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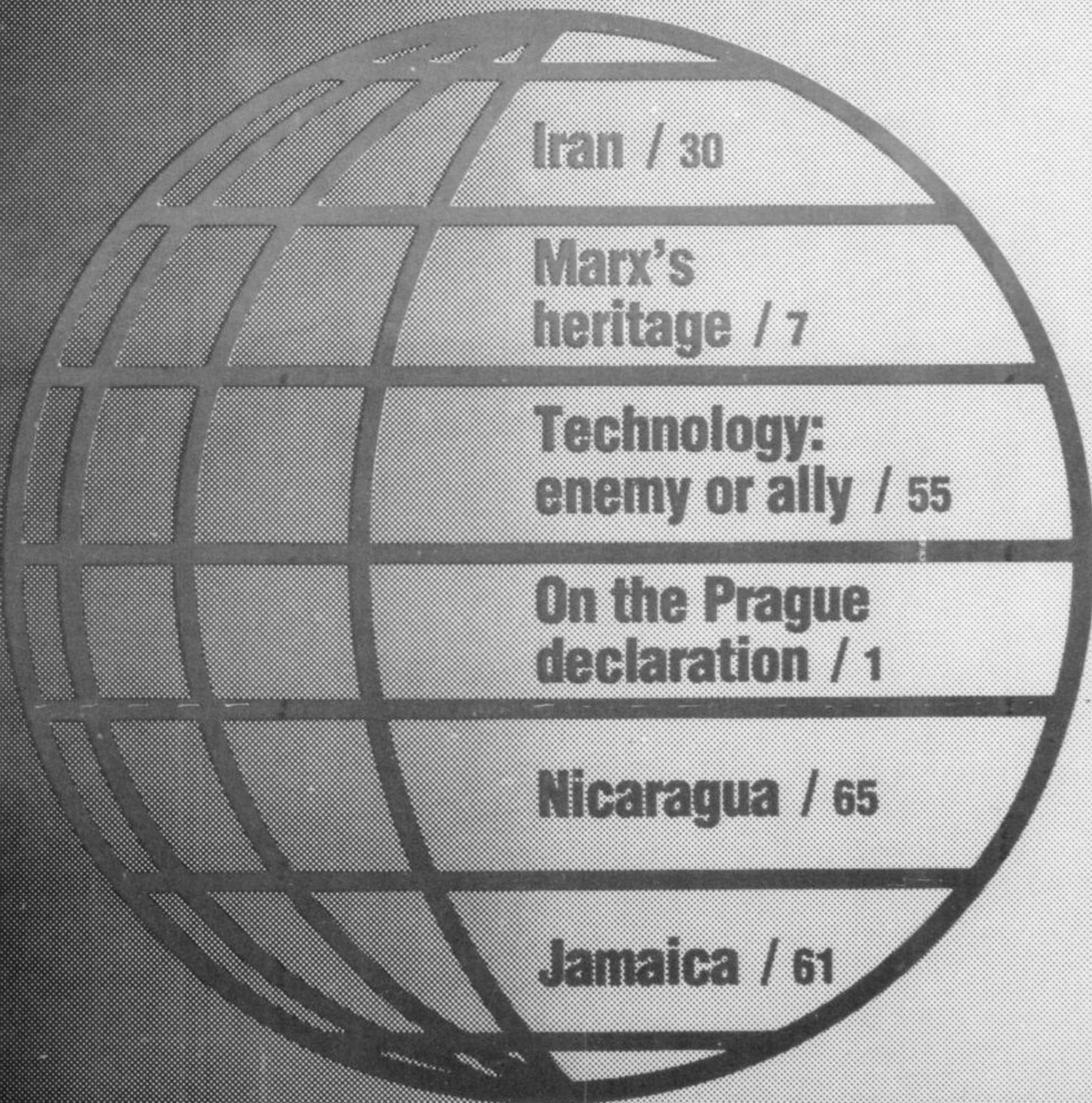
Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

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WORLD *Problems of* **MARXIST** *Peace and Socialism* **REVIEW**

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Socialism in the drive for peace

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COMMENTARY

In our disturbing times when the threat of a nuclear catastrophe is looming ever larger, every resolute step and every major action that averts from humankind the danger of annihilation is of decisive significance. The socialist community, unshakable as a bastion of peace, is the main force opposed to this threat. "Peace," Marx wrote, "is the international principle of the communists."* While articulating the will of the peoples to uproot destructive discord in state-to-state relations, the fraternal socialist countries are combining their efforts to avert a military collision; they are coordinating their foreign policy activity within the framework of the defensive Warsaw Treaty Organization.

The dawn of 1983 witnessed yet another, compellingly convincing indication of socialism's historic mission as the generator of energy aimed at maintaining peace. The highest representatives of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics met in Prague for a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty. This was an event of enormous international importance. In the spirit of long-standing fraternal traditions, the leaders of the allied socialist countries jointly reviewed the present situation in Europe and the world as a whole and charted further coordinated actions by the fraternal countries to avert the threat of war, preserve and deepen détente, and promote international cooperation. The discussion was productive and frank, the predominant striving being to extend mutual understanding and coordinate foreign policy. The participants in the meeting signed a Political Declaration, a wide-ranging document calling for an improvement of the political climate in the

world, a document proposing a realistic alternative to sliding into nuclear catastrophe.

A dangerous stage in international relations

In its assessment of the global situation, the Political Declaration draws the attention of the peoples of the world to the fact that the international scene is steadily growing more volatile. Aggressive imperialist circles, the U.S. administration in particular, have selected as their target the very principle of peaceful coexistence, which is the bedrock of the relations between countries with different social systems. "Much harm," the Declaration states, "is being done to the tendency toward détente, which has yielded positive results for the nations. Cooperation is being replaced by confrontation." Every effort of the peace forces to resolve the accumulated international problems by negotiations is given a hostile reception and blocked. Flashpoints are multiplying in the world. Sanctions and embargoes of all sorts are disrupting long-standing world economic relations. Artificial barriers are being erected to scientific and technological cooperation and to cultural exchanges.

The most disturbing symptom, however, is the arms race, which is entering a qualitatively much more dangerous phase embracing all kinds of armaments, both nuclear and conventional, all kinds of military action, and practically all regions of the world. Imperialism's latest strategic doctrines are no longer confined to the notorious "nuclear deterrent" but make allowance for the use of a "crippling first strike" and the conduct of a nuclear war — "limited" or "protracted." The militarist circles are trying to lull public opinion with their assertions that the new weaponry is quite ordinary, that it is not all that formidable, and that war with its use is no more terrible than those which humankind has already experienced in the course of its history.

The people of the European socialist countries represented at the Prague meeting have a clear picture of the horrors of war, even if it is conducted "solely" with conventional weap-

*Karl Marx, "First Appeal on the Franco-Prussian War," Works, Vol. 17, p. 5 (in Russian).

ons; the bloodiest battles of humankind's history have been fought on their territories; thousands of their cities have been devastated by hailstorms of bombs; they have suffered the loss of what is irreparable, the most valuable that every nation has — the life of its daughters and sons. War wounds never heal entirely. The pain of these wounds is felt and understood by everybody — by the ordinary people and by the leaders of the countries of the community. Much less then are the Warsaw Treaty member-states inclined to use florid verbiage to cover the true, apocalyptic nature of nuclear war. The assessment given of such a war in the Prague Declaration is sober and hard: Once it breaks out a nuclear conflict cannot be extinguished. In a nuclear war there will be no victors. Entire nations and, perhaps, all human civilization will perish in its flames. The arms race is making the specter of omnicide ever more visible.

However, the possibility of finding a way out of the present dangerous phase in international relations has not been lost, the present course of events must and can be halted, and developments must be channelled into a direction meeting the hopes of the peoples. The seven socialist countries declared that in order to achieve this aim they are prepared to put the full weight of their international prestige and their political and economic strength on the scales. Seeing the depth of the abyss into which imperialism is pushing humankind, millions of people in the different continents are joining in the mass anti-war movement and placing aside political, ideological and religious distinctions. The socialist community's foreign policy line is winning growing understanding among members of the non-aligned movement, from neutral states. For that reason the participants in the Prague meeting noted that, taken together, the forces of peace are more powerful than the forces of war. The cohesion and purposefulness of those who are acting against the escalation of danger and urging broad international cooperation are the sole means for putting an end to the policy of strength and confrontation, reinforcing international security, and guaranteeing, in state-to-state relations, consistent compliance with the principles of respect for national independence and sovereignty, inviolability of frontiers, non-interference in internal affairs, non-use of force or of the threat of force, equality, and the right of peoples to decide their own destiny.

Equality and equal security

The curbing of the arms race, states the Prague Declaration, is central to preserving and

consolidating peace. This must be achieved without delay, for the higher the level of military confrontation rises the more difficult it becomes in technical terms to control armaments, the more unstable becomes the equilibrium of strength now existing in the world, and the more stark becomes the prospect of sliding into war.

With the two social systems in confrontation, tangible results can only come from one approach to the reduction of armaments, namely, *steadfast* compliance with the principle of equality and equal security. Reason demands mutual respect for the right of each side and the right of any nation to self-defense. Today the forces in confrontation are approximately equal. The Warsaw Treaty nations do not seek to upset this equilibrium, to secure superiority for themselves, for they have never intended and do not intend to attack anybody. The calculations of some reckless elements among the imperialist circles that they can reverse history, roll back and even destroy socialism after achieving military superiority over it are no more than an illusion, but it is a foolhardy illusion that can play the role of detonator in the present explosive situation. But if in their policy of disarmament the capitalist states are prepared, as their leaders constantly avow, to be guided by the principle of equality and equal security, the best affirmation of this readiness could be the renunciation, formalized in international law, of the first-use of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union has already undertaken that commitment unilaterally, and if the other nuclear powers follow its example the world will breathe much easier.

The Declaration emphasizes that the only way the principle of equality and equal security can be translated into reality is by *negotiation*. No regional or global problem exists that cannot be settled justly by peaceful means. Any, even the most explosive, conflict can be defused by political means, without the use of weapons. That is why the countries of the socialist community have once again, as they had on countless previous occasions, urged statesmen throughout the world who look soberly at foreign political processes and are sincerely concerned about our planet's destiny to sit down at the negotiating table.

The seven socialist states call for more energetic efforts at the current talks and for the resumption of the suspended talks on the entire range of questions linked to ending the arms race and, above all, to reducing and eliminating the most dangerous armaments — nuclear weapons. They urge going further. In its efforts to discredit the Soviet proposals for reducing

the number of missiles in Europe, bourgeois propaganda alleged that the reason the USSR was prepared to take that step was that after the nuclear potentials were reduced the Warsaw Treaty states would have the edge in conventional weapons, notably tanks. This, the bellicose politicians and columnists asserted on a note of intimidation, would create the danger that the Russians would be able at any moment to "knock" on the door of any West European capital. Now that in an official document of the Political Consultative Committee the socialist countries have declared their readiness to come to an agreement on a substantial lowering of the present levels of conventional weapons, they have taken another "trump" out of the hands of imperialism's political tricksters and shown the anti-war movement in the West that the problem of the balance of conventional weapons is by no means an insurmountable obstacle to ending the arms race.

The Declaration is emphatic on the point that there should be talks not only on a reduction of "old", long known weapons systems but also of new systems — neutron, radiological and others. The use of the latter, apart from their direct destructive consequences to people today, is fraught with remote and still little known consequences to heredity, to the health of future generations.

The purpose of the proposal, made once again by the countries of the socialist community, for turning outer space into a peace zone is to prevent the implementation of the U.S. military's dangerous plans to acquire the potential for an indefinitely protracted and "effective" nuclear war against the USSR concurrently on several fronts through the deployment of nuclear weapons in outer space. In keeping with precisely these plans, the secret Pentagon directive, leaked last summer by several newspapers in the USA, contained a clause requiring U.S. diplomats to block the signing of any agreement on the peaceful use of outer space.

The Prague Declaration makes yet another fundamental proposal that further underscores the sincerity of the efforts of the Warsaw Treaty countries to achieve disarmament within the shortest possible time. The essence of this proposal is that already now, before agreement has been reached at negotiations on how, what, and how much to reduce, to freeze armaments at their present level, to spread such a freeze as widely as possible — to the growth of nuclear potentials, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the increase of military expenditures, and so forth.

Of course, an understanding of this kind does

not yet solve the problem as a whole, but it will help to dispel mutual distrust along the path to disarmament, to create a springboard that will facilitate the attainment of strategic aims such as phased nuclear disarmament and then the total elimination of weapons of mass destruction.

Despite the resistance of conservative, reactionary politicians, the principle of freezing armaments and military spending is everywhere winning the support of the anti-war, the peace forces. This principle is comprehensible and reasonable and hence the fact that it attracts people perhaps more than any other. According to a Harris public opinion poll, 76 per cent of the people in the USA want an agreement with the USSR on ending the production and testing of nuclear weapons. By accentuating the freezing principle in their peace proposals the Warsaw Treaty countries bring it home to the peoples of the world, to the millions in the anti-war movements, that if there is goodwill the possibilities for reaching a mutually acceptable agreement in the question of armaments are both multiform and realistic.

Moving further along the road opened by Helsinki

One of the main conclusions drawn at the Prague meeting is that today the destiny of the world depends to a large extent on the destiny of Europe. This is borne out not only by the lessons of history, which remind us that the European continent was twice the theater of the outbreak of wars that then spread to the whole world, but also by present-day reality. And this reality is that in the course of more than a quarter of a century of direct confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, colossal arsenals of nuclear and conventional armaments have been stockpiled in Europe. If by premeditation or tragic error the European powder-keg is detonated, the entire planet will go up with it. This means that the Old World's security is vital not only to Europeans but also to all the other peoples of the planet. They are now watching Europe with riveted attention also because that is precisely where a most deadly conflict is in the making, a conflict that threatens to become the stumbling block for the entire cause of easing international tension and curbing the arms race, a conflict that threatens to take the arms race into a new spiral. The reaffirmation, at the close of 1982, of the NATO decision to station new U.S. medium-range missiles on the territory of some West European countries is giving the Warsaw Treaty countries serious doubts about the sincerity of the NATO declarations of its readiness to disarm.

Nevertheless, the socialist community is continuing to work for a relaxation of tension in Europe, making constructive proposals, including on the question of the European nuclear-missile arsenal. While they believe that in principle efforts must be directed toward freeing the continent entirely of medium-range missiles and tactical nuclear weapons, the participants in the Prague meeting took note of the contribution made by the Soviet Union in the proposals announced at the anniversary meeting in Moscow on December 21, 1982. The USSR declared that it is prepared to retain in Europe exactly the same number of medium-range missiles as is now in the combined possession of Britain and France (of course, if no new U.S. missiles are deployed). If this is accepted by the NATO countries it may become the first step on the road toward turning Europe into a missile-free and nuclear-free continent and then into a continent of peace.

The negotiations in Vienna and Geneva and the initiatives to establish nuclear-free zones in Northern Europe and the Balkans and to turn the Mediterranean into a peace zone are of inestimable significance. In their Declaration the participants in the Political Consultative Committee meeting pledge to give every support for the success of these initiatives.

Further, the peoples of the densely-populated industrial states of Central Europe can fully appreciate the timeliness of the Warsaw Treaty proposal for clearing the European continent of chemical weapons. This proposal is entirely in keeping with the aspiration of those who are fighting to protect the environment and will unquestionably have a wide response from public opinion advocating peace.

The experience of the past few decades gives humankind the hope that the prospects for peace in Europe are real. After all, it was in Europe that the greatest headway was made toward détente in the mid-1970s by common effort. The Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe laid the foundation for goodneighborly relations and the development of links between countries with different social systems. It would be a crime to renounce this useful heritage, and the Political Declaration contains another call to all the countries that participated in the Helsinki Conference to comply strictly with the treaties and agreements determining the territorial and political realities of Europe today, to respect and steadfastly implement the principles that were agreed upon. The states represented at the Prague meeting called also for a productive conclusion of the talks in Madrid.

Justice demands respect for the legitimate rights of all countries

A direction of the peace efforts to which, alongside the efforts to reinforce European security, immense importance is attached by the Prague Declaration is to extinguish existing flash-points of armed conflicts in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and prevent new international conflicts. The Warsaw Treaty countries regard any direct or indirect involvement of countries of these three continents in the big military groups confronting each other as a factor increasing the danger of local conflicts erupting into a global collision, and they reaffirmed that their alliance has no intention of extending its sphere of action and called upon NATO likewise to renounce any such intention.

The way to eradicate the local conflicts that flare up from time to time is to extirpate all survivals of colonialism and racism, to renounce neocolonialist policies and halt the oppression and exploitation of other peoples. The gradual surmounting of backwardness and, consequently, the elimination of the enormous disparities in the economic development levels of individual countries would be a major factor improving the international political climate. The Political Declaration reiterated that the socialist countries are in favor of restructuring the system of world economic relations on the basis of justice and democracy, to be followed by the establishment of a new international economic order that would guarantee developing countries unrestricted control of their natural resources.

"Peace can be stable," the Declaration says, "only if it is just, with every state recognizing and respecting the legitimate rights and interests of all the others."

Key element of the Prague Declaration

The proposal for a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and on the maintenance of relations of peace addressed to the NATO countries above all, holds a central place in the coordinated peace strategy of the Warsaw Treaty countries. This is today the element that allows laying the beginning for the solution of the entire spectrum of problems linked to preventing war and preserving world peace. Under such a treaty the signatories would undertake not to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional weapons against each other, and this would mean renouncing a military first-strike altogether. This treaty is conceived as an open international legal document. First, the members of the two alliances would renounce the use of force not only against each other but also

against third countries — those that have allied relations with them and those that are non-aligned and neutral; second, not only the members of the two military groups, but also other European countries so desiring could participate in drawing up and signing the treaty; further, from the outset, all other countries that desire it would have an equal right to subscribe to the treaty. It is specially emphasized that the treaty must help to strengthen the United Nations Organization as a global instrument of collective security. The socialist countries are thereby giving further evidence that although their new proposal is addressed to NATO they are continuing the search for ways and means of gradually disbanding military alliances.

The proposal for signing such a treaty is a key element of the Prague Declaration. It is the principal component of the series of initiatives underlying the international political program of the socialist community countries. The latter do not insist on any specific sequence, on any priority in the holding of talks, but are prepared to discuss proposals for this treaty simultaneously with all other pressing international problems so as to get an actual limitation and reduction of armaments off the ground.

It is extremely important that the proposal for concluding this treaty has been worked out in detail, because to a large extent the destiny of a diplomatic initiative depends on its maturity. The participants in the Prague meeting are of the opinion that the commitment not to use force against each other could be applied to the territory of the treaty's signatories, to their military and civilian personnel, their sea-borne, air-borne and space craft, and all the other installations belonging to the two sides. It is proposed that the treaty should include commitments to conduct negotiations, in a spirit of good-will, on ending the arms race, on limiting and reducing armaments, on disarmament, and to work out by joint effort effective measures to prevent a surprise attack.

The new global peace initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty countries exemplify a political approach to the settlement of international problems accentuating not special military-technical details but a fundamentally important political aim, that of creating an atmosphere of confidence in the relations between countries with different social systems. By adhering to realistic positions, strictly separating ideological questions from problems of state-to-state relations, and pursuing a policy of peaceful coexistence, the two sides would help to consolidate peace, which is in the interests of all the peoples of the world without exception. On the other hand, confrontation and aggres-

sive anti-communism, which uses all possible means and every kind of war — cold, hot, psychological and economic — have always been and will be part and parcel of a policy pushing humankind into the abyss of a global nuclear conflict.

The Political Consultative Committee meeting has shown that today a growing role is played by all-sided cooperation among the socialist countries, by their joint struggle for common aims on the international scene, by exchanges of experience of socialist and communist construction, and by cooperation in economic, scientific and technological development. All this augments the strength of the socialist community as a whole and helps to carry out the creative tasks facing all its member countries.

World opinion in the face of two political lines

The attitude to the Prague Declaration will today clearly demonstrate who is sincerely concerned about the destinies of peace in the world and prepared for dialogue and cooperation in order to preserve peace and end the arms race, and who does not want this.

The results of the Political Consultative Committee meeting have received the wholehearted support and approval of the peoples of socialist community countries, who see these results as a further impetus for resolving difficult international problems in the name of strengthening peace and security, of continuing détente.

These results are a further important step in socialism's peace offensive, which is consonant with the hopes of all humankind. They have been welcomed by millions of communists on all continents. The conclusion of the treaty on a mutual non-use of force, the documents of some fraternal parties emphasize, would fundamentally change the international climate, reinforce détente, create favorable conditions for talks, for ending the arms race and securing a gradual switch to disarmament, and effectively serve the cause of peace and social progress.

Many sober-thinking Western statesmen have likewise spoken highly of the Prague call for dialogue. In welcoming the efforts of the Warsaw Treaty countries to settle international problems by negotiation and in considering that the proposal for a treaty on the non-use of force merits the closest study, they are prompted by various motivations. These motivations may be strong pressure from public opinion, the large scale of the anti-war movement, or the domestic political situation. But these realistic

circles do not include the U.S. administration, which continues to insist on the main elements of its foreign policy that is taking the dialogue between the main forces of the two world social systems into an impasse. The hard-line, unconstructive course pursued by the USA has been bitingly characterized by the United Press agency, which wrote that it seems that the USSR is opening the door to armaments control only to have the USA shut it irascibly.

Unlike the initiatives of the socialist world, Washington's proposals entirely ignore the principle of equality and equal security. These proposals have as their basic aim to weaken the defensive capability of the Warsaw Treaty countries and achieve military superiority. This is precisely the significance of the U.S. administration's "zero option," which envisages the dismantling of all Soviet medium-range missiles in Europe while leaving the number of corresponding British and French missiles, as well as of forward-based U.S. missiles, intact.

Even bourgeois, including U.S., politicians are perfectly well aware that this "option" is totally unacceptable to the USSR. In the view of *The New York Times*, for instance, a just agreement, i.e., one based on the principle of equality and equal security, must take into account all missiles targeted on the socialist community and not only those marked with the Stars and Stripes.

The immobility of the U.S. posture is in sharp contrast to the political flexibility of the socialist countries, to their readiness to reach agreement on the most complex issues, to look for acceptable compromise decisions in keeping with the lofty aim of preserving and consolidating peace. Recognizing this dynamism, world opinion is noting that the initiative is clearly in the hands of the socialist community, that the ball is now in the court of the Western governments.

In recent years the Warsaw Treaty countries have time and again removed artificially erected obstacles in order to clear the way for negotiations. A fresh example of this is the Soviet explanation about the destiny of the missiles to be removed from the European part of the USSR: some will be destroyed and others will be redeployed in Siberia from where Central Europe will be out of their range. Thus, in the peace dialogue the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries take the attitude of the USA and its NATO allies into consideration and meet them halfway in many important issues.

However, it looks as if the reactionary imperialist circles believe that this readiness for a

reasonable compromise is no more than forced action taken under the influence of, on the one hand, U.S. intractability and, on the other, the economic difficulties that are allegedly being experienced by the socialist community and placing a limit on its potential for a further build-up of its military capability.

Those who are putting their stake on socialism's "weakness" will inevitably lose. The Warsaw Treaty Organization has enough strength to repulse the military threat from imperialism. The Soviet Union will never let its own security and that of its allies be jeopardized, it was said at the meeting held in Moscow to mark the 60th anniversary of the USSR. Speaking of the significance of the Prague meeting, Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, noted in an interview given to the newspaper *Rude pravo*: "The main conclusion to be drawn from our entire comradely exchange of views at the meeting may be defined as follows: The reply to the calculations of the aggressive imperialist circles on rolling back socialism must be further consolidation of our unity, and of our economic and defense potential. It would be fair to say that with this is directly linked the security of our countries and the destiny of the world as a whole."

The path from reasonable constructive proposals to a fundamental change in the international situation, to the surmounting of Europe's division into two military groups, is not a short one, of course. To traverse it there must be good will and a readiness to act vigorously with the purpose of relaxing political tension, ending the arms race, and promoting broad economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation. The Warsaw Treaty Political Declaration opens the green light to this path. It is convincing evidence that the Warsaw Treaty countries are prepared to consider favorably any reasonable proposal that could improve the international situation and prevent a military confrontation, that they are prepared to consider favorably any constructive agreement based on equality and equal security. This opens up the possibility for all countries — those which belong to military alliances and those that are non-aligned and neutral — for all political parties and movements, and for uncommitted people, in keeping with their own interests, to take an active stand in defense of a peaceful present and future.

The Prague Declaration calls for dialogue and cooperation among all who want peace, which is the great purpose of socialism and the hope of all humanity.

A great international ideological heritage

Pyotr Fedoseyev

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MARXISM 100 YEARS AFTER MARX

Karl Marx lived only 65 years, but what he accomplished is everlasting. His name has the profound respect of working people throughout the world, and his theory and cause live and will go on powerfully influencing the development of social thought and the course of society's life.

Briefly and in generalized form it may be said that in close cooperation and spiritual association with his loyal friend and staunch comrade-in-arms Frederick Engels, Karl Marx established the ideological prerequisites for the world's revolutionary renewal, the foundations of the theory and policy of the communist movement, and the internationalist principles and organizational forms of the liberation struggle of the working class and all the masses exploited by capital.

The theory of Marx was tested and withstood that test during his lifetime. The wave of revolutions that swept across Europe in 1848 and the Paris Commune were striking evidence of the acuteness and irreconcilability of the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and produced concrete historical experience for the development of Marx's theory of the class struggle. The century that has elapsed since his death has witnessed the total triumph of Marxism, which was further developed by Vladimir Lenin and other followers of Marx. The world has since then changed beyond recognition under the impact of the liberation movements inspired by the theory of Marxism-Leninism. The central events of the 20th century were the Great October Socialist Revolution, socialism's victory in a number of countries, the downfall of imperialism's colonial system, the increasingly stronger position and role of the working class in capitalist countries, and the magnitude of the national liberation struggle.

The theory of Marx continues to be virulently attacked by the bourgeoisie and its ideologists, for it not only foretells that the collapse of capitalism is objectively inevitable but is a

spiritual weapon in the hands of the working class in its struggle for society's revolutionary transformation. Also symbolic is that in recent years the proponents of social-reformism have been more and more frequently turning to Marx, whom they had formerly written off as "obsolete" and "refuted."

What explains Marxism's immortality? From what does it draw its viability and effectiveness? Chiefly from the fact that its founder relied solidly on science and linked theory inseparably to revolutionary practice, generalizing the experience of the class struggle of the proletariat. Marx was a great scientist and revolutionary.

He saw research as creative, hard work requiring perseverance, staunchness, and selflessness in order to open up the road for humankind's progress. He saw revolutionary activity as the material force for restructuring society on the basis of just principles, namely, communist equality, in order to ensure the all-sided development of the individual. To the last day of his life he remained true to the great cause of struggle for the attainment of communist ideals.

For centuries on end working people had suffered from three main social vices: exploitation of man by man, national and racial oppression, and devastating, sanguinary wars. Marx and Engels not only understood these central social problems. In the first place, they brought to light the material potentialities for resolving these problems with the development of the productive forces and the growing socialization of production under capitalism; second, they identified the principal force capable of heading and conducting a victorious struggle for society's revolutionary renewal — the working class; third, they mapped out the ways and means of reaching this aim — evolving the theory of scientific socialism and turning socialism from a utopian dream into a science. In short, Marx and Engels approached humankind's basic problems not only as great humanists but also as great realistic scholars and revolutionaries.

In terms of class content Marxism is the

theory and tactic of the proletariat in its struggle to remake society along socialist lines. As a science, the theory of Marx and Engels is an integral and harmonious system of philosophical, economic, and socio-political views comprehensively substantiating law-governed ways and means of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism.

It became possible to substantiate this transition philosophically because Marx and Engels enriched materialism with dialectics, in other words, with a comprehensive theory of development, and worked out a materialistic understanding of history. With his scientific analysis of the capitalist economic system Marx revealed the "secret" of capitalist exploitation, showing the mechanism by which the capitalists appropriate surplus value, i.e., that part of value created over and above the paid portion of hired labor. He thereby laid bare the economic roots of the implacable antagonism between the working class and the bourgeoisie, making it clear that the class struggle between them would inevitably grow increasingly acute until exploitation of man by man was completely eradicated.

Marxism drew the conclusion that the socialist revolution was natural and necessary, and that it would end the power of capital and establish the power of the working class, which is capable of organizing social production without exploiters on the basis of public property in the means of production.

The need to achieve the epoch-making aims of the working class advanced the problem of the leading role of its vanguard, of its revolutionary party. Marx, Engels and their associates began turning revolutionary ideas into a material force, into the motor of revolutionary changes on which the historical destiny of the working-class movement and of Marxism itself depended. Their crowning achievement in this direction was the founding of the International Working Men's Association, the First International, and the creation of the first mass parties of the working class in Europe.

At the close of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, when the peaceful period of capitalism's development had come to a close and the working class had entered the stage of revolutionary battles for society's socialist reorganization, Lenin continued the theory and cause of Marx and Engels, becoming the inspirer and founder of a new type of party consistent with the new aims of the class struggle.

Pointed out by Marx, the processes of the aggravation of capitalism's contradictions and the class struggle were greatly intensified in the 20th century. In practice, it proved to be pos-

sible to end exploitation of man by man and abolish the exploiting classes themselves first in the Soviet Union and then in some other countries. This was achieved not even in the most developed countries. All the more did the material and social possibilities for resolving this problem mature in developed capitalist society by means of its revolutionary transformation. Of course, in the citadels of capitalism, as Marx and Lenin had pointed out, it is much harder to begin the socialist revolution, for the bourgeoisie has much stronger positions for social maneuvering and political manipulation. But in these citadels it is easier and takes less time to organize socialist production and build the material and technical basis of communism.

The experience of the socialist countries indicates the ways and means of ending class division generally and achieving complete social homogeneity in society.

Lenin often noted that socialism spells out the abolition of classes. We now see in practice that this is a long process, the first steps of which are the abolition of the exploiting classes and capitalist elements generally and the reshaping of the small-proprietor system through the cooperation of the small producers. This is followed by the erasure of the essential distinctions between the working class, the cooperated peasantry, and the socialist intelligentsia. Taking the underlying trends of the further development of social relations into account, the 26th congress of the CPSU drew the conclusion that the formation of a classless society would evidently occur mainly within the historical bounds of mature socialism. Class boundaries can be erased completely only with society's transition to the highest phase of communism.

A major factor in erasing class distinctions between the working class and the peasantry is the drawing together of the two forms of socialist property: public and cooperative. Moreover, not only cooperative, but public property, too, needs to be developed. It is only by perfecting the latter that the working class can ensure its leading role relative to other sections of society, and its movement toward and fusion with them in a socially homogeneous society. This requires the fulfillment of such major tasks of communist construction as the surmounting of the negative effects of the social division of labor and the social distinctions between labor by hand and by brain. This means the organic linking of these two forms of labor in the production activity of people. This is how the Marxist-Leninist propositions on removing age-old class antagonisms and society's divi-

sion into classes are being translated into life.

As regards national inequality and colonial oppression, these are linked indivisibly to private property and bourgeois society's class structure, to the character of the capitalist world system. Marx said that the "existing property relations . . . involve the exploitation of some nations by others."¹ Capitalism intensified and exacerbated national oppression by adding colonial oppression to it. The question of national liberation, of the abolition of the colonial system could not be raised outside the general struggle to abolish all social oppression, the struggle against the exploiting classes and exploitation of man by man. "In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to."²

The Great October Revolution broke the chain of class and national oppression, opening the way to true equality and friendship among working people of all races and nations, to their unhampered and all-sided development. Anybody looking back over the road traversed by the Soviet Union will see how much has been done for the all-sided development of the nations and nationalities inhabiting that united multinational state. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, with the working class playing the leading role and with the Russian people extending fraternal assistance, all the nations and nationalities of the USSR, including those of the former backward regions, have achieved the summits of social progress. The hallmarks of any of the Soviet republics are a modern industry, a developed agriculture, a steady growth of the economy and of the living standard, a developing national statehood, a high level of science, and a flourishing culture. Yet each has preserved its identity, its national features. What happens throughout the period of the building and development of socialist society up until communism is reached is not the erasure of national distinctions but the florescence of nations in the true sense of the word, the all-sided development of language and culture on the basis of internationalist cooperation and unbreakable friendship among peoples.

As historically-shaped entities, nations have been and will be for a long time to come an important form of social progress. The point is that the development of nations must not lead to insularity, to isolation, to conceit or arrogance but must involve an understanding of common interests and the fulfill-

ment of common tasks in the building of a communist society. National-state frontiers and other international boundaries will disappear only when communism is established worldwide.

The elimination of social sources and causes of war and the attainment of world peace are likewise linked to the struggle against domination by exploiting classes, and most particularly in our day to the abolition of the power of monopoly associations and the military-industrial complex, to the extirpation of their pernicious influence on international relations, and to the exposure of imperialism's aggressive policies.

An understanding of what gives rise to the threat of war is a crucial organizing factor of the actions to prevent war. The workers have a huge potential for safeguarding peace, for fighting against the warmongers. Their duty, to use Marx's words, is "to master themselves the mysteries of international politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective governments; to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power; when unable to prevent, to combine in simultaneous denunciations, and to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice . . . as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations."³

The uniqueness of the present international situation is that imperialism has pushed civilization to a brink beyond which lies the real danger of its destruction. This means that the prospects for achieving the historic aim of humankind's social liberation depend on the elimination of the threat of nuclear catastrophe overhanging it. Peace is now not merely a condition favoring social progress; it has become indispensable to such progress.

To prevent a nuclear catastrophe is central to world politics, to the work of the communists, and of all peoples. If there is a nuclear catastrophe, civilization and possibly all life will not continue in any part of the world. The catastrophe will be global in every sense. In the face of such a danger the preservation of peace has become crucial to all humankind.

The attitude of the Marxist-Leninists to a nuclear war thus springs from the humane principles of the communist world view, from the peaceful nature of socialism, from the basic interests of the working class and humankind as a whole: we are unquestionably opposed to such a war, hold that it cannot be permitted, and will do everything we can to prevent it from breaking out. Stating the stand of the Soviet communists on this

issue, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yuri Andropov declared: "Veritably, one has to be blind to the realities of our time not to see that wherever and however a nuclear whirlwind arises, it will inevitably go out of control and cause a worldwide catastrophe. Our position on this issue is clear: a nuclear war — whether big or small, whether limited or total — must not be allowed to break out. No task is more important today than to stop the instigators of another war. This is required by the vital interests of all nations."⁴

In explaining how terrible the threat is that is hanging over humankind, the Marxist-Leninists are showing where this threat is coming from. The threat of a nuclear catastrophe has been created by U.S. imperialism. It is fueled today, in their blind class hatred of socialism, by the most aggressive, militarist circles determining the actions of the present U.S. administration.

In this critical period, when the destiny of humankind is being decided, the communists draw from Marx's ideals their social optimism, their confidence that a nuclear catastrophe will be prevented and that the cause of peace and communism will triumph. The optimism of the communists is founded on their knowledge of the laws of history, on their ability fearlessly to recognize and assess a danger, on their determination to fight that danger, on their account of the factors making it possible to remove that danger, on their understanding that the forces of peace and revolution are growing in the course of the struggle.

