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A working class party, the whole people's party

Ivan Kapitonov
Secretary of the CPSU CC

80TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE RSDLP

The Soviet communists, their friends and associates are marking the 80th anniversary of the second congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP).

At that congress, Lenin and his supporters secured the formation of a new type of proletarian party, which made it an outstanding event not only in the history of our country, but also of the world. It was then, in the summer of 1903, that Bolshevism, a great ideological and political force, entered the arena of 20th-century social life. That was when the question that is crucial for a revolutionary movement — the kind of party the working class is to have as the political vanguard in the contemporary epoch — was decided, and the experience of the last eight decades — both our own and international — shows that the decision was fundamentally correct. It shows that without a party organized, and thinking and acting in Lenin's way, the working class and the other working people cannot take power, that a socialist society cannot be built and cannot successfully develop and gain in strength.

I

When setting up our party, Lenin believed that the whole point of its existence was "to facilitate the political development and the political organization of the working class."¹ So the party of Leninists unreservedly put itself at the service of the proletariat, subordinating all its concerns and aspirations to its supreme class interest. That is what determined our party's class character from the very outset.

Once a small organization of Marxist revolutionaries, it has developed in these 80 years into a powerful and well-knit party now numbering more than 18 million communists. Whatever stage of the CPSU's development one considers, one finds that its proletarian class substance is clearly manifested in its ideological, political and organizational principles and in the make-up of its membership.

Our party's ideology is nothing but the scientific expression of the revolutionary con-

sciousness of the working class, the class which is at the heart of the present epoch. Lenin's idea, which inspired his supporters at the second congress of the RSDLP, was that establishing a new type of party meant merging scientific socialism with the working-class movement. That task was successfully fulfilled mainly through Lenin's own theoretical and practical activity: as a brilliant thinker, as a follower and continuer of the cause of Marx and Engels, he developed their doctrine in the light of the altered historical conditions and enriched it with new propositions and conclusions, which provided the basis for the victorious strategy and tactics of the working class in the struggle for the emancipation of labor and for the socialist reconstruction of the society.

Under the ideological banner of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet communists have traveled a hard, but great and impressive way, from organizing the early action by the proletariat of Russia against the tsarist autocracy to the guidance of a developed socialist society. Along that way, it was constantly driven home to us that only a party armed with a revolutionary theory and scrupulously guided by the principles of the Marxist-Leninist ideology can express and stand up for the vital interests of the working class.

In politics, our party's line has always been and continues to be determined by the substance of the historical mission which the objective laws of social development have assigned to the working class, the mission of ending the rule of capital and of being the builder of socialism and communism in alliance with the working masses and at their head. Led by Lenin, the Bolshevik Party fast became the generally recognized leader of Russia's revolutionary proletariat. It firmly and confidently led the working masses to the conquest of power, skillfully using diverse forms of political action and various methods of revolutionary struggle. The victory of the Great October Revolution, which put the working class at the helm of the ship of state; was a veritable triumph for the political line of Lenin's party.

As the new society was built in our country, the working class became the chief social force of socialist production. Our advance in the crucial sectors of communist construction has always depended and continues to depend on its labor contribution. The working class is the natural vehicle and solid social mainstay of the socialist social relations. All Soviet people share and accept its views and highly humanistic moral norms. In short, in a socialist society, the leading role belongs to the working class, and its further strengthening is the key and binding element of the whole of our party's internal policy.

In the CPSU's international activity, the strengthening of friendship and the development of cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries have had a special priority. Our party has strong bonds with the international working-class and communist movement. The whole world is also aware of the Soviet communists' constant and effective solidarity with the revolutionary, liberation, anti-imperialist forces. Consequently, our party's class nature is revealed in its foreign policy just as eloquently as it is in its domestic policy.

The principles of the party's organizational structure are of primary importance for the revolutionary struggle and creative endeavor of the working-class party. These principles were bitterly debated at the second congress of the RSDLP. Lenin and his supporters resolutely opposed opportunistic organizational wooliness and advocated consistent centralism in structuring the party, which meant subordination of all the party's organizations to its highest organs, and the communists' work under one program, one set of rules and one kind of discipline for all, in close connection with democratic inner-party relations and observance of the norms of party comradeship. By accepting and asserting these principles for itself, the party invested with political power the best features which are objectively inherent in the working class: its urge for organization and cohesion, its discipline, its comradely mutual assistance and collectivism. Those are the qualities of the leading class of the Soviet society that the CPSU eminently relies on in its organizational activity today.

From its inception, our party has also been proletarian in social composition. On the eve of 1905, workers already made up more than 61 per cent of its membership. Today they also constitute the party's solid 8-million-strong backbone, prevailing among the newly recruited members. Thus, last year workers made up 59.4 per cent of those admitted as candidates for party membership.

At the very start of its historical way, Lenin's party, which is of the flesh and blood of the working class, not only expressed the proletariat's class interests, but also acted as a selfless fighter for the general democratic demands of all the working people and all the peoples of Russia.

The party program adopted by the second congress of the RSDLP formulated both the immediate tasks of the proletariat of Russia in the bourgeois-democratic revolution (minimum program) and its long-term goals, which were the overthrow of the capitalist system and the creation of a socialist state (maximum program). These were different stages in its struggle for socialism. But this simultaneously expressed the objectively indissoluble connection between the socialist ideas of the working class and the democratic aspirations of all the working people, of the broadest popular masses. That was the origin of the political line of Lenin's party which has run through the whole of its history and which is clearly evident in its struggle against every type of sectarianism, its implacable attitude to the "infantile disorder of left-wing communism," its concern for the creation and consolidation of the revolutionary alliance of the working class and the peasantry, its active support of the idea and policy of a broad popular front to resist fascism and imperialist reaction, its consistent solidarity with the national liberation movements and its selfless assistance to them.

Our party has not denied membership to anyone consciously and actively involved in the proletariat's revolutionary struggle and displaying a readiness to throw in his lot with the creative activity of the working class, the builder of socialism. Today, alongside the industrial workers, state-farm workers and collective farmers (of whom 2.25 million are party members), agricultural specialists, intellectuals from the scientific and technical fields, and the arts, education, public health, the administrative apparatus, members of the armed forces and students are broadly represented in the CPSU. One USSR citizen in 11, aged 18 years and over, carries the lofty title of communist.

Although having to act in a society rent by class contradictions, many political parties, past and present, have claimed to "represent the whole people," not to be linked with any definite class, and to serve "the nation as a whole." A closer look shows that this is no more than a signboard covering up their dependence on the ideology and policies of the ruling class, the bourgeoisie. Marxist-Leninists know very well that wherever people are di-

vided into exploiters and exploited, oppressors and oppressed, every political party will always remain no more than a class party, and can never be a party of the whole people.

The class and the whole people's elements in the make-up of a communist party are truly blended only under socialism, and that at a fairly high stage of its maturity. Here, that is, in a society which has shed its social antagonisms, full force is acquired by the tendency in the development of a Marxist-Leninist party, whose substance can be expressed by this metaphor of Engels': the party grows ever more deeply into the people.²

Fundamental socio-economic and political changes have occurred in our country over the last several decades, and these have carried it to a new and now highest point in the shaping of the communist formation, namely, developed socialism. Our economy is now a mighty integral national-economic complex developing on a planned basis. The social basis of our socialist system is now made up of the whole Soviet people, a new historical entity of people, which has taken shape and is developing as a solid alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, as fraternal friendship of all the big and small nations of our country. The society's ideological, moral and political unity has been consolidated. The state of the proletarian dictatorship born in the October Revolution has now become a state of the whole people. It is precisely as a result of these changes, which have transformed every aspect of life in the Soviet society, that our party, while retaining its working class nature, has become a party of the whole people. It expresses the interests of all the classes and social groups of Soviet society.

"When we say that the people and the party are united," General Secretary of the CPSU CC Yuri Andropov declares, "this is a statement of the irrefutable fact that the aims and tasks set itself by the party are an accurate expression of the aspirations and needs of all Soviet people. The multi-million people of the Soviet Union are, by their deeds, carrying into effect the policy of the party."³

II

The fact that Lenin's doctrine of the party was translated into the day-to-day practice of the revolutionary working class was a major outcome of the second congress of the RSDLP. The central idea of this doctrine is the leading role of the proletarian vanguard in the political struggle of the working people, of the popular masses, in building a new society. At the congress itself, Lenin and his supporters brushed

aside the opportunists' attempts to turn the party into a reformist organization engaged in the dissemination of knowledge, lagging behind the working-class movement and adapting itself to its spontaneous trends. Indeed, the whole of the 80-year way traversed by the CPSU has effectively been an embodiment of Lenin's idea that the party's historical mission lies in "guiding all the united activities of the whole of the proletariat, i.e., of leading it politically, and through it, the whole mass of the working people."⁴

The role of the communist party in the working-class movement, in the revolutionary struggle and in socialist construction is a key issue in the worldwide ideological and theoretical polemics and political contest. The communist parties of the socialist countries have been repeatedly accused of "setting themselves over and above society," of "fettering its development," of "stifling popular initiative." It is sometimes even asserted that socialism could do very well without the communists, without the party's leading role.

Our stand on this matter is clearcut and well known. It follows from Marxist-Leninist theory and rests on the vast experience of existing socialism. It has been vindicated by the whole record of socialist construction in the USSR and other countries, by the whole course of the struggle of the working class and the other working people against the bourgeoisie, counter-revolution, and anti-socialist elements.

Life shows that any weakening in the role of the communist party, any concessions to opportunism and revisionism have always harmed the interests of the working class and the whole people, and in certain conditions could even jeopardize the very existence of the socialist system. Conversely, the more consistently the party exercises its leadership, the more successful is the construction of the new society. This idea does not, of course, have anything in common with the vulgar view of the party's role as "issuing orders to society."

In the light of its summed-up experience and practice of socialist construction, the CPSU has drawn a theoretically and politically important conclusion concerning the party's growing role in the life of Soviet society. This has become one of the fundamental propositions of the conception of developed socialism and an organic element of the ideological arsenal of the party and the people. The growth of the party's role is an objective uniformity of social development which is most fully manifested at the stage of mature socialism. But it is not realized automatically, of itself. It requires the

party's own efforts to deepen the content of all its work and make it more effective, to strengthen its ties with the masses and to perfect inner-party life.

In this context, tremendous importance is attached to the activity of the party's highest organs. Our party congresses "blaze the high-road, as it were, of Soviet society's onward advance."⁵ That is precisely the meaning of the resolution of the 26th congress of the CPSU, which laid down the tasks in the country's economic and social development for the 11th five-year plan period and for the 1980s as a whole, in perfecting Soviet society's political system and intensifying our ideological and educational work. The Peace Program for the 1980s, which the congress adopted, indicates a realistic way for ridding humankind of the threat of thermonuclear war and ending the arms race.

The November 1982 plenary meeting of the CPSU CC gave a profound analysis of the state of affairs along the main lines of our economic and cultural construction and social life. It marks a qualitatively new stage in the party's organizational and political work. Having noted our unquestionable achievements, the plenary meeting concentrated the party's attention on the outstanding problems, with emphasis on the need to improve economic planning and management, the style of work, greater control over the fulfillment of adopted decisions, and enhancement of party, state and labor discipline. There is good ground to say that all of this is yielding results, notably in raising the rate of economic development. The party is doing everything to consolidate what has been achieved and to make the positive trends stable.

