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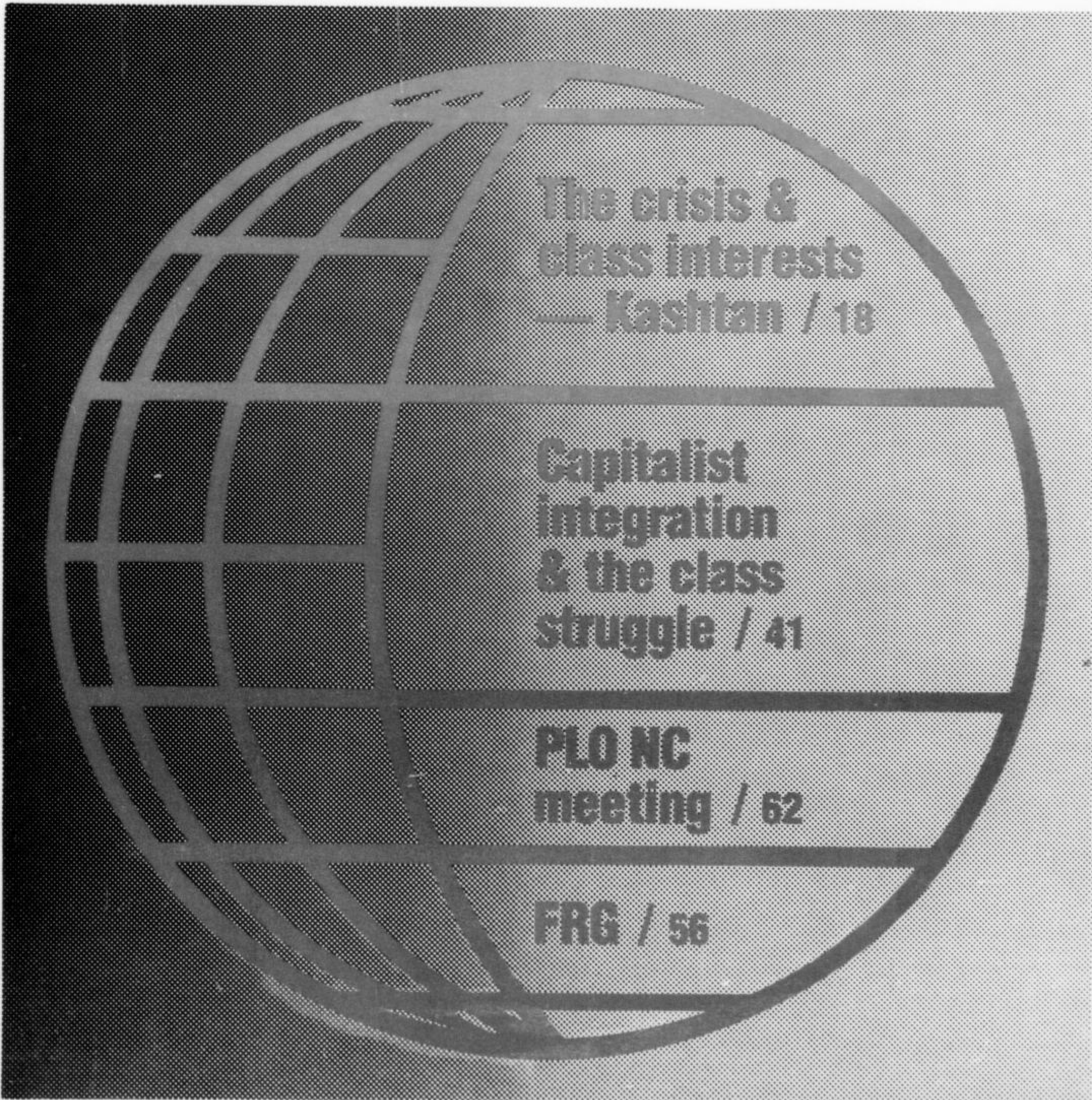
Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

June 1983, Volume 26, Number 6 \$1.00



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June 1983, Vol. 26, No. 6

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Peace: the ideal of socialism

Gustav Husak
General Secretary, CP Czechoslovakia CC,
President of Czechoslovakia

Humankind is now going through one of the most difficult periods of its history. It was repeatedly said in the past that the world was nearing a crucial crossroads at which the direction of its subsequent development would be determined: whether it would be the way of peace, mutually advantageous international cooperation and joint constructive solution of vital and difficult problems facing humankind at the present stage, or the way of confrontation, conflict, feverish armament, growing tensions and a gradual slide to the dangerous point of a world nuclear war. But never before has that crossroads been so close, never before have the peoples been so starkly and stridently faced with the key problem of choosing their way as they are just now.

That is because the struggle between the forces striving for peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, and the imperialist aggressive forces, which make no secret at all of their hostile attitude to the relaxation of international tension has been exacerbated to an unprecedented degree and invested with global dimensions. The acts of the aggressive U.S. circles and their closest allies testify to their urge to establish world domination, to gain military-strategic superiority over the socialist states, to slow down the process of progressive social change in the world and to suppress the national liberation movement.

The mounting aggressiveness of imperialism tends increasingly to complicate the situation and raise international tension. This is a source of growing anxiety and apprehension among all peace-loving people throughout the world. They are ever more convinced of the need for actively resisting the dangerous line of imperialist policy. There is a growing understanding everywhere that all the progressive, democratic and anti-war forces must consistently and resolutely act to ensure peace and strengthen international security, oppose the policy of strength and confrontation, insist on an end to the spiralling arms race and on effective measures in disarmament, on peaceful coexistence between states with different social

systems and a lowering of tension in relations between them.

It would be a mistake to underestimate the danger posed to peace by the policy pursued by the incumbent U.S. administration and its supporters in other imperialist states. At the same time, there is a need to strengthen the conviction among the broadest masses of people, of world public opinion, of all those who are aware of the hazards of a nuclear war for our civilization and for human life itself, that the peoples are not impotent in the face of this danger and that imperialism can no longer arbitrarily decide on their destinies. In the past, there were no forces capable of staying the hand of those who wanted to start wars, who stood to gain from them and make fortunes on them, but in our epoch the situation has undergone a radical change. Today, the advocates of war are opposed by the socialist community, the national liberation movement and mighty social forces in many countries. The struggle for peace, for averting an armed clash rests on a broad and solid foundation.

Czechoslovakia fully shares the approach formulated in the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty countries which they adopted at the Prague meeting of their Political Consultative Committee in January 1983. It says: "However difficult the situation in the world, there are possibilities for overcoming the dangerous stage in international relations. The present course of events can and must be halted, and their development charted in a direction meeting the aspirations of the peoples."¹ Everything depends on how resolutely, consistently and purposefully all the progressive, anti-imperialist, democratic and peace-loving forces will act.

The Soviet Union and other socialist community countries are in the vanguard of the peace forces throughout the world. Their consistent and peaceable political line and their resolute struggle to avert war have helped not only the peoples but also the ruling circles of some countries to become fully aware that the policy of socialism is a policy of peace, that the socialist states do not need war, that they do not

want war, and that they are not preparing for one.

The struggle to preserve and strengthen peace, based on respect for the rights and interests of all the peoples, became pivotal to the whole foreign policy activity of the Land of Soviets immediately upon the victory of the October Revolution. The emergence of the socialist community was of invaluable importance in this struggle in the period after the Second World War and the triumph of the socialist revolution in a number of other countries. In a brief period, the socialist community developed into the chief force of contemporary social development and progress. In the relations of the socialist states with each other, and increasingly also in their relations with a number of other countries, the thesis which Marx formulated 113 years ago in connection with the protests voiced by French and German workers against the Franco-Prussian war is being gradually filled with concrete content. At that time, Marx said: "Whatever turn the impending horrid war may take, the alliance of the working classes of all countries will ultimately kill war ... In contrast to the old society, with its economic miseries and its political delirium, a new society is springing up, whose international rule will be Peace, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same — *Labor!*"²

The socialist nations believe that the way to ensure favorable conditions for building the new social system, which is based on social justice, is to struggle to ensure and strengthen peace, because that is a system whose supreme goal is to provide ever fuller satisfaction of the working people's material and spiritual needs and to guarantee their life in an atmosphere of peace. That is the purpose for which socialism works to mobilize and use all the resources and creative forces of society. The same purpose is also fully served by the socialist countries' foreign policy and their consistent peace initiatives in the international arena.

In the recent decades, the common policy and struggle of the countries of our community have been expressed in the Peace Program, which was adopted by the 24th congress of the CPSU and further elaborated by the 25th and 26th congresses. This Program was fully and unconditionally accepted by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and by the communist and workers' parties of the other fraternal countries at their own congresses.

The Peace Program, which is being implemented by the joint and concerted efforts of the socialist community states, sets the basic task of putting an end to the policy of strength, the

arms race and confrontation, bringing about a relaxation of international tension, and creating favorable conditions for the development of mutually advantageous peaceful cooperation between countries with different social systems.

The struggle to implement this program has yielded a number of significant and positive results. Considerable changes have taken place in the balance of forces in the world arena. The potential of the socialist community is growing. The international positions of the states which have opted for the socialist way of development are being consolidated. The influence of the non-aligned movement is increasing. The world revolutionary process is developing. The activity of the international communist and working-class movement, of the working class, of all the working people and the anti-war peace circles in the non-socialist countries is rising. All of this goes to create favorable conditions for a greater scope of the struggle for ensuring peace and for the independence of the nations and social progress.

There is good ground to say that in the 1970s both the individual socialist states and their community as a whole developed successfully. That was a period in which the positions of socialism were markedly consolidated, in which many peoples made gains in the struggle to strengthen their national freedom and independence, and in which there was a growth of the forces of peace and social progress.

The positive changes in the international situation met the interests of all the peoples, had their broad and active support, and exerted a profound influence on world development. That was precisely formulated by General Secretary of the CPSU CC Yuri Andropov in his speech at the CPSU CC plenary meeting in November 1982, when he said: "It is our profound conviction that the 1970s, which were marked by détente, were not, as some imperialist leaders now assert, a casual episode in humankind's difficult history. No, the policy of détente is in no sense a past stage. It has the future before it."³

However, every step aimed to improve the international situation and for détente in relations between countries made it necessary to overcome fierce resistance on the part of the most reactionary aggressive forces of imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. Being blinded by anti-communism, and hatred for socialism, for the Soviet Union in the first place, they were not reconciled with the policy of peaceful coexistence and did not abandon their line of confrontation. These circles openly hampered the development of mutually

advantageous international cooperation and détente. This provided fresh confirmation in practice of the thesis formulated in the CPSU CC reports at the Leninist party's latest congresses that détente cannot and does not in any sense invalidate or modify the laws of the class struggle, and that not everything in international matters depends on the socialist states and their friends alone.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the aggressive circles of the United States and other imperialist powers sharply stepped up their activity. Their political line, aimed at confrontation, was especially intensified with the inauguration of the Reagan administration in Washington. They have been ever more openly attacking the principles of peaceful co-existence, which in the age of nuclear missiles and other sophisticated weapons of mass destruction, constitute the only reasonable and acceptable basis for developing relations between states with different social systems.

The feverish arms race being conducted by these circles for the purpose of upsetting the military-strategic equilibrium which has taken shape in the world and to obtain military superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole poses a grave threat to international stability and erodes it. In order to vindicate its extremely dangerous and aggressive foreign policy line, reaction has mounted and is tirelessly fanning an unprecedentedly far-flung anti-socialist campaign in the mass media used to manipulate public opinion; it has started psychological warfare. This "crusade" has been actively joined — and, in fact, orchestrated — by the leading spokesmen of the imperialist powers, the leaders of the United States in the first place.

Publicly discussed and advertised scenarios and doctrines of the various imperialist strategists have become a component part of the anti-socialist crusade. They have considered the possibility and feasibility of a "limited nuclear war," a "protracted nuclear conflict," a "first incapacitating strike," a "pre-emptive, or preventive strike," and so on. This irresponsible propaganda is designed to break down resistance of the broadest possible strata to the idea of a nuclear war, and to get them to accept the idea that such a war is thinkable, which is why, the argument runs, there is a need to accept the prospect of it.

These absurd, anti-humanistic and utterly false and lying doctrines and scenarios must be exposed with the utmost vigor. Prominent scientists and experts from many countries have convincingly argued that if a nuclear conflict broke out, it would have disastrous con-

sequences for humankind. Everyone would stand to lose in a war that would bring destruction and devastation on a gigantic scale and would jeopardize the very existence of whole nations.

That is why the socialist community countries have so resolutely declared that a nuclear clash cannot be allowed to occur. In the context of international relations, no task is now more important and urgent for the nations and states than to avert the threat of a nuclear war in any form or version.

That is a difficult task because imperialism continues to be a strong adversary. Despite the advancing and deepening general crisis, which permeates every sphere of life in capitalist society, its most aggressive circles still have sizable material resources, a great economic, scientific and technical potential, and an impressive military force.

Nevertheless, the fighters against the threat of war proceed from realistic potentialities. Life daily provides evidence that, in their blind hatred for socialism, the bellicose imperialist circles keep setting themselves goals which it is beyond their powers to attain.

For one thing, they cannot hope to block the successful development of the socialist community states or to stem the spread of socialist ideas throughout the world. Policies designed to do so did not bring any success to their architects even in the past, when the balance of forces was still a long way from equilibrium. Today, an even greater fiasco is in store for them. Nor have they secured the desired results from their stubborn urge to suppress the national liberation movement, to undermine the on-going process of progressive social change in many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and to divert the working class and all the other working people in the capitalist countries from the struggle for their rights and for social justice. The anti-imperialist, national liberation, progressive and peace-loving forces have succeeded in frustrating the schemes of imperialism and beating back its onslaught.

No good is in store for the peoples from the U.S. administration's intention to tilt the existing military-strategic equilibrium between the United States and the USSR, between the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries, through a feverish build-up of armaments. This equilibrium, which it took a period of years to shape, now objectively helps to preserve international stability and reduce the danger of an outbreak of war. That is why the Soviet Union, the other socialist community countries and all sober and realistically-minded political leaders firmly reject the strivings of the United States

and some NATO countries to upset the equilibrium. The USSR's highest representatives have repeatedly declared most firmly that everything will be done to preserve this equilibrium and that the policy based on an urge to secure military superiority over the Soviet Union has no prospects before it. It is unrealistic both on a global scale and in the individual regions, especially in Europe, where the issue is a most acute and urgent one.

The substance of the socialist community countries' consistent peace policy is that, even in the present situation, a sense of realism and common sense should prevail in the relations between states with different social systems. This was clearly stated by Yuri Andropov at the November 1982 plenary meeting of the CPSU CC, when he said: "The CPSU is against the controversy of ideas being converted into a confrontation between states and peoples, against weapons and a readiness to use them being set up as a yardstick for the potentialities of social systems."⁴

The socialist community countries have countered the war hysteria being fanned by Washington with a calm and reasonable tone, with constructive proposals reaffirming the consistency of our peace policy and its invariable aim of averting the threat of a world nuclear conflict. This firm and clear-cut line was once again provided with lucid documentary confirmation in the Political Declaration adopted in Prague. In it the socialist states clearly formulated their positions on the cardinal problems of the present international situation. They emphasized the urgent need for effective steps to prevent any further worsening of the situation, to halt the arms race, while it was still possible to do so, and to go on to disarmament. Having reaffirmed the validity of their earlier initiatives on the solution of outstanding international problems, they put forward new and exceptionally important proposals whose adoption would reduce the danger of war and help to strengthen peace and détente in Europe.

That was also the spirit in which the Warsaw Treaty's Foreign Ministers Committee held its meeting in April to discuss further measures for implementing the plans proposed in the Prague Declaration. The participants also considered practical matters relating to negotiations with NATO and other states on the key problems in strengthening peace and international security, and in disarmament. They stressed once again the importance of a dialogue for solving these problems, extending cooperation and improving the situation on the continent and in all the other regions of the

world. They reaffirmed the Warsaw Treaty states' readiness to continue and elaborate such a dialogue.

Czechoslovakia is taking an active part in implementing the socialist community countries' joint peace program. The fundamental directive for our foreign policy at the present stage consists of the decisions of the 16th congress of the CP Czechoslovakia, which voiced full support for the foreign policy line of the Soviet communists' 26th congress and emphasized our belief that "organic continuation and development of the CPSU's Peace Program is a reliable and effective way for solving the most burning and urgent problems of contemporary international life. At the same time, we regard it as a concentrated expression of our own vital interests, of the needs and goals of the whole Czechoslovak people in the sphere of international relations."⁵ Accordingly, the 16th congress of the CPCz said: "We shall strive to realize all the peace initiatives jointly worked out and being implemented by the socialist countries."⁶

The whole of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy activity is based on the awareness that our strength, and so also the guarantee of successful solution of individual problems, is predetermined above all by the socialist community countries' solid unity and close cooperation. To strengthen this unity has invariably been the main concern and central task of the activity of our party and the socialist state in the international arena.

The cornerstone of this policy is sound friendship, alliance and all-round and developing cooperation with the USSR. They provide a reliable guarantee, which has stood the test of history, of Czechoslovakia's national freedom, state independence and sovereignty. These relations have provided the Czechoslovak working people with solid support both in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution and in building socialism. They are the source of confidence that our socialist homeland will continue to be a happy home for its peoples, that it will continue to develop and flourish. The citizens of Czechoslovakia fully support this firm foreign policy orientation, and regard it as the most reliable prerequisite for ensuring favorable external conditions for the life of their country's peoples in peace, for their tranquil and creative work in realizing the plans for the further development of the socialist society.

In the joint efforts aimed to realize the socialist states' Peace Program, our foreign policy makes extensive use of Czechoslovakia's participation in the work of various international bodies and of its well-developed bilateral con-

tacts with many states. Czechoslovakia is active in the United Nations, where many important recommendations helping to strengthen world peace and security have been adopted over the past few years thanks to the constructive stand of the socialist community countries. In this context, we fully share the thesis formulated in the Warsaw Treaty countries' Prague Political Declaration concerning the need to enhance the role of the United Nations in international affairs as an authoritative forum for concerting the actions of states designed to strengthen peace and international security and to help solve vital worldwide problems.

Czechoslovakia is involved in a number of negotiations on disarmament and, together with the other socialist community countries, is making a contribution to the search of ways to end the arms race and to adopt effective measures to liquidate the stockpiles of weapons. As a direct participant in the Vienna talks on a mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, it has actively backed the socialist countries' efforts to achieve an agreement that would help to stabilize the situation on our continent, while preserving the existing balance of forces and with respect for the principle of equal security for all the parties. At the Madrid meeting of the participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, we are bending our effort to ensuring that a well-argued call is issued for solving the urgent problems of disarmament, reducing the risk of armed confrontation and resuming the process of détente in Europe.

Unfortunately, the course of all these talks, in which Czechoslovakia is a direct participant, once again made it clear that the United States, supported by its NATO allies, has pursued the very opposite goals. Again and again we witnessed its urge to obtain one-sided advantages at the expense of the socialist community states and to impose conditions that would put us at a disadvantage, in a position of inequality, so weakening our security and defense capability. One will easily realize that such an approach cannot help to hammer out any agreement.

In order to strengthen the broad anti-imperialist front of joint action by progressive, democratic and peace forces, Czechoslovakia has been developing friendly ties and fruitful cooperation with many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. We have expressed unconditional solidarity with their urge to secure genuine national freedom and independence, and have resolutely rejected and condemned the imperialist policy of starting

local conflicts, a policy of meddling and intervention. We support their yearning for economic and social progress and their hard struggle for complete liberation from imperialist domination. We have established sound internationalist, friendly relations above all with the states that have taken the socialist way of development.

Czechoslovakia highly appreciates the role of the non-aligned movement in the struggle against imperialism and the threat of war, for peace, for an end to the arms race, for détente, and for the development of normal relations between states. Its role was once again expressed in the final documents of the recent seventh summit conference of the non-aligned movement in India, in which the non-aligned states once again confirmed their urge to take an active stand for peace, and voiced their grave alarm over the sharpening of the international situation and the arms race.

In accordance with the policy of peaceful coexistence, we want to go on developing good relations and mutually advantageous cooperation with all the capitalist countries wishing to do so. This obviously means equitable relations, in which there is no room for any form of pressure or discrimination, for any attempts to interfere in our internal affairs. Positive results have already been achieved in contacts with a number of western states in the light of this stand, and this helps to strengthen peace and international security.

The might of the socialist community rests both on its unity and cohesion, and on the strength, solidarity and successful development of the socialist system in each of its member-countries. Here, socialist Czechoslovakia, the working people of our country, also have an active balance. In the period of socialist construction, the Czechoslovak people have done a great deal under the leadership of the CPCz for the prosperity of their homeland. Today, Czechoslovakia is a mature socialist state with a developed economy, a high level of education, good living standards and comprehensive social security for its citizens. Economic growth, rising material well-being and consolidation of the working people's power have become characteristic features of our way of life. In a historically brief period, we have succeeded in building up a solid material and technical basis for the new society. Much money has gone into the building and modernization of the national economy and into the development of science and technology.

Our successes in developing our socialist homeland simultaneously put on us obligations for the future. In the 1980s, we have to

implement our plans in much more difficult conditions which make heightened demands on us. Fulfillment of the directives of the 16th congress of the CPCz and an accelerated switch of the national economy to intensive development have become an exceptionally important and urgent task.

When we speak with well-justified pride about the Czechoslovak working people's successes in socialist construction, we do not mean that there have been no impediments, difficulties or mistakes on our way. The communists, the working class and all the other working people of Czechoslovakia could draw on the wealth of experience of the Soviet people and the peoples of the other fraternal countries in building and defending socialism. Yet in tackling our new tasks, we had to go through many a trial, to correct mistakes and to suffer reverses. It would be incompatible with our Marxist-Leninist world view to assert just now that all our difficulties are behind us, and that everything has already been solved. But it is safe to say that our socialist system is a healthy and viable organism which has demonstrated its strength in the most difficult trials, and that it has the future before it.

In the past, the peoples of Czechoslovakia repeatedly had to carry the heavy burden of trial by war, and they are well aware from their own experience of the price of peace and realize that they have been able to enjoy its fruits for nearly four decades now only thanks to the principled policy of the USSR and the other socialist states. Our people are aware that that is the only reason why they have been able to achieve so much in the building of socialism. They know that their creative work and their very life depend on whether peace throughout the world can be ensured in the future as well.

That is why Czechoslovak citizens have watched recent international developments with understandable anxiety. They have been most incensed with the policy of the present U.S. administration, which has sought, with the support or tacit consent of some of its allies, to drastically undermine the positive results of the process of détente in Europe.

Realization of the plans to deploy several hundred new U.S. medium-range missiles on the territory of some NATO states in Western Europe would have dire consequences. The main purpose of such a step — and the United States would like to make a start on it even this year — would be to change the equilibrium of forces existing in Europe and to obtain military superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty states as a whole. The "interim agreement" which President Reagan proposed in March of

this year in an effort to create the illusion that Washington was prepared for serious talks makes absolutely no difference, because the goal of the United States is still not to seek an agreement helping to strengthen security, but to deploy new missiles in Europe, even if only a smaller number of them.

This dangerous intention has been resolutely condemned in the Prague Declaration by Czechoslovakia, together with the other Warsaw Treaty countries, for it would inevitably have profoundly negative consequences for the whole situation on the continent, for the whole complex of relations between the European states. Realization of that plan would further destabilize the political and military-strategic situation and lead to a further build-up of destructive weapons arsenals. That would make peace in Europe and in other regions even more fragile.

In view of this, the Soviet Union has come forward with a number of concrete constructive proposals whose implementation could help to avert the danger threatening the peoples of Europe and the whole world. Czechoslovakia has given full support to these proposals.

Developments over the past few months have shown once again that the socialist community states' peaceful foreign policy is correct. Its basic strategic line does not need to be modified in any way. On the contrary, the exacerbated international situation resulting from the aggressive turn in the actions of imperialism shows even more clearly the importance and urgent need of the socialist countries' peace initiatives. Our line is not influenced by any situational, short-term or tactical considerations. For us the ensuring of peace and the peoples' right to independence and social progress, peaceful coexistence, fruitful co-operation and disarmament are not propaganda slogans but an object of constant concern and an invariable objective.

Our joint Peace Program is correct, viable and profoundly attractive because it is a line which, first, expresses the vital interests not only of the socialist nations but also of the broadest strata of the population on all the continents, and second — which is equally important — it is realistic and true, because it is based on an in-depth Marxist-Leninist analysis of the whole contemporary situation, and of the crucial motive forces and main trends in world development.

In the international situation that has taken shape, it is necessary to act with even greater initiative and consistency in implementing this peace policy line so as to win for it the support of the peoples, of the broadest masses of the

population and the anti-war forces of the whole world. After all, this has a bearing on problems that affect everyone's life. That is why more and more people in every region of the world are joining in active struggle against the threat of war. An objective assessment of the contemporary stage of international development shows that the growing threat of war caused by the policy of imperialism is paralleled by a strengthening, mobilization and activation of the forces which can prevent war.

There is increasing evidence that Washington's present line is a source of growing doubts, apprehensions and reservations among many realistically-minded political and public leaders in the capitalist world, including the United States. Even the governments of some NATO countries do not risk supporting it. They, too, have a growing conviction that, far from strengthening security, this line could, in fact, lead to a nuclear holocaust. That is why they have spoken out in favor of continuing the dialogue with the socialist states and of constructive negotiations on disarmament.

The mounting threat of war has generated, virtually throughout the world, including the United States itself, the emergence, spread and growth of numerous movements opposing nuclear weapons, the step-up of the arms race and the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe. In some countries, the anti-war tide is truly nation-wide and has a considerable influence on the political atmosphere.

Since the beginning of this year, the mass protest movement against the plan to deploy new U.S. missiles has acquired unprecedented scope in the West European countries. Consequently, life itself provides evidence that their peoples are aware of the danger posed by these intentions.

It is becoming clear that by spreading war hysteria, so as to justify the adoption of new arms programs, the U.S. administration has generated apprehensions and fear of war both at home and mainly in Western Europe. West European public opinion is highly worried by the fact that new U.S. weapons capable of triggering a nuclear catastrophe are to be deployed on the territory of a number of NATO countries, with Washington, instead of the governments of the countries concerned, having the final say on the use of such weapons. And that against the background of the blatant declarations coming from the United States about the various scenarios for nuclear war and the prospects for starting it.

The on-going anti-war struggle is, of course, expressed not only in mass protest demonstrations. It tends increasingly to involve the politi-

cal parties, public bodies and movements, which frequently differ in ideological tenets, views and convictions, and take divergent attitudes to many issues. But they are all united by their common concern to avert war and end the arms race. In this struggle, the communists have a solid tradition, which has stood the test of long experience. In the vanguard of the revolutionary working-class movement, they have always opposed the aggressive policy of imperialism. Under the leadership of the World Peace Council, the peace movement, which emerged a few years after the Second World War in protest action against the atomic bomb, is opposing the threat of war and pressing for stronger peace and disarmament. In the face of the mounting tension and the growing threat of war, rank-and-file social democrats are taking a more active part in the anti-war struggle, and there is a definite positive development in the stand of the social democratic parties and of the Socialist International. Other numerous public organizations, well-known public figures, scientists, masters of art, representatives of various social groups, and even retired generals from the armies of NATO countries have joined in the broad anti-war tide. Masses of religious people of various denominations are active participants in this struggle. Some members of the church hierarchy have also come out against war and for an end to the arms race.

All these forces constitute an important political and moral potential in the struggle for peace, for averting a nuclear catastrophe. The governments of some imperialist states, including the U.S. administration, can no longer ignore them. The vigor, mass basis and political influence of the anti-war movement have been growing and gaining in strength with the rise in tensions, the step-up of the arms race and the increase in the danger of war.

The long-term political importance of the anti-war movement lies not only in the fact that it brings real pressure to bear on governments and parties, so blocking political and military measures which make the outbreak of war more likely. It also has an important positive role to play in showing the broadest masses of people that the danger stems from the aggressive line of the United States and some other NATO countries, which have propelled the arms race and are sharpening tensions. At the same time, it helps the masses to comprehend that the hazardous line of Washington and its allies is countered by the socialist community countries' Peace Program and their tireless demonstration in practice of their highly responsible approach to the preservation of peace and of their great readiness to carry on the struggle to

avert a nuclear war. Even the most aggressive circles of imperialism sense the growing importance of the anti-war movement. It is becoming an impediment to the realization of their intentions. These circles spend much money in order to reduce and undermine its strength, its ability to act and its authority, and to smear its intentions. In complete accord with well-known and oft-used recipes, they have been spreading mendacious and absurd claims about the anti-war movement being "an instrument in the hands of Moscow and world communism." They have spared no effort to prevent this broad movement from acting in unison and to blunt its anti-imperialist edge.

The peace-loving peoples of the world want to see the potentialities of the anti-war movement fully developed, and to enable it to make the utmost use of its political influence and of its weight, to make that influence ever more tangible. If it is to do so, its participants should, irrespective of their various ideologies, world views and religious convictions, have a correct understanding of the sources of the war danger, so as effectively to resist it and act together, in concert and honest cooperation. It is necessary to expose the dangerous role of the aggressive policy of imperialism not in order to score some propaganda points, but above all to give the anti-war movement the right orientation — against the principal danger facing the world today.

That is an urgent, serious and also highly difficult task, because the anti-war movement itself is broad and heterogeneous. A great part in solving this problem belongs to the numerous international conferences, meetings and rallies held within the framework of the struggle against the danger of war, for stronger peace, for disarmament and greater trust. The Czechoslovak government and working people expect the World Assembly "For Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War," which is to be held in Prague in June, to make a positive contribution to these efforts.

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The Czechoslovak people, the organs of our socialist state, the public organizations of the National Front, work collectives and individuals fully support this meeting and are closely following the preparations for it. At the Prague forum, we want to create favorable conditions for a fruitful and constructive dialogue in the course of which its participants could, on the basis of equality, give an objective assessment of all the views and proposals aimed to attain the common goal — to prevent war and preserve peace.

We expect the results of the Assembly largely to help find a common platform for action acceptable to all those who oppose nuclear war and want a life in peace. The difficult international situation and especially the dangerous plans for deploying new U.S. missiles in Western Europe, whose implementation could have far-reaching consequences for future developments on the continent, enjoin the participants in the anti-war movement to raise their struggle to a new stage. The point now is for everyone who is aware of the threat posed by these plans to join efforts in preventing their realization and to increase their pressure for reaching an agreement that would help to strengthen peace and ensure the equal security of all the states.

Even more effective forms of struggle need to be found. Alongside the staging of mass demonstrations, the formulation of slogans and the passing of resolutions, there is evidently a need to try to increase the political weight of anti-war actions, so as to make the movement an ever more effective and important political force, whose actions have a more potent and immediate influence on the stand of the individual governments.

We are aware that these are not simple demands, that the task is not an easy one. We hope, however, that the Prague Assembly will fulfil its role, give the anti-war movement a fresh impetus and further enhance its influence on world development. We are convinced that similar hopes are being pinned on the Prague Assembly by every active participant in the struggle for peace, against war, for disarmament, for peaceful coexistence, and for normal relations and fruitful cooperation between states with different social systems.

1. *Rude Pravo*, January 7, 1983.
2. *The General Council of the First International, 1870-1871. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967, p. 328.
3. *Rude pravo*, November 23, 1982.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Sbornik hlavnich dokumentu XVI. sjezdu Komunisticke strany Ceskoslovenska*, Prague, 1981, p. 52.
6. *Ibid.*

Massive anti-war protest

The winter and spring of 1983 were a period of further growth of the worldwide movement against the imperialist threat of war and for disarmament. The following brief reports from various countries show the scope of the movement.

Angola. The traditional peace march which was held in Luanda in March developed into a striking political demonstration.

Belgium. Nearly 10,000 people, representing mass women's organizations from most West European countries took part in the peace march in Brussels. They demanded that there should be no deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe. More than 230 Belgian towns and villages, including Brussels, Antwerp, Liege and Brugge, have declared themselves to be free from nuclear weapons.

A meeting was held in Brussels by mayors of West European cities and townships which want to declare their territories nuclear-free zones. They came from municipalities and public anti-war organizations in Britain, Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands and the FRG, where new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles are to be deployed, and also from a number of other West European countries.

Canada. A 290-kilometer protest march against Washington's intention to convert Canadian territory into a testing ground for U.S. Cruise missiles ended in the province of Alberta in a mass meeting.

Fourteen anti-war organizations from the province of British Columbia called on the government to cancel the military agreement with the United States without delay.

On the initiative of the Canadian Peace Congress, a campaign has been started in the country to declare its whole territory a zone free from nuclear weapons.

Denmark. Mass peace marches have been held in all the major cities on the initiative of the nation-wide "Stop the Nuclear Missiles" movement. The broad anti-war campaign is to culminate in a Peace-83 conference in September.

France. The French Peace Movement started preparations for a national conference on disarmament for the purpose of involving the broadest strata of the public in the anti-war struggle.

FRG. The Easter Marches in defense of peace which swept across the country involved more

than 785,000 men and women. These actions developed into a powerful protest by broad public circles against the plans to site new U.S. missiles in the FRG.

Representatives of 600 anti-war groups and organizations met for a conference in Cologne to discuss ways and means of invigorating the struggle against the arms race and for peace and détente.

Great Britain. More than 100,000 men and women took part in the spring anti-war campaign. Thousands of people joined hands to form a 20-kilometer-long chain of protest around the U.S. airforce base at Greenham Common, where U.S. Cruise missiles are to be sited, around the military nuclear research center at Aldermaston and the nuclear munitions plant at Burghfield. Almost 200 demonstrators were arrested by the police near the airforce base.

Greece. The most massive anti-war demonstration in the country's history has been held in Athens. It was the first joint action by the major peace organizations.

India. Responding to a call issued by the West Bengal Youth League which was joined by youth organizations in other states, people are putting their signatures to an appeal to support the Soviet Union's proposals for preserving peace.

Italy. A major demonstration by the advocates of nuclear disarmament in Rome marked the first step in an extensive program of struggle against the siting of U.S. Cruise missiles in Italy. The National Coordinating Committee, on which most of the country's anti-war organizations are represented, has decided to hold a public referendum to voice protests against the plans to deploy these missiles in Sicily.

Japan. A mass anti-war coalition — Union to Promote the Strengthening of Peace — has been set up by representatives of trade union, women's, young people's and religious organizations in Nagasaki, Osaka, Kagoshima and other cities.

In the capital, participants in a 30,000-strong rally resolutely protested against the plans to equip U.S. aircraft based in Japan with nuclear weapons and to place Cruise missiles on board ships of the U.S. Seventh Fleet which operates in Japanese waters.

Netherlands. Thousands of Dutch men and women resolutely oppose plans to site new

medium-range weapons in Western Europe. A National Council of the Anti-War Movement, set up by the representatives of the major peace organizations and groups, has declared that if U.S. nuclear weapons are deployed after all, it will consider staging a "civil disobedience campaign."