In reviewing world developments and assessing the experience that has been gained since Marx and Engels laid the foundations of the communist world view, we clearly see:

- that the main thrust of world development is proceeding along the course predicted by them, namely revolutionary transition from the capitalist to the communist socio-economic system;

- that this historical process of humankind's liberation from exploitation, social and national oppression, and wars is being accomplished as a result of massive people's movements led by the working class, whose historic mission was spelled out and substantiated by Marx and Engels;

- that the party of the working class, guided by the revolutionary theory evolved by Marx and Engels, is the recognized force organizing the masses in their struggle against imperialism, for peace and socialism.

Not one of the innumerable reformist, revisionist theories has in practice led to the crea-

tion of a society differing from capitalism. Marxism-Leninism is the only theory that has taken a large portion of humankind out of the grip of capitalism, made it possible to build the new, socialist society, and is guiding the transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale.

Just these realities of present-day social practice allow singling out Marxism among all other philosophical, sociological, economic, and political doctrines as a theory that is unique for the power of its scientific prevision, for its validity and socio-historical role, for the force of its attraction.

In our day, creatively developed and enriched by Lenin and other continuers of the cause of Marx, Marxism is more than a theory and method of understanding and researching social practice. Through the Marxist-Leninist policies and practical work of the revolutionary parties of the working class, scientific socialism assumes material form in the practice of the class struggle of the working people, in the practice of socialist and communist construction. As a result, social science is being enriched by the experience of each party, of each people.

The CPSU sees Marxism-Leninism as indispensable for solving the problems posed by modern social development, for socialism's further successful progress toward communism, and in indicating the way to the triumph of peace throughout the world. Major creative contributions to Marxist-Leninist science are the concept of developed socialism elaborated by the CPSU and other fraternal parties, and the pinpointing of the features of the world revolutionary process under conditions when existing socialism has become the factor determining international politics.

The building of socialism in the USSR and other countries started a qualitatively new stage in the historical destinies of Marx's theory. Prominence is held no longer by the task of destroying the old but by the task of building the new society. Whereas the socialist revolution confirmed the validity of Marx's theory that capitalism is doomed as a social system, only the successful building of a socialist society can confirm the cardinal, main conclusion of Marx's theory, namely, whether it is possible to achieve the communist ideals. The historic significance of the building of socialism in the USSR and some other countries is that it has shown the international working class, all fighters for progress, that our communist ideal is not a utopia, that it is actually attainable. This has reinforced the moral foundations of the communist and working-class movement. At

the same time, qualitatively new conditions have taken shape for the further creative development of the theory of scientific socialism. Socialist theory was formerly elaborated on the basis of analyses of the contradictions and development trends of bourgeois society. Today it rests not only on such analyses but also on its own basis, on existing and developing socialism. Moreover, Marxist-Leninist science now faces much bigger tasks, for now it is a matter of solving entirely new and extremely complex theoretical and practical problems of communist construction.

The successes and difficulties of socialist construction have made it plain how important it is steadfastly to abide by the regularities of society's revolutionary transformation, regularities brought to light by Marxism, and how dangerous it is to ignore or violate these regularities, to lag behind or move in front of what is demanded by them.

The experience of socialist countries has confirmed that socialism can triumph and be consolidated only on the basis of a single socio-economic system founded on public property in the means of production. But nothing can come of attempts at speeding the transition from capitalism and pre-capitalist relations directly to socialism, at prematurely abolishing trade and small-scale private production. We can see how prescient Marx was when he wrote of the inevitability of and necessity for a more or less long period of transition from capitalism to socialism. In this context let us recall the great significance of Lenin's New Economic Policy calling for the gradual transition of small-commodity production to production along socialist lines through co-operation. This was a matter of the attitude of the working class to the peasantry and other small-commodity producers, of strengthening the alliance with them, of the ways and means of involving them in the building of socialism.

Moreover, the notions that socialism can achieve a high level of maturity while preserving a large sector of private, small-commodity production have proved to be untenable. It is the lesson of both theory and experience that an economy with a multiple structure is inevitable in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, that socialism cannot be regarded as having been fully and finally established until socialist socialization of production embraces the entire national economy. Mature socialism can develop and perfect itself only on its own basis.

In speaking of the significance of abiding by the objective regularities of socialist construction, we can refer also to the experience of

applying the Marxist theory of reproduction. Stable economic development and the successful solution of social problems can be guaranteed only by determining the optimal growth rates and proportions of the economy, especially the correlation between the production of the means of production and the manufacture of consumer goods. On the contrary, miscalculations in planning and violations of the principles of socialist reproduction and economic proportions in one area or another inescapably create difficulties, undermine economic development, and give rise to dangerous social situations. Consequently, it is vital to elaborate socialism's political economy and consistently abide by objective economic regularities in accordance with the specific conditions of each country and every stage of development.

In terms of theory and practice it is important to perfect socialism's political system, to promote democracy in accordance with the prospects for socialist society's advance toward an increasingly fuller implementation of the principles of communist self-administration. The CPSU gives its unflagging attention to ensuring the optimal interaction of the different elements of the political system, representative and direct democracy, the active participation of the people in the administration of the state, the functioning of the Soviets of People's Deputies, the trade unions, the Young Communist League, and other public organizations, and also of the operation of work collectives, and facilitates the growth of the people's political and juridical culture.

Any deviation from the principle of democratic centralism is, as experience has shown, fraught with the danger of considerable loss. Any weakening of centralization may undermine the interests of the people, of the state as a whole, and lead to the predominance of parochialism and the inflaming of group claims. Any belittlement or violation of the principles of socialist democracy gives rise to bureaucratic distortions and fetters the creative initiative of the working people. The CPSU is steadfastly guided by Lenin's injunction that socialism and democracy are indivisible, that a high level of organization and state discipline in socialist society are inconceivable without encouraging the creative initiatives and activities of the people.

Of course, it is harder to establish a balance between the rapidly changing multiform elements and aspects of society's life than, say between chemical elements on laboratory scales. Imbalances are ended and the optimal harmony of all the components of the social

organization is achieved only in uninterrupted development.

Marxism-Leninism has never claimed that a socialist society is a perfect social form free of contradictions, difficulties and shortcomings. Socialism, Engels wrote, is not something given once and for all but should be conceived in a state of constant flux and change.⁵ The actual building of communism is a great historical movement and, like any other movement, it develops through the surmounting of contradictions. The great significance of the Marxist-Leninist theory of two phases of communism, with socialism as its first phase, is precisely that it regards the communist system in flux, in the historical dimension.

Existing socialism is the most dynamic social system full of energy and capable of impressive historical accomplishments. The advances that have already been made by socialist countries in socio-economic development, in raising the people's cultural level and living standards are striking evidence of the new system's inexhaustible potentialities and its indisputable advantages over capitalism. The combining of these advantages with the breakthroughs of the scientific and technological revolution serves and can still further facilitate socialist society's progress. The CPSU attaches enormous significance to the practical application of Marx's well-known proposition on turning science into a direct productive force. Science becomes such a force not of itself but only when its achievements are embodied in means of production, in technological programs, and then in the creation of material values. Science's conversion into a direct productive force and the use of its achievements in social practice evolve into a mass and creative social movement, holding the interests of each working person and the entire people.

As it develops and perfects itself, world socialism makes an inestimable contribution to the solution of humankind's historic problems, thereby demonstrating the viability of Marxism-Leninism.

The theoretical guidelines laid down by Marx and creatively enlarged upon under new historical conditions by Lenin allow making a scientific assessment of the main development trends in capitalist society. After the Great October Socialist Revolution capitalism's main contradiction — that between labor and capital — has grown in both scale and depth, first, as a global contradiction between two systems and, second, as a contradiction in capitalist society itself between the huge majority of the population and the monopolies. A new element of this main contradiction of the capitalist system

is the antagonism between dependent countries and the imperialist centers pursuing a neocolonialist policy. Lastly, the scientific and technological revolution is also shattering the social foundations of state-monopoly capitalism. It objectively multiplies the material prerequisites for the transition from capitalism to socialism and leads to a higher level of the socialization and internationalization of production and to an aggravation of the contradictions between the social character of the productive forces and capitalist property. The growth of this entire range of contradictions is eroding the foundations of capitalism and intensifying and deepening its general crisis.

The theory of Marx and Lenin on the cyclic character of the capitalist economy's development allows making a comprehensive analysis of the key problems of the present economic crisis in the capitalist system, of the problems of inflation, unemployment, and other incurable ills of the bourgeois system. Very significant in this context are the underlying Marxist-Leninist conclusions about the destructive effects of the militarization of the capitalist economy, which has today assumed extremely dangerous proportions.

Marx gave much of his attention to the role of the bourgeois state and the functioning of its economy, notably its policy of protectionism, its tax policy, and so on. Continuing Marx's analysis in the 20th century, Lenin showed that the state and the capitalist monopolies were merging, and laid bare the principal features of state-monopoly capitalism. The problem of state-monopoly regulation of the economy has today become particularly topical in its scientific and political aspects. The crisis of the bourgeois methods of regulation is growing ever deeper, but the ruling classes still have considerable potentialities and, naturally, no intention of voluntarily renouncing power and the economic levers of stabilizing it.

The adoption of the socialist orientation by a number of new nation-states offers further confirmation of the proposition of Marx and Lenin about the possibility, given the support of socialist countries, of formerly backward peoples gradually moving toward socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development.

Thus, the present processes of the world's social renewal and the formation of the new, communist social system are an expression in the present epoch of the general world law of development revealed by the founders of Marxism-Leninism.

Today it will be fair to say that the great theories of Marx, Engels and Lenin have en-

tered the international communist movement as the sole scientific world view of the working class. We believe that this is the reason this movement is successfully fulfilling its function as the most influential political force of modern times in the struggle for peace and socialism, against imperialism. Further, we see in this a guarantee of the solidity of the fraternal links between the working people of all countries, of the effectiveness of proletarian internationalism, which is greatly enhancing the influence of the working class in every country and on the world scene.

The doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin is the common property of the international working class. It is developing and being enriched through the joint, collective creative activity of the parties and through the contribution being made to the treasure-store of Marxism-Leninism by each party, body of scientists, and individual theorist. Neither this doctrine as a whole, nor its component parts, nor any of its propositions can be a national or a continental monopoly. Marxist studies of world or national processes are always international regardless of where or by whom they are conducted. There can be no national or regional Marxist philosophy, political economy, and socialist theory. In this respect Marxism-Leninism does not differ from mathematics, physics, biology, chemistry, or any other science.

The greatness of Marx and the unfading international significance of his work are due to the fact that he brought to light the underlying tendencies and regularities of society's development operating at all periods of world history including capitalism, the period of its revolutionary replacement by socialism, and the development of socialist society until its highest phase, communism, is attained. The international significance of Marx's theory also lies in the fact that Marx gave the working class a powerful instrument of knowledge enabling it to find solutions to the social problems that arise along the difficult, multiform and unexplored road to communism. For that reason Marx's doctrine has been and continues to be the lodestar for generations of revolutionaries, of fighters against capitalism and imperialism, and for the builders of socialism and communism in all the countries of the world.

Understandably, in matters concerning the scientific validity of Marxism there can be no compromises, no ideological-theoretical concessions. Departures from the theory of Marx and Lenin are no more than an ideological rupture with their cause, the cause of the socialist revolution and communism. Shoulder to shoulder with fraternal parties, the CPSU safe-

guards the purity of Marxist theory, repulsing every attempt to distort its class and scientific essence and sweeping away debris that is alien to its revolutionary-critical spirit.

The present-day front of revolutionary practice and, of course, of Marxist studies is extremely broad, diverse and wide-ranging. The fact is that our epoch is distinguished for its great historical dynamism, for the extraordinary diversity and contradictory character of social processes. This is an epoch of fundamental changes of the foundations of society's life. Further, as the sphere of the world's revolutionary renewal broadens, more countries take the road of socialist transformation in new, frequently substantially different and changed historical conditions. From this stems the fact that it is impossible literally to repeat the concrete historical forms of transition to socialism that have ensured socialism's establishment in this or that country. The generalization of the specific forms of advance toward socialism is the central theoretical prerequisite for directing the diverse present-day revolutionary streams into the socialist channel. The more the diversity of the specific forms of transition to socialism is mastered in the context of the general regularities of the establishment of the communist social system, the easier and surer will our theoretical thought identify new potentialities of the revolutionary process in the various social movements of the masses in these or those countries.

Uneven socio-economic and political development leaves its mark on the communist, working-class, and national liberation movement. We see how different the problems are that are being resolved by parties belonging even to one and the same revolutionary stream, whether they function in socialist or capitalist countries. We see how great the diversity is of the specific ways in which they are tackling similar problems. Much that is new and creative is produced by the social practice of the people in each socialist country, by cooperation among them in carrying out common and national tasks of social-economic development. As it is about to enter the third millennium, humankind encounters global problems that likewise manifest themselves in their own way in countries with different social systems and dissimilar levels of economic development — problems of energy, food, ecology, raw materials, and the use of scientific and technological achievements. A large spectrum of problems is created for the communists by the economic crisis gripping the capitalist world and by the international struggle for a new economic order. Considerable significance is acquired by

the question of achieving more effective political interaction between the different revolutionary forces, notably world socialism, the working class movement, and the national liberation struggle against imperialism.

In showing the conditions, factors and means of emancipating the working class, Marx drew the fundamental conclusion that neither a successful struggle against capitalism nor the attainment of the communist ideal is conceivable without unity among the workers of all nationalities, races, and countries. Consistent internationalism is the soul not only of the theory but also of the entire political practice of Marxism. Without this the working-class movement loses its effectiveness. Marx cautioned that for disunity it may pay with the bitterness of a general defeat.

Marx's proletarian internationalism was adopted by Lenin as the basic principle of the revolutionary policy of the communist vanguard and developed in conformity with the epoch of imperialism and transition from capitalism to socialism. Proletarian internationalism is the immutable foundation of the work of the CPSU. Guided by its principles, the CPSU steadfastly urges broader cooperation, unity and solidarity among the fraternal communist and workers' parties in their common struggle for peace and socialism. For the CPSU proletarian internationalism is the criterion by which it collates its strategy of communist construction and its foreign policy line. Proletarian internationalism motivates its diverse support for the peoples fighting for freedom, independence and social progress.

Today, a hundred years after Marx, we vividly see the strength of his theory in its full stature, the indivisible link of this theory to the liberation movement of our time. The communists see in the further broad dissemination of Marxism-Leninism among the masses an effective means of winning the peoples over to socialism, to the great communist ideals.

1. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 388.

2. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 1, p. 125.

3. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 18.

4. *Pravda*, December 22, 1982.

5. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 485.

FROM DOCUMENTS

SCIENTIFIC WORLD VIEW OF THE WORKING CLASS

At its fifth plenary meeting the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany proclaimed 1983 the Year of Karl Marx in the GDR, passing a decision to mark the 165th anniversary of the birth and centenary of the death of the founder of scientific communism. The relevant theses of the SUPG Central Committee have been published.

The upcoming anniversary, the theses say, is an important event in the life of the people of the GDR, the international working-class movement, and progressives throughout the world. This anniversary coincides in time with a period when the invincible strength of Marx's ideas, of his world-transforming revolutionary theory has become most striking. Socialism's successful development and the deep crisis of capitalist society bear out Marx's theory.

The first section of the theses, headed "Revolutionary and Theorist of the Working Class," underscores the outstanding significance of the work of Karl Marx, great son of the German people, who, together with Frederick Engels, elaborated scientific socialism, a scientific world view and a revolutionary program for building a society free of exploitation. The work of Karl Marx, the theses say, is creatively continued in the international working-class movement. Here an outstanding role has been played by Vladimir Lenin and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The second section, "Epoch-Making Triumphant Advance of Marxism," notes that the scientific world view elaborated by Marx had led to a revolutionary upheaval in society's cultural life. It ushered in the most profound historic changes in economic, political, social and cultural relations. Contrary to the fabrications of the bourgeoisie, Marxism's force of attraction has grown immeasurably precisely during the past few decades as is convincingly demonstrated by the advances made by the three main revolutionary forces of our day.

The socialist transformations in the GDR, which has become an inalienable part of the world socialist system, the theses state, are linked indivisibly to the development of the world revolutionary process. In that country, as well, the working class and its party have displayed the ability, substantiated by Marxism-Leninism, to lead society. Situated in the center of Europe, along the line dividing the two opposing social systems, the GDR discharges its internationalist duty in close alliance with the

USSR and other countries of the socialist community.

In the third section, "Karl Marx and the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress," it is pointed out that existing socialism has become the principal bulwark of peace. The high point of the struggle of the peoples for peace is now the demand of millions to halt the arms race and reach agreement on a limitation of armaments and on disarmament in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security. This demand is embodied in, above all, the protests against the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe. Disarmament is an ideal of the working-class movement and socialism. But as long as imperialism exists, a reliable military defense of socialism is imperative and serves, at the same time, as the condition for the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems. The "Soviet military threat" myth, fabricated by the NATO instigators of the arms race to justify their hostility for détente, is aimed at disuniting and undermining the anti-war movement.

The fourth section, headed "Existing Socialism Represents the Implementation of the Theory of Marx," declares that one of the historic achievements of existing socialism is that it has brought freedom and democracy to the working people guaranteed by the economic and political foundations of the new society. There now are a society, policy, social practice, ideology, culture and moral code that are the highest manifestation of the humanitarian views and aspirations of humankind.

In the theses it is noted that existing socialism now has a concept of a developed socialist society, in other words, a theoretically substantiated and practically tested strategy for resolving its problems as it builds communism. This strategy is the result of a joint creative application by the Marxist-Leninist parties of socialist countries of the conclusions and ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. It is the most important achievement of the creative development of Marxism-Leninism at the present stage. The growth of socialism's economic might as a result of the switch to intensive extended reproduction is one of the immutable conditions for the all-sided strengthening of its position in the struggle to preserve world peace. The economy has become the main theater of the international class struggle. The fundamental problems linked to the consistent implementation of the concept of developed socialism can only be resolved by the concerted efforts of the socialist community countries. Hence the SUPG's advocacy of a further deepening of all-

sided cooperation among these countries, including socialist economic integration.

The experience of our epoch, the theses say, fully bears out Marx's fundamental proposition that in order to ensure the triumph of the social revolution and the attainment of its highest goal — the abolition of classes, the working class has to have, above all, a revolutionary party. It is only a party equal to the tasks of its time in terms of theory and practice and applying general laws creatively and forming solid links to the people, that can guarantee the successful attainment of the aims of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and the continuation of the integral revolutionary process during the building of a developed socialist society. Like the CPSU and the communist parties of other socialist countries, the SUPG sees the building of developed socialism as making higher demands of the guiding role of the party.

Marxism-Leninism is permeated with faith in the creative strength of the people as the subject of history. By means of their scientifically substantiated policy the Marxist-Leninist parties release the revolutionary potential of the people, and by means of persuasion and organization provide the latter with the instruments needed for a victorious struggle for peace, social progress, and a life worthy of human beings in a society free of exploitation.

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The noble mission of all women

Freda Brown
President,
Women's International Democratic Federation

TOWARD THE WORLD ASSEMBLY FOR PEACE AND LIFE

The noble motivation of preserving peace is uniting millions upon millions of women throughout the world, regardless of color, social origin and status, or ideological and political persuasion. This motivation embodies their grave concern about preserving the human race, about the welfare and happiness of people.

In this anxious nuclear age we are concerned about the future of our children and grandchildren, and about the future of the generations to come. More and more women are coming to the realization that with the fear of war and a world satiated with armaments it is harder to achieve equality, national independence, and economic and social progress. They are looking to International Women's Day, March 8, with hopes for a lasting peace.

The unbridled arms build-up is adversely affecting all aspects of material and cultural life in capitalist society, in the economically developed and in the developing countries. The fact that seven trillion dollars have been spent on military purposes since 1945 is nothing short of a crime relative to the tens of millions of unemployed, homeless, illiterates and helpless. This money, which is equivalent to the cost of the material values produced by the world in one year, would be more than enough, for example, to double the allocations for education and triple the allocations for health services, build an adequate number of comfortable homes, and create millions of new jobs.

The threat of war to socialist countries from imperialism compels them to reinforce their defense capability. This means the diversion of considerable material resources so vital for ensuring a further rise of the living standard of the people and carrying out great plans for remaking society.

However, it would be wrong to assess the social losses of the people in capitalist countries solely in terms of the direct deterioration of their conditions. Some 60 million people, including tens of millions of women, work in

military industries and are thus engaged in unproductive work in terms of social development. Two-fifths of the allocations for science and technology are spent on perfecting armaments. About one in every four highly-trained specialists is working in the sphere of war preparations.

Not only does militarization prevent the settlement of many of today's vital problems; it greatly exacerbates these problems. The rates of economic growth are slowing down, irreplaceable natural resources are being exhausted, and the energy deficit is climbing sharply. The testing and stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction are affecting the environment, threatening harmful ecological changes that will be impossible to repair.

No person with a sense of responsibility for the future of his or her people can be reconciled to the criminal policies that today deny him or her and millions of fellow-countrymen of abundance and may tomorrow destroy all life in the flames of a nuclear conflagration. This worries the female half of the human race in particular.

The imperialists are finding it increasingly harder to make people believe that nuclear conflicts are permissible, that it is possible to survive and win such conflicts. Recent studies by prestigious scientists and military experts indicate that modern technical means can, within hours, destroy millions of people, flora and fauna, flood huge expanses, and devastate cities and whole continents by fire. It is impossible to remain silent when doctors warn that after a nuclear exchange medical personnel will not only be helpless but simply unnecessary because there would be virtually nobody to assist.

And people are speaking out. At the close of the 1970s and the early 1980s actions in defense of peace acquired new proportions and new qualitative dimensions. In the spring and summer of 1982 nearly 20 million people, or four times as many as in 1981, took part in anti-war demonstrations in the capitalist world. An unparalleled wave of demonstrations, rallies, and peace marches swept across countries and continents.

It may be said with pride that women have played a role of no small importance in developing this unprecedented anti-war movement. Today they are in the forefront of those who are rejecting the "limited" nuclear war doctrine preached by U.S. militarist circles, of those who are acting against the stockpiling of nuclear, neutron, radiological and chemical weapons of mass destruction, of those who are demanding the renunciation of the plan to deploy new U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe.

However, it would be wrong to attribute the present scale of the anti-war movement solely to the awareness of its participants of the terrible danger implicit in a nuclear cataclysm. The concrete initiatives of peace-loving, notably socialist, countries have been a powerful catalyst of this process. There has been wide support in our ranks for the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty nations adopted in Prague in January 1983. This Declaration offers a clear alternative to the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. Democratic movements wholeheartedly side with the humanist Soviet foreign policy expressed in concentrated form in the Peace Program worked out at the 24th, 25th and 26th congresses of the CPSU, and the Soviet Union's historic unilateral pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The proposals aimed at ending the arms race and achieving disarmament, consolidating international security, and promoting mutually beneficial cooperation among all countries are becoming slogans of the anti-war movement. Addressed to the people they can, more than ever before, evoke not merely the normal person's aversion for violence. The idea of universal peace is acquiring practical tangible forms. The aspiration to translate it into reality is uniting millions.

In the present situation, while acting in the mainstream of the anti-war movement, women in socialist, capitalist and developing countries are increasingly coming forward with initiatives of their own and setting up independent organizations. A question we are often asked is: Why do we need them?

The answer is quite simple. Regardless of their profession, occupation and interests, women bring up and teach children, citizens of the 21st century. Who can be more concerned about their happiness, about their having a peaceful future? Can we accept a situation in which the nuclear hysteria fanned by bourgeois propaganda is affecting the minds of children? Can anyone remain in-

different to the report of the panic of an 11-year-old girl in Boston at the thought that she would not have time to commit suicide if a nuclear war broke out; or indifferent to the children who live with the fear that everything in the world may be destroyed? *

These common concerns are what in recent years led to the formation of the many groups and organizations now functioning in the FRG, Britain, the Netherlands, Norway Sweden and the USA. Their names express one and the same idea: Women for Peace, Mothers for Peace, Women for Survival, Women for Disarmament, and Peace Links (the latter embraces wives of leading Democrats in the USA).

There are quite a few other, specific problems that we can most effectively resolve by our own joint efforts. It is common knowledge that many of the important problems worrying us are regarded in some quarters as secondary against the background of global anxieties. Nobody but we ourselves can discuss them, chart the ways and means of struggle, and draw up action plans that we feel are the most acceptable and effective, and can inspire confidence in the ability to protect the interests of women.

The diversity of the forms of the women's democratic movement is a factor that greatly facilitates the growth of that movement. The principal condition of this growth remains the anti-war orientation of the movement, the striving to give it a mass character, to provide it with slogans containing a human message, and to help those who in principle support its aims to surmount passiveness and scepticism. This is finding expression in actions such as the festivals of anti-war songs in Australia, the Babies for Peace March in Britain, and the Peace Messenger action in Argentina, an action in which thousands of women have sent protests to the White House against the bellicose policies pursued by the USA. Among the women active in the anti-war movement there now are many radical feminists, who only recently were vehemently arguing that peace was the concern of men because men made war, while women should only be concerned with the struggle for equality.

We are no novices in the fight against the threat of war. At the first International Women's Congress in Paris 37 years ago, 800 delegates from 41 countries vowed to do their utmost to help consolidate peace, to give effective support to the aspiration of the

*Newsweek, October 11, 1982.

peoples to end national bondage, and to act for the vital rights of working women and the welfare of the rising generation. Members of the Women's International Democratic Federation, founded at the time, are to this day faithful to their solemn pledge. Our membership has grown during the past few decades, and the delegates to the World Women's Congress in Prague in the autumn of 1981 represented 275 national and 96 international and regional public organizations in 133 countries.

By their emotional drive, creative abilities and initiative, women are giving the anti-war actions a new ring and content. This diversifies the forms and methods of struggle and facilitates greater unity among all the peace forces.

A hallmark of the 1980s is the internationalization of the women's movement, which is due to the global character of the threat of war. A concrete and vivid expression of this trend is seen in the international peace marches, which are a significant form of anti-war protest. They strikingly demonstrate the unity among people of good will and help to draw persons of the most diverse political persuasions into the peace movement.

One of the first of these marches took place in June-July 1979. This was the march from Copenhagen to Paris conducted on the initiative of the Scandinavian and Finnish movements, Women for Peace. Peace March 81 became a powerful action demanding Europe's conversion into a nuclear-free zone.

On the proposal of the same movements, Peace March 82 started in Stockholm. With the slogans "No to Nuclear Weapons Anywhere in the World" and "For Disarmament and Peace," the marchers passed through cities and villages in Sweden, Finland, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Austria. Together with Soviet people, the marchers held mass rallies in Vyborg, Leningrad, Kalinin, Moscow and Smolensk. In Minsk, capital of Soviet Byelorussia, an appeal was adopted to the United Nations and to the governments, parliaments and peoples of the world to make every effort to destroy nuclear weapons and preserve life on the planet.

Peace March 82 reached Vienna on the anniversary of the Hiroshima tragedy. This was a moving commemoration of the victims of the American atomic bombing. The demonstrators sang peace songs, distributed the texts of these songs, showed documentaries,

and put on theatrical productions in the streets.

The events of the past few years have accentuated yet another vital characteristic of the present anti-war movement. Women have now begun to react more sensitively to major political developments in their countries and on the international scene. Women were prominent among the million people who demonstrated in New York a few days before the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament in June-July 1982. Their call for resolute action to safeguard world peace was echoed on all continents. There were mass actions in Angola, Congo, Syria, India, Nicaragua, and many other countries. In Japan women collected more than 5 million signatures against nuclear and chemical weapons.

The demands formulated at each new stage of the struggle are becoming more and more specific. The movement for a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe is gaining momentum in Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland. In Greece and Iceland women are demanding the dismantling of U.S. and NATO military bases.

Women's organizations in the FRG, Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy are insisting that no U.S. medium-range missiles should be sited in their countries. More and more people are adopting their slogans, which include "No Euroshimas," "No Pershing-2s or Cruise Missiles on European Soil," and "You Can't Hug Your Kids With Nuclear Arms."

British women are picketing the Greenham Common U.S. base, where work is proceeding to deploy 96 Cruise missiles. When they pitched their first small tents some people in the peace movement did not take their action seriously. But within six months their peace camp was seen as a significant element of the anti-war struggle. Thousands of people have visited the picketers. The impact of this action by British women is compelling even the British bourgeois press to appeal to the government to show that it shares the anxiety generated by the arms race.

Public pressure, including pressure by women's organizations, has produced a new initiative, whose purpose is to prevent nuclear weapons from being stationed in individual towns and districts. More than 140 municipal councils in Britain, including the Greater London Council, have proclaimed their territories nuclear-free zones. Analogous action has been taken by the authorities of six cities in West Germany and of many

population centers in the Netherlands and Norway.

Today the struggle for peace is coalescing increasingly with actions in defense of the working people's social and economic rights. This is particularly justified in the case of the conditions of women, because militarist preparations visibly exacerbate the discrimination against them in all areas of public life. For instance, the growth of military budgets at the expense of social programs (notably, the allocations for education) prejudices the professional training of women and, consequently, makes it even harder than before to end economic and other discrimination against them. The acute shortage of pre-school institutions deprives us of the possibility of combining the role of professional workers with that of mothers. The inescapable conclusion to be drawn from this is that we can secure true equality only by safeguarding détente, by stopping the arms race.

One more hallmark of the present women's anti-war movement is its solidarity with the national liberation process. Peace and the independence of nations have now become indivisible. Millions of women in Vietnam have signed the Appeal for National Independence, World Peace, Democracy and Socialism. A militant campaign is unfolding in Asia to establish a zone of peace and security in Southeast Asia. A powerful wave of protests was recently triggered by the U.S. plans to turn the Indian Ocean into a deployment zone against the sovereign rights of the peoples of that area and impose tighter control over its vast mineral resources. Together with all the peace forces we condemn the racist regime in South Africa; support Angola; emphatically denounce Zionism's aggressive policy toward Arab countries, a policy that led to genocide in Lebanon; and are in solidarity with the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador, of the whole of Latin America victimized by local reaction and imperialism.

Democratic women's organizations are active in the actions sponsored by the United Nations, for instance, the Decade for Women (1975-1985) proclaimed by the 30th UN General Assembly. We welcome the plan of the United Nations Center for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs to sponsor a series of studies and an Expert Group meeting in mid-1983 on the role of women in building peace. The latter will consider the negative effects of the military preparations on the condition and social status of women; how the preservation of

peace relates to ensuring the equality of women and their effective participation in society's life.

The third UN conference to review and appraise the results of the Decade for Women is to be held in 1985, and the WIDF is to play a role at this conference. The preparations for it must comply with the spirit of the decisions passed at the United Nations conferences in Mexico City in 1975 and in Copenhagen in 1980. Everything possible must be done to focus the upcoming exchange of views on problems of safeguarding peace and détente and achieving disarmament.

During the Decade the condition of women is to get more attention from the UN itself. For instance, our friends in the GDR have submitted to the UN General Assembly a draft declaration on the part women should play in the struggle to strengthen world peace and resolve other vitally important national and international problems. Many countries have already stated their support for this document.

Nearly 18 months have elapsed since the Women's World Congress for Equality, National Independence and Peace and these months have shown that the whole world has heard its call: "We shall act together. United, we can save our peoples and all humankind." Following this appeal, the WIDF launched a worldwide, women's action campaign for peace and disarmament last October.

The Federation has issued a call to reinforce the anti-imperialist actions with manifestations, marches, peace camps, peace schools and women's festivals; with the setting up of women's peace groups at industrial facilities, residential neighborhoods, and all organizations that have women among their members; with the development of new forms of struggle and education in the spirit of peace. The highlights of this year's campaign will include the anti-war actions on International Women's Day (March 8), International Children's Day (June 1), Day of Remembrance of the Hiroshima Victims (August 6), and International Women's Action Day (October 25) during the UN-sponsored Disarmament Week. There has been an enthusiastic response to this call from democratic women's organizations in Spain, Sweden, Angola, Guyana, Algeria and many other countries.

With our thoughts on peace and the happiness of all people we are preparing for the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War, to be held in Prague this summer. We are heartened by the fact

that alongside traditional women's organizations new peace groups were represented at the Lisbon meeting that considered questions related to the preparations for the Assembly. Women should be well represented on all delegations.

"We must act day after day, hour after hour, minute after minute," states the WIDF ap-

peal, "to prevent our world from perishing in a nuclear catastrophe, stay the hand of the aggressor in different parts of the world, and secure the use of the means, wasted today on military purposes, for the welfare of peoples." Let us remain faithful to this appeal until the arms race is halted and the threat of a nuclear war is removed.

There are no neutrals in the fight for peace

Franz Muhri
Chairman, Communist Party of Austria

On October 26, 1955 the Austrian parliament voluntarily passed a constitutional law giving the nation the status of permanent neutrality. In many respects this law, together with the State Treaty* signed earlier, on May 15 of the same year, marked the beginning of a new stage of Austria's development.

This proclamation of neutrality was a triumph for the cause of peace and détente. Nothing came of the plans the Western powers were making to draw Austria into their military pacts and use it as a military springboard against the socialist community. Since then Austria has been promoting good relations in all directions. Its international prestige has grown and it has normalized relations with the socialist countries. Today this mutually beneficial cooperation can serve as an example of the feasibility of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

For a fairly long time some quarters identified Austria's status of permanent neutrality with a foreign policy trend to remain "neutral" in the question of war and peace, but in fact these quarters supported NATO's militarist, aggressive forces. In the early 1970s Austria's foreign policy gradually moved in the direction of active neutrality, but this process is yet to acquire an effective dimension.

Austria's broader, more effective inclusion in the positive settlement of issues of European and world politics is hindered mainly by the bourgeois conservative parties (the Austrian People's Party and the Austrian Freedom Party). They do not oppose neutrality openly,

but in fact seek to link Austria as closely as possible to the European Economic Community and NATO. The state-run radio and some of the press continue to be involved in the ideological preparations for war and almost daily spread, among other things, the "Soviet threat" lie.

The Communist Party of Austria steadfastly urges a foreign policy of active neutrality, which it sees as a contribution to the struggle for détente, disarmament and peace. The course of events makes it clear that in the face of the mounting nuclear threat the neutrality status cannot by itself guarantee Austria's security. However, the lesson of experience is that détente in Europe and the promotion of cooperation among all European countries bring Austria considerable benefit, situated as it is at the junction between the capitalist and the socialist systems. There is growing understanding that in the present international situation even small nations can have a big say.

These changes, springing from détente, are of great importance in view of the recent deterioration of the world situation caused by the most reactionary circles of U.S. imperialism, by the U.S. military-industrial complex, which have the Reagan administration as their executive arm. The "crusade against communism" is the cover for the NATO decision to station new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe and step up the arms race to give the USA military superiority. It motivates the stake on a nuclear first strike at the Soviet Union and the talk about the possibility of fighting and winning a nuclear war. In the same context we are witnessing the growing support for reactionary forces and fascist dictatorships in many countries, the U.S. pressure on its West European allies to reduce their

*The State Treaty on the Restoration of an Independent and Democratic Austria was signed in Vienna by Britain, the USSR, the USA, and France, on the one hand, and Austria, on the other, and came into force on July 27, 1955.
— Ed.

economic links with socialist countries, the stepping up of the ideological preparations for war and, lastly, the striving to form and strengthen anti-people forces and groups in socialist countries. In short, never since the end of World War II has the danger of another worldwide conflagration been so great as today.

In close connection with the above developments an extremely important positive political phenomenon has appeared in Austria. I am talking of the growth of the broad national peace movement. It is being fostered by several factors:

First, a steadily growing number of people are beginning to see the magnitude of the danger, the threat to humankind's existence coming from the possibility of a nuclear world war, from which not even permanent neutrality will afford protection.