The plenary meeting reaffirmed the CPSU's long-term strategy aimed to have the Soviet people live better from year to year, so that the fruits of their labor effort should be weightier, and that the creative forces of the socialist system should have ever greater scope for their operation. The USSR's Food Program, which was adopted by the May 1982 CC plenary meeting, is an integral part of this strategy. Under it, all the sectors of our economy are now being oriented toward the solution of problems in further boosting agricultural production, developing the agro-industrial complex and assuring the country of an uninterrupted supply of foodstuffs. The party's CC and the Soviet government have been putting through large-scale measures to increase the production of consumer goods, widen the range of available items and raise their quality.

Concern for human well-being has been and

continues to be our party's general line. The party regards the effort to increase the output of consumer goods and develop services for the people, together with the implementation of the Food Program, as the central element of the social program approved by the CPSU's 26th congress. These questions are regularly considered at the meetings of the Political Bureau of the CPSU CC and are constantly within its field of vision.

Our actual achievements and potentialities are the party's point of departure in its policy and guidance of the Soviet society. The developed socialism built in the USSR is the main accomplishment and chief outcome of our creative effort. The country now stands at the beginning of this law-governed and historically long stage in the shaping of the communist formation. The perfection of developed socialism is now the core and main content of the Soviet communists' work and the labor effort of all the peoples of the USSR. This sets before us a great many large and important tasks, including further boosting the productive forces, developing and consolidating the collectivist social relations, the Soviet state system and socialist democracy, science and culture.

Our party and the whole people are now concentrating attention on advancing along the line of greater efficiency of social production and its intensification. Of primary importance is the utmost acceleration of the pace of scientific and technological progress, mechanization and automation of production, improvement of product quality, economies and rational use of every type of resource, and larger returns from fixed assets and capital investments. One of the present demands is to improve the economic mechanism, and to make the system of material and moral incentives for labor more effective. The party is working consistently to translate into life the socialist principles of distribution, emphasizing that labor and its results must and can alone be the source of the well-being of every citizen in a socialist society.

The decisions of the November 1982 CC plenary meeting and Yuri Andropov's statements orient the party and all the Soviet people toward the need to see the actual dynamic of our society. The point is to take a realistic view of our present position. It is not right to outrun events and try to tackle unfeasible tasks. But then it is also not right to stop at what has been achieved and fail to make use of our great potentialities.

Our party is assured of its status of sage and authoritative collective leader and political organizer of the people by its scientific approach

to the problems of social progress, its creative development and application of Marxist-Leninist theory, and its summing-up and active use of the experience gained in socialist construction.

The CPSU's point of departure has always been and continues to be that the more solid and diverse the ties with the masses, the more effectively its leading role will be realized. Lenin said: "To do service to the masses and express their interests, having correctly conceived those interests, the advanced contingent, the organization, must carry on all its activity among the masses... at every step verifying carefully and objectively whether contact with the masses is being maintained and whether it is a live contact."⁶ For the Soviet communists, this precept of Lenin's is of abiding importance. Past experience and present reality both show that the growth of the party's leading role is simultaneously a steady process of its ever greater cohesion and unity with the working masses.

From the depths of popular life, the party draws fresh ideas and vibrant energy, which are accumulated and concisely expressed in its policy and practical activity. In turn, the party's ideas provide a powerful impetus to creative effort by the masses, investing it with the required organization and orientation. Adopted by the masses, these ideas acquire a truly material force.

In developing its ties with the people, the party makes wide use of the press, television, radio and other media so as to provide all the Soviet people with ample information about its decisions and affairs. Publicity in the work of party organizations is not an abstract concept but the living reality of our everyday practice.

The exchange of information between the party and the people could be called a two-way process. Information from the working people at the grass roots has always been and continues to be a valuable source of information for the CPSU about the Soviet people's requirements, attitudes and opinions. Its channels are diverse, including speeches at meetings, items in the press, and letters and other forms in which citizens address party and state organs. In December of last year, the CPSU CC Political Bureau made a special point of examining how letters from the working people are being handled. It said that these letters were evidence of the Soviet people's political activity and of their direct involvement in improving the forms of management in the socialist economy, and in the affairs of society and the state. The Political Bureau put the duty on party and Soviet government organs, and USSR ministries

and departments to do everything for the considerate examination of the requests, proposals and observations contained in such letters and for their resolution.

In the development of the party's ties with the people, there is no substitute for direct contacts of members of the CPSU Central Committee, local party committees and other leading functionaries with work collectives and the rest of the population. There was a great response within the party and in the country to Yuri Andropov's meeting with Moscow machine-tool builders, in the course of which they discussed the burning topics of our reality. The meeting was an instructive example of the CPSU's solid ties with the masses.

Primary party organizations have a great role and responsibility in strengthening and deepening these ties and in enhancing the party's influence in the work collectives. Just now, there are 427,000 such organizations in our party. They will be found virtually at every enterprise, collective and state farm and academic and other institution, so helping to merge the party's policy with the living creative effort of the masses.

In April 1983, an All-Union Scientific and Practical Conference was convened by a decision of the CPSU CC to enable party functionaries and activists and social scientists to analyze in detail how primary party organizations now play their role in developing the working people's social and production activity, in strengthening discipline and improving the style of work. It gave an insight into the multifaceted experience in the localities, and showed the ways and means that should be used in raising the activity of the party's grass-roots units up to the level of the present requirements with which life confronts them.

The party's role as the leader of developed socialist society makes exacting demands on its cadre policy. We now have a fairly efficient system for the selection, appointment and education of personnel. A caring and thoughtful attitude to all workers has been asserted. Much attention is being given to improving the professional skills, and increasing the political knowledge and experience of party leaders. Thus, at present, all the communists elected secretaries of regional and territorial committees, and of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics are specialists in the areas of which they are in charge. Nearly one-half of the secretaries of local party committees have a party-political education.

But the CPSU CC is also aware of the failings in cadre work. Now and again we find people in

leading posts who are out of touch with life and are unable to work in the way that is required by the present level of our economic, social and cultural development. Some leaders are also apt to contravene party and state discipline and break the rules of our morality. The Central Committee requires all party organizations to combat such phenomena resolutely. The CPSU has most definitely set the task of having every sector of party, state, economic, cultural and educational work directed by men and women who are politically mature and have high moral standards, who are competent and enterprising, and who have a flair for organization and a feeling for what is new.

The CPSU attaches much importance to the assertion everywhere of Lenin's style of work, a style which is creative and which implies a scientific approach to all social processes and phenomena, constant reliance on the masses, acumen, the concrete approach and exactingness. What we need is attunement to action instead of rhetoric.

The party makes a point of consistently combating any shortcomings and negative phenomena. It resolutely insists on the eradication of formalism and bureaucratic "over-organization," and tirelessly seeks to remove from our way everything that tends to fetter the initiative of the working masses, their creative thinking and energies. It is constantly concerned to create the conditions which promote the growth of the Soviet people's labor and social activity and to develop in them a sense of being the true masters of their socialist homeland.

Lenin's style is, by its very essence, democratic. Yuri Andropov said: "As the core of the Soviet society's political system, the party itself sets an example of democratic organization of all its activities: it elaborates and develops democratic principles, which enter all the spheres of our socialist life. This is one of the most important manifestations of the party's guiding role in the life of the society, of its inspiring influence on the masses."⁷

III

The principles of Bolshevism, which Lenin formulated and defended at the second congress of the RSDLP, have provided the basis for the CPSU's organizational structure and activity. Lenin believed that the most important thing in party construction is to become a large mass party without being littered by casual elements, while avoiding amorphousness and the blurring of the clearly designated limits of organization. Lenin's doctrine is the basis on which inner-party relations are being con-

stantly perfected, the party's ideological and organizational unity consolidated, collective leadership developed, and the communists' initiative and sense of responsibility for the state of affairs in their organizations and the party as a whole enhanced. The CPSU makes its activity highly effective by scrupulously observing Lenin's rules of party life and strictly practising the principle of democratic centralism. A harmonious blend of centralism and democracy is the source of the party's strength and robustness, and the guarantee of its full-blooded development, its capacity to act and its ever deeper ties with the people.

Our party has always regarded and continues to regard the centralism element in its life and activity as the means for ensuring a high level of organization and unity of action by the communists. The essence of the democracy element was clearly expressed by Lenin as follows: "All the affairs of the party are conducted, either directly, or through representatives, by all the members of the party, all of whom without exception have equal rights."⁸

The party's authority, influence and effective work everywhere depend directly on how it ensures the matching of words and deeds, and backs up its decisions with organization for their unfailing fulfillment. There is good reason why more attention has been recently given in our country to control. The gist of it is to verify how adopted decisions are in fact fulfilled. In accordance with the requirements of the November 1982 CC plenary meeting, the rule is being accepted in the party that new resolutions are to be passed on truly urgent and major questions and only after earlier decisions have been implemented. This is in complete accord with the Leninist tradition: everything that has been decided upon must be fulfilled. In practice, this means that party committees and organizations, leading functionaries at every level, and all Soviet communists have greater responsibility for their assignments.

Strong and conscious party discipline has been a distinctive feature of the CPSU ever since it was founded. Special significance is now attached to this quality of our party. The growing scale and complexity of the tasks facing Soviet society call for greater order and organization in every economic unit and a tightening up of planning, labor and state discipline. In our conditions, very much here depends on the example set by the communists, who must truly be ahead of everyone else in labor discipline and vigorous action.⁹

The party teaches the communists to understand and abide by the whole people's interests. It resolutely combats the narrowly depart-

mental and local-interest trends. The Soviet communists are required to take a truly party approach in tackling all economic and social problems, that is, a state-wide political view of all matters. The party believes that the most important principle is to blend organizational work and the work of ideological education. Experience shows that unless ideological and political work is backed up organizationally, it yields poor results, while organizational work not tied in with ideological work is, as a rule, of meager content.

Party meetings are an effective form for the participation by party members in discussing and taking decisions both on inner-party problems and on broad social problems. They provide a rostrum for frank and detailed discussions of policy and affairs of the party and of the country. In the recent period, party meetings have become more meaningful and with more tangible results, and this has made party work much more effective.

This year, the Soviet communists took an active part in the discussion by the whole people of a draft Law on Work Collectives and Enhancement of Their Role in the Management of Enterprises, Establishments and Organizations. Together with non-party people, they made over 100,000 proposals reflecting the working people's concern for strengthening the work collective, a primary cell of our economic and political organism.

Much attention is attached in our country to having the spirit of self-criticism and intolerance of shortcomings asserted in all party organizations, so that an atmosphere favoring workman-like comradely criticism is created in every collective. The party regards criticism and self-criticism as a vitally important condition for its healthy development, a growth of its influence and authority, consolidation of the unity of the party ranks, and an effective means for educating its cadre. The party works consistently to have leading functionaries and all organizations and establishments respond correctly to criticism and draw all the necessary conclusions from it.

Being committed to the steady progress of Soviet society and the raising of the initiative and activity of the party masses, the CPSU gives every communist an opportunity to voice his opinions on any problem, to argue his case before his comrades, to expose any shortcomings and have them righted. Party members enjoy full freedom of discussion, and the right, at party meetings, conferences, congresses, at meetings of party committees and in the party press, to criticize any functionary, regardless of his post. The right to criticism is

written into the CPSU rules, and the Soviet communists make active use of it.

The development of inner-party democracy is closely connected with the enhancement of the role of the party's elective activists. It is they who have the mission of translating into practice Lenin's principle of collective party leadership. In our country, the number of elective activists has increased from year to year and their political and business level has been rising. A total of 4,650,000 men and women, the most authoritative and influential communists in the collectives, have been elected to the party committees and party bureaus, and as secretaries and party group organizers. Of them, almost 40 per cent are workers and collective farmers. That is a great organizing force. The party works to have its collegial organs work concretely, seeing to it that real problems are not obscured by meetings for the sake of meetings, and that collective leadership is always combined with individual responsibility.

