, the Theses formulates the question of the historical mission of the working class and the CP Bolivia as its political vanguard. However, identity of objectives falls short of providing the conditions for resisting and defeating the common enemy. It is highly important, our party believes, that the alliance policy should be expressed in concrete terms so as to attain programmatic unity and unity of effective action by all the organisations voicing the aspirations of the peasants, the middle strata, the petty bourgeoisie and, notably, the working class. It has to play the leading role if the oligarchy and imperialism are to be stripped of power, and democratic, popular, anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist transformations are to be carried through, and the revolution to be successfully defended.

The Congress unanimously approved the Programmatic Theses, passed a number of resolutions on political and organisational matters, and fortified the Central Committee by incorporating some new cadres. The Congress was of great significance for the Communists and the entire Bolivian people, because it met at a time of sharpening class struggle against the oligarchic and pro-imperialist regime. The results of our Congress were met with great interest by the masses and gave them fresh hope.

We believe that if the proletarian vanguard is to provide due leadership in the fight against the chief enemy, and if it is to attain its goals, it needs to be strengthened ideologically and organisationally, and to multiply its ranks. Only then will the workers be able to say the following about their party: 'Here are our comrades, our brothers; here our common cause is becoming reality.'¹³

¹ 97.35 per cent of the 1,428,000 persons polled.

² For details, see David Moraes, 'Guidelines for Mass Struggle', *WMR*, No. 10, 1985.—Ed.

³ *Informe Balance del C.C., presentado por el Primer Secretario del PCB c. Simón Reyes Rivera*, p. 7.

⁴ The popular revolution, which ran on bourgeois lines, overthrew the feudal oligarchic regime. Power was taken by the NRM; it soon abandoned the programme of the revolution and began to make concessions to imperialism.—*Ed.*

⁵ For details, see Simon Reyes Rivera, 'In Parliament, in the Trade Unions, and Among the Masses', *WMR*, No. 5, 1986.—*Ed.*

⁶ *Informe Balance del C.C.* . . . , p. 9.

⁷ Resolute action by the working people last September forced the government to abandon these plans. Under an agreement with the trade unions, the authorities also undertook to release all the political and union leaders arrested under the state of emergency.—*Ed.*

⁸ In March 1985, Juan Lechin, BLC Executive Secretary, demanded the resignation of President Siles Zuazo.

⁹ *Informe Balance del C.C.* . . . , p. 19.

¹⁰ *Tesis Programáticas del PCB*, 1986, p. 27.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

¹³ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 222.

Communists in Local Government Bodies

Carlos Costa – CC Political Commission
and Secretariat member, Portuguese
Communist Party

TEN years ago, in December 1976, the first municipal elections were held in Portugal in the wake of the downfall of the fascist dictatorial regime after almost fifty years of rule. The Portuguese Communists, and all progressives for that matter, commemorate that event which helped in great measure to build the groundwork of democratic local government in the country.

This institution appeared as an upshot of the popular struggle during the April Revolution. Right after April 25, 1974, when the fascist state was being dismantled to be replaced by a new and democratic one, the fascists who headed 300-odd municipal chambers and over 4,000 parish juntas which existed at that time were thrown out of the local government bodies (they normally had been appointed by the minister of the interior, and collaboration with the regime's political police was one of their duties). At the same time, new local administrations were being set up in place of the old ones.¹

Important work to democratise local government was well under way in many municipalities and parishes at that time, though their resources were extremely meagre and they depended heavily on the central administration. In particular, hundreds of tenants' commissions and other people's organisations were set up. The local authorities began to hold regular plenary sittings in town and country, especially where the progressive forces prevailed and the mass movement was well developed. They were attended by representatives of the population, who organised 'voluntary work days' and invited people to take part in local government.

The gains of the revolution left a considerable imprint on the Constitution, in which 30 articles deal with the setting and functions of the local authorities, though many of the articles were a compromise between different political forces.

The Constitution formalised the principle of representative democracy providing for periodical re-election of government bodies. The elections are held on the basis of proportional representation. Not only municipal assemblies, but their executive bodies, are elected by direct suffrage.² Even if a voting leaves them in a minority, the more influential political forces in the localities are guaranteed participation in

We continue the coverage of Communists' activities in the executive and legislative organs of power in capitalist countries (see *WMR*, Nos. 4, 7 and 8, 1985, and Nos. 2, 10 and 11, 1986).

government.

Now the population can participate directly in local government, and people's organisations may be represented at parish assemblies. Meanwhile, solution of some problems may be left to tenants' commissions. Besides, consultative municipal councils have been set up, in which representatives of the trade unions, working people's and tenants' commissions, organisations of small and middle farmers, businessmen, pensioners, young people, women, the aged, and the disabled, may have their say on urgent matters. The Constitution also envisages administrative and financial autonomy for local government bodies, has formalised decentralisation principles, and provides for measures to bring social services closer to the population.

On the basis of all these provisions a package of laws on the local government bodies was adopted in 1977-1979. Since then, there has been tangible progress in their activities, especially in their work to develop municipal engineering (water supply and sewerage, garbage collection and disposal, power supply, and road improvement), which was in a sorry state at the time, and in the construction of cultural, sports and other facilities.

These achievements are most obvious where the Portuguese Communist Party and its partners in the United People's Alliance (UPA)³ control local government bodies or effectively influence their activities. For instance, according to official statistics, already by 1982 52.2 per cent of Portugal's population lived in houses with running water, while in the Setubal district, where most of the local government bodies are headed by the UPA, this figure was 88.4 per cent, although in the mid-1970s the situation there was as bad as elsewhere in the country. Other positive changes have been achieved since then.

Due to democratic local government people begin to learn how to take part in administration, become better prepared for coping with major social problems and are overcoming anti-communist prejudices. People see for themselves how the PCP and UPA representatives work in local government bodies and become convinced that the methods used by the Communists have nothing to do with the allegations of their enemies. Aware of this, the reactionaries continue to plot against democratic local government in a bid to destroy the foundation of the local government system or, at least, to debase it, and, as the right-wingers have repeatedly said, to 'sweep the Communists out of the local government bodies'.

The onslaught was launched in several directions simultaneously. The central government attempted, sometimes successfully, to push through parliament a number of legislative provisions prejudicial to democratic local administration. The number of deputies to be elected to municipal and parish assemblies has been reduced, which made local government bodies less representative; the participation of people's organisations in the work of parish assemblies has been restricted. The formation of consultative municipal councils has become optional. The incomes of the local government bodies were cut down and most arbitrary criteria were introduced for distributing appropriations among municipalities. New duties have been imposed on them under the pretext of 'decentralisation', but no additional funds were provided.

The right-wingers attempted to push through parliament an 'administrative tutelage' bill, which would make local government bodies more dependent on the central government, and tried to prevent them from using their own technical means and staff for providing social services. The idea was to force local government bodies, by threatening them with sanctions, to reduce their staff drastically and hand down public works contracts to private firms.

During the general elections to local government bodies in December 1985, the Socialist Party and the right-wingers joined hands in an offensive against the UPA in 41 municipal districts and in many parishes. They did it not because they wanted to

govern better than the Communists and their allies, but of sheer anti-communism. In some cases they set out to win over the municipalities and use them for speculating in real estate and enriching themselves in other ways.

Making use of their position in the state apparatus and mass media, these forces carried on a slander campaign against the PCP and UPA. Their primary goal was to besmirch the activity of the PCP and UPA in municipalities and call in question the obvious fact, recognised by people holding most different political views, that the Communists and their allies in the UPA were impeccably honest and unselfish in their work, that they were dedicated to their cause, highly competent and, wherever they were in a majority, problems were solved faster and more effectively in conditions of full publicity, strict accountability and wide involvement of people.

The parties which united against the PCP and UPA appealed to many courts of first instance, and later to the Constitutional Tribunal, in order to dispute the legal status of the UPA and to deny its representatives a chance to run in elections to municipalities and parishes.

The plot failed, however. Many measures approved by the right-wing governments have never been applied in practice. Several bills were turned down by the Assembly of the Republic. All the courts of first instance, and then the Constitutional Tribunal, refused to outlaw the UPA. The alliances against the UPA failed practically everywhere.

Our adversaries lost even in the larger constituencies, where they operated with utmost zeal. The UPA, on the whole, retained its positions where it was in a majority. Moreover, it preserved, and even strengthened them in the municipalities where they were outnumbered. The legislative rules for local government bodies remained, on the whole, fairly progressive in content. The elections in 1985, when the UPA won in 47 municipalities and had absolute majority in 45 of them,⁴ showed once again that the population approved of the work done by the Communists and their effective performance.

In the first months of 1986, the Communist representatives in local authorities reviewed their experience, considered new problems, examined how the party's directives were carried out, and outlined measures to assist their deputies, especially those elected for the first time.

We concentrate, at this juncture, mainly on involving more people in decision-making and in carrying out the decisions adopted. This has emerged as a salient feature of the local bodies controlled by the PCP and UPA.

It is commonly known that the right-wing and conservative forces seek to reduce democracy to holding regular elections (in a situation when the voters are under the pressure of economic, social and ideological factors) of certain candidates who would sway the destinies of the society from their secluded offices. Communists, on the other hand, encourage people, wherever possible, to take part in discussing and solving problems that are of concern to them. The right-wingers are trying to break and disparage the direct ties between the local government bodies and the population, but we take measures to protect and expand these ties.

For instance, we organise meetings where the deputies report to the population on the work done, call open sittings of parish and municipal bodies, hold regular meetings of deputies with people's organisations to plan joint actions, and stage voluntary work days. The UPA representatives also keep a record of citizens' suggestions and demands, and seek ways to make contact with them more effective.

All this renders the local government bodies more efficient, enabling them to respond more promptly to the population's requirements, and lends strength to the ties of the PCP and its allies with the working people. On the other hand, the Communists' efforts counterbalance the ideological line of imperialism and reaction which encourage political passivity, indifference to the life of society, and excessive

concern for one's own problems, all of which is most typical of those living in cities or suburbs.

Experience tells us that the expansion of people's participation in local government should always be in the focus of our party's attention, and that its leading role be most pronounced here. We try to prevent our representatives in municipal and parish bodies from developing a habit of solving problems in secluded offices, relying solely on experts. Administrative methods, for all their importance, cannot be a substitute for an active participation of the masses and their organisations in government.

Communists attach special importance to elaborating common positions of the elected officials and the population on specific problems. This is quite possible, for in Portugal, as in any other capitalist country for that matter, the social boundaries between political parties do not entirely coincide with the classes and sections of the population they speak for. And not only Communists, but also representatives of some other parties in local government bodies can sincerely want their district to improve and prosper. These people sometimes are prejudiced against Communists and do not share the PCP's views on some issue or other, but they do realise that joint work is necessary for an effective solution of local problems.

The changes in the Portuguese party system in general, and within the parties themselves, indicate that the political structures representing various classes and social strata are yet to stabilise. On the one hand, in recent years the Socialists have been allying themselves with the reactionary parties, especially on the top level, which became most apparent during the elections in December 1985, when an unprincipled coalition was formed by the leaders of the Socialist Party, the Social Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Centre against the UPA. On the other hand, many Socialist deputies, as well as the activists of the Socialist Party and sympathisers, openly seek cooperation with the Communists. This tendency increased after Mario Soares⁵ was elected president in February 1986 due to the decisive contribution made by the PCP, which contributed substantially to such cooperation in the localities.

The manner in which the Communists and their allies work is of great importance. When determining their positions, the UPA deputies regard the essence of a proposal, and not the party affiliation of a person who submitted it; they see to it that municipal and parish assemblies should not be anything like an arena for clashes between parties. This alone makes it easier to build unity both within local government bodies and among the population.

Further. Insoluble contradictions do not necessarily arise between members of different parties in such matters, for instance, as building water supply systems, crèches, schools, or roads, environmental protection, or preservation of the cultural heritage. Differences occur more often between local government deputies and the central government which tends, for instance, to cut back on state subsidies and invest the money thus saved for the benefit of big business, while the majority of the deputies to local government bodies, including even right-wingers, demand greater subsidies for parishes and municipalities to improve the infrastructure and expand social and cultural activities. Early in 1986, the local government bodies unanimously demanded that the Assembly of the Republic should revise the government-proposed total amount of subsidies and the criteria of their distribution. The Assembly met that demand.

The tendency towards unity is reflected in the activities of the National Association of Portuguese Municipalities, which had been set up to back right-wing cabinets in matters concerning local government. The Communists were not included in the executive and control bodies of the association, although they won 30 per cent of the votes at the founding congress. But at the congress held this year the Communists were included into every organ of the association, and the resolution determining the

orientation of its activities was adopted by consensus.

For our party the striving for unity does not rule out combating corruption, nepotism, speculation in real estate, and damage to the environment and the cultural heritage—the phenomena so typical of municipalities controlled by reaction. Unity, in the opinion of the PCP, is not an end in itself, but a means of implementing decisions for the benefit of the population.

The third major area of the Communists' work in the localities is improvement of municipal services, introduction of up-to-date methods of organisation and administration, professional training and upgrading of staff members, the use of informatics on the local level, and so on. Enhancing the role of the UPA staff is extremely important, in our view, for establishing the UPA's prestige in local government bodies. The effectiveness of these bodies depends, naturally, on the extent of their powers, on their finances and other technical and material resources, but more than anything else it depends on the attitude of the staff to its work. Elective officials at the head of local government bodies will achieve little if their staff is passive.

Today, it is most important that new realities and problems are given due attention. A decade ago, all efforts and resources were to be concentrated on accomplishing top-priority economic tasks. There is a good deal to be done yet in this sphere. But on the whole the situation has changed greatly. There now exist opportunities for concentrating more on culture, sports, recreation of young people and other sections of the population, and on ensuring a balanced development of the districts. The Communists demand a bigger role for the elected government bodies in solving problems of factory and office workers, small and middle entrepreneurs, farmers and traders, in order to better protect their interests, even when problems that arise are outside the competence of local administrations. It is most important to us, in particular, that a series of measures be effected to improve the conditions of the younger generation and expand its participation in government and public affairs.

At the same time, the PCP demands that the Assembly of the Republic enact laws which would help revive and carry on the process of administrative and financial decentralisation in Portugal.

To that end, our party put forward six bills through its parliamentary faction, which concern the financing of local government bodies and the delimitation of responsibilities between them and the central administration in matters of investment; institution of administrative regions governed by popularly elected authorities; the competence, prerogatives and composition of local government bodies; establishment of public enterprises on the regional, inter-municipal and municipal levels; expanding the parishes' capacity for action; regulation of the tutelage of the grassroots government bodies, so as to reduce it to mere verification of compliance with the law and rule out intervention of the central administration.

Most deputies on the level of parish and municipal bodies support these bills, for they meet real needs and are consonant with the experience acquired in the past years. Besides, our proposals are aimed at translating into reality the constitutional norms of the Republic envisaging, among other things, the establishment of administrative regions as an intermediate link between 305 municipalities, on the one hand, and the central administration, on the other. We hope that these topical proposals will attract public attention, become the object of political struggles and some of them will be approved by the Assembly of the Republic.

The Portuguese Communist Party has already done a good job to help shape democratic local government which has become most progressive. This is a fact recognised even by our enemies and political adversaries. Having submitted the above-mentioned bills to parliament, the Communists are again leading the struggle against measures designed to restrict the democratic character and autonomy of local

government bodies, for resuming the decentralisation process that started after April 25, 1974.

Our party is convinced that this process, in which administrative bodies are to be drawn closer to the population, will encourage public participation in and control of local government and open the way to continued promotion of democracy. Where the functioning of local government bodies fails to meet the interests and needs of the population, decentralisation can help the working people understand this, and increase the possibilities for resistance to anti-popular measures.

The struggle carried on by the Portuguese Communists in local government bodies and elsewhere is not easy at all. But our experience, just as that of other peoples in the world, tells us that those who steadfastly fight their just case will win in the end. The Portuguese democrats have toppled the fascist regime and accomplished the April Revolution. Now we have to set out to defeat the right-wing policies that are designed to wipe out all that has been gained by the revolution, distort democracy and threaten its very existence. The activities of the Communists and their UPA allies in local government bodies, supported by broad sections of the population, are a major contribution to the efforts to uphold the gains of the April Revolution and assert a democratic alternative to the course pursued by the Portuguese authorities today.

¹ The administrative commissions in municipalities and parish (communal) juntas, set up in 1974, functioned until December 1976, when the new local government bodies were formed after the first municipal elections, in keeping with the Constitution of the Republic adopted in April 1976.—*Ed.*

² Though under the Constitution there should exist self-governed areas—parishes, municipal districts and administrative regions headed by corresponding executive and deliberative bodies, in practice, however, these bodies operate on the level of parishes (juntas and assemblies) and municipalities (chambers and assemblies), because no administrative regions have been established so far.—*Ed.*

³ The Alliance, set up in 1978 at the initiative of the Communists, submits joint tickets including nominees of the PCP, the Portuguese Democratic Movement—Democratic Electoral Commissions, the Portuguese Ecological Movement—the Greens, and progressive independents, at elections to local government bodies and at parliamentary elections.—*Ed.*

⁴ In Portugal a municipal chamber is chaired by the first candidate on the list which has won the largest number of votes, no matter if this happens to be an absolute or relative majority.—*Ed.*

⁵ Mario Soares, former General Secretary of the Socialist Party.—*Ed.*

new experience

Our Interviews

Towards a Left - Democratic Alternative

Ardhendu Bhushan Bardhan – Central
Executive Committee member, National
Council Secretary, Communist Party of India

How has the situation developed in India since your party's latest congress in March? What are now the CPI's priority tasks?

DEVELOPMENTS have confirmed the analysis and conclusions of the 13th Congress, and the tasks now facing the party are threefold.

First, to defend the national unity, integrity and security of the country against the secessionist, divisive and communalist forces. 'Khalistani' secessionism in Punjab, the politics of assassination and murder, the outburst of communal violence, mostly in the industrial centres, are features of India's life today. They are manifestations of imperialist intervention in our subcontinent, and of attempts at destabilisation. Imperialism utilises and instigates the internal reactionary forces. All this tends to endanger national security, affects our people and working class, and ultimately weakens left forces and our struggle.

Second, to struggle and reverse the 'new economic policies' of the government, of whittling down the public sector, opening the doors wide for the monopolies and transnational corporations, of import liberalisation, and of indiscriminate introduction of imported high-tech, regardless of the consequences. In essence, they constitute a drive towards 'privatisation' and harm our self-reliant growth. We also have the task of defending the workers' hard-won rights and privileges, and of fighting for land and agrarian reform.

Third, to struggle for the defence of peace, for India's progressive foreign policy, to resist attempts by the reactionaries to shift this policy, and guard against any vacillations in pursuing this policy.

Unity and cooperation among the left and democratic forces are an essential condition for accomplishing the above-mentioned tasks. Only that can help mobilise the vast democratic masses and ensure a leading role to the working class in this process.

The Congress documents emphasised the key importance of working-class and trade union unity. What has the party been doing in this context?

We think that the unity of the trade unions has to be tackled at various levels. There is the development of joint and common actions from the factory to the national industrial level. The party is carrying forward the platform of the present National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions (NCC), which brings together eight central trade union organisations and more than 60 industrial federations. We are also alert about the activities of certain rightist elements who are today a part of the NCC, and

seek to activise the role of the left-led unions within it.

We have been working for closer unity and joint action between the All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), the Centre of Indian Trade Unions¹ and other left trade unions, leading to their eventual unification. We have also worked to broaden the unity of all the trade unions, including even the Indian National Trade Union Congress (the labour organisation led by the ruling party) on common issues like peace, national unity, anti-communalism, anti-apartheid, etc. That fact alone shows that unity is possible. Several conventions and marches at different levels have taken place under the joint auspices of these trade union organisations.

Alongside the mass peace movement, involving broad working-class strata, there is the common rejection of the government's economic policy. Hence, the demands to safeguard the public sector and to democratise it. The organised working class is putting up a strong fight against reaction. In Punjab, it has become the main force in the struggle against the Khalistani extremists' terrorism.

Joint strikes were recently staged by various trade unions at a number of enterprises. That is most significant, since the trade union movement has long been plagued by fragmentation, with rival unions vying with each other. Our party is working hard to overcome the divisions among the trade unions and to achieve cooperation.

However, there also remain some negative aspects in the development of the working-class movement. These arise above all from the effects of caste conflicts and the influence exerted on the working people by separatist and communalist forces. Besides, the significance of the tasks before them has not been comprehended by the mass of the workers fast enough, while the left trade unions, with the exception of the AITUC, are not yet prepared for the degree of unity demanded by the situation.

Your party has put forward the idea of a left-democratic alternative to bourgeois rule. How are the Communists building up the political base for such an alternative? What is the present state of relations between the CPI and the CPI (Marxist)?

There is growing cooperation between the left and democratic forces in the course of significant political campaigns in which the Communists have been most actively involved. There are the mighty peace marches, the struggle in defence of democratic rights and against breaches of parliamentary norms (such as the arbitrary dismissals of state governments by the central authorities), the all-India general strike in February 1986 against the hike in the administered prices of several commodities, and the excessive powers of the executive, and the present campaign in defence of the public sector.

The experience of the past several years warrants the following conclusion: the unity of the left and democratic forces gives the masses confidence and mobilises them for militant action. Unfortunately, not all the left-wing parties and organisations have yet taken a consistent stand. The Communists intend to multiply their efforts to give greater stability to joint action.

Achieving stable cooperation with the CPI (Marxist) is a long and difficult task, and it will take time. We appreciate that there will be zigzags along the path. Our party stands for left unity, left and democratic unity, and communist unity. We visualise the eventual reunification of the communist movement on a principled basis. Till that is achieved, there will be joint actions and also dialogue on our differences, so as to pave the way for narrowing them.

One must confess to a certain degree of disappointment in the results achieved so far. Nevertheless, the objective situation and our efforts for joint action are enabling

us to undertake joint actions at party level and the level of mass organisations. The direction is towards more joint actions.

¹ The former is under the influence of the CPI, and the latter under that of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).—*Ed.*

Documents

Turkey

UNITING THE FORCES OF THE OPPOSITION

A STATEMENT issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey in view of the partial parliamentary elections on September 28, 1986, stressed that a new situation has taken shape in the country. The ruling Motherland Party has lost a considerable number of votes. The elections showed that the country is run by a minority government, while there is mass support for the CP Turkey, the Left Unity bloc, the other left-wing forces and the Intellectuals' Movement, whose stand is to resist the government's policy, which is worsening the situation. The masses have voted against the government's anti-labour and pro-US policy. Six years of terror and demagoguery have not managed to suppress the people's urge for democracy. The regime has suffered a defeat. The democratic forces have scored a significant success.

However, the Motherland Party remains in power. The government, the statement says, has been trying to bolster its positions and to suppress the will of the popular masses. Accordingly, the progressive forces are faced with the vital task of putting an end to the existing regime and its anti-people policy. No party can do this on its own. The need for the unity of the entire opposition—both official and banned—is now greater than ever before. The electoral success is not the end of the struggle for democracy, but only a beginning. The Communists urge the whole opposition to rely on action by the masses and their vigorous participation in protests against the regime's anti-people policy.

The people can be united and mobilised for struggle, the statement says, round concrete slogans meeting its interests: 'No New Development of Chemical and Nuclear Weapons in Turkey!', 'No Price Rises or Devaluations!', 'Defend Public Enterprises from Handover to Local and Foreign Monopolies!', and 'Defend Trade Union Rights!'.

The CP Turkey backs the demand by legal democratic parties for an early general election and is prepared to join in acting together with the entire opposition on the basis of a realistic alternative programme. Such united action by the political forces will provide an impetus to uniting the broad masses and help to advance the popular struggle at the enterprises, in the streets, and throughout the country.

A Personal Impression

The Working Class on the Threshold of the Twenty-first Century

NOTES FROM A MOSCOW CONFERENCE

A CONFERENCE on 'The Working Class and Our Day', which was held in Moscow and which I attended on behalf of *WMR*, had a very wide geographical, ideological

and political spectrum of participants. They came from 80 countries of all the continents and represented more than 100 parties, working people's organisations, and research centres, including Communists, Revolutionary Democrats, Socialists, Social Democrats, Labourites, and trade union leaders of various affiliations, including Christian Democrats. The conference was attended by 16 general secretaries (chairmen) and 43 political bureau members and CC secretaries of communist and workers' parties.

Another distinctive feature of the conference, which was held from October 8 to 10, on the initiative of the Institute of the International Working Class Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences, was that it heard the most diverse and often highly controversial views and offered an opportunity for open comparison of different standpoints. The conversation was frank and free. All were motivated by a common concern with the problems agitating the minds of the working people on the threshold of the twenty-first century, and by an urge to find ways, forms and means in building a secure world.

I found it highly interesting to learn what fellow-Communists from other countries and participants holding different views had to say about the present situation, and the development, social makeup and role of the working class. My overall conclusion from the speeches and direct contacts with participants in the conference could be formulated as follows: there is evidence on every hand of a sincere desire to approach the end-of-century problems with a new political thinking.

Communist speakers voiced their resolve to use the whole range of our revolutionary theory and its method for analysing the current problems confronted by the working class in the face of the graver threat of nuclear war, the technological revolution in production, the worsening conditions of development for the Third World countries under the deepening crisis of capitalism, and the mounting aggressiveness of imperialism. At the same time, the new thinking, which is still in its early stages, is being hammered out and accepted by people of differing world outlook, as I had occasion to see for myself.

One of the merits of the conference, I think, is that it helped to make a complex and global assessment of the present-day role of the working class as the chief social force in saving civilisation and ensuring its advance.

Addressing the plenary meeting, CPSU CC Secretary Anatoli Dobrynin said that the humanistic essence of the idea of the world-wide historical mission of the working class tends to acquire a deeper meaning and to include within it the idea of ridding mankind from the threat of annihilation in the flames of a nuclear war. The world-wide struggle against the threat of war and for an end to the arms race is the basic prerequisite for success in solving social problems. A correct formulation of the question of combining the defence of the working people's economic and social interests with the struggle for peace, it was emphasised at the conference, helps to overcome the divisions in the working-class movement and to unite and muster the broadest masses.

An essentially new historical situation has been created, with additional potentialities for enhancing the influence of the working class and its organisations, by the fact that at the present stage the interests of the working people, of existing socialism and of mankind as a whole on the vital issues of the survival of our civilisation are identical. This view was shared by participants in the conference who stressed the need to use the new potentialities more fully in the practical activity of working-class organisations.

Great hopes had been pinned on the Soviet-US summit meeting at Reykjavik, which could have offered a historic opportunity for moving along the way of disarmament. Unfortunately, under the influence of the military-industrial complex, the US administration prevented these hopes from being realised. The peace

forces and the working-class movement, it was said at the conference, must act in the present situation with even greater vigour and purpose, so as to preserve life on the Earth.

Speakers considered the new processes under way in the trade union movement, which are increasingly the target of attacks by the forces of reaction and militarism. It is important for the communist and other working-class parties, speakers said, to work even harder in the trade unions.

It was said that while some working people in the capitalist world are just beginning to appreciate the gains of the socialist system, the growing interest in socialist ideas is a stable trend, with a simultaneous renewal of the ideological and political arsenal and slogans of the working-class movement as a whole.

When considering the role of the working class in saving mankind from a nuclear catastrophe, speakers stressed the crucial importance of the peace offensive by existing socialism. Other comrades who came to Moscow and I myself were most interested to learn of how the ideas of the 27th Congress of the CPSU are being realised in the Soviet Union, and of the revolutionary and comprehensive restructuring aimed to speed the country's economic and social development and carry the society to a qualitatively new state. It is perfectly obvious to us that the Soviet people's every stride forward along the way of the October Revolution is of international significance.

What the Soviet comrades said in their speeches and conversations with us showed that the CPSU directs and organises the restructuring processes with reliance on the vibrant creative activity of the masses and their deep commitment to carrying out the transformations. We also sensed the Soviet Communists' firm resolve and political will to cope with the unprecedented tasks which the scientific and technical revolution has set before socialism.

We were conscious of the totally futile expectations of the political leaders of imperialism to slow down the development of the socialist society by forcing it into a continued arms race, and so narrowing down its potentialities for helping the peoples of the less developed countries and exerting an influence on the course of world-wide social progress.

There is not enough space here to go over the whole content of the conference or even to list the problems raised by the speakers. I shall confine myself to giving my impressions of the work in the Committee on the Working Class and the Problem of Development, in which I took part.

The speeches in the committee outlined a coherent and detailed picture of the condition of the working class in the less developed countries and the problems before it. There was a wide-ranging discussion of the attempts by reaction to damage the state sector, of the need for political, economic and social democracy for the popular masses, of the dynamic growth of the working class and its role in standing up to the parasitic and bureaucratic bourgeoisie. Speakers analysed the current manifestation of neocolonialism and exposed the dangers stemming from expansion by the transnationals. They pointed to the monstrous growth of the external debt, and to the curse of the less developed countries' inflating military budgets as they are involved in the arms race.