Second, the Reagan administration's reckless, aggressive policies have alarmed large segments of the Austrian population, awakening and heightening their anxiety for the destiny of peace.

Third, the size of the peace movement in Western Europe, especially in the FRG, is having a mobilizing effect on Austria. The same influence is felt from the anti-war forces active in the USA.

Fourth, it may be said without exaggeration that public opinion has been influenced by the many years' persevering efforts of the Austrian communists on behalf of peace, disarmament and détente. Some of the CPA's demands and arguments are now getting a growing response.

In the Austrian peace movement there are socialists, Christians, uncommitted people and communists. Its backbone consists of initiative groups in the lander, towns and districts. From time to time, representatives of these groups meet at national conferences, where common tasks and aims are mapped out in areas of agreement in parallel with discussions of political problems and proposals, as well as actions by the peace movement.

For instance, a mass national demonstration, held in Vienna on May 15, 1982, was preceded by a long discussion that produced a political platform with the motto: "To disarm means to prevent a nuclear war!" This platform demanded the freezing of nuclear arsenals in Europe, the gradual reduction of these arsenals, and then the continent's conversion into a nuclear-free zone. A major issue brought up in this platform is that of switching the Austrian war industry to the manufacture of consumer goods.

A distinctive feature of the peace movement is that people of different political persuasions

and world views cooperate in it. These distinctions are not muted, but in the basic issue, that of preventing a nuclear war, it has proved possible to achieve a consensus among all groups and contingents of the movement and to agree on joint initiatives and actions. However, at each new phase this consensus has to be worked out all over again through discussion.

For instance, prior to May 15, 1982, attention was centered on preparing for and holding a national demonstration, which evolved into the biggest by the Austrian peace forces throughout the period since the war. In the autumn of 1982 functions were organized within the framework of the UN Week for Disarmament, one of which was a big cultural festival in Vienna. A representative public conference for peace, held on December 18-19, 1982, comprehensively considered political and ideological questions, and the movement's demands and aims for this year. A view that is becoming widespread is that effort should be concentrated mainly on the struggle against the NATO decision to deploy new U.S. missiles in Europe and that the actions in this direction in 1983 must be more effective.

It is symbolic that a growing number of young Austrians are joining the anti-war movement. The first significant efforts are being made to draw working-class organizations, notably the factory councils and the trade unions, into the anti-war movement. Their inadequate involvement remains the movement's chief weakness. New independent public organizations, for instance, associations of doctors, teachers, and so on, are becoming increasingly active. Special significance is attached to the contribution of members of the artistic professions to the cause of peace. Of late, more and more groups and associations have begun to spring up that are, alongside their actions in defense of the environment, demanding peace and disarmament.

The Austrian peace movement is today characterized by the breadth and creative diversity and originality of the forms and methods of struggle used by it. In turn, its experience, the measures taken by it, and its emotional impact are influencing the thinking of its members.

The Austrian Peace Council has been cooperating with the World Peace Council for many years. It is by no means a directive body. It can under no circumstance be such a body, nor should it be. It is an element of the forces, movements and groups cooperating in the Austrian anti-war movement. By its work and its many independent initiatives, the Austrian

Peace Council is making a constructive contribution to the common struggle.

Meanwhile, relative to the peace movement the conservative bourgeois parties continue to hold a negative or hostile stand. But social democracy has modified its posture. Whereas initially the Socialist Party of Austria tried to start a political campaign with the purpose of slowing the movement, compelling it to change its platform, and preventing it from joining the communists in anti-war actions, the huge demonstration and rally held last May in Vienna compelled even the SPA leaders to acknowledge the reality and influence of the Austrian peace fighters.

The social democrats are now posing as a "party of peace" and organizing their own actions in "defense" of peace. But, at the same time, new attempts are being made here and there to wreck or hinder major actions by the national peace movement. With general elections scheduled for April 24, 1983, the SPA leaders clearly tend to use the main issue of our day — the strengthening, expansion and unification of the peace movement — for their own tactical, party-political interests.

A new element of Austria's public life is the increased activity of neofascist groups and organizations. They are doing all they can to profit by the people's growing anger over the rising unemployment, the loss of job prospects, the social inequality and corruption, the curtailment and emasculation of democracy, and so forth. The neofascists are obviously determined to compel a shift to the right, especially among young people. The answer to this has been unity of action, the foundation of which consists of anti-fascist committees in the districts and lands and on the national level. The members of these committees are socialists, communists, Christians and uncommitted people. Some of them participate in the struggle for peace. As it should be, the anti-fascist movement is independent. The peace movement is, of course, much broader. But this does not rule out coordination of individual actions and mutual support.

An important lesson of recent history is that for reactionary and fascist forces the rout of democracy was an element of the preparations for the Second World War. In the 1920s and 1930s the communist and working-class movement stated clearly that fascism stood for war. This assessment was borne out by bitter experience. In the present new historical situation a similar link exists between the struggle against neofascism and reaction and the struggle for peace. We therefore see the actions to ban neofascist organizations and propaganda

and cut short their influence over schools and the mass media as a contribution to détente, to the prevention of another world war.

A few words about the role played by the Austrian communists in the anti-war movement.

At its 24th congress the CPA reaffirmed that the most important task facing its members on a national scale was to further activate the struggle for peace. Our guideline here is that no party or organization can or should claim a monopoly in this struggle. In Austria and other West European countries cooperation is vital between communists, social democrats and Christians.

The party sees its duty in taking an active and constructive part in the anti-war movement and respecting its independent supraparty and democratic character. We abide strictly by the principle that no political or ideological distinctions justify renunciation of the common struggle to prevent a nuclear conflagration. Moreover, the experience of the Austrian peace movement shows that open comradely discussion of diverse views is necessary. Provided there is understanding that ideological differences must recede before the tasks of the joint struggle to prevent a nuclear catastrophe, this openness of discussion does not conflict with unity of action. On the contrary, it paves the way for such unity.

In keeping with their scientific world view, with Marxism-Leninism, the communists have formulated the following aims in their ideological work:

— The people must be made to understand where the actual danger of war is coming from. Today anti-communist propaganda is finding it increasingly hard to argue that this danger comes from the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the mistaken view is still quite prevalent that here no essential distinctions exist between the imperialist great power (the USA) and the socialist great power (the Soviet Union), that both are imperilling peace. The Soviet policy of peace is of immense help in refuting this current central argument of anti-Soviet propaganda. The USSR has come forward with many initiatives and is constantly making new constructive proposals in the sphere of strategic armaments and medium-range nuclear weapons and in the sphere of conventional weapons. It is quite evident that Soviet foreign policy continues to be consistently pursued with the election of Yuri Andropov to the post of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee after the death of Leonid Brezhnev.

It is important to give wide publicity to the various mass actions in defense of peace con-

ducted in the socialist countries. These actions are in contrast to imperialism's attempts to set up anti-socialist opposition groups in these countries and finance them on the contention that they are part of the peace movement.

— In neutral Austria, where the view is widespread that everything, including questions of war and peace, is decided in the long run by the "élite," that "there have been and always will be wars," the communists must reinforce the conviction among the people that today it is possible to prevent another world war. The reason for this is not that imperialism's essence has changed but that there has been a change of the world balance of strength in favor of peace, democracy and socialism. True, to translate this possibility into reality the struggle in the capitalist countries themselves must be greatly stepped up. The Austrian people, too, can make a considerable contribution to it.

A major task of the communists is to draw more workers and trade unions into the peace movement. It is our belief that the working class should play the leading role in it, that the movement ultimately cannot develop successfully without the vigorous participation of the working people.

For the further mobilization of the workers it is important to bring them round to seeing that the struggle for peace, disarmament, and the easing of international tension is closely linked to socio-economic issues and demands, such as employment, the protection and enlargement of social gains, and so on. The escalation of the arms race is aggravating the crisis, while the switch of industry to the production of consumer goods would create jobs. The growth of military spending in the industrialized capitalist countries is leading to a curtailment of what the working people have achieved. The attempts of the U.S. administration to compel Austria to cut back its economic relations with socialist countries is placing our country before the threat of a further growth of unemployment.

— Lastly, experience has shown that alongside and in close connection with vigorous communist participation in the peace movement the Communist Party must act independently. I mean our own publications, educational work, mass agitation, and broad social actions.

The Austrian government has in principle declared itself in favor of peace and détente.

However, it has to this day said not a single word of criticism about the NATO intention to site new medium-range missiles in Western Europe. It is thereby virtually playing into the hands of the policies pursued by Reagan and the militarist circles of the Atlantic bloc.

A party conference, held on January 15, 1983, unanimously passed a statement on preparations for parliamentary elections, noting in part: "We, communists, want neutral Austria to make a larger contribution to détente and disarmament. We are in solidarity with the peace movement and its demands. In particular, we support those who are urging the government to act against the stationing of new nuclear missiles in Western Europe; to assist in paving the way for the conclusion by the nuclear powers of an agreement renouncing a nuclear first strike — a commitment that has already been undertaken by the Soviet Union; to help freeze all nuclear arsenals as a first step toward their reduction."

The Communist Party considers that Austrian public opinion should bring more pressure to bear on the government and the parliament to make them declare openly and clearly against the deployment of missiles. We demand objective, truthful information from the mass media. Austria should stop serving as an ideological springboard used by Western imperialist propaganda agencies to attack socialist countries. Fulfillment of these communist demands can be a tangible contribution by our people to the worldwide anti-war struggle.

The situation taking shape in Austria is not an isolated phenomenon. Broad and powerful anti-war movements are gathering momentum in some other West European countries and in the USA itself. We believe that contacts between peace fighters must be closer in individual countries and on the various continents, and that this purpose should be served by international meetings. Of course, anti-war organizations cannot and should not have a single international leading center.

Such is the situation in which this summer the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War is to be held in Prague. We hope that this representative international forum gives a fresh impetus to the worldwide struggle for peace and disarmament. In face of the threat of nuclear destruction this means ensuring the most basic human right, the right to life.

Role of the trade unions in socialist changes

Harry Tisch

Political Bureau member, CC SUPG,
Chairman, Central Board,
Confederation of Free German Trade Unions

The construction of the new society is a complex, multifaceted, creative process. It demands joint efforts by all classes and social groups, which participate in this process through many organizations representing their interests in it. Each new stage of a socialist change sets new tasks and this finds reflection in the activity of these organizations, occasionally in a modification of their roles. All this calls for a principled Marxist-Leninist estimation of ongoing developments and for the formulation of a correct position meeting today's exigencies.

The trade unions hold a prominent place among the mass organizations of socialist countries. They group the absolute majority of working people and exert tremendous influence on the construction of mature, developed socialism, a system characterized by real people's democracy, an advanced economy and a high living standard, a society meeting people's every material and spiritual requirement. In the German Democratic Republic they are united in the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions (CFGTU), whose membership exceeds nine million, or over 97 per cent of all blue and white collar workers and intellectuals.

A militant associate of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the CFGTU defends workers' interests and strives for social progress shoulder to shoulder with the party and under its leadership.

With the party and the state

Trade unions are seen by Marxism-Leninism as the connecting link between the vanguard party of the working class and the masses. Explaining this function of the unions, Lenin wrote that they "are a link between the vanguard and the masses, and by their daily work bring conviction to the masses, the masses of the class which alone is capable of taking us from capitalism to communism."¹

How the working class exercises its leading role in the transformation of society depends largely on the nature of relations between the proletarian party and the trade unions. This is why its class enemies would like to sever or

loosen the link between the trade unions and the communist party.

It is highly important to approach this matter from a principled standpoint. The foundations of this approach were laid by Marx and Engels, who devoted much attention to the trade unions in their theoretical writings and political activity. They evolved these foundations in struggle against bourgeois and reformist concepts designed to divert the unions from the objectives of a thorough transformation of society and to restrict their activity to purely economic problems.

"If the Trades' Unions are required for the guerrilla fights between capital and labor," Marx wrote to the delegates of the Provisional Central Council of the International Association of Workers to the Geneva Congress (1866), "they are still more important as *organized agencies for superseding the very system of wage labor and capital rule* . . . Apart from their original purposes, they must now learn to act deliberately as organizing centers of the working class in the broad interest of its *complete emancipation*. They must aid every social and political movement tending in that direction."²

Marx's mandate is still valid. In examining the problem of establishing proletarian rule and the historical mission of the proletariat, Marx defined the tasks facing the trade unions in this connection as follows:

- the trade unions must be made a true mass organization of the whole working class;
- the unity of the working class can only be achieved by enlisting the active participation of the trade unions in the struggle for the ultimate goal, the construction of a socialist society;
- the main condition for any trade union work is to combine economic with political struggles.

It is only on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist conception of the nature of relations between the party and the trade unions that the working class can accomplish its historical mission. The party of the working class equips it with the doctrine of scientific communism. It paves the

way to the new society for the working people, unites them and instils socialist consciousness into their minds. This is the basis on which the unity of goal and action of the party and the trade unions forms and the leading role of the party becomes established.

Ernst Thalmann, outstanding leader of the CPG in the 20s and 30s, stressed in applying the ideas of Marx and Engels in party policy that the trade unions are the best vehicle through which the proletariat can be won over and that the communists must regard the unions as one of their most important spheres of activity among the masses. He called on communists not to confine themselves to formulating theoretical propositions but to work hard for their realization.

Continuing the cause of their great predecessors and learning the lessons of history, the communists of the GDR strove steadfastly for the unity of the working class and the communist and working-class movement. In the GDR this was achieved as a result of forming a united Marxist-Leninist party of the working class and integrated trade unions.³ Ever since then qualitatively new relations have been shaping between the party and the unions. They were finalized by the third CFGTU congress (1950) in program documents recognizing the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party as the conscious vanguard of the working class. The trade unions declared their firm adherence to the platform of Marxism-Leninism and stated in their constitution that their goal is to build a socialist society in the GDR, a state in which power is in the hands of the working class and whose policy is aimed at ensuring peace and democracy and safeguarding the workers' interests. In line with their explicit class position, they confirmed their loyalty to proletarian internationalism and friendship with the Soviet Union.

Those were decisions of the greatest political moment. Only five years had passed since the defeat of fascism and there still were leaders in the country who tried to serve imperialist interests. Arguing that the CFGTU must maintain "political neutrality," they wanted to distract it from the revolutionary struggle for the objectives of the working class. In fact, they used the demand for "truly free" and "independent" unions as a cover for posing the CFGTU against the party. However, their efforts fell through. It was the Leninist approach that prevailed. This approach implies that under the new system there is no room for trade unions which see their "freedom" and "independence" in dodging respon-

sibility and refusing to show initiative when tasks in socialist construction set by the state must be fulfilled.⁴

This has always been our approach. There can be no opposition between the communist party and the trade unions in a socialist state. The policy of the party, the 10th SUPG congress (1981) re-emphasized, is aimed at strengthening socialism and worker-peasant power, raising the people's standard of living, promoting their social security and giving them confidence in the future. In international relations, its chief aim is to preserve durable peace. This policy fully meets the workers' hopes and aspirations. Therefore the effort of the trade unions for its implementation is the most reliable and most effective way of serving the workers' interests. In turn, the 10th CFGTU congress (1982) confirmed that the free German trade unions see the substance of their tasks in being a school of socialism, initiators of socialist emulation and exponents of the interests of the working class.

It is not without reason that our trade unions are called free. Their free status is defined by Article 44 of the constitution of the GDR, which reads: "The trade unions shall be free. No one shall have a right to restrict their activity or raise obstacles to it."⁵ This is also the case in socio-political practice. It must be stressed again, however, that independence does not imply political neutrality of the trade unions. We stand firmly by the party and relations between us are based on full mutual confidence and understanding. The policy of the SUPG always proceeds from the fact that the unions are an autonomous organization having responsibilities of its own. Most trade unionists are non-party people. But the party exerts guiding influence on CFGTU affiliates through the communists taking part in their activity. In accordance with the Leninist provisions of its constitution, the party binds all its members to work actively in the unions. Their task is to spell out the policy of the party, set people an example of steadfastly putting it into practice, win the workers' confidence and invariably justify it by deeds. This work of the communists permits of no petty tutelage or say-so.

The party is certain that socialism can only be built with the participation of strong and active unions and it supports all their initiatives. Close alliance with the SUPG and the party's help and guidance are a guarantee of fruitful activity by the Confederation. This is why we heard with deep satisfaction the

estimation of the trade unions made by Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the CC SUPG, in his address to the 10th CFGTU congress. "The trade unions," he said, "hold a solid place in our socialist society and do it most efficiently . . . There is reason to say that the successes registered in building socialism in our country were only made possible by the active cooperation of the CFGTU."⁶

Relations between the trade unions and the socialist state, like those between them and the party, are based on a common class position, since power in the GDR and the principal means of production belong to the working people and the CFGTU is a mass organization of theirs. Hence a fundamental coincidence of the objectives of the state and the unions and of the tasks which they must fulfil. This also explains why under socialism the unions are not only builders of the economy but forces of the state, as Lenin put it.⁷

We are developing our system above all by perfecting socialist democracy, whose essence is steadily increasing participation of the working people in the management of all social changes. They also participate in it through the trade unions, whose right to influence economic activities and social processes in the country is guaranteed by the constitution of the republic. In so important an area of social policy, for instance, as determination of the ratio between production results and wages, the unions play a very important role by making proposals, participating in the drafting of relevant decisions and helping carry them out. It goes without saying that the unions' ample powers are inseparable from their obligations to the state, whose fulfillment, too, benefits the people as a whole.

The workers take part in economic management beginning with the enterprise, using meetings, the discussion of plans and socialist emulation commitments, worker control over production and the sphere of social security, and many other forms of trade union activity.

Socialist democracy finds its simplest and most direct expression in what workers say at union meetings in the way of proposals, suggestions and criticism. The large number of these and their seriousness are evidence of the members' confidence in their trade union organization. Elected union bodies and their members heed and respect the opinion of the union rank and file. Not one question or proposal coming from a worker must be left unanswered. To be sure, some suggestions call

for more than can be done at the given moment. However, union officers must in any case explain why a suggestion is premature. Attention to the worker's opinion is an inviolable rule of our activity.

That our trade unions contribute actively to the advancement of socialist democracy is illustrated by their role in perfecting and maintaining socialist law and order. In conformity with their constitutional powers, the unions propose legislation, participate in the drafting of legal acts and organize public control over the enforcement of labor laws. Indeed, they have drafted the new Labor Code. After an extensive public discussion of the draft in which 5.8 million people joined, making over 147,000 proposals and criticisms, the ninth CFGTU congress (1977) recommended this fundamental document to the People's Chamber for approval. The Labor Code helps bring more working people into the process of promoting socialist democracy and the social security of the working person.

The trade unions have also contributed their share to the drafting of many other standard-setting acts on working conditions and people's everyday lives.

The solid labor legislation enacted in collaboration with the CFGTU enables the unions to effectively maintain the interests of their members primarily where they work. Socialism has given the German trade unions unprecedented powers and our fundamental position is that we must unfailingly respect all laws and legal norms. After all, every law is an expression of power, which in the socialist state belongs to the people, hence the more strictly we abide by our laws, the more we help the people exercise their power.

The unions and the state cooperate just as actively through people's representative bodies. The CFGTU is entitled to put up its candidates for election not only to communal, district, city and area assemblies but to the People's Chamber. Its group in the People's Chamber was formed as far back as 1949, when the Chamber convened for the first time, and now ranks second in numerical strength after the SUPG group.⁸ There are 33,396 deputies and 13,450 candidate deputies to people's assemblies put forward by the CFGTU. We do our best to keep in contact with the electorate and work collectives through them, explaining the policy of the party, the state and the trade unions and deriving new incentives to improve our own work and perfect the whole system of socialist democracy.

*For the people's good,
for the good of humankind*

The condition of workers and other working people changes radically under socialism. Once an exploited class denied the right to dispose over the means of production, they become masters of the state and owners of enterprises and natural resources. Their view on how to seek a better life changes completely. The workers think primarily of how best to use social property, that is, their own patrimony, in order to achieve in a given set of circumstances maximum results benefiting all. This is the only approach if socialist society is to prosper, and the only basis on which everyone's life can improve. The trade unions of the GDR have always seen one of their key tasks in making clear that one can only consume what has been produced. They do everything to help increase the production of material values.

It is now clearer to us than ever, how intimately the processes of building up the economic potential, raising material and cultural standards of life and safeguarding peace are interconnected. Pride of place in this set belongs to the problem of keeping up a high and dynamic growth rate of the country's economic power. Its solution must follow the main line of the economic strategy defined by the 10th SUPG congress: increasing production intensification; improving the ratio between the contribution made to the common effort and the results it produces; bringing about a substantial upturn in the productivity, efficiency and quality of labor, which must be achieved primarily by rapid scientific and technological progress and competent application of its discoveries. In the process, it is most important to save raw and other materials and energy. In other words, the economy must be economical.

The 10th CFGTU congress said explicitly that the trade unions of the GDR consider it their vital concern to help implement the party's strategic line. We set out to contribute our share with optimism and confidence in our strength, seeing the decisive guarantee of success in the indestructible unity of the party and the people, the sustained creative effort of our people, their initiative, the use of the advantages of socialism and close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries.

The trade unions make their chief contribution to the advancement of the economy, in line with the policy adopted by the party and the state, by organizing socialist emulation, a

movement which goes on under a tried and tested slogan showing everyone the aim of his effort and ways of attaining it: "Achieve a high growth level of the economy by raising the productivity, efficiency and quality of labor. Everything for the good of the people and peace."

The new demands made of economic activity induce us to respect the Leninist principles of socialist emulation still more strictly, to carry it on in a lively and concrete manner and without formalism. This presupposes exacting yet realistic commitments and provision of the prerequisites of meeting them. The latter depends largely on the management. Comradely cooperation between the trade union committee and the management — a cooperation that does not shun constructive, businesslike arguments between the two sides — is necessary if the emulation movement is to be organized effectively, and so are publicity and the possibility of comparing results and repeating the best achievements on a mass scale. Material and moral inducements for winners and the provision of proper working and living conditions for participants in the emulation movement mean a great deal. All this is needed to achieve big end results in production; it encourages innovation and is a spur for effort to maintain order and discipline and for the enforcement of safety rules at every work place.

We make a point of ensuring that young people use their energies in socialist emulation. The formation of youth teams and the assignment of construction projects to these teams (the trade unions collaborate with the Free German Youth League in this matter) have proved to be an exceptionally valuable initiative. They help the younger generation evolve a creative attitude to their work, show perseverance in labor and approach it with a sense of responsibility, all of which is part of communist morality. Based on mutual confidence and the party's ideals, cooperation between old and young is one of the lasting traditions of the German revolutionary working-class and trade union movement. We want every trade union organization to be a school of socialism and communism for youth, with its every member contributing his or her share to the communist education of young people.

Socialist emulation makes it possible to foster the working people's economic initiative and extend their participation in economic planning and management in an all-round and effective way. Consequently, it helps carry forward socialist democracy and strengthen the leading role of the working class in society. It is

also an important means of inculcating a conscientious attitude to labor and the property of the people, encouraging a committed approach to life and inducing readiness to give the country all one's energies, that is, doing what is typical of the new man, a member of socialist society.

Economic development in our country is inseparable from fulfillment of our social program. This unity is a powerful motor of social progress. The working people satisfy themselves by experience that conscientious work benefits society as a whole and every one of its members and that economic progress is dialectically connected with better working and living conditions and a rising standard of life. The greater the achievements of the economy, the more the people's working and living conditions improve and the more their material and spiritual requirements are satisfied. All this, in turn, prompts them to work better and show more initiative. It is not for nothing that the proportion of initiatives, rationalization proposals and discoveries contributing to the economic strength of our state has been growing.

The chief meaning of the social program of the GDR is to give people greater social security and confidence in the future. People are guaranteed — with deeds and not with words alone — the right to life, work, education, participation in the planning and management of all social processes, rest and leisure, a stable income and medical care. Mothers and children, old and sick people can rest assured that they will be cared for.

The trade unions regard fulfillment of the social program as one of their duties. The CFGTU approaches this task with a keen sense of responsibility. It influences the fulfillment of every provision of the program, doing this in strict accordance with principle.

Take, for example, the problem of wages. We consider that the socialist principle of payment according to work must be fully respected. People's standard of living should rise primarily on the basis of earnings provided by labor, according to the contribution made to the effort of the whole country. We believe the role of wages as an incentive should be increased if they are to help us influence more noticeably qualitative factors for economic growth, productivity and discipline.

Application of the principle of payment according to work for educational ends is a highly topical matter but an equally topical question is how to join together material incentives and moral and ideological inducements. We invariably adhere to the principle of solving problems of pay together with the workers

themselves (this must be pointed out especially). Our approach is clear: we must proceed in a way benefiting society in general and every worker in particular.

The unions are prompted by similar considerations in distributing housing. Homes are built on a large scale in the republic. From 1971 to 1980, one in every four inhabitants improved his housing conditions. Needless to say, people's housing conditions influence many things, such as their work, their desire to acquire higher skills, their commitment in public life and their family relations. Trade union housing commissions have a big say in the distribution of housing. They make recommendations, supervise adherence to existing regulations and see to it that better housing is assigned primarily to workers' families.

Our state does much for its citizens' health, which it considers a great asset. In this matter, too, the trade unions are its foremost assistant. They direct the system of social insurance, which encompasses 90 per cent of the population. Under people's rule this system, being carried forward according to plan, has become a socio-political institution through which the working class socially insures all working people and pensioners as well as their families, giving them confidence in the future. The socialist state guarantees appropriations for social insurance. In the 1971-1982 period they increased from 4.6 to nearly 14 billion marks and as for social insurance services, their volume grew more than two-fold. Yet the amount of working people's contributions to the insurance fund is the same as 30 years ago.

The CFGTU is the chief organizer of holiday facilities. In 1982 the unions distributed 4.7 million health resort vouchers among their members. The number of family boarding-houses and Young Pioneers' camps is growing. We see to it that holidays and recreation also help people extend their horizons and add to their general culture. The unions carry on large-scale cultural education and do much to promote physical culture and sports.

The activities of socialist trade unions are varied but their chief object, common to the policy of the party and the state, is expressed by the formula "Everything for the workers' good." We strive to bring the policy of the party — the policy of the working class — home to everyone, to ensure that the majority of our people join actively in implementing it. The CFGTU assists the party in its ideological and political education work. The unions' entire effort in the workers' interests is, in effect, proof of the correctness of the road chosen by the party. Nevertheless, life constantly raises new, very

acute problems and what is more, each of these problems, however ordinary, has to do in one way or another with key problems of home and foreign policy. This means that to find the right solution, we must have a proper insight into the objective laws of social development and into the connection between the future and today's requirements. The trade unions use every means at their disposal to impart a socialist world view to their members and to encourage them to adopt an active attitude to life. Ideals become a motor of social advance only when translated into reality.

The welfare of peoples and of every person today depends primarily on whether humanity will succeed in preventing a nuclear disaster and preserving world peace. This is a problem affecting the existence of the present generation and, indeed, of future generations.

There are now two clear-cut approaches to the issue of war and peace.

The United States and other NATO countries persist in the arms race, blocking in every way talks on the limitation and banning of nuclear arms and preparing to deploy medium-range and Cruise missiles in Central Europe. U.S. imperialism is pursuing a policy of sharp confrontation with the socialist states; it is obsessed by the idea of world domination and tries to perform a gendarme's role toward peoples fighting for liberation and social progress. The current crisis of capitalist countries is a consequence of the deterioration of economic and social contradictions inherent in the capitalist system and expressing themselves only too clearly in mass unemployment, inflation and poverty. This crisis is aggravating the international situation, which is now fraught with the danger of nuclear war.

In contrast with imperialism, the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community advocate the preservation of peace, détente, international cooperation and disarmament on the principle of equal security. They are loyal to the policy of peaceful coexistence with all countries irrespective of their social and political systems. The initiatives of the Soviet Union and its allies in favor of disarmament and the preservation of peace are constructive. They have now been crowned with the proposal to sign a Treaty on the Mutual Non-Use of Military Force and on the Maintenance of Relations of Peace between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries. The proposal was made by the leaders of the socialist countries at the recent conference of the Political Consultative Committee in Prague.

This is the only road leading humanity to the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe. The trade unions of the socialist countries are deeply convinced of this and we hope that, in accordance with the demands of reason, trade unions on all continents will resolutely support the socialist peace strategy by their actions.

In common with the trade unions of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, the CFGTU does its best to contribute to the prestige of the World Federation of Trade Unions in the struggle for peace. Last year, on September 1 (date proclaimed Peace Day by the 10th World Trade Union Congress), members of the CFGTU declared that they were resolved to fight with devotion for the preservation and safeguarding of peace. We seek greater cooperation in this field among all trade unions irrespective of their ideological orientation or their affiliation to this or that federation.

Socialism today is the chief factor for lasting international relations. By contributing to its strength, the working people of the GDR help consolidate peace. The creative labor of trade unionists for the good of their socialist state is, now as in the past, the most important contribution of the CFGTU to the solidity of the class positions of socialism — the antipode of the capitalist world — to the struggle for détente, against war and the arms race. By building up the economic potential of the GDR and improving the life of our people, we heighten the international prestige of the republic and increase the appeal of existing socialism.

The trade unions of the GDR are faced with inspiring tasks. We know that they will not be easy to accomplish. However, the CFGTU tackles them with confidence in its strength and with revolutionary vigor. The welfare of peoples, the welfare of humanity, and peace on earth have always been, and remain, the paramount aim of our effort.

1. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, pp. 20-21.

2. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 83.

3. The SUPG was formed in 1946 by merging the Communist and Social Democratic parties of Germany on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The CFGTU was founded in 1945. — Ed.

4. See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, pp. 20-21.

5. *Verfassung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, Berlin, 1974, p. 37.

6. Erick Honecker, "Zu aktuellen Fragen der Innen und Aussenpolitik," *Protokoll des 10. FDGB-Kongresses*, Berlin, 1982, p. 91.

7. See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 119.

8. The People's Chamber comprises nine groups representing various parties and unions. — Ed.

The arduous path of the Iranian revolution

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A sustained struggle has been going on for more than four years to preserve, consolidate and carry forward the gains of the Iranian revolution. It is taking place on the following four main fronts:

— first, against various external plots, the political, economic and military pressure of world imperialism headed by the USA, and regional reaction;

— second, against the intrigues of domestic counter-revolutionaries, who would like to carry out a coup, and against political terrorism;

— third, against the "economic terrorism" of the big capitalists and landowners and for social justice;

— fourth, for guaranteed civil rights and freedoms.

Recent developments have shown that whereas the struggle on the first three fronts has on the whole been shaping in favor of the revolution, the fourth front is more and more often the scene of very serious negative phenomena along with positive ones.

Resisting the intrigues of world imperialism and home reaction

World imperialism and regional reaction have been plotting against Iran and putting political, economic and military pressure on it in an effort to weaken and defeat the revolution. This is exemplified by the freezing of Iranian deposits in U.S. banks, the economic blockade of Iran, the obstacles raised to our country's oil exports, the sadly famous "hostage-rescuing" operation attempted by the U.S. military, massive anti-Iranian propaganda, and many other facts.

U.S. imperialism is, in fact, the main initiator of the Iranian-Iraqi war, which has substantially weakened the anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist front in the region. Taking advantage of armed conflicts, the United States is setting up new bases for its rapid deployment forces in the Sinai, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Pakistan and Turkey. Israel has annexed the Golan Heights and committed a barbarous aggression against Lebanon, killing tens of thousands of defenseless people. The USA, China, Pakistan, Egypt

and Saudi Arabia are increasing deliveries of arms and military equipment to Afghan counter-revolutionary bands. The ring of military blockade enclosing Iran is narrowing from day to day.

The fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq has been taking a growing toll of life for over two years. While neither of the belligerents has released any official data, it is safe to say that casualties on either side add up to tens of thousands of killed and wounded and material losses, to many tens of billions of dollars. Over 40,000 Iraqi soldiers have been taken prisoner. About two million Iranians from the areas involved in hostilities are still refugees.

The Iranian-Iraqi war benefits none but imperialism, Zionism and regional reaction. They alone have a stake in continued hostilities. No wonder the U.S. imperialists have been doing all in their power of late to prevent an end to the conflict and, indeed, to extend its proportions as far as possible and involve other countries of the region in it so as to create a favorable situation there in which they can strengthen their positions.

Imposing a devastating war on the peoples of Iran, the united front of counter-revolution led by U.S. imperialism also engineered a vast conspiracy inside the country. Its execution was entrusted to the then President, Bani-Sadr.¹ The conspiracy was thwarted just when it was about to be accomplished.

That was when the Iranian revolution entered a new stage. Important changes came about on the political scene.

First of all, it was proved beyond all doubt that both the Bani-Sadr plot and the war imposed on our country were components of an overall subversive plan of world imperialism headed by the USA. The anti-imperialist struggle, which is primarily anti-USA and assumed unprecedented dimensions at the second stage of the revolution (that is, after the seizure of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran), gained in intensity.

Second, many people realized that the frustrated conspiracy was, in effect, an action of the exploiting classes of big capitalists and land-

owners against the democratic and social achievements of the revolution.

Third, the divisive activity of "leftists," Maoist-type extremists and their like was laid bare. Political adventurism miscarried. Events showed that its effects can be very tragic no matter how attractive the slogans used by it as a disguise, and that adventurist actions by "leftist" elements virtually pave the way to power for the extreme right.

However, trends favorable to the revolution were accompanied by certain painful developments. Measures adopted against counter-revolutionary plots went beyond the requisite bounds; under pressure from extreme right-wingers and conservatives, many real revolutionaries became an object of serious persecution. We now note with deep regret that acts of terrorism are continuing, if on a smaller scale. Furthermore, forces seeking a monopoly of power for narrow caste considerations and using the call for an end to terrorism as a pretext, restrict freedom of political and other public activity as much as they can. This affects not only those who hold a different world view, that is, adherents of scientific socialism, but the majority of political groupings of Moslems supporting Imam Khomeini's line.

Much of the responsibility for the rise and development of this phenomenon, which is very dangerous to the revolution, falls undoubtedly on certain left-type organizations, including Mujaheddin-e-Khalq. Their leaderships made a most incorrect estimation of the nature of the Iranian revolution and its motive forces. First of all, they overlooked the main antagonism, that with world imperialism and the reactionary ruling classes of big capitalists and landowners associated with it. At the same time they attached undue importance to secondary contradictions within the front of popular forces and among the ruling circles. They made an inexcusable mistake by calculating that after an "armed struggle" against the new regime had begun, the urban and rural poor would back and even join in it. This mistake seriously prejudiced the progress of the revolution.

When the call for an "armed uprising" against Imam Khomeini's leadership failed to find the slightest support among the masses, the leaders of some organizations refused to admit and correct their mistakes. Instead, they clung stubbornly to political adventurism, having tied the fate of their organizations to that of the traitors' clique under Bani-Sadr. They chose terrorism as the chief means of struggle although terrorism has failed disastrously on numerous occasions, as is known from history.

Terrorists killed many noted members of the ruling groups. It is remarkable, however, that so far no attempt has been made on the lives of any one of the reactionaries opposed to Imam Khomeini's line.

To be sure, persons associated with left-type organizations were not the only ones to commit acts of terrorism. Also active in this respect were monarchists, former staff members of SAVAK (the shah's secret police) and other subversive elements from imperialism's fifth column and the united counter-revolutionary front.