In the CPSU's inner-party life, therefore, both elements of democratic centralism are being simultaneously developed and strengthened. The communists' growing activity goes hand in hand with greater clarity and smooth organization in the work of all the party units.

In our society, the communists have no privileges. Party membership merely makes one shoulder a greater responsibility for everything that is being done in the country, and for the future of socialist construction and social progress.

The finer every communist's ideological and moral qualities, the higher the party's authority and influence. Ideological steadfastness, selfless effort, honesty and assertion of principle, a high sense of responsibility and a readiness to be in the most difficult sector and live by the interests of the masses — those are the communists' qualities that attract people. What Lenin said at the second congress of the RSDLP — "We must strive to raise the calling and importance of a party member higher, higher and still higher . . ." ¹⁰ is still an expression of the inspiring norm of life for the party and for every Soviet communist.

IV

In its first program, which was adopted 80 years ago, Lenin's party declared that it regards itself as a component part of the international revolutionary working-class movement. The Bolsheviks entered upon the political scene as a party of committed internationalists. Loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism runs through the whole of the CPSU's history.

When the building of the then first and only

socialist state was started, Lenin emphasized that the communists' international duty was to do all they could in their own country to awaken, support and develop the revolution in all the other countries. In our day, this precept of Lenin's is embodied in the two-fold international task which the CPSU has been consistently fulfilling. The substance of it is to do even more in advancing Soviet society, thereby exerting an influence on the balance of world forces and the course of world development, and to render effective support to the revolutionary, progressive movements of our day. The party is guided by Lenin's deep insight that we exert our main influence on the world revolutionary process by our economic policy. Our every success in improving the developed socialist society, in further fortifying the strength of the Soviet state is of international significance and serves the common cause of world socialism and the people's struggle against imperialism, and for democracy, national freedom and social progress.

Active extension of comradely ties with the communist and workers' parties of the world and the strengthening of class solidarity is a vivid expression of the internationalist character of the CPSU's policy. A prominent aspect of its international activity is the development and deepening of cooperation with the ruling parties of the fraternal socialist countries.

Meetings are regularly held by the leaders of the fraternal parties and states at the highest level and there are mutual exchanges of party and government delegations. Meetings of CC secretaries of communist and workers' parties of socialist countries on international and ideological questions are held regularly. There are also exchanges of opinion on the questions of economic cooperation at meetings of CC secretaries.

From 1974 to 1982, meetings of the CC secretaries in charge of party-organization work were held in Moscow, Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin and Prague. They considered important problems in developing and organizationally strengthening the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries in the present conditions; the role of the parties within the political system of society; experience in effecting cadre policies; and the question of enhancing the role of primary party organizations and their influence on the life of work collectives.

The communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries have gained ample experience of party guidance in various areas of the economy and culture and the development of inner-party relations. Summed up, this experience is a common international asset of the

whole socialist community. The fraternal countries' ruling parties attach much importance to the study of this experience and its creative application. In the period since the 26th congress, the CPSU sent 10 delegations to community countries and received more than 30 delegations from other socialist countries to study experience in party-organization work alone.

Broad and all-round cooperation and mutual enrichment by experience serve the common cause of our community and make an important contribution to the strengthening of socialism. This is all the more important because the improvement of the new system is a process that has to run in a difficult international situation. Imperialism is exerting constant pressure on the socialist states and intensifying its subversive operations against them. The CPSU and the other fraternal parties are aware that in these conditions mistakes in policy, the slightest relaxation of the party's leading role and its ties with the masses, and errors in ideological work are especially dangerous. In order to avoid such things, which could be used by the class enemy in the fight against us, there is a need to go on uniting the peoples of the fraternal countries, developing their all-round cooperation and mutual assistance, and strengthening their international unity.

The CPSU believes that its internationalist duty is to support and assist the national liberation movement, and to develop cooperation with the countries that have escaped from colonial oppression and that are fighting for their political and economic independence. Our party takes a resolute stand for each people's right to decide its own destiny and to make its own choice of way of development. The party and the Soviet state devote special attention to expanding and deepening ties with the socialist-oriented countries. We put a high value on the non-aligned movement, on its anti-imperialist and anti-war orientation.

Internationalism and the humanistic substance of our party's policy are embodied in its struggle to avert a world-war disaster and to implement the Leninist strategy of peace. This struggle has now acquired primary importance for the destinies of humankind as a whole. No task is more important for the CPSU in the international arena than that of preserving world peace.

The peaceable foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state has met with understanding and support from the broadest circles of world opinion. Not only communists, or representatives of revolutionary, liberation

movements, but also millions of men and women holding the most diverse political views and religious tenets have met with great interest and approval the new peace initiatives recently put forward by the Soviet Union and in the Political Declaration issued by the Prague Meeting of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee.

The struggle for peace, which our party has tirelessly carried on, is inseparable from firm resistance to the aggressive aspirations of imperialism, of U.S. military circles, trying to mount an anti-communist "crusade." A high sense of vigilance with respect to every move by bellicose imperialist reaction is a precept of Lenin's, which the Soviet communists have unflaggingly followed.

The CPSU's peaceable policy is effective because it meets the interests and aspirations of all the working people and all the nations. It rests on the existing economic and defense might of the Soviet Union and of the community of socialist states, on the people's boundless support and on the will to peace which moves multi-million masses in all countries. Our party is convinced that these factors can actually ensure victory in the people's great struggle for peace, for the preservation of life on the globe.

* * *

The 80th anniversary of the second congress of the RSDLP is being marked in the USSR in an atmosphere of great labor and political élan,

keynoted by indissoluble unity of party and people, and further cohesion of the working people around the CPSU.

The Soviet people rightly connect all their accomplishments with the multi-faceted activity of Lenin's party. Its record is a truly heroic one of struggle and victories. The Soviet people regard the CPSU as the exponent of their vital interests, and actively support its domestic and foreign policy, and its consistent struggle for the cause of peace throughout the world. The party cherishes its indissoluble unity with the masses and holds it to be an invaluable asset and an inexhaustible source of strength. It is fully resolved to go on fulfilling its tasks just as unflinchingly and selflessly as it has done throughout these eight decades, in accordance with the precepts of the great Lenin.

1. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 369.
2. See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Works*, Vol. 22, p. 570 (in Russian).
3. Y.V. Andropov, *Sixtieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1983, pp. 33-34.
4. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 246.
5. L.I. Brezhnev, *Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the XXVI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1981, p. 123.
6. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 409.
7. *Kommunist*, No. 3, 1983 (in Russian).
8. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, p. 434.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 141.
10. *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 504.

A class shaping the future

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MARXISM A HUNDRED YEARS AFTER MARX

The chief thing in the doctrine of Marx, Lenin pointed out, is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society.⁴ The revelation of the historic mission of the working class provides a solution to the problem expressed in Marx's famous words: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to change it."² The connection between Marxism and the working class is seen in the fact that Marx became founder of both the scientific world view of the working class and the contemporary revolutionary working class movement.

It is indicative that in this year of Marx bourgeois ideologists, "assessing" his work, allege that the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, which defined the historic mission of the working class for the first time and in detail, was by no means an ideological turning point in history. They have invented a dilemma to the effect that either prior to the *Communist Manifesto* there already existed not only petty-bourgeois philanthropy and utopianism of diverse trends and origins but a social consciousness developed by the working class in struggle (which means that there could have been no revolution in ideology since it was only a case of continuity); or that the proletariat still lacked class consciousness, which means that it is a "product" of Marx's thinking, which the work-

ing class is compelled to "fend off" spontaneously.

This is an old, well-known device, an attempt to reduce to zero the essential distinction between class consciousness, the sense of class which develops at various stages of the struggle of the class (carried on in diverse forms), and socialist consciousness, which comes only when the class realizes its own historical situation and historic mission. This new attack, like thousands before it, is directed against the inseparable connection between the historic mission of the working class, its implementation, and the revolutionary party serving as an indispensable means of achieving the socialist goal. The purpose of this critique, like other similar attacks on Marxism, is to refute the conclusion that the working class needs a revolutionary party to become aware of and fulfil its role, "to ensure the triumph of the social revolution and of its ultimate goal: the abolition of classes."³

Of vast importance for the thinking and activity of the revolutionary working-class movement in today's capitalist world are, along with others, three aspects of the proletariat's mission described in the *Manifesto*.

First of all, the conclusion about its special position in society. "The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air."⁴

Second, the definition of the goal. It is necessary to win power, "to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy" in order to use political supremacy and "to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i.e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible."⁵

Lastly, the definition of the communists' role. They make common cause with all democratic forces against an outdated order still there. At the various stages of development through which the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie passes, "they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole," fight for the immediate goals and interests of the working class, but "in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of the movement."⁶ It follows that in practice their role consists in being "the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others." "Theoretically, they have over the great mass of

the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement."⁷

It would be surprising if the powers that be, whose rule is coming to an end, failed to fiercely dispute and assail again and again all that presages their decline and reminds them of their last days. The socially transformative role of the working class would long since have ceased to be a debated issue had there been no class struggle of ideas. The historic mission of the proletariat has been confirmed by reality, by the march of history: the Great October Socialist Revolution, which was the first to overthrow the bourgeoisie; the rise of the world socialist system; the disintegration of gigantic colonial empires; multiform, different liberation movements pointing in one direction; the fact that even in developing countries the working class, often small, wins a political leverage which is considerably greater than its share of the population, that some of these countries were able to take a non-capitalist road thanks to the international influence of the working class, and that even the thinking and activity of opponents of the antiquated order who have no intention of seeking fundamental changes are often prompted by elements of Marxism, the world view of the working class.

Those who question the significance of these deep-going changes often point out that the capitalist world is still very strong and that the working class has yet to win in many countries and is very far from winning in some. This reference to facts snatched out of their fundamental context merely misleads people by veiling the trend of social development, which is the important thing. Marx and Engels never considered, despite assertions to the contrary, that the self-emancipation of the working class would come about spontaneously. "For the proletariat to be strong enough to win on the decisive day," Engels wrote in December 1889, "it must — and this Marx and I have been arguing ever since 1847 — form a separate party distinct from all others and opposed to them, a conscious class party."⁸ At the same time Engels warned communists against self-isolation and sectarianism.

The founders of scientific communism also took account of counter-currents, difficulties, and long delays. Among other things, they called attention to the "bourgeoisification" of a section of the working class in Britain or to the fact that a people oppressing another people cannot become free. In the *Manifesto* they already noted soberly that "the organization of the proletarians into a class, and consequently

into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again stronger, firmer, mightier."⁹

The development of the doctrine of the revolution, the party, and the accomplishment of its historic mission by the working class is most closely linked with decisive stages of history, with victories and reversals of the proletarian movement.

The genius of Marx and Engels also manifested itself in the fact that at a time when the proletariat was still in the minority everywhere except Britain, they saw in it a force shaping the future. However, they in no way discounted the middle strata or the non-principal classes. These strata are oppressed by capital, if indirectly, due to their intermediate position among the principal classes. The proletariat needs alliances with the middle strata even after it has become the majority of the population. Proceeding from the experience of the revolution of 1848-1849, Marx held that the success of a "popular revolution" on the continent would "depend on the possibility of backing the proletarian revolution by some second edition of the Peasant War."¹⁰ The class consciousness, organization and independence of the proletariat and its attention to the interests and needs of other working people play a decisive role in their radicalization. Decades later, thanks to Lenin's strategy and as a result of years-long effort by the Bolsheviks, a combination of these conditions became decisive for the victory of the October Revolution in Russia.