Norway. A number of organizations, including Women for Peace and the Norwegian Peace Committee, have started preparations for a 20-day anti-missile Peace March-83, which in July is to traverse the whole country from south to north.

Spain. The demonstration was held in Madrid on the initiative of the Anti-NATO Committee to demand the country's withdrawal from NATO and the closure of U.S. bases on its territory. A demonstration in support of similar demands was also staged near the U.S. military base which is situated in the vicinity of the capital.

Sweden. A World Christian Conference was held in Uppsala under the motto: "Life and Peace." It was attended by high-ranking clergymen from 62 countries.

United States. More than 18 million men and women support the coalition known as Citizens Against Nuclear War.

The Union of Concerned Scientists, which already has more than 100,000 members, has called on the government of the United States and other NATO countries to undertake not to use nuclear weapons first.

A conference has been held in Philadelphia to coordinate action against the deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe.

A National Week of Peace and Jobs has been held in 120 cities on the initiative of trade unions, public and religious organizations. Participants in the Week came out in support of a nuclear weapons freeze resolution which was introduced in the Congress on behalf of 100 members of the House of Representatives.

West Berlin. Tens of thousands of West Berliners took part in the traditional spring peace march which was staged on the initiative of more than 60 political, trade union, youth, student and women's organizations.

An immortal doctrine transforming the world

Erich Honecker
General Secretary, SUPG CC,
Chairman, GDR Council of State

MARXISM A HUNDRED YEARS AFTER MARX

A hundred years ago, when Karl Marx, the great thinker and revolutionary, had closed his eyes for ever, Frederick Engels, his friend and companion throughout a lifetime of struggle, declared that his name and work would endure through the ages. These prophetic words are proving true in our challenging and turbulent age as the human condition undergoes a radical transformation on all continents and the human race summons all its energies to banish the specter of self-annihilation in a nuclear holocaust.

Karl Marx dedicated his life to the task of not only interpreting the world, but actually changing it. And since his day the world has indeed changed beyond recognition. We can see now

that this regeneration of all social phenomena has occurred according to Marx, along revolutionary lines, in defiance of those who pursued him with hatred throughout his life and then, after his death, sought in vain to extinguish the fire of his teachings.

Marx enabled the working class in all lands to perceive its historical mission as the gravedigger of the old society and the architect of a new society free from the exploitation of man by man. By abolishing exploitation, the human race also rids itself of other scourges which have afflicted it for centuries — national oppression and racial discrimination, and devastating wars. As all of us can observe, the working class has evolved into the decisive force behind the wheel of history. After the 19th century with all its struggles, after the triumph and bloody suppression of the Paris Commune, after the revolutionary upheavals at the end of the First World War early this century, after the Soviet Union had powered the anti-Hitler coalition to victory over German fascism, the work-

This article is based on Erich Honecker's speech at the International Theoretical Conference on "Karl Marx and Our Time: The Struggle for Peace and Social Progress," Berlin, April 11-16, 1983.

ing class emerged in many countries as the ruling class, building a socialist society in alliance with the peasantry and the intelligentsia.

It was the Russian proletariat, led by the Bolshevik Party and by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, a true follower of Marx and Engels, which blazed this trail with the Great October Socialist Revolution. In Moscow and Peking, in Berlin, Havana and Addis Ababa, in Prague, Hanoi and Aden, in Warsaw, Ulan Bator and Pyongyang, in Budapest and Vientiane, in Sofia and Kabul, in Bucharest and Luanda, in Belgrade and Maputo — everywhere we can see the contours of a world in which the people are stepping from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom, as Engels put it.

The vast impact which the Great October Socialist Revolution has made on the development of humankind is very much apparent. The 60th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the participation of numerous communist, socialist and social democratic parties, of revolutionary-democratic parties and liberation movements in the celebrations in Moscow to mark the occasion, underline the great prestige which the Soviet Union enjoys worldwide and the great attraction it holds for the international labor movement and for all peoples.

Basically, the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution was a triumph of the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, pointed out with good reason in his recent article on Marx's doctrine and some questions of building socialism in the USSR that "in our day Marxism would be simply inconceivable without or apart from Leninism. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, which he founded, led the first victorious socialist revolution, which radically changed the sociopolitical complexion of the world." This ushered in a new epoch, one of worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism, of striking successes and historic achievements by the workers and the mass of the people. Scientific socialism, the theory propounded by Marx and Engels, was thus made a living reality by millions of working people building a new society.

The victorious Great October Socialist Revolution made it clear that capitalism, which the bourgeoisie claims is permanent, can be replaced by a new socio-economic formation. At the same time, it proved how correct Marx was to point out that capitalism would not disappear from the scene of its own accord. Only the working class and its revolutionary party could overthrow it. That, it will be re-

membered, was one of the principal lessons which Marx and Engels drew from the defeat of the Paris Commune.

Whichever way one looks at the events of 1917, which marked a turning-point in the history of humankind, it is a fact that the emergence of socialism as a living organism shook the capitalist world to its foundations and inspired humanity with the hope of a happy future in peace and freedom. As Marx and Engels predicted, the onward march of the socialist world has been accompanied by the advance of the popular movement for liberation, which dealt the death-blow to the imperialist colonial system. This has been coupled with fierce conflicts in capitalist countries at various stages of development. The ruling class in those lands can no longer exercise its power without taking into account the influence of the world socialist system and the working-class movement within their own borders, which has already become the principal agent of democratic progress and democratic renewal. These countries will see socialism emerge, in whatever colors, in a way that reflects national conditions and the balance of class forces and will witness the socialization of the means of production, one of Marx's most important demands. In Africa, Asia and Latin America, those who still await their liberation have a growing urge for peace, freedom and justice.

Against the backdrop of these changes, it becomes apparent what a prodigious feat Karl Marx and Frederick Engels accomplished by transforming socialism from a utopian vision into a scientific doctrine. The infusion of scientific socialism into the working-class movement helped the working class and the oppressed of all lands to recognize and use their own strength, the strength to throw off the shackles of capitalism.

Marx must take everlasting credit for arousing humanity to the realization that the future does not depend on obscure forces beyond our control. Nor will it be governed by the wishful thinking of all those "Marx-is-dead" theorists who are clamoring for a crusade against the Marxism of our epoch. What really determines the development of a society is the level and mode of production, the stage of economic development its people have attained. In our day, the existence of the USSR and of the world socialist system even makes it possible for the peoples of economically backward countries to bypass the capitalist path of development and go on to laying the foundations of socialism.

"And now as to myself," Marx noted, "no credit is due to me for discovering the existence

of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: (1) that the *existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular historical phases in the development of production*, (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*.”*

Marx's greatness lies in the fact that he never look upon his doctrine as something definitive and immune to any change. He always regarded practice as the proving ground for his theory. In fact, his own involvement in the revolutionary battles of his day provided a source of new ideas. He generalized from experience to influence the course of history yet again with fresh, heightened, theoretical insight. This is the clue to both the scientific and the creative nature of Marx's doctrine, which is capable of answering new questions as they arise. It was Lenin who then took on the historical role of defending Marxism against all distortions and developing it in the conditions of imperialism, the highest and final stage of capitalism, and the epoch of transition to socialism.

The doctrine of Karl Marx is omnipotent because it is true. No one can deny its success, in spite of the difficulties which arise, for all kinds of reasons, in the course of building a new society. Compared with any exploitive society, existing socialism is a comparatively recent phenomenon. Humankind finds itself here on uncharted territory never before explored in human history. The founders of scientific socialism did not offer any catch-all recipes nor did they ever have the slightest intention of doing so. What they did was to formulate the basic truths and fundamental perceptions. The leading parties in the socialist countries are working closely together, studying their experience in building the new society and jointly tackling new problems. In this way, the theory outlined by Marx is constantly being enriched and standing its test as a guide to action.

Like Lenin after him, Marx was above all a revolutionary. His ambition was to contribute not just to the downfall of any government which happened to be flouting the interests and rights of the people, but to the overthrow of the

capitalist system and the institutions of government it had created. In many of his works, he set out the view that the proletariat can do without the bourgeoisie but not vice versa.

The present situation in the industrialized capitalist countries furnishes striking evidence that the ruling class, even with the most advanced productive forces at its command, is unable to resolve the problems of the modern world in the interests of the people. We observe this in its attempts to make the people shoulder the burden of the crisis and thus keep profits high, in the mass unemployment, in its inability to guarantee vocational training and secure job prospects to all young school-leavers. In the light of these symptoms, especially the mass unemployment and the social ravages of inflation, leading trade unionists have come to share the conclusion that the negative effects of the profit-oriented capitalist economy cannot be eliminated without plucking out their roots.

Both in the socialist countries and in the capitalist countries, we constantly come across fresh proof that Marxism is a vibrant theory which has lost nothing of its appeal. Nowadays, serious bourgeois philosophers and economists cannot ignore Marx when they expound their views about the past, present and future of the human race. Even those politicians who dismiss his ideas as irrelevant on the grounds that he lived and worked under different conditions have to admit that our own age raises a number of questions which cannot be answered satisfactorily without some reference to Marx.

From the outset, Marx considered the social emancipation of peoples and their release from the scourge of war to be twin tasks which the working class would have to accomplish in the course of fulfilling its historical mission. He was a sympathetic and fervent supporter of the peoples fighting against national and colonial oppression and striving for freedom and independence. At the same time, he was vigorously opposed to all wars which stemmed from the acquisitive and expansionist drive of the bourgeoisie.

In a well-known dictum, Marx said that socialism is the embodiment of society “whose international rule will be peace, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same — *labor!*”*

Indeed, there is no class or social group in a

*Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1969, Vol. 1, p. 528.

*The General Council of the First International, 1870-1871. *Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967, p. 328.

socialist society which stands to gain from armament and war or which threatens other nations. The working class does not need war to attain its goals.

Consequently, the revolutionary working-class movement always regarded preservation of peace as one of its overriding concerns. It has combined the struggle against bourgeois wars with the struggle for social progress. Today, however, the world situation is such that the danger of nuclear war overshadows the life of all nations, threatening an inferno which would amount to the self-annihilation of the human race. To prevent this from happening, to guarantee a secure peace is the prime imperative of our time. Only thus will it be possible to achieve further social progress and to resolve other social problems, indeed, to save human civilization itself.

With their policy of confrontation and super-armament, which they also seek to foist on their NATO allies, influential circles in the United States are clearly pursuing imperial designs. Their principal, albeit utterly unrealistic, aim is to gain military and strategic superiority over the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community in order to have a free hand in the world arena. Not surprisingly, therefore, hardly a day goes by without the U.S. government invoking the mythical "threat from the East," which, of course, serves the same purposes.

There is no lack of historical examples illustrating imperialism's urge to extend the area under its control and to dominate sources of raw materials, markets and spheres of influence. One need merely recall German fascism and its lunatic plans, which culminated in the Second World War with all its suffering and destruction.

Nowadays we find that U.S. imperialism is claiming vast portions of the world as its own spheres of interest, be they in Europe, Africa, Asia or Latin America. This policy tramples on the independence, sovereignty and rights of peoples: witness the creation of the so-called rapid deployment force, which has the declared aim of suppressing progressive developments in various parts of the world. Simultaneously, NATO is extending its range beyond the confines of the alliance to include regions which imperialism is seeking to subordinate to its global interests. The most recent plans devised by the United States, which envisage the deployment of missiles in space as well, would fling open the doors to a renewed escalation of the arms race and add to the likelihood of a war on our planet.

It is part of the policy of confrontation to fan

tensions in various regions of the world and to create new flashpoints, thereby poisoning the international situation still further and keeping the fuse of war smoldering. This is very much apparent in the Middle East, where the United States in particular supports the Israeli aggression against Lebanon, against the Palestinian people, and against Syria. Mounting dangers are emanating from the aggressive policies of the apartheid regime in South Africa, and its continued occupation of Namibia. In the Caribbean, too, the U.S. imperialists are conducting a policy of threats, pressure and blackmail, which is chiefly designed to force socialist Cuba to its knees but which is also directed against Nicaragua, Grenada and the liberation movements in El Salvador and other countries in the region.

The most aggressive elements of imperialism have brazenly made it known that their plans include the delivery of a first nuclear strike. It is only logical, given a policy like that, for them to force armament to astronomical levels. The only ones to derive economic benefit from this are the handful of giant arms companies, the merchants of death whose profits are soaring in spite of the crisis.

For the peoples of the world, however, every new round in the arms race is a heavy burden. Not least, it is the developing nations who suffer. They find it much more difficult to carry out their national programs to overcome the legacy of the centuries of colonial rule. The growing arms exports of the imperialist states, especially the USA, coupled with their high interest policies, tend to increase the already high debt of many developing countries. According to recent estimates, this burden of debt exceeds \$600 billion. If the arms race is halted and practical measures are taken to bring about disarmament, enormous sums will become available for solving the urgent problems facing humankind.

Today, the dangers to world peace are great, but we believe that it is not only necessary but also possible to remove them. The forces in the world which sincerely want peace justly draw encouragement from the fact that the Soviet Union and the socialist community are the strongest bastion in the battle for this lofty aim. Socialism and peace are at root identical. As communists, we are guided by the ideal which the German version of the old workers' song 'Hold the Fort' sums up in these words: "Work, bread and peace for all nations — that is our world."

It serves the interests of world peace that the awesome military potential brought forth by modern science and technology is not entirely

concentrated in the hands of imperialism. It is only due to the defense capacity of the socialist community that this monstrously destructive potential has not been put to use up to now. With the most aggressive elements of imperialism stepping up their policy of confrontation and super-armament, we consider it our internationalist duty to maintain our defenses at whatever level the situation requires.

At the same time, the USSR, the GDR and the other states of the socialist community are doing their utmost and have launched one initiative after another to achieve tangible and durable progress in safeguarding peace. It was in this context that the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, meeting in Prague, submitted its well-known program. It takes into account the interests of all parties, has enlivened the international dialogue on practicable ways toward limiting and reducing armaments and is proving to be a constructive factor in finding and implementing practicable solutions.

We regard the solemn pledge of the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons as a move of world political importance and urge the other nuclear powers to undertake a similar pledge. The states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization are prepared to take far-reaching measures for disarmament in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security. As things stand now, more weapons do not mean more, but less security. So it really is necessary to ensure the maintenance of peace with fewer and fewer weapons. In order to ward off the threat of a nuclear inferno, it is extremely important to prevent NATO from deploying new U.S. first-strike nuclear weapons in Western Europe. We advocate a genuine "zero option" which means creating a nuclear-free Europe and ensuring a peaceful future for our continent.

Thus, we supported the Swedish proposal to establish a zone in Central Europe free from theater nuclear weapons, and declared our readiness to make the entire territory of the GDR available for the purpose. The creation of such a zone would be a valuable contribution to diminishing the risk of war, enabling the process of détente to continue and deepening international cooperation. It has been and will continue to be the GDR's priority to play an active part in attaining these goals. We attach much importance to the proposal put forward in Prague to conclude a treaty between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO on the mutual non-use of force and on the maintenance of peaceful relations.

We fully endorse the USSR's stand at the

Geneva talks on the limitation and reduction of nuclear armaments, which is aimed at achieving concrete results. To this end, Yuri Andropov submitted a number of proposals which have met with the widest positive response among the general public, and which have impelled many to ask insistently when the United States will abandon the policy of obstruction it has pursued so far and help to produce some constructive agreements.

Peoples and governments in many countries of Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America are coming out in favor of establishing nuclear-free zones in their regions and limiting the hotbeds of tension and conflict. We heartily support the relevant initiatives taken on this matter by India, Mexico, Venezuela and Nicaragua and also by Arab and African countries.

We consider the non-aligned movement to be a mighty force capable of voicing the common concern for a secure peace on all the continents. Its influence in the struggle for equitable international relations, both political and economic is growing. The seventh summit conference which these states held in Delhi confirmed this most impressively. In our view, the movement is making an important contribution to thwarting the imperialist strategy of confrontation and defending peace and the rights of the people.

Experience all over the world indicates that communists are reliable allies of the worldwide peace movement. They work actively and with great initiative for the common goals. Since the conditions for the struggle of communist and workers' parties vary from one country to another, it is not surprising that they sometimes formulate different ideas about the ways, forms and methods which should be adopted in the struggle for peace and social progress. But the overriding concern is always safeguarding and stabilizing peace. We consider this to be the priority goal for the entire working-class movement, irrespective of any views which its parties or organizations might hold on this or that vital issue in their respective countries. All in all, the international working-class movement has a considerable peace potential at its disposal. Once again we reaffirm our readiness to offer our hand in a spirit of comradeship to all national revolutionary parties and liberation movements, all socialist and social democratic parties, trade unions and other organizations to bring this potential fully to bear.

We believe that it is an imperative of our time for all political and social forces who sincerely want peace to work together, irrespective of differing political programs, ideological positions and religious confessions, across class

barriers and everything that may separate them, in order to save the peoples from the catastrophe of a nuclear war. That does not signify the surmounting of the differences of view. The defense of peace — humankind's most precious possession — is a matter of priority, a common interest which unites us. At the same time, the commitment to peace offers much scope for mutually beneficial cooperation in the most wide-ranging fields.

The maintenance of world peace is a matter that concerns everyone, including those who do not seek radical social change. Certainly, nobody has ever had a monopoly on the desire for peace and the willingness to fight for it. But never before has the human race been confronted by such a mortal danger as it is today, never has it been so pressed to fight for peace. Nuclear world war would even turn the idea of making profit into an illusion. And thus a historical opportunity arises for the most wide-ranging forces to draw together in the struggle for peace and for this struggle to grow broader than it has ever been in the past.

There is no reasonable alternative to the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Its principles, whose implementation bore such positive results in the course of the 1970s, must become the norm for international relations. The policy of *détente* is the only way to prevent a nuclear inferno, the only chance to achieve reliable peace.

The whole of our party's activity springs from its sense of responsibility for the survival and prosperity not only of the present but also of future generations. We are especially aware of this responsibility because our country lies directly along the dividing line between socialism and capitalism, between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO. Besides, our sense of responsibility is imbued with the lessons of history, with the fact that two devastating world wars were started from German soil. Peace, peace and peace again is the supreme principle of our policy.

Marx's ideas, which paved the way for the working class in restructuring social relations that enable man truly to feel himself to be a human being are also being translated into reality on German soil, in the land of his birth, in the German Democratic Republic. It is here that a new socialist Germany is being built under the leadership of the united working class and its party, the SUPG. Everything it has achieved so far and everything it is striving for illustrates the potential which real socialism offers.

In 1945, after a long road riddled with struggles, which brought bitter defeats but also hard-won victories, the revolutionary German

working-class movement was able to get down to a transformation of the people's very existence. That great opportunity had been opened up when the glorious Soviet army and the armies of the other states allied against Hitler succeeded in smashing nazism. The German Democratic Republic put it to effective use, and the proof lies in the results achieved over the more than three-and-a-half decades of a development that has taken place in constant and harsh conflict with imperialism and reaction.

From the very beginning, this development was linked with the international transformations that took place after the Second World War, in the course of which the world socialist system emerged. As cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries grew closer, it became easier to solve internal tasks and problems. That conclusion is borne out by socialist construction at its every stage, and we have been guided by it at all times. The building of a new system had been tried out in practice in the land of Lenin with due regard for the objective laws of social development. Thus, the USSR gained a wealth of experience which is of immense value to all progressive humankind, a stock of experience on which all revolutionary parties can draw in leading their peoples to socialism.

Our party did this, too, when it applied the general uniformities of socialist construction of our specific national conditions. Given the chaotic material and cultural legacy of imperialism, it would have been inappropriate to declare socialism the order of the day right after the war. The anti-fascist democratic transformation ushered in an organic revolutionary process during which socialist construction eventually took place. A positive factor in the process was that under capitalist conditions our country had already attained a relatively high level of industrial development.

By setting up the first socialist workers' and peasants' state on German soil, the German Democratic Republic, the working class decided in its favor the issue of power, the fundamental issue of any revolution. This brought fresh confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist perception that the party's role as the leading force is indispensable to the liberation of the working class and the successful construction of socialism. In the spirit of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the SUPG has, by maintaining close and trustful relations with the working people, lived up to its duty. In its work, it has always been able to learn from the fraternal parties, and, in turn, it has contributed insights

of its own to the international store of revolutionary experience.

On German soil, too, freedom and democracy, those great ideals of the working-class movement, are genuine achievements which socialism has given the working people for the first time in their history. As Marx demonstrated, these ideals depend on the character of the economic and political power wielded by the given ruling class. In a workers' and peasants' state, the toiling masses are the masters of their own destiny, running their own social affairs. Otherwise it would not be possible to build socialism successfully.

The SUPG's policy of alliance has become very much a part of socialist democracy, bringing the working class, the peasantry, the intellectuals and the rest of the working population closer and closer together, so releasing major creative potentials. This is borne out characteristically by the comradely cooperation between the SUPG and the other parties and mass organizations in the National Front of the GDR. Their political representatives share responsibility at all government levels. The Democratic Farmers' Party of Germany, the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany and the National Democratic Party of Germany make their own contribution to building a developed socialist society, and we rate this very highly. Today's society in the GDR only knows classes and strata which live from their own work, and so they have the same basic interests. In our republic, a broad process is under way in which the various classes and strata are moving closer together, producing an increasingly pronounced political and moral unity among the people.

In the early 1970s, our party found itself for the first time in a position to lay down a complete spectrum of tasks for building a developed socialist society in the GDR. We regard them as the key to a historical process of profound political, economic, social, intellectual and cultural changes. In order to press ahead, it is necessary to develop at a high level and in a balanced manner all the advantages and driving forces of socialism, every aspect and sphere of social life, the productive forces and relations of production, social and political relations, science and education, socialist ideology and culture, the whole complex of working and living conditions and also national defense. As our experience shows, the multitude of individual problems arising from socialist construction can be solved successfully if one adopts a principled Marxist-Leninist position.

A period of new, dynamic advances has

begun in the GDR. Our people are proud of their socialist homeland, of all they have created by their hard work. The GDR is now a modern socialist industrial state with a highly productive agricultural sector, an efficient education system and a strong scientific potential. The working class was once left with the harsh legacy of war and what can only be called a truncated economy, severed from its historical context. All the efficient productive forces which the GDR now possesses, embracing almost every branch of modern industry, have grown under socialism as social property.

In 1949, the national income of our republic was 24.1 billion marks, and by 1982 it had risen to over 200 billion marks, or almost eight-fold. The year 1982 was a gloomy, crisis-ridden one for all the major industrial capitalist countries, but the GDR attained a 4.3 per cent growth in production over the previous year, while reducing per-unit consumption of energy and raw materials by 6.0 per cent. The driving forces of socialism proved their vigor even under difficult circumstances. This is also reflected in our agriculture, which is organized on a cooperative basis with subsidiary farming having a specific part to play from the very beginning. The Association of Allotment Gardeners and Small Stock Breeders, with its 1.2 million members, makes a considerable contribution to feeding the people.

In implementing its economic and social policies as a complex whole, our party is responding to objective requirements. Since higher output is used in substantial measure to improve the working and living conditions of working people, a better life does not remain as some distant promise. Good work pays off now. This knowledge releases a great deal of social energy, mobilizing above all the skills of the people.

The economic strategy adopted for the 1980s by our 10th party congress (1981) is based on Marx's theory of reproduction. An interesting fact is that many of his findings are proving to be of growing relevance as the GDR's economy strides along the road of intensively expanded reproduction. Marx's law on the economy of time, his profound analyses of labor productivity as an economic and social phenomenon and of the economy of production conditions in general have stood the test of time, and repeatedly provide us with answers to practical questions.

Marx was fully convinced that the productive force of human labor would rapidly unfold for the good of the people in a society free from exploitation, once the working people were armed with an understanding of the laws

of social development and had taken the enormous project of construction into their own hands. Socialist emulation, which is organized by the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions with its membership of over 9.0 million, is a powerful motor in the process. Typically, the mass campaign by the GDR's working people to pay tribute to Karl Marx by producing particularly good economic results is culminating in a pledge by millions to increase labor productivity by over 1.0 per cent more than was planned for 1983, thus enabling the output of goods worth an extra 3.8 billion marks.

To attain the required pace of economic progress in our country, we must combine the advantages of socialism more closely with the scientific and technological revolution. Marx described science as the soundest form of wealth of great value in the development of the productive forces. The status it enjoys in our society does full justice to this. We appropriate a considerable portion of our national income for research and development which is up to international standards. However, we make no secret of the fact that socialism, in our view, offers greater opportunities for putting science to good use than we have taken advantage of so far, and we are making considerable efforts in this field.

Scientific and technological progress has led to the emergence of new economic structures and to new challenges for the individual. There is indeed no lack of problems. However, the solutions turn out to be quite different when science and technology are instruments for improving the lives of the working people, instead of being abused to reinforce the exploitation of man by man. In the GDR, economic rationalization is carried out together with the working people. Scientific and social progress are two sides of the same coin.

In the GDR, industrial and construction capacity has been organized in the form of combines, which pool our huge material and intellectual resources and make it possible to organize production efficiently from the research stage to marketing. These combines are firmly integrated into the state-wide system of administration and planning based on the principle of democratic centralism. The general managers of these combines are representatives of the workers' and peasants' state, with considerable powers to ensure that plan targets are fulfilled. The formation of combines, a profound change in the structure of industrial management which took place some time ago, has proved successful and has become a stepping-stone to many further improvements.

The crux of the matter is to harmonize the interests of the combines, factories and individual work teams more and more cohesively with social requirements, that is, to orient them toward highly efficient management. Naturally, it is not right to copy capitalist methods; approaches can be found only by perfecting the socialist planned economy itself.

The 10th congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany characterized the economy as the area in which the most important social policy decisions are taken. At the same time, it underlined the growing importance of interconnection between development processes in the most diverse spheres. An ever more efficient economy must provide the means to permit healthy progress in many other spheres within the framework of our far-reaching goals. This includes measures to protect the natural environment.

Then, of course, the GDR is actively committed to anti-imperialist solidarity and assists numerous developing countries, as best it can, in building up their economies and education systems. Under socialism, the economy is a top-priority state concern and the business of every individual.

The attitudes of working people to economic matters are governed decisively by the fact that the right to work is fully guaranteed and that the social certainties are ensured and are being consolidated with the rise in labor productivity. People think and act as the owners of the means of production; they have a growing sense of responsibility for every item of the economic account.

If we take a long-term view, the growth of the dimensions and efficiency of the economy yield something more than individual improvements in the life of the people. Placed at the service of a consistent policy for the good of the people, this growth makes it possible to tackle social problems, to foster those qualitative changes in the conditions of life which the building of a developed socialist society requires. A characteristic example is the housing construction program, the core of our social policy. More than 1.8 million flats have been made available since 1971 alone. Housing conditions have been improved on a scale that meets our party's objective of solving the social problem of housing by 1990. This means providing between 2.8 and 3 million dwellings. Rents, however, will remain at their present low level.

It is a basic principle in our country to give all children access to the best of education. The backbone of our present-day socialist ed-

education system is the 10-year general polytechnical school. All our children have equal opportunities for general education and vocational training. The utmost importance is attached in the GDR to implementing communist education ideals, imparting a high level of knowledge, conveying the best of what the human race has created in terms of intellectual wealth.

Young people are guaranteed not only sound vocational training but also a job upon graduation. Furthermore, they have great trust — and so also responsibility — in all walks of life. They have grown into an important social force, and, under the leadership of the Free German Youth, their socialist youth organization, they have proved that they deserve to play such a role.

Very much is being done in the GDR to enable women to make fuller practical use of their equal rights within the society. Comprehensive support is given to families, especially to children. In our country, the citizens' realized entitlement to recreation and medical care is enjoyed as a matter of course. The services of our socialist health system, which are free of charge to the patient, not only benefit the working people, but are also noteworthy by international standards.

The same can doubtless be said of our flourishing socialist culture, the mass participation in sports, the assertion of socialist morality and ethics. Those are the lines on which a socialist mode of life is taking shape among our people.

Practice shows that social progress calls for

hard work and the resolution of multiple problems which are not always predictable. Despite all the positive achievements of socialism, one should not forget that it is being built in a turbulent world full of contradictions. The safeguarding of peace and the all-round development of socialist society are inter-related and must be ensured simultaneously. Much has already been done, but even greater challenges lie ahead of us. By further building up the developed socialist society in the GDR, we are laying the groundwork for the gradual transition to communism.

The GDR is in the fortunate position of following this path in fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of our community. This indestructible alliance has been at the root of its success and remains the basis for its secure perspectives. Whatever we do for the good of our own people will also strengthen the great family of socialist countries. The two are indivisible.

Karl Marx, as Frederick Engels aptly remarked, was one of those outstanding men of whom only a few are born in every century. But not even all of these have the same influence on posterity. One hundred years after his death, the historical changes that have taken and are taking place in the life of humankind under the impact of his great ideas are the most enduring monument to the great theoretician and revolutionary. The cause of socialism, national liberation and the struggle for a peaceful future for all the peoples is a viable and triumphant cause.

The crisis and class interests

William Kashtan
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The crisis which has gripped the economy of imperialism continues, and there is no end of the process in sight. Even those bourgeois leaders and experts who were but recently inclined to paint a rosy picture of the horizons of the capitalist countries' development now find themselves viewing the future with pessimism.

At the end of last year, the OECD, most of whose members are industrialized capitalist countries, issued a report on their prospects up until the middle of 1984: it said that for the next 18 months their economies would be marking time and growing at not more than 1.5 per cent. Meanwhile, unemployment would leap from 31 million to 35 million, to a fantastic figure

which is 50 per cent greater than the population of a country like Canada. Let us bear in mind that these forecasts are based on official sources, which tend considerably to understate the actual level of unemployment. OECD experts predict stagnation in world trade, low use of production capacities and high rates of inflation, even if these are expected to fall.¹

Being unable to deny the painful state of the capitalist economy, the ruling classes and their advocates in the mass media have tried to cover up the true origins of the crisis processes, their roots and motive forces. An effort is being made to present the crisis as some kind of fatal calamity that has hit humankind, as the result of the

national egoism displayed by countries in possession of fuel and raw materials, or as the outcome of the working people's excessive wage demands that have overheated the economy. All these and similar other explanations are a far cry from the truth and have only one purpose: to vindicate the exploitive capitalist class, which is responsible for the privation now being heaped on millions of people throughout the part of the world which is ruled by imperialism, to make the masses accept their lot and carry an ever heavier burden with resignation. This is done by falsely claiming that the crisis is worldwide in scale, when in fact it is capitalism-wide. In every way possible, the ideologists of capitalism seek to hide from the broad masses the fact that only socialism creates the conditions for ending crises.

Such ideological pressure has an influence on the views and mood of a section of the working people, preventing it from understanding the true causes and nature of the present difficulties and ways of standing up for their interests. That is why one of the most important tasks of the communists' theoretical and practical work is to expose the false arguments of the defenders of capital and to bring out the true factors behind the crisis, to rouse the working class and all the other working people to struggle for a democratic and anti-monopoly way out of the economic bog.

I shall try, in the light of Canadian experience, to analyze these problems which are common to the capitalist world.

Irreconcilable antithesis

The ruling classes and the political parties and government agencies at their service keep talking about their intention to combat the crisis, to overcome its harmful consequences and to get the skidding production machine moving dynamically again. Diverse recipes for treating the sick economy are being loudly advertised. There are global and local plans and programs for anti-crisis measures aimed to bring about a general revival of business activity and to tackle the various financial and economic problems.

But when assessing the plans, slogans and declarations being issued by the leaders of the capitalist economy, there is a need to answer the following questions: do they truly have a stake in its crisis-free development? Are they really striving to overcome the recession, resolutely and as soon as possible? If they are, are they willing to use genuinely effective ways and means?

The answers to these questions may appear to be quite simple. After all, the crisis has hit many interests of the ruling class; it has

weakened the production apparatus, eroding and destroying important elements of the capitalist economy. In socio-political terms, its consequences could promote a radicalization of the masses, increasing their discontent with the existing system and questioning the capitalist nature of the society itself. Considering the problems which arise from the competition with socialism these aspects of the crisis tend to be especially acute and undesirable for the bourgeoisie, and it would naturally want to see the back of them.

Nevertheless, one must also see the other aspects of the crisis, those that are advantageous to the financial and industrial oligarchy and which serve its economic and political purposes.

First, by ruining mainly the mass of the petty and middle producers, the crisis promotes the concentration of capital and the consolidation of the positions of the ruling groups of the financial and industrial oligarchy, the growth of their economic strength in a process not unlike "natural selection" within the bourgeoisie to ensure the survival of the strongest and most predatory, those who are best adapted to the new conditions of the competitive fight. For instance, in the recent period in Canada, as in other capitalist countries, there has been a snow-balling of bankruptcies, with a simultaneous growth in the concentration of production and the concentration of an ever larger share of the property and wealth in the hands of the monopoly élite.

Second, and this is the most important, in the atmosphere of crisis, the big bourgeoisie expects to have additional opportunities for weakening its main adversary, the working class, to resist its socio-economic and political demands more effectively and ultimately to tighten up the screws of exploitation and entrench its domination.

The owners of capital and their servitors are trying hard to use the crisis above all to deprive the working people of their socio-economic gains which they won in the preceding period through bitter struggles.

The apologists of the ruling class claim that the economic difficulties and the erratic economic performance are due to these very gains, which allegedly heap an excessive burden on the entrepreneurs and cause a growth of government social outlays. That is why the anti-crisis programs being put forward and implemented by the bourgeois parties which are in power boil down to measures aimed to freeze and reduce wages and curtail social programs.

Only in this way, they say, is it possible to cut

costs and make industry more competitive. Such an improvement of the economy's health amounts to a drive against the working people's living standards. The diverse "incomes," "austerity" and other similar policies that are being effected — under different labels and in different forms, but with equal zeal in all the capitalist countries — in the period of the crisis by the forces at the helm of government are designed for only one purpose: to use the crisis situation in order to rob the working people of the fruits of their class battles and to bring about an additional redistribution of the national income in favor of big capital.

But such a policy cannot in any way help to overcome the crisis. On the contrary, it causes a further narrowing down of the domestic markets and more declines in production. The above-mentioned OECD report admits that the present economic stagnation is the result of "the restrictive policies" being conducted by the ruling circles of the capitalist countries. This merely goes to confirm once again that the difficulties faced by these countries are not a fatal outcome of the progress of civilization but the result of the economic operations by those who are in control of the key instruments of public production and who dictate the nature and lines of economic development to suit themselves at the expense of the interests of broad masses of people.