These trends and factors have been studied by Marxists for several years, and the conference was in a sense a summing-up of their work. There was a lively discussion of the central theme: the role of the working class and its parties in solving the problems of development. There was an analysis of the difficulties along this way arising from the character of the political power in some Third World countries and the strategy of imperialism. The social content of the national liberation movement at the present stage was another point of discussion. Defence of the national interest and independence has naturally become pivotal to the class battles being fought along

a wide front against economic enslavement and military-political dependence on imperialism, and against the internal reactionary forces.

The struggle for a new international economic order, which is inseparable from the struggle for peace and disarmament, speakers said, is the working people's vital task. It was stressed that if the danger of war is to be removed there is the need to tie in the economic and social problems of world development with resistance to militarism, the arms race and the aggressive policy of imperialism.

That does not apply to the less developed countries alone, and here our attention was drawn to a document entitled 'The Economics of Peace', which was presented by Belgium's Confederation of Christian Trade Unions. It set out the important idea that if the economy is to be switched to peace on a global scale, there must be a struggle against poverty, for a higher quality of life, and for cutbacks in military outlays.

The general view in the discussion of the international aspects of the Third World's vital problems, was that internationalist solidarity is manifested not only in slogans, but—and above all—in concrete acts, in closer coordination of action by the working-class parties in the developed and less developed countries, and in joint theoretical and propaganda activity.

Personal conversations with many participants in the conference from the fraternal parties also gave me an idea of the work done in the other two committees: the Committee on the Working Class and the Scientific and Technical Revolution, and the Committee on the Working Class, the Trends in the Mass Movements, and Problems in the Struggle Against Reaction and Militarism. Here are some of their opinions.

Amath Dansokho, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Senegal Party of Independence and Labour: 'The most substantive question for Marxists is whether present-day development bears out the historical role of the working class. The bourgeoisie has been making political and ideological efforts to relegate it to the sidelines of history. But the facts show that, together with its parties and trade unions, it remains the chief motive force of human progress. Our exchange of views helps to build a wide bridge between the working class of the developed capitalist countries and the working people of the Third World.'

William Kashtan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada: I was most impressed by the discussion of the role of the working class in the struggle for peace. It is highly important that Social Democrats and representatives of the socialism--oriented countries took part in the exchange of views together with the Communists. That determined the wide ideological and political spectrum of views on practical and theoretical questions. We saw in bolder relief the potentialities for broad anti-militarist interaction between the various political forces within the framework of the working-class movement.'

Gerry Pocock, head of the International Department of the Political Committee, Executive Committee of the CP Great Britain.: 'The conference led to greater mutual understanding and rapprochement of the working-class movement because the exchange of views was a frank one. I think that in future we should get together to discuss not only a wide range of problems, but also concrete issues.'

No joint documents were adopted at the conference, and every participant was free to draw his own conclusions and make his own assessments of its work. The main outcome of the conference, I think, is that it stimulated the quest for new ideas and approaches to the problems of the working-class movement and its international cohesion. It is now especially important to understand that the solution of such

problems requires joint efforts by all the ideological and political trends within the working class.

Rafic Samhoun

CC Political Bureau member, Communist Party of Lebanon,
CPL representative on WMR

In Brief

FORTHCOMING CONGRESSES

A meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bangladesh has decided to convene the party's Fourth Congress in the first half of March 1987.

The Sixth Plenary Meeting of the 12th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has decided to convene the party's 13th Congress in October 1987.

The 19th Congress of the Communist Party of Norway is to meet from April 24 to 26, 1987.

INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS

A meeting of the editors-in-chief of mass agitation journals of the central committees of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of Vietnam, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Cuba, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Polish United Workers' Party, Romanian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was held in Moscow from September 30 to October 2, 1986, to exchange experience in explaining the decisions of the fraternal party congresses and to discuss current problems in further expanding cooperation in mass agitation and propaganda work.

An international meeting of representatives of research institutes and centres of a number of communist and workers' parties was held in Prague on October 14 and 15, 1986, to exchange information on the activity of these institutions and to consider the vital questions in the development of the theory of socialism at the present stage and ways of improving coordination and cooperation.

GREECE

A coalition of left and democratic forces which included the Communist Party of Greece scored a major victory in the October 1986 municipal elections. As a result, representatives of the coalition are now in charge of 72 municipal councils, and the corresponding figures are 145 for the PASOK, 79 for the New Democracy and 14 for independents. In both rounds, one voter out of every five cast his ballot for the CP Greece—that is, twice as many as four years ago.

HAITI

The Communists have issued a protest against a law enacted by the ruling triumvirate under which every party has to publish a list of at least 5,000 supporters, if it wants to be registered. In the anti-communist atmosphere, which is being fanned by the United States and the top Catholic clergy, such a procedure would jeopardise the security of persons entered on the CP list.

INDIA

In September 1986, the Communist Party of India had 445,195 members, according to a communiqué issued by the CPI National Council.

IRAN

The People's Party of Iran held a national conference in September 1986 to discuss the theses on the party's political course in the period since the 1979 Iranian revolution and the draft of a new Programme. Changes were made in the Rules, reflecting the peculiarities of the party's activity in the present conditions. The national conference also elected the party's governing bodies.

PORTUGAL

Political consultations were held in Lisbon between the leadership of the Portuguese Communist Party and the Democratic Renewal Party. Similar meetings are also being held on the Communists' initiative between the Portuguese CP and other left-wing opposition forces.

exchange of views, discussion

Equal Allies, Honest Partners

The Communists and New Social Movements

Mass democratic movements are among the chief motive forces in the social development of our epoch. People of differing social origins and political orientations in the capitalist countries, with their deepening antagonism between the monopolies and the vast majority of the population, are ever more vigorously demanding an end to the militarisation of the society, the policy of aggression and war, the racial and national discrimination, the infringement of women's rights, the worsening condition of young people, the corruption, and the predatory attitude to natural resources and the environment. These movements are objectively directed against the policies of the reactionary circles of imperialism, and merge with the general tide of struggle for peace and social progress. That is why the communist and workers' parties attach primary importance to cooperation and interaction with them.

In the context of these problems¹ we report on a round table on 'The Communists and New Social Movements', which was held in Vienna together with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria.

The opening speech was delivered by CP Austria Chairman **Franz Muhri**. Among those who took part in the discussion were **Ernst Wimmer**, CC Political Bureau member, CP Austria; **Paul Marcus**, CC member, CP Belgium; Professor **Andre Leisewitz**, deputy director of the Institute of Marxist Studies in Frankfurt on the Main (FRG); **Bjoern Groen**, CC member, CP Denmark; **Domingos Lopez**, CC alternate member, Portuguese CP; **Anjuska Weil**, CC

Political Bureau member, Swiss Party of Labour; **Viola Claesson**, deputy Chairman of the Left Party—Communists of Sweden and Riksdag deputy; and **Sergei Tsukassov** (CPSU), Managing Editor of *WMR*.

The survey was prepared by the *WMR* Commission on the Exchange of Party Experience and, without laying claim to reflect all the aspects of the two-day discussion, sums up what the participants said. The report contains conclusions and assessments based on the actual conditions in the countries represented at the round table. The experience and approaches of other fraternal parties, including some highly influential ones, which did not attend the round table for various reasons, are naturally not included in this report.

Franz Muhri said that the subject-matter of the round table was not only highly relevant today, but was bound to grow in importance over the next few years. The fact that it has been brought up shows the urge of Communists from various countries to get together to discuss the pressing problems of social development and to strengthen their solidarity and cooperation, a practice which helps to find the right, Marxist-Leninist response to the new phenomena in our changing world, and to improve their knowledge of the national specifics, which always need to be taken into account. The exchange of views and experience helps substantially to broaden their knowledge and yields new ideas in pursuing an alliance policy for effective struggle for peace, and in defence of the social and political gains of the working class, notably the right to work, for protection of the environment against the monopolies' rapacious policies, and for the socialist perspective.

'They Are Here to Stay'

All the participants in the discussion were agreed that the new social movements have become an essential component of social life in the industrialised capitalist countries, having sprung from the objective processes of our day, including the ever sharper general crisis of capitalism, and the accelerated shifts—under the impact of the scientific and technical revolution—in the structure of the working population, an ever greater part of which is employed outside the sphere of material production and is impelled to political activity by new motivations.

Almost every manifestation of the general crisis of capitalism has generated a social movement: the mounting threat of war posed by imperialism has produced the unprecedentedly wide and sweeping movement for peace; the destruction of the environment—the ecological movement; the suppression of democracy—the anti-authoritarian trends; the manipulation of mass consciousness—the advocates of 'counter-culture'; and the implantation of consumerism—the movement for an 'alternative way of life'. Many of the traditional and long-established social movements—women, young people, old-age pensioners, tenants, etc.—have grown stronger and acquired new features under the impact of the crisis and the policy of the monopolies. Such developments on the whole bear out, **Ernst Wimmer** emphasised, the Marxist-Leninist proposition that state-monopoly capitalism (SMC) not only exploits the working class, but also suppresses and oppresses the broadest strata of the population in the capitalist society today.

In their methodological analysis of the 'new social movements' concept, speakers said that it has yet to be given a clear-cut definition by the fraternal parties, but is being aptly used by them in their analytical work in the light of the dialectics of the old and the new, the transient and the long-term, the social and the political factors, with scrupulous consideration of the specifics of concrete situations.

The distinctive feature of these movements is that they emerged and have been developing outside the system of the political institutions of the capitalist society, which is, for all practical purposes, dominated by big capital within the framework of

the much-vaunted 'pluralism'. It was said that in most West European countries the break through the supremacy of the conservative and right-reformist parties in political life occurred in the late 1960s, with the explosion of the riots by students and other young people variously linked with the working class movement. That stormy period continues to reverberate to this day and to exert an influence on current forms of protest.

That was amply confirmed by the facts cited in the course of the discussion. Thus, in Denmark, there has been a growth since 1968 of the influence of left-wing parties, which now have the votes of up to a third of all the young people. There is evidence of a marked shift to the left among the middle, intermediate strata of the population, the basis of the new movements, and the demands of women's and youth organisations have become more radical. In Switzerland, mainly in its German-speaking cantons, a section of the turbulent young people of the late 1960s, has 'grown greener with age', but has not dissipated that which it gained earlier on, in joint struggle with the working class movement. In contrast to the 'new Left' of the late 1960s and early 1970s, many members of present-day mass movements in Austria lay no claim to voicing the interests of this or that class, assuming that they have 'risen over and above the antagonism of right and left'. Compared with the past, these movements are broader in social and age terms, and are much closer to the world of labour, although their protest has developed mainly outside the sphere of production, as it has in other countries. These movements involve mainly salaried employees (almost 50 per cent), young people in training (roughly one-third), and high-skilled workers.

The 'new social movements' concept, **Andre Leisewitz** said, is an expression of the multiplicity of new themes and conflicts, especially of the problems arising in everyday life, consumption, human contacts, information, upbringing, education, and many others. Strictly speaking, only a part of them can be regarded as 'new'. **Anjuska Weil** included in the concept both the forces tackling new problems, such as the environmental or anti-nuclear movements, and those taking a new approach to old issues. In Portugal there is a wide spectrum of such movements, said **Domingos Lopez**. They operate on an organised basis and strive to tackle big and small problems facing the various anti-monopoly strata and groups of the population and to stand up for their specific interests. All these diverse trends merge into a stream which increases the potential of struggle in defence of the democratic system set up as a result of the April 1974 revolution. The Communists believe that it is their duty to continue and widen their active work in the masses and to help develop these social movements. Such is the consistent course of the Portuguese CP, upon which it launched long before the revolution. **Paul Marcus** said that a new, and far from positive, phenomenon in Belgium is that the relatively traditional public associations of various stripes which had been somewhat neglected by the left-wing forces have been clasped to its bosom by the recently-founded conservatively-inclined party of environmentalists. The popular movement for protection of the habitat, said **Viola Claesson**, originated in Sweden in the very early years of the century, and the anti-nuclear protest has already been developing for a fairly long time, but as new threats appear, they tend to produce corresponding forms of resistance.

The character of the non-traditional movements as protest movements is obvious, said **Ernst Wimmer**, but they differ in diversity of objectives. Thus, a section of the Austrian Greens believe that any radical transformation of the society is superfluous: they merely want to put 'the advantages of the free market economy at the service of ecological humanism' by allocating funds for environmental protection at the expense of social appropriations, i.e., ultimately to the detriment of the least-secure strata of the population. The demands of the so-called alternativists go farther: they regard themselves as a new liberation movement, as fighters for 'a society based on solidarity and satisfaction of human wants' in which people would be free of 'dulling

and degrading work' and of 'unemployment, militarisation and ecological disasters'. This ideological hotchpotch contains both differing and antithetical ideas, the spectrum running from advisedly anti-Marxist to Marxist-influenced concepts, from various versions of reactionary romanticism and social-Darwinism to visions of a completely autonomous and self-governed life within capitalism. Most of these trends can be generally characterised as utopian in the sense in which Marx saw this when he wrote that 'those people are utopians who separate political forms from their social foundation and present them as general, abstract dogmas'.²

The strength of these movements, the speaker went on, lies in their swift response to painful problems, in their mobility and inventiveness when it comes to form of action. Their greatest weakness is that only a very few of their members regard the key problems in the light of property and power relations, i.e., of the class struggle, and that they often equally reject capitalism and existing socialism, without offering any genuine social alternative.

Apart from the consciously anti-capitalist forces of the left and the 'ecoliberals' of the right, together with the tiny group of fascist-minded elements within these movements, most of their participants declare that they want to create a world that is totally different from anything that exists, relying on their own strength and methods, and sidestepping the problem of how to break the power of the ruling class.

Most speakers agreed with this analysis of the ideological attitudes within the new social movements, although these trends are differently manifested in each country. In Switzerland, for instance, some ecologists support extreme right-wing chauvinistic slogans and demands to expel foreign workers from the country. In Sweden, there are virtually no such blatantly reactionary forces within these movements. In the FRG and Denmark, these are mainly radical-democratic trends which in some cases acquire manifest anti-monopoly features without, however, seeking to go beyond the framework of the bourgeois society.

It was said in the discussion that while the new movements are eclectic and amorphous, organisationally weak and unstable, they have in most cases received solid mass support both in their extra-parliamentary action and in their electoral campaigns. There has been no confirmation of the view, accepted only a few years ago, that these are mainly 'one-cause' movements and are, for that reason, short-lived. On the contrary, many of them have widened the range of their demands and have even been formalised as political parties with deputies in the parliaments of the FRG, Belgium, Switzerland and Portugal.

This development confirms **Bjoern Groen's** conviction that 'these people are here to stay', and that they will remain a tangible social factor even when they are no longer called *new* movements. But one has this misgiving: will not their parliamentary activity weaken their ties with the masses? Will not the Green parties turn into pawns in the political game in the capitalist society? On the other hand, could state-monopoly capitalism, with its capacity to adapt to the crisis, manage to damp down the tide of the ecologists' protest by agreeing to some extension of environmental protection activity at the expense of the working people?

The discussion did not produce any straightforward answers to these questions. Thus, the evolution of the Greens in the FRG is regarded by the Communist Party as being, on the whole, a positive one in terms of their continued mass appeal and level of demands, although there is the danger of some decline in its extra-parliamentary activity. The ecological parties in Belgium and Switzerland, speakers said, are rather a step backwards, as compared with the movement itself. The Communists also regard as negative the decision by the Swedish Greens to set up a party of their own. The Portuguese CP believes that the various social movements formed to stand up for concrete and more general demands must, on the other hand, widen the sphere of their influence and involve ever new forces, and on the other, preserve the unitary

substance by bringing together all those who regard them as champions of their own interests, regardless of political, ideological and religious differences.

There is a trend towards an enlargement of the social base of these non-proletarian protest movements. There has been a decline in the numerical strength of the traditional contingents of the working class in the industrialised capitalist countries, with a simultaneous growth of employment in the non-production sphere, of the role and status of the intelligentsia, and other categories of high-skilled wage workers. In Belgium, for instance, 67.3 per cent of the labour force is employed in the service sphere. The vast majority of the new strata do not regard themselves as being workers, and are more inclined to non-class slogans, despite the fact that their living, working and pay conditions make them increasingly akin to the working class.

Will capitalism manage to solve even some of the problems on which the new social movements now focus their struggle, or, at least, to convince them of its capacity to do so? Some advances can be made in ecology, and these are impelled both by the mass public movements and the need to preserve the natural resources without which there can be no progress in economic activity, and so no growth in profits. But the basic problem—the effective democracy demanded by the broadest strata of the population—defies solution within the SMC framework. Both within and outside the sphere of production relations, speakers said, one should expect a further aggravation of the crisis of capitalism, a growth of discontent, and an expansion of all the forms of protest by the working masses.

‘Reds’ and ‘Greens’

Is there anything instructive for the Communists in the practices and style of work of the new social movements in the midst of the masses? What are the prospects for their cooperation? What are the elements that draw them closer to one another, and the elements that divide them and hamper more vigorous joint action? What is the message of the available experience and what are the tasks the fraternal parties set themselves in this context?

Considering these problems, the participants in the discussion said that, along with the above-mentioned objective factors, a number of subjective factors have promoted the rise of the new movements. Thus, having ceased to trust the reformist parties integrated with the SMC system, many have equally applied this sceptical attitude to the Communists. They have, of course, done so unfairly. But, asked **Ernst Wimmer**, aren't there some lessons in this for us? Because of its small numerical strength and relative isolation, the Communist Party of Austria, for instance, has failed to channel the struggle for the new demands along the right course in due time, while the conflicts outside the sphere of production were long regarded by it as being secondary.

The 25th Congress of the CP Belgium, said **Paul Marcus**, drew special attention to the causes of the electoral setbacks of the traditional left-wing forces in some West European countries. All these forces, the Congress resolution stressed, are noticeably late in drawing conclusions from the changes under way in the society, from the emergence of new forms of protest against some aspects of the capitalist system on issues like the environment and the quality of life, the right to useful labour, and cultural leisure, a protest reflecting the urge to 'live differently', rather than to transform the society.

A sizable part of the population suffering from the monopolies' policy has been turning to forms of protest other than those proposed by the traditional left-wing forces, because of its massive manipulation by bourgeois propaganda, which has been implanting anti-communism for decades. Terrified by this propaganda, some circles in the new public movements in a number of countries, Austria among them, have tried to keep their distance from the Communists even when taking joint action.

Young people today, speakers said, are less inclined to take their cue from 'caveman' anti-communism, but that is the midst in which there emerges what could be called the seamy-side—leftist attitudes—as there is, say, among the 'angry young men' from Zurich, who fling this charge at the Communists: you have been fighting and making demands for more than sixty years, but where are the results?

For all the complexity of the political and ideological situation and the pressure of diverse objective and subjective factors, it was said, there is much that brings the working-class vanguard close to the new social movements. For one thing, there is an evening out of the working and living conditions of the various strata of the wage workers who come close to the industrial workers and merge with them in their relation to the means of production and the character of exploitation, even if they are not aware of the fact. The working class is also agitated by many of the demands put forward by the middle strata within the framework of the new movements. On the other hand, these strata are increasingly politicised and involved in the trade union struggle. In Denmark, for instance, trade union membership increased by 50 per cent mainly through their influx from 1970 to 1980, while in Austria the trade union of employees of private enterprises is a most militant one.

Such trends suggest, some speakers said, that the 'red' and 'green' axes of protest may more often mesh with each other in the future. The Communists' attitude to social movements is not just a matter of class alliance policy, but also of unity of action within the new and increasingly multi-faceted world of wage labour, in which the most experienced, ideologically seasoned and organised working class has always had the leading role to play. Assertion of its role today does not consist in a repetition of home truths about its leadership, or in a foisting of its opinion on others, but in patient and daily effort for dialogue and cooperation.

The Communists seek in every way to promote cooperation between the trade unions, including left-oriented trade unions, and organisations of the new middle strata and various associations and protest movements. That is, in particular, the objective of the CP Belgium's 'economics of peace' concept as the alternative to the policy of the militaristic and ultra-right circles. Within the framework of the trade union movement, the FRG Communists have supported the public campaign in protest against the introduction of computer surveillance at plants and offices, and also against a blanket census aimed to supply data for this electronic dossier on every citizen in the country.

The Communists share many of the political objectives of the radical-democratic protests and these are reflected in their programmatic documents. There is above all the demand to end the sway of the SMC administrative and producer apparatus in social life, and to set up an effective system of direct and representative democracy reflecting the genuine aspirations of the masses and the broad public. Here, **Ernst Wimmer** said, Marxists have always shown bourgeois democracy to be no more than formal, and it is increasingly disliked by the broad strata of young people and other participants in alternative protest movements. In Austria, there is an actual need to dispel the stuffy atmosphere of 'social partnership', which was engineered and is being cultivated by big capital together with the reformist parties.

Environmental protection is a highly important and far from secondary problem (as it was once assumed to be) on which there is an emergent understanding between Communists and new movements, especially their most active part—the Greens. Marxist analysis shows that the problem will not be solved by slowing down scientific and technological progress, as this would mean a 'new Luddism', as one speaker put it. On the contrary, the ecologisation of the productive forces, said **Andre Leisewitz**, requires higher labour productivity and better mastery of high technology.

Such a principled approach also determines the stand of most communist parties on nuclear energy, and the identity and divergence of their views on the issue with the

ecologists. **Viola Claesson** alone spoke of a complete identity of views. The Left Party—Communists of Sweden, she said, has long since joined the environmentalists in demanding that nuclear-power stations in Sweden should be dismantled and replaced with others, including those on renewable energy sources. The threat posed by the atom, however peaceful, she went on, was glaringly demonstrated during the nuclear-plant accidents at Harrisburg in the United States and at Chernobyl in the USSR. The effects of such events would have been much more tragic in highly populated Western Europe. She added that Sweden should pioneer the dismantling of nuclear plants and so set an example to the other West European countries.

Various shades of opinion on the matter were expressed by the other participants in the discussion. The German CP, and the Swiss Party of Labour are not in principle opposed to the peaceful uses of the atom, but like the Austrian, Belgian and Danish Communists they agree with the Greens that no new nuclear plants should be built on the territory of their countries today, mainly for reasons of operational safety and nuclear-waste disposal. But those were not the only considerations. The Portuguese CP, for instance, believes that the building of such plants would merely make Portugal more dependent on foreign capital. The CP Austria, on whose territory one of the largest nuclear plants in Western Europe has been put in a freeze by public demand, says that its operation would benefit no one but the monopolies.

Marxists are convinced that socialism alone can drastically solve the ecological and other formidable problems arising from the scientific and technical revolution, because under it the monopolies' rapacious policy gives way to a planned economy, so that it is possible not only to keep track of the growth of production and accumulation, but also of the whole set of problems in economic and social progress.

However, **Viola Claesson** said, we cannot afford to wait for the victory of socialism and to reach it with a destroyed habitat: now is the time to fight to safeguard it, and there the 'reds' go hand in hand with the 'greens'. As a long-standing and equal participant in the environmental movement and one of the spokesmen for its views and demands in parliament, the Left Party—Communists of Sweden has gained considerable experience. I myself, she said, exemplify the case of a person whose Marxist education and political convictions have led to active struggle against destruction of the environment. Others have developed their political consciousness in ecological struggles and came to the party through them. The Swedish Communists' active work in parliament and in the mass movements and constant attention to environmental problems leave little room for the activity of the environmental party, which was recently set up in the country, and which in the latest elections got no more than 2.0 per cent of the poll.

Wherever the Communist Party has acted vigorously, **Domingos Lopez** elaborated on the idea, it does not wait for other forces to act to protect the environment. The Communists' positions in the masses have been growing stronger. They work to mobilise the population in the most diverse forms of protest whenever they learn, say, that some enterprise has polluted a river. Such action often brings success. Municipal councils headed by Communists act to organise local inhabitants to build schools and children's playgrounds, and to improve public services and amenities in their communities, even in the absence of subsidies from the central authorities.

The various social forces, only a few of which can be called new, the speaker went on, are making a big contribution to the struggle for democracy, and for the interests of Portugal's working people. The Portuguese CP believes that the broad and massive popular movement, a merger of small and large trends, is necessary for the purpose of creating the possibility of forming a new government on the basis of the existing parliamentary majority, including the Socialist Party, the Democratic Renewal Party, the Portuguese CP, the Portuguese Democratic Movement and the Greens. Such a movement provides the basis for an alternative power that would stand up to

the rightist circles, which seek to fold up the democratic system.

The Green Party in Portugal is relatively small, being backed by a section of the protesting young and the middle strata who are not yet prepared to follow the Communists, but who have been disappointed with the other political forces. The Portuguese CP has invited the Greens to work together within the United People's Alliance electoral bloc and has guaranteed them at least one seat in Parliament. Cooperation has been arranged and is going forward. The environmentalists have issued calls to support the UPA.

Austria's new social movements, **Ernst Wimmer** said in the continued exchange of experience, are motivated by a principle which is cherished by the Communists: fight whenever you see any injustice. Those who love to give clever advice while sitting idly by do not enjoy much respect in these movements either. There is something to learn from these movements in their skill in swiftly responding to the most acute problems. Whenever an opportunity arises to act for common demands, the Communists try not to miss it, and engage in cooperation without setting any preconditions, but also without allowing the partners to put forward ideological conditions. The CP Austria's experience shows that whenever ideological issues come to the fore, joint action as a rule never gets under way.

The main thing in alliance policy, he said, is to avoid sectarianism, while preserving one's ideological identity, one's ideological positions. 'Reds' can be the best 'greens', if they manage to show up the class nature of the arising problems, and to demonstrate that lack of principle has never served a good cause. Acting in that spirit, the Austrian Communists want to bring about the utmost isolation of the reactionary and fascist-minded wing of the new movements, to neutralise the 'eco-reformists' and gradually to move the radical-democratic forces closer to the working-class movement.

The Danish Communists' task is to establish themselves within the new social strata, to explain within them the goals and ideals of the working class, to introduce elements of proletarian organisation, and to win leading positions by their concrete work. But here it is important, **Bjoern Groen** stressed, not to forget that these movements have their own nature, their own level of consciousness, and their specific objectives, and it would be an obvious mistake to try to divert them from these. Conversely, purposeful joint struggle brings success, as it did, for instance, with the national movement against Denmark's entry into the EEC (although it should not be identified with the 'new social movements'): it won a third of the poll in the 1972 referendum, and that year managed to organise, also with our assistance, powerful action against the planned measures to politicise the Common Market. The CP Denmark hopes to see the social alliance expanded, with grassroots pressure to enable the party, together with the Social Democrats and the Socialist People's Party, to defeat the right-wing majority in parliament.

The West German Communists, for their part, said **Andre Leisewitz**, believe that the primary task is to enable the peace-loving majority of the people to come out with a common electoral platform for a new FRG policy—a new policy, and not just a new government—since it was possible to conduct an anti-people line in the past without even the CDU/CSU. The Greens could have had a prominent role to play in such a platform if their leadership had not rejected the proposals for joint action by all the left-wing and democratic forces in order to inflict a defeat on the right-wing coalition. But on the whole, the GCP believes that there are further prospects for contacts with the new social movements, which have a considerable opposition potential.

Concerning the forms of struggle, he went on, the Communists have always welcomed the use of those which yield the greatest effect in the concrete situation. Organised protest in our country is now expressed in civic initiatives, the takeover of enterprises, self-help groups, 'alternative shops', and so on. Some forms are highly

spectacular and attract public attention. Relying on the active forces and seeking to expand the protest movement, the FRG Communists, for instance, took part in the attempt to take over a plant for processing heat elements for nuclear-power stations, in resisting the construction of new air strips at the Frankfurt Airport, which could be used for military purposes, etc.

The Swiss Party of Labour has to work in the specific conditions of a country divided into cantons on the language principle, with very different conditions of production and social struggle. The attitude to the SPL on the part of the other forces is determined by its own weight, and participation in cantonal or local government. The Communists have not always been successful in the most reasonable undertakings. Experience has taught us, **Anjuska Weil** said, to listen closely to what our partners say in the course of discussion, and to join in them not as omniscient sages, but in order to seek the truth together. We believe that an important field for the activity of the Swiss Communists in social movements is to win allies in the fight against xenophobia, against hatred for foreign workers and refugees. Our party supports the movement for an open and democratic Switzerland in a solidarity, and against the country's self-isolation from the world community.