By revealing in *Capital* the economic law of the movement of capitalism and bringing to light relations between people and classes concealed behind relations between objects, Marx offered a detailed substantiation of the historic role of the working class, of its mission, which is to end the alternation of exploiting societies.

The experience of the Paris Commune led Marx to the conclusion that the new society needs a new type of state, one that would constitute a transition to a qualitatively different type of democracy, a transition from the democracy of the oppressors to a democracy of those oppressed in the past. He stressed that the class rule of the proletariat is needed as a means of paving the way for the abolition of classes.

Applying Marx's theory of history to Russian conditions, to imperialism in the making, Lenin advanced propositions that inspire the thinking and activity of revolutionaries to this day and underlie the communists' present-day strategic concepts. He showed that the working class, being faced with a reactionary

bourgeoisie or a bourgeoisie compromising with reaction, must aspire even in a bourgeois, a pre-socialist revolution to a hegemonic role in alliances. The proletariat must learn to create at every stage the most favorable conditions for its class unity, for alliances, bring the working people closer to victory and achieve it, combining struggle at the grass roots with struggle "at the top" wherever possible.

On analyzing the objective basis which monopoly capitalism provides for the existence of opportunism and opportunist activity, Lenin came to the conclusion that it was necessary to bring into being a new type of party and to dissociate organizationally and ideologically from those who had renounced the historic mission of the working class or who disputed it. By disclosing the nature of imperialism, Lenin showed that the fundamental contradiction of capitalism is linked to an international contradiction in the imperialist system and that this ranges the oppressed peoples alongside the chief opponent of monopoly capital, the working class, a natural ally of anti-imperialist liberation movements. These, for their part, make an appreciable contribution to the solution of the international problem of replacing capitalism by socialism.¹¹

At a time when one form of capitalist class rule — bourgeois democracy — was giving way to another, to terrorist dictatorship or fascism, the most abominable embodiment of monopoly capitalism's trend toward reaction all along the line, the seventh congress of the Comintern added new important propositions to the doctrine of the party and the revolution. It evolved a strategy for an anti-fascist united working-class and popular front which does not proclaim socialism as the immediate goal but can lead up to it through precisely the struggle against fascism. A brilliant confirmation of this is the road to socialism travelled by anti-fascist democratic regimes in Eastern Europe. The Marxist thesis on the historic mission of the working class is becoming more specific in today's conditions as new experience is gained.

Ever since capital detected its grave-digger in the working class, bourgeois ideologists have claimed that the proletariat is "dead." One of their pet arguments in the ideological struggle is that in highly developed capitalist countries the working class has "lost" its historic mission — granting that it ever had such a mission. And they add that the working class will go out of existence as a class because under capitalism the growth of the productive forces has acquired a new quality.

This is also alleged by conservatives and "leftist" critics of Marxism. "Whose dictator-

ship is the dictatorship of the proletariat to be when there is no proletariat?" This rhetorical question was asked by a "leftist" prophet. What he meant was not the classless society to come but capitalism, under which he expects the working class to disappear from the social scene in the next few decades as a consequence of complete automation. That is when the time will be ripe for socialism, in the opinion of this "prophet," who recommends "slowing down the revolution" until then, putting it off to a later period. Utterances of this kind show whose mouthpiece critics of Marxism are.

Let us leave out the issue of the limits which capitalist property relations set to complete automation in industry. Let us abstract ourselves from the incredible proportions which the reserve army of labor, i.e., the propertiless and unemployed, would assume in the event of complete automation. Let us look at the facts, such as data on changes in Austria, an industrial capitalist country. In two decades (1960-1980), the share of the self-employed in the economically active population dropped by half. Over four-fifths of Austrians are now wage workers. Besides, the proportion of white-collar workers in 1979 exceeded that of blue-collar workers for the first time. More than half of the 170 Austrian monopolies employing over 1,000 workers each are active in the service sector. Traditional proletarian centers are losing their influence with the closure of mining and metallurgical enterprises. The proportion of workers in the electrical, chemical, and other growth industries is on the rise.

All this confronts the revolutionary working-class party with problems calling for reorganization that cannot be effected with a stroke of the pen. Obviously, theoretical and practical difficulties will arise if the concept of working class is restricted to that part of it directly producing surplus value. As the working class passes through definite stages of development (Marx and Engels pointed this out in the *Manifesto*), it is also necessary to bring the definition of the working class into line with the actual stage of its development. This definition must reflect major real trends, such as the fact that the scientific and technological revolution is resulting in the transfer of an increasing part of aggregate social labor to spheres preceding, related to or following the main production sphere. It must take account of the fundamental fact that today the working class may be said to include all who lack means of production and are compelled to sell their labor power for a livelihood, whose labor capital uses as a means of increasing profit, and who are not performing managing functions in the

system of social labor. The labor of the majority of white-collar workers in the private sector and a considerable proportion of civil servants earns capital more than their labor power is worth. They, too, are exploited.

What conclusions do we draw from this?

A factor of decisive importance for the character and future of the party is its activity *among the working class*, among all who belong to it — blue and white-collar workers, including civil servants. The main forces of the class are in major centers, in nationalized and monopoly capital enterprises using advanced means of production. It is there that the working class has its core.

It follows that taking place in life, *along with* a shrinking of the social base of the state-monopoly system, is a differentiation of the concrete social condition of the working people, which finds indirect reflection in the difference of their experience, behavior, and consciousness and may cause a slackening of the feeling of solidarity and greater disunity. But this does not at all mean that the working class is losing its historic mission; it merely means that in connection with its fulfillment in present-day conditions, the revolutionary party must meet much higher demands. First of all, the party must be able to discern the connecting element, among existing distinctions, awaken people to the common element, using the experience of their actions, single out what is most likely to *further the revolutionary cause*, and find the most suitable forms of movement of the complex contradictions in question, forms in which these contradictions are the motive power.

To recognize the historic mission of the working class without qualification does not at all mean embellishing or idealizing it. In any situation, to ignore the growing pains of the consciousness of the mass of workers — from the development of class instinct and sense to the formation of socialist consciousness — is to prejudice social progress.

In the course of these complex processes, vacillation and a recurrence of mistakes seen as removed long ago are inevitable. It becomes necessary to go back to stretches of the road left behind. With reference to "the latest developments," some persist in rejecting established estimations while others question them again. This is a manifestation of opportunism, which means disregarding or minimizing the fundamental interests of the working class, misinterpreting the main characteristics of capitalism's development or denying their existence altogether, and subordinating long-term to short-term interests.

Under imperialism, a constant recurrence of the petty-bourgeois world view in working-class parties is perfectly natural. Those who cease to notice the main trends and glaring contradictions of capitalism are useless to the socialist cause. Those who do not go beyond putting them on record are greatly reducing the actual value of their experience. It is more necessary than ever before to analyze all interconnections and the hierarchy of diverse contradictions existing in capitalist society so as to find the most progressive forms of resolving them and not to go astray on stretches of the road with low visibility.

In arguing that the role of the working class in society has "declined," reference is occasionally made to the rise and development of "new social movements." What these actually suggest is that the capitalist system is less capable of holding people in the orbit of its influence than before. For all their heterogeneity, these movements are expressive of protest against some aspect of the crisis of capitalism, against the evils of the system.

It is understandable, therefore, why "alternativists" and communists often make common cause against the insanity of the arms build-up, against destruction of the environment, the calamitous state of housing, the decline in the education system, the commercialization of culture. True, there is a very important distinction, for while the "alternativists" concentrate on phenomena, the communists realize that the cause lies in the capitalist system. To remove the consequences, it is necessary to combat the cause, the state-monopoly system, to bring about an alliance between new social movements and the working class, the most determined opponent of capitalism. This is certainly no simple, let alone one-sided, process. After all, the development of such movements reflects a certain underestimation on their part of the significance of new spheres of conflict and working-class action. Whether the alternatives that are put forward have a chance of success depends in large measure on the ability of the working class to give this chance to those involved in the movements.

Numerous theories and concepts have been, and still are, posed against the thesis of the historic mission of the working class, a mission which is now seen to no small degree in this as well. However, they are all rotten at the core, which is the idea of the possibility of "reconciling the classes," "harmonizing society," and maintaining a "balance of compromise" by "reducing interests to a common denominator." Ideas of this kind are advanced by

both bourgeois reformists and opportunists in the working-class movement. "Social partnership," for instance (cooperation that has taken institutional forms between capital and the top leadership of the social democrats and trade unions), is extolled in Austria, now as in the past, as the "antithesis of the class struggle," as an expression of its "surmounting."

Anyone who looks back at long periods of history notices that social development has by no means been following an unbroken line. Periods when everything began to move were succeeded by a "dead season," or stagnation, lasting decades, and it seemed as if class relations had become frozen and "stabilized" for all time. Jean de La Bruyere, the French moralist and critic of bourgeois society, remarked in an entirely different context that when the people are in a state of unrest no one can tell how to restore tranquillity, and that when they are at peace no one knows what may disturb their calm.

Austria owed its peculiarity described above to its special position within the framework of the general crisis of capitalism, to a favorable economic situation that lasted a quarter of a century. This allowed capital immense scope for concessions, which it is also forced to make under the impact of existing socialism next door. Putting the consequence first and the cause second, partisans of "social partnership" presented it as the basis of the "Austrian miracle." However, the "miracle" is over even though "social partnership" is still there.

It is the special position of our country, which the crisis does not yet affect as strongly as some other countries, that makes the current change all the more evident. This change may be described in simple terms as follows. For decades the Austrian working class reconciled itself to a lessening of its social role to get concessions which were often greater than the gains made in other countries through struggle. But now it has come up against the need to exert its social influence in order to prevent a telling decline in the standard of living.

The aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism and its intertwining with cyclical and structural crises, a situation running counter to common sense, with many millions lacking elementary necessities and the right to work because there is the diktat of profit, indicate that the system based on the drive for profit is living on borrowed time. The effects of the crisis do not hit the working class alone. But without the working class as the decisive force, it is impossible either to resist capitalism in a real way, or to bring it down.

Nor does the threat to world peace coming

from imperialism affect the working class alone. Peace movements today involve members of the most diverse classes and strata differing in world view. Communists within these movements are doing their best on the principles of equality, taking a stand against all attempts at monopoly, which would detract from their effectiveness and narrow their scope. But there is no denying that the meaningfulness, effectiveness, unity, proper orientation, and realistic character of anti-war actions are largely determined by the contribution of the working class, the revolutionary working-class movement, and that the fight for peace has its strongest basis in countries where the working class has won already.

The breadth of the various movements under way all over the planet does not warrant the conclusion that proletarian internationalism has "outlived its usefulness." To be sure, the working class and its revolutionary core have to meet qualitatively new demands due to the breadth and diversity of these movements, to substantial distinctions in the conditions of their activity at different stages and, indeed, under different social formations. But what is the meaning of the indisputable fact that an increasing part of production in the capitalist world is controlled, directly or indirectly, by capitalist giants appropriating surplus value across frontiers, plundering whole nations, making "transnational" decisions and shaping the destinies of millions? It is clear proof of the unprecedented relevance of the proposition that "in the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they (the communists. — E.W.) point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality."¹² Experience has shown that what is true nationally is equally true internationally. The broader the movements and the more varied their composition, the greater the importance of the proletarian core for their stability and the achievement of their goals.

The inherently monopoly capitalist trend toward reaction all along the line does not hit the working class alone. More and more members of the intermediate strata and intellectuals resist this trend in its most diverse manifestations, taking a stand against curtailment and distortion of democratic rights and institutions.