On the other hand, as our party CC pointed out in a statement at the time, the authorities went too far on combating terrorism, doing so under the influence of extreme right-wingers and clergymen adhering to a narrow caste position. For instance, thousands of supporters of Mujaheddin-e-Khalq were put under arrest. Many of them, generally energetic young men who had been misled but were patriots and revolutionaries none the less, were shot.

On foiling the Bani-Sadr plot and crushing terrorist actions, supporters of Imam Khomeini's line took steps to consolidate their positions. Unfortunately, however, the struggle went on "at the surface" and not "deep down." The victory that had been achieved was not properly used for a thorough eradication of counter-revolution. The bulk of the forces that had backed Bani-Sadr — the big capitalists and landowners as well as their patrons among religious leaders — retained their positions. Rightist counter-revolutionaries hardly forfeited any of their influence in the Majlis, the civil service or among the clergy; most important of all, they did not lose access to the main economic levers. From these positions they continued their subversive activities, being set this time on preventing economic rehabilitation and reconstruction and on fomenting discontent among the masses.

Several other plots against the regime have been discovered and frustrated since then. They were all master-minded by U.S. imperialism and enjoyed the full support of regional reaction. The most extensive and dangerous one was the plot led by Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, ex-foreign minister of Iran, a CIA agent. Preparations for the plot went on with the cooperation and backing of a sizable group of reactionary clergymen, liberals, other counter-revolutionaries, big capitalists and landowners. It involved one of the highest Moslem dignitaries of the country, Kazem Shariatmadari. The conspirators intended to carry out a coup and to destroy Imam Khomeini and his closest associates and followers. Also,

on the pretext of "avenging the Imam's blood," they planned to liquidate all revolutionary left forces, primarily members of the People's Party of Iran and People's Fedayeen (Majority) as well as Moslem fighters supporting Imam Khomeini's line.

All these plots were thwarted with the aid of revolutionary popular forces. But it must be remembered that for as long as their main source is there, that is, for as long as the reactionary classes have yet to be suppressed, imperialism and the counter-revolutionaries linked with it will be in a position to plan new acts of subversion. Besides, recent decades have repeatedly shown that the policy of putting down truly revolutionary left forces clears the decks for rightist counter-revolutionary coups against the people.

The struggle over social and economic problems

With the revolution in its third year, a grim struggle involving the most diverse spheres began between two trends. One of these trends reflected the pressing needs of the revolutionary process and was supported by the masses, Imam Khomeini's real followers and other progressives. The other trend, however, tried to discredit the revolution and bolster the positions of the exploiting classes, or, in short, to push the country back to the bankrupt capitalist order.

It is true that after the elimination of the Bani-Sadr clique the positions of supporters of the former trend were strengthened, but even so, differences of a fundamental character developed among those who call themselves followers of Imam Khomeini's line. The highest power echelon, which comprises diverse groupings held together solely by their unquestioning "recognition" of Imam Khomeini, is torn by irreconcilable contradictions that have to do above all with the approach to key social and economic issues. This is due to the heterogeneous class composition of the ruling circles. On the one hand, they include followers of "revolutionary Islam,"² or exponents of the aspirations of the working people of urban and rural Iran. On the other hand, there are landowners, merchants and big capitalists among them. The middle strata are in an intermediate position.

The struggle under way centers on the issue of implementing the fundamental progressive provisions of the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran. They consist in the following:

— restoring to the propertyless masses what big capitalists, landed proprietors and speculators have stolen from them;

— limiting the sphere of action of private capitalist enterprise and the amount of profit made by it;

— effecting a land reform to abolish large-scale private landownership in the interests of landless and land-hungry peasants;

— confiscating vacant lots in cities to solve the housing problem.

Forces championing the working people's interests insist on the implementation of the measures envisaged by the constitution, which they see as decisive for the success of the revolution. The right, however, is doing its utmost to prevent the realization of the progressive provisions of the constitution and has even taken an official stand for their revision.

The land reform law, unquestionably the most significant revolutionary change, has long been an object of bitter class struggle among the ruling circles. Supporters of the old bourgeois and landowner system, invoking the difficulties caused by the war and the economic pressure of imperialism, are doing everything to prevent the adoption and enforcement of the law. By contrast, spokesmen of the truly revolutionary Moslem forces sincerely backing the demand of the poorest sections of society are campaigning for the earliest possible enactment of this law which has been passed by the Majlis but voted down by the Supervisory Council³ because of its wording.

Similar struggles are going on over other important draft laws. Despite stubborn resistance from certain high Moslem dignitaries, who openly took a stand for the capitalist order, the Majlis passed by a considerable majority two laws: on the confiscation of vacant lots in cities and on the nationalization of foreign trade. However, the Supervisory Council, on which the clergy — an advocate of preserving the foundations of the bourgeois and landowner system — have greater leverage, introduced amendments into the former law to meet the interests of urban landowners. As for the enforcement of the law nationalizing foreign trade, it will not come into force until amended with due regard to the interests of the commercial bourgeoisie. Many draft laws relating to key problems of the revolution are endlessly passed on from one commission of the Majlis to another. All this has had most negative consequences eroding the faith of the masses in the effectiveness of the regime's policies.

A peculiarity of the struggle between the two contending groups at this stage of the revolution is that both persist in their views, which are often irreconcilable, with reference to Islamic dogma. Apologists of the capitalist system resort to a well-worn device, anti-commu-

nism. They label every step serving the interests of the disinherited as "communist" and condemn it on these grounds. They assure illiterate people that the supply of sugar, soap and other necessities on coupons, or ration cards, is "couponism" and that "couponism" is actually communism. Such primitive methods are used even by persons in the highest echelons of power.

Meanwhile capitalists and speculators plunder the people more than ever, taking advantage of difficulties and the ruling quarters' inability to overcome them. In a sermon delivered one hour before he was assassinated by terrorists, Ayatollah Sadr, an influential follower of Imam Khomeini's line, said bitterly that a merchant had boasted of having made more money in the past year than over the previous 20 years.

The prices of most necessities have grown many times over while wages have gone up very little. Government measures to stabilize consumer goods prices have generally proved unable to check runaway inflation. Such is the socio-economic situation today.

The fight for civil rights and freedoms

The situation in this sphere is characterized by the fact that champions of genuine freedom for all popular forces are compelled to resist pressure from both outspoken enemies of the revolution and sections of the ruling quarters. These are people who take an anti-imperialist patriotic position and yet refuse to recognize the right of revolutionaries adhering to a different ideology to operate unhampered. It is a paradoxical situation, for a broad front has in effect been formed to hold down the People's Party of Iran, People's Fedayeen (Majority) and even sections of revolutionary Moslem political organizations. The forces of external and internal counter-revolution are on one of its flanks and some of the real participants in the anti-imperialist struggle, on the other. Regrettably, the latter group's political ambitions, ideological narrow-mindedness and anti-communist prejudice limit their horizons so greatly that they are unaware of being at one with enemies from the counter-revolutionary camp and fighting against their true friends. Nor do they realize that such intolerance, primarily in the form of anti-communism, pushes them to compromise with world imperialism.

True, this dangerous reactionary trend so far has failed to win the approval and support of the regime as a whole. It is opposed by the realistic policy of some members of the ruling quarters, primarily followers of Imam Khomeini's anti-imperialist popular line. Thus far

the Imam himself has always recognized the necessity of freedom for "dissenters." "When Islamic rule has been established in Iran," he said before the revolution, answering a question from a Lebanese correspondent, "Marxists will be granted the right to freely put forward their demands . . ." He expressed the same view in his address to clergymen of Iranian Azerbaijan. "All parties and groupings are free," he said, "to operate and to state their view, provided they do not fight against the Islamic state or take up arms against Islam."

This explicit position of the leader of the revolution, the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, has repeatedly been confirmed by other high-ranking statesmen. Yet in spite of declarations to the effect that membership in the People's Party of Iran is no reason for dismissal, arrest or any other kind of persecution, numerous members and even supporters of Tudeh and People's Fedayeen (Majority) are persecuted.

By now all the newspapers and periodicals of revolutionary parties and organizations regarded as "dissenting" have been closed; the authorities have seized the headquarters and premises of these parties and arrested many of their members and supporters without charging them with the violation of any law. Going on all over the country with the aid of counter-revolutionaries posing as followers of Islam is a campaign of anti-communism, anti-Sovietism and frank hostility to revolutionary parties and organizations adhering to a different ideological platform. The official newspaper of the Islamic Republican Party (IRP), which is led by the President of the Republic, has launched the call "Shoot Tudeh members." References to Marxist influence (even where it is only potential) are used as a justification for measures against every form of independent organization of urban or rural working people and against the activity of independent trade unions and peasants' or handicraftsmen's associations unconnected with the ruling IRP.

Women's social condition is one of the spheres in which reaction has been carrying on an all-out offensive against civil freedoms. Although the constitution considers it important to guarantee women a fitting place in society, they are increasingly denied such a place. Restrictions are becoming more and more intolerable and involve everything from clothing to education and family rights. Covert counter-revolutionaries collaborating and making common cause with those among the ruling quarters who want to monopolize power are particularly active in this sphere as in the political struggle against "dissenters."

In short, the struggle for civil rights is continuing with great sharpness and its outcome is bound to tell on the revolution as a whole. There is still some hope that truly revolutionary Moslem forces will realize on encountering difficulties as they try to advance the revolution that these difficulties can be surmounted only if anti-imperialist forces unite. Now this unity can only be achieved if Moslem fighters respect the civil rights and freedoms of all who support the anti-imperialist people's revolution firmly and consistently even if they do not share their ideological views.

A situation compounded by warring trends

One of the distinguishing aspects of the revolution at this stage is that for a number of socio-historical reasons, the activity of the regime's revolutionary wing, which sincerely advocates fundamental changes for the benefit of the disinherited, regrettably has three serious deficiencies.

First, it still lacks a clear-cut, concrete and comprehensive program for the solution of the fundamental problems confronting the revolution, and still confines itself to general statements.

Second, being proud of what has been achieved to date, it shows no readiness to work out such a program or use the valuable experience of victorious revolutions in other countries and enlist the assistance of other revolutionary forces of Iran.

Third, while drawing on the power and support of the millions of working people in town and countryside, it does not enlist their help in overcoming current difficulties but is somewhat afraid of their organization and militancy.

Many Iranian leaders are now concentrating on a search for methods that would have nothing in common with those successfully used today as in the past in socialist or socialist-oriented countries. As a result, there is a dangerous delay in the solution of certain important problems of advancing and consolidating the revolution, and half-hearted, occasionally downright harmful if outwardly attractive measures are adopted instead of meaningful and effective ones.

This enables the forces of counter-revolution to conduct propaganda hostile to the regime so as to make the working people feel hopeless. Counter-revolutionaries using Islam as a cloak have entrenched themselves in some important government positions. They are casting about for ways and means of implementing their subversive schemes, which they advertise as "original solutions," and are causing irremediable

damage thereby to the process of consolidating and carrying forward the achievements of the revolution.

The closure of universities for more than two years was a case in point. A "cultural revolution" was staged in the universities and studies were broken off under the slogan "Rid the university of pro-Western, primarily pro-U.S. elements." Yet the latest official statistics show that Iran (with the exception of Tehran, which has six million inhabitants) has only 8,000 doctors for its 30 million people, or one doctor for nearly 4,000 persons. The irreparable damage done by the closure of medical schools is easy to imagine in the light of this disastrous state of affairs. The sad results of an ill-advised personnel policy in the education system are coming out more and more. Only some 20 per cent of school children were able to pass examinations last year. Nor has any headway been made in combating illiteracy, a problem that has been under discussion for more than three years. The main reason is that "dissenters" are barred from teaching the people to read and write.

Economic difficulties are mounting day after day. The situation in many enterprises of the state sector is revealing. The absence of a specific, well-considered action program, the dismissal of revolutionary-minded people on ideological grounds, the transfer of management to incompetent people and subversion on the part of counter-revolutionaries have paralyzed industrial production to a much greater extent than inevitable economic complications. Along with this, apologists of the capitalist system from the ruling quarters, allying themselves with the bourgeoisie, argue that the state cannot effectively manage the nationalized enterprises and that these must therefore be returned or transferred to private capital.

This effort to weaken the revolution and then to make it abandon its principles is evident in all other spheres, including foreign policy. There is a correct definition of the main lines of Iran's foreign policy in the constitution. But under pro-U.S. liberals as well as under Bani-Sadr and under Ghotbzadeh, who was exposed afterwards, this policy was carried on by lackeys of imperialism, a circumstance which prevented Iran from promoting mutually beneficial cooperation with countries of the anti-imperialist camp, primarily the socialist countries, and from establishing closer relations with them.

It had been expected that after the removal of Bani-Sadr and Ghotbzadeh, Iran would take a road meeting the requirements and objectives

of the revolution. Indeed, some important steps were taken in this direction under the influence of Imam Khomeini's true supporters. Relations with members of the Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation⁵ improved. Diplomatic relations were established with Cuba and South Yemen. But due to the lack of a meaningful and balanced long-term foreign policy program, conflicting trends emerged in this vital area and advocates of a rapprochement with imperialism were enabled to resort to provocations.

Iran's foreign policy today shows two opposed trends. One is the realistic policy of furthering political, economic and cultural relations with all countries friendly to the Iranian revolution, fully supporting national liberation movements and restricting relations with countries hostile to revolutionary Iran. The other is the anti-communist policy which world imperialism is trying to impose globally. This trend became more marked with the deterioration of the Iranian-Iraqi armed conflict. Advocates of a compromise with imperialism are trying under spurious slogans to pursue a provocative and hostile policy toward countries and movements taking a truly anti-imperialist position and to pave the way for collaboration with countries dependent on imperialism and for collusion with imperialism itself.

The U.S. imperialists, who do their utmost to weaken revolutionary Iran, have been trying to set it at loggerheads with its northern neighbor — the Soviet Union, which has invariably supported the revolutionary movement in our country and has rendered effective and varied aid to the government of the Islamic Republic ever since the victory of the revolution. Post-revolutionary developments showed only too clearly how groups and politicians linked with the United States — all those members of the provisional government, Bani-Sadr, Ghotbzadeh, Yazdi and their likes — laid themselves out to do as they are bidden by their overseas masters.

The so-called "Afghan problem" is something of a "golden pretext" for those who want to undermine Iranian-Soviet relations. The bitter truth is that even though locked in an uncompromising struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, Iran joined Pakistan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia, or countries committed to a pro-imperialist policy, in opposing the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Yet the DRA, like Iran itself, is forced to resist the onslaught of U.S. imperialism, regional reaction and their mercenaries who are waging an undeclared war on Afghanistan.

The progressive forces of our country, including influential sections of the ruling

quarters, have long been wondering how a country can oppose normal, good-neighbor relations with Afghanistan so obstinately while at the same time maintaining diplomatic and, indeed, friendly relations with Pakistan and Turkey, which have assumed the burden of involvement in aggressive blocs like NATO, CENTO and SEATO and are following in the wake of U.S. imperialist policy to this day. There is no escaping the suspicion that certain quarters may be trying to resuscitate the dead CENTO.

Lately there have been more and more frequent provocative and even hostile actions on the part of the officially controlled media, not only against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, but against Syria and Libya, which in the past were seen as fraternal countries. Articles published in the government press and commentaries broadcast over radio and television constantly attack in abusive language the bonds of friendship linking the members of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, Cuba, Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique, and other revolutionary countries with the Soviet Union. They go as far as to assert that these countries have "lost" their freedom and become "dependent," and to advise them to substitute an anti-Soviet policy for this friendship, which is, in point of fact, a guarantee of their independence in the face of imperialist plots.

This deeply disquieting trend has not yet been elevated to the stature of an official foreign policy doctrine but even as it stands now, it can seriously injure the revolutionary process in our country. The time has apparently come for sensible people among the ruling circles, who cherish the destiny of the anti-imperialist people's revolution, to realize the dangerous nature of these intrigues and to expose and defeat them.

Growing revolutionary awareness and enthusiasm of the masses

The vigilance of the masses and Imam Khomeini's firm leadership are the most dependable guarantee of defending the achievements of the revolution against endless plots of the united counter-revolutionary front led by the USA. The steadily growing revolutionary awareness and enthusiasm of the masses constantly cut the ground from under the feet of conspirators.

Well knowing this, counter-revolutionaries have long been trying to divert the people's attention from the main goals of the revolution, namely, freeing the country from imperialist, primarily U.S., domination and putting an end

to the plunder of the nation's resources by the big capitalists and landowners. The principal devices used by them are to provoke discontent among the people by disrupting the economy and complicating their everyday lives in various ways, and secondly, to foment anti-communism.

The experience of the past years has shown, however, that these efforts cannot lead the people astray, cannot alienate them from the revolution. The masses know better than before that the chief enemies of the Iranian revolution are U.S. imperialism and its underlings in Europe and Asia and in the region itself. They know better than before that their real internal enemies are the predatory classes of big capitalists and landowners as well as their lackeys. It is the people's increased awareness that prevents apologists of the capitalist system among the ruling circles from doing away with revo-

lutionary gains and setting the scene for the country to be pushed back.

Much of the credit for the people's growing awareness must be given to real adherents of scientific socialism. Our party, the party of the Iranian working class, has attached great importance to the role of Moslem revolutionary fighters ever since the beginning of the current stage of the revolution. It has been calling for their unity with other revolutionary forces, primarily supporters of scientific socialism, as the basis for uniting the people in the struggle for independence, freedom and social progress, and has done all in its power to bring about a united front.

The People's Party of Iran has also been working steadfastly for the unity of all true adherents of scientific socialism who found themselves organizationally disunited for certain historical reasons. People's Fedayeen (Majority) and some other revolutionary groupings, once influenced by "leftist" and sectarian trends, have gradually adopted the position of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and are now fighting side by side with our party. This development, which is highly important for the revolutionary movement in Iran, is an indication of the increased revolutionary consciousness of the working people.

There is reason for confidence that the social awareness of the masses will grow faster as they gain further experience in the struggle against counter-revolutionary plots and in class struggle. Despite the fact that there are difficulties and that brief zigzags are likely, increasing realization of the goals of the revolution and an ever greater ability to distinguish between its friends and foes will daily create more favorable conditions for closer ties between different contingents of the revolutionary movement, for a link-up of the Iranian revolution with the mighty anti-imperialist world front. We earnestly hope that the revolution will in the end overcome all adversities and that the millions of our working people will be able to make its achievements irreversible.

1. For details on this, see Nureddin Kianuri, "The Iranian Revolution: Its Friends and Foes," in WMR, No. 11, 1981. — Ed.

2. What this concept stands for is explained in Ehsan Tabari's "The Role of Religion in Our Revolution," WMR, No. 12, 1982. — Ed.

3. It comprises six lawyers and six faqihs, or Moslem jurists. The faqihs' vote is decisive when the Council has to rule whether a law passed by the Majlis conforms to Islamic dogma.

4. Kayhan, January 16, 1979 (in Persian).

5. The Front comprises Algeria, Libya, the PDRY, Syria and the PLO. — Ed.

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Problems of History and Theory

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OUR INTERVIEWS

THE COMMUNISTS IN THE MASS MOVEMENT

Adalberto Minucci

Leadership and Secretariat member,
Italian Communist Party

Q. What, would you say, are the distinctive features of the present stage of the struggle for peace in Italy? What changes have taken place in the public consciousness compared with, say, the 1960s and the 1970s?

A. As distinct from the period you have mentioned, Italians now unquestionably have a new understanding of the threat of a nuclear war and of Italy's possible involvement in it on account of the government's acceptance of the NATO decision to have a Euromissile base at Comiso, Sicily. This acceptance is making our country a potential target of a retaliatory strike. All this has stirred nerve-racking anxiety among the population, influencing young people above all. The mass media are today more vivid in their reporting, enabling the Italian people to picture the horrible destructive power of the new weaponry, and now any person can see that if a nuclear conflict breaks out there will be no survivors. Moreover, let me note that the attempts of some circles in the USA to sell the idea that a territorially limited war is permissible have failed completely. It is no secret that the intention is to fight such a limited war in Europe, so what is there for the Italians or any other Europeans to be happy about? In Italy people now see how serious the problem is and are aware that by fighting against the unleashing of a war they are fighting for their lives.

We communists are doing everything to facilitate this by explanatory work, by using concrete arguments and facts to show that a nuclear cataclysm holds out the threat of annihilating all humankind. And the fact that the people have come round to seeing this threat is of paramount significance for understanding the phenomena now to be observed in the Italian peace movement.

Q. Could you specify these phenomena and the new developments in the movement more substantively?

A. First, about the forms this movement is assuming. More than ever before the peace movement is ranging beyond the framework of parties, trade unions and other organizations. Needless to say, it is embracing all these numerous organizations. I will not deny, for instance, that a large role is played in it by the communists. In addition, there are in the movement quite a few members of other political parties and the Catholic clergy. We attach much significance to the participation of public institutions, for instance many municipal councils and local elective organs, which are supporting the anti-war movement in one way or another. One of its main characteristics is the participation of a huge number of young people and women.

Further, one cannot ignore the role of scientists, who feel it is their duty to speak out about the devastation that could be wrought by a nuclear war. They are sponsoring conferences, delivering lectures, and showing material to illustrate what they are talking about. All this is helping to work out a new approach to the problem of war and peace and understand the danger of a nuclear conflict.

Let me also mention the contradictions in the anti-war movement in Italy. In the 1950s and 1960s the peace movement consisted of, apart from the communists, other left forces, including the Italian Socialist Party. Take, for example, the actions for peace, against the aggression in Vietnam. True, at first, the socialists did not join it, and more, charged that our party was seeking to use the movement for its own purposes. However, they later joined in the struggle.

What is happening now? The participation of parties and organizations in anti-war actions is hindered by the fact that the ISP, which is in the government coalition, approved the decision to set up a missile base at Comiso. This has given rise to an extremely tense situation in the ISP because many of its militants and sup-

porters have associated themselves with the peace movement, while the party, as such, not only withholds participation but in many instances frowns upon peace demonstrations.

It is not to be ruled out that the situation may develop in a positive direction. If the movement continues to spread it will, I expect, ultimately influence the party leadership, and not only of the ISP. The leadership of the Christian-Democratic Party is likewise aware that many Catholics support the peace movement, and does not want to lose contact with its rank and file despite having approved the decision to build a missile base. We have no intention of benefiting from such contradictions. We see them, try to ascertain their causes, and consider that instead of hindering they should promote the further development of anti-war actions.

The most striking recent action was the Milan-Comiso peace march. The marchers crossed Italy from north to south, passing through many cities and other population centers, where rallies were held every day. Everywhere the marchers were welcomed by thousands of people and members of the local government and the clergy. When the march reached Rome it was joined by the city's mayor, who is a member of our party. Among the marchers there were socialists and Catholics. In short, this was a demonstration of unity and it made a powerful impression on Italian public opinion. It clearly demonstrated the movement's features, which I have already described, and the high level of its autonomy. The movement can win only if it is joined by the largest possible number of people, regardless of class, ideology or religion.

We feel that the communists should not claim a special role in it. We want to be a segment of close-knit peace forces, because war is a threat to everybody. It will destroy not only this or that system but all life in the world. I believe that in the struggle against war no distinction should be made between communists and non-communists, between members of this or that party, between adherents of different ideologies and religions. The task of the communists is precisely to explain that this struggle concerns everybody, that there must be a movement involving all sections of society. I believe that in a country like Italy we should not accentuate class distinctions. Let me recall that Palmiro Togliatti said that if atomic bombs were used in a war they would destroy both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Far from prejudicing the anti-war struggle, this knowledge only benefits it and can unite all who want to remake the world.

Q. Our journal has carried articles on the character of the present peace movement.* In particular, these articles dealt with the question of what induces people to act — fear or the understanding that one can help to avert war. Would you state your own view?

A. Here I would not use the word "or." Instead, I would use the conjunction "and," because one complements the other. What we are observing is a response prompted by a sense of self-preservation. People are today able to understand that nobody will escape if weapons of annihilation are used. This is precisely what gives rise to the instinct of self-preservation, which, I would say, is useful in this case. More, it must be given an outlet, because many quarters are trying to mislead people about the consequences of the use of nuclear weapons, to make them believe that survival is possible, that "only" a few hundred thousand people will die. Even the hint that hundreds of thousands may die is an outrage, but it is clear that the outcome will be more terrible: all humankind will perish in a nuclear conflagration. This is what we are trying to explain in order to induce people to take militant action.

On the basis of the consciousness that there is a threat of war and the instinctive reaction to it, a movement must be created to prevent demoralization. In many cases the line of thinking is: If the situation is so horrible and we are doomed to perish, there is nothing I can do — everything depends on those who push the button, on a handful of persons invested with authority, on the leaders of the big powers who decide for others. We should awaken a different response, a different line of thought, namely: since I am threatened with death I must join in the struggle against war. In other words, we should form a movement characterized by conscious participation. This is, as we have seen, a feasible task. In just the past few months the peace movement has exercised considerable influence on governments, compelling them to postpone a number of negative decisions. All this is very encouraging for the peace fighters, who are beginning to see that they have clout, that they have to be reckoned with.

There is another point I should like to make. By raising the question of disarmament, of reducing armaments, the movement thereby places on the agenda a problem that is vital to the future of the working people, to the nation's economic and social development. I am referring to the reconversion of the war industry, a change in the character of its output; everybody is aware that huge resources are being used in

*WMR, Nos. 6, 8, 10, 11, 1982.

the world for the production of military hardware. The cessation or a significant reduction of this production would signify a reassessment of economic priorities, of the economic policies pursued by governments, and would contribute to the mapping out of an entirely different approach to the world crisis, to international relations. Of course, the solution of this problem will take a lot of time. But I want to say that the chief question today is that of peace. In Italy the communists have advanced a splendid slogan, which has been accepted nation-wide. It is: "Peace Above All!"

FROM DOCUMENTS

BULGARIA

The party concept of a labor code

At its plenary meeting in November 1982 the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party passed a document headed "Basic Principles of the Party Concept of a New Labor Code," which was then published for nationwide discussion.

The social situation in Bulgaria has changed qualitatively with the transition to the building of a developed socialist society, the document says. This has made it necessary to draw up a new stable and flexible labor code clearly defining the basic rights and duties of citizens, protecting society's interests and allowing for the use of new ways and means of realizing these rights and interests.

In considering questions related to public socialist property and its disposal, the document says, the work collective must have the right to fulfil economic functions on the basis of the state plan and also the local plan (containing commitments over and above the state plan). Economic development must rest on a fuller use of commodity-money relations, the law of value, and the related economic levers.

In order to ensure the further perfection of socialist democracy in production and labor relations, broader rights must be given to the work collective to enable it to acquire more features of a self-managing unit participating in decisions concerning production, the sale of output, social planning, the drawing up of local plans, and the monitoring of the work of its members and the distribution of incomes. The working people must have the right to be kept abreast of the economic and social policy of their production facility.

The new code, the BCP Central Committee noted, should make provision for a mechanism allowing each collective, i.e., the workers themselves, to ensure compliance with the

principle of "equal pay for equal work." They and their direct head should have the right, within certain limits, to increase or reduce pay in accordance with the contribution to the common work, and introduce more effective one-time and constant incentives for the introduction of scientific and technological breakthroughs. The practice of regarding the conclusion of collective bargaining agreements as no more than a formality must be ended. They must contain legal guarantees that the commitments recorded in them are carried out.

The BCP Central Committee document declares that the labor code and labor legislation should mirror the further extension of trade union participation in planning and managing the economy. The central trade union bodies have to be drawn, on a basis of equality with state agencies, into the framing of national plans for socio-economic development and into marking out the basic targets. Grassroots trade union organizations have the right to state their view about candidates for managerial posts at production and other facilities, and participate in the selection and nomination of leading cadre and specialists, in the formation of collective managerial bodies, and in monitoring their work.

The document points out that the trade unions have to be the social guarantor of labor legislation and play an important part in drawing up and enforcing compliance with such legislation. The trade unions must be more active in carrying out their duty of safeguarding not only individual members of the work collective but also the collective as a whole against unconscientious persons and against bureaucratic abuse.

New normative acts must be worked out, the BCP Central Committee document says, in order to ensure the consistent and comprehensive implementation of the principles underlying the party concept of a labor code.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESS

DAILY WORLD

An appeal for support

The Communist Party USA circulated a letter appealing for donations. It was published in the newspaper *Daily World* as part of the drive for funds.

Dear friend, the letter says, perhaps you have already considered it: Has there ever been so crucial a moment as the present? Our party represents the peaceful, bountiful future — socialism — and must now take extraordinary measures to bring this alternative, and the

anti-monopoly course for achieving it, to millions of our people.

The April 1982 extraordinary conference of the CPUSA was called to develop a realistic program for the working class, all people's fightback... the extraordinary conference did more. It was a giant workshop to shatter old ways and habits, to mold new attitudes, new styles and a new psychology geared to the need to build the Communist Party ranks.

The recent two and a half months' national tour by General Secretary Gus Hall has proven the great potential for building a mass Communist Party now. We need your help so that no time will be lost in continuing this fighting process.

The Communist Party's deep sense of class responsibility, deep humanism, unique role as unifier of the working class and people, and commitment to a socialist future should rouse an unprecedented response. Your past financial contributions have had great meaning. We feel sure you will want to respond to this critical moment and fully share in the new victories of our class and people.

L'HUMANITE

Kuznetsov and Martin

This newspaper offered a comparison of portraits of an average citizen of the USSR and France on the basis of statistics. The name Alexander and the surname Kuznetsov are quite common in the Soviet Union.

Who is this average citizen of the USSR, what is his social and material status, and what are his interests? Kuznetsov is 30, married, and lives in a city. He works a 39.4-hour week at a factory, has a secondary education, and is continuing his education and improving his skills. In the past 10 years his real income has grown 45 per cent. He has a paid annual leave of 22 days, which he usually spends at a holiday resort or somewhere outside the city. He devotes a daily average of an hour and a half (2.5 hours on off days) to television, and goes to see 16 films a year. He reads 21 books a year, which he borrows from a public library.

The Kuznetsov family spends about three per cent of its budget on rent for its two-room flat, in which there are a radio, a television, a refrigerator, and a washing machine. In the USSR rents have in fact remained unchanged since the close of the 1920s.

Of course, the newspaper writes, this Alexander Kuznetsov is only a statistical unit, but this unit gives an idea of some aspects of Soviet reality.

Now a typical citizen of France. He is called

Jean Martin, and is a worker with a 40-hour work-week. Between 1970 and 1978 his real income rose 3 per cent. Martin goes nowhere during his leave, spends three hours a day in front of the TV screen, and in the course of a year sees six films and reads eight books. Of the family budget 10.1 per cent is put into the upkeep of the home, which has a radio, a television, and a washing machine. The rent in state-owned houses (whose growth rate is always ahead of the inflation rate) averages 25 per cent of the French citizen's wage. Jean Martin did not finish a secondary school and is not studying anywhere.

IN THE FACE OF LAWLESSNESS

*"I cannot see myself
outside the struggle"*

The use of courts for enunciating revolutionary views and exposing the anti-people, repressive character of a regime has long been a tradition of the revolutionary working-class movement, a tradition started by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.¹ Some considerations about behavior at a trial were put forward by Lenin, who urged comrades put in the dock by tsarism to "speak of *our party*."²

In the capitalist countries to this day communists have to use the courtroom to uphold their right to defend the vital interests of the working people. *Tijani Tayeb Babeqr*, a founder of the Sudanese Communist Party and CC Secretariat member of the SCP, was arrested in the autumn of 1980. When the country's Supreme Court found that the charges made against him were unconstitutional, the authorities turned his "case" over to a state security tribunal. The mock trial, in which Tayeb Babeqr was sentenced to a long term in prison, took place in 1982. At the trial he spoke brilliantly, with passion, in fact indicting the corrupt, anti-people regime. The following are excerpts from his speech.

Mr. Chairman and members of the State Security Tribunal,

With this trial I have been included in the long list of Sudanese patriots and democrats, who, as long ago as in the colonial epoch, were tried for their ideas and attitudes on the basis of laws that were an impingement on democracy and made punishable such natural rights as the right to organization and to freedom of speech.

The present regime is using all the means in its power to crush our people's will for democracy. One of the most obvious instruments of suppression, the law on state security is being used by the authorities to subject the Sudanese

to unparalleled oppression, deprive them of their human dignity, and turn them into cattle. Day and night the state harasses every citizen, violates the inviolability of his individuality and home, denies him his daily bread, imprisons him indefinitely, and uses violence up to execution if he has taken part in strikes or demonstrations, even if they are peaceful. A citizen against whom a charge is brought is denied his rights. Even before the investigation begins he is treated worse than a condemned criminal. Often he is tortured physically and morally. The authorities say anything they like about people held for interrogation, in prison, or simply in opposition, slandering, stigmatizing or branding them through the mass media. All this is known to public opinion and has been experienced by me personally.

Immediately after I was arrested the press quoted state security officials accusing me and the Communist Party of being "agents of foreign services." The head of the security service interviewed by an Egyptian newspaper declared that "all communists regularly receive instructions from a foreign country."

As a citizen who has devoted himself body and soul to his country and people, I can only describe this fabrication as cheap and cowardly. The commission of inquiry has gone through hundreds of documents about the Communist Party's internal and foreign policy. In no instance was a question put, even indirectly, on instructions coming from a foreign country, or was there a charge of acting as foreign agents. The Communist Party has a glorious history. It is prominent in the struggle waged by our people. The communists have had to deal with various governments, and many of them — both of the leadership and of the rank and file — have been arraigned in court. But there has never been an instance of their being charged with being foreign agents. Not merely because of a lack of evidence, but because such evidence neither exists nor can exist.

Much more frequently than any other Sudanese party, the Sudanese Communist Party has been the object of study both in and outside the country. It has been accorded merited attention in books and articles about the Sudanese, Arab, and African political and trade union movement. Those who follow these studies and the history of our country see that the communists have always been in the front ranks of patriots, that their party is the only political organization in Sudan that is indeed independent of all foreign influence. The SCP enjoys considerable international prestige and its links to communist parties and democratic organizations and movements are well known

as being based on true independence, friendship, solidarity, and joint struggle for common lofty aims.

The indictment charges me and the Communist Party of subverting national unity. In his closing speech the prosecutor asserted that our party seeks to install the working class in power and is, consequently, working to establish the domination of one class in society and stirring up class antagonisms.

Is it not astonishing that a charge such as this comes from the lips of an official of a government that expresses the interests and will of the smallest class in our country and, at the same time, claims to represent the entire nation, forcibly imposes its rule on the majority, subordinates the working people and the country's wealth to its narrow egoistical benefit, to the interests of the foreign imperialist and reactionary circles backing the regime?

Yes, the Communist Party is fighting so that the working class should head the political power in our country, but it is absolutely untrue that it is thereby working to establish a regime of class antagonism. The truth lies in something else: when the party successfully achieves its aim a situation will arise in which for the first time in Sudanese history power will really express the interests of the masses themselves and will rely not on repression and terror but on the will of the vast majority of the people.

The working class exploits nobody, it offers everybody unity in order to put an end to ethnic, racial, religious and communal friction. It cannot achieve its end goal, the abolition of capitalist exploitation, other than by creating a broad and strong alliance with all social and national segments of the working population for the sake of eliminating all oppression, exploitation and discrimination. Unity is a vital need of the working class, and that is why its enemies are doing all they can to sow division in its ranks.