Adam Smith, one of the fathers of classical bourgeois political economy, remarked on the incompatibility of the goals of the bourgeoisie and the public weal, the aspirations of the people. He said: "The interest of the dealers, however, in any particular branch of trade or manufactures, is always in some respects different from, and even opposite to, that of the public." Smith described the owners of capital as "an order of men, whose interest is never exactly the same with that of the public, who have generally an interest to deceive and even to oppress the public, and who accordingly have, upon many occasions, both deceived and oppressed it."²

Today, the situation has not changed essentially in any way, and these words are as valid as they have ever been. The only difference is that the fraud and oppression are being perpetrated in the presence of an immensely higher level of the productive forces, on a much larger scale, and with a tremendous extension of the range and diversity of the means being used for these purposes. Everyday reality in the capitalist countries bears out the Marxist analysis of capitalist society and refutes the diverse theories of "transformation" of capitalism and elimination of its

antagonistic class contradiction, which stems from the irreconcilable antithesis between the interests of the working class and the bourgeoisie, of the exploited and the exploiters, of labor and capital.

Vicious circle

The formation and consolidation under imperialism of mammoth monopolies and powerful financial and industrial groups have merely exacerbated and deepened this contradiction and have brought it to an extreme. The system of exploitation and oppression of broad masses of people and satisfaction of the avarice of a parasitic minority at the expense of the needs of the majority has become even more all-embracing and subtle. By curbing competition, dictating monopoly prices and reducing the level of wages, the big corporations merely induce an even greater decline in the purchasing power of the population, an even sharper narrowing down of the markets and so also eroding the very foundations of capitalist reproduction.

This has produced more and more crises, which demonstrate that the functioning of the economy based on the drive for profit is entirely geared to the preservation and extension of the privileges of the ruling class of big owners, instead of the attainment of "general welfare," as the defenders of capitalism assure us. The monopoly elite seeks to use every change in the sphere of production and every advance in science and technology for its own benefit, and at the expense of the broad mass of the population.

Thus, the current scientific and technological revolution, which could be tremendously beneficial to the peoples, turns out to be a social calamity under the capitalist relations of production and a new factor in intensifying the exploitation and oppression of the working people. While helping to sharply boost labor productivity, to lower costs and expand output, the new hardware and technologies also reduce the owners' need for labor power and help them to economize on the use of living labor. Hence the continuing and rapid growth of unemployment, the mounting pressure on wages and the consequent decline in effective demand, with a shrinking of the market as a new source of the crisis, and a new vicious circle for capitalist production.

Canadian realities provide characteristic examples in this context. The modernization of plant and the installation of new technologies have helped to increase the country's industrial potential markedly. Over the past decade, labor productivity has been growing at 3.3 per cent a

year on average. Per-hour output is now more than 50 per cent up on the 1966 level. But has this led to a corresponding growth in the working people's incomes? No, it has not. Available data show that in the past four years alone, the purchasing power of unionized workers dropped by 4.5 per cent. As a result, overall effective demand in Canada dropped by \$18 billion, while the number of unemployed, according to trade union data, has reached 2 million, i.e., 18 per cent of the able-bodied population.

All of this has created favorable conditions for the big corporations to extract super-profits. As a result, the monopolies' share of the net national income rose from 13.7 per cent in 1977 to 17.9 per cent in 1980, while that of the working people dropped from 77.4 per cent to 69.9 per cent.³ Consequently, the policy which has led to economic stagnation has ultimately turned out to be highly advantageous for big business.

The arms race and the militarization of the imperialist states' economy provide striking evidence of how contradictory the class interests of the working people and the monopolies now are. While the arms race puts an intolerable burden on the production potential and is one of the key factors behind the crisis upheavals and the worsening of the working people's living conditions in the capitalist world, it yields a tremendous growth in the profits of the military-industrial corporations and leads to an unprecedented enrichment of the magnates of the arms business. Numerous data have been repeatedly cited to indicate that the extension of the production of the instruments of war ensures the highest level of dividends while reducing the overall level of employment and sharpening the problem of unemployment. Thus, the investment of every billion dollars in arms manufacture, U.S. economists have estimated, results in a loss of between 10,000 and 80,000 jobs, as compared with the possible use of these funds in various civilian industries. No wonder the rapid drop in employment in the capitalist countries has proceeded against the background of a sharp increase in defense budgets and militaristic preparations unequalled in the past.

One could say, on the whole, that spending for military purposes which is financed from massive taxes, cutbacks in social programs and withdrawal of sizable funds from the civilian sectors of the economy are an additional instrument for funnelling money from the pockets of the working people into the strong-rooms of the men within the military-industrial complex at the expense of the vital interests of the masses. We say nothing about the fact that

in the present situation this self-seeking policy is not only harmful from the economic standpoint but tends to jeopardize the very existence of whole nations and of civilization itself. The growing understanding of these realities by the working people finds its expression, in particular, in the fact that the trade union movement is beginning to enter into the struggle for peace and nuclear disarmament with ever greater vigor. Whereas in the past the trade union movement tended to accept the view that arms production was a job creator, now it is becoming increasingly clearer that it has become a job destroyer and that the fight for peace, for jobs, and for overcoming the crisis have become interlocked.

National and class aspects

History testifies that in its efforts to cover up the egoistical character of its class objective, the bourgeoisie frequently appeals to the national interest. Such methods are also being widely used today. This is, in particular, due to the fact that in the atmosphere of crisis the struggle between the monopolies of the various countries is sharpened and the battles between the individual national groups of finance-industrial capital tend to be fought with special bitterness. Each of these groups seeks to improve its own positions at the expense of its rivals. The war that is being fought by everyone against everyone in the arena of the "free market economy" induces the bourgeoisie to appeal to the national feelings of the population at home and to parade as a champion of the national interest. The working people are urged to tighten up their belts so as to make the products of "their" national industry more competitive as compared with those of other countries.

Characteristically, such calls are issued by the very men who are responsible for the waste of the genuine national interest, who are helping the transnational corporations, flinging open the doors to foreign capital and who, in search of the most profitable investment of their wealth, frequently prefer to engage in speculative operations instead of making productive investments, or to take their money abroad, to countries where labor-power is cheaper and where the rate of profit is higher. It is quite obvious that genuine defense of the national interest in the conditions of the crisis has nothing in common with the urge of the big bourgeoisie to defeat its foreign rivals at the expense of the working people, whose interests it is quick to sacrifice in the competitive fight in foreign trade.

Canada provides a good example of the relationship between national and class in-

terests in the atmosphere of crisis. There is now a broad discussion in public circles about the country's political and economic independence. The point is that while the class objectives of U.S. and Canadian monopoly capital are identical, there are also important differences and contradictions between them. These are manifested most acutely in the drive by powerful sections of Canadian monopoly capital for control of the sources of raw materials and energy, now largely controlled by the United States, and for a change of the policy relating to foreign investments in our country. The struggle is being waged under the popular slogan of "Canadianization" of our natural resources and economic potential. This demand is objectively anti-imperialist and the CP of Canada supports it to that extent.

But for the working class and all the other democratic forces, the content of "Canadianization" differs greatly from what the Canadian corporations with the government seek by it, namely, the expansion and consolidation of their own property. The point is to give this slogan a class character, both anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly, to effect "Canadianization" on the basis of nationalization under democratic control of the subsidiaries of U.S. transnationals for the benefit of broad masses of people in our country.

Such measures, which are aimed against capital, are flatly rejected by bourgeois economists, who argue that they would merely deepen the economic recession, result in economic chaos and a break-up of the production apparatus. They insist that capital is the motive force in economic development and social progress, the basis of the nation's viability and prosperity. That is why everything that is good for the owners of capital is allegedly good for society as a whole, and everything that is incompatible with their interests tends to conflict with the social good. Such arguments are being actively launched by right-wing and conservative theorists and statesmen to justify their policy of "overcoming the crisis" at the working people's expense and to the advantage of the big bourgeoisie, like Reaganomics in the United States or the Thatcher government's policies in Britain.

Meanwhile, under mass pressure, the liberal bourgeois and social democratic leaders now and again allow for the need to do something to curb big capital. However, this is usually admitted in a half-hearted and evasive sort of way. At best, they accept the need only for some fiscal measures so as to obtain funds for social maneuvering. Under state-monopoly capitalism, these are the forces that most frequently

undertake the functions of defending the overall class interests of the bourgeoisie by effecting partial reforms and making some social concessions to the masses so as to preserve the main positions of the ruling class.

But in the atmosphere of crisis, the field for such moves has been narrowed down. In this atmosphere, both liberals and social democrats accept the demands of big capital behind a cover of references to "economic imperatives," "objective necessity," and forced circumstances, in order to justify the wage-freeze policy and the cutbacks in social spending.

False "harmony"

The crisis provides a good background for highlighting the falsehood and hypocrisy of the various bourgeois and reformist conceptions, based on a "harmony" of class interests, which are allegedly brought to a common denominator by the same urge on the part of labor and capital to develop production. What Engels said in the Preface to the U.S. edition of his work *The Condition of the Working Class in England* is still quite true: "And today, the very people who, from the 'impartiality' of their superior standpoint, preach to the workers a socialism soaring high above their class interests and class struggles, and tending to reconcile in a higher humanity the interests of both the contending classes — these people are either neophytes, who have still to learn a great deal, or they are the worse enemies of the workers — wolves in sheep's clothing."⁴

The preaching of the harmony of class interests and the efforts to implant "peace in social relations" are closely tied in with attempts by the bourgeoisie and its henchmen to use the crisis in order to divide the working class and set its various groups against each other.

In the process, efforts are made to speculate on the actual distinctions between individual sections of the working people. The working class is not homogeneous: it contains within itself those who work in different industries, people of different occupations, different skills, age and sex, and in many countries, including Canada, people of different nationalities. The working class is in flux and keeps absorbing people from other social strata. Changes in the sphere of production and scientific and technological progress have an effect on its condition and structure, causing modification and leading to the emergence of new occupations and the disappearance of old ones.

All these processes naturally also have an effect on the interests of the working class, and of those of its groups and strata, and tend to differentiate its interests, now and again pro-

ducing discrepancies and clashes between them. It would be wrong to ignore such phenomena and to fail to reckon with them. In the crisis, they could become most acute. The shortage of jobs intensifies the competition between individual categories of working people, pits them against each other on the labor market, ranging young people against older ones, men against women, people of one nationality against those of another, immigrants against residents of long standing, foreign workers against local workers.

This rivalry hampers the unity of the working people and prevents them from realizing their common vital class interests, and the fact that these are antithetical to the interests of the bourgeoisie. In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels said: "Wage-labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers."⁵

No wonder the bourgeoisie has made special efforts to fan such competition to an extreme and to fragment the common class interests into a mass of private and group interests. In the process, it has used not only the prospect of lay-offs and fear of unemployment, but also the bribing of some groups of working people. Paternalism, tripartism in industry,⁶ some handouts in the form of wages, some benefits and special demagogic tricks like profit-sharing, all of this is being used to create the illusion that the working people and their employers have common class interests. Privileged strata are groomed to be relied upon against the bulk of the proletariat.

Under the crisis, such groups are manipulated so as to neutralize the discontent among broad masses of working people, to split their ranks and to spread opportunist views and attitudes. This is exemplified by the present state of affairs in Canada's trade unions, where the right-wing leaders of some international labor unions, which are subordinate to the U.S. AFL-CIO center, have been trying hard to undermine the unity of the Canadian trade-union movement and to harm the interests of the proletariat.

But one should also stress that however serious the impediments in strengthening the class solidarity of the working class in the present situation, the main objective factors operate for the unity of the working people's ranks, for their cohesion in the fight for their rights. On the whole, the crisis tends to lay bare the humiliated, oppressed and deprived condition of the proletariat within the system of capitalist society and the incompatibility of its vital interests with the very nature of that system. The crisis shows that, for all the distinctions between the individual contingents of the working class

and other categories of working people, they are the foremost victims of the economic upheavals and that, as wage workers, the bulk of them are on the same low rung of the social ladder.

Who pays

The crisis demonstrates the injustice of the capitalist order, which helps an insignificant minority to use the fruits of contemporary economic, scientific and technological progress and to appropriate the products of the labor and the creative efforts of millions, so also bringing out the fact that the vital interests of the majority of the people are identical and consist in putting an end to this order and making the development of production serve the whole of society.

Everyday realities in the capitalist countries show that there is only one alternative for pulling out of the crisis: either satisfaction of the interests of broad masses of the population at the expense of the ruling group of the financial and industrial oligarchy, or of the interests of that oligarchy at the expense of the working people. That is why the anti-crisis measures which meet the goals of the proletariat and other strata of the working population must inevitably have an anti-monopoly character. A radical solution of the problem would be a switch to another mode of production, with the total ouster from power of those whose narrow caste interests generate the crisis with all its devastating consequences. But even if the masses are not yet prepared for such a drastic social shift, a democratic program for pulling out of the crisis can be nothing but anti-monopoly in content. A long-term revival of economic activity can be brought about only by expanding demand and increasing the volume of the domestic market through a growth of popular consumption. The democratic way of moving out of the crisis is not to reduce wages but to raise them, not to cut back social spending but to increase it, not to reduce employment but to make ever fuller use of the labor force.

Such measures require financial and material resources. If that is so, let the money come from the richest, from those who have parasitic earnings and who batten on the labor of others! There is a need to redistribute the national income through democratic tax reforms, to reduce the military appropriations which feed the appetites of the military-industrial complex, and to slice the dividends of the financial and industrial magnates.

Nationalization under democratic control in the key sectors of the economy should be an important anti-crisis measure. Consolidation

and expansion of the nationalized industries could help to effect other major reforms for the benefit of the working people. Our party's program says that "consistent nationalization of the major industries and big banks will enable the democratic anti-monopoly government to effectively control the entire economic life, assure balanced national development . . . , redistribute the national income in the interests of the working class and the working people through democratic tax reforms, higher wages, shorter working day, full social security and increased social services in the interests of the working people."⁷

The withdrawal of key sectors of the economy from under the control of big capital and their transfer to public ownership would pave the way for the planned development of production activity and, so, for overcoming the crisis, for a revival and upswing of industrial activity, for a reduction and elimination of unemployment, and for raising the people's living standards. Consequently, this means a need to conduct a new economic and social policy in the country with an eye to the requirements of the majority of the population instead of a privileged handful.

Objective factors and mass consciousness

The common vital interests of this majority create the objective prerequisites for forming a broad anti-monopoly front uniting the various democratic forces in the fight against the anti-national and anti-people policy of big capital.

But it is a hard problem to realize this community of interests in political practice, for it ultimately depends on the level of the working people's class consciousness and their correct assessment of the origins and nature of the crisis and the possibilities for overcoming it. Bourgeois and reformist ideology, which still holds captive sizable strata of the population, prevents the working people from understanding their true social condition and tries hard to cover up the divide between their interests and those of the working class.

Socio-political and economic life daily and hourly provides a great many examples to illustrate the antagonism and antithesis between the interests of labor and capital, which cannot but be glaring. But these contradictions and antagonisms are expressed in constantly changing forms, now and again acquiring new features not to be found in the past, and always appearing in a unique and concrete form. It is not so easy for the man in the street to find his bearings in the complicated pattern of everyday events and facts, especially since bourgeois

propaganda offers thousands of fraudulent explanations and answers which are all designed to paper over these contradictions and conceal their true nature. The working people's objective class condition and their subjective notion of it, their assessment of it, frequently do not coincide, so that their social behavior and political action often fail to meet their most important interests. That is when we find workers voting for their worst enemies, and parties defending the system of exploitation and oppression of the majority of the population by a minority, still getting support from that majority.

Only when the working people's subjective notion of their interests is in line with their actual condition will they be able to bring about changes, control their own future and escape from the captivity of capitalist wage slavery.

Many factors are now conducive to such an insight. Under the crisis, many illusions being spread by the advocates of capitalism are being dispelled, the falsehood and fraud of the diverse theories of class harmony are being exposed, and the incompatibility of the goals of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie stand out in ever bolder relief. The crisis generates not only fear but also wrath, not only submission but also protest. However, it would be a mistake to assume that spontaneous developments can lead the working people to an understanding of the necessary ways of struggle for their rights and interests, and automatically ensure the growth of their class consciousness.

Only tireless explanatory work based on a profound scientific analysis of the situation, helping to dispel the fog of bourgeois propaganda and giving a true and truthful picture of the modern world, can help the working people to comprehend their genuine interests and the ways leading to their satisfaction.

In this process, the key role belongs to the Communist Party. Considering the communists' activity and their historical mission, Marx and Engels regarded it above all from the standpoint of the extent to which that activity expresses the common interests of the working class. The communists, they stressed, "have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole . . . The communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality; 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through they always and everywhere

represent the interests of the movement as a whole."⁸

Being equal to that historical mission in our day means carrying on, ever more broadly and vigorously, political and explanatory work in the midst of the masses, seeking to throw the right light and give the right explanation to the working people's everyday experience and practice, and to provide true and convincing answers to the questions posed by life. That is the only basis on which it is possible to overcome the crisis and to advance along the path of progress, paving the way for a renewal of our society and transition to an order that will make it possible to bring about the triumph of the principles of democracy and socialism, together with the elimination of man's exploita-

tion by man and the antagonism of class interests.

1. See *International Herald Tribune*, December 23, 1982.

2. Quoted in: Karl Marx, *Theories of Surplus-Value*, Part II, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968, p. 373.

3. See *Communist Viewpoint*, Toronto, 1981, Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 18.

4. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 444.

5. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 496.

6. Meaning joint "participation" by government, business and trade unions in tackling economic problems. — Ed.

7. *The Road to Socialism in Canada. The Program of the Communist Party of Canada*, 1972, Toronto, Ontario, p. 48.

8. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 497.



A demonstration of Marxism's greatness

INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE IN BERLIN

An international scientific conference on the subject "Karl Marx and Our Day — the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress" was held in Berlin, capital of the German Democratic Republic. It was attended by 145 delegations from communist and workers' parties, revolutionary vanguard, national-revolutionary parties, liberation movements, and socialist and social democratic parties, and also a delegation from *World Marxist Review*. Many political personalities, statesmen and representatives of public opinion in 111 countries of all the continents accepted the invitation of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to mark the 165th birth anniversary and the centenary of the death of the founder of scientific communism, teacher and leader of the international proletariat, and great son of the German people — Karl Marx.

The political breadth and the high representation level of parties, organizations and movements, the speeches of 140 delegates, the themes dealt with by them, and the experience they shared made this conference an important event in the life of the world revolutionary movement, of all the people committed to fight

for freedom, democracy and socialism. Among the speakers there were 56 General Secretaries and Chairmen, over 70 Political Bureau members, CC Secretaries, and members of other national leading organs of parties, organizations and movements.

The participants in the conference conducted a frank, broad and constructive exchange of views on the cardinal problems of our day, and although there was no total coincidence in their assessments this exchange of views was worthy of the personality and great cause of Marx.

Many of the speakers stressed that in view of the threat created to humankind by the imperialist course toward aggravating international tension, the world conference in Berlin was very timely and would give new impulses to the struggle for peace and social progress.

The conference convincingly demonstrated that the distinctions in views on these or those present-day issues, reflected in the speeches of individual participants, were no obstacle to joint action in matters concerning the vital interests of humankind, above all in the most crucial matter of ensuring peace. As was accurately noted by Paavo Lopponen, member

of the Commission for Program and Fundamental Problems of the Social Democratic Party of Finland, "the divergences in the views about the genesis of the world are of no significance when the task before us is to prevent its destruction."¹ R. Padilla Rush, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Honduras, said: "Although the speeches delivered at this conference mirror a wide spectrum of attitudes they lucidly show that the question of war and peace is the central concern of all the parties, movements and governments represented here. For that reason let us respond to the appeal made to us in Erich Hon-ecker's opening address, namely, the imperative of the times is such that all the political and social forces that sincerely want peace are, regardless of their political, ideological and religious persuasions, making every effort to save the peoples from nuclear catastrophe because any aggression may erupt into war and because the existence of all humankind depends on the preservation of peace."²

Citing innumerable facts and examples, the participants in the conference showed that the scientific ideas and revolutionary cause of Marx and his comrade-in-arms Frederick Engels are profoundly influencing our times. Their ideas have changed and continue to change the world. They live wherever a struggle is being waged against exploitation and oppression, against colonialism, neocolonialism and racism. They live in the countries whose peoples have, on account of victorious socialist revolutions, the special mission of building the new society. They live in internationalist solidarity, which constitutes the strength of the revolutionary working-class movement and of all the fighters for the freedom of peoples. They live in the struggles of those who champion peace and social progress.

The speakers repeatedly emphasized the enormous historical significance of the work of Vladimir Lenin, the Great October Socialist Revolution, which had made an indelible imprint on our century, and the development and strengthening of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Lenin was a faithful follower of Marx. He staunchly championed and creatively continued his work under new historical conditions, in the epoch of imperialism and the first triumphant socialist revolution.

Many of the speakers justifiably called Leninism the Marxism of our epoch, stressing the unbreakable unity between Marxism and Leninism and the fallacy of drawing a dividing line between them. The doctrine of Marx and Lenin is not a dogma; it is a guide to action. At the conference it was shown convincingly that

this doctrine is being constantly enriched and developed on the basis of the new experience and new knowledge accumulated in applying Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of individual countries.

Representatives of many parties, organizations and movements noted that the existence and successful development of the USSR, the first, largest and most powerful socialist state, was of decisive importance to humankind. As was stated at the conference by M.V. Zimyanin, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, "the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries are doing everything to lower the level of military confrontation and ensure real disarmament on the basis of equality and equal security so as to deliver the peoples from the threat of a nuclear war."³

Speakers strongly condemned the adventurist, aggressive policy of the present U.S. administration. Life is making it clear that the problems of war and peace, like other global problems, cannot be resolved without the participation of the socialist countries, which have become a major factor of humankind's progress. This, it was noted, makes the socialist countries, where the basic propositions of Marx are being translated into life, the mainstay of the powerful social forces demanding a world without wars and armaments and an end to the nuclear arms race that is being escalated by the imperialist circles of the USA in pursuance of their hegemonistic ambitions. The participants in the conference declared their support for the Soviet Union's unilateral commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, for the constructive peace proposals made by Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and for the initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty countries formulated in the Prague Political Declaration of the Treaty's Political Consultative Committee. The USSR's stand and consistent policy of peace have reinforced the confidence of millions of people that the widening struggle for peace can save humankind from annihilation.

The General Secretaries of the communist parties of the USA and Great Britain Gus Hall and Gordon McLennan, the Chairman of the German Communist Party Herbert Mies, and comrades from other industrialized capitalist countries spoke of the diverse actions of the worldwide anti-war movement, which, despite the distinctions in the political stand, world view and religious persuasions of its participants, has gained unprecedented strength and scope, in the NATO countries as well. The conference in Berlin made it plain that the broadest sections of society are today interested in the

preservation of peace. This question profoundly worries even those who do not seek radical social changes in the world.

More than 90 speakers represented the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. In passionate revolutionary speeches they emphasized that the ideas of Marx and Lenin inspire them, and are guiding them in a just struggle against the remnants and effects of colonial brigandage, against neocolonialism, racism, Zionism and apartheid, in the struggle for a new, free and independent life. Many described how in this struggle they "found Marx" and made his doctrine their lodestar, and spoke of their striving to build a new society without going through capitalist development. Samora Machel, Chairman of the FRELIMO Party and President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, used the example of his country to show how "the embryo of a Marxist-Leninist party and the socialist revolution and a people's democratic state took shape in the liberation front and in liberated areas."⁴

The speeches at the conference, the full texts of which were published in the newspaper of the SUPG Central Committee *Neues Deutschland*, are living evidence of the solidarity and interaction between the three main revolutionary currents of our day. These speeches give a grandiose picture of the diversity of the conditions in which a struggle is going on for peace and for social progress throughout the world. They are testimony of the huge wealth of experience, theoretical conclusions and political knowledge that has been accumulated.

At the reception given by the SUPG Central Committee in honor of the participants in this international conference G.V. Romanov, Political Bureau member of the CPSU Central Committee who led the CPSU delegation, noted that despite divergences in views there was "agreement that the ideas of Marx live and operate, that they have helped and continue to help correctly understand and see the main trends of world development, the complex and contradictory problems of our day, and are an irreplaceable weapon in the struggle to reshape the world, for social progress . . . The uniqueness of the present situation is that the forces working for peace are incomparably more numerous than the forces inflaming war hysteria and proclaiming 'crusades' against socialism. There is no more important task today than to unite and further invigorate all the forces opposed to war. This conference is an important step in this, the only correct, direction."⁵

The international scientific conference vividly demonstrated the greatness and viability of

Marxist-Leninist theory, the role of existing socialism as the practical embodiment of this theory, the inseparable link between socialism and the struggle for peace, and the significance of the internationalist solidarity of the communist movement and the diverse movements for national and social liberation.

Roland Bauer, CC member, SUPG

Raul Valbuena, CC member,

Colombian Communist Party

Raja Collure, CC member,

Communist Party of Sri Lanka

Ali Malki, representative of the

Socialist Vanguard

Party of Algeria on WMR

1. *Neues Deutschland*, April 13, 1983.
2. *Neues Deutschland*, April 18, 1983.
3. *Pravda*, April 12, 1983.
4. *Neues Deutschland*, April 12, 1983.
5. *Pravda*, April 17, 1983.

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Against manipulating the masses

Hans Kalt

CC Political Bureau member and Secretary,
Communist Party of Austria

The struggle of the communist parties of capitalist countries for the right to bring the truth home to the masses is one of their major ideological activities. In contemporary bourgeois society the mass media have become, along with the traditional institutions of authority, a powerful instrument of maintaining the rule of the governing class. The concentration of capital and technological achievements in the hands of increasingly narrow financial and industrial groups also gives them a monopoly on the dissemination of their ideas.

This applies both to countries where practically the whole press and all broadcasting are in private hands and to Austria, where the media are partly owned by the bourgeois state.

Information and politics

The bourgeois and social democratic media in Austria seem to abound in news reports and present a vast variety of opinions. But it is only a first impression, for news really important to the people is distorted and sometimes withheld and as for key socio-political alternatives, they are ignored or misrepresented.

This is evident, to begin with, in coverage of the realities of the working people's life under an unjust social system but above all of the roots and nature of the general crisis of capitalism and its current stage. Yet the need for authentic information is greater than ever. Indeed, numerous blue and white-collar workers in Austria, too, are affected by the crisis. Nor do they all meekly resign themselves to their "lot." Protest and resistance actions are launched by workers in enterprises threatened with closure, by tenants angered at mounting rent, by young people who cannot find employment. However, the monopolized media either ignore these actions altogether or minimize their significance; they try to discredit or isolate those who join in them or to make it difficult for those others who still refrain from protesting but sympathize with protesters to realize the need for active defense of their rights and for solidarity.

The political situation in Austria today is characterized by the emergence of non-traditional social movements in which young

people play a big role. The peace movement has acquired a new quality, with initiatives carrying an important political message being taken here and there. Also active are various "green" and "alternativist" groups calling for the protection of the environment from the disastrous effects of the capitalist drive for profit. The outspokenly unjust system of state-monopoly capitalism, which guarantees a handful of people excessive material wealth, angers people, especially youth. In addition to all this there are increasingly strong actions against neonazism, discrimination in regard to women, ethnic minorities and foreign workers, as well as vast actions of solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle of oppressed peoples.

The new movements make new demands of the party's ideological work in general and its propaganda in particular. We must constantly devise new methods of fostering socialist consciousness among the participants. Not all of them are members of the working class sharing its world view. Nevertheless, the majority of these movements express spontaneous protest against the most ugly aspects of capitalism in the current phase of its crisis. This cannot be overshadowed by the fact that many leaders of the movements listed above have vague notions or that reactionary concepts are widespread in some movements (for instance, there is a hostile attitude to economic progress in movements opposed to the peaceful use of nuclear energy).

In Austria as in other capitalist countries, the communists work to prevent these spontaneous protests from ending up in an impasse and to make them part of a new mass movement against capitalism. The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, uses the media as a means of staving off closer ties between them and the revolutionary working-class movement. It resorts to varying tactics, such as publicizing so-called ways and means of ending the crisis, false radicalism on secondary issues or pseudo-leftist criticism of the revolutionary working-class movement, the countries of existing socialism and the national liberation struggle. Resistance to these tactics is an important line of the ideological work of our party

and its press. The situation necessitates at once greater flexibility and firmness of principle on decisive issues. We draw on the party's ample experience.

Main lines of work

The effort of the CPA in respect of the media comprises primarily the following activities:

- actions for peace and disarmament, including resistance to anti-communism and the "psychological war" which reaction and its media are waging against socialist countries.

- support for the social and economic demands of the working class and other working people, and resistance to bourgeois attempts to shift the burden of the crisis on to the people's shoulders;

- actions in defense of democracy and for greater democratic freedoms, and resistance to neonazi activities;

- exhaustive discussion of the problems and demands of new social movements;

- popularizing the policy of our party (an important instrument in this case is the CPA program adopted in January 1982).

In carrying on its explanatory work, the party is often compelled to repeat axioms, since three decades of "social partnership" policy have resulted in undermining the solidarity of some sections of the workers and in dulling their class awareness. Now as in the past, one of our important ideological activities and the main theme of our press consists in fully exposing the nature of capitalism, which Lenin urged so often. In presenting this theme, we call attention primarily to the growing concentration of enormous wealth and power in the hands of a few while the living standards of the masses decline and their rights are curtailed, as well as to the fact that although the Socialist Party of Austria (SPA) has been in power for 13 years, the state and the institutions of "social partnership" are still instruments of capitalist power.

Winning more readers

The Austrian press is more concentrated than that of some other capitalist countries. As much as 80 per cent of the edition of dailies sold in Vienna and Lower Austria is made up of copies of two bourgeois rags, *Kurier* and *Neue Kronen-Zeitung* (even *AZ*, the national daily of the SPA, once called *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, cannot compete with them).

The times have gone when, following the abolition of state censorship, the Austrian press allowed a measure of freedom of opinion, if only because various individuals, small groups and organizations possessing comparatively modest funds could publish competitive

daily newspapers. Nowadays earnings from sales are generally far from constituting the greater part of a newspaper's receipts. In the bourgeois press, roughly 70 per cent (or perhaps more) of all cash earnings comes from advertising, primarily by big companies. At present, information giants and advertisers closely associated with them exercise much more effective censorship than the state. Referring to bourgeois "freedom of the press," newspapers never publish what is at variance with the fundamental interests of their owners or advertisers.

In these circumstances *Volksstimme*, the militant daily of Austria's communists, working class and progressives, is to play a particularly important role. The truth is its chief instrument in awakening the working class to its condition and historical mission and to the need for international solidarity among the working people in the interest of peace and social progress.

Obviously, a newspaper can influence people provided it is bought and read. *Volksstimme* has to cope with very strong competition in trying to win more readers. Its chief enemy is the so-called "independent" press.¹ Regrettably, the majority of the population, including workers, still prefer this kind of press because of the seeming abundance and diversity of information and entertaining items (plus an attractive layout, local news, crime, sex, sympathetic references to racist and chauvinist survivals of nazi ideology, and so on).

To compete effectively with this press, it is not enough to tell the truth about events and facts ignored or distorted by it. Along with political and educational material, *Volksstimme* carries an adequate amount of information which its working-class readers rightly expect it to supply on "petty" everyday problems, local news (including crime), sports and cultural events. Only by meeting the readers' demand for varied information, entertainment and so on, if only to a minimum degree, can *Volksstimme* function as an effective political instrument.

However, the paramount task of the communist daily is to be, according to Lenin's recommendation, a collective propagandist and agitator and an organizer of the advanced section of the working class. We use various methods to this end. For instance, the editors of *Volksstimme*, as well as promoting the paper on the traditional enlarged sales days, circulate it in collaboration with the party organizations in factories or communities which are dealt with in its columns.

In addition to *Volksstimme*, the CPA and

organizations close to it have several political monthlies, including *Weg und Ziel*, theoretical journal of our party, periodicals and newspapers for women, young people, students and other population groups. In Lower Austria the party's publishing house brings out several local weeklies. Several hundred newspapers are published by our party organizations functioning in factories and residential neighborhoods as well as by trade unions (of the left bloc). They play an important part, especially in actions at factory and local level.

Owned by the state but —

Broadcasting in Austria is controlled by the state under relevant legislation containing certain positive provisions. The constitution demands that radio and television should fulfil a "public task." The law on ORF² binds it to respect the "principle of objectivity," and to "reproduce and broadcast the manifold opinions represented in public life." It also says that radio and television shall serve educational purposes.

We consider that these provisions, if applied consistently, could make ORF an effective counter to the monopolized press. This is why the Communist Party takes an explicit stand against attempts to abolish government control of radio and TV, deprive them of their public function and reduce them to a private capitalist domain.

However, there is no denying that ORF under its present management does very little to perform the function assigned to it by the law. Gerd Bacher, its General Director known for his rightist views,³ while stressing the "independence" of ORF, effectively defended it from only the "excessively partisan" wishes of the SPA government. As for the rest, ORF, in which Bacher makes his own policy, is plainly dominated by "higher" interests, formulated mostly in the organs of "social partnership."

It follows that ORF is an important instrument of maintaining the state-monopoly system. Its broadcasts hardly tackle problems of labor; they leave out progressive ideas (although some artistic programs, especially high-standard ones like the *Alpine Saga* serial, cannot quite pass them over in silence). Labor solidarity actions, strikes, and actions by progressive opinion are either disregarded by radio and TV or presented in a false light. International news coverage is generally adapted to the interests of the reactionary imperialist forces of West Germany and the United States. Life in countries of existing socialism is shown through the eyes of enemies (some key ORF posts are held by turncoat emigrés from these

countries). Radio and TV set the tone in agitation supporting campaigns of anti-socialist forces against normalizing the situation in the Polish People's Republic. This is contrary to both the law on ORF and the principles of Austrian neutrality. Therefore our party regards the effort to use the opportunities of telling the truth which ORF has, as an important part of the communists' overall struggle against manipulating society through the media.

We do this in various ways. First of all, *Volksstimme* constantly exposes the more glaring manifestations of bias on the part of the ORF, such as the recent refusal of the ORF management to telecast the Soviet-American TV film on Hitler Germany's war against the Soviet Union dubbed in German. In neighboring West Germany it was only Bavarian TV, known for its rightist bias, that refused to broadcast the film. Neutral Austria did the same! *Volksstimme* denounced this approach of ORF.

There are other ways of expressing protest. One of them is telephone calls to the TV studio during a broadcast. These calls expressing a definite opinion are carefully recorded there. It has been established that during telecasts clearly contradicting Austrian neutrality the ratio between favorable and negative comments generally does credit to viewers. Most of these make it clear that Austrians take a very serious view of the principle of neutrality irrespective of differences in world view. Nor can this be discounted.

Besides, our party has repeatedly cited the law on ORF to insist in writing or by word of mouth that the company abide by the law. We have achieved some improvements (mostly for brief periods), such as mentions of and quotations from *Volksstimme* in press reviews and the presentation of the communist view (if on very rare occasions) in discussion telecasts. CPA Chairman Franz Muhri took part (only once so far) in the Press Hour program.⁴ From what viewers said afterwards, they were favorably impressed by his clear exposition of the party's political attitude and by his calm, businesslike tone, which contrasted sharply with the provocative tactlessness of some bourgeois journalists.