In the face of monopoly capital's mounting pressure on the working people, speakers said, the Communists attach primary significance to the establishment and strengthening of social alliances with sections of the society involved in the new protest movements. They also seek, mindful of Lenin's precept, 'to approach the masses with particular patience and caution, so as to be able to understand the distinctive features in the mentality of each stratum, calling, etc. . . .'³ Any cooperation is a two-way process, and depends on the goodwill of the participants. Life will show whether our partners are able to shed their bias with respect to the Communists. Meanwhile, the Communists, for their part, are sure that there is no radical divergence of interests, which means that 'this alliance *can* be an "honest coalition", an honest alliance', as Lenin put it.⁴

Peace: A Common Concern

Such honest and equal cooperation between the Communists and diverse social trends is most actively and broadly realised within the peace movement. The participants in the discussion agreed that it is the most massive and influential social movement of our day. Some speakers classified it as a 'new' one, since in Switzerland or Portugal, for instance, the struggle for peace acquired its present scope a relatively short time ago. In other West European countries there are long-standing traditions of such struggle, with the participation of the working class and other social forces. There one could speak of novelty only in the sense that the anti-war protest has widened to an unprecedented extent, and has become more diverse and effective. In every case, a sizable part of its base consists of members of new social movements, which are sharply anti-militaristic, with the exception of the small ultra-right fascist-minded faction, wherever it does exist.

These attitudes do not in any way contradict the social movement's characteristic orientation towards 'their own interests' and the attainment of concrete objectives. Indeed, there is a very clear comprehension among the Greens, for instance, that a nuclear war would be the most terrible ecological disaster on the Earth, and that irreparable harm is already being done to natural resources and the habitat by the production and, especially, by the testing of nuclear weapons. The alternativists and other advocates of broader democracy are aware that the main threat to it is posed by the most reactionary militaristic circles of imperialism.

The Communists' strategic course in the struggle for peace is based on the need to secure the utmost involvement in it of the society's democratic potential. The fraternal parties strive to tie in the problems of war and peace more closely with the

working people's immediate interests in the sphere of production, and this helps to raise the anti-militaristic consciousness of the entire working-class movement, including the trade unions. The Communists demonstrate the interconnection between the arms race and military preparations, and the prospects for solving the global problems of the modern world, to which the new social forces are especially sensitive.

In most West European countries, the struggle for peace has already had and continues to have a considerable influence on political life, on public opinion, and on the stand of the traditional parties and organisations. In Sweden, for instance, there is now the broadest consensus on the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Nordic Europe, an idea which originated in the peace circles and which is supported both in parliament and government. The right-wing cabinet in Belgium, while having agreed to the deployment of US cruise missiles in the country, was forced to declare that the decision was not an irreversible one. Under the impact of the anti-war mood of the masses, the major social democratic parties in the FRG and Denmark have made a positive review of their foreign-policy conceptions in the last few years.

A poll taken by the West German *Frankfurter Allgemeine* is indicative of the evolution of public attitudes. In 1981, the FRG's membership in NATO was supported by 70 per cent of polled citizens under 30, and in 1984—by only 52 per cent. In 1982, 43 per cent urged the need to strengthen ties with the United States, and in 1986—only 26 per cent. Last year, 45 per cent of people over the age of 16, i.e., of the country's entire active population, believed that it would be advisable for the FRG to take unilateral measures on disarmament.

The representatives of all the parties at the round table emphasised the great positive influence exerted on public opinion and the stand of the peace movements in their countries by the Soviet peace initiatives set forth in Mikhail Gorbachov's statement of January 15, 1986, and in the proceedings of the 27th Congress of the CPSU. There was special attention in and support for the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests, which has been repeatedly extended by the Soviet Union. In the light of Washington's stubborn refusal to follow Moscow's good example, the moratorium has, in a sense, become the focal point of the confrontation of the old and new thinking in international affairs.

The idea that the issues of war and peace have to be decided exclusively by the two 'superpowers' is still widely accepted in peace circles in the West, and in particular within the new social movements. Thus, 'They Must!' continues to be one of the popular slogans at anti-war demonstrations in Switzerland. But under the influence of the USSR's tireless efforts for peace and disarmament, the idea of the 'equal responsibility of the superpowers' for international tensions has gradually begun to dim. In Austria, FRG, Sweden and Denmark, people ever more emphatically point to Washington as the chief culprit behind the threat of war.

Speakers at the round table exchanged experience of Communist work within the most diverse structures of the peace movement, with special accent on the tasks of making it more effective in the attainment of concrete goals and of the possibility of channelling the anti-war protest into concerted action directed by the specific problems of each country and demands at this or that point in time.

The CP Austria attached much significance to keeping the peace movement autonomous and democratic in the face of the constant attempts by the leadership of the Socialist Party and the Catholic Church, with rigid centralised structures in the country, to subordinate the movement and make it less militant and purposeful. Such hegemonistic tendencies are also in evidence among the alternativists, who want to use anti-war action for their self-seeking ends. The Communists have not refused to take part in joint peace action, but insist that the decisions on their timing, forms and slogans should be taken on their own by the grassroots peace-fighter committees. The

struggle against the country's purchase of another consignment of new interceptor fighters in Sweden equipped with missiles is among the vital tasks in mobilising Austrian public opinion against militarism today.

In **Belgium**, the Communists back the pluralistic structures of the peace movement on the city and province level, structures which include Socialists and Christians, trade unions and the new social movements. The CP Belgium is actively involved in the nation-wide campaign for nuclear-free communes—now more than 60 per cent of those in the country—believing that the 'economics of peace' concept is fruitful in terms of bringing together forces of the peace public and the working class, and all those who oppose Belgium's militarisation and its subordination to Washington's aggressive line. The Communists want the anti-war struggle to be as broad as it can be, and that is why they did not accept, for instance, the environmentalists' proposal to include in its slogans the demand for a freeze on the nuclear-power plants, for then many liberals and Christians, who accept the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, would leave the ranks of those who oppose nuclear weapons.

By contrast, one of the most powerful movements in the varied spectrum of anti-war organisations and groups in *Sweden* is the so-called popular campaign against nuclear weapons and nuclear energy. The Left Party—Communists takes part in it and also acts in support of the demands to limit export from the country of nuclear technology and fissionable materials for nuclear-power plants, which could enable other states to make the nuclear bomb.

The relatively young anti-war movements in *Portugal* and *Switzerland* are developing in countries which have not had any wars fought on their territory for a long time and that cannot but have an effect on public opinion. There is widespread demand to abandon the deployment of nuclear weapons on Portuguese soil and their transit across it; there is popular support for slogans like 'No to the Purchase of New Tanks for the Swiss Army!', while Switzerland's 'angry young people' want the army to be entirely disbanded.

Strong feelings of solidarity with the peoples subjected to imperialist aggression, and with foreign workers and refugees are a characteristic feature of the peace movement in these two countries, and also in Sweden, Denmark, FRG and Belgium. This solidarity, in which the Communists and the new social movements have a big role, is voiced at international conferences in support of the patriots' struggle in South Africa and Palestine, formation of youth peace brigades to help a revolutionary Nicaragua, and powerful demonstrations against the barbarous US air raids on Libyan cities.

The scope of the anti-war protest in *Denmark* and the *FRG* is well known, and it has been described on the pages of this journal. In both countries, its edge is directed against the policy of the right-wing parties in power. Together with the traditional forces, a great contribution to the struggle for peace there is being made by the new social movements. The West German Greens were highly impressed by a visit of their delegation to the USSR, which saw for itself the sincerity of the peace-making efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet state. In Denmark, the entire wide spectrum of organisations and groups of peace fighters took part in preparing and holding last October's World Congress of Peace Forces in Copenhagen, a major event within the framework of the UN International Year of Peace. The Communists of these countries, acting in a spirit of unity, equality and mutual respect, have been doing everything to intensify the positive tendencies within the peace movement and to make its action more effective.

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All speakers at the round table stressed the pressing nature of these issues and the usefulness of the exchange of opinion and information. The discussion, **Sergei**

Tsukassov said in conclusion, has shown that the analysis by the fraternal party representatives of the nature of the new social movements in their countries and of the Communists' experience has made it possible to draw a number of common theoretical and practical conclusions.

First, such movements have become or are becoming a noticeable factor of social life in most West European countries; they stem and have been developing from the objective economic, social and political processes of our day. There is, first of all, the sharpening general crisis of capitalism under the scientific and technical revolution, the changing structure of the working class and the working population as a whole, and the growing contradictions between labour and capital. There is, furthermore, the rightists' 'social claw-back' policy, the offensive against citizens' social and democratic rights, the degradation of cultural life, and the decline of moral values in the capitalist society. Finally, there is the mounting confrontation between the forces of peace and the militaristic forces on a global scale over the be-all and end-all issue: the survival of human civilisation and life itself on the Earth in the face of the nuclear threat posed by imperialism.

Second, as all the participants in the discussion emphasised, the fraternal parties need to go on substantiating and elaborating the conceptual principles of the strategy for solving global problems. In contrast to the bourgeois-reformist views, the Communists reject any interpretation of these problems in abstract and above-class terms, and put them firmly in the context of the basic contradiction of our epoch, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, and the role of the social factor in their solution. It was said that it is theoretically important to carry on the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the changing structure of the population and social consciousness, and in practical terms to give the right bearings, in the light of the present situation, to the Communists' policy of alliance with the new social movements and other forces in the fight for peace, democracy and the working people's interests.

Third, the discussion confirmed that the forces of anti-war protest are the most massive and active part of the multifaceted panorama of democratic movements today. People everywhere are convinced that the main thing today is to safeguard peace, and that it is the basis on which solidarity and cooperation between various social circles, and representatives of the broadest ideological spectrum are possible and necessary. At the same time, the crucial role of the working class, the influence of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the consistent anti-imperialist slogans and organisational potentialities of the Communist vanguard of the working class continue to be a factor of fundamental importance.

Fourth, it follows from the discussion that the new social movements provide a promising and long-term basis of alliance for the communist and workers' parties. The more powerful enemy, says Lenin, can be vanquished only by skilfully 'taking advantage of any, even the smallest, opportunity of winning a mass ally, even though this ally is temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional'.⁵ The discussion showed that, in the view of many of the parties represented at the round table, the new social movements can be long-term and promising allies in at least two respects: as a part of the mass base in the defence of peace, and as a potential anti-monopoly force. The participants in the round table saw the theoretical and political substantiation of these movements as allies of the working class and its parties as the positive bottom-line of the discussion.

All of that, speakers said, puts a special responsibility on the Communists in seeing that the non-proletarian protest develops in the right direction, and that those involved in it do not fall into the embrace of the right-wing forces, as it has sometimes regrettably happened. This calls for ideological clarity and simultaneously for patience, and an ability to carry on a constructive dialogue on equal terms. The

Communists' stand is of great importance. It is not enough, Lenin wrote, to give a friendly welcome to those who turn to us: 'A politician who knows what he is working for must learn to *bring about* this change of front among the various sections and groups of the broad mass of petty-bourgeois democrats if he is convinced that serious and deep-going historical reasons for such a turn exist.'⁶

The exchange of experience—and this was the general consensus—will help the parties attending the round table to improve their effective strategy and tactics of interaction with the new social movements. *WMR*, for its part, will continue to report on the Communists' work in these movements, so as more fully to meet the fraternal parties' theoretical, political and information requirements.

¹ See Jorgen Jensen, 'Allies, Not Rivals', *WMR*, No. 4, 1985; Ernst Wimmer, 'Ideology of "New Social Movements"', *WMR*, No. 7, 1985; Daniel Fedrigo, 'Differences Are No Obstacle to Cooperation with the Environmentalists', *WMR*, No. 2, 1986, and Robert Steigerwald, 'An Active Component of the Democratic Spectrum', *WMR*, No. 11, 1986.

² Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 539.

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 192.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 26, p. 333.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, pp. 70-71.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 28, p. 191.

'We, Communists, share the responsibility for the protection of life and the environment, and for conditions of human dignity for the coming generations. We insist on an in-depth comprehension of all the issues linked to nuclear energy. We want serious political conclusions applying both to nuclear weapons and to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

'We want nuclear research to go on, above all for the purpose of reducing the risk in handling radioactive substances. In so doing we bear in mind that the hundreds of thousands of isotope and radiation instruments now in use throughout the world in medicine, science, research, industry and agriculture are a great benefit to mankind. We believe that the flat and blanket demand for a "rejection of nuclear facilities" is unacceptable.

'If a nuclear catastrophe is to be averted, there is a need to do away with nuclear weapons. Disarmament is simultaneously both the key to the solution of the energy problem and to mankind's other global problems. All these problems can be solved if there is an international climate of peaceful coexistence in which the powerful productive forces of our epoch are not wasted on destructive armaments, but are brought together for broad peaceful and constructive labour of all the peoples.'

From the Statement of the GCP Board Presidium

Towards a Peaceful - Coexistence Economy

The idea of setting up a comprehensive international security system was put forward and substantiated by the 27th Congress of the CPSU. A component part of it is the conception of general economic security and the proposal to call a World Congress for a complex discussion of the problems and prospects of

the world economy, the interconnection between disarmament and development, extension of international cooperation, and a pin-pointing of everything that encumbers world economic relations. A number of relevant problems was discussed by a study group of the WMR Commission on General Theoretical Problems consisting of **Donald Ramotar** (Guyana), **Georg Kwiatowski** (FRG), **Sergei Pronin** (USSR), and **Pavel Auersperg** (Czechoslovakia). It examined the possibilities for the world community moving on to a global economy of peaceful coexistence, the mutual advantages to be had from it, and the role of public struggles to democratise world-wide economic relations.

THE idea of peaceful coexistence is being elaborated and amplified, as it will be seen from its new content as formulated by the 27th Congress of the CPSU in the form of its conception of an interdependent and largely integral modern world. The essence of such an approach is that mankind has objectively arrived at the need for arranging world-wide constructive interaction between states and peoples. It should be based on the political, economic, military-strategic, moral and juridical principles of a comprehensive system of international security.¹

We felt that it is exceptionally important to bring out within this broad complex of general prerequisites for peaceful coexistence its specifically *economic* aspect, namely, the conception of *international economic security*. World-wide economic relations cry out for radical change. The crisis of the world capitalist system, the worsening condition of the less developed countries, the stagnation in the development of economic ties between the two social systems are in flagrant contradiction with the material, social and political interests of the world community. That being so, there is the acute problem of organising productive and mutually advantageous international cooperation for the purpose of achieving—in the very near future—a just settlement of the most acute problems of the external economic relations between East and West, and between North and South, with a practical shift towards the establishment of a new international economic order under which the world economy would be turned into an efficient mechanism for the maintenance of a policy of peaceful coexistence.

At the same time, there also appears to be a wider and longer-term *perspective*. Economic security could help to shape a *peaceful-coexistence world economy*, i.e., a democratic and economically efficient system of international economic relations providing the basis for the modern world's advance to a new historical stage reflecting the objective economic and social requirements and principles of political relations within our civilisation in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. What are the practical steps along this way?

General and phased disarmament with mutual security is the key condition for a large-scale practical advance towards a peaceful-coexistence economy.

On the one hand, it could act as a major economic factor of economic progress throughout the world. One need merely recall that the military expenditures of all the states at the beginning of the 1980s came to 25-30 per cent of the aggregate world product. Since then, they have continued to grow, and now total \$800-900 billion, or more than one-third of mankind's overall labour inputs. Meanwhile, UN estimates suggest, a mere 8-10 per cent reduction in the spending on armaments would suffice to ease the most strident manifestations of hunger and poverty affecting hundreds of millions of men and women.²

The global problems going to the roots of the modern world can be tackled only by the peoples' collective efforts. The waste of vast resources and money on the arms race must be stopped, if environmental protection is to be ensured, the energy, raw materials and food crises overcome, wide-ranging exploration of space and the wealth of the World Ocean begun, and the economic lag of the less developed

countries ended.

On the other hand, disarmament would help to improve every aspect of international economic relations, which bear the stamp of the influence exerted on them by the aggressive foreign policy of imperialism.

The tremendous role the military-industrial complexes now have in the economy of the leading capitalist countries is well known. The internationalisation of these complexes, evidenced by the involvement of West European and Japanese military concerns in the US plans to militarise space, results in a sizable part of the high-technology lines of international production being oriented towards military objectives. The ties of the military-industrial complexes with the transnational corporations, and financial and banking capital distort the international division of labour, and intensifies the spirit of aggressiveness in the external economic strategy of imperialism.

Imperialism has been intensifying its external economic pressure on socialism by its tactic of boycotts and unilateral abrogation of agreements and so has substantially slowed down the development of mutually advantageous exchange between the two systems.

The arms race has had its most devastating effect on economic relations between the centres of state-monopoly capitalism and the Third World countries. Here, the prevailing system of neo-colonialism is being politically and economically cemented by militarism. Almost a quarter of the less developed countries' colossal external debt—over \$1 trillion—consists of spending on weapons. Imperialism's divide-and-rule strategy helps it to maintain a high outlook for the sale of military products in the regions of Africa, Asia and Latin America.³ In 1982, for instance, the less developed countries spent \$100 billion for military purposes. For its part, neocolonialism fuels militarism at its centres. It is hardly a coincidence that every year the United States extracts \$200 billion from the less developed countries, an amount which covers almost two-thirds of the US military budget. Conversely, roughly two-thirds of these countries' imports involve arms purchases. In this case, 'partnership in development' merely serves to realise Washington's intention to spend \$2 trillion on the arms race by the end of the 1980s, an amount which is three times larger than the annual income of the population in 50 of the economically least developed countries of the world. In those conditions, non-equivalent exchange, exaggerated interest rates, and TNC manipulation of export and import prices are the characteristic features of external economic relations.

The unbridled tendency of the US financial oligarchy to assert its hegemony in the 'world economy', which is being whipped up by the militaristic frenzy, exacerbates to an extreme the state of conflict in the economic relations between the industrialised capitalist countries, intensifies the uneven development and disproportions in their economic structures, and raises the commercial and industrial battles to fever pitch. No wonder, bourgeois economists admit that the lack of consensus on the long-term external economic policy of the three power centres of the imperialist system (United States, Western Europe and Japan) has been ever more pronounced over the past decade.⁴

The way to improving world-wide economic relations, therefore, runs directly through a rupture of the vicious chain of production, spread and use of weapons as a means of political and economic pressure. That is the object of the peace initiatives of the socialist community, and of the Soviet Union's programme for ridding the globe of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction within the next fifteen years, the mounting mass peace movements, and the policy of the non-aligned states. The constructive Soviet proposals at the Reykjavik meeting help to stimulate public opinion and the governments of all the states into comprehending the need to join in the common struggle for disarmament and for a nuclear-free world. General military-

political security can alone ensure complete economic security of all the states against discrimination, sanctions and other trappings of imperialist policy. The assertion of such a twofold system of security is the crucial guarantee that a nuclear catastrophe can be averted, and simultaneously the condition for stable peaceful coexistence between capitalism and socialism, their mutually advantageous cooperation in economic intercourse.

When working for the establishment of economic ties between the world's first socialist country and the capitalist states, Lenin remarked: 'There is a force more powerful than the wishes, the will and the decisions of any of the governments or classes that are hostile to us. That force is world general economic relations.'⁵ That idea of Lenin's is essentially the theoretical ground for the economics of peaceful coexistence.

Germany was the first capitalist country to establish business contacts with Soviet Russia and to recognise the most-favoured-nation treatment in their commercial and economic relations. The 1922 Treaty of Rapallo then greatly benefited both countries. Mutually advantageous contacts between capitalism and socialism have been considerably widened since then. It was no accident, for instance, that in the 1960-1974 period, including the years of detente, trade between the industrialised capitalist and the socialist states multiplied more than fivefold. The high level in the development of many, including high-technology, industries in the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) is evident, and the large volume of the markets in the world socialist economy is well known. Its raw material and energy resources also provide the objective prerequisites for long-term trade and production ties, specialised production, and joint research and development ventures. The extension of the scale of production and a reduction of commercial risks are as advantageous for the capitalist economy as they are for the socialist.

Experience shows, on the other hand, that the 'selective' approach to the socialist countries, the policy of economic sanctions and of 'rewards' and 'penalties' does not yield any strategic results. The COCOM regime, i.e., the restrictions imposed by the United States on West European and Japanese firms in technical contacts with the CMEA countries, has produced such economic consequences as a narrowing of the marketing outlets in the capitalist countries, a worsening of their balance of payments, and some others.

Many businessmen in the West who can hardly be suspected of having a pro-communist bias have made objective assessments of the potentialities of cooperation between the two systems. It is the view of Berthold Beitz, Chairman of Krupp's Supervisory Council, that 'the classical rule of world trade is that the international division of labour helps to develop and increase the income and well-being of all the countries taking part in such trade. The reason is that each country tends to specialise in the products which are comparatively more profitable. The trade between West and East offers an excellent example of this far from "gray" theory.'⁶ Lothar Spath, Prime Minister of Baden-Württemberg (CDU), says: 'We are highly interested in continuing and strengthening our economic relations with the CMEA countries.'⁷

The hopes for broader economic ties rose after the Geneva Summit in 1985. Matthias Schmitt, one-time member of the board of the well-known West German AEG, and now a professor at Cologne University, says that 'improvement of the political climate is subsequently bound to have a positive effect on the economic relations between East and West as well'.⁸ Public figures and businessmen in Western Europe and the United States have good grounds for stressing the need to establish just this kind of interconnection between politics and economics. A.G. Bruce, marketing director of the London-based group of John Brown, believes that 'regular contacts and sound personal friendly ties taking shape over a period of many years

thanks to trade relations between East and West pave the way for better mutually advantageous cooperation and mutual understanding between nations in all the social spheres'.⁹

The growth of such attitudes in Western business circles has gradually led to some positive changes in the economic contacts between the CMEA countries and the FRG, Italy and Japan, among others. But, on the whole, there is as yet no breakthrough because of the disregard of broad and generally advantageous international cooperation by the incumbent US leadership.

A change in the position of the less developed countries within the international division of labour could bring tangible benefits to all the members of the world community. Most of them are in a state of neocolonialist dependence on the centres of imperialism, in consequence of which they are being subjected to ruthless exploitation and have limited contacts with the socialist world. The result of such a state of affairs is 'growth without development', as one Guyanese economist put it, i.e., a crisis-ridden economy, a growing external debt, unemployment, inflation, and declining living standards, with a simultaneous increase in the profits of the transnational monopolies. Thus, 90 per cent of Guyana's external trade has been tied down to the markets of the leading imperialist powers. The limited range of goods involved in trade, the dictated monopoly prices, and the deepening technical lag have produced this stark economic result: the less developed countries' share of world capitalist trade (13-14 per cent, without the OPEC countries) has virtually not grown at all, while their dependence on external borrowing has increased.

Discontent with such a state of things is coming to be an important factor in activating the peoples' struggle for a 'second liberation' in the Third World, which presents a diversity of prevalent economic order and socio-political orientations. They have been taking an ever more resolute stand for the assertion of their sovereign right to dispose of their own resources, a restructuring of international relations on an equitable and democratic basis, and for an end to the debt bondage i.e., for the establishment of a new international economic order.

The forces of reaction and imperialism have been putting ever greater pressure not only on the peoples of the less developed and economically retarded countries. The oppression of the working people by the monopolies in the imperialist countries has been simultaneously intensified. With the structural economic crises in the centres of capitalism, and as the scientific and technical revolution and the internationalisation of economic relations are geared to the interests of the financial oligarchy, there is a steady decline in real wages, and cutbacks in every type of social service. This 'two-pronged' offensive by monopoly capital against the working class of its own region and the national liberation movement in the Third World objectively broadens the base for joint action by these two streams of the world revolutionary process. There are growing potentialities for greater internationalist political and economic cooperation of the progressive forces against the common enemy.

For its part, the socialist community stands for the widest economic, scientific and technical cooperation between all the states guaranteeing their right to economic security and a fair solution of the pressing problems in international relations.

Lenin remarked that the 'interests that have been . . . revealed in all the capitalist countries . . . call for the development, regulation and expansion of trade with Russia. Since such interests exist . . . this fundamental economic necessity will, . . . after all is said and done, make a way for itself.'¹⁰ This economic necessity has now increased many times over as economic ties are widely internationalised and socialism is evolving into a world system. The general world-wide economic relations and interests are making headway despite the self-seeking, anti-communist and neo-colonialist strategy of imperialism.

The Helsinki Final Act, the UN Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of

States, and the Declaration and Programme of Action for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order have already formulated the juridical principles for democratising world economic relations. Experience is being accumulated in joint action to that end by the socialist and less developed countries, and by public and business circles in the industrialised capitalist countries. Much positive significance attaches to the fact that realistically-minded social-reformist and liberal bourgeois circles have countered the neoconservative US strategy of neoglobalism with alternatives for world-wide economic progress. Some Western specialists predict that recognition of a new international economic order will become inevitable by the end of the next decade.¹¹ Prerequisites for democratising the world economy are, therefore, being created.

Objective trends in the internationalisation of production, integration processes, and the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution lie at the root of the development of world economic relations. But whether the world economy takes the way of democratisation or of monopolisation to a large extent depends on subjective factors: on the preponderance of the political influence of right-wing, neoconservative, or left-wing, democratic forces and movements.

The conception of a new international economic order is no more than a first step towards a radical clearing of the existing blockages in the development of the world economy. More efficient operation of international trade, credit and monetary mechanisms, without a corresponding democratisation of some of the basic structures of capitalism, should be seen not as the ultimate goal, but only as the beginning of a democratic internationalisation of economic relations in the modern world.

The working class struggle has a substantial role to play in extending the economic ties between the socialist and the capitalist countries.

Marxists have never accepted the slogan which says that 'the worse the condition of the workers, the better'. The Communists have always wanted the working people to have the highest possible living standards even under capitalism, and to enjoy the benefits of peace and scientific and technical progress. That is why they believe that it is necessary to develop normal economic relations between the two systems.

Chairman of the German Communist Party (GCP) Herbert Mies told its Eighth Congress: "We favour an export orientation that does not sacrifice internal development to the financing of arms programmes, and makes our economic position more independent from short-term market fluctuations and the US embargo policy. We need to develop our internal market more broadly and to attach greater importance to trade with the socialist countries."¹² Accordingly, the GCP Programme makes the following emphasis: 'The further development of trade and economic relations with the socialist countries and the young national states, whose orders, markets and raw material sources help to safeguard jobs in the FRG, favour the process of detente in the interests of ensuring peace.'¹³ Such is the reality of our day. Let us recall that economic relations with the socialist states provide employment in that country to more than 500,000 workers.

The Programme of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana argues in favour of the need for the peaceful coexistence of the two systems through a strategy of uncoupling national economic planning from pro-imperialist and pro-capitalist guidelines, and calls for efforts to develop contacts with all the countries, primarily the socialist and the non-aligned, and for a radical restructuring of international economic relations on the principles of justice and equality.¹⁴

Many of these communist parties' propositions are expressed in concrete practical proposals. The GCP's Energy Policy Concepts, for instance, consider the perspectives and say that 'the Soviet Union has invited the FRG to joint development

and use of its vast natural resources. This opportunity should be seized, in view of the further growth of the world's population and the depletion of such an energy source as oil in the foreseeable future.'¹⁵

The social incompatibility of capitalism and socialism naturally rules out any 'convergence' of the two types of relations of production, but there are also some common elements enabling the two systems to coexist and cooperate economically. First, their world economic ties are realised mainly through the channels of inter-state relations, which develop without affecting their social structures. According to Marx's theory, international relations are *secondary* relations, being derivative of the *primary*, economic, social and production relations. In these secondary relations, the competition between the two modes of production and the possibility of their cooperation are dialectically interconnected.

Second, economic ties between the two systems can be based on the social division and cooperation of labour, some manifestations of the law of value and commodity-money relations, and similar types of technology.¹⁶ Here, the development of the productive forces within each system, although their social objectives are not identical, ultimately becomes the connecting element. The principle of profit maximisation under capitalism, and that of raising the people's well-being through the workings of economic-calculus mechanisms under socialism differ in social content, but contacts between the two systems are possible and can be mutually beneficial in tackling concrete economic and technical problems in boosting productivity, cutting costs, improving resource-saving technologies, reducing the volume of manual labour, etc. Many years ago, Lenin stressed: "I know of no reason why a socialist commonwealth like ours cannot do business indefinitely with capitalistic countries."¹⁷

Recognition of the usefulness of external economic ties between the two systems does not, of course, rule out consideration of economic and political security in these contacts. Everyone knows about the difficulties imperialism has repeatedly tried to create for the socialist, and especially for the less developed, countries by resorting to the weapon of external economic pressure.