The Communist Party is guided by the ideology of its class. It is a party in which national unity is embodied, for it exists on the scale of our entire country without confining itself to any regions, religions or sects. In its program it calls for the solution of the problems affecting the whole of Sudan. It is the only party in which the highest posts are held by workers, intellectuals, people of the South, and women from all parts of Sudan as a result of truly democratic elections and not by presidential decree or confessional attributes. What recommends them is solely their devotion to their people and country and their ideological, political and moral staunchness. The party has fought for unity of

the masses in the trade unions, various associations, and cultural and public organizations. It has helped to create an alliance of workers, tillers of the soil, students and intellectuals in order to resolve our common problems. It sees the objective causes that led to the emergence of regionalistic organizations. Instead of tagging the label of racism to them, the party sought to cooperate with them, urged them to join in patriotic work, in an alliance with the working class and other democratic forces in order to build a Sudan free of regional discrimination, a Sudan under the banner of national unity.

Mr. Chairman of the Tribunal,

At the previous hearing you raised the important question of the Communist Party's attitude to "national reconciliation."³ This attitude has been explained in a number of documents, and its essence is that "national reconciliation" arose as a result of a profound nation-wide political crisis. To prove its seriousness "national reconciliation" had to be directed toward the removal of the causes of the crisis. The first step in this direction is the restoration of democracy and the abrogation of legislation banning freedom of organization and speech. Further, our party noted that evidence of good intentions would be the exoneration of all opposition leaders who have perished, including communists and members of the 19th July Movement,⁴ the publication of the minutes of their trials, and the naming of the places where they have been buried. The party demanded the exposure of instances of torture, and the punishment of those who ordered and carried them out.

Contrary to widespread assertions, the Communist Party did not reject the amnesty and the principle of dialogue with the state authority. It began preliminary talks with some representatives of the regime. However, it asked: What stand will the authorities take toward leaders of the communists if they emerged from underground and entered into a dialogue with them that did not produce agreement. No reply was received. How can there be a dialogue between two sides, one of which has the power to shut the mouth of the other and throw it into prison?

Actually, "national reconciliation" was a subterfuge by the regime, which sought a respite, a screen for the economic measures imposed by the International Monetary Fund. But the crisis continued to mount. It is a crisis of power, of the economy, and of foreign policy, from which democratization is the only way out.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Tribunal,

Our country is going through a time of great trial and danger. This gives all its devoted sons the duty to unite around two main demands in order to save the country: the first is that all anti-democratic acts should be ended, all political prisoners should be released, and all laws impinging on rights and freedoms, above all, the state security law, should be abrogated; the second is that our sovereignty should be restored, support for the Camp David agreements should be withdrawn, the agreements with the USA on building military bases in our country should be nullified, and the treaty on joint defense with Egypt and all similar agreements and treaties should be denounced.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Tribunal,

This is not the first time I have been arraigned. Since an early age I have been fighting, for more than 40 years. The credit for this belongs to my father and teacher, who was a staunch patriot to the end of his life. The credit for this belongs to my great generation that bore the burden of reviving the national and democratic movement. I am proud that I have been among the initiators and principal organizers of the student demonstration of March 1946, the first since 1924. I am proud that while I was studying in Egypt I made a modest contribution to the joint struggle with the fraternal Egyptian people against colonialism, the governments of the aristocracy and pashas. I am proud that together with my dear comrades I took part in the battles of our people for freedom, social progress and democracy, that helped to create the working-class movement and its organizations, the student movement and its federations, and the peasant movement and its associations. I am proud that I was harassed, arrested, imprisoned and persecuted for following the patriotic, people's path. I have never looked for personal gain, curried favor with the powers that be, or renounced my patriotic duty. I am prepared for any sacrifice for the noble cause to which I have devoted by life, the cause of my country's freedom and independence under the banner of democracy and socialism.

I am saying this not in order to accentuate my merits. I cannot see myself outside the struggle waged by my people and their revolutionary forces. I cannot see myself outside the history of the heroic battles of the Sudanese, who unfalteringly devote their strength and hearts to freedom, democracy and social progress. I am an inseparable particle of this glorious history, of these noble hopes and aspirations.

1. See "The Trial of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung," "The Trial of the Rheinisch District Committee of Demo-

crats" in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, pp. 304-322, 323-339.

2. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 67.

3. See "In the Dead-End of Capitalist Orientation" by Ahmed Salem in *WMR*, No. 6, 1980. — Ed.

4. On July 19, 1971, a group of left-minded officers attempted a coup, which failed. Right-wing nationalists and pro-Western elements used this attempt to start an anti-communist campaign and strengthen their position. The repression against these officers spilled over to the Communist Party. — Ed.

IN BRIEF

AUSTRIA

This year the traditional international conference of historians of the working-class movement was held in Linz. It was devoted to the centenary of the death of Karl Marx. The program of the conference, which was attended by 140 historians from socialist, capitalist and developing countries, included reports on the impact of Marx's theory on world developments, on the Marxist methodology of historical research, and on current issues of the international working-class movement.

ETHIOPIA

The second congress of the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia reaffirmed the allegiance of the Ethiopian revolutionaries to Marxism-Leninism and their determination to consummate the work of setting up the vanguard party of the working people and continue the country's transformation along socialist lines. A statement and a detailed resolution were passed, which define the Commission's work in the coming period. These documents stress that the principal effort will be directed toward forming a Marxist-Leninist party in Ethiopia. In accordance with the congress decisions, it will be set up prior to September 1984, i.e., on the eve of the 10th anniversary of the Ethiopian revolution.

MONGOLIA

The MPRP Central Committee has passed a resolution naming 1983 the Year of the Secondary School Pupil, calling upon party, government and economic bodies, upon all communists and people of the republic to contribute to the lofty work of educating the rising generation and enlarging and steadily improving the material base of public education. A Central Commission for the Year of the Secondary School Pupil has been set up. Ministries and departments, as well as aimak and town party committees, and the executive committees of the khurals of people's deputies have been instructed to form local commissions.

PAKISTAN

Imam Ali Nazish, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Pakistan, sent the UN Secretary-General an open letter requesting instructions to the relevant UN commission to conduct an inquiry into the human rights situation under the present military regime.

* * *

A conference of representatives of the communist parties of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay was held in Lima to consider important problems linked to the offensive started by imperialism, the tasks of the working-class and people's movements, and the defense of national wealth and democratic freedoms in Latin America. A final statement was adopted.

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The nationalities question in Asian and African countries

Summary of a Theoretical Symposium

A symposium on the state of the nationalities question in Asia and Africa has been held under the auspices of the WMR Commission on Problems of the National Liberation Movement in Asian and African Countries. Attended by representatives of communist parties of many Asian and African countries and also by scientists from the USSR, the GDR, and Iran, the symposium considered mainly aspects of the question that acquired significance after independence was won by former colonies. In this context the participants examined new processes that have specific features of their own, paying close attention to the general methodological approach to and the Leninist formulation of the nationalities question, and considering the related spectrum of issues through the prism of the extensive experience of national construction in the USSR, which recently marked its 60th anniversary. The following is a summary of the minutes of the symposium.

Concrete historical approach

Emphasis was placed on the importance of the concrete historical approach in analyzing the present state of the nationalities question in Asian and African countries. The historical situation of the national movements and an account of the actual state of the question under consideration make possible to understand this question's general and specific features and draw some parallels between the past and the present. Many of the speakers dwelt on the roots of present-day issues in the nationalities question in the former colonial world, the social base of national movements, and the development trends of the relations between nationalities.

Speaking of the specifics of the nationalities question in Africa, where only a few decades ago colonialism was in unchallenged control and socio-economic development was at an extremely low level, Ahmed Salem (Sudanese Communist Party) singled out elements distinguishing the African continent's present experience from its experience of past epochs.

At the time independence was won nations

had not taken shape in many African countries on account of the primitive living conditions, the prevalence of a subsistence economy, and other pre-capitalist systems: tribal structures were predominant. Under these conditions no national movements of the type known to history could emerge. Also significant is the fact that unlike Europe, where national frontiers were demarcated naturally, in the course of history, Africa provides an example of how an entire continent was forcibly partitioned by imperialist vultures, with the result that frontiers were established entirely at the will of the colonialists. Subsequently inherited by the new states, these frontiers proved to be artificial in a certain sense, in many instances dividing kindred ethnic communities.

Moreover, West European experience, which belongs to a different epoch, bears no resemblance to the present experience (in the context of the problems we are considering) in that the bourgeoisie heading the national movements of the time, advanced the aim of setting up nation states in contrast to feudal particularism and fragmentation. Under colonial rule this question had its own features: for the peoples enslaved by imperialism the decisive aspect of the struggle for self-determination was linked to political liberation from foreign bondage. In the context of Africa's experience, the national movements of the continent emerged not as movements for the creation of the independent statehood of nationalities, ethnic groups, and tribes inhabiting a definite territory. On the contrary, they were an expression of the anti-colonial protest of all or most of the national groups, even if the extent of their participation in the liberation struggle differed.

The situation changed with the settlement of the national-colonial question. A hallmark of the development of nationality-to-nationality relations in African countries, as in many other former colonies with a multinational population, said Apollon Davidson, Doctor of Historical Sciences (USSR), is that the anti-colonialist base of the unity of ethnic communities objectively weakens with the departure of the colonialists. In many cases we witness the surfacing

of deep-seated resentments and disputes that had receded into the background in the period of foreign oppression. That is when the effect is felt of the "stratification" of different epochs — the ethnic and tribal conflicts of the pre-colonial period, the consequences of the policy of playing off local peoples against each other pursued by the colonialists, and the division of these peoples by the frontiers of colonial empires. Contradictions are also sparked by the inept or frankly chauvinistic policy of the authorities on the nationalities question. In some cases this reinforces centrifugal, separatist tendencies. Local reaction and imperialism frequently do not hesitate to benefit by the unsettled state of the nationality-to-nationality relations inherited from the past.

However, despite the complexity of the processes of national consolidation the very fact of the existence of a politically sovereign state can objectively promote the tendency toward nationality-to-nationality contacts. Independence, noted Semou Pathe Gueye (Party of Independence and Labor of Senegal), begins to play the role of an objective condition for inter-ethnic integration and homogenization with the formation of large national entities on the basis of tribes and ethnic groups. Independence strengthens the state, which becomes the instrument of centralization and unification. This is manifested in the administrative-political sphere, in the efforts to organize economic life and economic relations between various parts of a country, and in the gravitation toward the use of a common language. Having recourse to the slogan of "national unity" or using discord between nationalities to further their own ends, the local bourgeois classes seek to paralyze the militancy of the working classes of different nationalities, to prevent them from uniting. Nevertheless, even the bourgeoisie cannot ignore the operation of the latent tendency toward centralization implicit in post-colonial development. Senegal is no exception.

At the symposium it was noted that Lenin's well-known thesis of the two tendencies of the national process was of special methodological significance to the subject under discussion. "Developing capitalism" Lenin wrote, "knows two historical tendencies in the national question. The first is the awakening of national life and national movements, the struggle against all national oppression, and the creation of national states. The second is the development and growing frequency of international intercourse in every form, the break-down of national barriers, the creation of the international unity of capital, of economic life in general, of

politics, science, etc."¹ With this clear-cut demarcation Lenin accentuates the objective dialectics of capitalist development, which goes through a number of historical stages. In our epoch, noted Professor Christian Maehrdel, Doctor of Philosophy (GDR), the two tendencies are more interlocked than in any earlier historical epoch. This is the result, on the one hand, of the much strengthened internationalization of all social processes against the background of worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism; and, on the other, of the backwardness in the process of formation of nations in the former colonial zone.

If we take Africa, Christian Maehrdel said, we shall find that the dominant tendency is toward the formation and consolidation of nations, and hence of national and multinational states. The other tendency — toward the centralization of political power — places certain limits on the operation of the disintegrational factors rooted in the policy of artificially partitioning the continent that was pursued by the colonialists. The character of our epoch gives a new quality to the processes of national construction: as distinct from the past, on the agenda today are tasks not of promoting bourgeois, capitalist development but rather the creation of revolutionary-democratic states.

The fundamental interests of the peoples inhabiting this or that country are to guarantee the immutability of frontiers, and this means that national processes will proceed within the existing borders. Under these conditions the leading trend in the context of national-state construction must be seen not as the merging of the countries that have won liberation but the consolidation of their sovereign existence with the simultaneous unfolding of all-sided cooperation on a basis of equality.

Question by Rafic Samhoun (Lebanese Communist Party): Would you specify what is implied by the tendency toward centralization in the context of African reality?

Christian Maehrdel: I spoke of this tendency on the state level. The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois circles that came to power in African countries laid special stress on national unity, on the need to counter the forces of disintegration and division supported by the neo-colonialists. Centralization was reinforced by the political systems; unitary state forms, one-party administrations predominate on the continent.

I should like to note that the state can, without doubt, decisively promote the process of the formation of nations if, of course, the relevant steps taken by it do not run counter to the objective conditions of this process. This is,

when the steps linked to the establishment of the corresponding state forms (federal, unitary), the country's division into territorial-administrative units, and the granting of political and other rights to ethnic groups prove to be effective and transformative, progressive changes in society's life proceed more successfully.

Ahmed Salem: It would evidently be proper to speak of unitary factors, of centripetal tendencies in a broader context. Today Africa speaks of African unity, and the Arab world speaks of Arab unity. The requirements of the liberation movement are compelling the advanced forces to urgently raise the question of building bridges between the different parts of our continent, and of reinforcing cooperation between African and Arab peoples on an anti-imperialist basis. In the light of these phenomena is there justification for drawing attention solely to divisive factors (frontiers, culture, language), to matters linked to the existence of individual states, and so on? At any rate I should like to raise the problem as it relates to our continent.

Semou Pathe Gueye: I would say that it is equally dangerous either to overrate distinctions (as you all know there is great diversity of language, culture and geography in Africa) or to ignore them. Both aspects are important.

In the case of individual countries the main tendency is, I would say, toward centralization, toward the consolidation of state unity, and that is why the slogan of national unity prevails. A close, retrospective look is also required by the problems of African unity. Now, as in the past, it is steadfastly championed by the continent's progressive, revolutionary-democratic forces. For instance, everybody knows of the outstanding role that was played by Kwame Nkrumah in setting up the Organization of African Unity. True, in that period the incipient African bourgeoisie was concerned chiefly with formalizing the frontiers inherited from colonial days. In the new states it counted on achieving hegemony and on controlling the emergent domestic market.

The immutability of frontiers remains one of the underlying principles recorded in the OAU Charter. However, there have been cases of the bourgeoisie and neocolonialists trying to violate this principle, especially when their class interests were in jeopardy. A case in point is the confederation forced upon Gambia by Senegal. On the other hand, one can hardly ignore another prospect in the historical context, namely, the voluntary unification in a single state of these or those African peoples now

divided by frontiers. This can only be ensured by progressive, advanced forces, by their parties and organizations.

Rafic Samhoun: The tendencies toward unification manifest themselves differently from region to region. Besides, the possibility of reverse movements is not to be ruled out. Take the Middle East. The popular slogan of Arab unity is now coming into conflict with new realities: the ascension to power, after independence, of the local bourgeoisie, some of whose segments are inclined to pursue a narrow, egoistical policy of fencing off one Arab country from another, a policy which imperialism increasingly uses to its advantage. In the obtaining conditions special significance is acquired by the slogan of anti-imperialist Arab unity for the solution of the region's key problem — the Palestinian problem — and for strengthening the economic and political independence of the states in the region.

The participants in the discussion then went on to consider some aspects of existing national situations, characterize their common features on the scale of the Afro-Asian world, and make a closer study of the specific situation in some of its regions and countries.

Countries and regions: different situations

Most of the peoples of the East (Asia and North Africa), said Doctor of Historical Sciences **Mikhail Lazarev** (USSR), are either consolidating or emergent nations with all the accompanying intrinsic main characteristics. In Africa south of the Sahara and in Oceania the process of the formation of nations on the basis of ethnic groups is only now beginning. The intensity of this process depends on a country's development level in basic socio-economic indicators.

A characteristic of the developing world is that it has a vast mosaic of national situations. All the three principal stages of national development — the formation of tribes into ethnic groups, the formation of nations on the basis of ethnic groups, and the internal consolidation of emergent nations — are often to be observed in one geographical region or even one country. Hence the need for a differentiated (regional) approach to an examination of these processes. This need is accentuated by the fact that the operation of objective socio-economic and specific historical factors is invariably accompanied by the operation of definite political, international factors, that have to be taken into account when the nationalities question is raised. Any analysis of this question entails understanding present-day changes and the trends of social

development. Such understanding allows going deeper into the roots of existing and emergent national movements and making a class assessment of the nature and direction of these movements. The multiformity of the problems under discussion was illustrated by concrete examples.

Hamid Majid Mussa (Iraqi Communist Party), *Rafic Samhoun*, and some other speakers pointed out that the unresolved state of the Palestinian problem is affecting the situation throughout the Arab world and exercising no little influence on the international situation. The fact that no just settlement has been reached on the national destiny of the Palestinians is due to the glaring violation, by Israel and its U.S. patrons, of the cardinal right of peoples to self-determination recorded in the UN Charter. The maneuvers of Washington and Tel Aviv over the Palestinian problem harbor an enormous threat to international security and are directed against the Arab liberation movement of the entire region.

On the other hand, individual countries of the region have their own nationalities or ethno-confessional problems. *Hamid Majid Mussa* spoke in some detail about his country's experience, noting the multinational structure of the Iraqi people. Along with Arabs there are Iraqi Kurds (who are the second largest nationality in the country, numbering nearly 25 per cent of the population) and also Assyrians, Turkmenians (Turkmenians), and some other ethnic minorities. A specific of the nationalities situation in the region around Iraq is that there are also many millions of Kurds in neighboring countries.

The Communist Party has invariably approached the Kurdish question in Iraq from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, taking into account the specific historical state of the struggle of the working class and all Iraqi working people — Arabs, Kurds and others — and pointing out that this acute problem can be resolved in the *Iraqi Republic itself* through a national-democratic revolution. As the Iranian sociologist *Mahmud Azad*, *Hamid Majid Mussa*, and *Mikhail Lazarev* pointed out, in the Kurdish issue the communist parties of the Middle East adhere to an internationalist stand and unequivocally recognize the right of the Kurds to self-determination. Further, attention was drawn to the socio-economic and geographical aspects of the situation: divided by the frontiers of several states and by difficult mountain terrain, the links of the Kurdish regions among themselves are much weaker than their traditional links with the countries in which they

are situated. In their policy on the nationalities question, the communists take this and, above all, the interests of uniting working people of different nationalities (this is discussed below) into account.

The specifics of a concrete national situation were considered also in the example of Lebanon. *Rafic Samhoun* showed how religious discord was negatively affecting the formation of a definite national entity and preventing its simultaneous integration with the family of Arab peoples, to whom the Lebanese Arabs are linked by ties of kinship. The deep-rooted question of nationality affiliation in Lebanon has become a key issue over which there has been unceasing bloodshed. The recent Israeli aggression has made this issue even more acute.

In Lebanon, said *Rafic Samhoun*, the question of nationality affiliation, which came into the focus of public life after independence (1943), is given various interpretations. There have always been two political trends in the country: one sought an organic link to Arab countries, and the other opposed this with arguments about a "Mediterranean civilization," about a special "Lebanese nationalism," plurality of culture, and so on. The latter trend, headed by the counter-revolutionary big bourgeoisie of the Christian (Maronite) community, endeavored to isolate the republic from the Arab national liberation movement, pursuing a policy of alliance with imperialism and close cooperation with Israel. The isolationist movement was intensified every time the balance of military strength changed in favor of the Zionist invaders. On the other hand, the successes of the Arab liberation struggle, particularly in the 1950s, usually compelled it to retreat.

The isolationists have again become more active during the past decade. Imperialism and Israel's rulers conceived a plan to wipe out the Palestine resistance and the Lebanese national movement by means of armed force, by war. Religious feeling was used as a tested means of stirring racist, anti-Palestinian, and anti-Muslim sentiments among the Christian masses. The role of a strike force was undertaken by fascism, whose aim was to put an end to Lebanon's affiliation to the Arab world, and set up a clerical state following in the wake of Tel Aviv's policies. The orchestrators of these plans have not abandoned them to this day.

However, Lebanese reaction and its Washington and Israeli backers have failed to break the growing people's movement, which takes its strength from Lebanon's Arab character. Whereas formerly its leadership was claimed by the Muslim bourgeoisie, today the

movement is unfolding under a new leadership — it is headed by a wide patriotic bloc representing the working class, the petty and middle bourgeoisie, and some elements of big capital.

Representatives of the communist parties of Arab countries stressed that the basic contradiction in their region is with imperialism, which is using Israel as an instrument and an ally. Thus, in the region the nationalities question continues to be a question of the liberation of each Arab country and of the Arab world as a whole from the snare of dependence on imperialism, a question of achieving Arab unity on the basis of progressive democracy, a question of the Arab people of Palestine exercising their legitimate rights, including the right to self-determination and the creation of their own nation state.

The nationalities problem in South Africa was analyzed by Vusizwe Seme (South African Communist Party). With the conquest of independence by Mozambique and Angola under the revolutionary leadership of FRELIMO and the MPLA, the peoples of these countries were able to implement their right, won at the price of heroic battles, to self-determination and the creation of independent states. Due to the obstacles erected by imperialism, the national-liberation question remains unresolved in Namibia, which is illegally occupied by the Pretoria regime. South Africa itself is the most sinister citadel of racist-colonialist capitalist oppression.

The experience of South Africa shows that even in a highly industrialized capitalist society national factors may predominate for a historically limited period. In a society whose every pore is penetrated by racial and national oppression the struggle of millions of oppressed Africans, Indians and Coloreds is directed against rule by a white minority that holds the monopoly over the means of production, over the levers of capitalist exploitation of the Black majority. The apartheid regime has always pursued a policy of splitting the population by nationality and race, corrupting the white working class and turning it into part, albeit a subordinate one, of the Establishment. As regards the Indians and the Coloreds, they are oppressed by the white capitalists even if not to the same extent as the Africans, who form the majority of the population. The direct and long-term interests of these ethnic groups are linked closely to those of the African majority.

The 1962 program of the South African Communist Party declares that the struggle for socialism in South Africa goes through two stages: the first, the consummation of the

national-democratic revolution, provides a firm basis for a transition to the second phase, the building of a socialist society. The main content of the first stage is the national liberation of the African people. The African National Congress and the SACP are directing all their efforts to the attainment of this goal. The communists lay special stress on the significance of proletarian internationalism as the cardinal ideological instrument for uniting Africans, Indians, Coloreds and progressive elements of the white population around the aim of putting an end to racist domination.

At the symposium the consensus was that the concrete historical approach provides the communist parties with a reliable foundation for drawing up their programs on the nationalities question and allows them to view, from class positions, the programs for resolving this question advanced by the ruling circles of many African and Asian countries.

Contradictory experience

Far from all African and Asian countries, it was noted at the symposium, have both the objective and the subjective prerequisites for a genuinely democratic solution of the nationalities question, although some steps, experiments and, in a number of countries, actual reforms have been undertaken time and again. The possibilities of and the restraints, placed by class reasons, on measures of this kind under a national-bourgeois government were considered by Sarada Mitra (Communist Party of India).

In the constitution adopted in India after independence was proclaimed, he said, the state is identified with the Indian nation. In the context of what the government has achieved since independence in promoting national-linguistic and administrative-territorial reforms, the Communist Party does not dispute this concept, although according to scientific criteria India can be termed a multinational state. It will be recalled that Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and other democratic far-sighted leaders of the ruling class saw India as inhabited by many "linguistic communities;" in practice this signified virtual recognition of territorial-linguistic and cultural distinctions typical of a multinational country, whose population speaks scores of languages. It is also well known that Jawaharlal Nehru spoke with admiration of the Soviet experience of resolving the nationalities question.

With the onset of the 1950s, it became simply impossible to belittle the nationalities factor in India. A rapidly spreading grassroots movement, in which the communists were also ac-

tive, was calling for a restructuring of the states on a linguistic basis. Under pressure from the people the government of the national bourgeoisie moved toward reorganization, and in 1956 the linguistic principle was formally recognized as underlying India's administrative-territorial division.

The linguistic state, *Sarada Mitra* went on to say, is more than the basic administrative unit in India. It may be regarded as a sort of national statehood functioning on territory inhabited by peoples speaking one of the Indian languages. Their culture and, to an extent, economy develops within this framework. Simultaneously, although the states enjoy a certain measure of autonomy,² the central government retains effective control, and the parliament has the right to redemarcate the frontier of any state and to form new states. On the recommendation of the central government, the President of the Republic can dissolve the local government. The Communist Party is advocating greater autonomy for the existing states.

In Sri Lanka, said *Raja Collure* (Communist Party of Sri Lanka) the national composition is 73 per cent Sinhalese, 20 per cent Tamils — of local and Indian origin³ — and about 7 per cent Muslims.⁴ Speaking of the causes that have aggravated the nationalities question in the past few years, he noted the negative, divisive effects of colonial policy and also the inability of the Sri Lankan bourgeois governments to take any real steps toward a democratic solution of the question. The communists urge granting regional autonomy to the Tamil minority inhabiting northern and eastern districts, while preserving the state's unitary character, and propose concrete ways and means of settling the status of Tamils of Indian origin.⁵

Essentially speaking, the problem is that the policy of the ruling class has been traditionally to foster the assimilation of the Tamil nationality by the Sinhalese majority, to deny to the Tamils any real possibility for using their own language in the management of local affairs and in their relations with the central authority, and to hinder the development of their national culture. The present explosion of ethnic discord is the consequence of this policy. There has even been an extremist demand for the creation of a separate Tamil state on the island.

Analogous tendencies are to be observed in many countries of Asia and also of Africa, where the effects of colonial and then of neocolonial capitalist development are having a destructive effect on relations between the different nationalities. *José Lava* (Communist Party of the Philippines) drew attention to the

Muslim problem, which is acute in his country. An extreme expression of this problem is the demand for secession by the Moros, who are a religious-ethnic minority inhabiting the south of the Philippines. The objective roots of the grievances articulated by the Muslim Filipinos are that during and after the colonial period the Moro population has been subjected to many abuses. The Muslim minority has been reduced to the status of second-class citizens relative to the majority, which professes Christianity. The Communist Party believes that the problem can be solved by granting the Moros autonomy in areas where they are a clear majority. The communists seek to unite Christians and Muslims on an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal platform in the struggle for national and popular democracy.

Autonomy, said *Mikhail Lazarev*, signifies the retention by the central authority in power in matters relating to defense, foreign affairs, and key areas of the economy and the infrastructure, and the granting of the broadest democratic rights to the ethnic minority in the management of local affairs. These would be, of course, real not paper rights.

Some speakers analyzed the extremely contradictory experience of a number of developing countries in the matter of autonomy. *Ahmed Salem* drew attention to the problem of Southern Sudan, which is inhabited by national groupings whose ethnic features and culture differ from that of the Arab-speaking North. The Communist Party has consistently pressed for the autonomy of the southern region, putting forward a concrete plan, which was accepted in 1969 by the Revolutionary Council headed by Nimeiri (the First Minister for the Affairs of the South was Joseph U Garang, Political Bureau member of the Sudanese Communist Party, who was subsequently executed by the authorities). This program was partially put into effect before the regime started repression against the communists. The law granting autonomy to the South (1972) helped somewhat to reduce, for a time, the dimensions of the civil war that has been raging since the mid-1950s, although the nationalities question remained unresolved.

The main reason for this was that the Nimeiri regime distorted the class essence of the form of regional autonomy advocated by the Sudanese Communist Party. The communists saw autonomy as a means of strengthening the posture of the circles seeking unity with the North, of the democratic, people's forces, a means of enforcing reforms with the purpose of eradicating exploitative oppression. Actually, however, autonomy was handed on a silver platter to the

separatists, who did not believe in the country's unity. True, the regime's pro-capitalist orientation suited them. But capitalist development and bourgeois egoism and chauvinism always carry seeds of national discord. The South's fragmentation into three more provinces has been formalized. This is due to the discovery there of oil deposits, which the central authority would like to get its hands on. Bloodshed and political chaos are continuing in the South.

Hamid Majid Mussa underlined the significance of the right to autonomy in the broader context of political democracy generally. If the latter is impinged, simply trampled, then the democratic-sounding laws passed in relation to other nationalities, to ethnic minorities, also prove to be ineffective.

The Iraqi communists have always stood up for the right of the Kurdish people to self-determination in the form of autonomy, insisting on minorities being given administrative and cultural rights. However, when the law granting autonomy to Kurdistan was passed (1974), the government at first attempted to prune the Kurdish regions (large oil deposits were discovered in one of them), and then followed the bureaucratic enforcement of this law, with the result that the prerogatives of the local authority were arrogated by the central government. A similar fate overtook the 1975 law on the rights of Iraqi citizens of Assyrian origin.

Jointly with other national-democratic forces, the Iraqi Communist Party is now directing its efforts toward securing the formation of a national-democratic front government that would be open to all national and progressive forces, resolving problems vital to the Iraqi people, and ensuring democratic rights to the working people and real autonomy to Iraqi Kurdistan. It is insisting on an internationalist approach to the nationalities question, an approach that would guarantee the national right of the Kurdish people to self-determination, and help to unite Arabs with the Kurds and other ethnic minorities in the common struggle against imperialism, for liberation and social progress.

The speakers stressed that it was important to chart ways of resolving the nationalities question that, as the experience of the Great October and other socialist revolutions has shown, would open the road to internationalist friendship among the working people of different nationalities, to unity for a joint struggle against national and social oppression. This explains why so much attention was focused at the symposium on the present formulation of the question of the right of nations to self-

determination up to and including secession and the formation of independent states.

Self-determination and secession

At the symposium the question of free secession was raised in the broad sense. What should be the overall approach to this right in the present nationalities situation, which in many African and Asian countries is highly dynamic and mobile and witnesses the growth of new nations and nationalities? What are the long-term forms of self-determination? How does the democratic principle of self-determination relate to the aims of the class, anti-imperialist struggle in individual countries and on the international scene?

Mikhail Lazarev drew attention to some of Lenin's pronouncements on this subject. Championing the principled class approach to the right to free secession, above all in the context of the pre-revolutionary realities of Russia, Lenin wrote: "We are in favor of autonomy for all parts, we are in favor of the right to secession (and not in favor of everyone's seceding!). Autonomy is our plan for organizing a democratic state. Secession is not what we plan at all. We do not advocate secession . . . But we stand for the right to secede owing to reactionary, Great-Russian nationalism, which has so besmirched the idea of national coexistence that sometimes closer ties will be established after free secession!"⁶ Thus, while accentuating the highly reactionary character of the relations between nationalities in tsarist Russia, when the necessity for free secession was generated by virtually extreme circumstances, Lenin nonetheless gave priority to "national coexistence." Elsewhere, he especially makes the point that the right to self-determination of nations "is not the equivalent of a demand for separation, fragmentation and the formation of small states," and implies only a consistent "expression of struggle against all national oppression."⁷ Here we have a negative attitude to national particularism, which divides working people of different nationalities. With the abolition of national oppression, especially its most odious forms (colonialism and others), the prospect arises of establishing new relations among peoples, of uniting them in the joint struggle for social progress — such is the logic of Lenin's thinking.

Mahmud Azad and other speakers noted that the experience of the October Revolution in Russia bore out the strategic guideline of the Bolshevik Party toward the attainment of the epoch-making aim of the voluntary union of nations liberated from the yoke of capitalism. "Life itself," said Yuri Andropov, General

Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in the report "The USSR Is Sixty," "and formidable economic, social, foreign-policy, and defense problems compelled the need to rally the peoples, to unite the republics that sprang up on the ruins of the Russian Empire."⁸

In the developing countries, too, after they win political freedom, the scientific interpretation of the right of nations to self-determination, including the right to free secession, stems from the need for steadfastly democratizing the relations between the peoples inhabiting this or that multinational country. Further, at the symposium attention was also drawn to the fact that continued capitalist and pre-capitalist exploitation in many bourgeois-oriented countries affects the entire structure of the links between nationalities.

We shall evidently see recurrences of the aspiration for secession, of attempts to achieve it by one way or another, said *Apollon Davidson*. However, the class, dialectical assessment of tendencies of this sort takes all the pros and cons into account. For example, in the context of independent anti-imperialist development a further fragmentation of existing African states according to ethnic attributes would not be a progressive development. Much less so when the predominant trend is toward consolidating the achieved sovereignty and the main threat continues to come from the intrigues of the imperialists and their allies, who are doing their utmost to encourage precisely centrifugal forces. A legitimate question is: Will not secession lead to the return of foreign oppression in its worst neocolonialist form? The experience of Biafra and the separatist impulses elsewhere give much food for thought.

Lenin distinguished *objective* national tasks facing the oppressed peoples of colonies.⁹ One of these tasks today, said *Sarada Mitra*, is that of economic liberation. This is in the direct interest of all the peoples inhabiting this or that multinational country. The struggle for this anti-imperialist aim can be most effective if there is unity among the working people, among the democratic forces, regardless of nationality, religion, or caste. It is characteristic that the separatist tendencies encouraged from without in northwest and northeast India are nourished by particularist nationalist egoism, one of whose hallmarks is that it ignores the destiny of the liberation movement as a whole.

However, take a fundamentally different example: the secession of Bangladesh from Pakistan. Although this was demanded by the Bengali national movement only at a certain stage, we have here a case where harsh national oppression and direct economic exploitation of

one part of a country by another made, to use Lenin's words, "national coexistence" impossible. The liberation struggle of the Bangladesh people was followed with deep understanding by all progressive and democratic forces and received unequivocal support from India and the Soviet Union.

Who benefited by this secession? Of course, the people liberated from oppressors. Secession contributed to the deepening of the anti-imperialist process, although afterwards quite a few difficulties arose. The experience of Bangladesh shows that even after the colonial system has crumbled the national movement against oppression may objectively lead to state self-determination, i.e., secession, provided, of course, that this is real liberation and not the replacement of one oppressor by another, to say nothing of instances when secession signified the birth of virtually non-independent and non-viable state formations.

However, it was noted in many papers, recognition of the possibility of secession (the experience of Bangladesh is by no means a rule in the regions under discussion) excludes one-sidedness, the consignment to oblivion of the great ideal of the communists and all other progressives, namely, the unity of the people, notably of the working people of different nationalities, in other words, the internationalist aspect of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Christian Maehrdel called attention to how the Ethiopian revolutionaries have formulated their program on the nationalities question. The Political Manifesto adopted in Asmara in January 1982 states: "... the right of the nationality to determine its own destiny includes the *right to secede*" (italics by the Editor). Moreover, this document says that recognition of this right does not mean that "any nationality can secede at any time." Further, it says that this right has to be considered in accordance with the interests of the people, chiefly of the working class, which has "the historical mission of abolishing all forms of exploitation and oppression and with the developmental stage of the revolution."¹⁰

The participants in the symposium noted the unfading significance of Lenin's formulation of the question of the right of nations to free self-determination up to and including secession, and of his proposition that this should not be confused with the question of the "advisability of secession by a given nation at a given moment."¹¹ Where social development proceeds along a progressive, democratic channel, prominence may be acquired by forms of cohabitation of nations ensured by federation and autonomy. The future belongs to these forms as

is borne out by the successful experience of national construction in the socialist countries. The path of socialist federalism and the granting of the widest autonomy to formerly oppressed peoples have opened a broad possibility for these peoples for implementing their right to self-determination, joining their destiny to that of other fraternal peoples in a close-knit family.