CPA representatives are invited to a TV studio, as a general rule, if the sponsors of the broadcast concerned hope to embarrass them by asking "ticklish questions." Experience has shown, however, that our comrades' ideological and political conviction as well as their calm and businesslike approach contribute to their success in the most difficult situations. When, for instance, CPA member Eva Priester

was invited to a Club-2 discussion she resolutely foiled attempts to exploit the issue of the "personality cult" as a pretext for settling accounts with the communists. The chief opponent was so annoyed that he left the studio before the end of the program (something which Club-2 has never experienced in the long years since it was founded). Today even those whose ideas are far removed from ours admit that telecast discussions are really worthwhile only when communists join in.

However, occasional successes must not mislead us regarding the manipulation practised by ORF. This means that the general demand which the CPA makes of radio and TV stands. Our program states it as follows: "The constitutional function of the radio — fulfilling a 'public task' — must not be altered but must be fully performed at least as to content. The CPA demands that at least the obligation imposed by the law on ORF and binding it to 'respect the principle of objectivity' and to 'reproduce and broadcast the manifold opinions represented in public life' be honored and that a social current of the greatest significance for human progress today, namely, socialism, be no longer presented in distorted form and through the eyes of its enemies."⁵ Information and all other broadcasts should be open to contemporary progressive trends in accordance with their importance. We believe the principles of the neutrality policy of our country and the common aspiration of humanity for peace and détente should find expression in a businesslike approach by radio and TV to coverage of international problems, especially those of preserving peace.

Cable television and its possibilities

Cable television has lately been gaining in importance. In Austria, however, the population has turned out to be less interested in it than the companies promoting it⁶ had expected. These companies are dominated by one or another "social partnership" party (depending on their influence in the province concerned); they cooperate with the transnationals which supply electronic equipment and are trying even now to monopolize the business in their respective provinces.

No attempts are being made to use the possibilities of cable TV for enlisting the participation of people in the drawing up of programs or at least in discussion of the living and working conditions of ordinary Austrians. Even the legal obligation of ORF to supply exhaustive and unbiased information is inapplicable to cable TV.

The communists demand that in developing the new means of communication it (and hence a large audience) also be put within the reach of groups putting forward socio-political alternatives from the standpoint of the socialist world view. The possibility of discussing economic, trade union, social and communal problems (such as housing or environmental protection), that is, problems directly concerning viewers, over the local or regional cable TV network could create entirely new opportunities to make TV a vehicle of active public participation in the solution of these problems. In other words, it would help put an end to the present state of affairs, with TV making people consumers of information and hence easy to manipulate.

Old shortcomings of a new law

After years of debate, the National Council (parliament) of Austria passed a new law on the mass media which became effective on January 1, 1982. The communists support those of its articles (approved primarily at the insistence of the SPA) which have replaced outdated provisions of the earlier law on the press, such as the obligation to send control copies of a publication to the police and the public prosecutor's office, to apply criminal legislation to the media, and so on. We also welcome the fact that the law demands of every information medium data on its owner,⁷ entitles newspapers to refuse publication of unfounded denials and provides for greater protection of journalists from pressure by proprietors of the media.

However, the law has brought about no essential change. Now that the mass information sphere has been monopolized, nominal freedom of the press is not enough. People find themselves in an unprecedented state of dependence on the media. This is why we communists have insisted and still insist that the law be amended to include the fundamental civil right to receive objective, authentic and exhaustive information (strange as it may seem, the new law does not bind publishers to be objective, unlike the law on ORF). We stress the need to provide that, in line with the UN Convention on Human Rights and the UNESCO Declaration on the Mass Media, these shall not be used as a vehicle of fomenting racial and ethnic hostility or propaganda of war.

At this writing the law still authorizes prosecution for slander and insult in the press solely in the case of those affected personally. As regards slander and insult affecting, say, communists, it is as impossible as in the past to make slanderers publish a denial. This means

that the right to tell lies in favor of capitalism and to defame the most consistent anti-capitalist force is protected by the law. By contrast, the right to publicize the truth in the working people's interests is extremely limited due to the property relations existing in the media.

The program demand of the CPA for "establishing and making applicable the fundamental right of all citizens to objective, authentic and comprehensive information"⁸ is as valid as ever.

In an effort to help bourgeois ideology retain its decisive influence on society, the ruling class has, of course, extended the possibility of manipulating the masses. However, the increasingly marked manifestations of capitalism's inherent contradictions have made it easier to tell the truth from lies. Even so, society always needs objective information.

This is why the communists' struggle for democratization of the media is gaining in importance. The prerequisites of success in this struggle are growing.

1. The press that nominally represents no political party or government agency. — Ed.
2. Austrian Broadcasting Company, owned by the State.
3. At one time Bacher was press adviser to CDU Chairman Helmut Kohl, now Chancellor of the FRG.
4. It is broadcast every Sunday and involves politicians and other public figures.
5. *Sozialismus in Österreichs Farben*. Program der Kommunistischen Partei Österreichs, Vienna, 1982, p. 95.
6. The Austrians' lukewarm interest is also due to the limited variety so far of the programs cabled from the FRG and occasionally from Switzerland.
7. Regrettably, this provision is sometimes ignored but it is revealing that one of the major bourgeois parties — the Austrian People's Party — opposed the new law because it disagreed with precisely this provision.
8. *Sozialismus in Österreichs Farben*, p. 95.

Defending every inch of ground won by April

Sergei Yastrzhembsky
Editorial staff member, WMR

POLITICAL REPORT

Nine years have passed since the day (April 25, 1974) when the sensational news of the overthrow of the Portuguese fascist dictatorship, Europe's oldest, through a revolt of the armed forces backed by the people reached every corner of the planet. Almost insignificant in terms of history, this past period has, nevertheless, proved to be one of the most eventful and dramatic ones in the centuries-long existence of Portugal. Two years of a vivid, stormy, largely contradictory revolutionary process that changed the political and socio-economic situation in the country beyond recognition were succeeded by seven years of intensifying reactionary counter-offensive.

On one scale of the balance are two years (or only six months, to be absolutely precise) of radical democratic transformations, and on the other, seven long years of bitter, unrelenting attacks on all the new and progressive brought about by the revolution. But the amazing thing is that the former scale still outweighs the latter. Nationalized enterprises, banks and insurance companies go on functioning despite the numerous stratagems of reaction, which controls the government and parliament. Cooperatives retain over half a million hectares of lands expropriated from latifundium owners, and

many factories are still under worker control. What is the explanation?

Lisbon dropped unexpectedly out of sight. Our car had just been speeding past the pompous monuments of the Liberdade and Roma Avenues, modern buildings — banks, hotels and holding companies — innumerable small restaurants, cafés and bars bustling with life. But now we only saw the Tejo glistening on our right and the factories of the industrial part of Lisbon, also known as its "Red Belt," on our left.

Where the political sympathy of the capital's working-class suburbs lies was shown by slogans painted in scarlet, black or white on the walls of dwelling-houses and public buildings, on factory fronts and roofs. They called for defense of the gains of the democratic revolution, for resistance to reaction's counter-offensive, and demanded the immediate resignation of the Democratic Alliance government¹ responsible for the country's severe economic difficulties.

The crisis and likely ways out of it are, from what my Portuguese friends told me, a standing topic of mass rallies of working people. They are analyzed in the working-class and democratic press and discussed in political and business quarters. This is understandable, for the

socio-economic condition of the country has been worsening ever since the middle of 1976 as a consequence of the rule of governments committed to re-establishing the positions of big capitalists and landowners. Statistics show that in these years the deficits of the balance of payments and foreign trade have gone up very noticeably (the foreign trade deficit in 1982 exceeded five million dollars against 1,600,000 in 1975) and unemployment has soared (there were 66,500 "redundancies" in 1974 and as many as 480,000 in 1982), with the working people's share in the national income diminishing (from 67.9 per cent in 1975 to 50.2 per cent in 1980).

These and other negative developments, I was told by many of my communist as well as non-communist interlocutors, took a disastrous turn for the worse with the assumption of power by the Alliance, which set out to erode and do away, if possible, with the main achievements of the revolution: the 1976 constitution, nationalization, the agrarian reform and worker control. But the militant posters and graffiti in Lisbon's industrial suburbs are evidence that those attempts meet powerful resistance from the working people.

And now we reached our destination, Covina, a large glass factory whose output goes to the automobile, building, electrical engineering, furniture and other industries.

The factory went into operation in 1936 and employs over 1,200 workers.² Before the revolution, 80 per cent of the company's shares were held by one of the Portuguese monopoly clans and the rest, by Saint-Gobain, a French chemical corporation. On July 10, 1975 the legal status of Covina changed radically, for its Portuguese shares were transferred to the state by decision of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. To commemorate this, the workers replaced the bust of the former owner of the company, Feiteiras, by an obelisk with the text of the decree on nationalization.

I owe my very first impression — a strong one — to the words "Long live the 60th anniversary of the PCP"³ painted in huge golden letters on one of the factory buildings. Even in areas where the Communist Party enjoys a dominant influence by tradition, I rarely saw such evidence of respect for it, such an obvious indication of its strength and prestige. After all, despite far-reaching social and economic changes resulting from the revolution, Portugal is still a capitalist country and this must not be forgotten.

Donaldo Fernandes and Carlos Adriano, members of the Executive Committee of the factory organization of the PCP, welcomed me

at the gate. Donaldo is responsible for trade union work at the factory and Carlos, for the activity of the Working People's Commission (WPC), organ of worker control over production. They showed me around the factory.

The company is not doing badly. Capacities are used nearly 100 per cent (against a maximum national average of 70 per cent). In spite of tough competition, Covina has succeeded in breaking through to the over-saturated market of EEC countries. However, communists and other workers are more concerned about the future than the present. Covina is increasingly affected by the policy of "slow strangulation" which the Right has been carrying on against the nationalized sector. The range of devices used by the government and the employers is very wide, Carlos told me. It varies from cutbacks in investment and refusal to pay for finished products to the blocking of credits.

What is threatening Covina directly? The factory needs large investment to update its fixed assets without delay, for the furnaces in operation today (the mainstay of glass production) are not expected to last beyond 1984. But the management, which is made up of people associated with monopoly groups and the right-wing government, hampers the adoption of radical solutions, dooming the factory to a slow decline.

When asking what the communists were doing to save it, I knew that the party organization was indisputably the leading political force at the factory (one in every three workers is a party member) and that communists who had been elected members of the WPC or shop stewards had appreciable possibilities of effectively defending the interests of the personnel.

Both comrades said that Covina's problems could be solved within the framework of the platform for a democratic alternative worked out by the PCP with a view to assuring the harmonious economic development of the country. The platform, announced by the ninth party congress (1979), provides for steps to consolidate the nationalized sector, grant it credits for the expansion and modernization of production, appoint competent managerial personnel and draw the employees into management.⁴

To save Covina, Carlos said, the communists use a variety of methods. They reveal the actual state of affairs at meetings, in the wall newspapers and monthly bulletins of the WPC and the trade union committee, and expose the maneuvers of the management, which tries to lull the workers' vigilance with demagogical promises of reform. The future of the factory

has repeatedly been brought up by the WPC at meetings with members of the parliamentary groups of the PDM and SP,⁵ to say nothing of the PCP group, which gives Covina workers full support in the Assembly of the Republic.

Does not the nationalized status of the factory restrain the workers' social activity? Carlos suggested that I should put this question to any worker. We went up to a computer operator. His name is José Pina, he is 48 years old and has been a party member since May 1954. Under Salazar he spent four years behind bars for refusing to go to India to serve in Portugal's colonial enclaves of Goa, Daman and Diu.⁶ A police registration card discovered after the revolution showed that PIDE, Salazar's secret police, had kept an eye on Pina. It describes him as "dangerous, capable of creating social problems."

Pina has been at Covina for nearly 17 years. He got his job there long before the revolution and so knows very well how greatly many of his fellow-workers have grown politically and changed internally since then. When nationalization came, Pina said, people began to feel responsible for the fate and reputation of the factory, realizing that they were working for their own good. Of course, the new attitude to labor was not only a result of the changed legal status of the company but also of the numerous transformations that took place in the country and at the factory itself in those days. Wages grew substantially, pensions and disability allowances were increased, and young workers who studied without giving up work were allocated grants out of the factory's social fund. Nurseries and creches were opened in houses owned by top managerial personnel before the revolution, with workers' wives, once jobless, serving as teachers. "Why," Pina exclaimed, "there is just no comparing the situation in Covina since the revolution to what it was like before." True, many things have been reversed since reactionaries entrenched themselves at Sao Bento.⁷

I asked how often so powerful a weapon as the strike was used. In nationalized enterprises, Pina replied, a strike that breaks off production is an extreme measure and is only used when all possibilities of dialogue with the management have been exhausted. But lately workers in the state sector have had to go on strike more and more often (incidentally, the proportion of Covina workers who backed the nation-wide action on February 12 and May 11 was very large: 97 and 99 per cent).⁸

It follows that the communists who lead the workers' struggles in nationalized enterprises — José Pina was undoubtedly stating the par-

ty's position — show great flexibility and a proper sense of responsibility in using the strike, a strong yet constitutional (this must be stressed) means of defending the interests of the working class. As workers in the state sector have a vital interest in its preservation and development, the decision on whether or not to strike is taken each time with due regard to all pros and cons. Account is taken of the size and financial condition of the enterprise, the general economic and political situation in the country, the state of affairs in kindred enterprises, the degree of the workers' readiness to respond unanimously to the trade union's call, and many other circumstances.

One is tempted to call such a stand on strikes "over-prudent." But what is it actually: an indication of wisdom or a result of "reformism" and "conciliation," which ultra-revolutionaries from among ultra-leftists accuse the PCP of?

The deeper I probed into the matter, the more I realized that by resorting to the strike as an extreme measure, the trade unions, which are led by communists and other employees consciously following them, show a high degree of class awareness and political knowledge and a keen sense of tactics plus a patriotic concern for the preservation of the historic achievements of the April Revolution.

But then another question arises: What is the reason for the steady growth of the scale and dynamism of the strike movement in recent years?⁹ I think it has nothing to do with the character of the working-class movement, for this has undergone no radical change, but with negative processes going on under the impact of the policy of restoring capitalism.

Let us now go back to what was said about the Covina party organization. It is most representative (about 400 members), as has been noted. Its structure is simple: there are 12 party cells at the factory, a Secretariat of 24 and an executive Committee of eight, elected once in three years at a general meeting.

The absolute majority of members are workers, including many young ones. This is not to say, however, Donaldo Fernandes told me, that the party is following an *ouvrierist* policy, treating with scorn those who are employed in the service sector, design offices or the management. There are many engineers and other specialists as well as several shop managers and department heads among the factory's communists.

Perhaps the chief preoccupation of the party organization today is the psychological atmosphere at the factory, the mood of people painfully affected by the dire consequences of a crisis which is being aggravated by reaction's

offensive. Repressive measures against committed workers and WPC members in the state sector, massive layoffs, curbs on trade union rights and freedoms and the appointment of managerial personnel that makes no secret of its hostility to nationalization, in short, all the negative phenomena resulting from the retreat of the revolution have created serious difficulties for the communists. The rightist management, Donaldo said, is trying to establish a "new order." It imposes various taboos and restrictions on communist activity, cancels without further ado the powers of WPCs enshrined in the constitution and does its utmost to obstruct the work of shop stewards. Due to the acute socio-economic crisis which shows every sign of dragging on and to the official policy of abolishing the gains of April, pessimism, a feeling of frustration, diffidence in their own strength and in the possibility of a better future are gaining ground among certain sections of the working people.

When the revolution was on the rise, the comrades told me, the PCP was rapidly bringing in new forces and growing numerically but not always qualitatively. Many people joined the party on the spur of revolutionary enthusiasm, being carried away by their emotions and with what seemed unlimited freedom at the time. In 1974 and 1975 the communists at Covina had no difficulty in holding a rally or demonstration — all they had to do was to tell the workers that the party was calling them. The situation began to deteriorate from the middle of 1976. There were even those who withdrew from the party. Some discovered to their surprise that the PCP was neither a debating club, nor a place of amusement. Others backed out, scared by the difficulties the struggle involved. Today it is no longer enough to launch a call; communists have to explain the party's policy to people patiently and convincingly if they want to prove the need to launch a campaign. In this situation, my interlocutors pointed out, commanding, formalism, overemphasis on slogans and standard working methods are particularly impermissible. Arguments likely to convince people in one case may prove ineffective in another. Here is a revealing example. Whereas the Covina workers readily supported the general strikes in February and May 1982, their attitude to some other, less important political actions was lukewarm.

In view of the growing bitterness of the class struggle, higher demands are made of applicants for PCP membership. As a result, the party organization is confident of all whom it has issued with membership cards since 1976.¹⁰

In short, Carlos said, concluding, the ebb of the revolution added to the organization's problems. Sometimes the communists compromise and may even take one step back if they know that afterwards they will be able to take two or three steps forward. But there are issues on which no concessions can be made. One of them is the future of Covina and the nationalized sector as a whole. It must be defended and safeguarded in the interests of the national economy and all working people.

Setubal, the second largest city of southern Portugal, lies several dozens of kilometers from Lisbon, at the mouth of the Sado. Its shipyards, port, superphosphate fertilizer and cement factories and wineries account for a large section of the country's industrial proletariat. Under the Salazar-Caetano dictatorship, working-class Setubal was one of the strongest citadels of anti-fascist resistance, and after April 25, 1974 it won renown as a result of many revolutionary actions and creative initiatives of the workers. The municipality has for years now been headed by a communist and the majority of the city's population votes communist by tradition. In short, Setubal may be described as the "Reddest community" in Lisbon's industrial "Red Belt."

There is a large national cork-processing factory in the city. People utter its name, Mundet, with great warmth and a touch of sadness but then always proudly. I knew why on visiting it.

Fully a dozen members of the WPC told me about the past and present of the factory as we sat around a table covered with a silk cork cloth. They spoke almost simultaneously, with great animation, gesticulating expressively, interrupting and supplementing one another. It was an impassioned and dramatic account.

By the time the April Revolution came, it looked as if the days of that leading factory (founded in 1865) were numbered. Its debt, in particular to foreign creditors, exceeded 180 million contos; the factory was threatened with failure and the personnel, with unemployment. But the workers headed this off. To prevent the closure of the factory, they took it away from private capital in revolutionary fashion on June 1, 1974. Shortly afterwards a managing commission was formed which drew up a program to save the factory. It was composed of two representatives of the employees and the manager appointed by the Provisional Government. A general meeting, acting on a motion of the communists, specified the main objectives of worker control at Mundet: preserving the factory and every job, defending the international prestige of the enterprise, winning new markets and regaining lost ones, furthering the

revolution and consolidating its democratic achievements.

Facts given by Victor Manuel, worker, member of the WPC and the Secretariat of the factory organization of the PCP. When, in 1974, it came to deciding whether "to be or not to be," the communists did not have to call the workers to action twice. Everybody was eager to advance the revolution and revive the faded glory of the factory. But the workers' decision to end the former owners' incompetent and, indeed, anti-national policy met with resistance from capital. Mundet found itself in a ring of economic and financial blockade; its output was barred from capitalist markets, the owners of cork-oak forests flatly refused to supply cork, and creditors insisted on immediate repayment of debts. The situation was becoming critical. Closure of the factory would have been a tragedy for several hundred employees and dealt a telling blow to Portugal's interests.¹¹ This prospect certainly did not worry those behind the campaign against Mundet.

But the workers did not lose heart. In saving the factory, they set an example of devotion, social consciousness and patriotism. An internal loan was issued at the factory. The employees paid it out of their pockets. Many of them made voluntary contributions, renounced pay and worked on days off and holidays. The funds raised in this way were used for paying the debts incurred by the factory before the revolution, and this helped sign several new contracts and pierce the blockade. Aid came from socialist countries, whose impressive orders helped make the factory entirely solvent again.

The workers' competent and resourceful management of the factory enabled it to diversify its foreign markets and increase exports. Greater earnings flowed into its treasury and that of the state, which made it possible to invest largely in plant, create over 100 new jobs and meet many of the personnel's social needs. A sliding minimum wage was established; a nursery, a creche and a surgery were set up, a cooperative shop was opened and the funds put up by the workers to pay the factory's debt were fully reimbursed to them.

However, worker power at the factory could not last, for it ran counter to the logic of capitalist development, and aroused fear and hatred in the political quarters which in 1976 set about "making good the abuses" of the revolution. In September 1977 the socialist minority government decided to give the factory back to its former owners on the utterly false pretext of the "insolvency" of the enterprise.

The fate of Mundet befell many other factor-

ies which the workers had taken away from owners set on thwarting production and put under their own control. Thanks to the workers' devotion, all factories were spared ruin and went into operation again at full capacity. WPCs demonstrated their ability to organize production and sales competently, modernized plant and created hundreds of new jobs. The selflessness shown by the overwhelming majority of working people in this economic field found expression in a temporary renunciation of certain social benefits and demands, a realistic approach to the choice of forms of struggle, the voluntary financing of the factories, and so on. All this allowed the Communist Party to conclude that "for the first time in Portuguese history, labor has become a form of political action and revolutionary struggle."¹²

Remembering the problems that communists at Covina wrestle with, I asked how strong defeatist sentiments were at the factory.

Facts given by Luis Guilherme, mechanic, member of the WPC and the secretariat of the factory organization of the PCP. There is no denying that the retreat left its mark. But continuous struggles over many years steeled the workers and helped them tide over the factory's return to private capital. Communists used talks with individual workers and groups of workers, interviews, meetings, rallies and other forms to explain the significance of their struggles for the working people of Setubal and perhaps the whole of Portugal and reduce the negative psychological impact of the decision to a minimum. They may be said to have succeeded on the whole. A strong indication of the workers' militant mood was the fact that all of the Mundet employees joined in the general strikes of 1982. This unanimity was a result of the efforts made by the party organization to unite all employees in struggle irrespective of their ideological views, party allegiance or religious concepts.

I asked the comrades to tell me about relations with the socialists and "leftists," who in 1974 and 1975 showed feverish activity in the city's factories.

From what they said, many Portuguese at the height of revolutionary transformations took the "leftists'" bait — their high-sounding slogans creating illusions about the possibility of solving all problems overnight. Many of the politically unsophisticated who for the first time found themselves in the role of direct participants in social events and not in that of mere onlookers often proved unable to tell reality from make-believe. But the more the class struggle gained in bitterness and intensity, the

better they saw that the postulates of the ultra-leftists, who skilfully dressed them up with fine words, were empty and harmful. "Leftist" influence can no longer be described as a serious political factor in Setubal.

As for the socialists, the communists seek mutual understanding with them on specific tasks in defending the working people's interests in diverse unitary mass organizations. But, of course, they succeed only in part. It is occasionally hard to come to terms even with a rank-and-file socialist. Many of them often follow the demagogical line of the top SP leadership under Mario Soares, which has flatly rejected all dialogue with the PCP at the national level. Soares himself, one of the participants in the interview said, has adapted adroitly enough to the role of a cyclist who manages to work both pedals at once. Hence the inconsistency of socialist policy and the abrupt voltefaces made by socialists locally. But the communists, showing patience, tact and firmness of principle, persevere in their open-handed policy toward the SP. After all, a very great deal depends on agreement and cooperation among all democrats, primarily communists and socialists, above all the possibility of preserving the progressive gains of the April Revolution, consolidating them in the people's interests, stopping the reactionary offensive, and last but not least, safeguarding the very future of newly-established democracy in Portugal.

Mague is a Portuguese private enterprise. It is unique by both national and international standards, being one of the few plants in the world that make gantry cranes and thermal power turbines.

José Manuel da Costa, leader of the plant's communists, PCP member since 1953, coordinator of the WPC, took me on a round of the plant and told me about the party organization. A thickset man with an almost black tan (he had got it when assembling pavilions for the *Avante!* festival), proudly showed me the impressive output of Mague, known in Mexico and Singapore, Sweden and the United States, Poland and the Soviet Union.

He said relations between the workers and the management were quite tolerable — "not really the worst in Portugal." This is not to say that Mague is exempt from class contradictions or conflicts. In 1981 actions by the workers cost the company about 60 working hours. This is not much, of course, but it proved enough for the board of directors to meet in 1982 all the demands made by the personnel at the signing of a new collective agreement.

It should not be imagined that the management shows tolerance for altruistic reasons. Its

relative amenability has a different source. To be sure, the owners of the factory seek maximum profit (gantry cranes are sought after on the world market). But even so, they do not try to impose their will on the trade union and the WPC, whose leadership is predominantly communist. Attempts are being made to turn Mague into something of an antithesis of the nationalized sector, a model or standard of capitalist enterprise. In following this ambivalent policy, the employers still hope to win leverage and support among the working people and this is something for both the union and the party to think about, the comrades pointed out.

We discussed what strikes one as illogical and even paradoxical in the management's conduct, but is actually typical rather than surprising.

The role of classes, social strata and groups in the revolutionary reshaping of society is admittedly determined by their interests, by how these relate with the nature and trend of socioeconomic changes. Shortly before the April events of 1974 there was ample evidence that the middle strata, like the working class, had a stake in overthrowing the fascist regime and bringing about political and economic reforms. The fact is that under Salazar small and medium private enterprises were in a very precarious state. The regime virtually denied them all technological and financial aid, nor did it grant them any tax reductions. Its economic strategy, which encouraged rapid concentration and centralization of capital, tended to undermine and ruin a growing number of medium and small enterprises.¹³ Thus the condition and even survival of this section of the middle strata depended on abolishing the dictatorship and undercutting its economic basis, that is, financial and industrial capital. The only way to provide opportunities for the development of small and medium business was to destroy monopoly, the communists insisted.¹⁴ It is not surprising, therefore, that certain sections of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie welcomed the anti-fascist revolution and the nationalization of big capitalist property which followed shortly after.

However, the conduct of this section of the bourgeoisie in the revolution was motivated not only by the instinct of self-preservation and a desire to adapt to the new order but by a bid to derive maximum profit from the revolution. Hence the compliance shown by the owners of Mague in regard to the employees' demands in the 1974-1976 period. What is one to make of this?

Engels answered the question "Will it be

possible to abolish private property at one stroke?" as follows: "No, such a thing would be just as impossible as at one stroke to increase the existing productive forces to the degree necessary for instituting community of property. Hence, the proletarian revolution, which in all probability is impending, will transform existing society only gradually, and be able to abolish private property only when the necessary quantity of the means of production has been created."¹⁵ In other words, at a certain stage, perhaps even a very prolonged one, the revolution coexists with medium and small private property whose owners have opportunities to benefit considerably from the reforms effected by the new regime, provided they are loyal to it.

This was precisely how Portugal's communists approached the problem. "While demanding that the capitalist sector should respect the new reality," it was said at the eighth PCP congress, "it is necessary to enable it to make a positive contribution to the economic development of the country as far as it can. This implies the need to define the spheres and range of activity of private initiative and to devise effective forms of supporting small and medium enterprises."¹⁶

But many revolutions, including the Portuguese, have shown that, loyal as the non-monopoly bourgeoisie may be, its social behavior is extremely inconsistent and is marked by zigzags due to abrupt changes in political pressure and the balance of forces. When the revolution recedes the middle sections of the bourgeoisie very often desert to reaction on the offensive, failing to fully realize that a restoration of monopoly domination will have a disastrous effect on their own fate. It is only the working class that is consistent; in the case of the Covina, Mundet and Mague companies, they go on, in spite of the most unfavorable political situation, defending the interests of the whole of society as when the revolution was on the rise, and concerning themselves not only with the problem of consumption but with those of accumulation and the advancement of the national economy. Whereas the owners of Mague think chiefly in terms of their own enterprise, its employees do so in terms of the entire economy. This illustrates the greatness of the working class and the objectiveness of its leading role in history.

An indication of the hard work of the party organization is the calm and the confidence in their strength which the Mague employees show in protecting the shoots of the new and progressive that have appeared in Portugal as a result of the April Revolution. Not a single

major production, social or everyday problem is solved without it. What is more, upwards of 100 members of the party organization have been elected members of municipal chambers and parish assemblies,¹⁷ and one of the communists heads the municipality of Vila Franca de Xira. At Mague, it is a communist tradition to render assistance in various ways to collective production farms of the agrarian reform area ("Red Saturdays," fund-raising, the repair of agricultural machinery, etc.), and join actively in the internationalist work of the PCP.

Of course, all does not go as well as the comrades would have liked. For example, during the PCP recruitment campaign at Mague (March-June 1982), the target was reached only by half.¹⁸ The communists see one of the reasons in the years-long offensive of reaction. Conditions for political work have deteriorated (e.g., the management has sharply restricted the posting of propaganda material). Many people show, I understood, disturbing signs of fatigue, listlessness, and a certain disappointment at the results of the April Revolution (I was told as much at Covina). All this came out in February and May 1982, when not all Mague employees joined in the general strikes.

How to strengthen the workers' will? How to make them immune from the demagogical stratagems of the government and the employers? Lastly, how to help those who no longer feel confident believe that in spite of the temporary retreat of the revolution, the working-class and democratic movement has all that it needs to defeat reaction and return Portugal on to the road opened on April 25, 1974? These questions are seen as highly relevant by many factory organizations of the PCP, in both the public and private sector. Experience has shown that they are answered best of all where resistance to the offensive of the Right against the achievements of the revolution has not slackened.

The CC PCP pointed out at its meeting last June that there are still factory party organizations whose internal structure has yet to take proper shape and which are operating unimaginatively, reducing the vast variety of forms of party work to meetings. But these organizations are few, I was told, and will be even fewer before long. This confidence comes from the fact that the party regards the task of strengthening its positions among the working class as a priority.

My visit to three factories which play a notable role in the socio-economic and political life of Portugal helped me understand better than before why the Portugal of April, brought

into existence by a mere six months of revolutionary transformations, retains many of its distinctive characteristics in the face of the frontal counter-offensive of reaction. What is going on in that country is a fresh confirmation of the validity of Lenin's idea that the "second day" of every revolution is its hardest.

What will its third day be like? Defending every inch of ground they have won, the working people led by the PCP are doing all in their power to make it a day of greater democracy and further headway for the April Revolution, a day of changes leading to socialism.

1. The government had to resign as a result of sustained struggle by the working people and the defeat of the Right at the municipal elections in December 1982.

2. Small and minute enterprises predominate in Portuguese industry; 90 per cent of them employ fewer than 100 workers and 50 per cent, fewer than 10. Covina is among the biggest companies (they add up to only one per cent), which employ over 500 workers each.

3. The Portuguese Communist Party was founded in March 1921.

4. See *IX Congresso do Partido Comunista Portugues. Barreiro, 31 Maio — 1, 1, 3 Junho, 1979*. Lisbon, 1979, pp. 284-287.

5. PDM, Portuguese Democratic Movement; SP, Socialist Party.

6. Liberated by the Indian army and reintegrated into India in 1961.

7. Residence of the government.

8. On February 12 and May 11, 1982, immense 24-hour general strikes took place in Portugal for the first time since 1934, with the strikers demanding the resignation of the Alliance government.

9. See Domingos Abrantes, "Trade Unions in Revolution," in *WMR*, No. 2, 1982.

10. Contrary to the calculations of the rightist and reformist press, which predicted that the PCP would lose influence because the revolution was receding, the party has been steadily growing. Whereas it had 100,000 members in May 1975, or at the height of the revolution, in June 1980 it numbered 187,000, apart from the 36,000 members of Communist Youth of Portugal.

11. Portugal produces and exports over 50 per cent of the cork used in the world.

12. *IX Congresso* ... p. 29.

13. From 1950 to 1970, the number of proprietors dropped from 242,000 to 73,000, according to official statistics, which means that 70 per cent of employers "disappeared" in 20 years.

14. See *A saída da crise*, Lisbon, 1977, p. 28.

15. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 350.

16. *VIII Congresso do PCP. 11 a 14 novembre 1976*, Lisbon, 1977, p. 237.

17. The parish is the smallest territorial division.

18. Taken as a whole, the nation-wide campaign "For Five Thousand New Communists by Late June" exceeded its target. The PCP admitted 5,699 new members from March to June 1982; 56.1 per cent of them are workers.

New experience

OUR INTERVIEWS

THE BATTLE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

Spyros Halvadjis

CC member, Communist Party of Greece,
Secretary, Communist Youth of Greece

Q. Would you briefly review the history of the Communist Youth of Greece and the aims pursued by it?

A. Our organization was formed by decision of the CPG Central Committee in 1968 when the military junta was in power. In spite of the enormous difficulties and the harassment, the CYG sank deep roots among young people, gave a correct orientation to the struggle that was waged by them, and created branches in many towns. Under the dictatorial regime and after its fall it was seen that the CYG was pursuing a correct policy: it linked the solution of pressing problems to more general political aims. Experience has taught us that this is the most effective way of steadily promoting the youth movement, of uniting young people in anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist actions.

The overthrow of the dictatorship in 1974

and the accompanying legalization of the CYG led to a rapid growth of its membership and prestige. The young people united around it made a large contribution to the popular opposition to the policy of Atlanticism and to the rigid austerity at the expense of the working people. Our organization continues to pursue this orientation. Young men and women played a large role in the defeat of the Right at the elections in October 1981 and they comprise a powerful current of the forces demanding the dismantling of NATO military bases, Greece's withdrawal from the Common Market, and the effecting of changes in the country's development.

Q. To what would you attribute the increased militancy of the rising generation and in what areas is this militancy most marked?

A. Young people have been ever more clearly realizing that many of the phenomena and processes of recent times are adversely affecting their condition.

The very fact that imperialism is inflaming international tension, growing more aggressive, and engaging in material preparations for war, pushing humankind to a nuclear catas-

trophe, evokes protests from young people. But in addition to aggravating international relations the policy of war preparations is negatively influencing the situation in the capitalist countries, where a mounting tendency toward authoritarianism, anti-communism, and political reaction is to be observed among the bourgeoisie. The economic crisis, too, is growing deeper. Young people are the first to be hit by unemployment and cutbacks in social security spending and education, which are sacrificed to the arms race. Among the OECD member states Greece has the highest per capita rate of military spending and the lowest per capita rate of spending on education.

All these problems acutely disturb young people, who move them to the forefront of their struggles. With the removal of the Right from power the situation taking shape in Greece is enabling young people to participate in political and public life, to extend the sphere of their activities. But the growth of the youth movement is not an automatic process that, as some quarters believe, results inevitably from the rapid deterioration of the condition of young people. It is the outcome of purposeful efforts, chiefly by the communists.

The battle for young people has become very bitter indeed. The class adversary has launched a powerful ideological and political offensive in which he is using all the means at his disposal to paralyze the social activity of young people. Alongside "traditional" methods — authoritarianism, intimidation, and repression — new ways are employed to influence the thinking of young people. Efforts are being made to persuade them that instead of radical changes in society what is needed is no more than its "modernization" without affecting the interests of the monopolies, to infect them with reformist illusions and opportunism. At the same time, the ruling class is endeavoring to divert the discussions among young people into a channel that would be harmless to the existing order and cultivate anti-labor concepts rejecting organized struggles.