The eventful history of democratic struggles in this country has shown the working class to be the force seeking democratic gains and defending them against encroachments by bourgeois reaction. With capitalism going over to monopoly and reaction, the fate of bourgeois

democracy comes to depend on the working class. This class has always been the decisive force in the fight against fascism, that product of decay of monopoly capitalism. It is the working class that retains and continues the finest traditions of the democracy of its nation. But the destiny of the working class itself does not at all hinge on bourgeois democracy.

It has been proved that democracy is injured where the working class forgets or underrates the fact that democracy was born in the class struggle and will remain its instrument for as long as classes exist. In general, reaction gains new opportunities wherever the proletarian class position weakens, opportunities which it would otherwise lack. By opposing every attempt to veil class contradictions and by exposing the myth of the "class neutrality" of the state and democracy, revolutionaries serve both democracy and the struggle for socialism.

There is no reducing the vast variety and breadth of the progressive movements in today's world to this or that formula without distorting them or detracting from their content. Regard to the general laws and national peculiarities or even to their shadings (both are needed if progress is to be made) cannot be squeezed into any "models." Inventing new ideal "models of the road to socialism" or a "new society" is contrary to creative, analytical, and synthetical quests. It is nothing but arbitrary elevation of one's own wishes and fear of risk to the rank of "motive forces of history."

All models, however "ideal" or promising, have the incurable defect of trying to edify reality whereas life inexorably demands that one should fight in the conditions which have shaped — demands it from both the "quiet mole" and those "storming heaven." Pious wishes and "ideal" constructions are not progress but a return to pre-Marxian times. They mean forgetting the qualitative leap from utopia to science, and refusing to understand that to evolve balanced, realistic and consistent revolutionary tactics, it is necessary to apply the theory of Marx to the economic and political conditions prevailing in the country concerned, to the given alignment of international forces.

This theory pivots and will always pivot on the doctrine of the historical role of the working class, the leading, and ultimately the deciding, force in the struggle for social progress, democracy, national independence, peace and socialism.

1. See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 582.

2. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 15.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 291.

4. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 495.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 504.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 497, 518.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 497.

8. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 409.

9. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 493.

10. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 529.

11. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 160.

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

Marx's theory of politics

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THE "CRISIS OF MARXISM"

Over the past decade and a half in Western Europe there has been increasing attention by Marxists and commentators on Marxism to the problem of politics. Although important insights have emerged from some of the debate and argumentation, a number of writers who consider themselves Marxists have insisted that at the root of this preoccupation with politics is a profound "crisis of Marxism." This crisis, it is claimed, is both "theoretical and practical"¹ and "is essentially attributable to the fact that Marx did not elaborate any theory of the state."²

One can certainly accept the point, which is so often made, that Marx himself was primarily occupied with a critique of political economy and that his comments on politics and the state are scattered throughout a variety of different sources — letters, manifestos, newspaper articles, etc. — and often expressed as passing asides. But does it follow from this that what Marx actually had to say about politics was either "incoherent,"³ "contradictory"⁴ or "extraordinarily weak"⁵?

Three particular criticisms of Marx's theory of politics are commonly made:⁶ — that Marx's concept of politics as a superstructure arising from and ultimately determined by a material base is a reductionist notion that makes it difficult, if not impossible, to develop a specific theory of politics and the state;

— that Marx's (and Engels') view of the "executive of the modern state" as a committee for "managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie"⁷ is instrumentalist in character in that it implies that the state is a passive "tool" in the hands of a ruling class and has no dynamic or formative role of its own;

— that Marx's concept of the state as a coercive organ is a negative and restricted one, which neglects the question of consent in politics and thus may help to explain why, as one writer has claimed, "we do not have any positive theory of democracy in Marx."⁸

The work of Antonio Gramsci, founding member of the Communist Party of Italy who died in a fascist prison in 1937, is often referred to in relation particularly to this last point but also with reference to the other two. Gramsci, it is said, was the first Marxist, who began to remedy the reductionism, the instrumentalism, and the narrowness of Marx's own comments on politics by pioneering an autonomous science of politics and developing an "expanded" view of the state which embraced the problem of both coercion and consent.⁹

How should Marxists respond to the above lines of criticism?

"Radical rupture with traditional ideas"

Lucio Colletti, an Italian writer who is well known in Britain as well, has argued that "Marxism lacks a true political theory... So far as 'political' theory in the strict sense is concerned, Marx and Lenin have added nothing to Rousseau — except for the analysis (which is, of course, rather important) of the 'economic basis' of the withering away of the state."¹⁰ This argument provides an important clue as to why a rather negative assessment is so often made by critics of Marx and his views on politics.

There is a failure to take full account of Marx's "radical rupture with traditional ideas" (as the *Communist Manifesto* refers to it); to really get to grips with what was new and novel about the way Marx (and Engels) had come, by the mid-1840s, to analyze political processes. Here the philosophical assumptions which underpin Marx's theory of politics are of critical importance, because it is only through a grasp of these that (a) the depth of Marx's break with traditional ideas can be appreciated and (b) Marx's often pithy and sometimes polemical formulations on politics and the state can be properly understood.

Marx as a young radical in 1842-1843 was imbued with the ideals of the European Enlightenment and the French Revolution and accepted the concept of the state as the

embodiment of the popular will. For Marx, as for Rousseau, the state is the "great organism" in terms of which the will of the free individual comes into accord with the laws of the state.¹¹

However, as the young Marx becomes concerned with understanding what he refers to as the "circumstances which determine the actions of private persons and individual authorities,"¹² so he comes to challenge the "idealism of the state":¹³ the view of the state as some kind of higher rational will which mirrors and embodies the "will of individuals." For Marx it has become clear that neither the state nor the individual it represents can be understood as autonomous, "self-willing" agents, (a) because politics "in actual fact" is the serf of "financial power"¹⁴ and (b) because individuals are members of classes and enter into relations of production "and work under definite material limits ... independent of their will."¹⁵ The principle of politics, Marx writes in 1844, is "will" and it is the blindness of the "political mentality" that it attributes both social failures and successes to the exercise of the will. It ignores the natural and spiritual limits of this "will" and, in particular, the "slavery of civil society": "the natural foundation on which the modern state rests."¹⁶

Dialectics and the state

It is important to emphasize the point that Marx in 1844-1845 is developing a concept of politics which implies not only a commitment to materialism (which Marx insists is necessarily connected to the theory of communism) but a commitment to dialectics. When Marx comes to formulate his criticisms of Ludwig Feuerbach's materialism in 1845, he complains that the old (i.e., mechanical) materialism "does not grasp the significance of 'revolutionary,' of 'practical-critical' activity."¹⁷ Feuerbach "reduces" humans to their circumstances because he fails to explain how circumstances can be changed by humans.

In other words, according to Marx, activity as the expression of individual and collective wills is not only limited by material circumstances but it also molds ("reacts back upon") these circumstances. If social revolution is rooted in the conflict between the forces and relations of production, it is, as Marx puts it in the celebrated comment in 1859, "always necessary to distinguish between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production ... and the legal, political, religious, artistic or philosophic — in short, the ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out."¹⁸ These "ideological forms" — and politics is central to

them — play an active, creative, dynamic role. It is through them that class struggle becomes manifest.

But how can politics be said to be active and creative when, in Marx's own words, it is a superstructure arising from the "economic structure of society"? Engels put his finger on the problem many years later when, complaining about those socialists who ignored the particular and active role played by the state and politics, he declared: "What these gentlemen lack is dialectics. They always see only cause here, effect there."¹⁹

For what is involved in a *dialectical* analysis of politics and "the will" is this: just as, for Marx, human society arose historically through the dialectical transformation of nature into humans, so the state and politics arose historically as the dialectical product of class divisions and exploitative relations of production. Understood dialectically, the state is no more "reducible" to the property relations which it serves than humans are "reducible" to nature. Politics developed as a force distinct and qualitatively different from that material basis which it ultimately reflects. The concept of the state as a political superstructure only seems "reductionist" to those who think in terms of mechanical relationships and assume that because the state has its origins in a particular set of property relations it must be the passive plaything of the factors which ultimately determine it: it cannot be an active force in its own right.

Take the celebrated formulation in the *Communist Manifesto*: "The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."

This clearly asserts that the state is tied to a particular kind of class system: politics is ultimately dependent upon economics. But this is only the beginning. Understood in a spirit of dialectical causality, what this statement pinpoints is not only the *general* dependence of the state upon the bourgeoisie but also the unique, specific and indeed irreplaceable function it serves of "managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." While each capitalist can manage his own enterprise, only the state can manage the common affairs of the class and this is a profoundly different kind of management altogether!

Most of the recent controversy in Marxist circles in Britain and the USA has focused on precisely this problem and a number of Marx's concrete analyses of political struggles (notably those relating to France) have been meticulously re-examined in order to get to grips with

what one writer calls the function of "state managers."

Between the "state managers" and the bourgeoisie there is an important division of labor involved. In formulating state policies, the state bureaucrats have to take into account working class pressures for reform; some situations give them more freedom of maneuver than others and they may indeed (as with Louis Napoleon in 1851) operate through authoritarian governments in which, in Marx's words, "all classes, equally impotent and equally mute, fall on their knees before the rifle butt."²⁰ Eliminating the "normal" representatives of the bourgeoisie may be the only way of saving the bourgeois order!

Formulations like the one in the *Communist Manifesto* seem to critics of Marx "instrumentalist" or "reductionist" because the relationship between state and class has been interpreted by them in a mechanistic manner. Either, it is assumed, politics is "determined" (which of course it is) or it is "autonomous" (which is also true!) and the dialectical point is missed that the state is determined by the relations of production in a way that "concentrates" them into a force which has a very specific role to play in maintaining or (when the proletariat wins the "battle for democracy") in transforming a social order.

The tendency to read general propositions in the Marxist classics about the dependence of the state on the economy in abstraction from the particular character and functions of the state accounts in no small part for so much of the confusion around the "relative autonomy" (how "relative" is relative, etc.) of the state in capitalist society. What Marx says in the *Grundrisse* about the uneven or contradictory relationship between art and society's economic base is also true for politics: "the difficulty consists only in the general formulation of these contradictions. As soon as they have been specified, they are already clarified."²¹ Once we examine carefully the particular character of political struggles and the state as activities in their own right, then it becomes clear how and why politics is ultimately dependent upon material conditions.

Imperative to such an examination is the fact that all politics, to echo Engels, "must be studied afresh"²² and this is because the relationship between the state and its determinants is a dialectical one.

A deep divide or a difference of emphasis?

The value of Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks* arises not because, as is sometimes implied, he developed a Marxist science of politics where

none had existed before, but rather because Gramsci developed an emphatically dialectical interpretation of politics designed to combat the kind of one-sided "economic determinism" ("economism") or vulgar materialism which Engels had condemned in the letters noted above. Gramsci raised sharply the question of politics as an "autonomous science," based on which he called the "irreducible" fact that "there really do exist rulers and ruled, leaders and led."²³ For Gramsci, politics is born on the "permanent and organic" terrain of economic life but "transcends it, bringing into play emotions and aspirations" which follow different laws "from those of individual profit."²⁴ It is precisely this dialectical determinism between politics and economics which makes an autonomous science of politics so necessary.

But what of the criticism (noted earlier) that whereas Marx conceived of the state as an essentially coercive organ in a class-divided society, Gramsci broadened the concept of the state to embrace the question of consent, i.e., gave an expanded view of politics and the state which has important implications for an understanding of the mobilization of popular support? Is this not perhaps one area where Marx's own theory of the state was seriously deficient and where Gramsci provides a much needed supplementation?

It is certainly true that Marx emphasized the coercive nature of the state, but it does not follow from this that Marx was unconcerned with those ideological and cultural aspects of political power which Gramsci stressed in this concept of "hegemony" or political leadership based on consent.