The symposium considered the enormous value of the Soviet experience of resolving the nationalities question — from the viewpoint of its applicability to the specific conditions of many developing countries and, especially, from the viewpoint of its methodological significance.

For the first time in world history, thanks to the consistent democratism of the proletarian power, oppressed peoples of a huge multinational country, which was justifiably called a "prison-house of peoples," were able to implement fully their right to self-determination both juridically and in fact. This right became the ideological and political foundation for the voluntary unity of all nations in the struggle to overthrow tsarism and build a new society.

The socialist revolution gave all the peoples of the former Russian empire the real possibility of choosing themselves the form of sovereign life: from full state independence (secession) to a union of nations and nationalities that had shaken off the yoke of exploitation, a union in which they have the right to national statehood, in which equality and voluntary unification of the union republics implies the preservation to each of the right to free secession from the USSR,¹² a union in which the broadest autonomy is simultaneously ensured to all the nationalities desiring to implement their right to self-determination in this way, a union in which the immutable guideline of the Communist Party toward the drawing together of all nations and nationalities has made internationalist consciousness a norm and rule of life. "Our experience," Lenin wrote, "has left us with the firm conviction that only exclusive attention to the interests of various nations can remove grounds for conflicts, can remove mutual mistrust, can remove the fear of any intrigues and create that confidence, especially on the part of workers and peasants speaking different languages, without which there absolutely cannot be peaceful relations between peoples or anything like a successful development of everything that is of value in present-day civilization."¹³

By radically restructuring the economic basis and the entire social structure, the world's first

socialist country led by the Party of Lenin, it was said at the symposium, built a new class foundation for relations between nationalities. Freed of their oppressive, exploitative character, these asserted themselves as equal and essentially internationalist relations among fraternal peoples. This strikingly accentuated the indivisible link between the solution of the nationalities question and the basic tasks of the social revolution. Thus the theory of Marx and Lenin that the nationalities question can only be resolved on a *class basis*, was fully borne out. National discord and all forms of racial and national inequality and oppression recede into the past together with social antagonisms.

The theory and practice of national construction under the leadership of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been enriched in the past few decades by the experience of many socialist countries. The correct solution of the nationalities question, said *Ho Chi Bang* (Communist Party of Vietnam), is a strategic aim of the Vietnamese revolution. Thanks to the correct policy pursued by it at all stages of the revolution, the Communist Party of Vietnam was able to fuse the revolutionary potential of the nationalities inhabiting the country. All — and there are nearly 60 of them — were active in the struggle for independence, freedom and socialism. The ethnic minorities played a large part in the liberation battles against the French colonialists, U.S. imperialists, and Chinese expansionists. The party's policy today has no other purpose than to ensure the equality of nationalities in all areas, to create the conditions for the total abolition of economic and cultural disparities between the largest nationality (called Viets or Kinhs) and the ethnic minorities of the plains and the mountain regions. The way to achieve this is to promote their own economic and cultural development, and to extend the transport and trade networks. Another major task is to train skilled, including managerial, workers among the minorities.

The experience of socialist countries, notably of the Soviet Union, in fundamentally restructuring the relations between nationalities, it was said in many of the papers read at the symposium, gives all revolutionaries and democrats a knowledge of what are now time-tested underlying principles of such activity, a wide spectrum of concrete forms of organizing the life of the different peoples of a multinational state.

Linguistic problems

Question by Satiajaya Sudiman (Communist Party of Indonesia) to *Sarada Mitra*: What are

the prospects for making Hindi a language of intercourse between nationalities? What are the difficulties? What is the stand of the Communist Party on this matter?

Sarada Mitra: At present Hindi is an official language along with English. The population of Northern and Central India speaks Hindi or related dialects, while in the south, northeast, and west there are highly developed local languages with a rich literature. The attempts to force the use of Hindi as a state language failed because of resistance from non-Hindi-speaking states. English continues to serve as the language of intercourse between the central government and the states that do not recognize Hindi as their official language, and also in the intercourse between these states.

It has always been the stand of the communists that none of the Indian languages should have priority, and that Hindi, along with English, would continue to be used throughout India and that in the future it would be voluntarily accepted by all the states as the language of intercourse between nationalities, as the "link language." The Communist Party demanded the raising of the language question in view of its cementing role, giving the population of the different regions the possibility of maintaining broad contacts, helping them to break out of ethnic-communal isolation, and promoting the unity of the working class, of the working people of the country as a whole. To this day the Communist Party urges the use of Hindi as a link language. We urge the voluntary introduction of Hindi as a second school language in all states where it is not spoken. Many states have already done so.

Satijaya Sudiman: In the language issue the policy of the Communist Party of Indonesia was determined by the actual position that was held by Bahasa Indonesia in colonial times. Already then (the close of the 1920s) the patriotic forces proclaimed a slogan that became extremely popular, namely: "One motherland — Indonesia. One nation — Indonesian. One language — Indonesian." This slogan reflected, in particular, the fact that Bahasa Indonesia was spoken throughout the archipelago, where it was long used as the link language of the many ethnic groups, big and small, inhabiting Indonesia. After independence was won, Bahasa Indonesia was firmly established as the national language predominant in state and public life, and this was recorded in the constitution. The Communist Party and other patriotic forces have done much to reinforce its position, heading the struggle for the decolonization of culture. Writers with a close affinity to the communists in the context of humanism

and democratic views have produced many literary works in Bahasa Indonesia that have won recognition in Indonesia and abroad. The CPI regards Bahasa Indonesia as a major factor consolidating the emergent Indonesian nation.

Semou Pathe Gueye: The communists lay stress on the significance of a common language. Its role will be seen as all the more significant if it is taken into account that as it becomes more widespread one of the local languages has the potential to become an instrument of the decolonization of culture, help strengthen the people's, democratic element in culture, and release cultural life from imperialist influence.

The patriotic forces of Senegal are now acting against French hegemony in this sphere, working toward the nation's cultural, democratic and revolutionary rejuvenation. Our people are emphatically opposed to the predominance of French as the official language; it is spoken by less than a quarter of the population. However, one can hardly agree with those patriotic circles, who, while seeking to change the linguistic situation in Senegal, suggest switching from French to the language of the Wolof ethnic group. It is not native to the other ethnic groups. It is questionable that a simple replacement of one language by another will be effective. The important thing is to ensure equality of the national languages, and in Senegal this would mean creating favorable conditions for the development of all of them. To use Lenin's words, the "requirements of economic exchange"¹⁴ will show which of them is destined to become the link language.

Further, I should like to make the point, said **Semou Pathe Gueye**, that Lenin's approach to culture generally is very topical indeed. When we communists speak of the development of the language and of the national cultures of peoples who had formerly been in colonial bondage we have in mind the restoration of the democratic, people's element, in other words, of everything that makes their cultural heritage part of the treasure-store of world culture.

The establishment of the people's power brings with it the possibility of taking a fundamentally new approach to questions of national and cultural development, **Vusizwe Seme** noted. A case in point is the attitude of the Mozambican revolutionaries to the Portuguese language. It is used as the official language (there are six principal languages but none is spoken by anybody except the ethnic group using it). Bilingualism is practised: Portuguese is the language of public and state life, and efforts are being made to develop the local national languages.

Equality and all-sided development of languages, it was said at the symposium, are important factors helping to remove imperialist influence in culture and ideology, accelerate the process of association between the different nationalities, and direct the development of this process into the channel of progress.

Terminology

Some of the speakers raised the question of the need for a more precise use of concepts and categories relating to the specific state of nationalities problems with account of concrete nationalities situations.

Raja Collure pointed out that in Asian and African countries the birth of statehood often preceded the formation of nations. What will be the further path of the process by which this or that people acquires the basic indications of a given socio-historical entity? Are we dealing with a situation in which one or several ethnic groups are actually acquiring the features of a nation? If that is the case, can we use the accepted terminology? These questions were raised by other speakers as well.

In the view of *Vusizwe Seme*, the different ways in which the concept of nations is understood in African and Asian countries lead sooner to confusion than explain complex nationalities situations. Some of the existing ethnic groups have many if not all the attributes of a nation. If we use the term tribe, our definition might take into account not so much the quantitative characteristics (of a relatively small group of people) as the development trends of these communities. Are we not faced with the necessity of specifying more precisely the accepted terminology in the nationalities question?

The question of terminology is extremely important, but it would hardly be correct to dramatize the situation in this sphere, said *Mikhail Lazarev*. A concentration of attention solely on the purely terminological aspect of the matter will hardly help to understand new phenomena. Besides, the questions themselves have on the whole been resolved. For many decades Marxist social science has been using categories and concepts that serve as reliable instruments for analyzing the nationalities question. Despite the kaleidoscopic nationalities situation in Asia and Africa, we see that in the East there are nations that began to take shape during colonial times and have now reached the median development level (Turks, Persians, Burmese, and some Indian peoples) and that there are ethnic groups (this is the most widespread category) on whose basis the formation of nations is proceeding intensively. In

many instances an ethnic group has a tribal structure. In other words, the stadial formula used in our science, namely, tribe-ethnic group-nation, retains its significance.

We should unquestionably take the new conditions of the formation of various ethnic communities into consideration, said *Apollon Davidson*. Precisely Eurocentrism, which appeals to the European experience and is widespread among bourgeois politologists, questions the prospect of the formation of new Asian and African nations within existing states. It is imperative to take into account the dynamics of the national processes themselves, said *Sarada Mitra*. Viewed in the context of the European experience, very many national communities, as we know them, are still in the process of formation.

At the symposium it was agreed that in the light of what was said it would hardly be correct to speak of "pure forms" — whether it is of tribes, ethnic groups, or nations. National processes are taking place before our eyes. Reality in African and Asian countries provides many examples of how the various attributes of nations in the process of formation or consolidation are acquiring a content of their own. Their very emergence cannot be a single act; it is determined by the dialectics of social processes. In some cases the economic factor is predominant at certain stages (intensive development of the domestic market, and so on), in others a huge role is played by a common language, by a common culture, which compensates for the underdevelopment of economic links. In this case, too, the concrete historical approach retains its significance.

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All the participants in the symposium stressed the importance of continuing the elaboration of various aspects of the nationalities question, taking into account its present state in Asian and African countries. This question, which is one of the most complex in the history of humankind, is truly resolved only under socialism. But even where exploiting relations are predominant (as is the case in most of the countries of the continents that were discussed), the communists and other patriots can do much by suggesting concrete ways of resolving the nationalities question within the framework of the struggle for the aims of the national-democratic revolution, uniting the working people of different nationalities around them, upholding democratic practices, denouncing bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism, and urging internationalist friendship among working people. A strict account of the nationalities factor is also

indispensable to radical reforms where the first steps have been taken toward building the new society.

The vast experience of the world revolutionary movement shows that the cause of liberation, the cause of socialism is successful if the programs, demands, and concrete actions of revolutionaries take into account the national aspirations and interests of the peoples inhabiting the given country. This opens up the real prospect for uniting working people of different nations around the ideals of social liberation and progress, ideals that are cherished by all of them.

1. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 27.

2. Each state has its own government, and the population elects the state's legislature. The states have power to make laws, for instance, covering public order, reorganization of land relations, irrigation, education, and public health, and some powers with respect to mining, the manufacturing industry and other areas.

3. The former settled on the island many centuries ago; the latter came relatively recently, and are mainly plantation workers in the central part of the country. To a certain extent their status is regulated by agreements signed between the governments of Sri Lanka and India.

4. Descendants of mixed marriages between Arabs and local people. — Ed.

5. The granting of Sri Lankan citizenship to all who wish it; the choice of citizenship (Indian or Sri Lankan) for Tamils, who have neither. The stand taken by the CPSL is that this group of the population should enjoy equal rights with other citizens, and that the schools and medical facilities functioning in Indian Tamil communities should be integrated with the national system of education and public health.

6. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, pp. 500-501.

7. *Ibid.*, Vol. 22, p. 146.

8. *Pravda*, December 22, 1982.

9. See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 59.

10. See *The Ethiopian Herald*, February 2, 1982.

11. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 302.

12. See *Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, Moscow, 1977, p. 56.

13. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 386.

14. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 354.

New technology: workers' enemy or ally?

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The very rapid development of science and technology since 1945 is intimately linked to the current structural changes in capitalism and the consequent transformation of all spheres of human life. It has posed a profound political challenge for all who wish to see science fulfil human needs in a constructive manner and not result in war, in social inequality, in the dehumanization of work and leisure, in damage to people's health and in the degradation and destruction of the countryside.

One outstanding (and encouraging) example of this new awareness has been the re-emergence throughout Europe of campaigns against nuclear catastrophe.¹ In parallel with the development of the peace movement, the failure of Harold Wilson's "White Hot Technological Revolution" (the slogan with which Labour fought — and won — the 1964 general election) has placed debate on the social uses of technology at the center of the political agenda. This has involved not just theoretical debate on the Left, but is exemplified by a new style of political action, often reflected in local initiatives.

Equally significant are developments within the trade unions. All major unions have now

produced guidelines to their members on technology bargaining, often through the publication and promotion of model "new technology" agreements. Some, such as the white-collar union, Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs (ASTMS) have adopted a new style of activity in this area by employing researchers on technology issues, producing campaigning documents for improving working conditions, and intervening in a more forceful and organized way on government committees.

However, the British experience of the working class struggle connected with the introduction of new technologies such as microelectronics presents a classic example of the contradictions of the application of scientific achievements under present-day monopoly capitalism. Collective bargaining may, of course, produce better wages or improved conditions for those who remain in work when microelectronics are introduced, but often at the expense of the jobs and escalating unemployment which has now reached epidemic proportions especially among youth in some areas of Britain. And where unions are sufficiently strong to resist attempts at "ration-

alization," the consequence is often (in a situation where investment decisions are dictated by the imperatives of profit rather than public benefit) that the incentive to innovate (itself reduced in a climate of "overproduction" and "recession") is removed, or the money goes overseas, accelerating the postwar trend which has seen market after market in the UK — textiles, footwear, cars, consumer electronics — destroyed by competition with cheaper and often better goods produced in other cheap labor and generally non-unionized countries.

It is the realization of this dilemma that has led to the development by the Labour opposition and the trade union movement of the "Alternative Economic Strategy" (AES) — a package of essentially Keynesian social and economic measures directly opposed to present monetarist policies — which include greatly increased public expenditure to generate employment, boost investment and improve the environment, health and education services, coupled with import controls and bans on the export of capital. The implementation of such a program depends — initially — on the next elections. But the election of a Labour government would be by no means a solution to the problems posed by technological change within capitalism in recession. As the British CP has itself pointed out, there are major limitations to the AES as a program for socialist advance which may be illustrated by examining the case of microelectronics.

The utopian view of the advance in technology as not just inherently but inevitably progressive, is characterized in the work of the late Dr. Christopher Evans, one of Britain's popular writers on microelectronics and its social impact: "The 'computer revolution' will lead to a surge of affluence in all heavily computerized countries at least comparable with that which swept through the Western world at the time of the Industrial Revolution."²

The opposite view, common to some sections both of the middle class (who resent the negative aspects of the advance in technology) and "radical" utopian socialists, is that new technology is inherently oppressive, alienating, and ecologically unsound.

The resolution of such conflicting opinions, which are to be found reflected in the broad labor movement, requires deeper understanding of the political economy of new technology as an essential basis for political action.

Unemployment has now re-emerged as a specter, haunting not just Europe, but the whole of the capitalist world. Well over 11 million people are jobless in the EEC countries alone and this figure is almost certain to reach

some 13 million (or 12 per cent of the labor force) within the next couple of years.³

The central function of technology within capitalism in the replacement of labor by capital has long been recognized. Marx in *Capital* quotes Nasmyth, the inventor of the steam hammer, giving evidence about improved machinery introduced following the massive engineers strikes of 1851: "The characteristic feature of our modern mechanical improvements is the introduction of self-acting tool machinery. What every mechanical workman has now to do, and what every boy can do, is not to work himself but to superintend the beautiful labor of the machine. The whole class of workmen that depended exclusively on their skill is now done away with. Formerly, I employed four boys to every mechanic. Thanks to these new mechanical combinations, I have reduced the number of grown-up men from 1,500 to 750. The result was a considerable increase in my profits."⁴

One might compare this with a similar story over a century later, this time taken from the 1975 Annual Report of National Cash Registers, describing the effects of replacing its old-style electromechanical cash registers by a new microprocessor-based product line: "The electronic products we are manufacturing today . . . have a labor content of about 25 per cent of their predecessors. Today the operation primarily involves the assembly of purchased components . . . Accordingly our total employment in manufacturing plant is down to 18,000 today compared to 37,000 in 1970."

What is new is the scale and pervasiveness of the "new technology" and the central role assigned to it in the economy. The experience of the employees of National Cash Registers is common to workers in industry after industry although redundancies are as often due to competition with cheaper goods produced overseas as to "rationalization" within their own company. Moreover as several reports have made clear, the problem of British industry is not too much "new technology" but too little. Giving the lie to ill-informed charges of "luddism," a major role for trade unionists in many industries has been to seek out opportunities for new investment and put pressure on management to take advantage of them.

It is thus obvious that the overall impact of technological change on jobs is considerable. The view of the British government is (perhaps deliberately) complacent: it is claimed that other innovations have not caused a net loss of jobs, and that some (such as the development of computers over the last two decades) have, con-

trary to fears expressed at the time, resulted in whole new industries and professions.

Such an "analysis" and comparison with the earlier effects of automation of course ignores the fact that these took place during a period of rapid expansion of capitalism, of growth in the service industries which absorbed labor displaced from manufacturing, and at a time when British dominance over world markets ensured a sale for manufactured products. What is surprising is that many trade union leaders seem to hold such opinions today, as if microelectronics and associated technologies, fundamentally different from the "computer revolution" of the 1960s, could be accommodated without fundamental changes in the structure of the economy and relations of production.

In all, it seems that the impact on jobs is likely to be severe, but it is very difficult to quantify the number of jobs likely to be lost. According to one study of expected job loss in the United States, the increase in unemployment would be 8 per cent in agriculture, almost 22 per cent in manufacturing, in the "personal services" just under 9 per cent and almost 27 per cent for the information handling industries. Taking into account the number of people employed in each sector, the potential job loss throughout the U.S. economy would come to 18.2 per cent. A similar exercise on the British economy came to a figure of 16 per cent job loss (4 million). And similar estimates would no doubt apply to other industrialized capitalist economies.

There are also likely to be substantial qualitative impacts on employment. Here one very influential view in the West has been the "deskilling" thesis advanced by "labor process" economists such as Braverman. According to this view the historic process of the replacement of labor by capital involves "building in" the skills of the operator into the machine with a consequent "marginalization" of the workforce with increased alienation for those who remain in work and a destruction of the bargaining power of organized labor.

Particular concern is attached to the impact on "women's" work (since office work, where the first and major impact of new technology is likely to be felt, is predominantly female), to health and safety, work rhythms, stress, and the implications for management control.

Microprocessors could do much to improve the quality of working life. In practice they are likely to have the opposite effect.⁵ "There is the real likelihood," notes Euan Maddock, chief scientific advisor to the last Labour government, "that the work force will become polarized into a relatively small technological élite, able to move with and enjoy the advancing tech-

nologies, and adapt to the changing circumstances, and a much larger proportion of work-people whose skills have become outmoded and who lack the education or the mental aptitudes to adapt to change."⁶

It is important to emphasize that these are not the inevitable consequences of "new technology" on jobs. Automated processes could potentially remove the distinctions between "men's" and "women's" work, could make for a far safer working environment, could, with appropriate restructuring, lead to a much greater degree of control over the work process, requiring in turn a much greater level of technical competence and understanding of the overall production system: and the tremendous increases in productivity made possible by microprocessors could permit a vast reduction in working hours, longer holidays, sabbaticals for study, earlier retirement, etc.

However it would be facile to pretend that there is any real possibility of major advance in this direction within the present constraints of monopoly capitalism. There is no doubt that limited advances can be made in particular industries and occupations. The concept of "technology bargaining" and of new technology agreements is a familiar one to the union movement, and was elaborated under the Labour government during the late 1970s as a key element in the TUC policy for dealing with technological change. But collective bargaining is a process of compromise, and there are enormous problems in a situation where recession is combined with the threat of automation to reduce the power of organized labor.

For example, many blue collar occupations involve craft skills which are precisely those threatened by new technologies, but where historical labor shortages have led to the negotiation of high wages rather than good conditions or security of employment. With the decline of these traditional skills and the erosion of wage differentials, the bargaining position of some occupations, for example in engineering, is drastically reduced.

The situation of course varies greatly from country to country. A survey by the European Trade Union Institute showed that while in Norway and Sweden collective agreements coupled with legislation have given trade unions extensive rights to negotiate on technological change, the situation elsewhere is far from good. In Italy, there has been little or no specific legislation and few agreements relating to the introduction of microelectronics, and best practice procedures remain "restricted to a few predominantly high technology companies with a highly trained and motivated workforce."⁷ In

France, "unions at the national level have put forward guidelines for the introduction of new technology, but, in general, employers have refused to negotiate on this question and it is not normally covered in agreements." In Britain, New Technology agreements have been at the center of union policies for dealing with new technology, but, "for manual workers at least, represent an exception rather than the normal means by which the introduction of new technology is regulated" and where agreements have been concluded, they "have been of an essentially defensive nature, they have been concluded over a relatively short period, and against a rapidly worsening employment and industrial situation."

The difficulties faced by organized labor in meeting the challenge of new technology are highlighted by the problem of falling union membership. The annual loss of some 600,000 members per year from the TUC (with a current membership of under 11 million, itself a drop from the 1979 postwar peak of 12.2 m) is particularly acute in the engineering and general unions.

The ETUI study quoted above concluded that collective bargaining will only be able to deal with the problems of technological change against a background of growing employment and living standards — quite a different situation from that facing unions today. Overall it must be acknowledged that the trade unions are not in a strong position to confront the challenge of new technologies.

Such a situation of course represents the partial recognition of the fundamental contradictions of new technology within advanced monopoly capitalism. The problem is — at the most obvious level — that since every industrial capitalist nation is in the same position, in the absence of new and expanding markets, and in the context of internationally mobile capital, it is inevitable that some nations will "go to the wall." And, since capital will inevitably select the most profitable locations for investment, the nations that suffer worst from a lack of new technology, and hence from competition with others that have it, are likely to be those with the strongest working class organizations, able to demand an increasing share of the monopoly incomes for higher pay and better working conditions.

And this, of course, is precisely one major reason for the accelerating deindustrialization of Britain. Thus in the absence of a package of alternative economic international and domestic policies, including strict controls of the imports of manufactured products and on the export of capital, demands for the rapid introduc-

tion of new technology as a vehicle of economic growth are at best merely pious hopes.

In the short term the massive increases in productivity and reduced labor inputs and production costs made possible by the introduction of automated techniques lead inevitably to increased competition and to an acceleration of the process of market concentration. At the same time new technology accelerates the circular process — the frantic drive to innovate or die!

In the longer term however, falling aggregate demand, exacerbated by the labor displacing effects of new technology leads to a dramatically reduced incentive to innovate and to eventual economic and technological stagnation.

What emerges from any analysis of the historical development of new technology and of its present political economy, is that microelectronics is a technology developed by capital, for capital, and, as Marx saw of technological change in general, is essential to the survival of capital. However, it also considerably accelerates the internal contradictions of capitalism. In its most trivial form the reduction in spending power consequent upon "technological" unemployment, reflected in falling effective demand, reduces the incentive to modernize plant, to introduce new products and processes except where these promise substantial early returns in productivity increases and profits. The consequence — of reduced competitiveness and output or of "rationalization" — is an accelerated decline which can only be moderated by increased public expenditure aimed at generating employment and at maintaining aggregate demand — policies which patently contradict those of the present government.

Carried to its conclusion, and given the theoretical possibility of the total automation of production, such an analysis implies the eventual *annihilation* of capital, reflected in the observation that capitalism as an economic system rests fundamentally upon the exploitation of living labor. But it would be as wrong from this to conclude the eventual and *automatic* collapse of capitalism as a system as it would to celebrate (as in the quote from Christopher Evans given above) the impending solution of all the evils the system produces under that very system. Both are different poles of technological determinism. The latter ignores the inherent and systemic contradictions of technological change within capitalism and the former focuses on these alone and ignores the extraordinary *resilience* of the system — in particular the way in which science and technology are increasingly becoming a means not merely of making profit, but of *social control*.

Marx in dealing with the introduction of new factory machinery in the mid-19th century quoted the English economist Andrew Ure: "... When capital enlists science into its service, the refractory hand of labor will always be taught docility."⁸

Today the technologies of control are not merely those of the assembly line or word processor, but of data banks, surveillance techniques, the "electronic battlefield," valium, and psychosurgery. And as capitalism moves deeper into recession and crisis, the importance of such technologies becomes ever clearer.

Like other crises before it the present capitalist world recession is due not to external causes (such as the "oil crisis," high prices of raw materials, or "excessive" wage demands) but to fundamental instabilities and contradictions within the economic system itself. Periodic recessions are inherent in the structure and functioning of the capitalist economy and are inseparable from the general crisis of capitalism. In the postwar period there have been between 5 and 11 of these cycles (the number depends upon the country in question) and — at least for the majority of working people and their families in the advanced capitalist countries — the effects have not been too severe for a number of reasons. One of these is that the consequences of recession have been exported — particularly to Third World countries where relatively small fluctuations in world trade and commodity prices can have catastrophic effects. Another reason is that the ruling classes have got better at managing the economy — particularly through such devices as "regulating demand" by artificially manipulating interest rates, credit facilities and taxes. But the present recession is altogether different from those that have gone before and it is this difference that demands new policies on the part of working-class movements in the capitalist world.

In addition to the short-term "business cycles," there are much longer-term instabilities in capitalism; "waves" or cycles of growth and recession typically of some four or five decades. The mechanisms of these cycles may be debated but what seems undeniable is that they are associated with the development of particular technologies. With the diffusion of these technologies throughout industry, with market "saturation," increased competition within and between capitalist countries and with increased materials and labor costs, and the increased capital investment required in new technologies, the opportunities for profits and the incentives for investment become re-

duced, jobs are lost, demand falls, and the economy goes into decline.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s — a quarter-century after the "post-war boom" began, its peak was reached and all capitalist economies began to stagnate, just as they are now — one after the other — beginning to go into decline. Of course the process is not an even one.

It seems that the whole capitalist world is now entering what promises to be a period of serious and sustained economic decline — in which the weaker nations (of which Britain is one) seem highly likely in the absence of radically new policies on the part of government — to collapse altogether. It is this which makes new technology in the 1980s so very different from the earlier technologies of the 1950s and 1960s.

It is no mere coincidence that the peak of the postwar boom and the move into recession have been marked by the end of the increasingly costly "Keynes-Beveridge consensus" which dominated the policies of Labour and Conservative administrations alike. Large-scale public expenditure and a "social wage" could be accepted as a mechanism which minimized the downturns in the business cycle and ensured stability at a time when profits were plentiful, but as the peak of the "long boom" passes and the economy moves into crisis the emergence of monetarism as the dominant philosophy of the Right became inevitable. The policies in Britain of the Thatcher government become almost logical in the context of the determination to restructure the economy and achieve a decisive shift in the balance of class forces in favor of capital. In this restructuring new technology plays a decisive role.

What conclusions can be drawn regarding the future? The first thing that must be said is that technological change itself provides no solution to the problems facing advanced monopoly capitalism, the burdens of which will increasingly fall on the shoulders of working people and their families. The new technologies currently maturing are intimately related to the current stage in the development of the crisis of capitalism.

It is essential therefore to recognize this relationship and the inevitable worsening of problems of unemployment, economic recession, and environmental degradation in the absence of fundamental shifts in favor of the working class in the structure of the economy and in the balance of class power. At the same time we contrast this perspective with the tremendous positive potential of technology when harnessed under socialism to the good of

people rather than profits. As the capitalist crisis deepens it will become increasingly apparent that *full automation is only possible under socialism* — and only under socialism can the benefits of automation be fully realized. Capitalism, because of its nature, can only *partially* automate and such automation as does take place does so in an unplanned, anarchic and chaotic way, with increasingly destructive consequences to jobs and living standards. That is why conflicts on such apparently unrelated issues as nuclear weapons, world poverty, road transport, health care etc. can become politicized as part of the general struggle for socialism.

This, in its turn, provides the potential for constructing new alliances within the labor movement, and between it and organizations of other sections of the population. Beyond this it is necessary for the trade union movement to regard technology as an integral part of the collective bargaining procedure, and an essential element in their wider political activity. Here, it is essential that communists give a lead. This means not just injecting political realism into the labor movement debates on new technology, but means also developing Marxist theory and practice itself if a secure basis for working class action is to be established.

The key issues for the solution of the problem in the interests of workers are the *choice and control* of technology. At the national level this implies the need for greatly increased union involvement in social and science policy. The trade union and labor movement tend to react several years later in the wake of the introduction of new technological developments when they are already beginning to be firmly established. If, say, it is true that economic constraints dictate the need for rapid introduction of the new technology and if the need to reap its (short term) benefits (of increased productivity and competitive exports) requires *inevitable* labor displacement, then the imperative of an alternative economic strategy becomes more pressing than ever before.

Although such alternative strategies to existing policies are being variously elaborated by socialist and communist parties in most capitalist countries, the key common elements which relate to microelectronics are of course independent policies on foreign trade and a domestic strategy of economic growth and full employment.

In the UK it is precisely those areas where greatest import penetration has taken place which have been most affected by microelectronics. Selective import controls coupled with a policy of increased trade with the

socialist countries could be an essential accompaniment to the introduction of new technology in manufacturing.

The qualification of *selective* economic growth is crucial, since it is the way in which microprocessors are introduced that will determine their social consequences. Under a new Labour government, a revival and strengthening of compulsory planning agreements could ensure that process and product innovations requiring reduced labor input are matched by increased volume of production, avoiding redundancies through shorter working hours and a redeployment of skills. Government support to industry for investment in new technology should respond to the demand for the right to socially useful work. This would involve *critical decisions* relating to the direction of investment policies. Dave Cook wrote: "The development of these 'left alternatives,' both in detailed policy and ideology is a responsibility for the Left as a whole. However it is a particular responsibility for us (the Communist Party of Great Britain. — R.C.), as the largest organized Marxist force on the left..."⁹

Naturally, in the final analysis it will be neither theoretical debate nor government policy, but class struggle that determines the rate of introduction and the nature and consequences of the "new technology." In the longer term the choice is between socialism or barbarism. Clearly a heavy burden of responsibility faces trade unionists, communists, and indeed all working people to engage in the struggle over science policy and the *control* of new technology. The battle has already begun.

1. In June 1982 London saw the biggest ever demonstration against nuclear weapons and in particular against the government's determination to allow the USA to station Cruise missiles in Britain. The demonstration attracted a record number of people — over 250,000 — more than the largest Aldermaston march of the 1960s.

2. *New Scientist*, September 6, 1979.

3. This statistic excludes hundreds of thousands of so-called "guest workers" — immigrant workers, doing usually the dirtiest, most dangerous and unskilled jobs — who have now returned to unemployment in their own countries. And of course, it excludes many more such as married women and school leavers who frequently fail to register as unemployed because, depending on the country concerned, they are simply not entitled to unemployment benefit.

4. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 436.

5. In retailing, banking, and office work the potential for management control (as well as job displacement) is vastly increased. For example, most mass-produced domestic consumables (from sausages to soap powder) in Western shops are now marked with bar codes identifying the product. This not only permits automatic stock-taking, and accounting, with the supermarket checkout linked to a central computer automatically computing the bill from prices stored in its central memory checked against the

product code, and constructing the re-order schedules to replenish stocks (increasingly from an automated warehouse) at periodic intervals. It also provides management with immediate information on the performance of each checkout worker whose required "skills" are reduced to passing each item over the light pen.

The inevitable next steps in the process are the linking of the retailing to the banking system with the automatic debiting of the customer's machine-read "cash card" and, ultimately, the removal of the necessity of a checkout operative at all, with a machine-cancelled strip in the bar code — a system which already exists in many public libraries to prevent theft.

In office work the potential benefits of word processors can only be realized within the reintroduction of the typing pool, with each w.p. operator "interfaced" with the machine — headphones on, eyes on the screen, hands on the keyboard, feet on the controls, ready to take the next piece of dictation or instruction that will be automatically sent to her from the central tape bank as soon as she has finished her current task.

Likewise in manufacturing the ramifications are enormous. The jobs most at risk are those of skilled and semi-skilled operatives where machines exist for which

automated routines can be written. If the hierarchical structure of a mid-19th century factory can be represented as a squat pyramid with a large shop-floor workforce controlled by a small supervisory corps and often a single factory manager, this has been transformed during the 20th century into a more complicated structure. Many more skills, specialities and jobs exist toward the top of the hierarchy, in (for example) design, accounting, sales, personnel, requisition departments. In many manufacturing industries and enterprises the blue collar employees may represent less than 40 per cent of the workforce. Informatics promises to transform this structure once again, into a situation where the operations performed by a greatly reduced workforce in both white and what were previously blue collar tasks can be centrally controlled, with obvious implications.

6. Euan Maddock, *The Future of Work*. B.A. Symposium, 1978.

7. Here and below quoted from ETUI. *Negotiating Technological Change*, October 1982.

8. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 437.

9. Dave Cook, "The British Road to Socialism and the Communist Party," *Marxism Today*, December 1978, p. 373.



When the oligarchy is in power

Trevor Munroe
General Secretary,
Workers' Party of Jamaica

Ever since the Cuban Revolution took on a socialist character and began making steady advances in solving the age-old problems of the Latin American masses, the question of the socialist way of development was raised directly before the people of the region. The efforts of United States imperialism to keep the Latin American countries in subjection assumed a more desperate character, but these efforts, directed first and foremost against the Cuban revolution, were unable either to undermine that revolution or to put a stop to the successive waves of popular discontent leading sometimes to popular uprisings against imperialism and local reaction.

And in the former British West Indian colonies the movement of the working people for their rights and for a better future was becoming ever broader. At times they suffered the agony of defeat but there were also many important gains, and today the Caribbean, along with Central America, is at the center of the confrontation between U.S. imperialism and the revolutionary forces of the continent.

The special features of the present situation

are connected, first, with the unprecedentedly deep crisis of monopoly capitalism and the unfavorable balance against the United States in the world, an unfavorable balance which places more definite limits than in previous years on its ability to use the carrot and the stick; second, with the deepening social content of the people's liberation movements, which strive not only for freedom from foreign imperialist subjugation but also for thoroughgoing internal social changes.

Typical in this regard is the evident passing of both Nicaragua and Grenada, after the liquidation of the U.S.-supported reactionary dictatorships, beyond bourgeois-democratic state forms to the establishment of revolutionary democracy as the necessary means to defend national sovereignty and achieve economic independence and social progress.

The situation is different in Jamaica, where the oligarchy, now represented by the Edward Seaga clique, returned to power in October 1980.¹ The clique abandoned the progressive Manley government's independent course in international affairs and subjected the country

to Washington's diktat. Seaga, doing Reagan's bidding, broke diplomatic relations with Cuba, dismantled the state and cooperative sectors, returned major areas of the economy to the oligarchy and international finance capital, removed all the controls and regulations on prices and rents established by the previous government, eliminated all means of popular participation in the state, removed progressive individuals from key posts in the bureaucracy, the police, the army, and the media, and markedly restricted workers' and trade union rights.