Q. What, in your opinion, should the communists do to counter this offensive? What headway has the CYG made in the battle for young people?

A. A special responsibility devolves on the CYG and all members of the CPG. It is vital to continue developing the anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly orientation of the youth movement and draw it increasingly together with the working-class movement. We have to master the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism and step up our political and ideological activity.

The communists have already achieved much. Perceptibly more young people have joined the trade unions and are participating in the mass actions for peace, the dismantling of military bases, against Greece's dependence on imperialism, for Greece's withdrawal from NATO and the EEC, and against unemployment and other vices of capitalist society. Our influence is growing at production facilities, the campuses, the general education schools, and the vocational schools. (For example, at the national student elections CYG candidates have been firmly in the lead since 1975, winning the votes of one in three students last year*). Despite numerous difficulties, the growing political prestige of the CYG also finds its expression in the organizational development. Our six-month membership drive announced in 1981 has been singularly successful, with good results among young workers, who are a special concern of the CYG.

It is, of course, not easy for young people to decide to join a revolutionary organization. With this step they consciously reject the guidelines of bourgeois propaganda and enter the struggle for a fundamental restructuring of society. From experience we know that proper preparation must precede this step. What are the main prerequisites that we have to ensure for organizational growth?

First, it is necessary to promote the youth movement so that a person wishing to be with the communists should have the necessary experience of participation in the mass struggle and a clear perception of the vanguard role played by the revolutionary proletarian party. Further, we have to constantly show the political and class essence of the problems encountered by young people and make sure that each action in support of partial demands helps to enhance the consciousness of young people, draw them closer to the positions of the working class, and bring them round to understanding that their destiny is inseparable from the course of society's development. Lastly, ideological and political work should be aimed at giving young people a positive perspective, convincing them of the superiority of the communist ideas, bringing them round to accepting the socialist world view, and inspiring them to join in working for our lofty aims.

Far from conflicting with the orientation toward broad joint action, the fulfillment of these tasks is, in our opinion, indispensable to making such action effective. The main thing is to display day-to-day initiative, to look for suit-

*The elections in April 1983 reaffirmed this balance of strength. — Ed.

able forms of work, and to leave no question worrying young people outside our field of vision. The battle for young people will then be won.

DOCUMENTS

USA: PROGRAM OF ANTI-CRISIS MEASURES

The Communist Party USA has called upon the Reagan administration to take urgent steps to end mass unemployment and the other serious effects of the economic crisis in the USA. A statement published by it speaks of the catastrophic consequences of the crisis: the number of unemployed has reached 20 million, over 60

million people are living in poverty, and more than 4 million are homeless.

The communists urge the Congress to declare a state of emergency and take immediate legislative steps to ease the burden of the crisis. In particular, they suggest nationalizing industries, including the steel industry, that have been hardest hit by the recession, the allocation of 100 billion dollars to reshape the infrastructure of American cities in decline, and the lifting of the restrictions imposed on unemployment relief. This money, the statement says, can be raised by reducing the inflated military budget and the corporate profits. The Communist Party urges the people to start a national campaign to compel the White House to reckon with their interests.



Working-class struggles in the context of capitalist integration

The WMR Commission for Problems of the Class Struggle in Industrialized Capitalist Countries has sponsored a discussion of a wide range of issues relating to the history and practice of capitalist integration and its impact on the condition of the working people in the present economic crisis. Since most of the participants represented West European communist and workers' parties, attention was focused on problems of the EEC. Nevertheless, the discussion went beyond questions concerning this presently key integration group of state-monopoly capitalist countries to embrace some aspects of integration between the USA and Canada and also regional cooperation in Latin America.

The participants were James West (Communist Party USA), Bert Ramelson (Communist Party of Great Britain), Jeronimo Carrera (Communist Party of Venezuela), Polychronis Weiss (Communist Party of Greece), Ib Norlund (Communist Party of Denmark), Stefan Isensee (Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin), Georg Kwiatowski (German Communist Party), Ramon Mendezona (Communist Party of Spain), Niall Farrell (Communist Party of Ireland), Jack Phillips (Communist Party of Canada), Raja Collure (Com-

munist Party of Sri Lanka, Domingos Lopez (Portuguese Communist Party), Carlos Zuniga (Communist Party of Chile), John Nkosi (South African Communist Party), and Dr. Sc. (Econ.) Yuri Shishkov of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The following is a resumé of the discussion.

Objective process or instrument of the monopolies?

Capitalist integration is involving a growing number of industrialized capitalist countries that are, in one form or another, uniting in regional groups and forming single markets of goods and capital, and in some cases — common markets of labor; they are trying to develop and pursue a coordinated policy in diverse areas of economic and social life. At the heart of this process in Western Europe is the European Economic Community that was set up in early 1958 on the basis of the Treaty of Rome, which was signed in March 1957 by the FRG, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. It was joined in early 1973 by Britain, Ireland and Denmark, and on January 1, 1981 by Greece. Currently, membership in the EEC is being negotiated by two other countries — Por-

tugal and Spain. In Washington and Tokyo plans are being nurtured for the creation of regional economic groups in North America and the Pacific.

These processes are vigorously fostered by monopoly capital of the aforementioned countries in order to benefit by the increasing internationalization of economic life and directly affect the interests of the working class and other sections of working people. The scientific study of the problems of capitalist integration from Marxist positions is therefore crucial to the theoretical work and the political strategy of communist and workers' parties.

In the context of theory, particular significance is acquired by the following fundamental questions:

— Is the formation of integration groups of the EEC type an objective and inevitable process or is it artificial and promoted by monopoly capital to attain its class aims?

— Should the processes of coordination and mutual adaptation of the economic, social and other areas of activity of the member states of such associations be regarded as a purely political phenomenon or are they the result of a close intertwining of politics with economic necessity brought on by the new level of the development of the productive forces?

It was noted at the discussion that during the past few decades the tendency, revealed by the founders of Marxism, toward the internationalization of economic life, which gives rise to "intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations,"¹ has acquired an unparalleled scale in the capitalist world. Under the impact of scientific and technological advances and the rapid growth of transnational corporations the post-war years have witnessed an extraordinary intensification of, to use Lenin's words written at the turn of the century, 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."² As a result, there has been a multiple growth of the economic, scientific, technological, political and cultural mutual dependence of capitalist countries, especially in Western Europe and North America.

For example, in the foreign trade of the six countries which founded the EEC the share of the trade among them rose from 35.1 per cent in 1958 to 40.6 per cent in 1963 and to 50.5 per cent in 1973, and remains at that high level to this day. Already now nearly half of Spain's exports goes to Common Market countries although it is not an EEC member. The economic

ties between the USA and Canada are even stronger. Nearly 70 per cent of Canada's foreign trade is with the USA. The direct investments of U.S. transnationals in Canada reached almost 45 billion dollars in 1981, and they control nearly half of that country's total industrial output.

The participants in the discussion noted that the rising level of internationalization of economic life had changed the economic and political conditions for the struggle between labor and capital, for the revolutionary movement of the working class and its allies. Monopoly capital now has more possibilities for maneuvering at both the microeconomic (within individual transnational corporations) and the macroeconomic (in EEC type integration associations) levels.

However, distinctions came to light at the discussion in reading the correlation between the processes of internationalization of economic life and regional integration.

Bert Ramelson stated the view that as a result of concentration and centralization monopoly capital naturally ranged beyond a single country. But the transnational corporations operate in practically the entire world capitalist economy. One should therefore regard integration as a phenomenon of a global rather than regional dimension.

The reality, he emphasized, is that we have to do not with regional markets but with a world market, which is the result of the global operations of the transnationals. For their part, regional groups of the EEC type are artificial creations inspired by the imperialist ruling circles to serve their political aims. It would therefore be wrong, he said, to speak of regional integration as an objectively conditioned process.

Dealing with the global approach to the problem, James West noted the objective character of the internationalization of economic life and its progressive aspects: mutual adaptation and standardization of production processes, the evening out of the development levels and the living standards of the participating countries, assistance for the further development of the productive forces, enhancement of the efficiency of social labor, and so on. But under capitalism all this acquires the form of mutual penetration of national economies with each country seeking to reduce other, less strong, nations to dependence upon it. He suggested that regional economic integration arises under specific conditions on the basis of internationalization of economic life as an instrument for some capitalist countries when they seek either to subordinate to themselves other national economies or, conversely, want to pro-

protect themselves against a stronger national economy, for instance, of the USA. In other words, the regional integration mechanism serves economic and political objectives, which can change.

The idea that unlike the internationalization of economic life regional capitalist integration is not a uniformly objective process which must be accepted was also central to the contributions by *Jack Phillips* and *Niall Farrell*. They interpreted it as a superstructural phenomena, a tool by means of which the monopolies, using the state, are pursuing their economic and political aims in order to preserve their domination.

Some participants offered other viewpoints. It was stressed that although these phenomena are not identical, regional integration is the organic continuation of the internationalization of the economy today, in other words, it is essentially a special, qualitatively new stage of the latter.

The Danish communists, said *Ib Norlund*, are in agreement with the view that capitalist integration is the offshoot of the international socialization of production under state-monopoly capitalism. This is an objective process. It is a process by which the monopolies penetrate and subject the national economy of other countries. This process, as always under imperialism, favors the strongest. Underlying West European integration was also such a powerful political factor as the striving to halt the erosion of links within NATO and give that military-political alliance an economic base. Moreover, economic integration, which is an objective process in its own right, is used by the monopolies for a new assault on the working class and the question is, properly speaking, how we should fight the consequences of this development under state-monopoly capitalism.

Yuri Shishkov made the point that with internationalization international economic, production-technological, and political-juridical links become steadily closer in both the world socialist and world capitalist economies. In both world systems coalescence has reached a level where the conditions are, on the whole, mature for its evolution into the highest stage today, namely, integration.

This stage, *Yuri Shishkov* said, differs from the pre-integration phases in that qualitative changes have taken place in the very character of the international socialization of production. Earlier it was a matter of more or less close interaction between fully autonomous national economic organisms, each of which was held together from within by unity of the process of

social reproduction on the scale of the whole country. At the stage of integration, however, there gradually take shape new and bigger economic organisms — integration complexes within which steadily greater unity of social reproduction is achieved. Of course, the class content of these processes in each of the opposing world social systems is quite different and for that reason their forms also differ fundamentally.

Due to the uneven development of the productive forces, *Yuri Shishkov* continued, internationalization's rise to a higher stage cannot take place at once on the scale of the entire world capitalist economy. It begins in regions where international economic links are most intensive and where, besides, there are favorable political conditions. For that reason the character of integration is regional at the present stage.

It would be wrong, of course, to regard it as a purely economic phenomenon. Today even the bourgeois state is deeply involved in social reproduction. A more often and broader co-ordination is to be observed of various aspects of the policy of nation-states, and a mutual adaptation of their political superstructures is taking place. Economics and politics, the objective and the subjective are here as indivisible as two sides of a coin. But the forms of political interaction may be extremely diverse as is shown, for example, by the experience of two West European integration organizations, the EEC and the European Free Trade Association. The political aspect of integration is thus not so rigidly determined by the regularities of the development of the productive forces as the economic aspect. But it would not be correct to isolate them, much less to play them off against each other.

Because international socialization of production is developing, said *Jeronimo Carrera*, *Raja Collure*, and *Ramon Mendezona*, it is important to probe deeper into the process of regional integration. The latter stressed that being an objective and historically progressive process, integration can assume various specific forms on account of the operation of subjective factors. The communists cannot act against the course of history, but they can develop strategy and tactics, keeping with the concrete historical conditions of each country, to challenge the hegemony of monopoly capital.

Georg Kwiatowski pointed to the contradictory character of the very concept and concrete forms of capitalist integration. Such integration on the level of the basis, he said, is the monopoly form of promoting the productive forces today. This process is to be observed

throughout the capitalist part of Europe and even outside it, forming outlying zones of influence. As for the EEC, it is an integration association, a sphere of intensive intertwining of economic, social and political links which range beyond the traditional relations between individual countries. On the other hand, economic integration between the FRG and, say, Austria, which is not a Common Market member, is at least not weaker than between the FRG and the Netherlands, which is a member of the EEC.

Some changes are taking place in the superstructure alongside this economic process. Determined by the shifts in the correlation of the strength and interests of the monopoly groups, these changes lead to the formation of various inter-state organizations such as the EEC and their supranational institutions. Such organizations and institutions are just as much an objective reality as national institutions, and they have to be reckoned with. But as distinct from the process of economic integration, they are not inevitable in the context of objective social development. For that reason we should not equate the objectively conditioned and historically progressive character of the internationalization of economic life with regional superstructural organizations, identify the political superstructures of the EEC with integration itself, and the economic mechanisms with relations of production.

There are distinctions also between the achieved level of the internationalization of the economy and the continuing, largely spontaneous, character of the capitalist division of labor and the movement of goods, capital, and labor. An unending trade war is going on not only between the EEC and its main rivals, the USA and Japan, but also in the Common Market itself between the monopolies supported by their governments. The monopolies determine also the social character of West European capitalist integration. Therefore, in the debates about it the German Communist Party takes its cue from Lenin, who said that under capitalism a United States of Europe is either inconceivable or that it must be reactionary.

Class orientation of integration associations

At the discussion it was pointed out that the political character of this or that integration group in the capitalist world is determined by what class forces are predominant in it.

In developing countries integration organizations are set up chiefly by the local national bourgeoisie, which is, of course, the class adversary of the workers, although in many in-

stances it is inclined to act against the predominance of foreign monopoly capital and protect the independence of its country. In some cases, therefore, as in Latin America, integration processes may have a latent anti-imperialist orientation.

Integration organizations in Latin America, said Carlos Zuniga, began to appear in a situation where, on the one hand, there was compelling evidence that the import-replacing model of dependent capitalist development adopted by most of the countries of that continent had outworn itself and, on the other, the revolution in Cuba had opened up an alternative — socialism. In this situation the integration policy of the ruling circles of Latin American states pursued three aims. First, to breathe new life into the capitalist way of development and thus save the bankrupt system; second, secure better conditions for the local bourgeoisie in its competition against foreign monopoly capital; third, to steer the anti-imperialist popular movement into the channel of bourgeois reformism and prevent revolutionary changes.

This is, of course, an inconsistent and contradictory strategy. But, to a large extent, it has set the course of struggle against the chief strangler of economic and political freedom in Latin America — U.S. imperialism. In the long run, the continent's communists have given their support to integration programs because these are objectively making it possible to use the anti-imperialist feeling of some sections of the local bourgeoisie as one of the factors helping to create the conditions for a transition to popular-democratic development.

These programs, embodied in the Andean Pact, the Caribbean Common Market, and the Latin American Economic System (the only one of these organizations of which Cuba is a member), are helping gradually to remove the excessive linkage of the Latin American economies to U.S. interests, said Jeronimo Carrera. Of the present total foreign trade of the Latin American and Caribbean countries, which amounts to 155 billion dollars, only 15 per cent is accounted for by trade among themselves. The remaining 85 per cent is with countries outside the region (the USA absorbing 60 per cent). This, too, is a clear indication of the pernicious influence of the operations of the North American transnationals in Latin America. The erosion of this influence by the combined efforts of the Latin American and Caribbean countries through their integration organizations would be an important condition for further intensifying democratic and revolutionary movements in the region. The possibilities opened up by integration could allow

these countries to secure a better balance of trade with the imperialist powers and obtain a greater independence in establishing relations with the socialist world, which is the only partner actually offering trade on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

The class character of West European integration, especially in the EEC, is determined by the fact that this integration is managed by the big monopoly bourgeoisie, which made its wealth not only by exploiting the working people of its own countries but also by ruthlessly robbing the former colonies in all parts of the world. This is an experienced, strong and well-organized class adversary. It uses integration processes mainly to safeguard capitalism as a system that enables the financial oligarchy to preserve its economic and political power, continue and intensify the exploitation of wage labor, and pocket part of the profits of the petty and middle bourgeoisie.

One of the aims of the EEC, Bert Ramelson said, is to prevent the working class of any member nation from acting against the foundations of the capitalist system, seizing power, and starting the country on the road to socialism. This was also the gist of what was said by John Nkosi and Domingos Lopez. The latter used the example of Portugal to show how some EEC quarters interfered in the developments in that country after the April Revolution so as to prevent it from taking the path of socialism: "We were as yet not a member of the Community, but pressure was brought to bear on us by the FRG, and we were subjected to a boycott in the shape of restrictions on foreign investments in our economy and of a decrease of the flow of tourists. What will happen when we become a member?" The Portuguese Communist Party sees the efforts to draw Portugal into the EEC as a major operation to obliterate the revolution's gains, namely, workers' control, nationalization, the agrarian reform, the cooperatives and so forth. The Portuguese communists see capitalist integration as a serious obstacle to the struggle of the working class, of the people.

An offshoot of the uneven political and economic development of the capitalist countries, said Polychronis Weiss, is, as everybody knows, the aggravation of the contradictions between them. Crucial to the class strategy and tactics of the revolutionary movement is to use these contradictions to the movement's advantage. When, for its part, imperialism welds together various political, economic and military organizations and alliances, it uses them to bar the working people's road to revolutionary changes, suppress the working-class move-

ment, combat socialism generally, and at the same time, blunt its own inner contradictions. This relates also to NATO and the EEC. In assessing their nature, the Communist Party of Greece notes, it is important to bear in mind the class strategic guidelines and also the specific tactics employed by each given country at each given time.

By and large, the participants in the discussion pointed out, membership in the EEC hinders rather than facilitates the struggle of the working class in its member countries to limit the power of the monopolies and translate the socialist alternative into reality.

Big capital also uses the EEC to intensify the exploitation of the working class. The Common Market, said Yuri Shishkov, was created with the purpose of making competition keener between the workers of individual countries, sowing hostility between working people of different nationalities, legitimizing blacklegging internationally, and attempting to integrate the working class into the "consumer society" structure and erode its organized struggle.

The Common Market's anti-labor character has been seen with crystal clarity in recent years with the onset of an extremely serious economic crisis. If one takes a closer look at the EEC's fifth medium-term program for 1981-1985, said Ib Norlund, it will become quite obvious that it suggests finding a way out of economic difficulties at the expense of the working class. It recommends checking the growth of wages, which in view of the inflationary rise of prices spells out a cutback of the working people's living standard. Further, the program suggests reducing the expenditures on social insurance and generally secure a situation where public spending would not grow faster than the national product. "Social partners" are required to comply more strictly with discipline in remuneration for labor.

Many of the participants emphasized that the imperialist strategists see the integration of West European countries as the means of strengthening the North Atlantic bloc, which is aimed against the socialist community. This, said James West and Domingos Lopez, explains the USA's interest in both NATO and the EEC. Lately, Georg Kwiatowski noted, there has been a closer intertwining of the EEC's interests with those of NATO, especially in the arms race. Both at regional forums and within the West European alliance, members of parliament and representatives of the war industry of the EEC countries are advocating a steep increase in the allocations for military purposes, closer cooperation in the production of advanced

armaments systems, and the creation of an armaments common market. The EEC Commissioner for Industry has urged the removal of all remaining hindrances to cooperation among the member states in military production. This is causing concern among peace, democratic forces of Western Europe.

Polychronis Weiss noted that the economic and political aspects of integration are indivisible. With the exception of Ireland, all the EEC countries are NATO members. Although there are contradictions and although there is a measure of opposition from some West European countries to the plans of U.S. imperialism, NATO policy ultimately boils down to aggression, an arms build-up and war preparations. Efforts are being made to impel Greece onto this road also. Like the USA, the EEC countries are anxious to retain Greece as a bridgehead against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, against peoples militating for their independence, for economic and social progress. The Common Market's enlargement can under no circumstances help to maintain peace in Europe or strengthen the political stability or security of the European countries, said *Domingos Lopez*. Any talk of "European Union," said *Niall Farrell*, has been closely linked to the idea of a common "European defense policy." For Ireland, the only EEC member state not in NATO, EEC membership was therefore a constant threat to its neutrality. To relinquish this neutrality would lead to a foreign policy subservient to imperialism, plus an acceptance of the undemocratic rule in Northern Ireland.

The EEC's growing role of collective neocolonialist should also be taken into account. Attention to this aspect of the Common Market was drawn by *John Nkosi*, who mentioned some of the conventions signed by the EEC with developing countries and aimed at increasing the dependence of the developing states. The same point was made by *Raja Col-lure*, who noted that capitalist integration in Western Europe has confronted developing nations with some problems; it has contributed to conserving their economic dependence on the former colonial powers and to preserving inequality in trade.

Most of the participants pointed out that the monopoly character of the EEC type integration groups was also seen in the fact that in all of them the stronger member sought to crush the weaker members. Under capitalist integration *Ib Norlund* noted, the so-called international cooperation and division of labor invariably benefit the stronger monopolies or the stronger nations. The EEC governing bodies are used to

maintain this trend. In practice the veto is nullified. This was clearly seen by the Danish people at the recent fishing talks.

But it is not even so much juridical inequality as inequality in the economic strength of the monopoly capital of different EEC countries that enables the strongest of them to shift their economic difficulties to the weaker ones. Polychronis Weiss showed that Greece felt this already in the first two years of its membership in the EEC. In the single year of 1981 its balance of trade deficit with the other EEC members doubled, rising from 74,500 million drachmai to 144,200 million drachmai. Agriculture was the hardest hit: in 1980 trade in farm produce with the other EEC members showed a favorable balance of 6,800 million drachmai, but in 1981 there was a deficit of 10,850 million drachmai. Small wonder that the Greeks say the EEC is a pack of wolves.

The operation of this monopoly mechanism very adversely affects the economy of West Berlin, which is artificially linked to the FRG and the Common Market. The crisis of the capitalist part of Europe has powerfully gripped the economy of the city, which has been turned into an appendage of the big West German monopolies that have subsidiaries in the city producing various machine components and semi-finished goods. As a result, the effects of the crisis are much more serious in West Berlin than in the FRG, said *Stefan Isensee*. Jobs are abolished much faster than in West Germany and the inflation rate is higher. In 1982 the unemployment level was 10.2 per cent (as compared with 7 per cent in the FRG), while the inflation rate was 6.5 per cent (4.5 per cent in the FRG). West Berliners are saying bitterly: "When the FRG economy sneezes the economy of West Berlin catches a cold."

The consensus at the discussion was that the character of integration in the EEC is distinctly monopolistic and serves the interests of big capital, above all.

The EEC and the interests of the working people

The working class in the capitalist countries, of course, has a stake in the growth of the productive forces, the deepening of the international division of labor, and the further internationalization of economic life. However, almost all the participants in the discussion questioned the ability of capitalist integration to add anything to what scientific and technological advances are giving the countries which are or are not members of integration groups.

Bert Ramelson pointed out that in the EEC framework the development level of the productive forces is not a whit higher than in the other capitalist states and, consequently, in this respect integration has yielded nothing. This view was backed up by Niall Farrell, who noted that Ireland's membership in the EEC has distorted the Irish agricultural system with the result that Ireland now has to import agricultural foodstuffs it used to produce. At the same time thousands of small farmers have been forced off the land. The nation's farm output has hardly risen above the level of the 1960s. Similarly, native manufacturing has suffered major setbacks due to the lack of protection from the unfair competition of the monopoly corporations. Membership in the EEC actually retards the development of the productive forces, as member states may no longer freely sign trade agreements outside the Common Market.

Polychronis Weiss presented detailed figures to show the damage that has been done to various Greek industries as a result of integration in the EEC. Domingos Lopez spoke of the considerable research that has been done by the Portuguese Communist Party to ascertain the likely consequences of Portugal's membership in the Common Market. This research has shown that the nation may face the abolition of many industries.

Yuri Shishkov stated the view that the development of the productive forces is affected differently by the EEC type regional associations, which are accompanied by tariff "disarmament" of member countries and the creation of large regional markets. At the initial stage, when a larger market opens to local capitalist entrepreneurs there is an acceleration of the centralization of capital and the concentration of production, accompanied by plant modernization and growth of labor productivity. Computations indicate that in the 1960s this "eruption" of the development of the productive forces was more marked in the EEC than in the rest of Western Europe. But it was shortlived, lasting to the end of the 1960s. When Britain, Ireland and Denmark joined the Common Market there was hardly any repetition of this "eruption" mainly because by that time the whole capitalist world had sunk into a serious cyclical crisis (1974-1975) and the subsequent recession.

At the next stage of its development, Yuri Shishkov said, capitalist integration produces inhibitive effects that check the rate of economic growth and of the development of the productive forces. These are due, first, to the

intensifying elements of spontaneity in economic life on account of a large open market and, second, to the increasing synchronization of the economic cycle in the EEC, which makes the crises of overproduction more serious and prolonged. Thus, although in the 1960s the industrial output growth rate was higher in the EEC countries than in the rest of Western Europe, in 1970-1973 this rate evened out (5.1 per cent), and in 1974-1980 dropped to 1.6 per cent, whereas in the rest of Western Europe it was 3.3 per cent.

However, even at the first stage, the rapid growth of the productive forces was achieved in the Common Market by stiffening competition and this was, consequently, accompanied by thousands of bankruptcies among the inadequately strong enterprises, especially in less developed countries like Ireland and Greece.

And yet, Ramon Mendezona noted, the Communist Party of Spain, like the two largest trade union associations, the Workers' Commissions and the General Union of Workers, favors its country's membership in the EEC. The point is that Spain's economic structure differs substantially from, say, that of Portugal. For that reason, membership in the Common Market, provided the relevant policy is pursued by the government, would cause smaller losses to the nation's economy while in some industries it could bring some benefits. But the main thing is, he said, that the Spanish communists count on seeing an improvement of Spain's social legislation as a result of its adjustment to the norms operating in the EEC. Further, the Spanish communists are of the opinion that the governments formed by left-wing forces in the EEC member states should insist on the enforcement of a genuinely progressive social policy in the EEC, a policy that is still non-existent.

The participants in the discussion were unanimous on the point that capitalist integration gives the working people no benefits in periods of economic "inclement weather." As in the entire capitalist world, in the Common Market countries real wages are diminishing, social allowances are being cut almost everywhere and, most importantly, unemployment is growing at a catastrophic rate. While in 1960-1973 the unemployment rate averaged 2.2 per cent of the total workforce, since 1974 unemployment has been rising steadily, reaching 5.3 per cent in 1977, 6.2 per cent in 1980, and nearly 10 per cent in 1982. By the beginning of 1983 the army of unemployed in the 10 EEC countries numbered, even according to official estimates, almost 12 million.

The democratic alternative of the communists

The quarter-century experience of the EEC, said James West, has shown beyond the shadow of a doubt that capitalist integration is by no means the instrument of socialist changes the social democrats are trying to make it out to be. Their argument is that as the productive forces develop the mechanisms and superstructure of the capitalist system, including capitalist integration, "become" socialist of their own accord. But during the past years not a single EEC country that had been or is governed by social democrats has moved toward socialism. Progress in that direction, James West said, can only be promoted by the all-sided, well-organized and uncompromising struggle of the working class to limit and ultimately overthrow monopoly capitalist rule.

The participants in the discussion noted that the national scene was the key front of this anti-monopoly struggle. For the communists of the FRG, said Georg Kwiatowski, actions against the monopolies organized in the EEC signify chiefly a struggle to press the monopolies back from power in the FRG itself, and create anti-monopoly democracy that would clear the way to socialism. This is consonant with the interests of the workers and other working people in our country and is, at the same time, a major contribution to the struggle against the monopolies in Western Europe as a whole, to the struggle for a working people's Europe, for a Europe of peace, democracy and social progress.

The need to fight above all local monopoly capital was stressed by Domingos Lopez, Bert Ramelson, James West and others. In some cases priority is given to the struggle to end the incursions of foreign monopolies, limit their freedom of action, and push them out of key sectors of the national economy.

This is the situation in Greece, Ireland, Denmark and West Berlin. This problem is especially acute in Canada, where Jack Phillips said, U.S. transnational corporations have stepped into predominant positions in the automobile, rubber, electrical engineering, aluminum, chemicals, mining, lumber, pulp and paper, oil and gas industries. The Communist Party of Canada supports the efforts of the Trudeau government to Canadianize the economy, at the same time criticizing the government for its inconsistency in pursuing this policy. At the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada on October 9-11, 1982 it was noted: "Without placing any hopes or creating any illusions about Trudeau, who does represent a

wing of monopoly in Canada, we should nevertheless see that the policy being fought out in monopoly circles is Canadianization versus Americanization." The party calls for class struggle policies directed to defending living standards; to stopping the drive of U.S. imperialism to war; and to opening the door to fundamental social change. In line with these objectives, it stresses the necessity of building a broad, democratic alliance in order to break the power of multinationals and the banks through nationalization under democratic control.

At the national level the methods and forms of the anti-monopoly struggle depend, naturally, on the specific conditions obtaining in each country. These conditions determine the strategy and tactics of each communist or workers' party relative to capitalist integration.

In this context, said Ib Norlund, the West European countries may be divided into three groups. The first consists of six countries that have been in the EEC for a long time and have become so rooted in the integration process that for them the question of withdrawing from the Common Market is no longer realistic. The second consists of countries that had joined the EEC in 1973 at a time of serious economic convulsions and have not become rooted in the integration complex so strongly as the first six countries. The third consists of countries that have joined recently (Greece) or are planning to join. The substantial distinctions in the real conditions in these three groups naturally affect the stand of the national communist parties toward the EEC.

Niall Farrell, Polychronis Weiss, Ib Norlund, and Bert Ramelson noted that the communist parties of Ireland, Greece, Denmark and Great Britain are of the view that the interests of the working people, of the struggle for socialism would be best served if their countries withdrew from the EEC. In order to step up the struggle against the monopolies, they said, it was necessary to step up the struggle against the Common Market. Domingos Lopez said that Portugal's membership in the EEC could seriously hurt the process of democratization, prevent the nation from ending the crisis in a revolutionary way, and make the socialist prospect remote.

All the participants agreed that the struggle against their countries' membership in the Common Market does not imply a striving for autarchy. "We do not, of course, say that Denmark should keep to itself in proud isolation and pay no attention to the rest of the world," said Ib Norlund. "We want equitable cooperation among nations. This is precisely the aim of

the popular movement in Denmark for withdrawal from the Common Market." "We suggest," said Domingos Lopez, "agreements and trade with all countries in and outside the EEC, in other words, also with socialist and developing nations."

The stand of the Communist Party of Spain was mentioned earlier. Ramon Mendezona declared that however difficult the struggle is for the democratization of the Common Market, for turning it from a Europe of monopolies into a Europe of working people, the working class has no other alternative. One has to look to the future and pave the way to unity in the Left for opposition to the monopolies. This struggle is not momentary, it will take a long time. "In parallel with the struggle for profound social transformations in each country," he said, "with the struggle against national monopolies, we have to move forward to win Europe for the peoples, for the working people, to achieve a Europe without military blocs and pursuing its own independent foreign policy, a Europe that could make a large contribution to the establishment of a new international economic order."

Georg Kwiatowski said that the actions of the communists against Western Europe's monopoly-capitalist unity are not directed against the objective process of the internationalization of the economy and much less against cooperation among all European countries. They are fighting the reactionary aims of big capital as it organizes regional integration. They are fighting for a democratic, anti-monopoly alternative of the working class. A

vote against the Common Market is not a vote against integration, but only against its present capitalist superstructure, against the form of integration that increases the power of concerns and corporations, of finance capital.

Whatever the distinctions in the approach of individual communist parties to the way of tackling various specific tasks linked to capitalist integration, the participants said, some general conclusions may be drawn from the discussion. Everybody agreed that capitalist integration in Western Europe, above all, the main integration complex, the EEC, serves the interests not of the working people but of capital. The participants in the discussion believe that this integration conflicts with the interests of the working class and with the interests of the development of the socialist revolution in Western Europe. For that reason, all speakers noted, the struggle against integration's harmful effects for the working people is one of the key tasks of the communists of any country. All participants agreed that capitalism, a historically doomed system, cannot be saved by whatever is done by the ruling circles, including their attempts to use regional integration.

The participants noted that the WMR's initiative was useful and expressed the hope that the discussion of a range of difficult problems linked to capitalist economic integration and the stand of the communists would be continued.

1. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 1, p. 112.

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

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International law helps to oppose war

Professor Igor Blishchenko, Dr. Sc. (Law),
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There are truly no limits to the hypocrisy of the rulers of the capitalist world. While ostentatiously celebrating the UN-sponsored Human Rights Day, the Reagan administration has attacked the organizers and participants of a million-strong anti-war demonstration in New York by labelling them as "Soviet agents;"¹ while extolling the delights of British "democracy," the Tory government has imprisoned women picketing the Air Force base at Greenham Common, where U.S. Cruise missiles are to be sited;² while loudly publicizing their intention to govern by "democratic methods," the Turkish authorities have hurled slanderous charges of "treason" at the outstanding writers, workers in culture and former diplomats who head the Peace Society.³

But the fact is that the New York demonstrators, the women picketing in Britain, and the activists of the Turkish anti-war movement, like millions of their fellow peace-fighters throughout the world, are standing up for the inalienable and universal human right to live in peace, a right asserted in hundreds of inter-state treaties, agreements, conventions and — in the most concise form — by the UN Charter, the fundamental document of contemporary international law.

The intrinsic power of that peace charter lies in the fact that it proclaims the determination of the United Nations to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to humankind." It formulates the principles by practising which the world community is capable of realizing its primary task, that of

maintaining international peace and security. It is based on the idea of developing friendly and equitable relations between states and promoting their cooperation in tackling the global problems facing humankind in the latter half of the 20th century, and all of this for the purpose of consolidating world peace.

Consequently, the provisions of the UN Charter provide the legal groundwork for the activity of the public movements advocating the elimination of war from the life of human society. Indeed, one could put it even more broadly than that: this activity accords with the generally accepted norms of international law as a whole. Past experience shows that an understanding of the juridical principles underlying the maintenance of peace is of broad political and practical importance for those who are campaigning against the threat of war:

— first, anti-war acts carry much more weight when they are backed by the general democratic norms and principles of international law;

— second, when the imperialist powers are in breach of treaty provisions designed to promote the development of détente and disarmament, the public demand that the governments should live up to their obligations is much more substantiated;

— third, peace movements can help more purposefully to influence the further improvement of juridical norms.

All of this is most valid today, because never before has it been so important for the anti-war forces to get all the states to abide by the general principles of international law, which help to consolidate peace, and also to honor the concrete understandings on translating these principles into life. The decisions being taken by Washington in its efforts to turn the United States into the dominant military power clash not only with the spirit but also with the letter of the obligations entered into by the U.S. administration, especially those relating to nuclear armaments. As General Secretary of the CPSU CC Yuri Andropov has said, "the methods being used are so unscrupulous that, frankly speaking, one has to ask the following

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question: what is the President's (Ronald Reagan's — Ed.) notion of the standards of dealing with other states?"