Take the comment of Marx and Engels which is often cited as an example of a narrowly coercive view of politics and the state: "Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another."²⁵ Does this mean that politics involves simply class coercion and has nothing to do with consent? It is important to read this statement in a way which gives full weight to the fact that political power is class power which is "organized," and the way it is organized involves a lot more than "brute force."

In particular, the conquest and maintenance of political power require — and this is a job for political leaders and state managers — that a class interest is expressed (and received) in general terms, for a political movement, as Marx puts it in one of his letters, has the object of enforcing class interests "in a general form, in a form possessing general, socially coercive force."²⁶

Politics involves coercion, but coercion of a

particular kind: the exercise of coercion which makes it possible to organize society in a way in which the interests of the bourgeoisie appear to correspond to the interests of society as a whole. There is a vital ideological input here. Hence, as Marx and Engels had commented in 1845, the class which is the ruling "material force" in society must also be the "ruling intellectual force,"²⁷ for a class cannot rule unless its ideas rule as well and this can only mean that a ruling class must, through its political representatives and the state, win the support and allegiance of at least significant sections of those over whom it rules.

The illusion that a class state represents the interests of society as a whole becomes all the more compelling when we remember, in Marx's words, that government "interference" in society "involves both the performance of common activities arising from the nature of all communities and the specific functions from the antithesis between the government and the people."²⁸ Clearly it is the role of bourgeois ideologists to make it as easy as possible to confuse the two! For Marx, in other words, Gramsci's points about "hegemony" and moral leadership in political power were well taken.

Politics can be no more "reduced" to coercion than it can be "reduced" to economics. Viewed dialectically, politics must be seen as coercion of a particular kind: a coercion justified by powerful moral and cultural illusions so that the state emerges as the "official expression of civil society."²⁹

What complicates the relationship of Marx to Gramsci is this. Each emphasizes a different aspect of the politics-economics relationship. For Marx and Engels, it was crucial to emphasize the *materialist* side of their theory — the nature of the state as coercion, the dependence of politics upon economics — since they regarded the idealist tradition as their main target. As Engels noted, he and Marx were "partly to blame for the fact that younger people lay more stress on the economic side than is due to it."³⁰

For Gramsci, on the other hand, the emphasis was precisely the reverse. The problem, in his view, lay not primarily with idealism but with a vulgar, abstract materialism which understated the importance of politics, the exercise of effective leadership and the "hegemonic" expression of political power in terms of a general interest. Gramsci appears to have taken the general materialist propositions of Marx and Engels for granted and was concerned to emphasize the dialectical character of politics as a dynamic and formative activity. It is true that at times Gramsci's enthusiasm for the ideological

and consensual aspects of politics led him to deal with the question of consent rather abstractly, as though the process of winning consent was something unrelated to the exercise of coercion³¹ so that it might be said (as with Marx and Engels vis-a-vis economics) he is partly to blame for the fact that younger people sometimes lay more stress on the *political* side than is due to it.

The historical context of each is crucial. Gramsci believed passionately that some of the Marxists of his day had failed to understand the dialectical relationship between politics and economics and within politics, between coercion and consent. There is, however, no serious evidence, in my view, to suggest that Gramsci developed a view of politics that was fundamentally different from that of Marx's: on the contrary, Gramsci's detailed analyses of the problem of political power and party leadership offer a number of penetrating insights which emphasize, often dramatically, the dialectical character of Marx's theory of politics.

What is the crisis about?

The last decade has compelled Marxists in Western Europe to probe more intensively into the question of political theory in order to understand (a) the complexities of class struggle in liberal democracies and (b) the expanded role of the state in post-war capitalism. While a number declared the need to "go back to the classics"³²—a worthy enough enterprise—they examined these classics in a spirit of mechanism and scholasticism and hence, as a result, encountered formidable problems in trying to make sense of Marx. What followed? The "crisis of Marxism"!

Yet the problem lies not with Marx and his theory of politics but with those who have not fully grasped Marx's "radical rupture with traditional ideas;" who have not understood the basis Marx laid for a new science of politics. It is a crisis for those who "lack dialectics."

1. Bob Jessop, "The Gramsci Debate," *Marxism Today*, February 1980, p. 23. *Marxism Today* is the theoretical and discussion journal of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

2. E. Altvater and O. Kallscheuer, "Socialist Politics and the 'Crisis of Marxism,'" *Socialist Register*, 1979, London, Merlin Press, 1979, p. 105.

3. Bob Jessop, "Marx and Engels on the State," *Politics, Ideology and the State*, edited by S. Hibbin, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1978, p. 41.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

5. Lucio Colletti, "A Political and Philosophical Interview," *Western Marxism, A Critical Reader*, ed. NLR, New Left Books, 1977, p. 331.

6. See, for example, P. Anderson, *Considerations on Western Marxism*, New Left Books, 1977, p. 114; V.M.

Perez-Diaz, *State, Bureaucracy and Society*, Macmillan, 1978, p. 87.

7. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in one volume, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1975, p. 37.

8. "Interview with Nicos Poulantzas," *Marxism Today*, July 1979, p. 200.

9. See, for example, E. Hobsbawn, "Gramsci and Political Theory," *Marxism Today*, July 1977, pp. 205-213; C. Mouffe, *Gramsci and Marxist Theory*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979, pp. 1-18; C. Buci-Glucksmann, *Gramsci and the State*, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1980.

10. Lucio Colletti, op. cit., pp. 330-331.

11. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 202.

12. Ibid., p. 337.

13. Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 166.

14. Ibid., p. 171.

15. Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 36.

16. Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 198.

17. Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 3.

18. Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1971, p. 21.

19. Engels to Schmidt, October 27, 1890, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 402.

20. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "The Eighteenth

Brumaire of Louis Napoleon," *Selected Works*, in one volume, p. 170.

21. *Grundrisse*, London, Pelican, 1973, p. 110.

22. Engels to Schmidt, August 5, 1890, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 393.

23. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1971, p. 144.

24. Ibid., p. 140.

25. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, p. 53.

26. Marx to Bolte, November 23, 1871, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 225.

27. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 59.

28. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1966, p. 384.

29. This comment is quoted by F. Burlatsky, *The Modern State and Politics* (Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1978, p. 51), who stresses Marx's and Engels' usage of the concept of the state "in the broad sense of the word."

30. Engels to Bloch, September 21-22, 1890, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 396.

31. For example, Gramsci's comments in the *Prison Notebooks*, pp. 57, 236.

32. Louis Althusser, "The Crisis of Marxism," *Marxism Today*, July 1978, p. 218.

Cyprus after the presidential elections

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The outcome of the presidential elections in Cyprus (February 1983) was a major victory for the Democratic Cooperation alliance between AKEL and the Democratic Party (DEKO), for their common program and joint presidential candidate, for all the democratic and patriotic forces of the country. Spyros Kyprianou, the joint candidate of Democratic Cooperation, polled 56.54 per cent of the votes and became President for a further term. In the 1981 general elections, in which AKEL and DEKO campaigned separately, they collected 32.77 and 19.5 per cent of the votes respectively; in the presidential elections, however, they won 4.27 per cent more votes.

The formation of the inter-party cooperation alliance was preceded by an agreement between AKEL and DEKO in the spring of 1982.¹ The Democratic Cooperation is based on a minimum program, the cooperating parties setting themselves the following objectives:

- a correct and fair settlement of the Cyprus question by ensuring the country complete independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment;

- a demilitarized Cyprus;

- continuing the correct policy of non-alignment;

- a home policy serving unity and co-operation among all patriots, assuring permanent internal stability, protecting and promoting democratic institutions while at the same time preventing all abuses or arbitrary practices in the state apparatus or in institutions partly controlled by it; a sound democratic socio-economic policy in the interests of the whole people, particularly their lower-income sections; the restoration of close relations, mutual confidence and cooperation between Cypriot Greeks and Turks.

These are, then, the basic aims of the Democratic Cooperation (AKEL-DEKO), set out in detail in the minimum program. The provisions of the program were hailed by the masses. The Democratic Cooperation only keeps its door shut against putschist leaders² and all else who have linked their fortunes to the interests of imperialism and NATO. It also keeps out the leadership of the Democratic Rally, the party of that section of the bourgeoisie favoring imperialist schemes, trying to tie Cyprus to NATO, shielding putschist elements on

the extreme reactionary right, and helping them re-emerge on the political scene. As for the rest of political forces, they are all eligible for joining the Democratic Cooperation.

Need for patriotic cooperation

Cooperation among patriots is an objective need at this stage of the Cypriot people's struggle, which remains an essentially anti-imperialist, anti-occupation, liberation struggle.

The introduction to the minimum program says that the present situation in our country is a result of "conspiratorial plans by foreign reactionary circles and situations and of foreign interventions in general which apparently had as their target the partition of Cyprus and robbing the people of Cyprus of their rights." It points out that the putsch attempted by the Greek junta and EOKA B³ as well as the Turkish invasion were the culmination of this subversive activity. The Cyprus problem is still a problem of foreign intervention, invasion and occupation, of flagrant violation of the Cypriot people's rights. The policy of eliminating the effects of the putsch and the Turkish invasion, heading off the threat posed by the ambitions of hostile external forces, the struggle for independence, and a firm commitment to social progress meet the interests of unity and cooperation among democrats and patriots. "For the more effective conduct of the Cypriot people's struggle and the facing of the problems created by the coup, the invasion and the occupation," the program states, "the collaborating parties accept the following minimum program and will seek its implementation in the best possible manner, taking the most appropriate measures to this end."

AKEL, a party of the working class and all working people that guides itself by the invincible theory of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, cannot disregard the stage through which the struggle of the Cypriot people is now passing and which demands the broadest possible unity of the forces involved; it cannot call for a socialist transformation of society now, for to do so would mean turning a struggle which is an anti-imperialist, anti-occupation, liberation struggle and certainly a class struggle as well, into a class struggle pure and simple.

The socialist transformation of society is the ultimate goal of AKEL. It can be brought about only when Cyprus has become a really independent, sovereign, territorially integral, non-aligned, and demilitarized state and when its people have declared in favor of a program for socialist change. Ours is a country where the

Turkish invaders have occupied nearly 37 per cent of the territory, where an area of 99 square miles plus 32 points in various parts of the island have been declared "British sovereign bases," where the British imperialists still reserve the right to use roads, ports, airfields and air space for military purposes, and where the U.S. imperialists have three radio monitoring spy stations. In these circumstances it would be absolutely unrealistic to speak of a socialist transformation of society as the order of the day.

Main contestants

The Presidency was contested by political forces representing the party of the working class, the broader left-wing popular movement, and that section of the national bourgeoisie cooperating with them, including DEKO, or the democratic center, and on the other hand, by reactionary right-wing forces, their party, Democratic Rally, which protects the putschists in covered collusion with the leadership of the socialist party, the Unified Democratic Union of Cyprus (EDEK). Besides, there were some other, small parties that allied themselves with the Democratic Rally in that crucial situation.

The electoral contest took place primarily between the patriotic, democratic forces of the country and anti-Cypriot pro-U.S. and NATO forces.