The return of the country to a pro-imperialist path, together with the anti-popular policy, is accompanied by repression against the communists and left activists and communities, strict censorship of party statements and the intensified cold war anti-communism.

The drastic change in the situation required the fulfillment of new tasks, so, shortly after the Right came to power the WPJ Central Committee assessed that convening the regular (second) congress was an objective need of the movement and of the party. Despite the difficult conditions, a lot of preparatory work was done successfully,² and the congress was held on December 17-20, 1981, as scheduled.³

The situation in the country now is further proof that the congress was right in the three main reasons it gave for the defeat of the Manley government: first, the extraordinary campaign of destabilization planned and orchestrated by the United States imperialists and the local oligarchy; second the power of the national bourgeoisie within the liberation movement, which had the effect of watering down the firm measures required to rubuff rising reaction decisively; third, the insufficient strength, despite growth and development, of the political vanguard of the working class — the Workers' Party of Jamaica — and the left democratic forces within the People's National Party, to overcome the vacillations in the leadership of the anti-imperialist movement.

The question is sometimes asked whether the movement as a whole, and the Workers' Party within it, had deviated to the left, setting tasks for which the forces were not available and hence playing into the hands of imperialism and the oligarchy. We unanimously reject this view. The democratic anti-imperialist tasks which we elaborated during the Manley administration were objective requirements of the Jamaican people for which there were forces available capable of carrying them to their fulfillment. The subjective factor was the critical element in the loss of power. As the Central Committee report to the congress stated: "In the

days before October 30, 1980,⁴ even imperialism and reaction were not sure that they would come out on top . . . The 1980 struggle was one of those moments in our people's history when the struggle could have gone either way, when leadership (of the national liberation movement. — Ed.) putting everything into being firm, into a do-or-die stand could have made the difference . . ."⁵

There is no truth in the assertion that the WPJ's active role stimulated anti-communism, thereby decisively contributing to the defeat. The unity of communist and non-communist contingents in the liberation struggle has always been the main condition for victory over reaction, and this unity will be promoted, not undermined, by the independence of the working class party. The shifting of the political balance in the national liberation movement in favor of the working people is the guarantee of our success in present and future battles.

"The working class," the congress document stated, "has got to play a bigger independent role in the national liberation movement and our party must get stronger if the people are to come out from under this hell and to move forward and to make progress again in the struggle for a better life."⁶

The immediate task therefore is for the WPJ to expand its membership and strengthen its existing ties with the working people, first and foremost with the working class, so as to be better able to assist in raising the role of the working people and strengthening the unity of the entire left.

In characterizing the present international situation, our party notes above all "the great danger from the extraordinarily aggressive but vain effort by imperialism to turn back the gains made by the progressive forces around the world and, in particular, to upset the equality of military strength between imperialism and socialism — an equality which remains a powerful guarantee that imperialism will not start a world war."⁷

The WPJ CC recognizes the vital importance of the struggle for peace and, in a self-critical spirit, states that our work in this area has not been up to standard. The building of a mass anti-war movement in the country has been set as one of the main tasks in the present period. We are sure that with the fullest mobilization, with united effort on the part of the peace supporters throughout the world, the warmongers shall be held in check.

Naturally the party pays special attention to the situation in the Caribbean and in Central America. The congress' realistic analysis of imperialism's positions, and that of U.S.

imperialism in particular, said: "Its long history of domination over the region, the great economic power of the big multinationals over the economies, the string of military bases throughout the Caribbean which are now being reinforced, the centuries of brain-washing of the people, and not least of all, the distance from the main body of the socialist community — all this together with the presence of established parties who support imperialism as much as and sometimes more than they support their own people, makes things very favorable for the imperialists and very hard for the progressive movement in our region."⁸

But this realism does not lead the WPJ to pessimistic conclusions; rather, we reaffirm the historical and material basis for optimism in the impossibility of imperialism and capitalism solving the most important problems of present-day social life, and in the ever more inspiring influence of the socialist countries on the working masses. The Cuban revolution is, as always, a beacon light for the Caribbean and Latin America, despite all the efforts of imperialism to put out that light. In the English-speaking Caribbean, the people's determination to bring about changes is expressed in continuing protest against the chronic unemployment, low wages, deplorable housing, mass poverty, against racist insults to the Black majority, the extraordinary discrimination against women and other forms of oppression.

Not only under colonialism but also for some time following independence, this broad discontent kept in channels more or less acceptable to the powers that be: the turning from one party dominated by the bourgeoisie to another, from one trade union dominated by conciliatorist leadership to another, strikes protesting to the leaders of the ruling class against low wages and poor conditions of work, and also emigration (particularly to the United States and Britain), and the turn to drugs among wide sections of the youth. Despite the working people's growing discontent, their protest was more often than not limited to bourgeois-democratic demands confined within the framework of dependent capitalism.

The situation is different now. Beginning in the 1970s the discontent embraced more social strata, overflowed the bounds of bourgeois legality and conventions, and created nationwide political crises. Sometimes revolutionary situations resulted such as in Trinidad and Tobago in 1970, in Grenada in 1973-1974 and again in 1979, and in Jamaica in the mid-1970s when, for the first time in decades, there was the possibility to defeat the oligarchy decisively.

On the wave of the mass protest there have emerged in all territories except Montserrat and St. Kitts, political groups and pre-party organizations of strategic significance to the national liberation movement. These formations usually bring together some of the best intellectuals and sections of the workers and unemployed. They stand more and more firmly on a platform of anti-imperialism with an ever stronger orientation toward Marxism-Leninism, and are increasingly characterized by insistence on discipline and activity — practical and propaganda — among the masses.

Many of these organizations have taken part in bourgeois democratic elections: in St. Vincent, the United People's Movement gained 15 per cent of the national vote in the 1978 elections; in Jamaica, the WPJ gained 13 per cent and 16 per cent of the vote in two divisions in the 1981 local government elections. Not always or everywhere was this the case, but we do not judge the weight of young revolutionary organizations by election results alone. Life shows that they break the bourgeoisie's political hegemony and create an alternative outlet for popular discontent by their very existence alone.

In the English-speaking Caribbean today, the possibility is being realized of uniting the theory of scientific socialism with the struggle of an important part of the working people within the national liberation movement. This is clearly revealed in the changes in Grenada, and in the fact that in other countries of our region the fledgling revolutionary organizations have been operating and developing despite brutal harassment and victimization, and the most vicious anti-communist propaganda.

Our party considers it a vivid demonstration of the unanimity of views among the revolutionary organizations of the English-speaking Caribbean that all of them sent representatives or greetings of solidarity to the second congress of the Workers' Party of Jamaica. The growing unity around anti-imperialism is symptomatic of the deepening of the national liberation process.

At the present stage the system of imperialist domination in the Caribbean is experiencing an acute crisis caused not by the mythical Cuban or Soviet subversion but by the people's invincible striving for a better future. It is this striving that U.S. imperialism is trying to suppress.

In this context, Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative, announced in February 1982 to the Organization of American States, is not, as the U.S. administration declares, a plan to help the Caribbean people but a new plan to strengthen the oligarchy and defend the interests of U.S.

imperialism. It is not by chance that the states in the region which pursue an independent course and in which democratic revolutions have triumphed are excluded, while those states whose ruling circles are seeking to liquidate the liberation movement threatening imperialism's positions receive the lion's share of the breadcrumbs from Reagan's table.

This approach, this thinly disguised attempt to divide and rule not only runs counter to the interests of the masses but also disregards the collective views of the governments of our region, including right-wing administrations like those of Barbados and Dominica. This opinion, formulated in the discussion of the Caribbean Basin initiative at meetings held in October 1981, says: "Participation in the program should be open to all territories in the region," and the program itself "should respect the right of the people of each state to determine for themselves their own path of social and economic development free from all external interference and pressure."

What then is the concrete content of the Initiative? Reagan's plan has three main components: the military, the political, and the economic. In 1982, U.S. military "aid" to the Caribbean Basin increased by more than 250 per cent over the 1981 figure.⁹ This increase in military "aid," combined with maneuvers by U.S. and NATO forces in the Caribbean, is a clear manifestation of the big stick policy in the actions of the present Washington administration.

The political element of the plan is aimed to channel large sums to the right-wing, pro-imperialist leaders.¹⁰ Thus there is \$2 million in the Reagan plan for one U.S. organization alone — the Agency for Free Labor Development — to strengthen the conciliationist trade union trends in the Caribbean countries.

Washington is seeking to stack the cards heavily in favor of the parties of the Right not only through financial contributions but also by manipulating electoral administrative arrangements (as in the Salvadoran farce), thereby giving left parties little chance, and subsequently labelling them "unrepresentative" following poor electoral showings.

The economic component of the plan — the carrot, so to speak — is indeed very small and insignificant. It amounted to \$350 million in 1982, \$120 million of which was to go to El Salvador, and \$50 million each to Jamaica and Costa Rica. This is not even a drop in the bucket compared to the needs of our region, estimated by the UN at \$20 billion in the 1980s to meet basic needs alone.

Reagan's plan envisages the extension of the Free Trade Area to the states accepting the CBI. This means that branches of U.S. multinationals will be set up there, benefiting greatly from cheap labor, the removal of all restrictions on the operations of foreign capital, and also from the weakening of the trade unions as a result of the policy of governments like Seaga's. However, all strata of the population (with the exception, of course, of the oligarchy and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie) are already suffering from worsening living conditions caused by the wholesale opening up of the national economy to imperialist capital — the precondition of Reagan's Caribbean Basin "aid."

The CBI is essentially a shot in the arm for moribund classes and their political institutions. And we know very well that this support will achieve its aim where the Left is disunited or fails to develop in an all-round way. Thus life's logic demands that the revolutionaries pay special attention to the problems of popular unity and to being as active as possible in the most varied directions of the struggle.

It is also apparent that the objective contradictions between the peoples, on the one hand, and U.S. imperialism and its client states, on the other, are being further deepened, and new and even more acute battles are inevitable in the Caribbean. The Jamaican communists are ready for them, armed with the conclusions of the second congress of the WPJ, and the program of action it adopted. They take into account the experience of the world revolutionary movement, mobilize the masses, and develop cooperation with all anti-imperialist and democratic forces.

1. See WMR, No. 6, 1981: Rupert Lewis, "Despite the Setback" for the reasons why Michael Manley's People's National Party lost power. — Ed.

2. After party-wide consultation, the preparatory work was carried through in full accord with Leninist standards of inner-party democracy, taking into account the difficult conditions prevailing locally. The draft documents were discussed in every organ of the party; average attendance at these discussions was 85 per cent. The congress appeal to the working people to support the congress with donations of cash and kind drew wide and positive response and assisted in strengthening the party's bonds with its immediate reserves. More than 4,000 people contributed over J\$25,000 to the party fund and gave other kinds of material assistance. In all this the working class was the most important social force, representing 40 per cent of the contributors to the party congress fund.

3. Accredited delegates to the congress numbered 234 (76 per cent of whom were under 30 years of age). The youth of the delegates expressed the youth of party. The social composition of the delegate body showed the important role played by the progressive intermediate strata and the intelligentsia in the revival of Marxism-Leninism and the organized workers' movement in that 55 per cent

of the delegates came from these sectors. The workers, a growing force in the party, accounted for 25 per cent of the delegates, unemployed for 15 per cent and students for 5 per cent. The party's concern to raise the political activity of women showed itself in 28 per cent of the delegate body being female, while the growth of the party as a national force no longer confined to the urban centers was revealed in the fact that 29 per cent of the delegates came from rural towns and districts. The vanguard nature of the party was expressed in the fact that more than a third of the delegates were leaders in trade unions, staff associations, youth, student and women's organizations and other bodies of the working people. The developing continuity and consistency of the communist movement in Jamaica showed itself in the fact that almost a half of the delegates had also been delegates to the first congress, and 10 per cent of them were founding members of the pre-party Workers' Liberation League, which had been established in 1974.

4. Date of the last parliamentary elections. — Ed.

5. *Workers' Party of Jamaica. Report of the Central Committee to the Second Congress* by Trevor Munroe, General Secretary, December 17, 1981, p. 33.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

9. Military "aid" moved from \$50 million in 1981 to \$182 million in 1982. Most of this goes to El Salvador (from \$25 million in 1981 to \$81 million in 1982). Aid to the Seaga government was to increase from \$1.6 in 1981 to over \$2 million in 1982, and to almost \$7 million in 1983. See *Fact Sheet, Caribbean Basin Policy*, U.S. State Department, 1982.

10. During the last national elections in Jamaica (1980), Trinidad and Tobago (1981), and St. Lucia (May 1982), the USA funnelled huge sums to support the reactionary leaders. This form of interference in the internal affairs of other states was in essence officially endorsed in Reagan's speech before the British parliament on June 8, 1982.

We have popular support

Miguel D'Escoto

Nicaraguan Foreign Affairs Minister,
Sandinista Assembly member

Miguel D'Escoto, 50, is one of the three clergymen in the government of Nicaragua. He had to spend a large part of his life as an emigré far from his motherland. In 1975, when he was still an emigré, he drew close to the Sandinista National Liberation Front and soon afterwards became one of its leading figures. His comrades-in-struggle put him in charge of the SNLF's international affairs. In 1978, scorning danger, he and 12 other Sandinista leaders returned to their country to speed up the formation of a broad opposition front. In the Governmental Council set up shortly before Somoza's fall, Miguel D'Escoto was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs. One of his first diplomatic missions was to represent his country at the 17th Consultative Conference of OAS Foreign Ministers. At that conference the USA failed in its attempt to secure approval for sending an inter-American "peace-keeping" force to Nicaragua. Miguel D'Escoto combines his responsible work as head of the Foreign Ministry with his work as a member of the Sandinista Assembly, which is the central organ of the SNLF.

The following are his replies to questions put by our journal.

Q. What is your assessment of the situation in Central America and what would you say set off the social explosion in that region?

A. Tension is endemic in Central America as a whole and in Nicaragua, in particular: instead of waning the threat of U.S. armed intervention in our life grows with each passing day. This must be borne in mind if one is to have a correct understanding of the situation in our region. For a long time the USA has been forcing upon us its "models" of political, social and economic development. Even in instances when Central American governments intended to resolve their countries' social problems even partially, the U.S. did not stop at intervention, as was the case, for example, with Guatemala when a progressive president — Jacobo Arbenz — was in office.

The patience of the Central American peoples has now run out. They are determined to be in a position to decide their own destiny. For this some of them have to fight with arms in hand to restore the sovereignty trampled by imperialism, because the possibility for effecting peaceful changes, for a political settlement in these countries is practically nil. In many countries the situation is analogous to what led to revolutionary events in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala. It may be expected that the tide of upheavals will spread further in the region.

The imperialists are alleging that revolutionary ideas are being exported to Central America. In reply we can state emphatically that revolution is not an export commodity but the

result of a steady growth of the peoples' consciousness, that it expresses their political will for progressive changes.

This is the context in which Somoza was overthrown and the SNLF triumphed in Nicaragua. We often speak of the triumph of the revolution, but for the time being it would, in my opinion, be more correct to speak of the success of only its preparatory stage, in the course of which the dictatorial regime was swept away and the independence of which we were divested by U.S. imperialism was restored. It was only after this that the process of revolutionary construction commenced and it has now entered its fourth year.

Q. Today the success of any revolution depends not only on internal, national, but also external factors. Growing significance is being acquired by solidarity and interaction among the revolutionary forces, including those of any single region. Do you feel this in Nicaragua?

A. Unquestionably. When Reagan became the incumbent in the White House his principal goal in Central America was to prevent the victory of the revolutionary forces in El Salvador. He planned to follow this up with a strike at Nicaragua. During the first three or four months of 1982 they kept to the planned timetable, at least it was announced that the offensive of the El Salvadoran insurgents had been brought to a halt. Washington hoped that the fighting would stop in that country, even if only temporarily. This would have given the opportunity to settle accounts with Nicaragua. The White House was no longer intending to confine itself to political attacks, which have become "traditional" since the fall of its puppet, Somoza. Its far-reaching plans envisaged "determined steps," up to the armed overthrow of the Sandinista government.

The invasion was set for December 1982, but having in their haste warmed up the engines of the military machine that was to crush the Nicaraguan revolution, the Washington strategists found themselves unable to get it off the ground. They had again labored in vain: the revolutionary forces of El Salvador mounted yet another offensive, making considerable headway and denying the imperialists the possibility of making short work of the Nicaraguan people "without interruption."

Of late, the North American bourgeois press has been writing profusely about U.S. preparations for an armed invasion of Nicaragua. In their criticism of Reagan and his policies (what worries them is not these policies as such but that they are being ineptly put into effect), some pundits write of a special opinion in the CIA, the Pentagon, and the State Department. The

latter fear that instead of hastening the downfall of the Sandinista government these policies will strengthen it, destabilize the situation in Honduras, and further prejudice the USA's already discredited reputation. Indeed, by starting an aggression, imperialism can shed much Nicaraguan blood and inflict enormous losses on our economy, but it cannot compel the people to surrender the freedom they have won. The Nicaraguan army is not big and has no air force. Nonetheless, we will not allow ourselves to be intimidated. We have the most dependable weapon, namely, the total support of a united people, whose sons are prepared to lay down their lives for the revolution. What other government in Central America can arm the population to the extent the Sandinistas have done?

No other government can, for these governments are afraid of their own people. Our revolution was accomplished by the whole nation, and for that reason it is being defended by practically all Nicaraguans. We will go to any sacrifice for the cause of the working class and the peasants. We are aware, of course, of how significant our gains are to the liberation struggle of the peoples of other Central American countries and, equally, of how important their successes are for the development of the Sandinista revolution.

Nicaragua has some friction in its relations with neighboring Honduras. Much has been said about this friction, but it would not be superfluous to mention an essential point. There is no bone of contention whatever between our country and Honduras. It would be hard to name even one outstanding issue that under normal conditions could generate hostility between us. All our "problems" with Honduras have been artificially created and inflamed by the USA in pursuance of its predatory interests.*

The two neighboring nations have a common origin, a common destiny and history, and they are linked by bonds of brotherhood. Small wonder that the Honduran military are increasingly displeased with their government's pro-U.S. policy toward Nicaragua. They realize that if war breaks out many of them will have to lay down their lives for U.S. interests.

Q. Events over the past few years have shown that Washington is finding it increasingly difficult to keep the Latin American countries harnessed to its policies. At the same time, growing prestige is being won by countries pursuing a progressive foreign policy. One of these

*See J. Carrera, O. Sanchez, J. Barrios, "Nicaragua Threatened with Aggression," WMR, No. 12, 1982. — Ed.

is revolutionary Nicaragua, as the evidence of its election to the UN Security Council shows. Would you comment?

A. Last December President Reagan decided to sound the situation in Central America personally in order to see if it allowed any further unfolding of his aggressive policies. His luggage consisted of blackmail, threats and, of course, promises of financial aid, which is now so vital to the countries of the region, for their economy is experiencing unprecedented difficulties stemming from the stagnation in the world capitalist system. The voyager from Washington felt he could visit only Costa Rica and Honduras. Interested in getting aid from their "great" neighbor, the reactionary governments of Guatemala and El Salvador had virtually to catch him by his coattails and hastily assure him of their loyalty.

Regrettably, among Central American statesmen and military men there are many who, contrary to common sense, are prepared to see the USA as a savior capable of dragging their countries out of the mire of political and economic crises. In the hope of getting generous assistance, some of them shamelessly serve Washington, but this only brings them miserable crumbs from the master's table. The masters use them for their own ends and then, when they see fit, get rid of them as useless.

In 1982 U.S. imperialism made a deal, which I am sure will cost it dearly and will be remembered for a long time. I have in mind the relapse into colonialism, the stand adopted by Washington in the Malvinas conflict. If formerly, by force of habit, some politicians saw the USA as the natural ally of the Latin American countries, the armed conflict in the South Atlantic opened their eyes. Many saw clearly that the power posing as the friend and protector of Latin Americans was actually no friend or protector at all, but an enemy, and a dangerous one at that. Anti-imperialist consciousness and unity are growing among the Latin American peoples, who are beginning to join hands in their actions against U.S. policies. This is only an incipient process and much still remains uncrystallized. However, even in its present shape it is benefiting the situation not only in Nicaragua but also in all other Latin American countries.

We see Nicaragua's election to the UN Security Council as a triumph of our people and their diplomacy. At the same time, it is another setback for imperialism. I say setback because previously the USA could always block the election to this prestigious agency of any country it regarded with disfavor. This time, too, the U.S. State Department moved into high gear to

collect the necessary 70 negative votes. But this attempt to isolate Nicaragua from the world community failed miserably, and we emerged victorious in the diplomatic war after a two and a half hour battle — this, and not several months as our enemies hoped, was how long it took to complete the voting. The support for Nicaragua was a sign of the deep respect that the peoples of the world have for the Sandinista revolution.

Q. The Vatican forbids clergymen to engage in governmental activity. Nevertheless, all your colleagues have remained in their posts. What motivates this ban and why are you refusing to obey the supreme Catholic authority?

A. There have been many instances not in Nicaragua, which is far from Europe, but under the very shadow of the Vatican, of church dignitaries being senators, ministers and so on. I would say that had a bourgeois, pro-imperialist regime come to power in Nicaragua we would have no problems with the Vatican. The Catholic Church in principle recognizes that under extraordinary circumstances clergymen can engage in secular activity, including the holding of office in the government. The ban on the holding of secular posts was introduced at a time when the Church was accused of monopolizing power. Today there can be nothing of the sort, and there is thus justification for a clergyman to hold a post in the government. In our case, at least. The Vatican should have no apprehensions about us engaging in anything unworthy in the government, for what can be reprehensible in a clergyman serving his own people? Of course, in our Church circles there are people who disagree with the aims of the Sandinista revolution and for that reason they are opposed to clergymen taking part in the process of national rejuvenation.

There is another point I should like to make. Under the Somoza dictatorship many clergymen held military rank and belonged to the criminal National Guard, but this did not worry the Vatican at all. It looked the other way when clergymen held officer rank at the time Somoza was bombing and napalming the Nicaraguan people. Violations of the ban were "discovered" only when Nicaragua took the road of true democracy, the implementation of deep-going reforms, and the creation of a just society worthy of human beings.

Q. What is the stand of the Catholic Church in face of the threat of a nuclear catastrophe?

A. I feel that on this issue its stand is not clear-cut. It is my opinion that our Church should be more active in demanding a freeze on the production of weapons of mass destruction,

explaining the amorality of the imperialist nuclear blackmail to the people, and exposing the absurdity of the "limited" nuclear war doctrine. There have been positive changes among the Catholic clergy in the USA and the clergy of the Church of England. The U.S. bishops have recently drafted a pastoral letter condemning the Reagan administration's plans of preparing for a nuclear conflagration.* Possibly, it is still early to speak of a confrontation, but tension has never been so high as it is today between the Church and the White House. In the USA, clergymen are beginning to consider the problems of peace, the arms race, and the possibility of a nuclear apocalypse not from the standpoint

* See E. Jorgen, "Bishops Censure the Nuclear Threat, the White House Snubs the Bishops," *WMR*, No. 2, 1983. — Ed.

of imperialism, as they used to in the recent past, but from the standpoint of Christian morality.

I feel that American Catholics should abandon their traditional anti-communism, otherwise all their good intentions will remain an empty sound. Time will show whether in the USA the Catholic Church will, in the spirit of true Christian morals, shed its unjustified prejudices and adopt an independent, progressive stand.

The developments of the past few years have shown that a process of renewal is taking place in the Catholic Church in Latin America too, that it is moving away from those who are trying to use religion for dirty political purposes. This is the only way it can effectively help the peoples in their struggle for liberation and a better life.

Anti-communism — its specifics in the 1980s

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In his address to the British parliament in June 1982, U.S. President Ronald Reagan proclaimed yet another "crusade" against communism. In his speech he combined venomous attacks on the Soviet Union with a blanket smear of socialist theory and practice. The choice of venue for this new call against communism was not accidental. It was made in Europe and was addressed to the USA's allies, who were to take it as a signal for joint actions against the world's progressive forces. Evidently to add weight to the President's proclamations about "safeguarding" freedom and democracy against communism, this signal was given in the British parliament, called the "cradle of bourgeois democracy." The proclamations were made with an implied claim to a reassessment of world history, with a claim to a "right" to change its natural course allegedly "hindered" by existing socialism.

In itself, the attempt to reassess history in our day, when humankind is faced with the threat of total annihilation, is quite natural for the leader of the power on whose policies the destiny of the world depends to no little extent. Also, it is justified from the standpoint of the segments of society represented by Reagan, be-

cause a reassessment of the past is acquiring special significance to the shaping of the ideology and policies of the class that is losing its stature in society and has to look for ways of adjusting itself to the new situation in the world. But what does this address to history camouflage?

A clear answer to these questions is given in Reagan's aforementioned and other speeches and by the policies of his government. The leaders of U.S. imperialism are "reassessing" history not in order to draw lessons that could help to avoid repetitions of past failures and setbacks but in order to revive the long-bankrupt forms of imperialist ideology and policy. The USA's present policy and its ideological basis are an adventurist course toward regaining unchallenged military superiority and revising the results of preceding world development, a course that conflicts with the logic of history and present-day realities. This is a course toward intense confrontation with socialist countries up to the use of nuclear weapons and an economic and ideological war against them. In fact, it represents an attempt to reverse history, to halt social progress. It represents a reorientation of imperialist strategy

from the aim of preserving the social "status quo" in the world to that of wreaking social revenge.

The context of this reorientation reveals the actual significance of the "innovations" distinguishing the priority thrusts of present-day anti-communism from those that characterized it in the period of relaxation of international tensions. In the ideology and policy of anti-communism of that period the accent was on fighting existing socialism and the revolutionary movements by means of a "quiet" ideological infiltration and "flexible" political maneuvering. This was the outcome of the positive changes in the world situation that compelled international capitalism to recognize the principles of peaceful coexistence, agree to *détente*, and thereby take a more realistic stand toward objectively developing processes. Hence the certain switch from confrontation with socialism to peaceful competition with it. However, imperialism proved to be unprepared for this competition, which is vividly showing socialism's advantages. Failing the test of *détente*, the imperialists are now trying to turn back to the cold war, to a policy of forcibly changing the situation that had taken shape in the world under the influence of socialism and the implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

How this is mirrored in anti-communism may be gauged from the documents of what its ideologists term as an amply representative conference held in Washington at the close of 1982 to consider ways of "democratizing communist countries." At this conference George Shultz, the U.S. Secretary of State, made it clear that this sort of "democratization" meant nothing less than the restoration of the capitalist system. It was suggested using ideological subversion and provocations to precipitate dissatisfaction among the population of socialist countries, activate opposition elements in these countries, undermine their economy, and make the people doubt the stability of the new social system. In short, U.S. statesmen, diplomats, ranking officials of the intelligence community, and anti-socialist emigrés looked for ways of stepping up subversive propaganda and the psychological war against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This reactionary assemblage considered how to involve official institutions and leading personalities of the capitalist world in anti-communist actions, and how to use international negotiations to blackmail and put political pressure on socialist countries.

The orchestrators of anti-communist campaigns see the measures being taken by the

Polish government and the Polish United Workers' Party against counter-revolution as a pretext for such campaigns. Indeed, this is, as the Polish communists likewise note, no more than a pretext because had there been no Polish events imperialism's reactionary circles would have seized upon something else for a sharp turn to the right motivated by the reasons we have already pointed out and with which is linked the search of the anti-communists for new, in their opinion, methods of fighting socialism:

The question that has to be answered is whether the imperialist forces are in general able to introduce anything fundamentally new into the ideology and policy of anti-communism? This question is answered negatively by experience and by present-day reality.

Ever since its emergence the revolutionary working-class movement has had to contend with anti-communism. As early as the 19th century it clearly reflected the efforts of the big bourgeoisie to halt historical progress and perpetuate exploitation. To achieve this aim the reactionaries have never shrunk from the most flagrant violence. After the Paris Commune was drowned in blood, Karl Marx wrote: "The civilization and justice of bourgeois order comes out in its lurid light whenever the slaves and drudges of that order rise against their masters. Then this civilization and justice stand forth as undisguised savagery and lawless revenge."¹

There is no end of instances of this barbarism — recall the white terror unleashed by the whiteguards and the foreign interventionists against the revolutionary people of Soviet Russia; recall the atrocities committed by the nazis. And even after nazism was defeated the anti-communists missed no opportunity to stop the liberation process by force of arms — this is exemplified by the application of the Truman doctrine to Greece and the U.S. intervention in Korea, Vietnam, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic.

The bellicose anti-communism of the Reagan administration is no new development in imperialist policy. For its substance, aims and basic orientations it is the selfsame anti-communist policy that capitalism has always pursued against the forces of progress.

Nonetheless, some new elements may be pinpointed if present-day anti-communism is considered from the standpoint of the conditions facilitating its activation and the specific forms adopted by it.

First, let us note that with the war preparations of the imperialists having now reached an unprecedentedly high level, anti-commu-

nism's inherent role of actuator of international tension is being enhanced. New features are being acquired by the fusion of anti-communist ideology and policy with militarism, and an extremely aggressive form of anti-communism is appearing that gives an outlet for imperialism's adventurist aspiration to restore its supremacy in the world. And further. By using the most sophisticated means of communication and information and adapting methods of social psychology to its needs, anti-communist propaganda is growing more intensive and changing its mechanisms of indoctrination. Propaganda is increasingly becoming a technology of suggestion, of manipulating people's emotions and thinking, a means of creating a climate favorable for the operation of reaction.

We believe that all these elements must be taken into account when we assess anti-communist "crusades," "marches" and "campaigns." Far from being isolated from each other, these elements converge, as it were, into a single channel.

The "crusade" proclaimed by the U.S. government under the slogan of "democratizing communist countries" is a continuation and modification of previous anti-communist actions. It will be recalled that it was preceded by the "human rights" campaign, whose aim was to drive a wedge between the socialist countries and the international communist and working-class movement, on the one hand, and the non-proletarian democratic movements, on the other. The course toward the "democratization of communist countries" complements the "struggle for human rights" with the "struggle against international terrorism." As a matter of fact, such a combination is not new. In 1919 Lenin noted that the world bourgeoisie was seeking to "stifle the Soviet power, alleging that it is terrorist and undemocratic."²

Of course, this change of names spells out a certain shift of accents in anti-communist strategy. To some extent the "human rights" campaign has hit imperialism's allies — the reactionary, dictatorial regimes. For that reason, as was noted by the American semi-official quarterly *Foreign Affairs*, the Reagan administration has been applying human rights policies less publicly.³

By whipping up anti-communism and anti-Sovietism on a global scale, the U.S. ruling circles are trying to draw the entire capitalist world into a confrontation with socialism. More, they are endeavoring to carry this confrontation into the socialist countries by supporting so-called dissidents and provoking internal conflicts. They state openly that their aim

is to destroy the social system in socialist countries.

Thus, having raised a hue and cry in the 1970s about international law in connection with the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, imperialist circles are now engaging in undisguised interference in the internal affairs of socialist countries, demonstratively flouting the UN Charter, the Helsinki accords, and the basic principles of international law. In many respects this is reminiscent of the old policy based on the doctrine of "liberating the countries behind the iron curtain," which failed so ignominiously in the 1950s. As in those years, the plans for instigating counter-revolutionary elements are linked to the idea of embarking on various forms of intervention against socialism. But today political calculations of this sort bear the hallmarks of extreme adventurism that is increasing the threat of a world thermonuclear conflict.

Of course, the anti-communists are debating whether it is worth making a frontal assault on socialist countries and progressive democratic movements regardless of who is affected, or whether to adopt a differentiated approach to the ideological adversary, in other words, whether other means should be used for the attainment of the same ends. The ultra-reactionary circles, who would like to destroy, in one sweep, everything that smacks of communism, declare that it is inexpedient to base the global strategy of anti-communism on contradictions among revolutionary forces. Norman Podhoretz, an ideological guru of the U.S. neoconservatives, writes: "Playing one communist power against another may be sound geopolitics, but it increases the difficulty of explaining to ourselves and our friends what we are fighting for and what we are fighting against. It may therefore make it harder to mobilize the political support without which a steady and consistent strategy of containment is impossible."⁴

Another school of anti-communism is insisting on using distinctions between socialist countries, pursuing a selective policy combining promises and pressure in order to make individual socialist countries dependent on the capitalist world and thereby undermine the cohesion of the socialist community.

Distinctions in tactics do not affect the overall anti-socialist thrust of the various schools of imperialism's reactionary policy. The "new" doctrine of anti-communism envisages the use of every form and method of struggle against socialist countries and other states whose social system or policy is not to the taste of imperialism, against all revolutionary movements. It

links up in one "intimidation package" all known methods of anti-communist activity — from nuclear blackmail and economic pressure to political intrigues and ideological warfare.

One more feature of the present situation in the anti-communist camp is the sharp intensification of direct attacks on Marxist-Leninist theory. As distinct from the 1970s, when "theoretical" anti-communism used the cover of objectivism, its present spokesmen base their arguments on a total negation of scientific socialism. In connection with the centenary of the death of Karl Marx, bourgeois theorists are vainly trying to prove that historical development does not bear out the viability of scientific socialism.

At the same time, attempts are being maintained to counterpose Marxism to Leninism and thereby erode the influence of Marxism-Leninism as an integral theory of the revolutionary working class. Our ideological adversaries continue to spread the specious argument that Lenin "compromised" Marx's ideas by using them "pragmatically" in the course of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism in the Soviet state. Further, Marx is often "defended" in this manner by the same ideologists, who in other theories seek to prove that Marxism has become "obsolete." Do they not contradict themselves? By no means. The point is that actually it is not a matter of defending Marx but of offering an apologia of reformism slightly screened by Marxist phraseology, of striving to use anti-Leninism as a lever to push the communist movement into opportunism.

As in politics and propaganda, anti-communism does not, in its "theoretical" quests, contain anything fundamentally new. In this area its proponents continue to ignore the objective historical and social significance of society's development and deny that there are regularities in the class struggle. They attribute social processes mainly to an accidental concurrence of circumstances or to psychological reasons. Agnosticism and overall rejection of the possibility of understanding the objective principles guiding historical development are gaining ground in bourgeois philosophy.

Since the ideologists of the bourgeoisie ignore the actual dialectics of the present epoch they evolve theories claiming that imperialism's struggle against socialism and the revolutionary movements is an expression of a confrontation of different civilizations on the historical scene, of a defense of "Western values," and so on. Theories of this kind, it will be recalled, were the "theoretical" basis of fascism's anti-communist campaigns. Their

present variants are fulfilling the same role.

An indication of this is the growth of chauvinistic and hegemonistic tendencies in imperialism's ideology and policies. Bellicose, militarist American anti-communists characterize the policies pursued by Washington in the 1970s as a "strategic retreat" and declare that the USA must achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union and use that superiority to roll back socialism and assert the domination of U.S. capital in the world. They are demanding the cutting off of economic relations with the USSR and the abandonment of détente, and are contending that the USA could win a nuclear war. Their credo is: Either we destroy communism or communism will destroy Western democracy and civilization. Actually they are using the screen of anti-communism in a bid to make U.S. imperialism supreme in the world.

This course logically leads to a close link between the official ideology of the U.S. ruling circles and the most reactionary — chauvinistic, racist, and neofascist — doctrines. In foreign policy this is seen in the growth of all-sided support for the semi-fascist, dictatorial regimes of South Africa, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and South Korea, and in the assistance extended to enemies of the peoples of Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Angola and other countries.