International law is in no sense a frozen mass of norms and principles. It is a constant development, because it is determined by the interrelations between countries and alliances, by the impact of political and public movements, and by the activity of international governmental and non-governmental organizations. Public opinion tends to play an ever greater role in the framing of international law.

From the Marxist standpoint, international law is an aggregation of the wills of the states acting as political organizations and as instruments of the power of definite classes. Consequently, its formation is ultimately determined by the balance of class forces in the world arena at every given period. In the present epoch, it is determined by the contest between the three main revolutionary streams (world socialism, the working class in the capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement), on the one hand, and imperialist reaction and its allies, on the other.

The fact that the juridical canons which took shape in the epoch of domination by exploitive societies are being eroded and their objective content democratized can be regarded as an indubitable outcome of the development of this contest in the sphere of law. The new world balance of forces, in particular, has led to the emergence of norms reflecting the historical inevitability of the peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-economic systems.

Fundamentally new postulates have been articulated and asserted, notably those which determine the relations between the socialist states as relations based on mutual internationalist support and fraternal cooperation. A powerful impetus to law-making has come from the emergence on the ruins of the colonial empires of dozens of independent states, whose successful national and socio-economic development cannot proceed unless they are juridically vested with state sovereignty and enjoy full and all-round equality in the world community.

Contemporary international law is of a general democratic character, expressing the will of the broad masses, equally serving the interests of all the peoples, and as such expressing historical progress. Its norms categorically reject political and economic dictates, subversion of sovereignty, inequality, enslavement of the weak by the strong, intervention in the affairs of others, aggression, and justification of crimes against peace and humanity.⁴

These radical changes in international re-

lations were started by the October Revolution in Russia, one of whose very first enactments — the Decree of Peace — scrapped the age-old system of relations which were based on the recognition of force as the prime element of law, and which allowed for aggressive wars with the aim of plundering and annihilating the vanquished.

The young socialist state believed that its most important task was to bring relations between countries into line with the interests of the working people, the chief of which was to prevent imperialist wars of aggrandizement. It not only put forward new foreign policy principles, but also worked perseveringly to assert them in international documents and to make them imperative, that is, binding on every one to practise. Socialist diplomacy has always believed that its task is to make one of the fundamental principles of international law — *pacta sunt servanda*⁵ — a reliable instrument of stable inter-state relations based on trust.

The democratization of international law acquired some qualitatively new parameters when socialism developed into a world system, with the emergence of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The active stand of the non-aligned movement does much to assert the norms helping to consolidate peace throughout the world.

The conditions of the struggle for new and fair international law relations have now become more favorable with the change in the world balance of forces. In the early years of the United Nations, the Soviet Union, which has always displayed initiatives for that purpose, frequently found itself alone in the face of the U.S.-manipulated "voting machine." Today, the picture has changed. With the growth of the United Nations, the entry of more socialist and developing countries, and the broader comprehension by UN members of the importance of maintaining a just international law and order, on which the socialist and many other states have strongly insisted, the United States, the chief imperialist power, now ever more frequently finds itself all alone.⁶

From the standpoint of the activity of the anti-war organizations and groups, regardless of their ideological and political orientation or their concrete purposes, primary importance is attached to the set of principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-economic systems. Indeed, the efforts of the peace forces are aimed to secure scrupulous observance of these principles by all the participants in international intercourse.

The theoretical rationale of the need to

elaborate such a system is rooted in Lenin's law of uneven economic and political development under capitalism. One of the propositions is that the victory of socialism is possible first in several or even in one individual country, while capitalist relations are preserved in other countries.⁷ The development of social processes on these lines — especially in the post-war period — has made it necessary to work out a "code of behavior" for states that would help to avert armed conflicts between them and to switch the objectively existing contradiction of class interests into the sphere of economic, social and ideological competition.

In practical terms, peaceful coexistence envisages — at its initial stage — some relaxation of international tension. It implies a readiness to settle differences and disputes through negotiation between equal partners, instead of through the threat or use of force, dictates or blackmail. Peaceful coexistence ultimately envisages disarmament (all the way to reliably controlled general and complete disarmament!) and also the development of all-round cooperation in the economic, scientific, technical, cultural, humanitarian and other fields, with the use of natural resources for the common benefit and with joint efforts to solve global problems.

Both these processes should naturally run parallel to each other. The experience of the late 1970s and early 1980s shows that without military détente it is very hard, if not impossible, to consolidate and develop the successes achieved in the sphere of political détente. On the other hand, it is impossible to get down to taking effective measures in limiting and then ending the arms race and in effecting disarmament without building up a "fund of trust" in the political sphere. Let us bear in mind that economic ties constitute the material foundation of peaceful coexistence.

We find, therefore, that even a short survey of the theory and practice of peaceful coexistence shows how obsolete is the historically-rooted philosophy of peace that assumed it to be a mere absence of armed clashes between states. In our day, it is not only war, but the very preparation for war that tends to erode the economic and social foundations of society, dooming tens of millions of people in the non-socialist countries to ignorance, unemployment, poverty, starvation and disease.

An understanding of the close connection between the efforts to ensure peaceful coexistence and to solve social problems has ever more frequently made the category of "peace" itself the subject of scientific study in the recent period. Thus, a group of experts set

up by UNESCO issued a report in 1976 saying that peace should be "seen as a just and democratic system of international relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and not as a mere absence of war."⁸ A declaration adopted by the 24th Session of the UN General Assembly in 1969 said that peaceful coexistence is considered as the primary condition for social progress and development.⁹ Indeed, the UN Charter itself lists, among the four main tasks for which the UN was set up, the task to "promote social progress and better standards of life under larger freedom."

In opposing the imperialists' attempts to undermine the process of détente, the peace forces can now start from the actual changes in restructuring international relations on a truly democratic basis. These changes are expressed in the structure of the bilateral and multilateral treaties and agreements concluded mainly in the first half of the 1970s.

That was a period in which a system of treaty relations was effectively created fleshing out juridically Lenin's idea that peaceful coexistence between states with different socio-economic systems was necessary and inevitable. It is an idea on whose realization in this nuclear-missile age of ours depends the future not just of individual countries and peoples but that of the Earth as a whole.

It is perfectly clear that the imperialist circles recognized this reality for it was written into May 1972 Basic Principles of Relations Between the USSR and the USA, a document in which the leaders of the major country of present-day capitalism adopted the central thesis of the socialist foreign policy doctrine, when they agreed that "in the nuclear age there is no alternative to conducting their (i.e., the USSR and the USA. — Ed.) mutual relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence." In terms of practical policy, the provisions of that document were elaborated in 1973 in the termless Agreement Between the USSR and the USA on Prevention of Nuclear War. Its purpose is to create real guarantees of international security.

Similar provisions are contained in a number of other bilateral documents concluded in that period by the socialist and capitalist states. Thus, the October 1971 Principles of Cooperation Between the USSR and France have the two powers recognize the need to promote "the development of peaceful cooperation of states, regardless of their social systems." In October 1975, the USSR and France recognized peaceful coexistence "as the only rational basis for relations be-

tween states with different social systems."

The system of bilateral treaties concluded by the socialist countries with the Federal Republic of Germany (by the Soviet Union and Poland in 1970, the GDR in 1972 and Czechoslovakia in 1973), and also the four-power agreement between the USSR, Great Britain, the United States and France on West Berlin (1972) are of special importance for the defense of peace in Europe.

These documents, consolidating the principle that the borders and territorial integrity of states in Europe are inviolate, not only declared as unlawful any attempts to revise the results of the Second World War, a fact which is in itself of historic importance. They went much further, providing the international law groundwork for normalizing and consolidating relations of peaceful co-existence between states with different socio-economic systems in Europe, long one of the most dangerous potential hotbeds of conflict.

The attempts to introduce new and truly democratic principles into foreign policy practice were in a sense crowned with the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which was signed on August 1, 1975, by 33 European states and also by Canada and the United States. Its core consists of 10 principles of inter-state relations which are clearly oriented toward a relaxation of international tensions and whose letter and spirit meet the requirements of peaceful coexistence.

The provisions of the Final Act being the result of a coordination of the wills of all the participating states, are binding on the latter and enjoin: sovereign equality, respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty; non-resort to the threat or use of force; inviolability of borders; territorial integrity of states; pacific settlement of disputes; non-intervention in internal affairs; respect for human rights and basic freedoms, including freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief; the equality and right of the peoples to dispose of their own destiny; co-operation between states; and honest fulfillment of commitments under international law. That is what makes the Final Act a code of peaceful coexistence.

The peace forces, insisting that all the Final Act signatories should abide by their commitments, and working to secure implementation of the concrete measures written into the Act for supplementing the political détente with military détente and developing all-round and mutually advantageous and equitable cooperation, are in a sense acting as the executors of the

juridically established will of the peoples. In the process, they seek to drive home to the masses the importance of the Final Act as an international law document whose significance goes well beyond the framework of the European region. Its provisions should be applied in practice on a global scale and should help to consolidate peace.

The current dangerous sharpening of the international situation has further invigorated the law-making activity of the socialist states and the other peace forces. This is well exemplified by the results of the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee in Prague in January 1983. Its Political Declaration helps to further strengthen and elaborate the international law groundwork for the struggle for peace and international security. The Warsaw Treaty countries have not only firmly stressed the need for the scrupulous observance of the agreements determining the territorial and political realities in present-day Europe, but have also proposed the conclusion between the Warsaw Treaty countries and the NATO countries of a treaty on the mutual non-resort to armed force and the maintenance of peaceful relations, with any other European states having the right to participate in elaborating it and sign it, if they should wish to do so. States in other parts of the world could also adhere to it on an equal footing.¹⁰

The measures designed to remove the threat to world peace posed by the mounting arms race constitute a specific sphere of contemporary international law. Primary attention here should be given to problems generated by mass destruction weapons, both those which already exist (every type of chemical, bacteriological and nuclear weapons), and those now being developed (radiological, laser, space and other weapons).

Some of these types of weapons are already completely or partially banned by treaties. Thus, the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons is prohibited by the 1925 Geneva Protocol.¹¹ The prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons and their destruction are provided for by a 1972 Convention.

The efforts of the peace forces, notably the socialist community countries, have led to the conclusion of a number of multilateral agreements designed to curb the nuclear arms race. Among them are the Moscow Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, Outer Space and Under Water (1963), the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (1968), and the Treaty on the

Prohibition of the Stationing of Nuclear Weapons and Other Types of Mass Destruction Weapons on the Sea Bed and Ocean Floor and the Subsoil Thereof (1970).

The package of international law documents signed by the Soviet Union and the United States between 1972 and 1979 covers the problem of limiting strategic armaments, both defensive and offensive. While Washington has refused to ratify the latest of the Soviet-U.S. treaties (SALT-2) that has done nothing to invalidate their importance. After all, all of them, together with the concrete measures to curb the arms race, contain the unambiguous recognition of the principle of *equality and equal security* of the parties. Consequently, in demanding that the U.S. administration should abide by this principle, anti-war forces throughout the world are motivated not only by a sense of elementary justice but also stress the obligations undertaken by Washington.

The Soviet Union's unilateral commitment not to use nuclear weapons first (1982) has opened up qualitatively new perspectives in the efforts to avert a nuclear war. The Soviet initiative, fully supported by the Warsaw Treaty countries, has created the possibility of extending to nuclear weapons a definite type of international prohibition, namely, the prohibition of first use. This act has given a fresh impetus to the anti-war movement, inducing it to work for the adoption of similar commitments by the other nuclear powers. This means developing a new international norm that could be a substantial addition to international law and could do much to reduce the threat of nuclear war.

The next step should be the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and the declaration of their first use a criminal act. The juridical grounds for the adoption of such a decision are there. War with the use of mass destruction weapons can undoubtedly be ranked as genocide, by which, according to the relevant Convention (1948), is meant "any ... acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious groups ..."¹²

The Declaration on the Prevention of Nuclear Catastrophe, which was adopted by the 36th Session of the UN General Assembly on the Soviet Union's initiative, contains the provision that the acts of state leaders who decide to use nuclear weapons first are qualified as the gravest crime against humanity.¹³ It would be advisable — and this is the proposal made by the delegations of the Soviet Union, the Ukraine and Byelorussia — to so qualify these acts in the Code of Crimes Against Peace and Hu-

manity, which is now being framed by the UN International Law Commission.

There are precedents of punishment meted out to war criminals by the international community. Let us recall that after the Second World War, the Nuremberg Tribunal and then the Tokyo Tribunal were instituted for the trial of persons and organizations guilty of preparing, starting and conducting the aggressive war. The principles of international law contained in the Charter and verdict of the Nuremberg Tribunal were subsequently confirmed by a resolution of the UN General Assembly.

Public anti-war movements have a tremendous role to play in the creation and introduction of juridical norms ensuring the preservation of peace and security for all the countries and peoples. Given their present scale, they are capable of making governments respect the principles and norms of international law. This is exemplified by the impact of the continental anti-missile movement on some West European governments which is hampering implementation of Washington's plans to site new U.S. nuclear medium-range missiles in the area. There is also the spreading mass movement in the United States for a nuclear weapons freeze. The anti-war mood among voters impels many Senators and members of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress to resist the Reagan administration's demands for an increase in military expenditures through cuts in appropriations for social needs.

The influence exerted by the masses on "big politics" is also evident in the fact that, under their pressure, new juridical provisions are being formulated, to be subsequently written into both bilateral and multilateral treaties, agreements, pacts and conventions, and also into UN decisions and recommendations. Let us recall, for instance, the inclusion of such a fundamental principle as the prohibition of the propaganda of war in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights that entered into force in March 1976.¹⁴

Democratic jurists can make a tangible contribution to the efforts to consolidate and extend international law. They can promote the concrete formulation of new provisions erecting barriers on the way to war, and the exposure of those who violate the principles of international law, treaties and agreements in defiance of the will of the peoples.

Conscious of the sense of responsibility for the future of the globe, jurists have set up their own non-governmental organizations. One of the most active is the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL), which includes national associations of lawyers from more

than 80 countries in every continent. In accordance with its motto — "Law in the Service of Peace" — the Association has been discussing a broad range of questions pertaining to the juridical principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems and the struggle against the imperialist threat of war.¹⁵

Lawyers have spoken out ever louder in defense of peace and for a just law and order. Thus, on the eve of the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament, the International Peace Bureau, one of the oldest pacifist organizations, together with the U.S. Committee of Lawyers on Nuclear Policy, held a symposium which drafted international conventions on the unlawfulness of the threat of use of nuclear weapons, on the prohibition of their use and the consequent unlawfulness of the development, production and stockpiling of such weapons.

International law specialists have also given great attention to the problem of strengthening peace in various regions of the globe. An international conference of jurists was held in Delhi in September 1982 to consider the possibility of setting up a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean. The representatives of 36 national associations of lawyers met in Algiers in December 1982 to examine the juridical and political aspects of converting the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, security and cooperation between nations. In December of this year, a conference of jurists is to meet in Cuba to discuss "the Caribbean — a Zone of Peace."

* * *

There are still many problems requiring solutions in international law, and here an important role will be played by the participation of jurists in the work of the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War. From the standpoint of contemporary international law, the Prague Assembly is an open, *ad hoc*, universal, non-governmental and above all broadly representative forum. This gives it a high potential in promoting the growing influence of the anti-war forces in shaping a system of inter-state relations that would guarantee to all nations a life in dignity under skies free from the clouds of war.

1. See, for instance, *International Herald Tribune*, December 11-12, 1982. But these charges were so absurd that even the FBI was subsequently forced to admit as much (*International Herald Tribune*, March 28, 1983).

2. According to a public opinion poll in late 1982, 58 per cent of the population opposed the siting of U.S.

medium-range nuclear missiles in the British Isles.

3. See, for instance, *Cumhuriyet*, 4 Haziran, 1982.

4. One should take into account, however, that international law is not yet entirely free of norms that could — and frequently are — used by the reactionary forces to maintain their positions in the world arena. Now and again, the principles of international law, in defiance of their objective content, are used to step up tensions. Finally, the ruling circles of the imperialist powers, primarily those of the United States, grossly violate their treaty obligations.

In the recent period this has most frequently been expressed in Washington's repudiation of the principle of equality and equal security of the parties in the talks on limiting the arms race and on disarmament in an effort to alter the existing equilibrium of forces in its favor. A visual example of this is President Reagan's March 1983 decision to start the development of new anti-missile systems, which is in blatant contradiction with the provisions of the termless Treaty on Limiting Anti-Missile Systems, signed by the USSR and the United States in 1972, and which is, in effect, a step aimed to create the conditions for waging an aggressive war.

5. (Lat.) *pacta sunt servanda* — treaties must be observed.

6. One of the latest examples comes from the discussion at the 37th Session of the UN General Assembly in 1982 of a resolution which envisaged the use of outer space only for peaceful purposes, and which prohibited its conversion into an arena of the arms race. It was adopted by the votes of 138 countries, and was opposed only by the United States.

7. See, V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 342.

8. *Le monde en devenir. Reflexion sur le nouvel ordre economique international*, UNESCO, Paris, 1976, p. 111.

9. *Resolutions Adopted by the General Assembly During Its Twenty-Fourth Session*. 16 September-17 December, 1969. *General Assembly Official Records: Twenty-Fourth Session, Supplement No. 30 (A/7630)*, United Nations, New York, 1970, pp. 49-50.

10. For details see the commentary "Socialism in the Drive for Peace," *WMR*, No. 3, 1983.

11. While the provisions of the Geneva Protocol are still valid, they no longer accord with the present state of chemical weapons, which is why a new International Convention on the Prohibition and Liquidation of Chemical Weapons is being drafted. In view of Washington's frenzied preparations for the extensive use of toxins, the Warsaw Treaty countries' Prague meeting in January 1983 issued an insistent call to speed up the elaboration of that important document.

12. *The Crime of Genocide. A United Nations Convention Aimed at Preventing Destruction of Groups and at Punishing Those Responsible*. Art. 11, Published by United Nations Office of Public Information. OPI/489-73-00880-35M.

13. *Resolutions and Decisions Adopted by the General Assembly during Its Thirty-Sixth Session*. 15 September-18 December, 1981. 16-29 March, 28 April and 20 September, 1982. *General Assembly Official Records: Thirty-Sixth Session, Supplement No. 51 (A/36/51)*. United Nations, New York, 1982, p. 78.

14. *The International Covenants on Human Rights and Optional Protocol*. OPI/562. Published by United Nations Office of Public Information. New York 76-3650, November 1976-30M, p. 20.

15. Together with the IADL, many other non-governmental associations of lawyers are helping to formulate the problems of peace.

A new coalition in Bonn: which way the helm?

Hermann Gautier
Deputy Chairman,
German Communist Party

Two days after the mid-term Bundestag elections* of March 6, 1983, the Dusseldorf-based financial-economic newspaper *Handelsblatt*, an influential spokesman of monopolies and military-industrial corporations, carried the following front-page headlines: "German Shares: Biggest Wave of Transactions in Recent Years. Stock Exchange Hails Election Results with Dramatic Securities Hikes." The Federal Union of German Industries exulted: "The focus should now be on steadily improving the climate for innovation and investment in keeping with the intermediate general concept covering all vital areas of economic policy." The Federal Union of German Wholesale and Foreign Trade called for "surmounting the effects of a faulted course." The German Congress of Chambers of Industry and Commerce called March 6 the day that saw the "triumph of the market economy."

These pronouncements are an indication of the rejoicing among the ruling circles of the Federal Republic over the results of the elections. They have installed a right-wing coalition at the helm of power in Bonn, a government which they see as the champion of monopoly capital interests. A poll conducted in the summer of 1982 showed that executives and owners of large enterprises were in favor of a federal coalition government headed by CDU/CSU: 84 per cent declared that the social democratic cabinet headed by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt should be replaced.

At the 10th Bundestag elections, the second mid-term elections in the history of the Federal Republic, the right-wing parties — Christian Democratic Union, Christian Social Union, and the Free Democratic Party — won the majority

of the seats in the Bundestag by means of social and nationalistic demagoguery, talk about a "commencing upsurge," and promises to "ensure peace with fewer armaments." The election campaign of these parties, whose leadership is oriented toward the interests of big monopoly, military-industrial capital, consisted of blackmail and threats. Their leaders threatened that if the CDU/CSU did not come to power, unemployment would go on climbing and more jobs would disappear because businessmen would refuse to invest money. Moreover, the right wing benefited by the weaknesses, equivocation, and inconsistency of the SDP-led government, and by deceiving and blackmailing the electorate.

These parties had almost unlimited financial support from big capital. They spent over 100 million marks on election propaganda. Almost all the mass media run by corporations took up the cudgels for the CDU/CSU and the FDP. There is no doubt that on March 6 political power was bought with the millions forked out by big business. West German monopoly, military business in the first place, acted on the calculation that the right-wing coalition would protect their interests, ensure growing profits, escalate the arms race, and shift the burden of the crisis still further to the shoulders of the working people with a "firm hand."

The elections brought the CDU/CSU bloc 4.3 per cent more votes than in 1980, giving it 244 seats or 23 more than the preceding elections. The FDP, which had broken with the SDP last summer, polled 7 per cent of the votes. As a result of its perfidious change of allies and also of acute in-fighting it lost nearly 4 per cent of the votes and is now represented by 34 deputies. The conservative government grouping has an absolute majority (498 deputies) in the Bundestag.

The SDP received 38.2 per cent of the votes, which was a loss of 4.4 per cent. It now has 193 deputies in the Bundestag instead of the former 218.

The Greens, an environmentalist party committed to the peace movement, won its largest-ever number of votes — 5.6 per cent — and now

*The March 6 mid-term elections were the follow-up of the fall in last October of the Social Democratic government of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and the formation of an interim cabinet headed by the CDU Chairman Helmut Kohl. The 13-year SDP-FDP coalition fell apart when the FDP leadership with the party's Chairman Hans-Dietrich Genscher refused to continue cooperating with the Social Democrats in contravention of its campaign pledge in the 1980 elections. This is discussed in some detail in Karl-Heinz Schroder, "Shift to the Right in Bonn," WMR, No. 1, 1983. — Ed.

has a Bundestag faction numbering 27 deputies. In 1980 it collected only 1.5 per cent of the votes. A radical-democratic opposition party has thus reappeared in the Bundestag for the first time in three decades.

The communists see the changes as a serious shift in the balance of parliamentary forces and in the government. There is much more to this than merely a change of government leadership. Although the SDP's removal from participation in the government does not mean that an "epoch" has ended, it ushers in a drastic change in the development of the Federal Republic. For 16 years the SDP had participated in the country's administration: first, in 1966-1969 as a member of a "big coalition" led by the CDU/CSU, and then (until September 1982) as the leading government party in a bloc with the FDP.

The break in September 1982 took place chiefly on the insistence of the right-wing elements in the FDP. However, the collapse of the SDP-led government was due to more profound causes. These lie in the aggravation of capitalism's general crisis, all of whose effects are to be seen even in a highly industrialized country like the Federal Republic. Industry has been stagnating for several years. In key branches of the economy the output indicators are showing no change. Unemployment is growing. Today over 2,500,000 people, or more than 10 per cent of the labor force, have no work. Crisis phenomena are to be observed in all other areas of society's life.

All this is greatly disturbing big monopoly, notably military-industrial, capital in the country, which geographically is situated at the junction of the capitalist and socialist systems. Big business came to the conclusion that a change of government was imperative. By and large, it may be said that big capital tolerates a social-liberal government only so long as the latter can guarantee its profits, hold the trade unions in check, and curb the extra-parliamentary forces. When in the face of the mounting crisis and growing activity of the working class and its trade unions, in the face of the mass actions for peace and disarmament this policy becomes increasingly harder to implement, monopoly capital strives, even at the risk of provoking more popular resistance, to install in power direct executors of its will with the mission of establishing "tranquility and order" with a "firm hand."

Like the USA and Britain, the Federal Republic is now governed by conservative elements. These are trying to ensure the NATO prescribed arms build-up by abolishing the social and democratic gains of the working

people. They want the new U.S. intermediate Pershing-II and Cruise missiles to be stationed in the FRG and to move the burden of the crisis onto the working people. It is believed that a reduction of public spending and a limitation on democratic freedoms will create the conditions for reinforcing the power of capital and increasing the profits of the monopolies.

Of course, last year's collapse of the coalition government led by the social democrats was not objectively inevitable. However, its policy determined by the right-wing elements in the social democratic leadership gradually lost the trust of the people, for its inspirers had broken all the election promises they had made in the early 1970s. At the time the social democrats had promised to pursue a vigorous policy of peace, help widen democracy, and enforce long overdue social reforms in the interests of the working class. In practice they constantly vacillated, declaring their fidelity to the cause of peace but in fact backing the pernicious missile decision adopted by NATO in Brussels, promising reforms but in fact pursuing a course toward social dismantling, and promising effective measures to end mass unemployment but in fact shifting crisis ailments to the working people and causing a further growth of unemployment. Thus, the SDP policy itself was that determining factor that fostered the appearance of the coalition headed by conservative elements.

The course charted by the right-wing in the CDU/CSU-FDP shows that the government and the ruling circles backing it now intend to give it a reactionary content and continue the "swing to the right" that began last October.

The Kohl-Genscher cabinet is not merely a bourgeois leadership of the country. In spite of its own assertions it is not a government of the "center" or of "social-liberal conservatism." For the first time in more than 15 years there is now in Bonn a right-wing coalition led by the Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl representing all groups of big capital. It has the support of the most reactionary forces of U.S., British, and French imperialism. It enjoys the patronage of West German and international concerns and big banks. This government can rely on West German imperialism's ramified international positions. In terms of its class essence the Bonn coalition is a right-wing conservative grouping, a government of big business and military-industrial quarters. It champions the general interests of monopoly capital, which regards its present composition as the most suitable for implementing a policy ensuring the attainment of the economic and political aims of the monopolies and banks.

However, the results of the last elections are still short of meaning that a "dark night" has descended on the Federal Republic, although today almost all the political posts in the big cities and federal lander, as in Bonn itself, are held by members of the CDU/CSU.

Influential monopoly capital groups are insisting on a harder right-wing line, but in view of the present international situation, the actual balance of economic and political forces, and the situation in the Federal Republic itself, these same circles are not able to engineer a steep swing to the right. They are apparently more inclined to push development in the country in that direction, to shift the axis of its public life gradually, step by step. For the ruling circles a sharp break with the political lines established in recent years, a radical turn would be fraught with too much risk.

This is what explains, in particular, why the arch-conservative chairman of the Bavarian CSU Franz-Josef Strauss did not get an influential post in the present Bonn government. As a representative of extreme right-wing forces of big capital, notably of the military-industrial complex, he continues to exercise substantial influence on government policy. But to this day the coalition has not ventured to give Strauss any top job in Bonn, as this would undoubtedly have fuelled resistance to its course. The Kohl cabinet is having to rein in power-hungry politicians of this sort. Its freedom of action is also being limited by disagreements and contradictions in the CDU/CSU itself and between the CDU/CSU and the FDP. Although its policy is anti-peace, anti-social, and anti-democratic, it has to reckon with resistance from the democratic forces, the working-class movement, and the peace movement. The communists therefore stress that the outcome of the swing in Bonn will ultimately depend not only on the will of the ruling circles but also on those who oppose them: social democrats, trade unions, communists, Greens, alternativists, and all other democratic forces.

The strength of the Bonn coalition is thus relative. It does not have a free hand because of the disagreements and contradictions in the grouping itself and between the monopoly circles supporting it, and also because of the potential possessed by the democratic forces in the FRG.

At the elections 44 per cent of the voters were against the parties of the ruling coalition. Besides, most of those who voted for the CDU/CSU or the FDP did not by any means give them a carte-blanche mandate for a reactionary social policy and for deploying

U.S. medium-range missiles. On the contrary, the polls clearly indicate that most of these votes are against the burden of the crisis being shifted to the working people, against any reduction of wages, pensions and public spending, and any escalation of the arms race, and the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in the FRG. These polls showed that over 60 per cent of the CDU and FDP supporters are opposed to these plans of the USA and NATO (two years ago the opposition figure was only 49 per cent). It must also be seen that in the Federal Republic there is no public majority favoring a policy of undisguised revanchism oriented toward changing Europe's post-war frontiers, toward open confrontation with and a "crusade" against the socialist world.

Despite anti-communist propaganda, most of the people in the Federal Republic are not about to agree to a policy of barracks instead of housing, missiles instead of schools, arms race and confrontation instead of détente and peace.

Obviously, the threat to our people's social and democratic rights and their striving for peace has grown with the ascension of the conservative right-wing coalition to power in the FRG. However, because of the contradictions in the new coalition there are possibilities for creating alliances in opposition to the right-wing and for unfolding an extra-parliamentary movement. It is possible to intensify opposition to the government in the Bundestag itself by supporting the social democratic deputies taking a stand against the deployment of missiles and acting in the interests of the workers and the people as a whole, and also by supporting the Green faction.

As I have already noted, the big monopolies, military-industrial capital, have given the nod of approval to the policy charted by the right-wing coalition. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, which is one of the most influential newspapers of West German imperialism, has characterized the coalition agreement as a "program of practical wisdom aimed at rectifying some of the gross errors in the country's development." It writes that the purpose of this policy is to "restore confidence in the government's home and foreign policies. This is the prime, key task of the new cabinet." But so far as the working people are concerned this task means "squaring the circle."

Next year, for example, it is planned to cut federal spending by almost 10 billion marks by reducing unemployment allowances and further depressing the condition of pensioners, invalids, and employees of state and municipal institutions and enterprises. Besides, the government is doing nothing to check

unemployment, to create new jobs although this is one of the biggest and increasingly sore problems of the Federal Republic. With prices continuing to rise, the ruling coalition backs the businessmen's unions in their intention to reduce real wages, which will still further undercut the people's purchasing power. The taxes paid by the working people are rising. On the other hand, tax benefits are being introduced for the rich, who have been presented with 3.5 billion marks just as a result of reduction of the tax on real estate.

In addition to planning to slash public spending, the government is starting a new offensive on citizens' democratic rights and freedoms. It is seeking to harden the procedure for holding demonstrations and to extend the Berufsverbot, which strikes at the communists and other democrats. It aims to achieve a "spiritual turn," implying raising rabid anti-communism to the level of a state doctrine.

The federal government speaks of its fidelity to the ideas of peace, but in practice, in close collaboration with Washington, it is engaged in an arms race, trying to change the present approximate military-strategic equilibrium between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty in favor of the USA and the North Atlantic bloc. This is a course toward tying the Federal Republic more closely to the USA's policy of confrontation and arms race, to its anti-communist "crusade." The federal government supports reactionary regimes in the Middle East, Southern Africa and the Caribbean. It encourages revanchism. Leading cabinet members, for instance the Foreign Minister Friedrich Zimmermann, demand the restoration of the 1937 frontiers of the Great German Reich. Dregger, the chairman of the CDU faction in the Bundestag, insists on a revision of the post-war frontiers, which have been recognized under international law in the treaties signed by the FRG with socialist states, and also by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Reminiscent in many respects of the cold war days and regenerating survivals of the anti-communist madness of the era of Adenauer, this course makes West German foreign policy an unpredictable factor and source of uncertainty on the international scene. This is borne out by the right-wing coalition's negative attitude to all the constructive initiatives of the socialist countries. It does not accept the offer of a treaty on a mutual non-use of military force in the relations between member states of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, and is set against the freezing of nuclear arsenals, the limitation and reduction of nuclear armaments in Europe, the creation of nuclear-free zones, and the ban-

ning of chemical weapons and all other means of mass annihilation. It is opposed to a reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe and to the holding of a conference on confidence building and security and disarmament in Europe.

Influential quarters in the right-wing coalition have no intention of facilitating the continuation of détente; on the contrary, they regard a "break in détente" as expedient. They say they recognize the treaties with the socialist countries but in fact their policy is aimed at undermining and emasculating these agreements, which are of paramount significance to security in Europe; they interpret these treaties in a revanchist key.

However, not all monopoly capital circles unconditionally support this adventurist foreign policy, which is wanted by the most extreme right-wing forces. Leading representatives of concerns and big banks are aware that the economic links with socialist countries are of tremendous importance to the economy of the Federal Republic. They do not want frantic revanchism and the delirium of the anti-communist "crusade" to destroy all that was achieved in the 1970s as a result of a more realistic approach to the promotion of relations with socialist countries.

At its seventh plenary meeting on March 19-20, the Board of the German Communist Party stated its assessment of the coalition and also of the social democratic opposition and of the Greens represented in the Bundestag. The communists are guided by the GCP program principle of supporting everything consistent with the interests of the working people, everything that promotes the struggle against the forces damaging these interests. Our principal adversary has been and is big capital and its present political representative, the right-wing coalition.

In line with the tasks of the country's peaceful, democratic development and taking into account the election promises of the parties in the coalition, the GCP will make, among others, the following demands of the new federal government:

— a policy of peace is a policy consonant with the interests of the Federal Republic and the whole of Europe. In this connection the agreement to permit the deployment of Pershing-II and Cruise missiles in the FRG must be retracted and the proposal for including the republic in a nuclear-free zone accepted. Accept the proposals, in the Prague Declaration, for the conclusion of a treaty on a mutual non-use of military force. Constructively participate in talks on the reduction of conventional armed

forces and armaments in Central Europe. Take a positive stand toward non-aligned states and anti-imperialist liberation movements. Cut military spending by 10 per cent as a first step;

— any policy envisaging an economic recovery must be aimed not at increasing but at reducing the burden of the working people. Waste no time in mapping out a program for increasing employment, for reducing unemployment, which can be ended entirely only by establishing socialist relations of production. Reduce the working week and lower the pension age without cutting wages of the working people and the size of pensions; increase real wages; abandon the plans for reducing public spending; nationalize the steel industry under democratic control and democratic participation of the workforce and the trade unions in its management;

— any policy conforming to the constitution should help to comply with and extend bourgeois-democratic freedoms. We demand the annulment of the Berufsverbot; an extension of the rights of working people to participate in the management of production; and the lifting of restrictions on the freedom of trade unions, on the right to strike and demonstrate, and on the rights of foreign citizens working in the FRG;

— a democratic policy should ensure the free development of spiritual and cultural life. To this end it is necessary to drop the "spiritual turn" thesis, which implies a "crusade" against progressive ideas and a further intensification of inequality in access to education. There must be an increase, not a reduction, of allocations for education and culture.

We communists are determined to constantly confront the federal government with these demands, which coincide with the aims and demands of other extra-parliamentary forces. As a militant extra-parliamentary opposition force and as a workers' party we intend to act energetically and consistently against the right-wing coalition.