The elections were, in effect, a collision between two opposed lines. The purpose of one is a really independent, sovereign, territorially integral, federal, non-aligned, and demilitarized Cyprus. The mainstay of this line is the Democratic Cooperation with its minimum program. The other line is aimed at subjecting Cyprus to the NATO bloc and is maintained by the Democratic Rally, a party representing the reactionary right, and by EDEK, whose dangerous adventurism is fraught with a double *enosis*,⁴ or the virtual liquidation of Cyprus as an independent state. During the election campaign, the tactic of settling the Cyprus question by peaceful means, through dialogue and substantive inter-communal talks within the framework and under the auspices of the UN, came up against the Democratic Rally leadership's defeatist tactic of accepting the invasion and occupation as accomplished facts. This is an adventurist, irresponsible tactic which advances slogans ignoring the factor of place and time and is most typical of the leaderships of EDEK and the so-called National Salvation Front.⁵

The Cypriot bourgeoisie split into three groups: those who would like to see the country

truly independent, non-aligned, and demilitarized and whose spokesman is DEKO; those who recognize the significance of independence but declare at the same time for hitching Cyprus to NATO to safeguard their future as a class; and those who advocate a double enosis, seeing this as a guarantee of their domination. The last two groups are represented in the Democratic Rally. However, differences in their approach translate into divergences within the party.

As regards EDEK, its leadership has always disagreed with the policy of the National Council⁶ advocating an independent, federal Cyprus. It is committed to a nationalist, chauvinist policy which differs little from that of the bourgeois advocates of a double enosis. The leaderships of the other, small parties tail after bourgeois leaders favoring the partitioning of the island between Greece and Turkey.

The electoral contest between various political forces and lines and those behind them was won, as has been said, by the Democratic Cooperation and its candidate, Spyros Kyprianou.

International significance of the elections

The significance of the impressive victory achieved by the democrats and patriots goes beyond the boundaries of Cyprus. It stands out still more (despite the small size of the country) in the light of the internal and international context in which the Democratic Cooperation achieved this victory.

We are up against a situation in which a vast part of the island's territory is still under Turkish occupation and all provisions of the UN resolutions on Cyprus are ignored. Due to the intransigence of the Turkish side backed by U.S. imperialism and the NATO bloc as a whole, no real headway has been made in inter-communal talks.

Inside the country the Democratic Cooperation parties had to operate against reactionary, pro-imperialist, putschist forces supported by the "socialist" leadership of EDEK and certain other leaders. The reactionaries command ample funds and many press organs and hold a considerable number of key posts in the state apparatus and semi-governmental agencies.

The enemies of the Democratic Cooperation resorted to such reckless demagoguery and slander, to such vicious anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, as to remind one occasionally of Goebbels' Nazi propaganda.

The international background of the elections was not simple either. Stepped-up tensions and the arms race, which U.S. imperialism has made its policy, are poisoning the polit-

ical climate of the planet. Anti-communist and anti-Soviet pressure is mounting. This atmosphere spread to Cyprus, where the so-called "communist danger" was played up and the rumor was put about that should the Democratic Cooperation and President Kyprianou win, Cyprus would be threatened with new aggression by the Turkish occupation troops.

In Lebanon, next door to Cyprus, there occurred events that had dramatic consequences for that country and the fight of the Palestinians and the progressive forces of Lebanon. The Iraqi-Iranian war is going on unabated and meanwhile the Israeli aggressor is entrenching himself in Lebanon. Also stationed in Lebanon is an imperialist "peace-making" force. The Arab states are still disunited and this well suits the plans for aggression and conquest being laid by the Zionist rulers and U.S.-NATO imperialists. Turkey is ruled by a dictatorship of generals under Evren; progressive, democratic forces there are persecuted and some of their members have been shot.

The above is but a brief list of the unfavorable aspects of the domestic and international situation in which the latest elections were held. It is fair to describe the outcome of the elections as a triumph for the people's patriotic, democratic forces.

Reasons for the democrats' victory

There were several reasons for the outstanding victory of the democratic forces. The more important of them may be listed as follows:

— The correct line and tactics of the Democratic Cooperation on the Cyprus question; its commitment to non-alignment and its realistic, responsible approach to the economic and financial policy formulated in the minimum program and intended to raise the people's living and cultural standards. AKEL, DEKO and cooperating patriotic, democratic forces in general defended the line of the minimum program with militant determination against all attacks, distortion and falsification.

— The Democratic Cooperation with its minimum program became a powerful center of attraction for broader patriotic and democratic forces. The cooperating parties' correct tactics, far from ruling out the participation of other patriots and democrats in the common struggle for the salvation of the country and a fair settlement of the Cyprus question, encouraged their aspiration for unity and cooperation irrespective of ideological or other differences. The Democratic Cooperation won prestige and influence among the masses; it helped them take their bearings and decide correctly on whom they should vote for.

— The explanatory work begun by AKEL and DEKO among the population in April 1982 (when the two parties published their minimum program and a joint declaration) went on with undiminishing vigor till election day. It took numerous forms and was well planned. Our firm exposure of the unrealistic, demagogical promises and slogans of our opponents proved particularly effective.

— The consistency which the joint Democratic Cooperation candidate, Spyros Kyprianou, showed in defending cooperation between AKEL and DEKO and their minimum program, in defeating opposition attempts to undermine the Democratic Cooperation, and resisting anti-communist propaganda. This added to the masses' respect for and confidence in cooperation between the two parties and in their joint presidential candidate. Besides, the government took steps to ensure the normal democratic course of the elections, which was hailed by the electorate.

Lastly, the vast political organizing work done by the party cadre and by DEKO members and supporters, and the contribution made to it by the mass progressive movement and its organizations went a long way toward assuring victory. Thousands of people worked for months, keeping up contacts with the electorate. They carried through to the end the difficult organizing and other tasks involved in the ongoing political struggle.

Significance of the victory

The outstanding victory of the Democratic Cooperation, which overcame all difficulties, shocked home and foreign reactionaries. They could not and will never resign themselves to the fact that a communist party, AKEL, was able to cooperate with a party of the national bourgeoisie under a minimum program, with the result that the two parties achieved a big electoral victory.

What enraged the reactionaries most of all was the fact that although the common program of the Democratic Cooperation parties was an object of the most furious attacks for nearly a year, with our opponents using every foul subversive method against the program, the people hailed it none the less. As this program runs counter to the plans of imperialism and its allies in Cyprus — plans designed to abolish the independent state of Cyprus and partition the island between Turkey and Greece — propaganda assaults and subversion will be continued, primarily with an eye to splitting the Democratic Cooperation and preventing implementation of the policy backed by the masses. It is highly important for our party, the

Democratic Cooperation, and the people of Cyprus that the minimum program be carried out. Should the enemies of cooperation succeed in frustrating the materialization of what is planned, particularly in regard to settling the Cyprus question, our country would find itself in terrible danger.

AKEL is not a government party. But it is deeply interested in scrupulous implementation of the minimum program. AKEL and DEKO fully retain their independence and their inalienable right to reject what goes beyond the framework of the program. There are, for instance, differences in the approach to the issue of Cyprus' membership in the EEC. AKEL is against association with the community, to say nothing of membership. It considers that Cyprus may sign agreements with the EEC of the type of trade agreements with other countries.

However, AKEL is associated with DEKO through all that the minimum program envisages, including the commitment to put its provisions into effect. The program says that it "will be implemented in a planned manner and will constitute the official Government Program."

And it adds: "A special high-level Committee to watch over the implementation of the minimum program will be set up with the participation of representatives of the cooperating parties, which will periodically submit its findings, observations and suggestions to the President of the Republic."

Thus AKEL and DEKO have reached an agreement, or compromise, taking account of the stage through which the people's fight is passing. But ideologically their positions have been and remain antithetical.

Pressing tasks of the communists

AKEL and the Democratic Cooperation as a whole are faced with a number of political and organizational tasks which they must consistently accomplish. The CC Political Bureau of our party has decided on the major lines of this activity.

To begin with, it is necessary to justify the confidence of the masses by consistently fulfilling the electoral promises of the alliances, that is, by punctually carrying out the "contract with the people," as the minimum program, enthusiastically supported by the majority of the people, is called in our country. The two parties are to work out in close cooperation a concrete plan establishing priorities and specifying ways and means of promoting and implementing the program. There must be no vacillation or reservations in regard to realizing the program; no departures from the pro-

gram, no infringement or disregard of its provisions must be allowed. Were this to occur, it would provide the people's enemies with a pretext to attack the Democratic Cooperation in an effort to create the impression that the democratic and patriotic forces are inconsistent and so cannot be trusted.

Secondly, our party is of the opinion that in fulfilling our promises, it is necessary to continue working — in accordance with UN principles and resolutions and with high-level agreements — for a peaceful, fair, mutually acceptable and viable settlement of the Cyprus question. Such a settlement can be based on substantive inter-communal talks; the struggle for it should be in the focus of attention and remain the chief theme of the dialogue between the leaderships of the cooperating parties — AKEL and DEKO. To ensure its progress, we must fully draw on the support of democratic Greece and of socialist as well as non-aligned countries. It is particularly important to have the support of friends and sympathizers in our campaign for the convocation of a special international conference on the international aspects of the Cyprus problem.

A third political task is to preserve, strengthen and extend the Democratic Cooperation, using every opportunity. Well knowing, however, that the internal and external enemies of our people will unhesitatingly use any means to disrupt cooperation among patriots and democrats and prevent implementation of the minimum program, we must always be vigilant against actions of this kind and maintain the unity of the patriotic forces of AKEL and DEKO.

Our party is also faced with important organizational tasks. We must take careful stock of the political climate after the elections, of the possibilities created by the political organizing work of the Democratic Cooperation and its big victory, which should enable AKEL to win hundreds of new members from every section of the people, primarily young people, women and post-graduates.

Furthermore, we must devote constant attention to ideological activity. By carrying it on more and more fruitfully, we can equip the whole party ideologically so as to enable its every member to repulse any propaganda attack from ideological and class enemies and safeguard the unity and policy of AKEL against any danger.

AKEL will have to raise the overall standards of its work and exceed its 1983 plan in this sphere, thereby reinforcing its ranks and improving its ability to cope with the tasks facing it.

The confidence which the people showed us by voting for the Democratic Cooperation, its minimum program, and its joint candidate, Spyros Kyprianou, puts tremendous responsibility on the party of the working class. Communists are characterized by serious approach and consistency. The people trust AKEL, knowing it as a serious and experienced political organization tested in struggle, a party which has become the first political force on the island. And we declare explicitly that our party will justify the hope of the masses for a new, peaceful, free and happy future.

1. See Donis Christofinis, "Patriotic Program Approved by the Congress: A Guide to Action," WMR, No. 10, 1982. — Ed.

2. Direct participants in the reactionary putsch staged in the summer of 1974, with NATO secret services pulling the strings. After the putsch came the invasion of Cyprus by Turkish troops, which seized a large part of the island. — Ed.

3. Anti-government terrorist organization with extreme chauvinist leanings which advocated enosis, or the annexation of Cyprus by Greece. — Ed.

4. While declaring for enosis (annexation by Greece), the extreme right actually seeks a partitioning that would result in one part of the island going to Greece and the other, now occupied by Turkish troops, to Turkey (double enosis). — Ed.

5. Electoral front which linked EDEK with another small center-left party. It dissolved itself after the presidential elections. — Ed.

6. Consultative body under the President of the Republic which deals with matters relating to the Cyprus problem. It represents all the main political parties. — Ed.

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Local conflicts are a threat to world peace

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People who follow developments cannot fail to note an essential aspect of Washington's policies, namely, the fact that the attempts to give the USA and NATO military superiority over the socialist community in Europe, the main area where the two social systems meet, are accompanied by similarly persistent efforts to invigorate its "peripheral strategy." The objective is not only to halt any further change of the alignment of forces in Asia, Africa and Latin America in favor of the cause of national independence and progress but also to create a network of strongpoints for wars of aggression under the pretext of "protecting U.S. interests."