The 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCz) noted that the negative impact of some phenomena in the world economy in the late 1970s and the early 1980s had to be neutralised in Czechoslovakia by a number of emergency measures. In that case, as in many others, socialism demonstrated that it is capable of protecting its social sovereignty by relying on the organisational potentialities of the socialist state and the growing cohesion of the economic capacities of the socialist-community countries under the 1971 Comprehensive Programme for Further Deepening and Improving Cooperation and Developing Socialist Economic Integration. The positions of socialism are assured over the long term, in particular, through the pooling of efforts by the CMEA countries for the purpose of rapidly advancing along the key lines in intensifying production and scientific and technological progress.

Economic security is also an acute problem within the framework of the capitalist system. Herbert Mies told the GCP Congress that the reactionary circles of the FRG 'have not only sacrificed the interests of our country's security, but have also handed over to the Pentagon control over the FRG's trade between East and West, as will be seen from the already published SDI agreements. Participation in SDI, therefore, fails to create any jobs, but could jeopardise tens of thousands of workplaces as a result of another Washington diktat and embargo.'¹⁸

For the newly-liberated countries, economic security is, in most cases, the condition for independent social development. The PPP Programme says, for

instance, that Guyana's political sovereignty is under threat unless it is assured of external economic independence from imperialism.¹⁹

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The Communists, together with all the other participants in democratic movements, have analysed the various aspects of world economic relations in their search for concrete ways to establish a fair international economic order, working out complex models of international economic security. Their practical organisational work on the national and international levels helps to prepare the conditions for mankind's advance to a peaceful-coexistence economy.

¹ See Mikhail Gorbachov, *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Moscow, 1986, pp. 24, 84-86; *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, New Edition Moscow, 1986, pp. 23-24.

² Some 30-40 million people starve to death in the world every year; 800 million suffer from malnutrition; 900 million are illiterate; 1.5 billion (i.e., almost one-third of the world's population) have no elementary medical care; and 500 million have no work or earn less than the lowest subsistence minimum.

³ See Fidel Castro, *La crisis economica y social del mundo. Sus repercusiones en los países subdesarrollados, sus perspectivas sombrías y la necesidad de luchar si queremos sobrevivir*, Havana, 1983, pp. 211-222.

⁴ See N. Ushiba, G. Allison, T. Montbrial, *Sharing International Responsibilities Among the Trilateral Countries*, New York, The Trilateral Commission, 1983.

⁵ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 155.

⁶ *Messemagazin, international*, No. 3, 1984.

⁷ *Messemagazin, international*, No. 1, 1984.

⁸ *Wirtschaftswoche*, December 20, 1985.

⁹ *Messemagazin, international*, No. 3, 1985.

¹⁰ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 265.

¹¹ See S. Cole, J. Miles, *Worlds Apart: Technology and North-South Relations in the Global Economy*, New York, 1984.

¹² *Unsere Zeit*, May 3, 1986.

¹³ *Arbeitsbeschaffungs—Programm der DKP*, Dusseldorf, 1983, p. 7.

¹⁴ See *Guyana's Road to Socialism. Draft Political Programme of the People's Progressive Party*, pp. 38, 40, 64, 65.

¹⁵ *Energiepolitische Vorstellungen der DKP*, Dusseldorf, 1983, p. 30.

¹⁶ See Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Moscow, 1970, p. 210; Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Berlin, 1959, Vol. 3, p. 21.

¹⁷ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 177.

¹⁸ *Unsere Zeit*, May 3, 1986.

¹⁹ See *Guyana's Road to Socialism*, p. 33.

viewpoints

A Creative Approach to Developing the Political Economy of Socialism

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The Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU CC together with *WMR* held an international meeting of scientists to discuss 'The Creative Development of the Marxist-Leninist Political Economy in the Documents of the 27th Congress of the CPSU and the Congresses of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries'. The article below, the first in the planned series, is based on what the participants said at the conference.

THE present turning-point stage in the life of the Soviet society impels a consideration of the fundamental propositions of Marxism-Leninism and its enrichment and creative development. Such an approach to theory was exemplified by the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The new edition of the CPSU Programme contains an in-depth comprehension of the way traversed by our country and its historical lessons, and also sets out the perspectives of economic and social progress in the foreseeable future. Work on this key document led to an important advance on many theoretical matters, including the pressing problems of the political economy of socialism. Thus, reaffirming the viability of Marxism-Leninism, the CPSU again demonstrated its capacity for continued development of this doctrine. Any attempt to turn this revolutionary theory into a set of rigid schemes and prescriptions that are applicable everywhere and in every case cuts across the spirit and substance of the communist world outlook.

For our party, the creative approach to theory is not an end in itself. The CPSU analyses past experience and the practice of socialist construction, and takes account of the qualitative peculiarities of the tasks facing the society in order to find the ways of solving the problems set by life. Thus, it works out the meaningful problems in the political economy of socialism in close connection with the need to determine the goals and guidelines of economic policy in the spirit of the Leninist traditions. Lenin kept giving the reminder that Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action, and added: 'This classical statement stresses with remarkable force and expressiveness that aspect of Marxism which is very often lost sight of. And by losing sight of it, we turn Marxism into something one-sided, distorted and lifeless; we deprive it of its life blood; we undermine its basic theoretical foundations—dialectics, the doctrine of historical development, all-embracing and full of contradictions; we undermine its connection with every new turn of history.'

Four main politico-economic questions may be brought out among those creatively developed in the documents of the 27th Congress of the CPSU: expanded reproduction and the new quality of economic growth; interaction of the productive forces and of the relations of production under socialism; socialist ownership and the forms of its economic realisation; the forms and methods of socialist economic management.

The Congress approved the course for the country's accelerated economic and social development. The substance of this strategy lies not only in increasing the pace of advance, but also in the 'new quality of growth: an all-out intensification of production on the basis of scientific and technological progress, a structural reconstruction of the economy, effective forms of management and of organising and stimulating labour'.²

It also formulated a vast and exceptionally formidable economic task, and a major politico-economic problem, the problem of the quality of economic growth. It develops and expresses in concrete terms the general theory of expanded socialist reproduction in the context of the present stage of social progress, thus building a kind of bridge between theory and practice. There have been many 'white spots' in this area of the political economy of socialism, and their study will require serious efforts on the part of economists; they will have to comprehend the deep qualitative transformation of the entire structure of reproduction to correct many habitual notions.

Detailed study requires time, but some of the fundamental considerations are already expressed in the new edition of the CPSU Programme and other documents of the Congress.

First, there is a *change in the approach to economic growth*. The logic of intensification requires that it should be viewed and evaluated primarily from the angle of quality and content, instead of quantitative indicators. This also applies to the pace at which social production is expanded, and to the concrete content of this pace. Thus, we have given up the approach, which now no longer holds good, when planning made no distinction between basically new and obsolete hardware, between long-outmoded consumer goods and goods selling like hot cakes, while enterprises were given assignments for the output not only of the end product but also of the intermediate product.

The pace of growth in the individual sectors of the economy is now being determined in a more differentiated manner, for otherwise it is impossible to pursue an active structural policy.

Here is an example from the 12th Five-Year Plan, which is designed to carry the country along an accelerating upgrade. Industrial output as a whole is to go up by 25 per cent, but because the party has set the task of carrying out a new technical reconstruction of the economy, to rejuvenate production facilities and to overcome the recent tendency towards their wear and tear and obsolescence, the target for expanding engineering and metal-working production has been set at a much higher level. The increase there should come to 43 per cent, quite apart from the fact that in machine-tool construction, computers, instruments, electronics and electrical engineering there is to be record growth that is 30-60 per cent higher than the average for engineering as a whole.

But it is not a mind-boggling pace that we are now after (although, of course, the success of acceleration depends on the prompt fulfilment of these challenging state assignments). What we are after is not pace as such, but high economic end results. However, these cannot be consistently expected, the structure of the economy cannot be remodelled or qualitatively transformed, if pace continues to be measured by gross output, i.e., summarised data on output in millions of roubles, tons, metres, litres, etc. The need has arisen to work out a different system of indicators suitable for adequately characterising growth processes, including their new quality.

Second, a *resolute switch to intensive methods of economic management* is one of the key peculiarities of this new quality. And the main thing here, it was said at the party Congress, is the use of revolutionary forms of scientific and technical progress for a radical boosting of social labour productivity.

Soviet economic plans provide for an increase henceforth in national-income

growth and output in all the spheres of material production with the same number of working persons. The idea is that the additional 75-80 per cent demand for fuel, energy and raw and other materials will be met through their economies. The task for the first half of the 1990s is to reverse the trend towards a decline in the product-to-assets ratio,³ first by stabilising it, and then by getting it to grow. Social labour productivity is expected to rise 23 per cent by the end of the decade, and 37-42 per cent in the 13th and 14th five-year plan periods to reach the targets set by the CPSU Programme.

Third, the new quality of economic growth is a *dynamic, flexible and prompt response of production to the technical innovations and the continuously changing social requirements*. For these properties to be fully manifested, there is a need for deep transformations in the technical basis of production, its organisation and management, for a system of planned reserves, for the elimination of obstacles to the development of direct economic ties between associations, enterprises and other units.

The CPSU's economic strategy provides for rapid growth in fixed production assets and shorter periods of their renewal over the next 15 years. In this 12th Five-Year Plan period, the withdrawal coefficient for the active part of the fixed assets is to go up from 3.2 to 6.2 per cent. By 1990, one-half of all the production investments (as compared with 38.5 per cent in 1985) is to go into the technical re-equipment and remodelling of the existing production lines. The substitution of more efficient machines for those being withdrawn will not only make the economy more dynamic, but also create the material foundation for a drastic acceleration of labour-productivity growth.

Capital construction periods are to be halved, and this means also a shorter circuit period for material resources, so that the returns on them will be greatly increased without any additional inputs. The plans also provide that the product mix is to become more fluid.

Fourth, *greater emphasis on the social aspect* of economic growth likewise invests it with a new quality, thereby more fully realising the end function of socialist production, which is the ever fuller satisfaction of the working people's material and spiritual requirements.

The new edition of the CPSU Programme contains a provision that is of much importance for a politico-economic study of the processes of expanded socialist reproduction: the fulness to which social requirements (with rational use of resources) are met, as the 'basic criterion for evaluating the performance of various sectors, associations and enterprises, and of all production units'.⁴

The Soviet economy's more emphatic social orientation is evident from the key provisions of the 12th Five-Year Plan. Thus, consumer goods are to be turned out much faster than producer goods (Group B is to grow 27 per cent, and Group A 24 per cent). More attention is being given to the quality of goods and services, and the development of the social and cultural spheres; the 3.2 million persons who are expected to join the country's labour force will almost all go into the system of public education, health care and other social sectors.

The changes in the structure of reproduction caused by the switch to the new economic growth quality are summarised in the CPSU CC Political Report to the 27th Congress: 'The substance of the changes lies in shifting the centre of attention from quantitative indices to quality and efficiency, from intermediate results to final results, from building up production assets to renewing them, from expanding fuel and raw material resources to making better use of them, and also to speeding up the development of research-intensive industries and of the production and social infrastructures.'⁵ This multifaceted formula is a profound politico-economic generalisation of the new phenomena and progressive trends in the development of socialist expanded reproduction at the present stage.

The Marxist-Leninist theory has produced a comprehensive and circumstantial elaboration of the dialectics of interaction between the productive forces and the relations of production, with their general sociological and general historical aspects; it has demonstrated the law-governed succession of the modes of production, brought out the basic contradiction of capitalism, and provided scientific evidence of its inevitable collapse.

The victory of the new system, its consolidation and the need for its continued perfection have posed the problem of interaction between the productive forces and production relations within the framework of the communist formation and, in effect, under socialism.

Our society's economic and social progress depends on a great many factors—natural, demographic, scientific, technical, political, social, ideological and, finally, external, or international, conditions. Each is important in its own way, and none can be ignored, for on the complex approach to the management of the economy depends the pace of its growth, its economic and social effectiveness, and other factors. But the factor which determines our advance is the *development and perfection of the relations of production*, since casual and superficial assessments of the actual state of things can be avoided only through their comprehensive and scientific analysis, which alone focuses on in-depth social processes. That was precisely the approach of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, both in assessing the past and clarifying the causes of negative phenomena, and in working out the tasks for the future.

Up until recently, the relations of production in our country were, regrettably, studied outside the context of the actual state of production: these relations were regarded as static, as having taken shape once and for all, as immune to ageing and, for that reason, not requiring renewal. Indeed, many economists and philosophers connected their qualitative change only with the growth of socialism into communism. Besides, the analysis was highly abstract: it was made outside the context of the organisation of labour and production, and the forms and methods of economic management. The result was a 'speculative and hardened picture of the relations of production as an immutable substance, a picture which was a far cry from the reality'.⁶ Such an approach is barren for practice, for how can something that does not itself develop provide the impetus for advance?

The 27th Congress of the CPSU set the task of carrying the Soviet society to new frontiers, by raising both the productive forces and the relations of production to a qualitatively new stage—within the framework of socialism.

Our country's economic and social perspectives can be theoretically perceived in depth only if the socialist relations of production are viewed in their development, if the dialectics of transition of quantity into quality is examined, if outdated forms are replaced with new ones, and if the contradictory unity of the relations of production and the productive forces is studied.

Numerous facts show that the existing forms of production organisation in the USSR, the system of economic calculus and economic incentives, and the pricing, financial and credit mechanism fail to create the necessary conditions for fast scientific and technical progress. Enterprises and associations turning out traditional and often obsolete products find themselves in a better position than those which boldly strike out to modernise their products. That is a serious problem which tends to inhibit intensification.

Development is also being retained by departmental and regional barriers in the organisation of production and management. Their fragmented and localised structure clashes with the unity and integrity of the reproduction process and so sharply reduces its efficiency.

Life shows that the *socialist nature of the relations of production does not in itself guarantee a society against negative phenomena*, and this was evidenced, in particular,

by the difficulties which came to light in the Soviet economy in the late 1970s and early 1980s. 'The forms of production relations and the economic management and guidance system now in operation took shape, basically, in the conditions of extensive economic development. These gradually grew out of date, began to lose their stimulating effect, and in some respects became a brake.'⁷ Therein lies the basic cause of the slowdown in economic and social development.

The conclusion that various forms of production relations can both accelerate and slow down the society's advance even under socialism is of fundamental significance, and it requires that economic science should provide answers to a number of difficult questions. What are the conditions in which this can occur? What are the strata and spheres of production relations that tend to become obsolete? And how is a repetition of such situations to be avoided?

Socialist production relations do in principle open up the greatest potentialities for developing the productive forces, because they basically correspond to the *social character* of the latter. But these boundless horizons are no more than a potentiality. Practice has demonstrated that it was altogether wrong to entertain the oversimplified notion that in our society the correspondence between the relations of production and the productive forces is established almost automatically and for good, once the foundations of the new systems have been laid. Attempts to ignore the dynamism, mutability and intricate inner structure of the relations of production, together with primitive assertion about their conflict-free interaction with the productive forces are, in fact, misleading and harmful to economic development. We already know from our experience that unless the production relations are continuously renewed and perfected, unless there is a timely replacement of their worked-out elements, contradictions—fairly painful, though non-antagonistic—may well arise in the economic life of the socialist society.

Equally formidable problems arise when attempts are made to outrun events and implant relations for which the necessary prerequisites have yet to mature, or artificially to restrict or fold up economic forms that are adequate to the level of development attained by the society. It may appear at first sight that in such cases there is an assertion of more mature relations, but in fact we are largely faced with an attempt to formalise these relations, and to fill them mainly with an administrative content, an approach which has an extremely negative effect on the pace of economic and social progress, as the record shows.

The advance of the productive forces produces a situation in which the *concrete forms* of production relations, which took shape in definite historical conditions, begin to grow old and so to slow down economic growth, a process that makes it necessary to improve or replace them. This is made imperative by the *level attained by the productive forces* and—most importantly—by the *progressive trends in their development*. If one looks only to the present level, the economic forms that have taken shape will soon begin to act as a brake on the development of production. The production relations will turn out to have no more than a fleeting effect as a motive force. The message is, therefore, that one has to create economic relations and forms with a 'safety margin'.

To perfect the socialist relations of production is, however, not only to accelerate and revolutionise scientific and technical progress in the country, but also to marshal the potentialities of the working person, the society's chief productive force. That is why the 'human factor' cannot be activated without an improvement of the entire system of social relations, first and foremost, the relations of production.

The socialist relations of production are based on socialist property in the means of production. Historical experience shows that, while the establishment of social ownership and appropriation by the whole people does create the social conditions for a rapid and stable growth of production, it does not automatically or actually turn

every working person into a vigorous and thrifty master. If the working person is to become such in fact, there is a need to shape and adjust the system of economic and social mechanisms ensuring effective realisation of property relations in the practice of socialist economic management.

An analysis of the forms in which the social property relations are economically realised is one of the most promising lines of research into their intricate internal structure, and also a basic problem of the political economy of socialism at the present stage.

What is here especially important is to find the organisational forms which help to link up the interests of the working person, the work collective and the society as a whole. While socialism does change the content and hierarchy of interests (the whole people's interests being brought to the top), it does not do away with the distinctions between them or with their role as the leading forces of economic development. Production can grow and become ever more efficient rapidly, and scientific and technical progress can advance headlong only when their attainment accords with the strivings of those on whom all of the effort depends.

Rising efficiency and the application of scientific and technical innovations do, of course, serve the interests of the socialist society and so, *ultimately*, also those of every working person. But the mediated link expressed in the 'ultimately' does not suffice; it needs to be amplified, developed and made more tangible and direct.

Economic-calculus teams offer a graphic example of such forms stemming from mass creativity itself. These teams conclude contracts with management and undertake to fulfil concrete state plan assignments, specifying the deadlines and quality of workmanship, the required supplies of raw and other materials, and other conditions. It is up to the collective itself in what way it will honour its obligations. The various operations and the remuneration of labour are effected on the basis of self-management (given compliance with definite state-wide norms). This helps to blend the interests of the working person, the work collective and the society. With such an arrangement, solicitous concern for what is being done entails emphasis on the collectivist principle, and mutual assistance—on mutual and exacting control.

An important line in further perfecting the relations of production is to introduce equally effective forms for the realisation of social ownership at the higher echelons of economic management (at the enterprises, in the associations, industries and regions). Here added importance attaches to the wide and consistent application of the principles of the economic calculus organisation of production. Smoothly operating economic calculus, enhanced by a high level of organisation and discipline on the basis of a comprehensive, well-grounded and balanced five-year plan, operates as the main instrument of efficient economic development. *Perfection of economic-calculus relations makes it possible more fully to realise the advantages of social ownership, to coordinate economic interests more rationally, and to make more active use of the social factors of development.*

What also deserves attention is scrupulous and undeviating observance of the unity of the measure of labour and the measure of consumption, the connection between the growth of real incomes and the rising productivity of social labour on the scale of the society as a whole. One way of doing this is to plan targets for the growth of wages and real incomes as a whole (including payments from social consumption funds), not outside the context of the end results, but in a definite correlation with them, say per one percentage point of national income or social labour-productivity growth.

Socialist property in the means of production is manifested and realised in a diversity of concrete forms, most importantly in economic-organisation relations, or the relations of socialist economic management. It is through their change that the relations of production are perfected in the first place, because these are the most mobile and, in a sense, independent stratum of the relations of production; it tends to

change under the immediate impact of the productive forces level and is the object of conscious management by the socialist society (state).

The economic mechanism doctrine is an important department of the political economy of socialism, and many of its problems are creatively elaborated in the documents of the 27th Congress of the CPSU. Among other things, they give a more precise characterisation of the mechanism itself, of its functions and role in the economic realisation of social property, use of the economic laws of socialism, and resolution of the contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production.

The creative comprehension of the experience of existing socialism in the light of the Marxist-Leninist methodology shows that the contradictions arising in the new society cannot be resolved spontaneously, of their own accord. There is a need for consistent and purposeful action, with the key role belonging to the adjustment, perfection and, whenever necessary, remodelling of the economic mechanism, the form of movement and development by means of which the various conflicts in the socialist economy are eliminated. The growing efficiency of social production shows just how successfully the economic mechanism performs this function.

If negative phenomena accumulate, if the application of scientific and technical achievements is retarded, and if labour-productivity growth slowed down, it means that the economic mechanism does not function all that well. The unresolved contradictions between the level of the productive-forces development and the concrete state of the relations of production tend to hold back economic growth.

There is, of course, a continuous development and improvement of the relations of socialist economic management, but as the changes gradually accumulate, they prepare the conditions for a substantive and qualitative improvement of the whole aggregation of economic-organisation relations.

It was stressed at the 27th Congress of the CPSU that the situation in the country today is such 'that we cannot limit ourselves to partial improvements. A radical reform is needed.'⁸ In depth, scale and economic and social consequences, it will apparently be the most profound and radical since the building of the socialist society in the USSR.

What is it to consist of? The CPSU CC Political Report to the Congress says: 'We are now striving to change the thrust of the economic mechanism, to overcome its costliness and to orient it towards a higher level of quality and efficiency, acceleration of scientific and technological progress and enhancement of the human factor. This is the main thing that will, in practice, signify further improvement of the socialist relations of production and will provide new scope for the growth of the productive forces.'⁹

Steps in this direction imply a *dialectical combination of the immutable principles of socialist economic management, with flexibility and mobility of its forms and also of its methods*. The principles are a reflection of what constitutes the socialist nature of the relations of production. Consistent application of these basic principles is, however, no bar to experiments or manoeuvres, to a quest for and use of the most effective new forms and methods of economic management, or to a replacement of those which are outdated and which have run into contradiction with the changing conditions.

A clear demarcation of principles, on the one hand, and concrete forms and methods of economic management, on the other, based on well-considered politico-economic generalisations, helps to make the right choice of orientation in practical work, while safeguarding one from attempts to set up as absolutes the traditions which have taken shape in management and administration. The 27th Congress of the CPSU condemned the regrettably widespread view that any change in the economic mechanism amounted to almost a departure from the principles of socialism. In the efforts to restructure this mechanism, Mikhail Gorbachov said at the Congress, "we

must not be stopped by long-established ideas, let alone by prejudices. If, for example, it is necessary and justifiable to apply economic normals instead of targets that are sent down as directives, this does not mean a retreat from the principles of planned guidance, but only a change in its methods. The same can be applied to the need to broaden the autonomy, initiative and responsibility of associations and enterprises, and to enhance their role as socialist commodity producers."¹⁰

Planned direction of the economy has been and continues to be a firm principle of our economic management. Life has fully borne out Lenin's idea that 'only large-scale, planned construction . . . deserves to be called socialist'.¹¹ However, in planning there are two interconnected but sufficiently autonomous spheres which differ substantively in object and method, and confusion of the two leads to theoretical muddle and has a negative effect on the solution of practical problems.

The object of planning is above all the economy as a whole, and it is the exclusive prerogative of the economic centre to decide on its balance, structural remodelling, rational location of the productive forces and the pursuit of a coherent scientific, technical and financial policy. The economic centre alone is capable, with the use of balance, goal-oriented programmes and other methods, of ensuring the guidance of the integrated economic complex, of purposefully moving about the country's resources and of concentrating them for the fulfilment of strategic tasks.

But there is more to planning than that. Its other sphere consists of the forms and methods by means of which primary producers—enterprises and associations—are put in touch with the state plan targets. That is precisely where long-overdue changes need to be made without delay, and their essence is to switch to management based on long-term economic norms. Such norms, it was emphasised at the Congress, are 'a promising instrument of plan-governed management. They flexibly combine centralisation in economic management with the use of commodity-money relations and the law of value. It is important that central economic bodies, ministries and enterprises should learn to use them to the full extent. The sphere in which they are applied will have to be expanded in view of accumulated experience, the relationships between the state enterprises and the budget will have to be put on a normative basis.'¹²

Normative methods of management and administration have an impact on the system of economic interests. That is the surest indication that the use of such methods helps effectively to improve the relations of production, thereby paving the way for putting enterprises and associations on full economic calculus and consistent application of the principles of their having to finance themselves and of paying their own way. The relevant techniques are being perfected in the course of the experiment at the Volga Automobile Works and at the Sumy Engineering Works.

Switching to full economic calculus means consistently applying this principle: *enterprises and associations are fully responsible for the results of their economic activity, while the state is not liable for their obligations*. That is just how the matter is presented in the CPSU CC Political Report to the Congress, namely, in the spirit of Lenin's idea that 'trusts and factories have been founded on self-supporting (economic calculus—*Ed.*) basis precisely in order that they themselves should be responsible and, moreover, fully responsible, for their enterprises working without a deficit'.¹³

Experience shows that irresponsibility appears wherever enterprises and associations are not entirely responsible for the results of their activity. Well-functioning enterprises are saddled with the losses inflicted on the society by someone else's mismanagement. Such an arrangement can be called neither socialist nor fair. The practice of using state funds to cover losses caused by failures, lack of initiative and poor management results in passive overdependence on the state by some enterprises and puts a cost on the society.

The development of the masses' social activity, enhancement of the role of the work collective and consistent application of the principles of socialist self-management are important elements in the set of measures aimed at restructuring the economic mechanism. Here again, there are many questions calling for thorough politico-economic comprehension.

The elaboration of meaningful problems of the political economy of socialism in the documents of the 27th Congress of the CPSU provides a vivid example of the creative and dialectical approach to them. The substance of the new theoretical generalisations and conclusions now has to be fully and profoundly comprehended and introduced into the mass economic consciousness, with continued analysis of past experience and the working out of reliable recommendations for practice.

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, p. 39.

² Mikhail Gorbachov, *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Moscow, 1986, p. 24.

³ The product-to-assets ratio is an indicator of production efficiency measured by output per unit-value of fixed assets (fixed capital).—Ed.

⁴ *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, New Edition, Moscow, 1986, p. 37.

⁵ Mikhail Gorbachov, *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, p. 28.

⁶ Mikhail Gorbachov, *Active Creativity of the People*, Moscow, 1984, p. 12 (in Russian).

⁷ Mikhail Gorbachov, *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, p. 43.

⁸ Ibid., p. 37.

⁹ Ibid., p. 44.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 36.

¹² Nikolai Ryzhkov, *Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000*, Moscow, 1986, p. 45.

¹³ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 546.

U.S. Labour's Internationalism

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US working-class history hold many stirring examples of internationalist solidarity actions. In the chronicles of the National Labor Union, the Knights of Labor, the Industrial Workers of the World, and of many individual trade unions, there are numerous instances of international solidarity activities. We remember the contribution of our working class to the struggle to save humanity from the scourge of fascist-militarist enslavement. To head off the fascist-militarist onslaught, hundreds of Americans fought and died in Spain. However, freshest in memory is the struggle of many millions of Americans to stop the US aggression and atrocities in Indochina. Now, this illustrious record of internationalist activities is further enriched by the struggles of the US working people to stop and terminate the policies fomenting a nuclear war and to eradicate a major source of racism poisoning humanity.

The internationalist trend of class solidarity in the United States continues to register advances in the 1980s, in the course of pitched class battles against the state-monopoly onslaught on the living standards and basic rights of US workers, and against the administration's increasingly reckless, belligerent and interventionist conduct abroad. The internationalist trend has grown in combat with imperialism's heightened jingoism, racism and anti-communism, and against right-wing and 'left' opportunism undermining the workers' unity and militancy

—first, involving ever broader masses and mass organisations in anti-war and

anti-imperialist activities, thereby marking a new level in the growth of working-class internationalism.

—second, enlisting the endorsement and support of city, county and other local governmental departments in actions to curtail the Pentagon's arms buildup, thus expanding labour's growing orientation toward independent political action;

—third, supporting Latin American states endangered by Washington's hegemonic interventionism;¹

—fourth, exposing and opposing Washington's and the US-based transnationals' linkage with and support of totalitarian, fascist and genocidal regimes, such as the South African racist clique engaged in the oppression and despoliation of defenceless working masses.

Activities to avert and defuse the present danger of the incineration of earthly life in a thermonuclear war have become the main criterion of working-class internationalism. US workers, organised and unorganised, employed and unemployed, have demonstrated a growing recognition of their dependence on the preservation of peace among nations. More and more workers have become active participants in peace organisations and actions. They have attained higher levels of unity and militancy. In addition to labour organisations and their members, important initiatives have been advanced by associations of women, racial and national minorities, intellectuals and professionals, and religious denominations.² Virtually all of these initiatives included wage and salary earners among their participants. Fourteen national labour organisations signed a coalition letter of 90 organisations opposing the SDI 'star wars' programme.

The increased concern of US workers over international affairs and their growing peace activity is a high point of a gradual buildup in the early 1980s. Highlighting this buildup were such notable events as the Solidarity Day demonstration of 500,000 in Washington, DC, in September 1981; the June 12, 1982, demonstration and march in New York City of one million supporting the Second Special UN General Assembly Session on Disarmament; the August 27, 1983, march in Washington of hundreds of thousands for jobs, peace and freedom on the 20th anniversary of the historic march on Washington headed by the Rev Martin Luther King, Jr; and the hundreds of thousands marching and demonstrating to stop US intervention in Central America.