Our program of struggle also defines our attitude to the policies of the parties of the parliamentary opposition — the SDP and the Greens. While doing everything in our power to bring increasing pressure to bear on the right-wing coalition by means of extra-parliamentary actions and actions for peace and against unemployment, and activating other social and democratic movements, we shall be constructive, critical and exacting in our attitude to these parties so that they should uphold the demands of millions of people in the Bundestag. The GCP's attention is focused on promoting the extra-parliamentary move-

ments. Today these movements, including our party and other democratic forces, are facing a new situation. In this situation, with a right-wing coalition in power, extra-parliamentary alliances and movements, as well as the effectively operating civil initiative groups — regardless of their demands — should in our view, in all cases be alliances and movements directed against this coalition and, at the same time, they should aim to get the support of the parliamentary opposition — the SDP and the Greens — for the demands of the extra-parliamentary movement.

The struggle for joint action by the working class and joint action with the social democrats remains the central task of the communists. This cooperation is developing mainly at factories and in the trade unions, the civil initiative groups, and the peace movement. Its content has been and is basically the defense of the social and democratic interests of the working class and the country's national interests. Paramount here is the struggle for peace and disarmament, especially against the deployment of U.S. missiles planned for this year, and against the mass unemployment and the practice of social dismantling. The efforts to achieve unity of action and the readiness to support what merits support from the standpoint of the interests of the working class and the defense of peace imply relentless criticism of those steps of the SDP and its faction in the Bundestag that come into conflict with the aspirations of the working people. Although the SDP is now an opposition party, its inconsistency and equivocation must be subjected to constructive criticism. We constantly remind the social democratic comrades that the monopolies, the right-wing coalition, the concerns, and finance capital are their principal adversary.

After the SDP's defeat in the last elections, there has been a resumption in it of the discussion of what it must be like: a so-called popular party committed to the center and the right, or a workers' party? The GCP is contributing to the strengthening and ultimate victory of the forces consistently opposed to the right-wing coalition. We support the social democratic deputies — their number has increased in the Bundestag after the last elections — who have taken a stand against the Brussels missile decision of the USA and NATO.

The Greens, represented in the Bundestag by 27 deputies, regard themselves as a parliamentary lever of an extra-parliamentary movement. They come from diverse environmentalist civil initiative groups, peace fighters, and the anti-missile movement. Although their political posture is contradictory and not free of

anti-communist prejudices, we regard them as allies in the struggle for peace and democratic rights. They have publicly committed themselves to a policy aimed at preventing the stationing of new U.S. nuclear missiles and defending and extending democratic freedoms.

We shall go on reminding the Greens that their activity in parliament, that their initiatives and actions will be successful only if they rely on extra-parliamentary movements and contribute to the unity, reinforcement and growth of these movements. At the same time, the GCP rejects the claims of the Greens that after their success at the elections they are the only effective democratic force and that other extra-parliamentary movements are no more than an appendage of their party.

For us it is vital that the social democrats and the Greens should champion as many grievances of the workers and trade unions as possible and make these grievances the object of their struggle in parliament. This is important also because there are contradictions between the Greens and large sections of the trade unions and working-class movement, while the right-wing social democrats are often inclined to see not the right-wing coalition but the Greens as their principal adversary.

The results of the Bundestag elections have created a new situation for our party. Since the GCP was founded in 1968, this is the first time it has to deal with a right-wing conservative government, with a situation in which the government is intent on sharply changing the course of the country's political, social and cultural development. For many members of our party this is a new phenomenon.

In a complex situation, in the face of anti-communist pressure the GCP conducted a vigorous, offensive election campaign under the slogan "Jobs, Not Missiles! Resist!" and polled 100,000 first* votes. This result does not reflect our party's political role and influence. The GCP is an active force, especially at the large industrial facilities. In our policy, and in our everyday activity our point of departure is that to champion the interests of the working class and fundamentally change the balance of strength in favor of the left-wing and all other

democratic currents it is of the utmost importance to strengthen the Marxist workers' party and thereby overcome the weakness of the working-class movement in the country. A strengthening of the revolutionary working-class movement gives an important impulse to all democratic forces, to the civil initiative groups, and to the extra-parliamentary struggle.

The seventh plenary meeting of the GCP Board resolved that the party's seventh congress would be held in Nuremberg on January 6-8, 1984. For us the preparations for it will be not only an inner-party matter. During these preparations we plan to strengthen our positions, at large factories in the first place, so as to attract new members from among the workers, chiefly the industrial workers. Moreover, it is also necessary to expand links with different sections of the working people, notably with young people, by consolidating our primary organizations at enterprises, residential neighborhoods, and institutions of higher learning. The most important task still remains, to do everything to prevent this year — the period of the preparations for the party congress — from being a year of the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in the Federal Republic.

In the struggle to resolve day-to-day political problems, to ensure peace, employment and social justice it is of special importance to give the working people, young people in the first place, a socialist perspective. The GCP will step up its work of disseminating the truth about existing socialism and, at the same time, pay more attention to explaining the need for society's socialist reorganization, taking into account the internal conditions in the Federal Republic.

The country's ruling circles intend to use the results of the elections to spread conservative ideas and views among working people, undermine their solidarity, and brainwash them in the spirit of reactionary social ideas. The GCP is countering this strong ideological pressure to paralyze the people with energetic action to popularize the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, strengthen solidarity among working people, and win greater influence. The communists are bringing their notions about the ways of ensuring peace, fighting the crisis, providing more jobs, and also about the socialist perspective, within the reach of other left and democratic forces. We look for dialogue and are always ready to discuss our policy.

New tests in the changed situation and in a significant sector of the international class struggle await our party of peace and labor, a

*In the Bundestag roughly half the deputies are elected directly by constituencies, and the other half are elected in accordance with the lander list of parties. In elections each elector may cast two ballots: the first for a concrete candidate nominated by the given district, and the second for a party that in accordance with the percentage of votes polled by it sends a definite number of deputies to the Bundestag in addition to those elected by first ballot — Ed.

party that is doing all it can to protect the social and democratic rights of the people. The task of the communists is to press for the creation of

the conditions for a turn toward democratic and social progress in the Federal Republic of Germany despite the "swing to the right."

The Palestinian revolution after the battle of Beirut

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The 16th Session of the Palestinian National Council (PNC), held in Algiers last February, was followed with unparalleled public interest all over the world, among both friends and foes of the Arab people of Palestine. This is understandable, for the meeting was called after the imperialist-backed Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the withdrawal of PRM (Palestinian Resistance Movement) units from Beirut.

To reveal the significance of the meeting, it is necessary to analyze, if only briefly, the situation created in the Palestinian arena by the latest Israeli aggression and describe the new conditions in which the Palestinian revolution is going on today. A primary requisite of this analysis is to take account of certain new realities that came out during the heroic resistance to the Israeli-U.S. invasion of Lebanese territory.

Struggle in new conditions

A first reality is that the Palestinians' heroic resistance throughout the blockade of Beirut, their staunchness in battling with the Israeli army (which was compelled, in spite of its numerical and technological superiority, to wage the longest and bloodiest war since Israel came into being), enhanced the world prestige of the Palestinian revolution as never before, gave rise to a new surge of international sympathy for the Palestinians' cause and won their just struggle still greater political and moral support. Special mention should be made of the fact that the battle on Lebanese soil took place immediately after a powerful uprising on the occupied territories that lasted more than six months.¹ The cumulative effect of all this was an unprecedented upswing in the movement of solidarity with our people and a marked increase in the isolation of the Israeli aggressors and their U.S. patrons.

There is yet another reality. The PRM has lost Beirut, one of its strongholds, which is hard to replace outside Palestinian territory, and its contingents find themselves scattered over several Arab countries. Developments have shown

that the United States, Israel and Arab reaction wanted to use the pullout of these contingents from Beirut not only for undermining and doing away with the international political and moral gains of our revolution but for eliminating the Palestinian problem as such. This sinister alliance hostile to our people is now stepping up its pressure on the Palestinian national movement in an attempt to split it, to form warring groups inside it and thus to prevent the movement from making its own decisions. Plots and cunning ploys come one after another, their aim being to give the Palestinians no respite after the Beirut drama. This was also the purpose of the Sabra and Shatila massacres — the enemies were intent on terrorizing and fomenting a mood of resignation among the Palestinians, above all in the occupied territories.

On September 1, 1982, or before the ships carrying the heroes of the battle of Beirut arrived at their destinations, President Reagan announced his notorious Middle East plan. Right after that, Arab reactionaries, primarily the rulers of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Morocco and Jordan, intensified their pressure on the Palestinians; they wanted to compel the Palestinian movement to accept terms robbing our people of the right to establish their own state and making their sovereign will dependent on the will of the Jordanian regime. In line with this campaign, King Hussein put forward a plan in favor of a confederation between Jordan and the Palestinian lands in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. It is painful to have to note that some other Arab countries seized on the enormous difficulties encountered by the Palestinian revolution to contribute their share, deliberately or otherwise, to the formation of factions within it, advancing extremist slogans in the process and thereby supplying reactionary Arab regimes with a pretext to evade implementation of the decisions adopted by Arab countries at the Fez summit (September 1982).

It was in that unfavorable atmosphere that the 16th PNC Session met. In spite of the dif-

ficulties, the meeting displayed a tremendous will for Palestinian unity; the presence of an unprecedented number of high-level delegations from Arab and other, primarily socialist countries was an unmistakable sign of solidarity with our people.

Chief result

Observers consider unanimously and with good reason that the chief result of the 16th PNC Session is the preservation of Palestinian national unity. This unity is the only guarantee of the Palestinians' complete independence in decision-making and offers a solid basis for the further progress of our revolution. It is a factor enabling the revolution to tide over the misfortunes that have fallen to its lot, above all the loss of Beirut. The session showed that at this stage the Palestinian units approach the issue of national unity with a keen sense of responsibility. Significantly, this fundamental approach has found clear reflection in the Political Declaration adopted by the meeting. As regards the attitude to the mass of Palestinians and to friends and sympathizers of our revolution the world over, it is realistic and clear, as the Declaration shows, and superior in this respect to all earlier PNC decisions. This is exemplified by the approach of the latest session to various draft plans for the settlement of the Palestinian problem.

Let us begin with the decisions passed at Fez. After the summit the Palestinian organizations took different stands on its results. However, the 16th PNC Session elaborated those decisions in a positive sense. "The Palestinian National Council," its Political Declaration says, "considers the decisions of the Fez summit the minimum on which it is necessary to base a policy complemented by military action and all that goes with it, in order to alter the balance of forces in favor of the struggle for the rights of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples." The Declaration points out that the PNC approach to these solutions does not contradict the political program approved by it earlier.

Session records speak highly of the Soviet proposals for a Middle East settlement published on September 16, 1982 and reaffirming the Palestinians' legitimate right to return to their homes, exercise self-determination and found their own state under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the only legitimate representative of our people. The PNC stated emphatically that it abides by its allegiance to the principles and Charter of the UN and to its resolution concerning the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, which cannot be a matter for bargaining. It

pointed to the need to achieve just and lasting peace in the Middle East and called for "recognition of the right of peoples under foreign occupation to use every form in their struggle for liberation and national independence."

With reference to the plan for a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation, the document says: "The Palestinian National Council considers that future relations with Jordan will be based on the principles of a confederation of two independent states." This means that these relations, which presuppose appropriate commitments, will become the order of the day after and not before the formation of an independent Palestinian state.

It follows that the PNC approach to the main drafts and proposals for the solution of the Palestinian problem was explicit and realistic and strengthened the sound political principles of national unity. As for the "Reagan Plan," the Political Declaration formulates the attitude to it in the following terms: "As far as its trend and content are concerned, the Reagan Plan neither accords with the inalienable national right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent state, nor recognizes the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, something which is contrary to international law . . . Therefore the Palestinian National Council declares its refusal to consider it a suitable basis for a just settlement of the Palestinian problem and the Arab-Zionist conflict."

The session devoted much attention to relations between the Palestinian movement and other contingents of the Middle East national liberation movement. Among other things, it noted that relations with fraternal Syria should correspond to the level needed for resistance to the Israeli aggressors' increasingly brazen attacks on both the PRM and Syria itself, as Israel's current war preparations against Syria indicate. The Political Declaration describes Palestinian-Syrian relations as strategic and acknowledges their significance for the national Palestinian and general Arab struggle. The highest Palestinian forum stressed the "special relations" linking the Jordanian and Palestinian peoples, the need to develop them and the importance of promoting relations with the Lebanese people and their patriotic forces. The Political Declaration calls for the expansion of relations between the PLO and the Egyptian people's national-democratic movement against the "normalization" of relations with the Israeli aggressor. It mentions the possibility of restoring relations with the Egyptian

government should it renounce the Camp David line.

The PNC reaffirmed its decision on relations with the democratic forces of Israel passed by its 13th Session (1977). Speakers in the debate said that diverse Palestinian organizations had taken a positive stand on the issue, a stand characterized by respect for the role of these forces, with the Communist Party of Israel at their head. It was they who again declared their firm opposition to the aggression against Lebanon. The PNC is free of a narrow nationalist view of ways of tackling the Palestinian problems.

Lastly, the session found it necessary to note "the growing and deepening relations of alliance and friendship" between the PLO and socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union.

Seeking national consolidation

The high opinion of the results of the 16th PNC Session which we have expressed with due regard to the situation before and during the meeting is no reason for shutting our eyes to the shortcomings of certain of the formulations adopted. It seems to us, for example, that the renunciation of the "Reagan Plan" could have been put in more explicit terms to preclude all misinterpretation. This is all the more so since Reagan's "initiative" is fraught with more dangers than the Camp David accords exposed before the whole world and since Arab reaction persists in its effort to profit from that "initiative." The Political Declaration says nothing about these forces, nor does it lay bare the subversive role of Arab reaction that virtually assumed the role of accomplice in the frankly pro-Israeli tactics pursued by Washington throughout the latest Middle East war. This omission stands out against the background of the perfectly reasonable dissatisfaction expressed by the 16th Session at the passivity which the Steadfastness and Resistance Front showed in those crucial days.

It would also be appropriate to comment on the section of the Political Declaration which states, if very briefly, that the PNC, noting the growing unity of the Palestinians' patriotic, public, trade union and mass organizations, calls for effort to form and develop a National Front in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Although the two previous sessions of the PNC, unlike the latest, devoted much attention to the problem of reviving the National Front there, more and more frequent attempts have lately been made in these territories, especially since the Palestinian fighters left Beirut and the territories seized by Israel became an arena of

decisive confrontation with the invaders, to split the Palestinians' mass organizations, primarily those in which communists play a leading role. It is also revealing that in spite of earlier recommendations of the PNC, no real steps have been taken to revive the National Front in the occupied territories.

The latest PNC session confirmed the increased national unity of revolutionary contingents within the PLO and pointed out the importance of work to establish within the Front, organizational relations at the level of all its institutions and bodies on the principles of joint action and collective leadership. This provision found reflection in the organizing policy program approved by the 14th PNC Session and was reaffirmed by the 15th. But it was never implemented, above all with regard to the Palestinian communists, who found themselves barred from decision-making outside the occupied Palestinian territories. Yet no efficient National Front can be set up in the occupied territories without their active participation. Currently the PLO leadership maintains friendly relations with all communist parties, Arab or non-Arab, as the latest PNC meeting at Algiers indicated. At the same time, activity designed to isolate the communists in the Palestinian liberation movement is intensifying. This trend, which poses a threat to the development of our revolution, is apparently due to groundless fears engendered by our growing influence in the occupied territories and, on the other hand, by concessions made under the pressure of Arab reaction.

And now for the contemporary strategy of our struggle. Speaking of the military operations and unity of the armed Palestinian units, the Political Declaration states: "It (the PNC — N.A.) stresses the need to unite the armed formations of the Palestinian revolution in one national liberation army." The Palestinians' armed struggle is an eyesore to the reactionary regimes of oil-producing countries, which are prone to make deals with Zionism and imperialism.

The foregoing implies that effective measures are needed to consolidate the various contingents of the resistance movement scattered over different countries after the battle of Beirut. It is necessary to concentrate and consolidate the Palestinian forces after their withdrawal from Beirut around a common fighting center meeting the requirements of the Palestinian revolution both geographically and politically in order that far-reaching occupation plans and the Camp David deal may be resisted. Lastly, an effort must be made to centralize the sources of financing the PLO.

The last problem calling for comment is that of relations between the Palestinian people and the peoples of Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt. It is well known that the alliance between the Palestinian revolution and the patriotic forces of Lebanon has yielded positive results. On the other hand, the mass movement supporting it in other Arab countries has betrayed its weakness, as events in Lebanon showed. Major efforts are required to strengthen the alliance between the Palestinian revolution and the peoples of these countries.

The number of PLO bureaus in various world capitals today exceeds that of the official missions of any Arab state, which is evidence of international recognition of our revolution. However, this positive trend should not lead to restricting its links with mass non-governmental movements, should not develop at the expense of such links, particularly in the Arab world. Reactionary Arab rulers try to limit such links to their bureaucratic apparatus. Cairo, for one, has reacted very sharply to the call of the Political Declaration for stronger relations with the Egyptian patriotic movement.² The financial report submitted to the PNC sessions says that ever since 1981 the PLO has been supported by Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar and the UAE. This reliance on the pillars of Arab reaction may have extremely dangerous consequences, particularly in the highly difficult conditions of today, when plots are being hatched and the Palestinian revolution is under pressure.

The only way to avoid the trap that has been set is to draw on generous donations from the mass of Palestinians and from other Arab peoples. Besides, it is necessary to thoroughly revise the PLO budget so as to eliminate unwarranted expenditures and the bourgeois bureaucracy which has formed in the various agencies of the Palestinian revolution. This bureaucracy is a phenomenon foreign to any revolution; it generally emerges in Third World countries only after an independent state has been founded.

Hostile campaign

The outcome of the 16th PNC Session caused consternation, bitterness and anger in the camp of the enemies of the Palestinian revolution, by showing that their scheme aimed at splitting Palestinian national unity had miscarried. The media of some reactionary Arab regimes, in particular those of Egypt and Jordan, misrepresented the meeting.

The Israeli rulers' attitude is a striking instance of the most vicious and aggressive reaction. "We," said Foreign Minister Shamir early

in March, extolling for the umpteenth time the policy of grabbing Palestinian land, "did not conquer the territories from their legal owners but liberated them from countries that conquered them in 1948... We have not 'annexed' them and we shall not 'annex' them. They are parts of Eretz Israel."³ The next day the hawkish minister said: "Whether Hussein were to demand that we freeze the settlement of Judea, Samaria (name used in the Old Testament for the occupied West Bank. — N.A.) and the Gaza district as a condition for his entering the negotiations... our reply will always be: 'We will not freeze settlement for even one day'... There is no room for discussion on this sort of demand. On such a basis we will not enter into negotiations with Jordan."⁴

This statement, made by Shamir shortly before his trip to Washington, reflects Israel's oversensitive reaction to the refusal of the PNC to surrender to Washington, which would like to impose the "Reagan Plan" on the Palestinians; it also reveals the nature of the proposals contained in the plan. These are a mere ploy intended to cause discord among the Arabs, in particular the Palestinians, and make it easier for the Israeli rulers to materialize their expansionist ambitions. The proposals admittedly provide for the suspension of settlement of the seized lands should Jordan agree to join in separate "peace" talks, which would be tantamount to betraying the national interest. Following the failure of U.S.-Israeli attempts to empower official Jordan to speak for the PLO, the Reagan administration lapsed into hysteria and the whole of Arab reaction sharply increased its pressure on the PLO.

Nor did matters stop at the aggressive statements quoted above. Going on at full pelt is the expropriation of lands belonging not only to Arabs living in the occupied areas but to Arabs who are Israeli citizens. There is increased activity to build new Israeli settlements, and Zionist religious fanatics have even tried to make their way into and entrench themselves on the premises of Al-Aqsa mosque, one of the most revered holy places of Islam. A fascist terror campaign is unfolding in the occupied territories, with armed bandits going as far as to kidnap small children and poison pupils. The invaders are stepping up repression against Palestinians and Lebanese patriots.

The Palestinian people hailed the results of their highest national forum. A new powerful wave of popular anger against the invaders' reign of terror is surging high in the seized territories. The guidelines approved at Algiers have undoubtedly made people confident that their fight will be crowned with the achieve-

ment of their sacred national goal, independence and the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO. The insurgent masses also made an unambiguous reply to the "peace-making" efforts of ex-President Carter, the chief protagonist of the Camp David deal, during his Middle East tour.

The outcome of the 16th PNC Session will benefit the situation in the Palestinian movement and help end political vacillation among some of its organizations and forces. This trend has already been confirmed by a number of documents of recent date: the Aden Declaration (January 1983), the Tripoli Declarations (January and February), and last but not least, the Political Declaration of the 16th Session. The morale of Palestinians also benefits from heroic actions by the populations of the occupied territories and from Syria's growing

capability to defeat further Israeli attempts at aggression.

The new context of the struggle encourages a critical revision of certain attitudes which objectively hamper the accomplishment of our national tasks. Needless to say, the important thing after the 16th PNC Session is to ensure that its decisions are steadfastly translated into reality.

1. See Naim Ashhab, "Firm Principles, Flexible Tactics," WMR, No. 2, 1983. — Ed.

2. On March 7, 1983, *Al-Ahram*, the Cairo daily, carried a speech delivered by President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt. Addressing a congress of the ruling National Democratic Party, Mubarak threatened to deport 40,000 Palestinians from Egypt. "I will ring the bell once or twice after warning the PLO... But once we have set out to implement these measures, we will carry them through to the end regardless of the consequences," he said.

3. *The Times*, March 4, 1983.

4. *Ibid.*, March 5, 1983.

The artist in the ranks of fighters

"I AM PART OF THE PEOPLE"

"I am a political artist. My art is indivisible from the struggle of the disinherited and the humiliated, from the life of those who suffer and whose bread is meager," says the talented Ecuadorian painter *Oswaldo Guayasamin*, who is justifiably ranked with outstanding Latin American painters. Our editorial staff member met with Oswaldo Guayasamin in Quito, the ancient city recently proclaimed a treasure of humankind by UNESCO, in the city's poor Bellavista district that is dominated by two snow-white buildings standing on a hilltop. These buildings are the Guayasamin picture gallery and home. On display in the gallery are, alongside Guayasamin's paintings, a unique collection of pre-Columbian works which the artist had turned over to the republic.

Q. What prompted you to give this magnificent collection to the nation?

A. It was the natural thing to do. Everything that I have painted belongs to the people, for I am part of the people. I have been presented with many coveted awards; among them, the first prize at the biennial exhibition in 1957 in Sao Paulo, and the principal prizes at contests in Mexico and Spain. But my greatest reward is that millions of people have seen my paintings. I get the same reward in connection with this collection.

Q. You are not a member of any party. Still,

would you say what your political views and sympathies are and to what you owe them?

A. I started painting when I was a boy. At 13, against the wishes of my father, who wanted his eldest son to have what he called a "respectable" profession, I enrolled in the National School of Fine Arts in Quito. I then took an interest in architecture, and travelled in the USA, Mexico (where I worked for a short while with the outstanding monumentalist José Clemente Orozco), Peru, Argentina, Chile, and Bolivia. Each country revealed to me a unique world and the secrets of its history. Thus, as a youth, I came to know the life of many races and nations, of different people — poor and downtrodden, proud and staunch, people who knew not what pen and paper were, and people who had scaled the summit of creative work (one of whom was Pablo Neruda). In every case I saw the greatness of the people and the baseness of those who exploit them.

I travelled for several years, trying to understand life in capitalist countries. But it was only my visit to socialist countries that opened my eyes, through contrast, to the drama of the human being in the "Christian West" with its unemployment, hunger, poverty, illiteracy and violence.

What do I want to say with my brush? I want to tell the story of the civil war in Spain, the Second World War, the concentration camps, Hiroshima, Playa Giron, and Vietnam, the Chilean tragedy, and the threat of a nuclear catas-

trophe. To the best of my ability I act in defense of humanism, against humiliating conditions of human existence, against poverty, ignorance, and disease, and the shortage of dwellings and schools. All this pain lives constantly in my mind and in my work.

No person — I repeat this often — can live outside politics. One way or another every step he or she makes, every action acquires a political color. It is not at all to be wondered at that an artist, too, speaks of politics. But he does so through the medium of his art. Throughout the ages all art forms, the whole of culture were a reflection of politics. In the Middle Ages the source of inspiration was usually religion. Not only the artistic expressions of society's life — architecture, music, painting and poetry, but also everyday life, habits and the day-to-day conduct of people were permeated with religion. A new culture, a new art that boldly broke with theological dogmas and asserted the human being as the bedrock of being, appeared during the Renaissance with the great discoveries in anatomy, natural science and astronomy and the new social processes. The Renaissance painters gave all these phenomena an innovatory portrayal in their canvases.

Today, the key element of the life of society and of each person is, I believe, the struggle between the two worlds: the new world that was born in October 1917, a world in which everything begins and is built before people's eyes, a world in which bold hopes are generated and the most daring dreams are coming true, in which the very approach to life differs from what it used to be; and the old, senile, but still powerful world of oppression, humiliation and injustice, a world in its death throes, a world that may drag us into the abyss of a nuclear apocalypse as it dies. My whole life, and I was born in 1919, has been lived against the background of this confrontation. The Second World War did not affect Latin America directly. I only read about it in newspapers and books, but blood continues to be shed to this day in, among other places, our continent. Are not Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Uruguay eloquent evidence of this? The artist cannot remain an aloof observer of what is going on in the world. He is part of not only his own people.

My work is not confined to art. At first it seemed strange and even inconceivable: I was asked to head the Latin American Human Rights Association. Its president was usually a writer or a poet, but now he was an artist. The choice fell on me, apparently because of the orientation of my art. The Association is doing important work in protecting human rights. I'll

give you an illustration. In Bellavista we recently had an exhibition of over 500 paintings by leading modern artists. Canvases arrived from virtually all over the world. The entire proceeds of the exhibit and of the sale of paintings were used to aid the families of Uruguayan political prisoners.

A powerful movement for unity is now getting under way in Latin America. I think that only if we unite will we be able to repulse the monster threatening us from north of the Rio Grande. Together, we Latin Americans number almost 350 million people, and the boundaries dividing us are not very ancient — they are just a little over 150 years old. It must be remembered that before the Spanish conquistadores arrived, the great Tahuantinsuyu empire occupied two-thirds of the entire continent. There were remarkable roads, and masterpieces of architecture were built at Cuzco and Machu Picchu. Archeological excavations are bringing to light evidence of the greatness of this ancient culture, which goes back thousands of years.

It is my belief that the political forms of social life that we have to develop should be based on Marxism, which is the most valid teaching on society. Nor should we disregard our pre-Columbian heritage with its ideals, which have much in common with socialist ideals. The present, as everybody knows, is the direct continuation of the past.

Q. How, would you say, are the essence and style of your art linked to political views, to vital experience?

A. From his life and observations an artist selects what is paralleled in the life of others, what is universal. What is this universality, you may ask? It is what is inherent in me and in all other people. A task worthy of an artist is to learn to convey the universal through his own perception and in a way that grips the hearts of others.

In my work imagination plays a relatively small role. The reality around me, the impressions I get from my many travels, everything that I see, observe and note — all this simply begs to be transferred to canvas and appears in my mind's eye as a finished picture. All that remains for me is to take up my brush. Of course, it is one thing to conceive a painting and quite another to put it on canvas.

My long travels were a sort of university of life and a quest for truth. The sketches I made during these travels underlie the Huacaynan series (in Kochua Huacaynan means "Road of Tears"). In 103 paintings I have shown the pain and sorrow of the poor Indian, his destitution, wretchedness and despair. The series contains

canvases on different subjects but one and the same theme — a strong protest against all that brings people suffering, particularly to the Indian, who has been oppressed for centuries and regarded as “second-rate,” to use a racist term.

From an early age I knew the meaning of poverty and racial discrimination. My father, a pure-blood Indian, was born in a tiny village near the capital, and my mother was of mixed blood. There were 10 of us children, with me as the oldest. You can imagine the childhood I had. Even the children of neighbors, who were also of mixed blood but had Spanish surnames, scorned to play with me.

In my own country, as in many other Latin American countries, the biggest insult that can be hurled at anybody is to call that person an Indian with a dirty epithet prefixed to the name. I have been insulted like this many times. The last time was quite recent, and this is how it happened. A popular toreador in Quito — I am a bull fighting fan — dedicated a bull fight to me (this is a big honor). But he lost. And the disappointed public threw insults at him and me. But this was only a pretext. “Indian, lousy Indian, Red Indian,” are names that have become almost customary for me, and they no longer bother me. I try to reply to insults not only with my experience of life but also with my painting.

But, strange as it may seem, I did not become an Indianist painter. Juan Ramon Jimenez, the Spanish poet and Nobel Prize Laureate (I painted his portrait in Washington in 1942-1943), was the first to publish an article about my work. His reasoning was approximately as follows: Here’s a young Indian whom I have just met. He need not depict the life of Indians, because it is in him, and he only expresses his feelings and thoughts. This is partially true. To be more exact, it is the truth and yet it is not.

When somebody says an artist is an Indianist, he usually means an artist painting things linked to Indians and their life, for instance, a poncho, a sombrero, or other attributes of national life. But Indianism is by no means exotic, much less the exotic churned out for tourists, such as presenting Indians spruced up, in bright red or green costumes. The other extreme is to show them in rags, torn sandals, or barefoot. In spite of their seeming dissimilarity, these two approaches are in essence identical. Such identity is evidence of an artist’s lack of touch with national, social life, of his vision from the side or, to be more exact, from on high. For me an Indian is, above all, an ordinary person, an inalienable part of the human flood, with the same basic hopes and aspirations as of

all the other peoples inhabiting our planet.

With the passage of time, especially during the past 25 years, I have become ever more profoundly conscious of my Indian roots: here I am helped by my collection of pre-Columbian art, which is known not only in Ecuador. It is the daily food for my eyes, it is my daily bread. And if we are to speak of inspiration, the ancient Indian masterpieces, their forms, colors and philosophical message, are for me an inexhaustible source for new themes — exclusively modern, showing our epoch and, at the same time, stemming from a history going back thousands of years.

I worked on the *Huacaynan* series for more than seven years and exhibited it in Quito in 1952 and then in Caracas, Washington, and Mexico City. After this I immediately got down to a new series, which I called the “Time of Wrath.” I am still working on it. Its underlying message is the tragedy of people in the modern bourgeois world. I will end that cycle only when violence is ended. But it is not all that easy to accomplish. For that reason, as long as I live I shall go on painting canvases for the “Time of Wrath.”

* * *

At this point I shall have to make a short digression, for Guayasamin speaks little of the artistic side of his paintings, of the “Time of Wrath” in particular. But one can feel that this is his most beloved creation.

Giant figures, stricken by sorrow and grief, with pleading, sad eyes. The absence of a third dimension and any unnecessary detail gives the canvases their universality and does not disperse the viewer’s attention. It seems that the spatial forms of the surrounding world change because of the pain and suffering that falls to the lot of man. The world’s rounded, graceful lines stretch, becoming sharp and broken. Only the human faces remain in the black voids of the chasms of night. And then again, as in the “Road of Tears” — hands. But here they symbolize not only the suffering of the insulted and humiliated. Here are mammoth fingers, like the tentacles of an octopus, hungrily stretching to the victim. The palms of the hangman’s hands are bloodstained. And here are the shivering phalanxes of the dictator awaiting unescapable retribution.

The “Pentagon” group of paintings, which is likewise part of the “Time of Wrath” series, catches the eye immediately. Expressionless and smug generals, the beastiality of persecutors of what is advanced, and the vile servility of their myrmidons. And alongside them the victims of terror, hunger, poverty and the un-

bridled pursuit of profit. A mother weeping over the body of a child who had died of undernourishment. Skeleton-thin, emaciated bodies of tortured, killed juveniles. Youths who had gone through torture and dungeons. Faces of men distorted by a sense of helplessness. The artist appeals for help for them, for help to ease their suffering and to put an end to injustice once and for all. And here are the open mouths of those who have gone through hell without surrendering. They do not scream. They denounce, reject and protest. This is an appeal to fight, a reminder of retribution, of its hallowed, resuscitating mission.

* * *

"Each painting," Guayasamin says, "is a finished work of the series. But taken together they form a whole. In this way I am trying to show the movement of the times in painting, which is the only art denied such a possibility. As the viewer passes from one painting to another, he sees each as connected with the others, and gets an integral picture."

I asked Guayasamin to relate the story of "The Mutilated" fresco.

"I made it upon my return from Barcelona, where I participated in an exhibit. My attention was attracted by the special places for cripples, victims of the civil war, set up in auditoriums and sports facilities by order of Franco. These unfortunate people came to these places in their invalid chairs or decrepit cars. This was how Franco tried to show that he had humane feelings for victims of the civil war. But, in fact, there was something else to this. By collecting cripples together he wanted to intimidate all the other people: See what happens when you rise against authority. What awaits you is either death or the life of a cripple. In a moment of general jubilation, for instance, when a goal is scored, all the spectators rise as one man. They gesticulate, hop with joy, and embrace one another. The cripples try to do the same, for they have the same passions and emotions — but instead of legs and arms they have stumps. I portrayed one such moment in the fresco."

Time passed quickly as we spoke to Oswaldo Guayasamin. With the hope of seeing the artist and his unique work again we left his house and picture gallery. Alongside them there is to be a new gallery built on Guayasamin's savings. It has been designed by the well-known Cuban architect Quintana, who designed the Palace of Congresses and Lenin Park in Havana, the Friendship Hotel in Hanoi, and other

magnificent complexes. One of our last questions was the traditional one about the artist's future projects.

"I'm afraid of unfulfilled promises," Oswaldo Guayasamin replied. "I shall therefore not give you a direct answer. But I can say one thing, and it is that I'm afraid that I might not live long enough to express everything that I feel and profoundly believe. This feeling comes with age. After a person turns 60 he gets the feeling that he might not carry out all he had planned, to do all that he might have done if he had lived longer. However, to tell you the truth, I have no cause for complaint on this score. I feel full of energy. I do not fear life, I love it, and admire it. For me, to live means to go on painting, and to go on painting means to live. Life itself gives me subjects."

"I should like to make the point that by nature an artist is an advocate of peace and creation. Even when he does not belong to any party or movement, does not demonstrate in the square, and is not directly concerned with the problems of peace. He contributes to the defense of peace by his work. And everything else depends on circumstances. I can envisage a time when one palette of colors will not suffice."

"No revolutionary artist can be indifferent to the intrigues of the forces of war, aggression, exploitation and imperialism, which all spell out one and the same thing. The duty of a citizen binds him to struggle. The duty of an artist inspires him to create canvases consonant with the ideas of social progress and the need to take himself and his viewers out of solitude, to induce them to work together in order to extirpate all that is bestial in the human being, for the assertion between people of the principles of love, solidarity and justice. It does not matter whether or not he sees the results of his efforts. The main thing is to get on with your work and to do it well. If we manage to clear the world of the forces of war and exploitation the greatest sense will be acquired by all the sacrifices that we have borne in the struggle for liberation."

"As an artist and citizen I try to recall the past, to draw the faces of heroes and martyrs, set up the crosses in the cemetery of our losses, and chart the milestones of further battles. And if I sometimes dream — I cannot, after all, fight with the measured constancy of machine-gun fire — I see sunlit landscapes with the invariable bouquet of field flowers that remind us of the grandeur and beauty of the world."