Moreover, a sign of imperialism's growing reactionary character is the further activation of Zionism, in which Judaic clericalism is fusing with racism and aggressive anti-communism. This is in fact neither an ethnic nor a religious phenomenon: it is an ideological and political instrument of the international monopoly bourgeoisie, notably of U.S. imperialism. Zionist capital controls a large part of the capitalist world's ideological machine. It controls international press agencies, newspapers and magazines with large circulations, the Hollywood film industry, and big publishing facilities. Making capital out of the sufferings that millions of Jews underwent under nazism, Zionist propaganda is trying to create the false impression that Zionism articulates the interests of all Jews and that its adversaries are anti-Semites and continuers of the dirty work of the nazis. Actually, it is Zionism that preaches chauvinistic ideals and conducts a policy of genocide toward the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, that continues the fascist practices.

The fact that anti-communism is figuring more prominently in the policies and ideology of imperialism is due primarily to the latter's striving to halt the growing influence of

Marxism-Leninism and of the example of existing socialism on world social development. Scientific socialism is winning over the masses as it asserts itself in historical practice. A hundred years ago many people felt that Marx's ideas about society's transition from capitalism to a new social system, the historic role of the working class and its revolutionary parties, the inevitable downfall of the colonial system, and the possibility of preventing wars were no more than a utopian dream. But as decade followed decade they became reality and acquired a colossal influence over the life of nations. Marxism-Leninism is asserting itself in the social consciousness as a genuinely scientific world view, as the only sure theory giving the working people a realistic program of struggle for peace, democracy and social justice.

In this article we have characterized some features of present-day anti-communism that strikingly meet the eye when the general situation is assessed. But we, Czechoslovak communists, encounter echoes of anti-communism in Czechoslovakia, too. The anti-communist campaign directed against socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia on the basis of the so-called Charter 77 ended in failure. It was denounced emphatically by the Czechoslovak people. After this fiasco enemy centers modified their tactics in the hope of finding some base in a distorted image of socio-economic reality. On the one hand, the propaganda paid by them is alleging that we are cultivating "goulash socialism," giving the people a decent living standard solely in order to keep them from "engaging in politics." On the other hand, rumors are spread to the effect that the Czechoslovak economy is on the verge of bankruptcy, attempts are made to question our social prospects. Bourgeois propaganda goes to all lengths in its slander in order to evoke the distrust of the population, particularly of the workers, for the party's policies. It makes much of transient problems, obscures the relationship between the past and present, between the essential and the particular in society's life, and distorts the basic tendencies of socialism's development. Each of our shortcomings is presented as a sign that an unstoppable decline is beginning.

Of course, as it develops our society encounters problems. The 16th congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia mapped out concrete ways and means of tackling new tasks. Without closing our eyes to the problems facing the country, we are certain that they will be resolved. Our confidence derives from the experience of history and the convincing achievements of socialism in Czechoslovakia. A social vice like unemployment has not been

known in the republic for a long time. All the people enjoy a guaranteed right to work, social insurance, and full-fledged participation in running the affairs of state and society. Marked changes have taken place in the working class during the years of socialist construction. Its material condition has improved visibly, it has become more active politically, its professional and general education level has risen, and its leading role in society has been strengthened. The cooperated countryside has come level with the town in the lifetime of a single generation in terms of social development and has drawn close to it in terms of culture. The dynamic economic and cultural growth of Slovakia and the development of the federal political system have reinforced the unity between Czechs and Slovaks, among all the nationalities inhabiting Czechoslovakia. There have been striking advances in education, science, art and literature. The intelligentsia now plays a more significant social role. There has been a fundamental change in the status of women, and the opportunities open to young people are greater than they have ever been. In all areas of the life of the nation there have been tangible changes as a result of the progress along the road to socialism.

The difficulties we are tackling are entirely different from those encountered by capitalist society. The CPCz is working to ensure a further growth of the people's political activity, to secure their maximum participation in the settlement of all problems arising from socialist construction. It regards the enhancement of the efficiency and cost-effectiveness of production not as an end in itself but as the principal condition for achieving a higher living standard and promoting the all-sided development of each person in accordance with the needs and interests of society.

Czechoslovak reality in no way resembles the misrepresentations being spread by anti-communist propaganda. By launching one smear attack against socialism after another, this propaganda only demonstrates its helplessness against the realities of socialism. Anti-communism is organically unable to offer an alternative to the new social system and resolve urgent problems in the interests of the people. It has no future. However, our confidence that anti-communism will ultimately fall flat should not prevent us from seeing that it is a threat to the cause of peace and social progress.

Present-day anti-communism is growing increasingly active not only in the context of a confrontation with socialism but also in all other directions of the attack on the new and progressive, on democracy and the freedom of

the peoples. This attack is part of the imperialist "crusade," which has many political targets worldwide.

In capitalist countries the anti-communist crusaders are fighting a war chiefly against the communist and working-class movement. Propaganda baiting of communists is combined with ideological maneuvering calculated to discredit existing socialism, defame its domestic and foreign policies, and thereby undermine socialism's prestige and influence in the working-class movement, among the working masses, and try to emasculate this movement of its anti-capitalist content. As in the past, these attempts are simultaneously directed at driving a wedge between the communist parties of the capitalist world and the socialist community, to fragment the communist movement, which is the international force of the working people.

Anti-communism is increasingly determining the content and aims of imperialistic strategy in developing countries. Under colonialism it performed chiefly "preventive" functions with the purpose of sustaining a cordon sanitaire between the colonial world and socialism, of preventing the forces of national liberation from acting together with the international communist and working-class movement. But today the ideas of socialism are sinking ever deeper roots in the minds of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and in some new states have become the lodestar of social changes. The response to this has been a sharp vitalization of anti-communism, which permeates the strategy of neocolonialism and manifests itself in acts of armed violence in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Angola, Lebanon and other countries, and also in economic, political and propaganda actions against the forces of progress, against the strengthening of the alliance of these forces with socialism.

The experience of history and the present-day practice of the class struggle show that anti-communism is hostile to the interests of all revolutionary and democratic movements. It is quite natural, therefore, that it meets growing resistance from the working class and its revolutionary vanguard in industrialized capitalist countries, and that the progressive forces in the developing states see it as a weapon of imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism. As an extreme reactionary expression of imperialist policy and ideology, present-day anti-communism is in conflict with the interests of large sections of society, including a considerable segment of the bourgeoisie. More, it carries out

definite hegemonistic functions in the capitalist world on behalf of U.S. imperialism. The "crusade" against communism proclaimed by the U.S. administration is also aimed at disciplining and subordinating to Washington the centers of political and economic strength competing with it, namely, Western Europe and Japan. Small wonder that this action by the White House evoked a less than enthusiastic response from the USA's allies, as was shown clearly by the opposition of some of them to the U.S. actions to impose an economic boycott on the USSR and other socialist countries. Moreover, in the capitalist countries there is growing resistance to Washington's preparations for a nuclear war which are being carried out under cover of the "Soviet threat" myth. The militarist adventurism of the U.S. anti-communists is encountering mounting protests throughout the world and sharp criticism in the USA itself.

Anti-communism is today in conflict not only with the needs of social development but also with the advanced ideas propounded by the bourgeoisie when it entered the world stage as a new force, the ideas of democracy and humanism, and belief in progress and the human intelligence. Bacon, the French encyclopedists, Voltaire and Rousseau among them, and other giants of the human spirit enriched the treasure-store of world culture with these ideas. By comparison, what a squalid picture is formed by the obscurantist ideology of the modern monopoly bourgeoisie. The strategists of anti-communism have no alternative to counting on the standing traditions of exploiting society, on the inertia of the related habits, notions, norms of morality, and psychological patterns. They would like to preserve fossilized prejudices and fear of change in society.

Marx wrote that the "tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living."⁵ The influence of deep-seated conservative notions on the public mind should not be underrated. The anti-communists can for some time sustain or resuscitate some of them and thereby compel opposition to the new society.

History and present-day life show that in any of its forms anti-communism is incompatible with social progress, democracy and humanism, that the struggle against it is an indispensable condition for consolidating peace, a vital prerequisite for asserting the principles of freedom, equality and social justice. The attitude to anti-communism is a criterion of the class consciousness of working people and, at

the same time, a criterion of the humanism and civilization of our contemporaries.

1. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 235.

2. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 31.

3. Robert E. Osgood, "The Revitalization of Containment," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 60, No. 3, 1982, p. 495.

4. Norman Podhoretz, *The Present Danger*, New York, 1980, p. 98.

5. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 398.



The stumbling block

A survey of literature on the Cold War published in the USA, Great Britain and France.

The international situation has been considerably aggravated by the persistent efforts of the aggressive imperialist circles, those of the USA in the first place, to break the strategic balance, secure military superiority for itself, and subject world events to its will. The new round of the arms race — especially of the nuclear missiles race — unleashed by these circles could lead to even greater instability in the world. Everywhere millions and millions of people have been rising up against the threat hanging over humankind, demanding an end to the slide toward a nuclear catastrophe and improvement of the international political climate.

But their strivings come up against a formidable barrier — the Cold War.

One could ask: Is it true to say that the Cold War is being waged today? If one judges by certain statements and practical activities of today's high-ranking Washington politicians, a Cold War has undoubtedly been declared and is being waged by them against socialism. And not only a psychological war. It is enough to consider Reagan's campaign against the USSR-Western Europe gas pipeline. The President's sanctions were later lifted because of the resistance of the West European countries, but other measures taken by the government remain in force against those within the USA who would like to have normal business relations with the Soviet Union. Recent press reports say that during the special operation "Exodus" launched by the Reagan administration in October 1981, almost 50 representatives of different firms were crudely blackmailed, baited and even imprisoned; their only crime

was that they traded or simply planned to trade with the Soviet Union. If these are not Cold War methods, what are they? And what about the economic sanctions against the Polish People's Republic?

Can humankind, which is divided into two opposing socio-economic systems, avoid the Cold War? Yes, it can, answer the communists. It was they who immediately put forward the alternative — the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems — in the first country to establish worker-peasant power. Today, more and more people understand the historic significance of that alternative, which is the only way to avoid a nuclear war.

The books under review were printed by bourgeois publishers. They say a lot about how the Cold War arose, and who is responsible for its appearance. The authors — to the extent of their desire and within the limits of their world outlook and political position — also seek to answer the question as to whether or not it is possible to live without the Cold War. However, it should be pointed out immediately that they all have a common, basic flaw, or, if one may put it this way, they all have the same stumbling block — anti-Sovietism, which is especially deeply rooted in the United States. Even Noam Chomsky, the anti-militarist scientist and sharp critic of Washington's foreign policy, who is well known in the USA and abroad, suffers from this bias. His series of essays on the political history of the modern world entitled "Toward a New Cold War" (published in the USA in several editions, the last in 1982)¹ seeks to hold the United States and the Soviet Union equally responsible for the Cold War and stops short of the line separating the socialist world from the capitalist. Offering no

valid substantiation for his assumptions — since there are none — he asserts that what the USSR does in the international arena is essentially no different from what the USA does.

Chomsky offers no way out of the Cold War. His inability to cope successfully with this problem is related, in our opinion, to his far-fetched and groundless concept that both powers have a vested interest in the Cold War.

It is generally accepted that the Cold War began in 1946 with Winston Churchill's Fulton, Missouri, speech on March 5. It was from that point on that anti-Sovietism became the dominant trend in U.S. post-war policy, the smokescreen behind which U.S. imperialist plans for world domination were carried out.

The anti-Soviet trend in the United States lurked close to the surface even when the two countries were allied in the war to defeat the axis powers. I myself witnessed it as a soldier in the U.S. army when a major demanded to know my position in the event of a war with the Soviet Union, at the very moment when Soviet soldiers were battling their way to the Elbe to join hands with U.S. soldiers over the corpse of Nazism; and again, at the end of the war, in occupied Korea, when another U.S. major came running out of his quarters in the middle of the night hysterically shouting, "The Russians are coming!" because he had heard blasting to the south where U.S. army engineers were building a new road through the hills.

French author André Fontaine goes so far as to say in his *History of the Cold War*² that this was was the "illegitimate offspring of the Bolshevik Revolution" (p. 3), after which he, too, peddles the idea that the two biggest powers have a stake in promoting it. In his zeal to put responsibility for the Cold War on the first socialist state, he deliberately ignores such well-known facts as the Decree on Peace, the first act of the new Soviet government, and Lenin's proclamation of peaceful coexistence as the basic principle of Soviet foreign policy. Fontaine's "illegitimate offspring" has meaning only in the sense that since 1917 capitalism has had the never-changing strategic goal of destroying socialism.

Representing a widespread viewpoint of the bourgeois-liberal intellectuals, Fontaine's stance is that of "a plague on both your houses." Hence his Eurocentrism: "... in the era of super-powers, who except Europe can speak to the world in the language of justice and freedom with enough authority and yet without being suspected of wanting to dominate it?" (p. 491).

U.S. State Department official Hugh De

Santis provides convincing proof in his *The Diplomacy of Silence*, published simultaneously in the USA and Great Britain,³ that the ground for the Cold War was prepared in the USA from before it became a policy. The author also undertakes a psychological study of leading U.S. diplomats accredited to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe since 1933. He writes: "The diplomat's cultural image of Soviet Russia and the Slavic lands of Eastern Europe . . . mirrored the ethnocentric and racial prejudices that permeated American society during the early years of the 20th century (and we can add, they still do. — J.W.), particularly the urban, nativist, upper-middle class of American society. Reared in this social milieu, career diplomats carried with them a stereotype of Southern and Eastern European immigrants as dirty, unruly, inferior and uncivilized people who had vulgarized American social, political and moral life" (p. 21).

Even if we consider the Soviet-U.S. relationship from this limited, narrow level of social psychology, these words indict the U.S. ruling circles. It is they, after all, who are the fountainheads of this social psychology, the initiators of antagonistic, hostile attitudes toward the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Is this the attitude in the Soviet Union to the people of the United States? Even visitors to the USSR from the capitalist world, visitors whom one could hardly suspect of being sympathetic to socialism, note the friendly feelings of the Soviet people toward the people of the United States, though everyone in the Soviet Union understands that no good is to be expected from the U.S. imperialists. For example, in his book *The Russians and the Americans* (perhaps the most objective of the books under review), well-known journalist Jules Archer⁴ quotes Sir William Hayter, former British ambassador to the USSR, who noted that "the average Russian tends to look on America with a good deal of sympathy . . ." (p. 10). Archer also cites Mark Twain, who admitted that he felt at home in Russia, as well as other present-day U.S. notables who have made similar remarks.

Obviously, a different kind of social psychology exists in the Soviet Union, one that is also class-inspired, but with this difference: it springs from the working class and its party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — the working class in power, which has no aspirations to dominate other peoples and nations.

U.S. participants in Peace March-82 re-

ported that the Soviet people are dedicated to peace and friendship with all peoples and that they differentiate between the people of the United States and the bellicose Cold War policies of the Reagan administration. The foreigners saw for themselves how great multitudes turned out to greet them in all Soviet cities on the line of march, for there is not one family in the USSR which did not lose a dear one in World War II. The peace marchers could see, hear and feel for themselves that the Soviet people, the Communist Party, the government and all the mass organizations are as one for peace and disarmament. The peace movement in the Soviet Union is the entire country.

The social psychology which predominates in a society is, to a large extent, a reflection of the aims of the dominant class. Chomsky records the interesting fact that already during World War II, the War and Peace Studies Project of the Council on Foreign Relations⁵ formulated a plan for a geographic "Grand Area" which was subsequently to be extended to a global economy under U.S. dominance (pp. 96, 97). Chomsky sees the U.S. Cold War as being aimed to establish U.S. dominance in this "Grand Area" and directed against U.S. imperialism's partners as well as against the former colonies and developing countries. Judging the Soviet Union in the same way, he asserts that it "created its own power bloc" (p. 204).

The author relates the danger of an intensification of a new Cold War to the evolution of the "post-war bipolar system" into "something more complex," to the decline of the two super-powers in relation to the blocs they had created, and to the effort to regain their respective dominant positions (ibid.). As already noted, his failure really to understand existing socialism leads Chomsky to attribute to the Soviet Union the same world-domination motives and impulses that he correctly attributes to U.S. imperialism.

How the United States proceeded to carry out this plan for the "Grand Area" becomes evident from *Eisenhower and the Cold War*,⁶ a book written by Robert Divine, Professor of History at Texas State University.

The Eisenhower years in the White House can serve as a textbook example of the truth of Lenin's words in his polemic with Kautsky: "Take foreign policy. In no bourgeois state, even in the most democratic, is it conducted openly. The people are deceived everywhere, and in democratic France, Switzerland, America and Britain this is done in an incomparably subtler manner than in other

countries. The Soviet Government has torn the veil of mystery from foreign policy in a revolutionary manner. Kautsky has not noticed this, he keeps silent about it, although in the era of predatory wars and secret treaties for the 'division of spheres of influence' (i.e., for the partition of the world among the capitalist bandits) this is of cardinal importance, for on it depends the question of peace, the life and death of tens of millions of people."⁷

Eisenhower is remembered as the man who, on leaving the presidency, warned Americans against the omnipotent military-industrial complex. And, as well, before and during his term as president he said many laudable things, such as "We must learn to live in this world to accommodate ourselves that we may live at peace with others whose basic philosophy may be very different" (p. 10).

But what of the actual record?

In winning the Republican nomination for President, "Ike" promised to take the offensive in the Cold War. He accepted that party's platform repudiating the Yalta agreement and calling for the "liberation of the captive peoples." He endorsed Dulles' concept of liberation: "The only way to stop a head-on collision with the Soviet Union is to break it up from within" (p. 16).

Eisenhower is the president who proclaimed: "The one — the only — way to win World War III is to prevent it" (p. 16), and is the same president whose National Security Council issued a basic policy statement (162/2) declaring that, if threatened, "the USA will consider nuclear weapons to be as available to use as other munitions" (pp. 36-37). It was Eisenhower who threatened to use the atom bomb to end the Korean War (p. 29); and again, against China "if it intervened in Indochina" (p. 51); and again against China in 1955 and 1956 in relation to the offshore islands (p. 67); and yet again "to prevent any unfriendly forces from moving into Kuwait" (p. 102).

Despite his apparently calm and reasoned words about living at peace with others whose basic philosophy differed, Anthony Eden (then British Foreign Secretary) found Eisenhower to be "obsessed by the fear of a communist Iran" (p. 74). Eisenhower believed, Divine writes, that "monolithic communism lay behind the turmoil in the Orient" (p. 33).⁸ It was during his administration that SEATO was formed to parallel NATO "to prevent the extension of communism" (p. 54); and he held that the "communists were responsible for the trouble in Lebanon in 1958" (p. 98).

Divine describes Eisenhower's foreign policy strategy as one of "deliberate deception" (p. 66). Here is an example from the book of how this policy was implemented concretely.

The USA moved its forces into Lebanon in 1958. A principal aim, according to Divine, was to show the world that the USA was now in charge in the Middle East. Publicly, Eisenhower said this was done "to stem the Soviet tide," despite the fact that "there was no evidence of Soviet activity in Lebanon" (p. 101), and despite the fact that "the Russians had never shown the ambitions attributed to them by Eisenhower and Dulles in the Middle East" (p. 96).

Commenting on a 1953 speech by Eisenhower to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Divine writes: "The president was asking the Soviets to give up all they had gained since World War II without offering anything more substantial in return than American goodwill" (p. 108). This was one of the earliest attempts of imperialism to confront the USSR with a completely unrealistic, unacceptable "zero option" proposal. Another was Eisenhower's "open skies" proposal of frequent aerial inspection of each other's territory, made at the Geneva summit in 1955. The deception in this proposal is revealed in Eisenhower's private remark: "Mutual agreements for such overflights would undoubtedly benefit us more than the Russians" (p. 121).

His "Atoms for Peace" speech at the UN was another "zero option" which he privately described as "psychological warfare" since "the United States could afford to reduce its atomic stockpile by two or three times the amount the Russians might contribute and still improve our position ..." (p. 114).

The foregoing is but a partial record of the deliberate deception of the Cold War strategy of the Eisenhower administration.

Can anyone come up with anything comparable to this record to lay at the door of the Soviet Union? Never!

Showing the many similarities between U.S. prosecution of the Cold War and its attempts to revive it today. Chomsky nonetheless affirms that because of changed conditions "Europe and Japan pose a greater potential threat to U.S. world power than the Soviet Union, if they move toward a more independent role" (p. 205).

But it is in the kernel of this idea that we have the major reason why the attempts by the Potomac hawks to revive the Cold War can never be a duplicate of the Cold War of the 40s and 50s. That Cold War occurred only because dollar imperialism was able to enforce an anti-

Soviet and anti-socialist unity on Western Europe and Japan, who were vitally dependent on U.S. assistance for recovery from the ravages to their economy during the war.

Today, the Cold War is virtually a "one-man show," with the performer decked out in stars-and-stripes. (One should possibly add that a well-known female British performer has been playing up to the one performer, having obviously learned well the commandments of Sir Winston Churchill, the first Cold War ideologist and one of her predecessors in the post of British Conservative leader and head of government.) U.S. monopoly capital is now engaged in economic warfare with Western Europe and Japan rather than aiding them. On the other hand, trade and business cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries serves to prevent the economic crisis in Western Europe and Japan from being much worse than it is. As the *London Observer* put it, "President Reagan has recently been conducting foreign policy with all the delicacy of an elephant on an escalator. For the Europeans, peaceful coexistence with Russia is indispensable and détente desirable."⁹

The return of U.S. foreign policy to the ways of Cold War by no means puts an end to international détente, as some officials in Washington and other capitals in the capitalist world had been quick to declare. Détente, in fact, is very much alive on the European continent where its importance is underlined by the fact that this continent was the origin of two world wars. The speeches by Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU CC, in Moscow and Prague show that the Soviet Union is fully committed to work for the strengthening of peace on a world scale.

What we have today in U.S. policy is something more dangerous than the Cold War: it is a hot, nuclear frenzy of a cabal which would push the world to the abyss if it does not accede to its will. It is more dangerous because this cabal has monstrous destructive potential in its hands. Their drive to doomsday is propelled by the fear that this may be the last chance for U.S. imperialism to gain world domination.

One of the glaring weaknesses of Chomsky's book is the author's failure to go beyond critical comments on the political dishonesty and immorality of U.S. defenders of the Cold War, his failure to discuss how the catastrophe threatening the world can be averted.

Unfortunately, the "two super-power equal responsibility" thesis is also the starting point of *Beyond the Cold War: A New Approach to the Arms Race and Nuclear Annihilation*¹⁰ by British Professor of History E.P. Thompson.

This author also regards the Cold War as "a habit supported by powerful material interests in both blocs" (p. 33). But whereas the main thrust of Chomsky's book is a critical exposure of U.S. imperialism and its intellectual servants — and it at least does not relieve the USA of the responsibility for the Cold War — Thompson manages to impute all responsibility for it to the Soviet Union.

Holding the Cold War responsible for "the cause of peace and the cause of freedom falling apart" (p. 49) — whatever that means — the author proposes uniting Western peace movements with the so-called dissidents in the socialist countries, seeing in this the "third way" of struggle against the military threat.

Rejecting détente and peaceful coexistence as "having been licensed by the super-powers" (can he be talking about Mr. Reagan?!), Thompson declares that the Cold War can be ended only in one of two ways: either "by destruction of European civilization or by reunification of European political culture" (p. 50). Since the author is against a nuclear holocaust, he suggests destabilizing the Cold War system from below, i.e., "to unglue nations from their alliances which might then — as Poland and Greece have shown us — fall back into their inherited national traditions" (p. 51). We cannot but ask, such as the Poland of a wealthy landed aristocracy saddled on the backs of an impoverished peasantry and working class? And for that matter, Greece has still to "unglue" itself from NATO and U.S. military bases.

His omissions speak no less loudly. For example, he has nothing to say about the numerous Soviet peace initiatives, ignoring them like Washington does. He "does not notice" the violations of civil and trade union rights in the United States and other Western "democracies," but he is extremely concerned about the fate of "freedom" in the Eastern European countries.

What he aims for with his "third path" was previewed in Vienna at the end of Peace March-82 in an "East-West Dialogue" organized by his group. There, he was one of the

speakers for the West, the East was "represented" by a few dissidents from the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia resident abroad who spoke in the service not of peace, but of the Cold War waged by imperialism — the "dialogue" of the ventriloquist and his dummy.

Thompson's ideas objectively serve not the cause of peace but those who are prepared to do away with it. His "third way" is an attempt to split the peace forces, to prevent their unity and turn the peace movement against the Soviet Union. As such, his book is a kind of Trojan horse inside the peace movement, another weapon in the Cold War pretending to be a weapon to end that war.

Yes, the Cold War methods poison relations between peoples and must become a thing of the past. Only relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence can save humankind from fear of the future and ensure the fruitful and businesslike cooperation of all countries, and their firm trust in each other. This was reiterated by the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member states — the main document of the Prague Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee (January 1983). Only trust can overcome the stumbling block over which the authors of the books under review either tripped or which they did not want to remove.

James West
CC Political Bureau Member,
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1. Noam Chomsky, *Toward a New Cold War. Essays on the Current Crisis and How We Got There*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1982.

2. André Fontaine, *Histoire de la Guerre Froide*, Paris, 1967. Quoted from the U.S. edition: André Fontaine, *History of the Cold War, From the Korean War to the Present*. New York, Vintage Books, 1970.

3. Hugh De Santis, *The Diplomacy of Silence. The American Foreign Service, The Soviet Union, and the Cold War, 1933-1947*, Chicago and London, the University of Chicago Press, 1980.

4. Jules Archer, *The Russians and the Americans*, New York, Hawthorn Books, 1975.

5. Participants included top government planners and members of the "foreign policy élite" with close ties to the government, major corporations and private foundations.

6. Robert A. Devine, *Eisenhower and the Cold War*, New York-Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1981.

7. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 246.

8. It is interesting to compare these words with the credo of the present U.S. President Reagan, who is also possessed by the anti-Soviet psychosis: "The Soviet Union is behind every disturbance in the world."

9. Cited in *The International Herald Tribune*, June 30, 1982.

10. E.P. Thompson. *Beyond the Cold War: A New Approach to the Arms Race and Nuclear Annihilation*. New York, Pantheon, 1982. Chapters from the book were published in *The Nation* (pp. 33 and 48-51), July 10-17, 1982, under the title "Breaking the Ice of the Cold War. East, West — Is There a Third Way?" We cite the magazine.

Détente and Anti-Communism

Y. Nalin
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Under the guise of academism

Justus M. van der Kroef, *Communism in South-East Asia*, London and Basingstoke, The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1981, 342 pp.

The author is an American politologist closely linked with anti-communist research centers. The publishers present his new book as "a comparative historical and analytical study of the origin of communist ideology and the operations of the communist parties and governments in Southeast Asia against the background of the nationalist resurgence in the early decades of this century, the relationship with Moscow and Peking, and the changing socio-economic and political situation within the region."

It is only fair to say that the author has carefully studied nearly all that has been written on the subject to date. As a bourgeois politological work his book is perhaps the first to meticulously describe not only parties belonging to the international communist movement but even small extremist groups which have made themselves more or less conspicuous (by their shrill pronouncements) and parade as "communists" for no obvious reason or are regarded as such by the author. Incidentally, this confusion puzzles the enlightened reader. All signs are, however, that the book is not intended for him but for the "general reader," who usually has a false notion of communist activity and reads unquestioningly, taking an "expert's" words at their face value.

The book hardly defines communism (or scientific socialism) at all. It only hints that communism is "dangerous." Right at the beginning the author claims that the Marxist-Leninist doctrine is "foreign" to Asian peoples. From what he writes, life in Asia was normal and peaceful, with people following their traditions, until the "calamity" overtook them. "... The introduction of communism into the individual Southeast Asian countries was heavily dependent on foreigners ..." (p. 58).

This claim is so battered that one cannot repress an ironic smile. Anyone who has at least an elementary idea of why the communist doctrine came into being, how and when, knows that the idea of a revolutionary transformation of the world by the oppressed and exploited is international by nature and is cherished by the working people in any part of the globe. What matters is not where in terms of

geography this harmonious doctrine took shape but the fact that it has proved strong and has gripped the minds of the masses because it is true.

Having called Marxism-Leninism "foreign," van der Kroef cannot help going further by posing the communist movement against other liberation movements that historically preceded the rise of communist parties in Southeast Asian countries. He offers no explanation for this even though the "general reader" evidently needs it.

It should be clear that the struggle for national liberation began with the imposition of colonial rule on these countries (which happened long before the emergence of scientific socialism). Being the ideology of the working class, the most advanced and politically conscious part of society, communism fully expresses, among others, the idea of national liberation from foreign exploiters and invaders. This idea is inherent in communism, which also offers the masses the prospect of deliverance from their "own" exploiters, that is, of socio-economic liberation. Capitalism began to dig its own grave in the countries seized by it, for the peoples could not tolerate colonial plunder, arbitrariness and subjection indefinitely. "In the long run," Lenin wrote, "capitalism itself is educating and training the vast majority of the population of the globe for the struggle."¹

The author is compelled to mention the impact of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia on popular struggles in Asia. However, he interprets this impact in the most vulgar manner; he writes that the Comintern was formed and that following its second congress, which adopted "Theses on the National and the Colonial Questions," agents of that organization made their way into countries of the region to found communist parties "at the behest" of Moscow (see p. 59). Yet he ought to know well, for he has made a close study of the history of the Communist Party of Indonesia,² that this party sprang up in May 1920, that is, before the second congress of the Comintern met, at a time when the working-class movement in the country surged high and on the basis of the Marxist Indian³ Social Democratic Association and Sarekat Islam, a national mass organization.

One must either be ignorant of the reasons for

the rise of working people's revolutionary organizations, or deliberately falsify history to attribute an upswing in class struggle to anybody's volition, order or instructions. As it would be discourteous to deny that the author is competent, one must necessarily suspect him of the latter.

Van der Kroef does not scruple to interpret well-known developments in the history of our party at will, as he has done earlier. For instance, he describes the popular uprising against the Dutch colonizers in 1926 and 1927 under the leadership of the CPI, founded a few years before, as a "coup attempt" (see p. 6). Also, he blames the communists for the provocation which the reactionary cabinet of Mohammad Hatta staged against the CPI and other left forces in the East Java town of Madiun on September 18, 1948 (see p. 33). No wonder that, identifying himself with Indonesian reactionaries, he regards the CPI as the originator of the bloody events of 1965 although many documents of our party spell out their nature clearly and conclusively. There was, in particular, the "Answer of the CC CPI to Kopkamtib"⁴ (1979). It showed up the falsity of Kopkamtib's *White Book* treating of these events, analyzed their true nature and mechanism and named the real culprits. Another indication of the author's bias is that while quoting freely from the *White Book*, he says not a word about the CPI reply to it.

Van der Kroef deals similarly with other material concerning the communist movement in Southeast Asian countries. The abundance of references to and quotations from communist as well as bourgeois and other sources seems to suggest that he has no preconceived

ideas. But on taking a closer look, one realizes that he calls in question those of the communists' statements which he does not like, and fails to relate "suitable" statements with the context, preferring to comment on them from a definite angle.

What the author is particularly biased on, however, is probably neither this, nor the bourgeois propaganda clichés appearing here and there (such as a "party sponsored by Moscow"). He deliberately makes no distinction between "communists" and communists: between the monstrous Pol Pot regime, which was out to destroy its own people, and socialist Vietnam, between various bands posing as "communist" and terrorizing the civilian population of certain Southeast Asian countries, on the one hand, and parties that have dissociated from extremism and emphatically condemn it, on the other. The book also sounds a standard "warning" against the "threat" alleged to come to all the peoples of Indochina from Vietnam as a product of Vietnamese-Soviet friendship.

The American politologist's work has little in common with real history and the present-day realities of the communist movement in this important region of the planet.

Satijaya Sudiman
Leadership member,
CP of Indonesia

1. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 500.
2. In 1965 Justus M. van der Kroef published *The Communist Party of Indonesia, Its History, Program and Tactics* and in 1971, *Indonesia after Sukarno*. — Ed.
3. Prior to winning independence, Indonesia was called the Netherlands East Indies. — Ed.
4. Kopkamtib, short for Preservation of Order and Security Command, chief repressive agency of General Suharto's regime. — Ed.

Released from detention

Amaro Valentim do Nascimento (Brazil), member of the Editorial Council of *World Marxist Review*, has returned to his post in Prague from Rio de Janeiro. While in his homeland he was invited by the newspaper *Voz da Unidade* to a seminar it was sponsoring to consider problems related to the country's economic, public and political life, and also the question of legalizing the Brazilian Communist Party. On December 13, as the seminar was about to begin, police broke into the newspaper's offices, made a shambles of it, and took all the 91 persons present into custody. They were interrogated for many hours, the pretext being that they were in transgression of the national security law.

This arbitrary action outraged democratic

opinion in Brazil and the world. Many parties, trade unions, public organizations and individual citizens demanded the immediate release of the persons who had been detained, the legalization of the BCP, and the repeal of this reactionary law.

This solidarity wrested Amaro Valentim do Nascimento and his comrades from the hands of the police, and they are now free. However, the case of the participants in the seminar is being examined by a military tribunal and in the event charges are preferred against them they will be in danger of imprisonment. In this connection the newspaper *Voz da Unidade* is underscoring the significance of further solidarity actions by the democratic forces against arbitrary rule.

History of the Labor Movement in the U.S. Volume 6

On the Eve of America's Entry into World War I (1915-1916)

Philip S. Foner

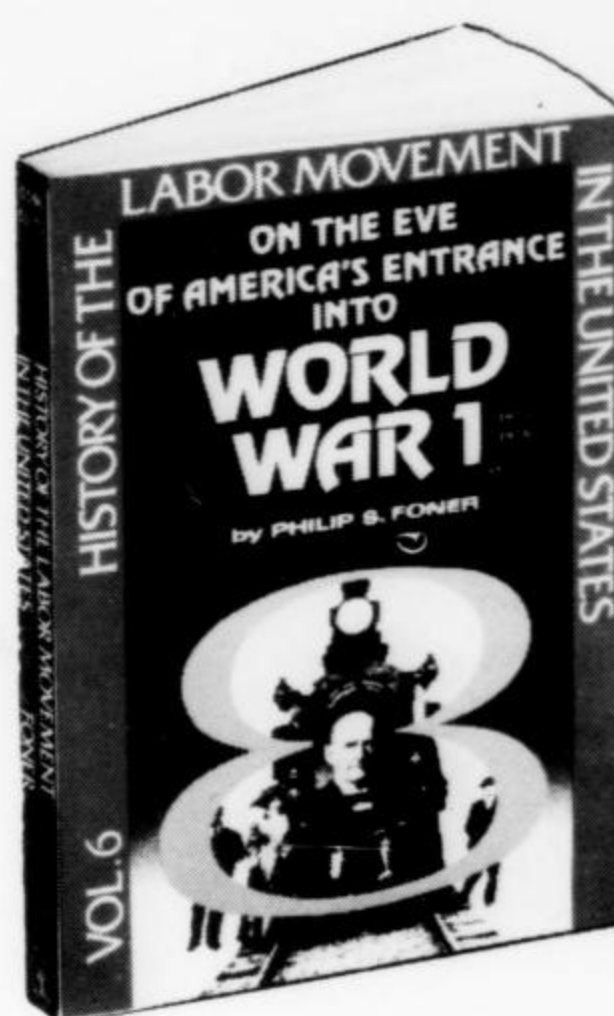
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