Particularly noteworthy were the Freeze movement against the production and deployment of nuclear weapons and the Jobs With Peace campaigns. Labour's participation was outstanding in both.

In 1982, the initiative of Southern California unions for the Freeze was endorsed by 77 local unions. National trade unions calling for the Freeze included half of the members of the AFL-CIO. The endorsement of this idea at the AFL-CIO convention in October 1983 produced a spurt of activity among AFL-CIO leaders. Committees of top labour leaders and members of central labour councils were set up. That same month, during Disarmament Week, more than 140 anti-nuclear weapons protests occurred in 31 states.

At the Sixteenth Convention of the AFL-CIO in Anaheim, California, in October 1985, the powerful United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers International Union submitted resolutions expressing support for 'actions—including implementation of a nuclear weapons freeze, ratification of SALT II, and agreement on further decisions on nuclear arsenals—which would move us away from the dangers of nuclear war and the possibility of a nuclear winter'.

When the Reagan administration ignored protests of the European working people and deployed Cruise and Pershing II missiles within minutes' flight range of population and industrial centres of the USSR and other European socialist countries, US trade unions demonstrated their concern and opposition. The Executive Board of the United Food and Commercial Workers adopted a resolution

protesting the deployment. The national convention of the hospital and health care workers did likewise and called on Washington to forgo its first-strike policy. An anti-war demonstration was held at the missile manufacturing plants of the Williams International Corporation in Michigan and Utah, and scores of demonstrating unionists were arrested. Fifty regional peace groups also participated in protests against the deployment.

A December 1983 broadly sponsored conference at Wesleyan University in Connecticut linked the buildup of nuclear weapons with Reagan's interventionist foreign policy and focused on the danger of this policy triggering a nuclear war. Earlier, a Freeze conference in New York had connected Washington's policies in Central America and the Middle East with its deployment of missiles in Western Europe.

As the controversy over Washington's determination to produce the MX missile intensified, six major trade unions registered their opposition. They were the Machinists, West Coast Longshoremen and Warehousemen, the National Education Association, the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Workers, the United Electrical Workers, and the United Food and Commercial Workers Union.

The Jobs With Peace campaign of the labour forces also scored gains. In the general elections of November 6, 1984, voters approved Jobs With Peace initiatives by wide margins where the referendum was on the ballot. Even in Los Angeles, which receives more military dollars than any other US county, the Jobs With Peace referendum won 63 per cent of the vote. In Erie County and Berks County, Pennsylvania, a similar proposal received over 60 per cent of the vote; and in Racine, Wisconsin, 74 per cent. Since the first initiative appeared on the ballot in San Francisco in 1978, 85 communities had approved the referendum six years later. By that time 35 US cities had declared themselves nuclear-free zones.

Anti-war action is linked indelibly with labour's international solidarity action. Union support for Latin American countries threatened with US intervention highlights the growing orientation of labour on independence from the leading bourgeois parties. At the AFL-CIO's 16th Convention the delegates adopted by a large majority a resolution declaring that 'a negotiated settlement, rather than a military victory, holds the best hope' for achieving peace and democratic advances in Nicaragua and El Salvador. Other resolutions submitted to the convention proposed measures of solidarity with the striking British miners, the workers of South Korea and the peoples of Central America, specifically those of Nicaragua and El Salvador. Twenty-three national union leaders who fought at the Anaheim convention against US military intervention in Central America petitioned every member of Congress to reject Reagan's demand for 100 million dollars in military aid to the Nicaraguan contras.

Initiatives for curbing the US-owned transnationals' plundering and repressive activities made a contribution to US labour's internationalist solidarity with the liberation struggle of Latin American, African and Asian peoples. Two international conferences were devoted to joint trade union action against transnational corporations. The first conference, held in New York City on June 19-20, 1982, was sponsored by the Labor Research Association, Inc., of the USA. The second, held in Toronto in October 1983, was jointly sponsored by the Trade Union Research Bureau of Canada and the Labor Research Association.³ Reports at the two events, citing numerous instances of internationalist working-class solidarity, stressed the importance of forging tactical and strategic labour unity in the confrontation with the TNCs.

The AFL-CIO Anaheim convention also called for an end to tax loopholes and incentives for multinational corporations to move abroad, and for repeal of tax deferral and foreign tax credits. 'Existing codes of conduct for multinational

enterprises must be strengthened to protect the rights of workers employed by these firms', the resolution asserted.⁴

As early as 1982 the general executive board of the independent United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America noted that US-owned transnationals were involved in 50 per cent of all the imports into the United States, either as owners of foreign subsidiaries which exported to the USA or as purchasers of foreign-produced goods. In December 1985 the UE's general executive board adopted a comprehensive statement on US trade policies which emphasised, among other things, trade union unity between US and foreign workers, curbs on transnationals and on foreign investments, and other job-creating measures.

This peace action against the Pentagon's arms build-up and Washington's interventionist conduct, as well as these international solidarity activities, constantly encounter hostility on the part of the authorities. The monopoly-controlled mass media resort to slander and lies and suppress truthful information. The progressive forces are working under continuous harassment and sniping from diehard anti-communists and other ultra-rightists. Scores of peace activities are subjected to economic reprisals and police abuse; they are arrested and jailed. This gives the lie to official claims that there are no political prisoners in the USA. Last June, at the Nevada nuclear weapons test site where a mass demonstration was held to protest against Washington's refusal to join the Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions, police detained 149 of the protesters.

US labour's participation in the struggle to end the apartheid system of South Africa is of great internationalist significance. True, the anti-apartheid US forces have not yet severed the lifeline extended by Washington and the US-owned transnationals to the Pretoria regime. Yet, progressive African trade unionists highly assess US labour's contribution to their liberation struggles.

The South African economy is highly vulnerable to US labour's pressure. A Labor Research Association special survey notes that the US is South Africa's largest trading partner, its second largest foreign investor, and the source of one-third of its international credit. US corporations control almost half of South Africa's oil industry, 75 per cent of its computer industry, and 23 per cent of its auto industry. This has been recently underlined in a survey of the Investor Responsibility Research Center. According to the survey, mounting civil unrest and political pressures from US anti-apartheid activists have been one of the factors which prompted 38 US companies to pull out of South Africa. Another ten have announced plans to end operations there this year, while 26 of the largest US banks have formal policies banning any new loans to either public or private sector borrowers in South Africa. Fifty-five banks expressly prohibit loans to the South African Government.⁵

US labour's broad support for the liberation struggles of the Black Africans, Coloureds and Asians who comprise 80 per cent of South Africa's population heralds a new, remarkable and promising development in the United States. Class solidarity is displayed in the domestic as well as in the international spheres. It strikes at the racist roots of the working class's partitioning and disunity and asserts the unconditional recognition of the equality of nations, peoples and races, a cardinal principle of working-class internationalism. Hence it addresses the unfinished task of integrating and unifying the multiracial, multinational, male-female, young-old US working class.

These salient features of the movement of solidarity with South Africa's oppressed and persecuted majority prefigure future effects of anti-apartheid action. Repeated endorsements of the movement by the AFL-CIO conventions and executive council meetings have committed affiliates and local unions to active participation.

The 16th AFL-CIO Convention received seven resolutions denouncing the apartheid regime and demanding appropriate action from the US Government.

including disinvestment, comprehensive sanctions and the termination of Reagan's policy of so-called constructive engagement, branded by the Nobel Prize-winning Black Anglican Bishop Desmond M. Tutu as 'immoral, evil and totally un-Christian'.⁶

Besides, a number of AFL-CIO affiliates have been conducting anti-apartheid activities of their own. Last March the United Steel Workers of America joined other unions in observing the anniversary of the killing by Pretoria's police of peaceful demonstrators at Sharpeville on March 21, 1960.

Last February the AFL-CIO joined the independent unions—the United Mine Workers and the National Education Association—to announce a nationwide boycott of Shell Oil and its products.⁷ Commenting on this step, Richard Trumka, US Mine Workers President, said: "Transnational corporations provide a strategic pillar for the South African regime without which the economic foundation of apartheid will collapse." The boycott was joined by the independent United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, which also called for a ban on all imports from South Africa and on further US investment there.

Another kind of boycott was initiated against the South African regime by activities of the Committee for International Support of Trade Union Rights, a Californian-based organisation uniting approximately 60 local AFL-CIO and independent union affiliates. The committee was successful in obtaining promises in writing from 12 large US national retailers to refrain from purchasing goods produced in South Africa. These 12 major retailers included such transnationals as Sears-Roebuck, Safeway Stores, J. C. Penney, Montgomery Ward and F. W. Woolworth. The California AFL-CIO executive council unanimously supported this initiative. As early as 1984, the independent West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union refused to work cargo originating in South Africa. The union's action, in compliance with the recommendation of the International Trade Union Conference on Sanctions Against South Africa, held in Geneva in June 1983, as well as with a resolution adopted by the union's 1977 convention, cost the longshoremen pay guarantees of approximately 100,000 dollars.

Last June, the New York Anti-Apartheid Coordinating Council, a coalition of labour, religious, community and student organisations, organised a march and rally demanding that the Washington government apply 'all necessary political, economic and cultural sanctions' against the South African clique. The demonstration, called to mark the tenth anniversary of the Soweto massacre when more than 1,000 Africans, predominantly children and youth, were killed by the Pretoria police, demanded that the US Government reverse its immoral 'constructive engagement' policies supportive of state terror against the Black African, Coloured and Asian population in Southern Africa.

Political pressure from the grassroots level and the sentiments of the masses were a major factor that helped to force Congress to decide on the application of limited economic sanctions to South Africa.

The expressions of solidarity with the enslaved and inhumanly exploited non-white people of South Africa reflect a new level of US labour's developing class consciousness. They show the nationwide scope of anti-apartheid actions by the working class. They also make evident a new advance of the struggles for equality of the more than 50 million subordinated and super-exploited coloured components of the US population.

The internationalist anti-apartheid gains parallel gains of the anti-racist consciousness of the US white population. They are a challenge to the historically established and traditionally racist concepts of superior and inferior peoples and the supremacy of the white race. The heritage of such views has been and remains a formidable barrier to working-class unity. This is the heritage that we, the US

Communists, urge our compatriots to renounce in their own self-interest.

In his work *Imperialism Today*, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party USA, sums up the party's experience in the struggle for working-class internationalism. He writes: "National chauvinism and racism are the ideological opposites of working-class internationalism. Therefore the struggle for internationalism is a rejection of and a struggle against all forms of racism and national chauvinism. We cannot develop working-class internationalism amongst white workers as long as they are influenced by racism in their attitude toward Black Americans. The struggle for internationalism and the struggle against racism are closely intertwined and inseparable."⁸ In translating this conclusion into the CPUSA's strategic and tactical activities, two lines of action logically follow:

First, the Afro-American struggle for equality is central to the US population's liberation from the fetters of racism, chauvinism—and of vital present-day importance—jingoism, the bellicose nationalism of US imperialism's hegemonic appetite. This is because, Gus Hall writes, "the inequalities suffered by other nationally oppressed components of our working class are all patterned after the system of racism against the Afro-American community. The racism against Black America feeds the national oppression, discrimination and chauvinism against other nationally oppressed minorities."⁹

Second, Gus Hall goes on, this system 'continues only because white Americans have been and continue to be accessories in the crime . . . only because a small section of white Americans support it by acts of racial violence, and because a larger number are seemingly neutral and thereby passively support the evil. . . . The fight against white chauvinism must become the cause of all progressive forces in society because the system of racial oppression is a primary obstacle to all social progress. It affects the immediate and long-range interests of the bulk of the American people. It is a matter of our many-sided and urgent self-interest as a nation."¹⁰

The clarity of concepts and the purposeful actions indicated by the foregoing analysis have distinguished the CPUSA from all other political parties in the country. Only the US Communists have a clear-cut programme for the development of working-class consciousness, unity and anti-imperialist internationalism. They not only take the scope and the conditions of the struggle into account but also strive to influence both those who are active in the drive against racism and those who are influenced by racism. In this area of the struggle our party makes a unique and decisive contribution. We have this focus because we are convinced that although it is impossible to completely eliminate racism under capitalism, it is possible to change the attitude of workers to it, to blunt it and to eliminate it in the thought patterns of ever increasing numbers of people.

The present-day scope and internationalist, anti-imperialist content of US labour's activities are a testimony to objective pressures and also to the Communist Party's influence on the consciousness of US workers. They are also an augury of more positive advances to come, propelled by objective conditions and inspired by the viability and unsubdued militancy of our working people, by the democratic, revolutionary legacy of US culture.

Besides the pressure exerted by requirements of self-preservation and survival in face of mounting nuclear war danger, pressures for action on other threatening global problems add to the objective conditions necessitating international working-class solidarity. Among these are the residual colonialist evils of mass hunger, illiteracy, disease, backwardness and dependence which beset two-thirds of the world's peoples and which not only persist but worsen under the neocolonialist system. Since US imperialism is the main bulwark of neocolonialism, this fact generates a special responsibility and special compulsions on the US working class. This concerns a broad range of issues—from preserving the Earth's ecological balance to keeping

outer space free of nuclear contamination and, in the final analysis, to preserving life on Earth. The solution of these problems appeals to the self-interest of US workers and of working people in all other countries.

¹ For details, see *WMR*, No. 10, 1985, pp. 89 ff.—Ed.

² A list of the affiliates of the US movement opposing the arms buildup and demanding agreement on collective security measures includes: the Union of Concerned Scientists, Physicians for Social Responsibility, the National Lawyers' Guild, the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, the American Friends Service Committee, Clergy and Laity Concerned, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, Mobilization for Peace and Justice, the US Peace Council, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the International Indian Treaty Council, the National Indian Youth Council, the League of United Latin American Citizens, the US section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Women Strike for Peace, Women for Racial and Economic Equality, the National Organization of Women, etc.

³ Four hundred trade union officers and rank-and-file activists attended the New York conference which was addressed by labour leaders from Australia, Canada, France, Japan, Puerto Rico, South Africa and the United States. The Toronto conference was attended by 250 delegates from 55 unions in nine countries.

⁴ *AFL-CIO Resolutions, Sixteenth Convention, 1985*, p. 125.

⁵ *International Herald Tribune*, May 24-25, 1986.

⁶ *AFL-CIO News*, No. 49, December 8, 1984.

⁷ The Royal Dutch Shell group, a huge transnational operating in many countries, including the USA, has heavy investments in petroleum and mining operations in South Africa.

⁸ Gus Hall, *Imperialism Today*, New York, 1972, p. 292.

⁹ Gus Hall, *Fighting Racism*, New York, p. 85.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 269, 270-271.

'Psychological Warfare': How it Works

An Instrument to Disorient the Masses

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ANTI-COMMUNISM is the main ideological weapon of the Greek oligarchy in its efforts to stay in power and maintain the system of the country's dependence on the international imperialist forces. Anti-communism has for its core anti-Sovietism, which in some periods of our history has been at the heart of the state ideology. Thousands of fighters for peace and social progress have been imprisoned, tortured and killed in the name of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, and the ruling class has often used this weapon to intimidate the participants in popular movements. Fighters for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism have often been branded as 'Moscow agents', although their only 'crime' was love for their homeland and their people.

Distortion of the agreements concluded between the members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition during the Second World War is a special element of the ideological arsenal of Greek reaction. First of all, there is a systematic twisting of the true content of the Yalta Agreements: spokesmen for bourgeois and reformist forces claim that at Yalta Greece was allegedly 'ceded' to the West, from which it has now no right to depart. 'Greece belongs to the West,' says the leadership of New Democracy, the main party of the monopolies.

Nevertheless, in contrast to some of the major capitalist countries, anti-Sovietism

has not been deeply or firmly imbedded in the minds of broad strata of the population in our country. Their own experience and the CPG's tireless efforts have helped the people to understand that the anti-Soviet line was associated with Nazism and imperialist intervention in the 1940s, with the curtailment of democratic rights in the 1950s, and with fascism and national disasters from 1965 to 1974. The propaganda of anti-Sovietism is met with mistrust by the masses, especially when it is expressed directly, overtly or in cruder forms.

Our people's sense of repugnance for anti-Sovietism and all that it entails has forced New Democracy to make its propaganda more flexible since the collapse of the junta. For the same reason, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), the main vehicle of social reformism in the country, which in recent years has been oriented towards the traditionally left-wing masses, has not resorted to the grosser forms of anti-Sovietism. It has no central place in that party's official ideological tenets, although it does spring from these tenets, often like the barbs sticking through the surface of many political declarations. Views hostile to the USSR are asserted mainly by means of 'unofficial' policy, inner-party information, rumour-mongering, and some forms of written and oral propaganda.

The government which came to office in the 1981 elections does not view the international situation from the angle of primitive, vulgar anti-Sovietism, but under pressure from NATO, the United States and the EEC, it has agreed to make some concessions, pointing to Yalta Agreements as the 'objective factor' which allegedly makes it retreat from some positions on national independence and peace. At the same time, a modernised and refined anti-Sovietism makes itself known in the activity of those parts of the state mechanism which have ideological functions, and also in the mass media, schools, etc.

For the Greek Communists, anti-Sovietism cannot in any sense be identified with criticism of shortcomings in the Soviet society, criticism which is constructive and is offered in a spirit of goodwill. That is all the more so since the Soviet Communists keep bringing out the failings and problems in the country they are leading in their own official documents, including those adopted by the 27th Congress of the CPSU. It is not right to equate the slanderers, who hope to benefit by harming the USSR and the popular movement in our country, with those Greek citizens who are well disposed to it, but who discuss its actual difficulties or voice erroneous judgements, under the influence of preconceptions (or in simple ignorance). The important thing is to see the difference between the views expressed by people who do not, on the whole, have anti-communist convictions, and of those whose anti-Sovietism stems from their entire outlook.

Anti-Sovietism is above all a deliberate intention to undermine the authority of the world's first socialist state among the working people with the object of supporting the imperialist forces in the international arena and attacking freedoms and social gains of the working class at home. In other words, it is an ideological weapon wielded by enemies of the people, which they use to conduct a reactionary policy and to create the conditions for achieving their aims.

Efforts are being made to give the popular masses a distorted notion of the Soviet society and of Soviet foreign policy in the hope that they will support or at any rate not condemn the strategy of 'rolling back' socialism, and the idea that a 'limited nuclear war' and a first nuclear strike are thinkable. At the same time, the reactionary circles support the propaganda of US-NATO imperialism by cultivating the impression that the Greek peace movement has been taking 'orders' from abroad and so acting against the national interest. These inventions are aimed to damp down the anti-imperialist mood of the masses. After all, the defence of peace in our country is directly connected with the need to overcome the military-political dependence, withdraw from NATO, dismantle the US military bases and remove nuclear weapons

from Greek territory. Anti-Sovietism in fact signifies efforts for war on an international scale, and an attempt to cripple the forces fighting for Greece's national independence.

Another objective of anti-Sovietism is to dim the perspectives before the working-class movement. In our country, this is being done in four main ways:

First, by slandering the Soviet society. Every aspect of life in the USSR is deliberately smeared and distorted. The question of democracy offers a typical example. An effort is made to convince the working people that bourgeois democracy is the most perfect type, and socialist democracy is measured and analysed according to the yardsticks of the latter, which is, as all know, a form for the political oppression of the working people that has nothing to do with genuine democracy. Hence, the charges levelled against existing socialism, for instance, that it does not allow the existence of bourgeois parties (even though it is a society in which there is no longer any bourgeoisie).

Second, by distorting the meaning of many historical events and current Soviet policy acts. Greek reaction has, for instance, systematically falsified the history of German-Soviet relations in the 1930s, and has distorted the nature of the USSR's assistance to the less developed countries by equating it with the export of capital and the inequitable commodity exchange in the capitalist world.

Third, by highlighting, inflating and often simply inventing shortcomings in the Soviet society. The bourgeois press has claimed that the self-criticism practised in the USSR amounts to an admission that socialism as such has 'failed'. Condemnation of individuals for their anti-social activity is presented as evidence of the population's being opposed to socialism generally.

Fourth, by hushing up facts on the actual social relations in the Soviet Union and the achievements of the new society. Indeed, bourgeois propaganda has ignored every aspect of life which it is unable to smear or distort. As a result, broad masses of people are deprived of elementary information about developments in the USSR.

These techniques are used simultaneously to amplify each other. The main purpose is to poison the minds of the working class and all the participants in the popular movement, and to convince the masses that no society can be run without the rule of the bourgeoisie. Anti-Sovietism is ultimately used to get the working people to think that even if they manage to topple capitalism at the cost of great sacrifice, they will not be much better off under the new system, since its policy will allegedly be conducted without their having any say and against their interests.

Far from everyone is, of course, convinced by such lies, and there is a growing number of those who understand that in principle the bourgeoisie cannot exist without the workers, whereas a society run by the workers without the bourgeoisie can and must be set up in our country as well.

The Chernobyl accident offers a recent and typical example of how Soviet realities are twisted. The accident was widely used to slander the peaceful foreign policy of the socialist state, to undermine its international authority and to reduce the attractiveness of the advanced social system. The bourgeois mass media in Greece strove hard to create an atmosphere of panic and hysteria, exaggerating irrational emotions and countering objective scientific data with lies. Atoms working for peace were equated with nuclear weapons. It was even asserted that the Soviet Union is incapable of using nuclear energy for civilian purposes, which is why it allegedly poses a greater danger than does the bellicose United States. The CPG was accused of failing to join in the anti-Soviet campaign, which was used to try to distract the Greek people from the struggle for an end to nuclear tests, for disarmament and for the abolition of nuclear weapons. The ideologists of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism strove to prevent the masses from understanding that the US nuclear weapons deployed in our country pose a much graver danger than did the Chernobyl accident.

The object was to prevent the working people from demanding larger budget appropriations for peaceful purposes, or the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes only, and to set them against technical progress which helps to put new productive forces in the service of man.

The anti-Soviet campaign in Greece has characteristically involved not only irrational attacks on nuclear energy, but also an offensive against virtually the whole of the country's scientific establishment. Most researchers in the natural sciences working at universities and institutes rejected the false claims and countered the anti-Soviet circles' absurd inventions with their own scientific facts. As a result, they found themselves among the 'accused'.

Our party believes that the subversive campaigns over the Chernobyl accident are bound to boomerang and hit those who were quick to speculate on it. The growing sensitivity among many of those who had earlier been indifferent to the problems arising from the use of nuclear energy creates favourable conditions for enlarging the 'common sense front', which includes the fighters for peace, detente and disarmament.

Greece's major political parties¹—with the exception of the CPG—are seeking a way out of the economic and social crisis gripping the country that would benefit the monopolies in one way or another. While their means may differ, their end is to make the working class and its allies give up the defence of their immediate and long-term interests. The bourgeois and reformist parties are trying to get the working people to submit to the existing system and to be assimilated by it by intensifying their influence on the working class, depriving it of its ideological weapon and paralysing it politically.

The ideological contest is being exacerbated both on the international scale and also between classes in the non-socialist world by the sharpening crisis, the extension of the state's functions under state-monopoly capitalism, and the rise of the international revolutionary movement. That being so, the ruling class seeks to attain its political objectives by resorting to diverse tactics in the ideological struggle.

One of its tactical lines is to convince the working people that state-monopoly capitalism is a system meeting their interests and so deserving of their active support. However, there is no response among the popular masses to such calls. To add conviction, attempts are being made to use anti-Sovietism so as to prevent the Greek working people from becoming aware of the successes of existing socialism, which is depicted as a 'failed experiment', while capitalism is embellished and presented as the historically best system. Even when its flaws are recognised, these are said to be accidental, not organic to the system itself, and resulting from departures from the laws and principles on which the 'free' capitalist society functions. In accordance with such views, which are characteristic above all of members of the neoconservative trend, the troubles of that society are blamed on the popular movement itself and on the socialist countries, whose existence is said to force capitalism to make concessions and act in 'an uncharacteristic' manner. In this way, an attempt is being made to deceive the working people about the real roots of their problem and to justify the authorities' anti-democratic and anti-people measures.

Now and again, bourgeois reformist leaders will admit that state-monopoly capitalism has some shortcomings, but claim that it is capable of modernising itself and correcting them by means of reform. That is said to be the capitalist states' main advantage over the socialist states, which are allegedly unable to keep in step with the times. It is claimed that the USSR fears the capitalist countries' 'dynamism', and for that reason takes a hostile attitude to them, displaying 'militaristic tendencies' and opposing 'progress' (which is identified with the modernisation or patching up of the capitalist system).

Advocates of another tactic (which is also popular among some petty-bourgeois

ideologists and PASOK leaders) admit that capitalism falls short of meeting the requirements and interests of the working people. Addressing themselves to those who reject capitalism for various reasons, they seek to prevent such attitudes from developing into conscious and vigorous action against the system. 'Indeed, capitalism is not for you,' they hypocritically tell progressive-minded citizens, 'but one has to make do with it. Nothing better will come out of the fight against capitalism. What is more, it will mean futile sacrifice, suffering and great hardship.' In order to back up such conclusions, the local bourgeoisie and imperialism are depicted as almighty. The international results of the proletariat's struggle and its historic achievements, above all the formation of the USSR and the world socialist system, are presented as something useless that has done nothing to change the social condition of the working class. At the same time, efforts are being made to prove that the aspirations of the working people have remained unrealised. It is claimed that a 'state militarism'² has been set up in the USSR, where there is a 'return to capitalism'³—and which allegedly acts as a 'superpower with a hegemonistic role in the world arena'.⁴

Imperialist propaganda presents the political system in the countries of existing socialism, primarily the Soviet system, as a 'totalitarian regime'. The draft government programme of the New Democracy Party, published in February 1984, slanderously calls it a 'police system'. Reformists and revisionists of every stripe also make use of the phoney theory of 'totalitarianism', though not in its entirety, but merely drawing on it for arguments and relying on the preconceptions which it spreads. Some of them claim that the society which has been built in the Soviet Union is not socialism or, at any rate, not 'the real thing'. The record of the October Revolution and the Soviet People's postrevolutionary gains are completely denied.

Let us note that even when the historical significance of the October Revolution is admitted, it is limited geographically and in time. It is claimed that the Revolution did the Soviet people good, but only up to a point, since it has ceased to be 'an engine of history', while the course of the world's first socialist state since then has not met the requirements of international progress. The USSR's experience is said to be almost exclusively an expression of 'Russia's peculiarities', so that it is not worth while to study it, but if one has to do so, then one should do so mainly for the 'negative example' it presents.

A third tactical concept has been spun out in the recent period, as the economic crisis in Greece worsened. Its arguments are addressed to that section of the popular masses which take a friendly attitude to the Soviet Union, without fully sharing the political views of the CPG. The advocates of the third tactic would like to identify the government's 'crisis management' policy in Greece with the CPSU's line of reforms. The attempts to overcome the strident contradictions of capitalism at the expense of the working people through their further subjection to the exploiters are being equated with the Soviet society's creative efforts to accelerate economic and social development. The raising of labour productivity in the USSR for the people's benefit is likened to the production sweatshop which yields higher profits for the capitalists. Socialist integration and the development of cooperation of the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) are cited as example justifying Greece's membership of imperialist economic communities and its growing dependence on them. The crisis phenomena are presented as being common to the whole world, instead of being only a capitalist disorder. It is claimed, for example, that unemployment and inflation are to be found both in capitalist Greece and in the USSR.

These inventions are based above all on the old bourgeois theories of 'convergence', 'post-industrial society', etc., whose authors deliberately sidestep the problems of social relations and the class struggle, and absolutise the role of

technology in social development.

Among other characteristic assertions is that planning has allegedly not promoted the development of the Soviet economy or the raising of the general well-being despite the fact that authentic statistical data testify to the very opposite. Reading between the lines, one finds that the purpose of such assertions is to justify the social inequality, poverty, illiteracy and unemployment in Greece, to whitewash a society ruled by the capitalist market's law of the jungle ('You die to let me live'), and to create the impression that the domination of relations between exploiters and exploited are everlasting and historically necessary.

Everyday bourgeois press propaganda is most viciously anti-Soviet. It takes the form of massive printings of pulp literature paperbacks, such as police and spy thrillers. These make no bones about pinning the blame for every crime in the book on the 'Kay-Gee-Bee'. The same thing is done in somewhat subtler form in political novels.

Anti-Soviet views are being purposefully disseminated on radio and television, both in the news bulletins (especially on the defence of peace, events in Indochina, Poland and around Afghanistan), and in entertainment programmes. British and US spy-thriller serials now and again screened on television depict representatives of the Soviet state as sinister figures.