— Written in Quito by WMR editorial staff member A. Sukhostat



Socialist countries: the people's power mechanism

This is one in a series of surveys of the realities of socialist democracy. The following considers the mechanism by means of which the people exercise their sovereign power.

Democratic representative organs

Consistent, constant and crucial participation by the broadest masses of people in the administration of social affairs is one of the most essential features of the political system of socialism, for which it is a vital requirement and a necessary condition for its strengthening and development.

This task is not, of course, fulfilled of itself, but only through the medium of an appropriate social mechanism. In the course of the socialist countries' revolutionary practice, a state structure has been set up and tested in every possible way as the medium through which the people's exercise of power — that is, democracy in its true sense — is effected. Thus, in Bulgaria, it is the People's Assembly and the people's councils; in Hungary, the State Assembly and the local councils; in Vietnam, the National Assembly and the people's councils; in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Supreme People's Assembly and the people's assemblies; in Cuba, the National Assembly of People's Power and the assemblies of people's power; in Poland, the Sejm and the people's councils; in Romania, the Grand National Assembly and the people's councils; in the Soviet Union, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics, and the local Soviets of People's Deputies; in Czechoslovakia, the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia, the Czech and Slovak National Councils, and the national committees.

Deputies to these representative bodies are elected on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot (in Hungary, Cuba and Yugoslavia, indirect or multi-stage elections are also held alongside the direct elections). The electoral system which operates in the socialist countries ensures — and that is its main merit — the representation in the organs of state power of various big and small nations,

of all the classes and social groups and strata of the society. Thus, in the USSR Supreme Soviet, 32.5 per cent of the deputies are women, and 21.1 per cent are young people. In the People's Chamber of the GDR, the figures are, respectively, 32.4 per cent and 13 per cent; in Poland's Sejm, 23 and 16.7 per cent; in Vietnam's National Assembly, 21.7 and 18 per cent; in Bulgaria's People's Assembly, 21.8 per cent and 8.3 per cent; and in Czechoslovakia's Federal Assembly, 28 per cent and 17 per cent.¹

But the point is, of course, not only who is elected but also how relations between the elected deputies and their constituents develop once the polling is over. In the socialist countries, deputies are responsible to their electors and have to report to them, the principle of accountability which is reflected in their legislation. Thus, Hungary's constitution says that deputies to the State Assembly must regularly report to the electors on their activity. There are similar provisions in the legislation of the other socialist countries.

The accountability of deputies is also expressed in the important form of mandates, which are collective assignments voiced at electoral meetings and expressing the opinions of all or most of the electors in a district, city or region. Electors' mandates are provided for in the legislation of some socialist countries and practice shows that most of them are fulfilled. Thus, of the mandates received from the electors from February 1980 to December 1981, rural Soviets in the USSR realized 80.1 per cent, village Soviets 77.5 per cent, city Soviets 73.5 per cent, district Soviets 73.4 per cent, the Soviets of autonomous districts 69.1 per cent, the Soviets of autonomous regions 69.2 per cent, and territorial and regional Soviets 62.8 per cent. Deputies ignoring the requests, wishes or complaints of their electors, failing to fulfil their mandates or committing acts unworthy of their high office may be recalled. Thus, in 1981, 387 deputies who failed to live up to the trust of their electors were recalled from local Soviets in the USSR.²

The fact that deputies may not be "professional parliamentarians," something

that is characteristic of the capitalist system, is also convincing evidence of the democratic nature of representative institutions under socialism. Deputies take part in the exercise of state power without giving up their work in production or elsewhere. This enables them to have a good knowledge of the working people's living conditions, their needs and interests, to keep in close touch with their electors, to put before the various organs of power the most substantial matters of local or state-wide importance, to initiate the solution of vital national-economic problems and to verify the realization of the laws and decrees of the representative organs.

The principle of renewing the composition of deputies is also highly important for the successful functioning of these bodies and for the establishment of deeper ties between them and the masses, a principle which is rigorously practised. Thus, in the course of elections to the local Soviets in the USSR in June 1982, 45.8 per cent of the deputies were elected for the first time. Altogether, over the past 20 years, more than 20 million men and women have been trained in this way in state administration in the Soviet Union. In Mongolia, at least 60 per cent of the people's deputies are newly elected in every election.³

Coherent system of representative organs

Concentration of the full plenitude of power in the center and in the localities in the hands of the representative organs of power under socialism is one of their basic features. It is they that have the supreme status and priority within the structure of the socialist state, a principle which is most fully embodied in the competence of the supreme representative bodies. They have the prerogative of adopting the constitution (and amending it) and enacting laws with supreme juridical power, and approving national-economic plans, state budgets and reports on their fulfillment. Among their powers is consideration of the questions of war and peace, and in some countries, ratification and abrogation of international treaties. The supreme representative organs establish the electoral system and the administrative-territorial arrangement, form the supreme collegial institutions (presidia, state councils), constitute governments and in most countries elect the heads of the procurator's office and the supreme court. Finally, they hear reports from subordinate institutions, assess their activity and issue the necessary instructions, being empowered to invalidate decisions taken by these bodies and to recall the officials they elect or appoint.

Local elective organs of state power are also vested with broad powers. They exercise complex direction and control of the socio-economic development of their territories and in most countries elect and recall the executive organs. Thus, in Cuba, they elect the corresponding courts, in Romania the chief procurators of districts, and in Bulgaria, GDR and Poland approve the membership of social control bodies. State administration in the localities, and to some extent the activity of the courts and the procurator's office are also subject to control by the people's representative organs.

Popular power under socialism, a coherent and integral socio-political organism, is characterized by smooth interaction among all its component parts. The opposition between parliaments and local authorities, which is frequently found in the capitalist countries, is ruled out in the socialist countries.

The principle of publicity is one that is scrupulously practised in the activity of representative institutions in the socialist countries. Their sessions are open to the public and their proceedings are broadly reported in the press, and on radio and television. The deputies inform the population of their work, regularly address public meetings, receive citizens for individual consultations, etc.

The consistent exercise of the principle of publicity enables the electors to exert an active influence on the decisions taken by their deputies. The number of working people willing to help the people's representative organs as a matter of civic duty has been growing from year to year. Thus, workers, collective farmers and intellectuals are broadly involved in the work of standing commissions of the Soviets of People's Deputies in the USSR.

Nation-wide discussion of the most important draft laws, plans for economic and social development and other state acts is an important form of popular participation in the running of state and social affairs. This is well established practice under socialist democracy. In many socialist countries, the constitution provides for the holding of referenda on key social issues, such referenda have been held, for instance, in Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland and Cuba.

The communist and workers' parties of the socialist world constantly see to the correct functioning and steady consolidation of the institutions of popular sovereignty. They believe that one of the main lines of their development is to extend and deepen further the democratic principles underlying the organization and activity of representative

bodies and to strengthen their ties with broad masses of working people.

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1. We find a different picture in the capitalist countries. Some of them have a high age qualification for election to the organs of state power, which effectively keeps a sizable part of the young people from participation in government. The same applies to women. Consider these two examples. Although women in the United States make up 51.4 per cent of the population, only 2 of the 100 Senators are women, and less than 5 per cent of the members of the House of Representatives are women. Among the 511 deputies of Japan's House of Representatives, women make up just over 3 per cent.

2. In most capitalist countries, there is no imperative

mandate (meaning that a deputy is bound by the instructions of his constituents) or the right of recall. Indeed, legislation in some of these countries even bans the institution of electors' mandates. For instance, in accordance with the fundamental law of the FRG, Bundestag deputies are not bound by any mandates or instructions and have to be guided by their conscience alone. This creates the conditions in which deputies to the elective organs of power are virtually beyond the control of their constituents. The ideologists of capitalism claim that this is evidence of concern for the "independence of members of parliament," but in practice this boils down to the simple truth that the people do not rule but merely elect those who rule them.

3. Let us note in this context that because of the extremely slow renewal of the membership of parliaments and other representative bodies in the capitalist countries, they tend to be "professionalized," with the deputies becoming ever more dependent on the bureaucratic executive machine.

The force of national unity

FIFTY YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRELAND

The history of Marxist organizations in Ireland goes much further back than 50 years. It was at the end of the 19th century, that the revolutionary James Connolly founded the first of them — the Irish Socialist Republican Party. Connolly's legacy for the propagation of Marxism in Ireland is significant; in the field of ideas for example, he advanced the scientific socialist concept, that the national revolution was a prerequisite for the socialist revolution. It was in the struggle for these aims, as a leader of the Easter Rising of 1916, that Connolly was killed, murdered by a British army firing squad.

The Marxist forces in Ireland could not remain immune from the powerful impact that the Great October Revolution had on the world, so by late 1921 the small Socialist Party created in 1910 applied for membership in the Communist International and formed itself into the Communist Party of Ireland.

The situation in the country was tense. It was in December of this same year, that the pro-imperialist treaty was signed, which imposed the partitioning of Ireland and created, as Connolly had foreseen, a "carnival of reaction" in the North and South of Ireland. A bloody civil war began to be waged in 1922 throughout the "Irish Free State," resulting in the eventual victory of the pro-imperialist forces, while in the north, a religiously sectarian statelet was being built, which had as its foundations discrimination and pogroms against the Catholic minority.

During the early 1920s another Marxist-

oriented organization, which became a member of the Communist International, the Irish Workers' League, was founded by the famous trade union leader, Jim Larkin. There seemed to be particular potential for developing a Marxist party and so in 1924 the CPI was dissolved, so that its small membership could become involved in the much larger Irish Workers' League. Throughout the 1920s communists worked in the IWL, but due to certain reasons it never became the basis for the development of a Marxist-Leninist party.

The full conception of the need for a party of the "new type" was not grasped in Ireland until 1930, when the Revolutionary Workers' Groups (RWGs) were formed at a conference in Dublin, which had representation from both parts of the country, North and South. For the communists in the North the following three years for laying the foundation of the Communist Party was to be a real baptism in the revolutionary struggle. In Northern Ireland, from their formation, the RWGs played a leading role in the unemployment campaigns, which culminated in the dramatic Outdoor Relief Strikes of October 1932. These strikes are remembered vividly still now, because they united the Catholic and Protestant sections of the working class. Although these successes at bridging the sectarian divide were shortlived, they are a portent of the future.

At this time political developments in the "Irish Free State" were reflecting the growth of fascist groups throughout Europe. The fascist elements were able to use the powerful influence of the Catholic Church, which was viru-

lently anti-communist, to attack any progressive developments. Hence in March 1933, Connolly House, the headquarters of the RWGs was attacked and burned by a mob, which had been incited by a sermon during a Lenten mission! It was against this background that the Communist Party of Ireland (CPI) was relaunched at a national conference held in Dublin between the 3rd and 5th of June 1933. The congress took place in semi-legal circumstances, the hall for this historic meeting being booked under the rather unbelievable name of "The Dublin Total Abstinence Society."

Ireland was divided and reaction had a dominant hold in both states, but the re-formation of the CPI, which united workers from all over the island, exposed the fraudulence of Irish partition. Throughout the 1930s party members faced and suffered both imprisonment and physical attacks for openly waging struggles on national and international issues.

In July 1936 the party, which was a member of the Communist International, took a firm and open stand in support of Republican Spain. Two months later, while the Catholic church and the reactionary elements were giving assistance to the Francoist rebellion, the CPI helped organize the Irish Unit of the International Brigades. Many communists were among the group of Irish anti-fascists, who volunteered to defend the Spanish Republic, indeed many of them gave their lives fighting fascism.

With the declaration of war in Europe in 1939 the party, recognizing the true nature of it, issued a manifesto which declared against the involvement of any part of Ireland in the war. Expression of such views in the CPI's newspaper was to result in two comrades being imprisoned in the North of the country. (The North Ireland government unlike its counterpart in the South, which took a neutral stand, followed the diktat of the British government.)

When the objective character of the war changed with the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, the party threw itself into the effort to mobilize the broadest possible campaign to help defeat Hitler Germany. This included organizing mass meetings in Northern Ireland in support of the opening of a second front.

While the northern section of the CPI expanded, in the southern area the situation was quite the opposite. Membership was made up mostly of unemployed people and many of them were shifting to Britain and Northern Ireland, to take up work in the war industries which meant a further weakening of the organization. As our party's Outline History puts it, the southern area's "loss in membership was to be a gain for the British Communist Party and

also for the party in Belfast."* This eventually led in 1941 to a decision to suspend independent activity in the southern area.

After the defeat of fascism, the cold war started by imperialism created serious difficulties for the section of the party based in Northern Ireland; nevertheless, the party continued to make advances particularly in the trade union movement. In the 26 counties these difficulties were even more serious: anti-communism was rampant and was exacerbated further by the rantings of the Catholic church's hierarchy. Regardless of this, in 1948 the comrades in the south founded an agitational and educational organization, which they named after the Irish Workers' League (IWL). The base for this group was the "New Books" bookshop in Dublin, which had been set up in 1942. Throughout the height of the cold war this was to be the center of socialist thought in the Irish Republic. Under the most hostile of conditions, including regular physical attacks on the premises, the comrades continued to propagate the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Connolly,

The Communist Party (Northern Ireland) — CP (N.I.) — and the IWL continued to keep in close contact and this resulted in a Joint Council being created in 1960, which published programs reflecting the policy positions of the two organizations. At the international meeting of communist and workers' parties, held in November 1960, the two delegations from Ireland agreed that the founding General Secretary of the CPI in 1933, Sean Murray, should speak on their behalf.

In 1962 the IWL had transformed itself into the Irish Workers' Party (IWP). The ties between the CP (N.I.) and the IWP were tightened and this culminated in the 1970 Unity Congress which reconstituted the Communist Party of Ireland.

This congress was held at a time when a mass movement for civil rights was taking place all over Northern Ireland. It was a movement in which communists were playing a leading role. This was not a spontaneous development. As far back as 1963 the party paper, *Unity*, had made the call: "Demand civil rights for Northern Ireland." This was followed up with action in the trade union movement and in the daily political struggle.

By February 1967 it was evident that a basic unity of Communists, Socialists, Liberals, Republicans and independents could be found around a program of demands for democratic change. The Northern Ireland Civil Rights As-

**Communist Party of Ireland: Outline History*, Dublin, n.d., p. 31.

sociation (NICRA) was founded and Betty Sinclair, a member of the Political and Executive Committees of the Communist Party, became chairman of the Association. It was this movement that was to eventually bring the collapse of the Unionist regime in 1972, after 50 years of mis-rule. Our involvement in NICRA was not lost on the Unionist mob, who firebombed the Belfast headquarters of the party that same year.

For more than a decade Northern Ireland has been in the midst of a bloody conflict. The root cause lies with British imperialism's interference in Irish affairs and its vicious use of repression aimed in particular against the Catholic section of the community.

The CPI has consistently demanded an end to British terror. At the same time we call for a halt to the counter-productive military campaign of the IRA, which supplies the British government with a pseudo-justification for repression.

The political upheaval has resulted in thousands being imprisoned, the CPI continues to support the demand for political status for these prisoners. However, the campaign waged on this question, which reached its climax in 1981 with the hunger strikes, had serious political weaknesses that resulted in its failure to achieve its demands. The base of the campaign was narrow and politically sectarian, a prerequisite for being part of the campaign was an acceptance of the IRA's military struggle, a position the CPI could not accept.

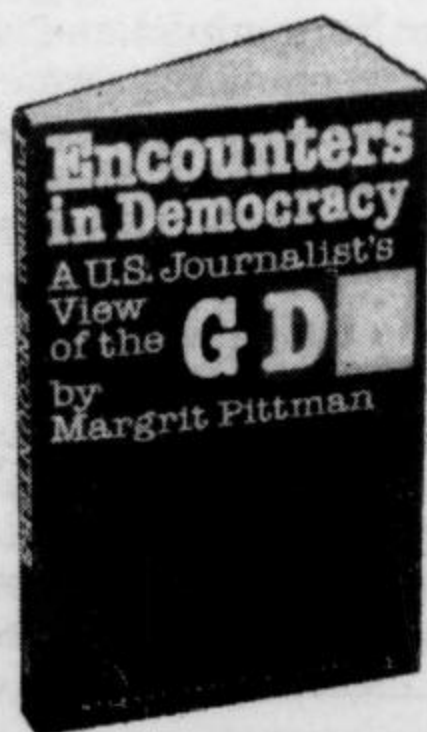
Encounters in Democracy A U.S. Journalist's View of the GDR Margrit Pittman

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Throughout the 1970s and now into the 1980s, the CPI has been active nationally on both the political and economic fronts, battling against imperialist rule in the north and the reactionary policies of Southern governments. We campaigned against entrance into the EEC back in 1973 and since then we have consistently worked for Ireland's withdrawal from this rich man's club. The involvement of communists in the trade union movement has steadily increased over the years. This was perhaps best symbolized by the election of our national party chairman, Andrew Barr, to the position of President of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions for 1974-75.

Inseparably linked to our political analysis of the national situation is our adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism. The communists in Ireland have consistently expressed their solidarity with all those who also suffer from imperialist intervention and aggression. Similarly, our comrades have always campaigned on the question of world peace, from supporting the Stockholm Appeal in the 1950s to opposing the stationing of the Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe today. As a consequence of our internationalist approach we have constantly had to fight against a barrage of extreme anti-Soviet propaganda. The CPI fully recognizes the principal role played by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the maintenance of world peace and the furtherance of anti-imperialist solidarity. This is the touchstone of our party's policy internationally — yesterday, today and in the future.

When the CPI was relaunched back in 1933, it brought together people from different parts of our country, signifying the possibilities of bridging the divisions created by imperialism. The situation 50 years later was eloquently described by our General Secretary, Michael O'Riordan, at the 18th congress in May 1932: "Our party is a small one but it is the only one in Ireland that has branches in areas as diverse as Dublin's Ballyfermot and East Belfast. We have at this congress delegates from North, South, East and West of our country, from places whose names, combined together, sound like a melodic poem of Irish unity . . . Baliymena and Newtownabbey, Coleraine and Cork City, Enniskillen and Dun Laoghaire, Waterford and Craigavon, South Belfast and Dublin North-East, West Belfast and Mayo County. Long live that kind of Irish Unity!

Niall Farrell
Representative of the
Communist Party of Ireland
on the journal

The truth will out

NEW LIGHT ON U.S. AGGRESSION AGAINST NICARAGUA

In early April 1983, the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (SNLF) informed the world that the aggression against Nicaragua, prepared, provoked and financed by the Reagan administration, had entered upon a new phase. The phase of threats, militaristic shows of force, the military training of Somoza bands at Honduran bases and the infiltration of small groups into the territory of the republic for the purposes of subversion and sabotage had passed: the so-called "task forces," detachments consisting of 2,000 former Somoza guardsmen, armed and trained to the standards of the U.S. Green Berets, had invaded Nicaragua across its northern border.

But even before the invasion got under way, it became known that Washington regarded it only as a prelude. A report in *Newsweek* magazine of October 8, 1982, and the revelations of Hector Frances Garcia, a former agent of Argentine's military intelligence (who had worked for the Somoza counter-revolution for two years) fully coincided in exposing the objective of Reagan's anti-Nicaragua "program": the counter-revolutionaries' invasion is to develop into a war between Nicaragua and Honduras, a country which, in this case, can count on Washington's total support. The following step is to be a U.S. naval blockade of Nicaragua.¹

Such a far-reaching program has, of course, required thorough preparation, a testing of the invasion forces "in action" and extensive subversive activity in order to destabilize the "Sandinista regime." There was also the need to build up a climate of hostility in relations between the two Central American states, which, according to Washington's scenario, are to be embroiled in a fratricidal conflict.

A collection of documents and geographical maps issued by Nicaragua's Foreign Ministry shows how this was done: it describes 429 aggressive acts against that country perpetrated from 1980 to 1982; its air space was violated 127 times, and Somoza bands carried out 60 raids into its territory, frontier posts were attacked 81 times, and cattle were abducted and driven into Honduras on 9 occasions. In that period, the counter-revolutionaries staged 36 ambushes against Sandinista military patrols, and there were 51 clashes with Somoza bands.

Another 65 aggressive acts were committed directly by the Honduran army.² As a result, in the course of two years alone, 187 Nicaraguan civilians were killed, 68 wounded and 49 abducted.³ The book also describes the military exercises staged jointly by the United States and Honduras, the construction of air strips, naval bases and strategic highways close to Nicaraguan territory, and the pull-up of Honduran army contingents with thousands of men into the frontier areas.

An item in *The New York Times* on November 1, 1982, shows how purposeful this activity is and the U.S. role in it. The paper carried a statement by a spokesman of the U.S. administration who admitted that the military and financial aid to the Honduran military and the Somoza men was tied in with the overall plan of secret operations in Central America, which was approved by President Reagan nearly a year ago. He added that the CIA was supplying the counter-revolutionary detachments with money and military equipment.⁴

What was the U.S. President's rationale for drawing up such a plan? Press reports in November 1981, when the program for anti-Nicaragua operations was approved, give a clearcut answer. The invented pretext was "the need to intercept the flow of arms going to the guerrillas in El Salvador." The actual purpose was "to get rid of the Sandinistas," as Thomas Enders, U.S. Under-Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs, put it.⁵

To set the "dirty war" machine in motion, Washington first appropriated \$19.9 million for use by small commando groups that were to operate inside Nicaragua. At the same time, special training was given to the security and military intelligence forces of Honduras, which began to provide support for Somoza attacks and help Argentinian and other foreign "experts" to train Somoza counter-revolutionaries in the art of sabotage and the handling of weapons supplied by the United States.

Honduras was gradually converted into the main base for the program of destabilization of the revolutionary system in Nicaragua. For that purpose, in 1981 and 1982, Washington gave the Honduran authorities "economic aid" totaling \$187 million, of which one-third was for military purposes; \$78.3 million worth of similar aid was provided for 1983, while negotiations were started on the sale of aircraft to the

Honduran army by the United States at a cost of over \$120 million.

It is indicative that from July 1979 to the end of 1982, the numerical strength of the Honduran armed forces increased from 14,000 to 22,000 officers and men. In that period, the United States and Honduras jointly staged three large-scale exercises close to Nicaraguan territory.

Reagan's plan also set some political objectives. The White House strove to knock together in Central America a bloc of allies that was to ensure Nicaragua's isolation and to resist any attempts by the progressive forces to force the reactionary government of Honduras to start official negotiations with the Sandinistas. Another objective was to create favorable conditions for exporting counter-revolution by destabilizing the people's power in Nicaragua and trying to discredit it internationally. The key role in realizing this program belongs to John Negroponte, the U.S. Ambassador in Honduras, who was an official at the U.S. Embassy in Saigon during the Vietnam war.

The United States is no longer able to deny the facts, which show that it has a crucial role in escalating the cowardly aggression. This is confirmed by an item in *Newsweek* of April 11, 1983, which says that "the U.S.-backed secret war against Nicaragua's leftist Sandinista regime has spilled out of the shadows. After an initial phase of training with CIA help in Honduras, the contras have moved on to a full-scale push into Nicaragua."⁶

An ABC correspondent gave some additional information about the CIA agents directing the interventionist operations. He said that there are now some 100 Americans in Honduras, who are being helped by "experts" from other countries also working for the CIA. These cloak-and-dagger specialists have the task of training and directing the former Somoza guardsmen, who are committing criminal acts in the mountains in the north of Nicaragua.⁷

Berkley Bedell and Robert Torricelli, Democratic members of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress, have declared that U.S. aid is not designed to prevent Nicaragua from supplying arms to the Salvadoran guerrillas but to overthrow the Sandinista regime.⁸

But much more has now come to light. The operations of U.S. imperialism against the Nicaraguan revolution are a striking manifestation of the Reagan administration's global policy, which denies the peoples the right to choose their own way and whose aggressive acts are pushing the world to the brink of a thermonuclear catastrophe.

In an effort to vindicate the lunatic imperialist line in Central America and the Caribbean, Reagan has again resorted to the tattered "denunciation" of some "Soviet and Cuban threat which is looming across Nicaragua." But with every passing day, it is becoming ever more obvious to the peoples of the world that the only threat to their sovereignty and world peace is posed by the policy of imperialism, precisely as the documents of the Delhi conference of the non-aligned countries showed.

In response to the overt aggression against Nicaragua, a powerful wave of indignation at the imperialist acts and of solidarity with the Sandinista revolution has rolled across the world, including the United States. The peoples want the interventionists to get out of Nicaragua, stop their hostile activity against that country and seek a political solution to the outstanding problems in its relations with Honduras and the United States along bilateral channels, and leave the Nicaraguan people to build their new life in peace.

That is also what the SNLF wants. But at the same time, the Sandinistas have issued this warning: "We must be prepared for any turn of events, including direct intervention by the United States . . . With the spirit of Bolivar and Marti, with the élan of Andres Castro, Zeledon, Sandino and Carlos Fonseca,⁹ we shall be victorious, because we are defending a just cause, the cause of America."¹⁰

That is something America and the world are well aware of: the lessons of Cochinos Bay and Vietnam are alive in the hearts and minds of the peoples. Nicaraguans are firm of spirit, being conscious not only of their own strength, but also of the fact that they are not at all alone, and so are capable of beating back the intervention. There is growing resistance to the aggressive militaristic policy of imperialism under the banner of solidarity with the Nicaraguan people, who are standing up in defense of their national sovereignty and social justice.

Mario José Grabivker
CC member, CP Argentina

1. See *Granma*, April 9, 1983, p. 8; *Que pasa*, March 30, 1983.

2. *Nicaragua denuncia agresiones que sufre desde el territorio de Honduras. 1980-1982*, Ministerio del Exterior, Republica de Nicaragua, 1982.

3. *Barricada internacional*, November 1, 1982.

4. *The New York Times*, November 1, 1982.

5. *Barricada internacional*, November 8, 1982, p. 6.

6. *Newsweek*, April 11, 1983, p. 22.

7. See *L'Humanité*, April 13, 1983.

8. *Ibid.*, April 12, 1983.

9. *Heroes of the Nicaraguan people's revolutionary struggle*. — Ed.

10. See *Granma*, April 9, 1983.



Who does run Washington?

Michael Killian and Arnold Sawislak, *Who Runs Washington?*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1982, 340 pp.

The authors are veteran Washington newspaper reporters. They undertake to present a many-faceted view of the capital city of the United States, the city which, one might say, is the world capital of imperialism and surely the seat of the main danger of war today.

Who Runs Washington? presents a picture of how the U.S. government works that is not to be found in the U.S. constitution, in the U.S. school textbooks or in the way the government advertises itself to the world. The authors take the reader to the darkest corners of the corridors of power in Washington and reveal the secrets of U.S. political backrooms.

While the book doesn't delve into the control of the government by high finance capital, it does provide overwhelming facts exposing the numerous mechanisms whereby the interests and the rule of capital are safeguarded and promoted.

In the process, the fact that U.S.-style bourgeois democracy is a mockery of representative government of, by and for the people, emerges fairly clearly.

The book cites the words of the conservative iconoclast H.L. Mencken who wrote in 1930:

"There is, in fact, no reason for confusing the people and the legislature; the two . . . are quite distinct. The legislature, like the executive, has ceased, save indirectly, to be even the creature of the people; it is the creature, in the main, of pressure groups, and most of them, it must be manifest, are of dubious wisdom and even more dubious honesty. Laws are no longer made by a rational process of public discussion; they are made by a process of blackmail and intimidation, and they are executed in the same manner. The typical lawmaker of today is a man wholly devoid of principle — a mere counter in a grotesque and knavish game. If the right pressure could be applied to him he would be cheerfully in favor of polygamy, astrology, or cannibalism" (p. 141).

The authors affirm that these words are exceedingly timely even today. They lay bare

the many ways and means through which elected and appointed officials, operating through a bureaucracy employing almost three million people, circumvent the will of the people. The legislative processes are bent, through all kinds of manipulations, to do the bidding of big business. The blackmail and intimidation which is one feature of U.S. imperialist foreign policy is a natural extension of the process of internal rule described by Mencken.

In the whole galaxy of wire-pullers and pushers enmeshing the government apparatus, first place must go to the military-industrial complex, which operates through agents in all branches of the government — in the White House, the Congress and in various government agencies, as described in the first two chapters of the book, "The White House Gang," and "The Hill" (meaning Congress, which is located on Capital Hill).

In a city of 637,000 people, there are 40,000 working in the Pentagon building itself, 22,000 of them uniformed personnel. All told, the Department of Defense (DOD) has 132,000 people working directly for it, 56,000 on active military duty. Globally, 2.2 million in the armed forces and about 984,000 civilians come under the DOD (p. 49).

The DOD has Jupiter-planet size armaments at its disposal. It maintains "hundreds of highly labor-intensive military installations in the U.S., a far-flung empire of bases in 25 foreign countries or possessions" (p. 50). The procurement all this entails gives it tremendous political clout in the White House and Congress and in the economy of the country.

In listing the top men in the defense establishment, the authors describe Caspar Weinberger, Reagan's Secretary of "Defense" as "another advocate of the thinkability of war with the Russians" (p. 70).

Authors briefly discuss the CIA and FBI but come nowhere near the devastating exposures revealed in a number of other books on these cloak and dagger outfits.

Exerting a tremendous influence on the process of policy formation are a number of think tanks. They supply government "with opin-

ions, assessments and evaluations, even when not asked, they supply government with people . . . Half of government is produced by think tanks" (p. 179). According to the authors, the American Enterprise Institute, founded in 1943, is the principal intellectual and information source for the Republicans in the White House and on Capital Hill (p. 56). Associated with it are Jeanne Kirkpatrick, U.S. Ambassador to the UN, former President Gerald Ford and over 20 leading members of his administration. It issues over 130 publications, including *Public Opinion* magazine, runs a weekly TV program over more than 400 stations and operates on a \$10.4 million budget, largely financed by big corporations.

The Brookings Institution, founded in 1927, and operating on a budget of \$10.7 million, is similarly financed. This think tank is reputed to be inclined toward the Democratic Party. It was the Brookings Institution, say the authors, which invented the outrageous fiction that Soviet military power is called upon to achieve foreign policy goals, a fabrication seized upon by the U.S. mass media. The Institution has a radio program on 150 stations and issues about 35 publications a year (p. 181).

The authors claim that the Rand Corporation, chaired by former "Defense" Secretary Donald Rumsfeld "more or less runs the Defense Department" (p. 182). It is "so inextricably linked to the defense establishment power center that the DOD probably couldn't function without it" (p. 55).

The Hoover Institute at Palo Alto, California, also known for its anti-Sovietism, boasts Ronald Reagan as a fellow of the Institute and has supplied a number of appointees for his administration (p. 182).

The Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies has James Schlesinger and Henry Kissinger among its associates. It also offers its services to the government through the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, the Center for Immigration Policy and Refugee Assistance, the American Language Institute and the Kennedy Institute of Ethics.

The Heritage Foundation, established in 1973, heavily financed by monopoly corporations and clearly ultra-right, played a big role in preparing the way for Reagan's election, particularly by its attacks on SALT-2. It issued a 3,000 page publication, "Mandate for Leadership," which is a blueprint for Reagan's policies. Among the programs it advocated were an increase in arms spending by 20 per cent, providing more military aid to anti-communist

Central American regimes, unleashing of the CIA, and drastic reduction or elimination of social programs (pp. 182-183).

In the U.S. governmental system a large number of agencies have been set up over the years. They are almost a fourth branch of government, along with the executive, the legislative and judiciary branches. There are 43 major regulatory agencies, 20 of them being independent agencies and the remainder being units of larger departments. There is a constant struggle over whose interests these agencies should serve. Overwhelmingly, they have served the interests of monopoly. At times, however, some of them have served the people's needs to one degree or another and have stepped on the toes of big business in so doing, depending on the pressures of mass struggles, the personnel of the commissions and the kind of administration in power. But when this begins to happen, measures are soon taken to clip the wings of, curtail or eliminate these commissions. This is what has happened to the Occupational Safety and Health Administration and the Environmental Protection Agency, among others, under the Reagan regime.

Washington is the focal point of 15,000 people employed as lobbyists. They represent diverse interests, primarily big wealth, to make sure that the federal government protects their interests. According to the authors, they make up the fourth largest industry in Washington, after government, printing and tourism.

They have an organization, the American Association of Corporation Executives, with an operating budget in 1980 of \$11 billion, compared to the \$1 billion on which the Congress operates.

In addition, 800 trade associations are headquartered in Washington. One of them is the American Petroleum Institute. Twenty-three of its biggest members, grateful to President Reagan for decontrolling gas and oil prices, contributed more than \$270,000 to Nancy Reagan to re-decorate the White House (p. 142).

There are 2,500 political action committees which handed out \$55 million to Republican and Democratic candidates in the 1980 elections. Among them are 954 big business PACs, compared to organized labor's 240 PACs. In 1980, the American Telegraph and Telephone Corporation (ATT) gave \$652,679 through 23 different PACs to promote the candidates it wanted elected.

There are 30,000 lawyers in Washington, 12,000 of them working directly for the government. Two-thirds of all lawyers in the world are in the United States. Ninety per cent

of them serve big business. Corporations in the 1970s spent \$24 billion a year on legal services. This was more than 10 times the budget of the Justice Department. Although the city is about three-quarters Afro-American, only four Black lawyers held positions in the city's big law firms (pp. 194-195).

The activities of most of the aforementioned "unofficial ministries without official portfolios" are a fertile ground for bribery, manipulation and corruption for which Washington is very well known.

The authors also give one an idea about Washington's other, "unofficial" life. Up until 1850, the site of the present National Archives was occupied by a slave market. Racial segregation was practised in the city until the 1950s, and it largely persists to this day. Those resident in Washington first got the vote to elect the President only in 1964, and the capital is characteristically represented in Congress by a member who has voice but no vote. Only in 1974 was its population first allowed to elect a mayor and a city council.

The Washington Metropolitan Area has 25 different federal, state, county, city and special purpose police forces — 10 or 11 policemen per 1,000 population. Unemployment stands 50 per cent higher than the national average — a

picture of immense wealth on one side and pervasive poverty on the other.

V. I. Lenin noted the essential character of bourgeois rule in the United States: "One of the most democratic republics in the world is the United States of America. Yet nowhere (and those who have been there since 1905 probably know it) is the power of capital, the power of a handful of multi-millionaires over the whole of society, so crude and so openly corrupt as in America."*

The book under review shows just how right Lenin was, and leaves no doubt at all about exactly who runs Washington. The basic administrative superstructure, constructed to keep capitalism in the saddle, is surrounded and infiltrated by a myriad of mechanisms, appendages which have attached themselves to the governmental system to minimize any possibility of using the state apparatus in any way that can threaten the role of the ruling class.

This book blasts the myth of U.S. democracy and shows that the U.S. federal administration is effectively an executive retained by monopoly capital to run the state.

Steven Mark
U.S. journalist

*V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 484-488.

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"The artist in the ranks of fighters" — page 66

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