Some secondary and higher schools and their text books are used to spread anti-Sovietism. Classes are held in schools to extol the 'benefits' of the EEC and to present NATO as a peacemaker, and to condemn the CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (for instance, at geography lessons in the sixth grade of the primary school, in the 'Fundamentals of Political Economy' for third-year college students, etc.). It is claimed that the level of education, science and research in the USSR is low because of 'politicisation', 'lack of freedom', and poor technical facilities. These inventions are all the more odious since these fields in our own country are in a most deplorable state when compared with the Soviet Union's actual achievements.

As a stand of bourgeois thinking in social theory, and as a form used to popularise it, anti-Sovietism is designed to facilitate the moulding of an everyday mentality that would make it possible to pass off for the real thing a false picture of existing socialism, and to justify the aggressiveness of imperialism in the international arena and reactionary policy at home. This is done through ideological subversions aimed to disrupt the unity of the working class and its allies, to prevent the society from being democratised, and the proletariat's demands from being satisfied. The whole purpose of the exercise is to dim the very prospect of a socialist revolution in Greece and to deny the law-governed transition to socialism and the ways of moving towards it, as the CPG has proposed.

Those who have no true notion of the goals of the communist movement are invited to look for a 'third way' suggesting a modernised scenario for capitalism that would be known as 'socialism'. In this context, it is claimed that power in the Soviet Union does not belong to the working people led by the working class, but to the 'party'. In this way, the bourgeoisie hopes to cover up the nature of its own power: by presenting the rule of capital as rule by this or that party, the advocates of capitalism insist that if anything is wrong in the system, the blame falls on that party's policy, and not on the system itself.

Ernest Thaelmann, the prominent leader of the international working-class movement, once said that every Communist is judged by his attitude to the Soviet Union, and that is very true.

This principle was formulated at the 11th Congress of the CP Greece as follows: "We believe that attitude to the Soviet Union and to all the other countries of existing socialism is the basic criterion of proletarian internationalism. . . . Objective reports on the building of the new society in the countries of existing socialism help us to

resolutely rebuff both hostile propaganda aimed against existing socialism, and the petty-bourgeois theories of socialism. Creative study of the varied experience of such construction helps us to elaborate our own socialist perspective, the building of socialism in the conditions of our own country, which will undoubtedly have its own specific features, but which, for all that, will rest on the basic law-governed uniformities of socialism."⁵

The CPG attaches much importance to the efforts to assert internationalist principles and ideas to counter bourgeois cosmopolitanism and the theory of dependence. At the same time, we resolutely oppose the attempts to present our party as a force that is neither national nor patriotic. The attempts by a revisionist group to label the CPG as an 'external' communist party has failed. That group was quick to accept the slanderous inventions of reaction in hinting that our party does not take a patriotic line, but is a conscious 'vehicle of alien interests' in Greece. The CPG, with its long-standing traditions of patriotism in our country, a party which has made the greatest sacrifices, daily demonstrates that its internationalist and patriotic tasks are identical. The Communists' action to turn Greece into a country of peace, to get it out of NATO, to get rid of the foreign military bases and the nuclear weapons is deeply patriotic, because that is the only way to ensure our country's survival, while making a contribution to the cause of world peace.

By contrast, the stand taken by the oligarchy and the government poses a direct threat to the country's future. In one way or another, they have allowed entire components of the state mechanism to be controlled by foreign forces or to be linked with them, and they have permitted the presence on Greek soil of spy planes and nuclear weapons intended for use against the Soviet Union.

Anti-Sovietism, our party says, is used as an instrument to disorient the working people, to weaken their struggle for political change, and restrict their democratic rights. In broader terms, it is used to prevent the growth of the mass class consciousness and the assertion of historical optimism. It is used to divide not only the Greek, but also the international proletariat, and to deprive the Greek working people of any support in the form of internationalist solidarity, while the oligarchy continues to maintain its international alliances.

In the light of its long history, the CPG believes that concessions to anti-Soviet ideas signify abandonment of the national and international solidarity of the working people, of the socialist perspective, and of a bloc-free peaceful foreign policy. Anti-Sovietism deprives of important support the Greece of the future, as a country of social change which will be in need of international support in its confrontation with imperialism.

Our party has exposed this hostile propaganda and striven to educate its members and all the other working people on the principles of proletarian internationalism, in a spirit of affection for, and friendship, mutual understanding and solidarity with, the Soviet people and the world's first socialist state. This is a matter of principle determined above all by the revolutionary tasks facing the party. It has used the most diverse means to inform the broadest circles of the working people about the successes of socialism. Popularisation of the USSR's achievements gives the Greek proletariat and the whole people confidence in their strength.

In this context, the development of Greek-Soviet relations in various fields is of great importance, with technical and economic ties offering a variety of benefits. Purchases of Soviet goods and technology enable every fair-minded citizen of our country to get to know about the Soviet Union's industrial achievements at first hand, and to discover that it does have a sophisticated economy, and is not at all a 'backward' country. This experience shows that there can be and are equitable trade relations that are totally different from the relations of dependence and ruthless exploitation asserted by imperialism. The extension of Greek-Soviet cooperation

helps our people to understand that by establishing commonsense international economic ties the country can develop on the basis of a policy differing from that imposed by the International Monetary Fund and the EEC.

Exchanges in culture, sport and tourist travel give Greek citizens an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the Soviet realities and with the Soviet people, who are educated in a spirit of humanism and respect for the cultural patrimony of all the peoples, of mankind as a whole. Through our ties in education and public health, thousands of our citizens have received medical care in the USSR and have studied in that country, and this increasingly helps to dispel the prejudice rooted in anti-Sovietism. A knowledge of life in the Soviet society opens the working people's eyes to the lies of bourgeois propaganda and convinces them that it is worth while to struggle for progressive change and for socialism, and that every effort must be made to safeguard peace and national dependence, and to rely on the ideas of historical optimism.

¹ In addition to the main parties there are now new and relatively small parties in Greece, such as those led by former PASOK leaders: members of its Executive Committee, ministers, members of parliament and others. These parties favour cooperation with the Communists and oppose anti-Sovietism.

² Andreas Papandreou, *Human Freedom*, Athens, 1972, p. 95 (in Greek).

³ Andreas Papandreou, *Transition to Socialism*, Athens, 1979, p. 14 (in Greek).

⁴ *PASOK Congress*, Athens, 1984, p. 64 (in Greek).

⁵ *11th Congress of the CPG. Documents*, December 1982, p. 17 (in Greek).

Small Country, Big Lie

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Costa Rica, bordering in the north on Sandinist Nicaragua, is a pulsating focus of the most acute contradictions of our day in Latin America, and possibly in the rest of the world as well. Some say that Costa Rica has a "model" bourgeois democratic system, because its government, more or less observing the basic democratic rights, has proclaimed its "neutrality" and has promised to fight for peace. It is well known, on the other hand, that the bands of mercenaries, whom Reagan calls "freedom fighters", have been carrying on their operations against the Sandinist Revolution from Costa Rican territory. They have had training camps with logistic and propaganda back-up on our soil for years.

Nor can one ignore the fact that, despite the evident sympathies of Costa Rica's ruling National Liberation Party (NLP)¹ for the policies of the United States, which has been directing the operations by the mercenaries, the party continues to win enough votes to stay in power, as this year's February elections showed.

Even observers of political developments in Central America find it hard to understand why the government of "democratic" Costa Rica not only approves of US funding of the war against Nicaragua, but has also joined some of the other regimes in the subregion in an effort to frustrate in every way the peace-making efforts of the Contadora Group and the South American states supporting it. Observers ask this question: how is it that the people of Costa Rica, with its well-known democratic traditions, has reconciled itself with such political two-timing, so that the facts keep cutting across the official statements? A part of the explanation is that its external debt hangs like the sword of Damocles over it: reckoned per head, it is the second largest in the world, after Israel's. The United States keeps putting brazen pressure on our

republic by manipulating new loans and subsidies, which allow its economy barely to keep afloat.

The other part of the explanation lies in the fact that the Costa Ricans' democratic consciousness is being largely manipulated by a gigantic propaganda campaign carried on by the bourgeois mass media under daily direction from the US embassy. That is what this article is about.

The propagandists now serving the bourgeoisie and imperialism have learnt well the lessons of Goebbels. In the 1960's, the mass media in Costa Rica staged an anti-communist and anti-Cuban orgy which, despite its vast proportions, appears in the light of the present as no more than a modest specimen of what the country is now going through. The basest methods have been used: thus, all the papers published a two-page spread of photographs of Costa Ricans who had visited Cuba under this foot-size caption: "Traitors to Their Country"; then radio audiences heard the dramatised desperate shrieks of women: "The Communists are taking away my children!" Such tricks are a reflection of the general atmosphere which had led to repression in the country and to diplomatic attacks against Cuba. Their effects persist to this day.

In view of the scale of the current campaign, the ideological offensive of the 1960's was no more than a sortie, especially considering that it hardly involved television: it was then just being introduced, and has now become the shock force in the psychological warfare.

The Same Conductor

The daily printing of newspapers in Costa Rica is about 170,000 copies circulating among its 2.5 million inhabitants. By the end of 1985, there were 99 radio stations, each broadcasting at least 15 hours a day, and 6—round the clock. TV viewers are offered six colour channels, three of which operate more than 12 hours a day, and the rest—about 8 hours. In addition, 36 channels of cable television from the United States are available at relatively low subscription rates. This service is now being actively expanded.

The bourgeois mass media are well orchestrated and absolutely outnumber the left-wing and democratic press. Hence their great potentialities in stuffing the heads of their audiences with the wildest inventions: this is done very swiftly through radio and television, and then driven home in the printed media, or repeated again and again by all the technical media. Since the end of 1978, the managers of the mass media have met regularly to analyse the domestic and international situation and to work out a joint approach to the various events.

It is not hard to guess who has sponsored these meetings: US embassy press officers will be seen lurking in the media offices. At any rate, they have no lack of local middlemen whenever they feel that a personal appearance is undesirable. The Costa Rican Commission for Development Initiatives (CINDE), set up on the basis of generous "injections" from the Agency for International Development (AID), which operates in the United States, maintains constant contacts with our press, radio and television, because it is one of their major clients. CINDE has not even tried to cover up its pro-imperialist character, and is generous in funding the propaganda media amendable to Washington's recommendations. It was initially set up for the purpose of the country's receiving some imaginary benefits from Reagan's "Caribbean Initiative",² but it is now overtly acting as an instrument of psychological warfare, as a major investor in propaganda, and as an employer of capable but unscrupulous journalists. In short, AID does not work for "development", as its name implies, but for ideological and political orchestration of mass media subversion.

The propaganda offensive by the bourgeois media is, of course, being resisted by our party and the other left-wing and democratic forces, whose publications carry calls for solidarity with Nicaragua and insistence on the right to free and truthful information.

But the campaign mounted by the enemies of freedom and democracy has not subsided despite the fact that it is based on the big lie.

Orchestrating Mass Fraud

The capitalist mass media in Costa Rica, like the bourgeoisie itself, are highly organised. The ruling class is sure that it now needs to unite its ranks, and so the bourgeois radio stations have been brought together in a National Radio Chamber. Apart from protecting its members' commercial interests, it also has an essential ideological function which is not too widely advertised. The concrete result of the Chamber's activity is a 7.00 a.m. programme broadcast by all the radio stations in the country: that is when the largest audiences are expected to tune in. These audiences have been made captive by this massive and extensive use of the mass media. The broadcast runs for 15 minutes and is up to a high standard. Among its items is usually some episode from the history of Costa Rica, which is well known to most of our compatriots, or a quotation from some prominent writer. This part of the broadcast, which does not arouse any suspicions, is designed to lull the audience. Then follows a dose of propaganda poison: with his insinuating voice, the announcer attacks Nicaragua, Cuba and communism, praises private enterprise and Costa Rica's "unique" democracy, all of which are designed brazenly to stimulate the basest chauvinistic feelings.

Apart from the centre which acts as the radio stations' conductor, there is a National Chamber of the Communications Media, of which little is said, but which is undoubtedly the highest organ for orchestrating bourgeois propaganda.

"Radiophonic Sovereignty"

As the Sandinist Revolution in Nicaragua gained in depth and aroused the ever greater hatred of the imperialists and their henchmen, including those in Costa Rica, even greater efforts were made not only to jam Nicaraguan radio and TV broadcasts in Costa Rica, but also to carry on a real war on the air waves against that neighbouring country. The minister for information under President Monge (1982-1986) invented what he called the theory of "radiophonic sovereignty" according to which the authorities have the duty to safeguard their citizens from any broadcasts from Nicaragua. So our government, which has been so loudly presented as a champion of pluralism and democracy, took concrete measures to prevent its citizens from seeing and hearing anything that it considered to be undesirable. At the same time, Nicaragua was hypocritically accused of alleged violations of freedom of the press.

As a first step under the speculative theory of "radiophonic sovereignty", the authorities permitted the Voice of America, a radio station catering for the CIA, to set up a powerful broadcasting centre, whose bellicose transmissions not only encroach on Nicaragua's sovereignty, but also spread fear and discontent among the people. The radio station operates in the north of our country from where the bands of mercenaries launch their raids, and looks like a real military base, which it in fact is: it is ringed with barbed wire fences, concrete bunkers and sentries.

Other broadcasting stations, filling the air waves through our national territory and jamming Radio Sandino and the Voice of Nicaragua programmes are also being financed from various other sources. It is a peculiar fact that among the chief sponsors of such air piracy is the tiny European state of Liechtenstein, which has already subsidised the construction of more than 10 radio stations in our country. Why this sudden love for Costa Rica? No one knows for sure, but a conclusion can be made that in Liechtenstein, which happens to be a centre of TNC financial activity, not only the interests of straightforward business, but also of the leading secret services of the imperialist powers engaged in psychological warfare come into play. It is indicative, for instance, that in recent years a "VIP" of Liechtenstein has come to Costa Rica every four or five months to attend, with pomp and ceremony, the inauguration of yet

another radio station in the country. Is it surprising that, out of all proportion to our actual information requirements, there are almost 100 radio stations in the country, with a territory of only 51,000 sq km? One has to ask: where does the daily financial oiling of this propaganda machine come from?

Like a Military Operation

Almost all the mass media in Costa Rica receive their funds from commercial advertising. The exceptions are the several radio stations owned by the churches, the state and the universities, but these are few. TV stations, including state-owned ones, like newspapers and magazines, also feed on advertising. Apart from the major national and foreign commercial companies, advertising is supplied by the CINDE, the Costa Rican Institute of Private Enterprise, the Federation of Chambers, and the chambers of entrepreneurs themselves. The practices of commercial advertising also reveal the unity of the bourgeoisie's class interests. Hardly any of its "salvoes" miss their mark. Advertising not only offers goods and services, but directly or indirectly sells the existing economic and social system and attacks any proposals for change.

Private property is the main preoccupation of propaganda: never before in the history of our republic has it been extolled so frankly and arrogantly. Every effort is being made to get the population to believe an idea which terrifies the Costa Rican bourgeoisie, namely, that its regime is inevitably threatened by the "communism" which is supposed to rule Nicaragua. Costa Ricans have seen hundreds of times on their TV screens a grey-haired man, evidently a respectable paterfamilias, opening his little "business" in the morning and asking: "What will happen to me if they take it away from me? What will happen if I am no longer able to open it one fine morning? What will my employees do?" In view of the glaring propaganda context, the purpose of the trick is transparent: it is aimed not only against Nicaragua, but also against socialism, which allegedly ruins the small businessman as well.

Private property is being stridently identified with freedom, democracy, tradition, homeland, security and other equally cherished values. Whether our citizens like it or not, the following slogan is being drummed into their heads: "Private Enterprise Produces Freedom". The propaganda pressure is so great that it is, for all practical purposes, very hard not to succumb to it. It also acts on the readers of newspapers.

The propaganda campaign is being geared up over the tattered bourgeois "truths", which are being presented in positive and assertive terms. Thus, an advertising poster circulated last year at the cost of millions of dollars shows a group of people representing various social strata, with employers and employees shoulder to shoulder in the forefront, going onward and upward in scaling a mountain peak. This and similar other posters carry the caption: "Let Us Lead Costa Rica Onto the Shining Path". Such images feed off the patriotism and the idea of "national unity" for the purposes of enrichment, while obscuring the crying class contrasts. The AID is unstinting in its funding of such propaganda acts, operating through the channels of the CINDE. Apart from manipulating public opinion, its orders send a stream of dollars into the pockets of those who own the mass media, so keeping a disproportionately inflated machine in our small country.

Nicaragua: The Main Target

In the face of this overt ideological aggression, one recalls what Mikhail Gorbachov so exactly formulated in the CC Political Report to the 27th Congress of the CPSU, when he said: "We have no right to forget that psychological warfare is a struggle for people's minds, their understanding of the world, their vital, social and spiritual bearings. We are contending with skilful class adversary, whose political experience is diverse and centuries-old in terms of time. He has built up a mammoth mass propaganda machine equipped with sophisticated technical means and having a huge apparatus of schooled haters of socialism."³

All of this fully applies to the anti-Nicaragua propaganda. Our ideological adversaries started by tagging the Sandinist Revolution as a "communist" one, allegedly carried out on orders from Cuba and the Soviet Union and now under their control. This "revelation" enables the bourgeois mass media to lighten their poison glands considerably by spouting against the young revolution the full charge of their propaganda venom, which they had accumulated over the long years of their attacks against Cuba, socialism, the USSR and all things related to them. Nicaragua was at once ranked among the countries opposed to the "democratic", "Christian", and "free" Western world. Having declared that, the bourgeois ideologists shed virtually all of their remaining moral scruples internationally, and can now use any slander, any trick in the mass media, ignoring all the obstacles.

An analysis of the propaganda material being spread about in recent years (and its content is essentially the same for all the countries under imperialist domination) shows an outstanding aggressiveness, sweep, ferocity, immorality and, of course, completely concerted evaluations.

The bourgeois mass media daily attack the Sandinist Revolution with a ferocity that puts one in mind of a well-prepared artillery barrage. Today they shout about priests being persecuted in Nicaragua; tomorrow about the decline of living standards in the country; after tomorrow, about its lack of free speech. The idea that Nicaragua was being "militarised" was used to the hilt, while nothing at all was said about the aggression to which the Nicaraguan people is being subjected, and the dangers it has to face. Imperialist propaganda claims that the Sandinist Revolution is "expansionist", that Nicaraguans are allegedly about to occupy the province of Guanacaste (in the north of Costa Rica), and to hamper Costa Rican navigation along the frontier river of San Juan.

The imaginary menace of an "invasion" by Nicaragua is being used to hot up chauvinistic attitudes to an extreme. Let us recall that the mercenaries launching their attacks from Costa Rican territory and the fighters of the Sandinist People's Army are engaged in military operations along a sometimes undemarcated borderline. This fact is used all the time for the purposes of the so-called black propaganda, which is based on statements by mysterious "local inhabitants", or "official spokesmen who prefer to remain anonymous". With references to such "sources", there is daily publication of the lie that the Sandinists have invaded the territory of Costa Rica. Any such report, however dubious the source, is instantly seized upon and blown up by all the mass media, so that one shortly comes to feel that we are on the brink of war. Thereupon, the tone of the propaganda noise over the imaginary border incident is temporarily lowered, because lies have short legs, and a new topic is then worked up.

Considering that clashes take place continuously along the entire length of the border, there is always enough "material" for stoking up this campaign of hatred and for stepping up the war hysteria. It has sometimes reached extremely dangerous proportions, as it did in 1985 over the sensationalised incident in Las Crucitas, an obvious provocation which has been organised by the counter-revolution with the consent of CIA advisers, planned in advance and repeatedly advertised. Making use of a drive by the Sandinist People's Army in the frontier area, Reagan's mercenaries opened fire on the Costa Rican patrol, and put the blame on the Nicaraguans. It was an incident which was actively played up for weeks on end, with the whole mass media potential set in motion to produce an atmosphere of virtual war hysteria over Nicaragua.

Such campaigns, of course, have some effects only inside the country. There is no wide international support for such charges by the Costa Rican government. In a resolution on this issue, even the Organisation of American States did not recognise that right was on Costa Rica's side. Still, pro-imperialist propaganda tried once again on that occasion to pour oil on the flames.

How Lies Are Fabricated

In this war of images and words, the utmost use of the adversary's weaknesses and problems is regarded as normal practice. The bourgeois mass media, taking their cue from the tenets of psychological warfare, have said nothing about the aggression to which Nicaragua has fallen victim, while depicting, with a stubbornness worthy of better application, its economic hardships as being the result of mismanagement, or as proof that "communism" has failed, but never as a result of the military operations and the blockade. In this way, the idea is being driven home that the problems of supply faced by the Nicaraguan people have been caused by the revolutionary transformations in the country's economy. Great play in this context was made of the fact that Nicaragua owes a debt to Costa Rica which it ran up when the Sandinists were unable to pay for a part of the goods purchased in our country. The blame for all these difficulties is pinned on the Sandinist government, although they are actually a direct outcome of the aggression.

In the ongoing campaign, Nicaragua is being depicted not only as a "communist", "expansionist", "aggressive", "militarised" and "superarmed" country, but also as a victim of economic collapse. This operation is naturally targeted simultaneously at our northern neighbour, and at Costa Rica's own population, which is being induced to fear revolution, along with the anti-communist and chauvinistic attitudes.

Here is an example of crude propaganda which goes beyond the framework even of the generally accepted niceties. An editorial article in one of the major Costa Rican newspapers on April 5 of this year began with the following assertion: "Any communist state tends to turn into small change and propaganda concoction everything that comes to hand, everything that it sees, hears and feels." It then went on to qualify that as "political schizophrenia". According to the article, which was commenting on an official message from the Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega to Costa Rican President Luis Alerto Monge, the Sandinist leader had allegedly displayed a "barrack-room arrogance" and had a "persecution mania"; the article called him a "despot", who had "betrayed the ideals of the revolution", and had submitted to "the oppression of Marxism-Leninism", claiming that he "fears freedom", that "he has lost all contact with the people" and so on and so forth. All that abuse addressed to the head of a neighbouring country will be found in an editorial article which runs to no more than 500 words.⁴

Anyone reading the items in the other printed media that and the following day would easily discover that such abuse was repeated again and again. On the TV screen it was also illustrated with films and stills showing life in Nicaragua in the most sinister tones. At that point politicians and official spokesmen went into action. On April 6, the press carried a statement by the then president of Costa Rica, who fraudulently accused Nicaragua of having rejected the Contadora proposals, that it had taken up an "aggressive stance" and that it had "neither genuine interest nor urge for peace in Central America"⁵. One daily ran the statement under the following headline: "Nicaragua Does Not Want Peace in Central America". Another headline nearby declared: "Sandinists on Costa Rican Soil" (then followed a canard about "another raid" by the Sandinist People's Army on our territory).⁶

Let us note that by way of preparation for this propaganda provocation, the bourgeois papers of April 4 carried photographs of mines laid in our frontier zone. Who had planted the mines was not clear, although that is the area where the military bases of the contras are located. *La Nación* declared that "there are reports that the explosives were left by the Sandinists". What was the source of the reports? Where was the proof? It makes not the slightest difference! The important thing is to get the reader to believe that the Nicaraguans had invaded Costa Rica in order to plant the mines which threaten the lives of the local peasants.

This type of propaganda has been daily used by the bourgeois mass media over the past five or six years. Such reports and "commentaries" are being ceaselessly and

stridently drummed into the minds of citizens, who are incapable of resisting this ideological offensive in a country where there are three radio receivers and one TV set per family, and where one newspaper copy is available for 14 persons.

The propaganda situation in Costa Rica is not very different from that in other countries under imperialist domination, but in view of the peculiarities of the Costa Rican bourgeois democratic system, the absence of an army as a standing institution (although militarisation is proceeding apace) and also neighbourhood with revolutionary Nicaragua, the psychological warfare being conducted on our territory is of exceptional importance for US imperialism and the local bourgeoisie.

These propaganda exercises, as I have said, have the purpose of isolating Nicaragua ideologically, preventing the penetration of progressive ideas into Costa Rica, scaring the working people with the spectre of revolution, and keeping them in a state of constant docility. These ideological subversions naturally also provide cover for the mercenaries' operations. The war is being fought not only against Nicaragua, but also against the Costa Ricans' social consciousness.

That helps to understand why a sizable part of the population in Costa Rica takes a fairly tolerant attitude to this policy, despite the obvious danger of imperialist intervention and world-wide public condemnation of the Reagan administration's glaringly biased policy. It is the result of the massive anti-Sandinist campaign which I have described.

Still, reaction will not have its way. Our party, the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, and other democratic and left-wing forces voicing solidarity with Nicaragua are carrying on a persevering and consistent struggle against every type of big lie in the service of imperialism. Defence of the Nicaraguans' right to decide their own future is an organic part of the battle for a better future for the peoples of Central America.

¹ Founded in 1945 and known until 1948 as the Social Democratic Party. It is a member of the Socialist International. -Ed.

² For details, see Cheddi Jagan, "The Caribbean Danger Zone", *WMR*, No. 8, 1983.

³ Mikhail Gorbachov, *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Moscow, 1968, p.100.

⁴ *La Nación*, April 5, 1986.

⁵ Let us recall that the Sandinist government supports the Contadora proposals.

⁶ *La República*, April 9, 1986.

After the Bloodbath

Samir Haddad - CC member, Jordanian Communist Party (JCP)

There had not been such appalling bloodshed in our country as last May's since September 1970.¹ Even the 1977 mutiny of the Al-Zarqa garrison was not put down with such brutality, although it involved the most sacrosanct pillar of political power, the army, in which the slightest disobedience is ruthlessly stamped out by the Jordanian regime. What happened this time?

The fierce and criminal US attack on the Libyan Jamahiriya stunned our people, who branded its organisers with ignominy, and voiced solidarity with their Libyan brothers, and their indignation at the attempts to threaten aggression against another Arab country, Syria. Political parties and organisations decided to stage a demonstration at the US Embassy in Amman so as to display their will and the mood of the popular masses. The demonstrators, with Communists to the fore, burnt a US flag before the embassy building, and chanted slogans censuring the acts of the Reagan administration and US imperialism. These slogans were also upheld by onlookers,

including members of the police. The authorities had to send in the security forces, which are closely linked with the CIA. They began to disperse the demonstrators in the most savage manner. Some of our party leaders and prominent patriots were arrested, and many of them were wounded.

A group of Jordanian women tried to stage a sit-in strike at the headquarters of the International Red Cross. Once again the security forces used force to break up the strike, but it had highly extensive reverberations and left a strong impression on public opinion.

Students and other young people did not remain indifferent to the protests. They voiced their condemnation of the crime in various ways: they drew up petitions, and staged strikes and demonstrations. The intensity of political attitudes went hand in hand with more vigorous struggle for the satisfaction of the students' vital demands. Thus, the students of Yarmuk University insisted on, among other things, the reinstatement of those who had taken part in the anti-US demonstrations and who had been expelled from the university, release of the more than thirty arrested fellow-students, abolition of the recently introduced additional tuition fees in some departments, and steps to normalise the situation at the university. These demands were the basis of the patriotic unity of all the students, including those who had come to study from Persian Gulf countries.

In response to the well-knit, peaceful and orderly demonstrations and rallies which proceeded on the university campus for several days, the security forces and Bedouin army units staged a bloodbath. They stormed the campus and the student hostels with batons, tear-gas grenades, firearms and police dogs, and massacred the young people: dozens of students, including young women, were killed and wounded.

The infamous operation aroused the indignation of the inhabitants of the nearby townships of Irbid and El Ramtha, who voiced full support for the students and helped them in every way. In response, the security forces blockaded Irbid, which was cut off from the rest of the country for several days. A wave of arrests rolled across Jordan, and among the imprisoned were many of our party leaders, including First Secretary of the JCP CC Faik Warrad,² and prominent leaders of the national-democratic movement. But the hysterical campaign aimed to intimidate the masses boomeranged against its perpetrators. The flames of wrath in the midst of the populace were not to be damped down.

What are the real and underlying reasons for these tragic events? One can hardly consider in all seriousness the empty arguments used by the authorities in justification of their acts.

Behind the massacre at Yarmuk University, the arrests of the Communists and other patriots and the step-up of the repression campaign is a sharpening of the contradictions between the popular masses and the authorities, which, for their part, are rooted in the deep-seated political, economic and social crises that has gripped the country.

Everyone is by now aware of the fiasco of the Jordanian ruling circles' policy of linking up with US imperialism and helping it to implement its plans for our region. The illusions which some had about the US projects for settling the Middle East crisis have also been dispelled. The "joint Jordanian-Palestinian line" of moving closer to Washington has collapsed. The Jordanian regime encouraged the right-wing trend within the official leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, and pushed it into convening a splinter session of the Palestine National Council in Amman, and then into concluding the Amman Accord of February 11, 1985.³ Jordan's rulers expected the "Palestinian card" to be an ace at the forthcoming Arab summit and also in the course of the negotiations King Hussein was to have in some Western capitals: Paris, London and Washington. But on February 19, 1986, after a year-long dialogue, Hussein announced an end to coordinating action with the PLO. The offices of El Fatah, the largest organisation within the PLO, were later closed down in the country.

Jordan's search for a settlement of the Middle East problem has once again run into a dead end.

The country's ruling circles continue to take an inconsistent and ambiguous stand on this issue. On the one hand, they pay lip service to the Soviet Union's idea of convening an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all the sides concerned, including the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. On the other hand, their acts could turn such a conference into a screen for separate deals made overtly and in public, whenever the need arose. Evidence of this comes from the reports of a meeting held at Aqaba in late April by President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, King Hussein, and Prime Minister Shimon Peres of Israel. There are indications that at the meeting Hussein accepted the project for "administrative autonomy" and a "separation of functions" on the West Bank of the Jordan River between Israel and Jordan.

There is more active behind-the-scenes Israeli-Jordanian cooperation in finding and presenting as leaders of the Palestinians in the occupied territories men who are not connected with the PLO and who take a "moderate" stand, which is the shorthand for collaborators. That is the context in which one should also consider the plans for Jordan's allocation of \$250 million a year over a period of five years to "improve living conditions" of the West Bank population groaning under the yoke of the invaders.

Meanwhile, the United States and Israel have intensified their pressure on the Arab countries and continue their provocative sallies against them. Aggression continues to loom over the region. This has been brought out in boldest relief by the armed raid on Libya, the arrogant threats against Syria, and the further build-up of the US-Israeli "strategic alliance", which keeps spawning ever new aggressive schemes in the spirit of Washington's strategy of neoglobalism.

Imperialism and Zionism have been trying to involve Jordan in the "Camp David process" (especially since the Lebanese, Palestinian and Syrian patriots joined in frustrating the enslaving agreement with Israel of May 17, 1983, imposed on Lebanon) so as to turn it into an instrument that could be used to scrap the Palestinian problem and crush the national rights of the Palestinians. But our people refuse to bend to the imperialist diktat. Its militant action has upset the expectations of Washington and the forces following its policy, which have tried to encroach on Jordan's national independence and sovereignty, and to reduce it to the status of one of their backyards.

Ferment in the midst of the people has also increased because of the acute crises phenomena in the national economy, which have grown to such proportions that they can no longer be kept under wraps. There is no longer any talk of the "prosperity", so lavish until recently in the Jordanian mass media, which now report on the government's intentions to "revive economic activity".

The crisis has hit every sphere and sector of the economy. Many industrial enterprises, unable to find a market for their products either at home or abroad, are going to the wall and closing down. The production and marketing of farm produce are in a state of disorder. The country is increasingly dependent on imports of foodstuffs like cereals, meat, cooking oils, etc. There is obvious stagnation in trade. By the end of 1984, the external debt had risen to almost one billion dinars⁴ (in addition to the over \$1 billion debt run up on purchases of weapons and military equipment), which is among the highest in the world when reckoned per head. The total debt (internal and external) was almost equal to the gross national product. In 1985, the external debt kept going up and up, while the service payments increased to 14 per cent of this year's budget appropriations, coming to almost one-half of the commodity export revenues.

The advocates of the existing system claim that the causes of the country's difficulties are external: the impact of the general crisis of the capitalist world economy, the failure of the Arab states to meet their financial commitments to Jordan, and the Middle East conflict, which remains unsettled and tends to produce inordinate military spending. While these factors are certainly significant, the main cause lies

elsewhere, namely, in the policy purposefully pursued by the successive Jordanian governments. Its main features are the country's ever greater economic dependence on the capitalist world, and the deepening of the internal social-class differentiation for the benefit of the ruling bloc. This policy has compounded the structural deformations in the economy inherited from the colonial period, and so has made it even more vulnerable to the ruinous effects of the crises upheavals in the capitalist world economy and of other external factors.

Thus, with the outbreak of the civil war in Lebanon, capital poured from that country into Jordan, which was seen as an "investors' oasis". Apart from everything else, this sharply increased demand for residential and administrative buildings, and sparked off a construction boom. Sumptuous bank and commercial company offices were erected. Land values and house prices soared. But very soon the tide subsided, and the Lebanese bourgeoisie's illusions about a "Jordanian oasis" evaporated: it headed for Europe together with its capital, while the Jordanians who had stampeded to invest in building were, in a sense, left holding the bag. The housing crisis was exacerbated to an extreme, while thousands of flats stood vacant because their prices were prohibitive even for people in the middle-income bracket.

There was a similar situation in the early 1980s, when the Iraq-Iran war broke out. The Jordanian port of Aqaba was turned into a transshipment centre for the delivery of material and other goods to Iraq. Sensing the opportunities to get rich quick, local merchants rushed in to set up transport companies, and stock up on heavy lorries, repair equipment and spare parts. Some enterprises boosted their output to meet the demands of the Iraqi market. However, faced with financial difficulties, Iraq not only stopped giving our country the aid provided for by the 1978 Baghdad Summit decisions, but also turned out to be incapable of repaying its debts to the commercial companies and of paying for the goods deliveries. Goods in stock began to grow, many enterprises were shut down, and transport facilities laid up.

The end of the "oil boom" had even graver and more far-reaching effects. One particular expression of the deep structural distortion of the Jordanian economy is that the volume of state and private consumption is much larger than the gross national product, while imports exceed exports, and investments exceed internal accumulation. That being so, foreign aid, chiefly from the oil-producing Arab states, and also from the United States, Britain and other capitalist countries and their financial institutions, is the main source of budget revenues. The leap-frogging of oil prices in the 1970s enabled the Arab donors to increase their aid: from 1970 to 1984, it rose to more than 1.5 billion dinars (one should note that this does not include military aid, which is given and reckoned separately).

On that basis the country's ruling circles managed to create an atmosphere of "prosperity", which was in fact rickety and temporary. The funds which came in were not used to build up the national economy or develop the producer potential, they went mostly into remodelling some of the elements of the infrastructure and into stimulating consumer trends, with their inherently negative impact on public morals, such as the growth of crime, drug addiction, etc. The conditions were also being created for shaping and consolidating the social strata that were to enlarge the basis of the ruling regime and to become its mainstay. That meant primarily the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, with a growing role and political influence, and an even larger share of the national income.

Jordan is ruled by a class bloc of various strata of the big bourgeoisie — banking, industrial, commercial and comprador — the big landowners, the real estate, contractors and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The balance of forces within the bloc is determined by concrete objective circumstances, the most important of which are each participant's financial and economic positions. Thus, the power of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie expanded with the flow of petrodollars into the country in the form of financial subsidies and loans mainly to government agencies and the state treasury.

With billions of dollars to wield, it took the central position in economic activity. Its growing economic strength increased its political influence and representation within the ruling bloc.

But with the recent end of the oil boom, and the stream of petrodollars down to a trickle, the economic role of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie has narrowed. Its positions and political influence have been reduced accordingly. The balance of forces has tilted in favour of the other members of the ruling bloc representing the interests of the private sector, and this has been reflected in the composition of the cabinet. One prominent bureaucrat has even called it the "Amman Chamber of Industry and Trade Government".

With its basic political, ideological and economic tenet of "reviving economic activity by giving the leading role to the private sector", the government has held out to private capital major tax, financial, credit, tariff and other privileges, and has got down to dismantling the state sector, and that on terms most advantageous to the owners of private capital. At the first stage, it is only the profit-making enterprises that are being handed over to them, while the loss-makers — and they are in the majority — are being entirely taken over by the treasury, which has even bought up their shares from private investors. These enterprises are also to be privatised later on, when their financial and economic standing improves. Consequently, the private sector gets the profits, while the losses go to the state and are passed on to the working people.

Measures have also been taken to allow Arab and other foreign capital unimpeded access to the country. Their owners have been given the unlimited right to purchase farmland, building sites, houses, industrial enterprises, hotels and financial institutions, all of it tax-free and levy-free. They are perfectly at liberty to remit abroad any amounts in hard currency. And all of that is once again being done to "revive economic activity", even if Jordan's national wealth and the rights of its citizens have to be auctioned off.

This policy merely increases the country's economic dependence on the crisis-stricken capitalist world economy, and deepens the social differentiation and property inequality. The rich have been multiplying their fortunes, while the poor have been plunged into ever more dire poverty. The message of all the indicators is that the economic situation is still worsening. Production is contracting, exports are shrinking, and the incomes of broad strata of urban and rural working people are falling. Unemployment has been growing steadily: it now officially stands at about 9.0 per cent. There is reason to expect that it will grow rapidly because of demographic factors, the economy's incapacity to ensure the necessary increase in the number of jobs, and because of the return home of emigrant workers, mainly from the oil-producing countries in the Persian Gulf. It is estimated that over the next few years unemployment could affect almost one-third of Jordan's able-bodied population.

The economic decline and the mounting exploitation of the working people by various strata of the bourgeoisie linked with the power apparatus and the transnational corporations have led to the emergence of indications and component elements of an all-pervading political crisis, with the regime running into sharp confrontation with the popular masses. One manifestation of such a crisis is the brutal clampdown on civil rights and democratic freedoms. For years, the country has lived under a state of emergency, the constitution is in abeyance, while the army and the security services have blanket powers to run everything. There is no respect for personal immunity, inviolability of the home, or privacy of correspondence. A person can be subjected to search, detention and arrest at any moment. Patriotic fighters — Jordanians and Palestinians — have been imprisoned and expelled from the country by the authorities, while thousands of others have had their passports withdrawn and so prevented from travelling abroad. People are sacked and students prevented from continuing their studies for political motives.

The political parties have been disbanded. The infamous law on combatting

communism remains in force; it provides for penalties in the form of hard labour not only for Communists (with whom, incidentally, are also bracketed those who take part in the peace movement) but also for those who variously sympathise with them and are discovered to have communist literature. The administrative repression machine crassly meddles in the internal affairs of the trade unions, youth clubs and student associations. The security services harass and terrorise their activists, and prevent "unacceptable" persons from holding elective trade union posts. "Yellow" trade unions, run by reactionaries and regime placemen, go through the motions of holding elections, which often amount to a publication of the lists of those who had "won".

A new electoral law has at last been enacted by the authorities after years of paralysis in parliamentary life, and the articles of that law are shot through with hostility for all things patriotic and democratic. Like a sword held over the heads of the people, the security services are empowered to control everything relating to the nomination of candidates and the holding of elections. Apart from the fact that the law reeks of regional and communal strife, it also infringes — in defiance of the Rabat Summit decisions — the PLO's status as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine, and its people's right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent national state.

Life has kept driving home the fact that no laurels are in store for those who want to pursue an anti-people policy of repression against the progressive and patriotic circles, the Communists in the first place, a policy that suits imperialism, Zionism and reaction. It is a policy that deepens their isolation from their own peoples, sharpens the confrontation with the masses, and pushes them into even greater concessions to imperialism.

Jordan's progressive and patriotic forces have resolutely rebuffed the imperialist schemes and conspiratorial acts aimed to undermine our country's national independence. That is evidenced by the wide reverberations in the whole world of events in the 1950s like the break-up of the Baghdad Pact, or the spiking of the "Eisenhower Doctrine". The people have always won whenever national-front type political alliances were set up and the masses roused to struggle against repression and terrorism, and attempts to encroach on their country's interests. The authorities have countered by brutally massacring the patriotic movement and the Communists, but again and again that merely led the democratic forces to mobilise for new, more united and powerful action.

Last spring's demonstrations of solidarity with Libya confirmed that the Communists are vigorous and consistent champions not only of the working people's vital wants and demands, but also of the nation's interests. The Jordanian CP's initiative, which it addressed — without fear of repression, arrest of its leaders, cadres and supporters — to the masses and their leaders after the US raid on Libya was an inspiration to the patriotic Jordanian and fraternal Arab forces, a courageous step which strengthened the party's authority and enhanced its prestige with masses of our people, in the Arab arena and throughout the world.

Jordan's Communists and all its other progressive and patriotic forces are keeping their vigilance high and firmly resisting the official policy, which harms the nation's interests. The Jordanian regime has hard-headedly continued to expand and deepen its political, economic, financial and military ties with imperialism, and has a dangerous role to play in the attempts to put paid to the Palestinian problem. Its reactionary acts compound the hardships of the masses, and the problems they have to face in the social and cultural spheres, while responding to the growing popular discontent with escalated repression. If the ruling circles continue to move along this way, they will pit themselves against the people and lose the mask they have used in an attempt to conceal their despotic and anti-democratic tendencies.

We emphasise: bloodbaths, suppression of civil liberties and mass repression against the progressive and patriotic forces cannot help to lead Jordan out of its state of

aggravating political, economic and social crisis, or safeguard it from Israel's blackmail, aggressive sorties and expansionist intentions, and Washington's hegemonistic claims. Nor can this be achieved by plodding along behind US imperialism, succumbing to its and Israel's pressures, and moving to the conclusion of separate faint-hearted deals.

The only way out of the crisis, we believe, is to give the masses democratic freedoms, and the right of unimpeded expression of their views, and to set up trade unions and political organisations. This implies a repeal of all the anti-democratic laws, including the notorious law on combatting communism, and an end to the campaign of terrorism and repression. We demand the immediate release of all political prisoners. Steps must be taken to solve the vital problems of the popular masses, to gear economic development to that goal, and to prevent any further economic downturn, and a decline in the working people's living standards.

We also demand that the political, economic, financial and military ties with US imperialism should be broken off, that political manoeuvring in the Arab arena should be abandoned, and that relations based on principle should be arranged with Syria for the purposes of genuine and effective Arab solidarity to counter the US schemes with respect to our region, and the imperialist Israeli aggression. It is Jordan's duty to take a consistent stand for a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East crisis through the convocation of a representative international conference, and for the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the establishment of its own independent national state. We attach much importance to strengthening cooperation in every way with the countries of the socialist world, notably the Soviet Union, the Arab Peoples' true and well-proven friend.

These tasks can be tackled by a national-democratic power. The main instrument for its establishment should be a broad national front uniting all the patriotic political parties and organisations, trade unions and individuals. Its class basis should be made up of workers, peasants, petty-bourgeois strata, the national bourgeoisie involved in production, and the revolutionary-minded intelligentsia. Jordan's Communists regard the establishment of this front as their most important goal at the present stage.

The formation of a national-democratic power will signify a drastic turn in our country's domestic and foreign policy, a break with imperialism, a resolute choice in favour of the maintenance and strengthening of the closest ties with the Arab national-liberation movement, the Palestinian revolution and, of course, the forces of the world revolutionary process. A switch to national-democratic development requires in-depth democratisation of the society and the creation of conditions in which the popular masses will take an active part in solving all their vital problems.

¹ A reference to the bitter armed clashes between Palestinian fighter contingents and Jordanian Army units. — *Ed.*

² The state of his health took a sharp turn for the worse, and the authorities were soon forced to release him. Later on, after a four-month detention, the other comrades were also released as a result of a wide solidarity campaign in the country, in the Arab region and the international arena.

³ It was signed by King Hussein of Jordan and PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasser Arafat, and in fact envisaged abandonment of the efforts to set up an independent Palestinian state and to attain recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. — *Ed.*

⁴ One Jordanian dinar is equal to roughly US\$3.00.

surveys, information and mail

Against Repression and Persecution

Stop the Executions in Indonesia!

The military regime of our country has committed yet another crime: in early October the authorities had nine members of the leadership of the Communist Party of Indonesia executed. Comrades Syam Kamaruzaman, Supono, Bono, Amar Hanafiah, Abdullah Ali Hamy, Wiryatmodjo, Kamil, Tamuri Hidayat and Sudiono fell victim to a legal frame-up which ended in a death sentence.

This brutal crime has yet again revealed to the world the savagely anti-communist nature of the dictatorship which deals ruthlessly with the best representatives of the Indonesian people and with any dissent. During the two decades of Suharto's rule, tens of thousands of patriots — Communists and simply honest citizens opposed to the government-sponsored terror and violence — have perished in prisons and concentration camps. The new executions show that the regime openly and flagrantly ignores the demands of world public opinion to revoke the death sentences, release political prisoners and end the repression. But the tide of protest is rising both within and outside Indonesia. Progressive and democratic quarters in many countries denounce the frame-ups and the heinous practices of the dictatorship.

Executions will not break or intimidate our people. They are rising ever more courageously, demonstrating their opposition to the reactionary policies and their resolve to put an end to the tyranny of the military and bureaucratic elite. The Communist Party of Indonesia is calling on progressive and democrats throughout the world and on the international community to condemn the terror, step up their solidarity with the victims of anti-communist persecution, safeguard the lives of political prisoners and secure their immediate release. We believe in the strength of solidarity. Our just cause is invincible!

Satiadjaya Sudiman
Member, leadership of the Communist Party
of Indonesia; CPI representative on *WMR*

Diary

A meeting has been held with Comrade Narciso Isa Conde, General Secretary of the Dominican Communist Party, in the *WMR* offices. He described the political situation in the country after the recent elections and the consequent tasks of the Communists. The party's cooperation with *WMR* was also discussed.

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Comrade Trevor Munroe, General Secretary of the Workers Party of Jamaica, has visited the *WMR* offices. Addressing a meeting of the Editorial Council, he spoke about the current political situation in Jamaica and about the struggle of the WPJ for

the interests of the working people, for peace and social progress in the region. A talk was held to examine ways of developing contacts between the party and *WMR*, as well as new opportunities for cooperation.

In Memory of Samora Moises Machel

The international revolutionary movement has suffered a great loss with the tragic death of Comrade Samora Moises Machel, Chairman of the FRELIMO Party, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, a prominent leader of the national liberation movement, an outstanding statesman and political figure of Africa.

The name of Samora Moises Machel is linked indelibly with the victory of the Mozambican people in the anti-colonial struggle, with the creation of an independent Mozambique and of a vanguard party inspired by scientific socialism. Under his leadership, Mozambique embarked on the path of building the basis of a progressive society, the process *World Marxist Review* has covered repeatedly for its international body of readers. In recent years, the party leadership with Samora Machel at the helm has been tackling the difficult tasks of organising the effort to rebuff the attempts of the imperialist, racists and their stooges at derailing the country's effort to build a new life.

Samora Machel's vigorous work has helped to consolidate the international prestige of the People's Republic of Mozambique which steadily champions the cause of peace and international security, opposes racism and apartheid in Southern Africa and is active in the United Nations, the non-aligned movement and the Organisation of African Unity. He worked vigorously to promote and strengthen the PRM's friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries and to consolidate the ties of FRELIMO with communist, workers' and revolutionary democratic parties.

The memory of Comrade Samora Moises Machel will live forever in the hearts of the fighters for the ideals of national independence, freedom, peace and social progress.

In Memory of Dominique Urbany

Dominique Urbany, honorary Chairman of the Communist Party of Luxembourg and a veteran of the international working class and communist movement, has died. He was one of the founders of the Marxist-Leninist Party in Luxembourg, a consistent patriot-internationalist of the glorious generation of dedicated anti-fascists whose example has always inspired the fighters for peace, democracy and socialism.

Dominique Urbany was born on March 29, 1903, in Rumelange, Luxembourg, into a miner's family. He began to take part in the activities of the Socialist Youth League when he was 17. In January 1921, together with other left-wing delegates at the Socialist Congress held at the time he spoke for joining the Third International and forming a communist party. His life was linked with the Communist Party of Luxembourg ever since. In 1929 he was elected a member of the Central Committee and in 1933, the General Secretary of the CPL. Working at that responsible post for more than four decades, Dominique Urbany won a great prestige in his country and among like-minded people in other countries; he took part in the Seventh Congress of the Communist International and in a number of other international communist meetings. During World War II, he fought against Nazis in the Resistance movement

in Belgium and Luxembourg. From 1945 to 1976, he was a member of parliament and in 1946-1947, he held the post of Minister of Public Health, Social Security and Sports.

Dominique Urbany devoted constant attention to our international journal, *World Marxist Review*, and rendered assistance to it. His expressive and pithy contributions on fundamental issues of the working class movement and the struggle against the war menace invariably evoked interest among our readers.

The cherished memory of Dominique Urbany will always live in the hearts of the Communists and all fighters for the interest of the working class, for peace and socialism.

the book scene

In a Revolutionary Spirit

Mirosław Karwat, Włodzimierz Milanowski, *Ciągłość i zmiana w partii* (Continuity and Change in the Party), Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, Warsaw, 1985, 367 pp.

THIS book, written by two young scholars from the PUWP Academy of Social Sciences, generated a lively response both among the PUWP cadre and in Poland's academic community — first and foremost because it analyses topical issues of the activities carried out by a party which directs the building of socialism.

The researchers have focused their attention on the phenomena and processes occurring in Poland's distinctive conditions at the current level in the development of production and in the shaping of the political system. However, many conclusions contained in the book have acquired a significance that transcends our country's boundaries and are no doubt of interest, as an attempt at summing up the relevant universal experience in the building of socialism at a given historical stage. I might also note that in their analysis of the developments now underway in Polish society and of the role played by the PUWP in their shaping, the authors invariably draw upon the fundamental methodological principles underlying Lenin's doctrine of the party.

As a result of the socio-economic crisis which was combined with an ideological and political offensive of the counter-revolutionary forces supported by imperialist centres, a real threat to the accomplishments of socialism in Poland emerged in the early 1980s. The PUWP was the main target of the attacks. It was claimed that our party was incapable of managing Poland and its development, that it had lost the moral right to lead the nation. By preaching a programme of political pluralism that sought to give a free hand to anti-communist groups, the counter-revolutionaries wanted to eliminate the UWP as the leading force of our society and to reduce its role to that of purely formal external representation in relations with the fraternal parties of the socialist countries.

Simultaneously, opportunist and revisionist trends came to the surface within the PUWP itself. The advocates of these views planned to transform the PUWP into an organisation of a social democratic type, into an amorphous alliance of admirers of socialism who no longer wanted to have a say in the choice of the direction in which the

country was to develop. In practical terms, these concepts were reflected in the so-called horizontal structure movement, essentially aimed at eroding and destroying the party's organisational integrity. The decisions adopted at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PUWP (July 1981) dealt a blow to these trends, upheld the integrity and the Marxist-Leninist essence of our party and charted a clear course at the restoration of the Leninist principles of its work.

The question of the search for the most effective ways in which the party can discharge its leading role in today's specific conditions features prominently in the discussions that are being conducted and especially in the PUWP's practical activities. In fact, the book under review is an attempt to find an answer to this question — not only in the theoretical field but also, and primarily, by mastering the experience that has been gained.

In its first part, the book shows how a party of the Leninist type differs not only from bourgeois parties but also from the non-communist parties in the working class movement; it also describes the new tasks that arise in connection with its radically new role of a ruling party, a party that directs a society which is building socialism. The second part of the book is devoted to an analysis of the Leninist criteria of party affiliation and of the consequent demands on ideological and political education work. The final part of the study deals with the ideological essence and class-based sources of opportunism as a case of reneging on the defence of working class interests and abandoning the ideology of scientific socialism. Here, the authors concentrate mostly on modern, not "classical" opportunism and challenge its latter-day advocates.

A brief review of a book so rich in content makes it difficult to examine all its merits. I will list only a few. Invoking the Leninist concept of a party of the new type, the authors stress the unchanged essence of the principles underlying the organisation of a communist party as the political vanguard of the working class in the discharge of its historical mission, as the force that guides the long-term historical process of shaping and new consciousness and a socialist social system. Meanwhile, the forms and methods used in the implementation of these principles change because they must be consonant with the opportunities and exigencies of every stage.

The revolutionary character of a communist party is not confined to the fact that it leads in the struggle to destroy capitalist domination, social injustice and private property in the means of production. As an organic element of a communist party at all stages of its work, the revolutionary spirit must be expressed in effective efforts to defend the gains of the working people, to show concern for their specific needs and aspirations and in a consistent struggle against negative phenomena such as violations of the principles of social justice and disdain of public interests.

Today, the revolutionary spirit of a party depends on how well it has worked out a long-term strategy for the restructuring of social relations and devised the necessary economic machinery and managerial structures. The authors conclude that "while previously — the party — was the 'destroyer' of the old system, the organiser of the revolution and of new government, now it has to be a reformer anticipating practical needs, foreseeing changes in the functioning of the economy, culture and politics, and promptly making it possible to satisfy these needs" (p.41). The revolutionary spirit also implies unflagging concern to ensure that the party remain a form in which the working class organises itself politically.

A party's performance of its leading role in the building of socialism is linked inextricably with the very mechanics of its functioning and principles of organisation. The question of democratic centralism is of prime importance here. The authors underline that this is all the more important because claims have been voiced in our country that the norms of democratic centralism are obsolete and no longer useful: allegedly, they are suitable only for a clandestine, "cadre-based" party. Assertions were also made to the effect that under developed socialism, democratic centralism becomes a "holdover", a "vestige of the cult of personality", and that the communist

party ceases to be the leading and guiding force, becoming instead merely the source of inspiration for political and social decisions implemented via government structures and mass organisations of the working people. The authors note that "interpreted in this way, the communist party also ceases to be an ideological force. . . . Rather, it resembles. . . . a political club, not an integral political force capable of action and of mobilising the masses in accordance with the nation's goals and potential" (pp. 55-56).

Stressing that democracy and centralism are closely interrelated and interdependent, Mirosław Karwat and Włodzimierz Milanowski point out that "centralism is a method of uniting the will and the activity of the working class and of transforming them into the decisive factor in the building of socialism. Democracy is a method of shaping and expressing this will and activity. And, just as centralism is impossible without democracy, the absence of centralism makes the will and the activity barren: they fail to produce the desired results" (p.58).

The researchers' reflections on the class-based and fully national character of the communist party are evidently of considerable interest. The party's class-based essence is explained by the fact that it proceeds from the social interests and future of the working class in defining its political objectives and undertaking specific action. At the same time, the class-based essence of the party is essential for the discharge of its fully national functions. In fact, the authors say, these two concepts are dialectically united: as a party of the working class, the communist party must win the support of a majority of society in order to attain the goals and ideals of its class.

The communist party, the authors continue, is a party of all the people because its scientific view of reality and of social processes is based on the progressive experience of all mankind, its programme of social emancipation meets the needs and interests of the overwhelming majority of society, of all classes and strata of working people, and the government it has created is a platform for the public activity of all social groups. Finally, the party essentially represents all the people because its long-term goal is to overcome distinctions between classes and to create an integral community consisting exclusively of working people and measuring the worth of an individual only in terms of his work. Clearly, this fully national character of the party is a dynamic and constantly developing phenomenon. The conditions necessary for it mature as the tasks of building socialism are accomplished, as working class participation in government expands, and as this class grows and plays an increasingly important role in the social structure.

As noted earlier, the final section of the book contains a critical analysis of the contemporary forms of opportunism. Summing up the historical experience of the working class, one can say that opportunism invariably denies or underestimates the revolutionary role of the working class. The record of the working class movement shows that this current virtually abandons the final goal — that of building a society of social justice. Efforts to expose and extirpate opportunist trends remain an important objective of our party which is constantly strengthening its ties with the working class and all working people.

The issues covered in the book under review are ever at the focus of the Polish Communists' attention. The party Programme adopted by the Tenth Congress of the PUWP says: "An ability to lay bare contradictions, to spot new problems and tasks in time and to strive for their solution while firmly upholding the interests of the working class and all working people, as well as day-to-day and vibrant ties with the masses, criticism, self-criticism, readiness to correct mistakes and revise old methods of work, and vigilance against attempts to slow down socialist development are essential for the attainment of the party's policy goals."¹ Only a party such as this can lead in the complex process of social transformations we refer to as the building of socialism.

Jerzy Waszczuk

PUWP representative on WMR

¹ *Program PZRP uchwalony przez X Zjazd*, Warsaw, 1986, p.15.

New Orientation

Christoph Butterwegge, Klaus Jakubowski, Ekkehard Lentz, Siegfried Ziegert (Hrsg.), *Weltraumwaffen. Neue Qualität der Rüstung — Neuorientierung der Friedensbewegung?* (Space Weapons. New Quality of Arms — New Orientation of the Peace Movement?), VSA-Verlag, Hamburg, 1985, 152 pp.

US preparations for a large-scale militarisation of outer space and the FRG rulers' intention to bind their country securely to Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) are increasingly opposed by the West German public. Quite a few books published in the FRG levelled broad and well augmented criticism at the "star wars" programme. The book under review isspecific in that among its authors are members of variousparties and public organisations, apart from scientists and military experts.

The authors are Prof. Peter Starlinger, a prominent figure in the movement of West German naturalists Responsibility for Peace; retired general Gert Bastian, a deputy to the Bundestag; Wolfgang Gehreke, Presidium Board member, German Communist Party; karsten D. Boigt, Board member, Social Democratic Party of Germany; Henning Schierholz, deputy to the Bundestag from the Greens; Alfons Siegel, representative of Christian Democrats for Steps Towards Disarmament; and Julius Lehlbach, chairman of the Association of German Trade Unions in Rheinland-Pfalz, to mention a few. This list alone shows that there is a broad front of opponents to "star wars" in the FRG, and their potentialities are great indeed.

The authors examine possible political, military, social and economic aftermaths of space militarisation in the context of the goals and prospects on the struggle against the nuclear menace. The purpose of the collection, as indicated by its compilers, who are members of the Bremen Peace Forum, is to help the peace forces in the new conditions to develop a common platform facilitating the collaboration of all the parties, groups and associations affiliated to them.

After the notorious "twin-track decision" of NATO, the demand to prevent a deployment of US first-strike nuclear missiles in the FRG has been cementing the peace fighters' actions. This demand has helped to mobilise vast numbers of people from every section of society. Nonetheless, the movement has failed to achieve its ends. Ignoring the will of the greater part of the population, the conservative-liberal government has turned the FRG into the chief base for the US "Eurostrategic" weaponry.

So what are the demands the peace fighters should come up with, now that Pershing II and cruise missiles are operational and the USA has set out to develop space weapons? How to win over more and more people for the peace movement and keep it united at the same time? These and other questions are raised in the articles of the collection.

Many of the authors correctly note a direct connection between NATO's "twin-track decision" and space militarisation plans. The deployment of medium-range missiles close to the Soviet borders is part of the new US strategy whose aim is not to prevent but provoke nuclear war and win a victory by dealing "decapitation" strikes at political and military targets in the territory of the Warsaw Treaty countries (see p. 13).

Another component of this strategy is the building of a far-flung ballistic missile system with space-based elements. This system has little to do with defence. "If not associated with plans for a first strike to be delivered with highly accurate offensive arms, the SDI makes no sense," writes Olat Scholz, deputy chairman of the Young Socialists, and Wolfgang Zellner, scientific expert of the SDPG faction of the Bundestag (p. 117).

The SDI supporters in Bonn, obviously aware of the flimsiness of their arguments, allege that participation in Reagan's programme would bring the FRG "economic

benefits" and "technological advantages". But these are vain hopes. In fact, all the US administration wants is to pump out modern technologies from West German firms, while refusing to offer them an independent part in the research and development involved in the SDI. "But even if rejection of the SDI would involve any economic or research losses, such considerations should not be of decisive importance....," writes Christian Democrat Alfons Siegel. "There is much evidence to show that the SDI will most likely make peace less stable, and therefore participation in this programme for secondary (say, technological) reasons would be un-justified in ethical terms" (p. 59).

The authors are unanimous in their belief that "star wars" is the biggest threat to peace at present. On the other hand, the forces defending man's right to live have never been so powerful. Horst Bethge, Directorate member of the German Peace Union, writes that a coalition which is taking shape on a world scale has committed itself to the task of preventing nuclear war and compromises socialist countries, social democratic and communist parties in capitalist countries, the trade unions, and peace movements.

Bonn, more than anyone else, helped Washington to carry out the "twin-track decision" not only by agreeing to the deployment of new nuclear missiles, but also by bringing pressure to bear on vacillating allies. A similar role is assigned to Bonn in space militarisation plans. This has been admitted by Horst Teltschick, the Chancellor's foreign-policy adviser, who is quoted in the book as saying: "Should the Federal Republic have refused to deploy the missiles, no one would have deployed them. Similarly, on the SDI issue the key role belongs to the FRG" (p. 143).

All this places greater responsibility on the West German peace movement. The collection contains an appeal of West German naturalists (see pp. 148-149), in which they demand that the Federal government should refuse to take any part in the SDI and come out for compliance with the existing arms control treaties and for signing new treaties banning space militarisation. The appeal was signed, apart from eminent West German scientists, by outstanding figures in the SDPG, the Greens, the trade unions and the clergy, as well as by well-known actors, writers, and athletes. Thus the appeal became a common platform for the opponents to "star wars". At the same time, the peace movement does not go back on its former demands: "We will go on fighting for ending the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles and removing the ones that have already been deployed," declares Prof. Starlinger in the foreword to the book (p. 9).

Are the West German peace fighters strong enough to attain their goals? On many occasions the reactionary press predicted a "split" or even "collapse" of the movement and alleged that its members were all "tired out" and "demoralised". But the peace force have not retreated. What is more, their influence on political parties and public organisations in the country has increased. Previously, the parties in the Bundestag held common, pro-NATO and pro-US views on military-policy issues. Now the situation has changed. Participation in the anti-missile campaign has helped the Greens to have seats in parliament. The SDPG, which found itself in opposition, has also demanded that NATO's "twin-track decision" be renounced and is now opposed to the SDI. The trade unions have been far more outspoken on the issue.

To be sure, the movement is not flawless. Anti-communism and anti-Sovietism cultivated by bourgeois propaganda make themselves felt, and the "theory of the equal responsibility of the super-powers" for the arms race still enjoys currency. Hence the sometimes passive support for Soviet initiatives, even though they "contain all the major demands of the peace movement" (p. 98).

The movement is faced with the task of expanding its political influence, the book says. According to the opinion poll conducted by the *Stern* magazine, 69 per cent of those polled spoke against the FRG's participation in the SDI. It is symptomatic that today most of those who normally vote for the CDU/CSU do not approve of the arms race spilling over into outer space.

The peace movement, in the opinion of the authors, should not allow the space

militarisation issue to be pushed into the background in the internal political struggle. People must be shown the relationship between the arms race and the aggravation of social problems, such as massive unemployment and deterioration of the working people's conditions. At the same time, writes Wolfgang Gehrcke, the movement must not become an instrument for some party or other, but should remain independent and "open for the cooperation of all democratic forces" (p. 71). This is the only way it can be effective while preserving its diversity and unity.

Alexander Tolp

When Hostilities Cease

Jacobo Arenas, *Cese el fuego. Una historia política de las FARC* (The Hostilities Cease. A Political History of the RAFC), Editorial Oveja Negra, Bogota, 1985, 172 pp.

The armistice signed on May 28, 1984 by the guerrilla formations and the Colombian government inaugurated a process on which the future of the nation depends. This book brings to light the essence, significance, and prospects of this process. The author is a direct participant in the events he describes and currently a Secretariat member of the General Staff of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (RAFC) the largest guerilla formation in the country.

The guerilla movement in Colombia, Jacobo Arenas writes, fits into the long traditions of the liberation struggle that commenced with the resistance of the Indians to the Spanish conquistadores and has not ended to this day, having passed through stages of the battles for independence and the civil wars between the Liberals and the Conservatives that persisted throughout practically the whole of the past century. However, the immediate causes of the present armed movement is to be found in the mass anti-people repressions by reactionary quarters in Colombia under the influence of the orchestrators of the Cold War. At the time more than 300,000 people lost their lives within a span of ten years (see p. 76).

Called *la Violencia* by the people, that period commenced in 1946 when the Conservative Party returned to power once again. The situation was greatly aggravated following the assassination on April 9, 1948 of Jorge Eliecer Gaitan, the anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist Liberal leader. That was when guerrilla formations began springing up in Colombia — some spontaneously and others under the auspices of a section of the Liberal Party's leadership. The Communists call upon the people to act in self-defence against the violence of the reactionaries found its largest response in rural regions. The first Communist-led contingent was formed in one of these — Irco Chaparral. That started a powerful armed movement that spread to 36 of Colombia's regions. In it were Liberals and Communists, but they fell short of the level of coordination needed for unity of action.

What distinguished the guerilla movement from the self-defence units? Answering this question, Jacobo Arenas writes: "From the beginning the guerilla units were irregular military formations that endeavoured to achieve political aims by an armed struggle... The guerillas... were a distinctly offensive movement. The self-defence units were formed to repulse the threat to the population, to maintain peace and a normal situation in some regions so that the people there could work in peace" (p. 78).

The first stage of the struggle came to an end following the military coup of 1953 by General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, who proclaimed a "general amnesty" and persuaded the Liberal Party leadership to get the detachments influenced by them to surrender their weapons. But most of the commanders of these units were soon seized and

executed. Later some Liberal-led paramilitary units were rearmed either by the army command to fight revolutionaries or by the latifundistas who wanted to have their interests protected. Soon many of these "guerrillas" degenerated into bandits. Concurrently there was a radicalisation of a section of the liberal guerrillas, who began to pursue progressive objectives.

In the case of the revolutionary guerilla movement, it beat a temporary retreat but did not lay down its arms. For its members the "amnesty" was shortlived: some units fought without a respite, while others were attacked by government troops as early as November 1954, as happened, for instance, in the Villarrica region. In that region the insurgents and the self-defence forces resisted for an entire year. When encircled, they fought their way to Huila and then to other regions where strong peasant movements took shape under their influence. In the Sumapaz region the armed resistance continued until the fall of the Rojas Pinilla dictatorship in 1957 (see p. 81).

Jacobo Arenas tells the story of the second attempt at "pacification" and the creation of the conditions for a return to a civilian administration under which there was a limited democracy.¹ The revolutionary detachments ceased hostilities and concentrated on organising a peasant movement in various regions. They achieved a significant success, which made the Conservative leader Alvaro Gomez Hurtado, aided by the army elite, launch a slanderous campaign declaring that these regions had become "independent republics" and were allegedly threatening the integrity of the state. These allegations were used by the government to vindicate the repressive actions of the army against the peasant movement as part of the "anti-insurgency" war planned by the Pentagon under the code-name Latin America Security Operation.

The struggle was resumed in mid-1964 when government troops were sent to the Marquetalia region at the junction of the departments of Huila and Tolima. "Marquetalia became the symbol of a long stage of the present guerrilla movement in Colombia," Jacobo Arenas writes. "The revolutionary guerrillas demonstrated what can be achieved by a group of politically conscious people adhering to class positions, by a group of proud and courageous fighters . . . trained in mobile warfare. There a small unit numbering 45 fighters operated against a government force of 16,000 troops" (p. 82). These fighters and those of the Riochiquito, El Guayabero, and other regions constituted the nucleus of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia formed in 1966 and evolving into a "guerilla army operating on 27 fronts" (p. 9).

Milestones of the development of this army are traced in one of the most important sections of the book under the heading "20 Years of the RAFC". Moreover, the author deals at length with the armistice talks that commenced in January 1983 between the guerrilla movement headed by the RAFC and a Peace Commission appointed by the government. These talks ended 15 months later with a cease-fire agreement as the first step towards democratic changes. This agreement was followed by analogous agreements signed by the government with other armed guerrilla units: the April 19 Movement (M-19), the People's Liberation Army, and the Workers' Self-Defence.

Another major development was the amnesty law enacted in November 1983 despite the opposition of right-wing groups. The law was based mainly on proposals advanced by the democratic forces and provided, in particular, for the release of most of the political prisoners.

Under the terms of the agreement with the RAFC, the full text of which is given in the book (see pp. 63-68), the government pledged not to obstruct the political, economic, and social organisation of the RAFC and gave the assurance that it would contribute to the renewal and democratisation of political institutions. In particular, this provides for the popular election of mayors, the enforcement of an electoral and an agrarian reform, and full guarantees for the development of organisations of urban and rural working people and their political unions.

The message sent by the RAFC to the parliament on July 20, 1984 was in fact a blueprint for converting the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia into a platform

for the formation of a national political movement, now known as the Patriotic Union. From the outset the Colombian Communist Party was a member of this union, which proved at last March's parliamentary elections that it is growing and winning wider support among the national forces.²

The road to the cease-fire agreement was hard and tortuous: the militarist elite, influential quarters of finance capital, the latifundistas, and all the other reactionary forces united to oppose it. In a letter sent to the republic's president Belisario Betancur (printed in the book on pp. 9-14), the RAFC General Staff denounced breaches of the terms of the agreement by the army and demanded the lifting of the state of siege, which was reimposed on the pretext of clamping down on drug trafficking, and to halt the acts of terrorism by paramilitary gangs. During a state of siege, the letter says, one cannot entertain even the hope of genuine democracy.

This book will attract readers not only for its detailed information and analysis that permit getting a better understanding of the armed struggle in Colombia. The author shows that the struggle for society's democratisation is savagely resisted by reaction, which slanders the RAFC, provokes clashes between government troops and guerrillas, and organises bandit attacks on leaders of the left-wing forces. As well as exposing these intrigues, Jacobo Arenas' book alerts the people of Colombia to the need to remain vigilant.

Alvaro Oviedo
Colombian Journalist

¹ For details, see Gilberto Vieira, "On the Agenda: Democratisation", *WMR*, No. 5, 1986. — *Ed.*

² See Alvaro Vasquez, "The Patriotic Union Scores a Success", *WMR*, No. 7, 1986. — *Ed.*

An Inside View of Reaganomics

David A. Stockman, *The Triumph of Politics. The Crisis in American Government and How It Affects the World*, The Bodley Head, London, 1986, 440 pp. Published by arrangement with Harper and Row, New York.

The author was Director of the Budget in the Reagan administration from 1981 to 1985, and became known as "Stockman the Knife" for his wild slashing of social spending. He resigned because of the internal wrangling within the President's entourage, and decided on a public settling of scores with his detractors by publishing his memoirs, in which he describes how policy is made in White House offices. The author collected an unprecedented \$2.5 million in royalties for his book, and was invited to fill an executive post in a leading Wall Street banking firm. When the book came out, it caused a sensation and at once became a bestseller.

Stockman is not at all penitent about having taken a hand in formulating and implementing Reaganomics. Indeed, he keeps complaining that he was not allowed to do the business more thoroughly. He gives a frank account of his own ultra-conservative views and a brutally picturesque description of the political manipulation, naked ambition, petty intrigues and sheer inefficiency of the reckless reactionaries now at the helm of the US ship of state.

The book is also interesting for the unexpected, eye-opening admissions from one who is so ultra-conservative. He complains of the political tendencies which threaten to "wreck American capitalism", and plunge the "American state into crisis", and warns that Reagan's economic policy is "leading to long-run disaster", to even "worse hyperinflation", and to "increased fragility and instability of the global economy".

Why such zigzags in assessing one's own policies? They spring partly from the tacks in the author's own life, and partly from the contradictory condition of the social stratum from which he himself comes. His was a farming family growing crops for the market, and from it Stockman absorbed the traditional conservatism of his ancestors, with their firm faith in solid private property, on the one hand, and on the other, the petty bourgeoisie's deep discontent with the realities of contemporary state-monopoly capitalism, eroding the soil on which the small entrepreneur thrives. As a student in the late 1960s, he took part in demonstrations against the Vietnam war and even dabbled in Marxism. But, scared by police brutality, he turned renegade, plunged into theology, and then launched upon a political career in the Republican Party. At the age of 28, he was elected to the US Congress from his home district, where he found support from the petty-bourgeois and businessmen: drugstore owners, gas station operators, repair workshop owners, etc.

In the Congress, Stockman became the leader of a group of young conservatives clamouring for the businessman's release from high taxes. He saw the main sources of the country's economic difficulties in the social security system, which the working people had won in long and hard struggle. The favourite theme of Stockman's public pronouncements at the time was a need for "draconian reductions" of the "American welfare state" (p. 11). He came to Reagan's attention and was first asked to write up the economic plank of the 1980 electoral platform, and was then made one of the leading figures of Reagan's cabinet.

Reaganomics was officially presented to the US public and the rest of the world as a package of carefully considered and well-weighted measures aimed to take care of the nation's economic troubles. In actual fact, it was a hasty patchwork of programmes, which met the ruling circles' "social order", but which poorly fitted in with each other and were often incompatible. The document on Reagan's economic policy, prepared by Stockman and made public in February 1981, was deliberately packed with details and figures designed to give the impression of precision, utter coherence and admirable preparation. In fact, it was full of critical loose ends, so that the whole fiscal plan was embedded with contradictions and booby-trapped with hidden pressures. The author describes in detail how he and his staff kept juggling facts and figures, and making economic and budget projections which were deliberately incorrect, but which the President liked.

The President's prime concern was a significant increase in military spending, and he had repeatedly said to his advisors: "Defense is not a budget issue. You spend what you need" (p. 303). But the "need" was determined by the Pentagon itself with Reagan's support. The author admits that the notorious initial figures of \$1.5 trillion for defence over the coming five years, the basis of all the subsequent military budgets, was literally invented by Secretary of Defense Weinberger and Stockman at an all-night session, and that it had resulted from a tabulation error by the Director of the Budget, who was using a pocket calculator (pp. 111-113).

When Stockman pointed out the error to Weinberger a few days later, he had to listen to a chiding lecture on the need to be "strong in the face of communism". The Secretary of Defense would allow no objections to his budget demands and kept intimidating other members of the cabinet with the prospect of a "Soviet military threat". That eventually induced Stockman to accuse the Pentagon publicly of wasting tens of billions of public dollars, and such statements made the Director of the Budget a persona non grata with the military-industrial complex and its men in the government. A presidential aide once submitted him, a member of the cabinet, to such humiliating treatment that his "legs were wobbly". Stockman quotes the aide using language that would not bear being repeated in decent society.

When still a congressman, Stockman resented government aid being given to big business at the expense of the small entrepreneur. When he became a member of the government, he tried to put an end to such practices. But Gulf Oil, Exxon and other oil

giants refused to give up any of the billion dollar subsidies going into the construction of their plants. Corporations with space contracts strongly objected to any cutbacks in their privileges and subsidies. The "pork barrel" spending (as state-monopoly programmes for handouts to big business are known in the United States) was virtually uncut, while Reagan's electioneering calls for reducing the economic functions of the state, which had so enthused Stockman and others like him, remained on paper.

Tax reform, whose main purpose was to cut taxes on the corporations and the wealthiest strata of the population, was another aspect of Reaganomics that was exceptionally beneficial to the ruling class. Stockman says that Reagan, when still in Hollywood, had made a fortune on cowboy films, and was even then of the opinion that it was time to end the "unfair" taxes on millionaires. The President brooked no objections in putting through this line. Secretary of the Treasury Don Regan, himself a rich man and in the past the head of a major brokerage firm in Wall Street, took personal charge of the tax projects. Soon after Reagan's inauguration, income tax on the wealthiest families was reduced from 70 to 50 per cent, and the tax reform of 1986 brought it down to 28 per cent. Tax on corporate profits went down from 46 to 34 per cent.

As a result of the tax cuts and the parallel growth of military spending, the federal budget deficit soared to unprecedented heights exceeding \$200 billion. When Reagan was reminded of his electoral promises to balance the budget, he calmly replied that that was the goal he was aiming for.

Most of Stockman's energy was put into cutting social spending under the pretext of reducing the deficit. By 1986, social spending was cut by \$52 billion, or nine per cent, and the most radical surgery was applied in whittling down social insurance and the poverty programmes, but Stockman is clearly unhappy with these "victories". He attacks many members of the Congress who did not display a willingness to break with the "liberal past" and to dismantle the welfare state entirely. Little by little, Reagan also began to distance himself from Stockman the Knife. It was hinted to the Director of the Budget that it was undesirable to keep the President publicly involved with these anti-social measures.

How is one to explain such a turnabout in the administration's tactics? First of all, there is the fact that the policy of slashing social spending met with wide protests from the popular masses. Massive anti-Reagan demonstrations were staged in Washington and other cities. The trade unions and the US Communists had an important role in organising resistance to the anti-people line.

The author blames the vast federal budget deficit on the politicians who did not dare scrap the social programmes. But he himself admits that these programmes are fully covered by payroll taxes, while military expenditures have no firm budget cover. The anti-social tenor of Stockman's memoirs clearly misses the mark. It is the military-industrial monopolies' "pork barrel" that is the real source of the growing financial imbalance.

What the book shows most importantly is perhaps the firm orientation of Reagan and his whole team towards doing the will of the forces of militarism and the transnational corporations. But the memoirs of this one-time member of the US administration testify that reaction is not almighty by any means. The White House strategy of social clawback fails to work when faced with mass resistance.

Michael Stanley

Tracking Big Money

Hans Kalt, *Das Finanzkapital in Österreich* (Finance Capital, in Austria), Globus, Vienna, 1985, 128 pp.

THE significance of finance capital has grown visibly in Austria's state-monopoly

capitalist system since the mid-1970's. This was first seen in the bloating of the expenditures from the state budget with finance capital increasingly fattening on interest rates. Meanwhile sustained efforts were made to persuade the workers (who have not lost their militancy) and their representatives that because of the crisis many industrial firms were no longer working at a profit. Indeed, the word "losses" figured in cooked-up balance sheets of many enterprises and this was exploited by entrepreneurs to vindicate wage-cuts and layoffs. However, these very same firms coincidentally continued paying high interest rates to banks. Thus, what figured as "losses" in the balance sheets of industrialists was transferred to banks and other financial institutions in the shape of profits.

The realities of political practice necessitated a close scrutiny of the mechanism by which finance capital appropriates profits and a study of the structural modifications in the state-monopoly system. This motivated the appearance of the *Finance Capital in Austria* written by Hans Kalt, Political Bureau member and CC Secretary of the Communist Party of Austria.

The issue of this book exactly 75 years after the publication of Rudolf Hilferding's widely-read *Finance Capital* was not deliberate, but on its own merits this fact deserves attention. To some extent the Austrian Social Democratic Hilferding helped to disclose the functions and distinctive features of finance capital at the stage of transition to monopoly capitalism. However, as Lenin pointed out on several occasions, his work contained serious theoretical errors and opportunist assumptions.

In present-day Austria statistics offer little of the information needed for an economically valid analysis of entrepreneurial revenues. The "social partnership" system has turned accurate data on profits and their rate into what to all intents and purposes is a state secret. That Hans Kalt has been nonetheless able to come up with strongly argued conclusions in this area was noted with wonder in Austria even by bourgeois experts.

Underlying Hans Kalt's study is the fact that in the period between 1971 and 1981 the dividends of Austria's leading companies rose from 1,400 million to 2,050 million schillings. In view of the inflation this relatively small increment is due to the notorious "losses" that businessmen entered into their balance sheets. Simultaneously, there was a striking growth of the net loan service payments by industrial enterprises — from 2,800 million to 12,300 million schillings. A consequence of this was the doubling of the proportion of interest payments in the overall profits of companies for 1973-1983 — from 14.5 to 28.6 per cent. On the whole, the revenues of big investors went up in this period from 12,000 million to 60,500 million schillings, while *the proportion of net revenues in the total profits, as given in statistics, increased from 9.7 to 22.4 per cent.* These figures are vivid testimony of the rising significance of profits and, thereby, of the growing parasitism of finance capital (see pp. 19, 27, 39, 42).

In *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* Lenin wrote: "It is characteristic of capitalism in general that the ownership of capital is separated from the application of capital to production, that money capital is separated from industrial or productive capital, and that the rentier who lives entirely on income obtained from money capital is separated from the entrepreneur and from all who are directly concerned the management of capital. Imperialism, or the domination of finance capital, is that highest stage of capitalism in which this separation reaches vast proportions. The supremacy of finance capital over all other forms of capital means the predominance of the rentier and of the financial oligarchy..."¹

Adding to this, Hans Kalt notes: "The function of capital in its purest form is seen in finance capital. The activities of the owner of capital have diminished drastically in the actual social process of reproduction. The creation of values and surplus in the real process of reproduction is separated from the appropriation of profits by finance capital. Today just one document, the judicial right of the share-holder, gives the owner of finance capital control over real enterprises and also the possibility of

claiming a certain share of the profits from social surplus value. For finance capital as a whole this ensures power over real enterprises and also the possibility of claiming a certain share of the profits from social surplus value. For finance capital as a whole this guarantees power over the real process of reproduction" (p. 10).

In fact, Hans Kalt points out, the power of the capitalists spreads much farther than may be assumed at first glance. Through the banks their most powerful groups control not only the capital of smaller entrepreneurs but also the savings of all sections of the population — down to the last schilling of the poorest pensioner. "Thereby, through the banks and the system of participation these groups hold the entire real economy in their hands. This control is very concrete: it allows for decision-making on all more or less large investments in the country, estimating the solvency of entrepreneurs, deciding the size of interest rates, and so on. Everything is subordinated to one purpose: achieving and guaranteeing the highest possible level of the realisation of finance capital" (ibid.).

This is the only angle from which one can see through the mist of bourgeois propaganda, that keeps filling people's minds with spurious notions, one being that "nationalised enterprises are run at a loss". Following the example of Britain and France, some quarters in Austria would, moreover, like to vitalise reprivatization; for that reason state sector enterprises, which historically comprise a fairly significant sector of the Austrian economy, have of late been coming under constant attack. On the pretext of fighting "cost-ineffectiveness" these have been subjected to blood letting by the transfer of a large portion of the surplus value to the banks through the mechanism of debt servicing. Some nationalised enterprises have received subsidies from the state budget, while those that have extended credits to the state have further increased their revenues by the receipt of interest.

The Austrian banking apparatus has a distinctive structure. The state has a 60 per cent share in two of the largest banks. However, on account of the state's class function and of the 40 per cent share held by private capital these banks underwrite transactions assigned to them by the financial oligarchy. In the other big banks, which are largely the property of communal and provincial authorities, trade unions, and cooperatives, the levers of management are likewise in the hands of representatives of private capital groups.

The financial oligarchy is the elite of a wider section of entrepreneurs and property owners who live entirely or mostly off the revenues produced by their capital in various operations. This has enhanced the importance of managers. Because of the close intertwining of the political and economic sectors under state-monopoly capitalism the way to the highest category of managers in Austria often lies through political functions. That is what makes the exchange minister-banker or banker-minister, noted by Lenin, so commonplace. For example, some years ago Hannes Androsch, who was Minister of Finance for a long time, joined a major Austrian bank as its director-general. The present Finance Minister, Vranitsky, was the director-general of the nation's second largest bank. Taus, the former leader of the opposition, moved from his post to the finance department in the Turnauer monopoly group.

Hans Kalt's study offers revealing information about the visible expansion over the past two decades of Austrian finance capital's links to international capital. This has been fostered by the crisis, the high bank rates, and the deepening of the international division of labour. In terms of its internationalisation level banking in Austria holds a leading place among the OECD nations.

Whereas in the 1960s the volume of overseas investments and of foreign investments in Austria was quite considerable in the general turnover of capital, the banks then increased their share from roughly 50 per cent to 82.7 per cent in 1982. That same year Austrian finance capital received profits amounting to 38,500 million schillings from its foreign investments. For its part, in 1982 foreign finance capital sent out of the country 51,700 million schillings, which it received as interest on its investments. This

sum represents a portion of the surplus value created by the labour of the working class (see pp. 69, 74).

While Austrian capital is expanding on the international scene, average real wages in the country have not risen since 1975. Although the small financial oligarchy continues to grow even richer, attempts are being made to rule out any rise of workers' pay. The large opportunities for accumulation, partially institutionalised legislatively, have made some quarters hungry for more and more money. In the past few years there has been a growing spate of scandals related to large-scale corruption and frauds. These have come to the knowledge of the Austrian public with the result that the atmosphere is now conducive for promoting the protest movement, although the latter lacks adequate direction.

Hans Kalt's study gives scientific backing to the CPA's slogan: "Social tax reform at the expense of financial capital". Indeed, while entrepreneurs and owners of fortunes use a myriad of subterfuges and loopholes in the taxation system to pay less (this being one of the causes of growth of the state budget deficit), the working people have to pay out a growing amount of money: in 1968-1984 the income tax of blue and white collar workers grew 11-fold. The registration and taxation of big proprietors, Hans Kalt notes, would allow cutting back the taxes on small and medium incomes. This is consistent with the desire of large sections of the population and, in the long term, would help to balance the state budget.

Although it deals with only a few aspects of the operations of finance capital, this book is a helpful theoretical and practical contribution to the class struggle. As the author himself writes, his purpose was not to present a summary of studies of the problem but only to give an impetus for further research.

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¹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, pp. 238-239.

New Books

Gavin Cawthra, *Brutal Force. The Apartheid War Machine*, International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London, 1986, 319 pp.

The South of Africa is a battlefield. In its efforts to retain power, the racist regime of apartheid is literally waging a war against its own people. Pretoria's forays against independent neighbouring states — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe — continue unabated. The racists keep an almost 100,000-strong army of occupation in Namibia where a brutal regime of terror has been imposed. The South African armed forces — the biggest south of the Sahara — number some 200,000 regular troops, and this strength can be doubled if the reservists are called up. The author cites exhaustive documentary evidence to trace the development of the apartheid war machine which Western countries, particularly the United States, helped to build up and which has now turned into the chief weapon of the imperialist policy of interference in Southern Africa.



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