Paramount to this strategy is that it calls for using ongoing regional conflicts and provoking new ones. That is why, while concentrating above all on the struggle to prevent the deployment of new U.S. first-strike nuclear weapons in Europe and to limit and reduce strategic armaments, the peace movements are seeking to extinguish flashpoints of war wherever they may be. It will be appreciated that a local conflict, seen as a state-to-state confrontation in this or that geographically limited region, may and very often does erupt into an armed conflict under the influence of imperialist and reactionary policy.¹ By poisoning the overall international climate, these conflicts foster tension in the world and become a potential detonator of a global collision.

A military-political confrontation of this kind stems from the interaction of many factors, both internal and external. In each concrete case the combination of these factors is specific in social and political terms, and often has the undertones of national-ethnic, religious, and psychological collisions. It is also typical that even when they erupt into hostilities local con-

flicts frequently flare up without an official declaration of war.

This gives rise to exceedingly complex and contradictory situations. The distinctions of the world view and political orientation of the various anti-war movements that today involve practically all social classes and groups, parties, public organizations and religious currents predetermine their diverse assessment of this or that confrontation and the problem as a whole.

Nevertheless, we feel it is possible to work out a common stand, notably on one of the central issues, that of the consequences of local conflicts, above all of the danger of their evolution into armed struggles, including conflicts of a global dimension. That this likelihood exists is eloquently borne out by the very wide coincidence of views on at least that form of confrontation which is still in the realm of a probability in international relations. We are referring to a "local nuclear conflict," to be more exact, to the imperialist doctrine that sees it conceivable as a means of achieving definite political aims.

It is precisely this doctrine that currently determines the stand of the aggressive militarist circles of the USA and NATO. Israel's Zionist leaders and the South African racists are in agreement with it. Judging by mass media reports they already have or are close to having their own nuclear weapons and are hinting that they will not stop short of using them against the national liberation movement in their regions. Further, the "local nuclear conflict" theory has the support of extreme conservative elements in industrialized capitalist countries, neofascists, the various dictatorial regimes, and so on.

It is common knowledge that the U.S. strategic doctrine makes allowance for a "limited" use of nuclear weapons in different regions proclaimed "spheres of U.S. interest" by Washington. But first and foremost it envisions

¹This article is based on the papers read by its authors at the "Local Conflicts in the Nuclear Age" symposium in Helsinki. It enlarges upon the problems raised in a commentary published on the subject in WMR, No. 1, 1983.

nuclear strikes in the European continent. By planning to deploy nearly 600 medium-range missiles in Western Europe, the Pentagon counts on acquiring the capability of striking at the entire territory of the Warsaw Treaty nations up to the Urals without using the strategic weapons stationed in the USA. In other words, this is an attempt to limit a nuclear war to the European continent and thereby prevent it from spreading to the territory of the USA itself.

The plans for "localizing" a nuclear conflict to the European theater thus not only create an additional threat to the security of the socialist community states but spell out betrayal of the West European nations by making them hostage to Washington. Moreover, as most military and political experts (in the USA as well) believe, once a nuclear exchange begins it will start a chain reaction and inevitably lead to a global catastrophe,² with the ensuing consequences to the USA itself.

Hence the obviously adventurist nature and viciousness of the stand of those Atlantic circles who refuse to see that at the close of the 20th century much of its original sense has been lost by the formula that war "is merely the continuation of politics by other means" advanced by the German military theorist of the first half of the 19th century Karl von Clausewitz. Of course, wars are still an instrument of imperialist politics. But the "continuation of politics" with nuclear missiles, even on a regional scale, is a mad attempt, contrary to all norms of international law, to set in motion the mechanism for the total destruction of life on the planet. It is criminal to consider such a war as rational political behavior.

The principal danger of any local conflict is, as we have noted, the likelihood that it will grow into a world war. Recognition of this fact has united an extraordinarily wide spectrum of anti-war forces. Correspondingly, all sincere peace fighters, regardless of their social affiliation, world view and political persuasion, adopt one and the same stand when they unconditionally denounce such a conflict and those prepared to ignite it.

However, is not this community of views explained solely by the fact that in this case local conflicts are seen as part of a bigger and more formidable problem, that of a global nuclear war? Does this issue not become fundamentally different if it is examined in a "non-nuclear context"? Can it be considered that a confrontation below the "nuclear threshold" differs not only in form but also in content, and has a different political character that presupposes a different alignment of world forces when it comes to settling conflicts?

Let us leave the realm of probability and address ourselves to non-nuclear realities, where the old Clausewitz formula still holds good. Here we shall at once find we have to make some important reservations. First, it must be taken into account that Clausewitz abstracted himself from the social contradictions out of which conflicts arise, from the class forces standing behind these contradictions. Second, his formula derives from a generalization of ascendant capitalism's military-political experience and, of course, cannot be applied in *toto* either to wars of the epoch of imperialism or, much less, to military conflicts linked to attempts to suppress national liberation movements and, in particular, to the struggle between the two opposing social systems.

The true causes of wars cannot be understood and effective ways and means of excluding them from the life of humankind cannot be determined if the social soil, the concrete historical conditions are ignored. Indeed, any war is the continuation of politics. But to say this is to say very little. We cannot evade the need to ascertain the politics of *what* specific class and of *what* state it is the continuation. Under no circumstances can the features of a given historical situation and of the given structure of international relations be disregarded.

As distinct from the period when capitalism was ascendant, when military conflicts were kindled mainly by the political antagonisms between the bourgeoisie and the feudal class, under imperialism the contradictions developing on a homogeneous social base — between nationally insular monopoly groups or their inter-state coalitions — became their principal source. When capitalist domination was unchallenged, peaceful relations between nations rested on an extremely tenuous "balance of strength," whose violation led to wars of spheres of influence, markets and sources of raw materials. In the life-time of our generation the endless chain of local conflicts have led to two world wars.

The victory of the socialist revolution in Russia brought with it an epoch-making change in the structure of international relations. The axis of world politics shifted from the sphere of inter-imperialist contradictions to the sphere of the competition between socialism and capitalism. On the world scene there took shape a new historical situation characterized by a struggle between two orientations — between the guideline of the socialist countries toward peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and the imperialist line toward military confrontation and its extreme form, an armed clash.

This was seen with crystal clarity in the crisis situations after the Second World War. While socialism consistently sought a peaceful way out of these situations, imperialism invariably endeavored to resolve conflicts with the threat or use of military force. More, in the most acute crises of a local character the imperialists were prepared to resort to extreme measures, i.e., to the use of nuclear weapons.³ Washington was prevented from taking this fatal step only by socialism's defense capability, the anti-war actions of the world public, and the protests of the USA's allies.

Consequently, the USA's "peripheral strategy," including its stake on a "limited nuclear war," is not an accidental lapse on the part of U.S. imperialism. Its stand on local conflicts is predicated not on the "whims of politics" but on more tangible, objective factors.

Here mention must be made, in the first place, of *militarism*, which is inherent in imperialism and has a powerful socio-economic and political base, namely, the military-industrial complex. Militarism must be seen as one of the mainsprings of local conflicts; it is imperialism's weapon of expansion in different parts of the world.

The ramified network of military bases and installations built by the USA in all strategically important regions of the world⁴ is aimed chiefly at socialist countries. In addition, it is used to intimidate progressive regimes, help reactionary regimes, and suppress national liberation movements. Besides, this network serves as a means of bringing pressure — secret or open — to bear on the governments of countries where the bases are located.

Special attention is given in the USA to the development of the navy, which, receiving a large share of the military allocations in recent years, is increasingly being tailored for "gun-boat diplomacy." The "navy-marine corps" mechanism has long been a means of imposing Washington's will on other countries and peoples, an instrument of intervention.

The formation of a 200,000-strong rapid deployment force commenced in 1980 with the prospect of doubling its strength in five years. The USA, alone among all countries, has put together an élite military strike force to rush to any "trouble spot" in the world. The aim is to ensure that in a foreign crisis affecting "vital U.S. interests," American power arrives first. U.S. militarist quarters make no secret of the fact that the task of this force is to seize oilfields and strategic centers, to intervene openly in the internal affairs of sovereign states, and to overthrow regimes abhorrent to Washington.

A very active role in creating conditions for

outbursts and exacerbations of local conflicts is played by the system of *imperialist military alliances*. The activities of its central link, the North Atlantic bloc, which has repeatedly stage-managed confrontations in Africa and the Middle East, are evidence of how dangerous this system is. In May 1982, the NATO Council decided to extend the alliance's military-political sphere, thereby sanctioning interference by the Atlantic militarists in the internal affairs of nations outside the "zone of action" designated in the alliance's character.

This interference takes various forms. These include preparation of military springboards and strategic strongholds, the supply to reactionary regimes of armaments in amounts far in excess of their defense needs, the formation of military "mini-blocs" under NATO aegis, and so on. We are consequently confronted with methods that lead directly to conflict situations. On the regional level similar functions are carried out by the smaller military groups put together by imperialism.

In recent years, instead of intervening with its own armed forces, imperialism has been more and more frequently resorting to war by proxy, the name Washington and its allies give to their reliance on client states. Here the aim is by means of material and moral support to create the possibility of using states like Israel, South Africa, and Pakistan for an invasion of countries pursuing a course that is not to the liking of imperialism.

An example of the tragic consequences of this tactic is the Israeli intervention in Lebanon. It was made possible solely by the "umbrella" of the U.S.-Israeli "strategic consensus," which is, in effect, a military-political alliance based on the coincidence of the USA's hegemonistic ambitions with Israel's expansionist claims. Under the Reagan plan formulated last September, the purpose of this conspiracy is to reinforce the USA's military and political positions in the Arab world. An outcome of this plan is the "settlement," blasphemously called a "peace agreement," forced upon Lebanon by Washington and Tel Aviv. Actually, it boils down to preparing a springboard for another war in the Middle East by aggressive Zionism.

A similar tacit alliance, uniting South Africa, the USA, and NATO, has turned Southern Africa into a theater of bitter conflicts. The members of this alliance are out to crush the national liberation movements, bring down progressive regimes, and turn the region into a zone of imperialist and racist supremacy.

Far-reaching aims are also pursued by the USA's alliances with the dictatorships in Latin America. In that region we are witnessing

closely intertwining attempts to erode existing socialism (provocations against Cuba), prevent progressive changes in countries of the region (intervention in Nicaragua), and sustain reactionary regimes (El Salvador). Addressing a joint session of the two chambers of the U.S. Congress at the close of last April, Reagan raised interference in the internal affairs of the peoples of Central America to the level of state policy. Here the scenario is to use the pretext of protecting U.S. "national interests" to maintain and consolidate the economic and political positions of North American monopoly capital in the region. To this end, as has come out from a recently leaked U.S. National Security Council secret document, Washington has formulated a program of subversion that includes the creation of invasion groups, the organization of acts of sabotage, and scripting actions to destabilize lawful governments unsuitable to the White House.

Most of the local conflicts of our time have their source in *colonialism*, in its legacy and residues. Although colonialism no longer exists as a world system, the aftermaths of its policy of "divide and rule" are still far from having been surmounted. In fact, this policy is continued to this day, an illustration being the persistent attempts of the imperialist forces to undermine the solidarity among the countries belonging to the Organization of African Unity.

Many of the ongoing border disputes, especially in Africa, have their roots in the arbitrary frontiers established in the epoch of colonial conquests. Such conflicts do not necessarily have to lead to war and can be settled peacefully. If they grow into hostilities, it is the result of the hegemonistic policies of reactionary regimes and also of the manipulations and provocations by an imperialist state, usually a former colonial power or the USA. The disputes over access to natural resources, outlets to the sea, claims to ethnic minorities residing in neighboring states and so on, can likewise be settled by negotiation. These disputes lead to armed conflict only when the forces of exploitation and suppression — local or imperialist — deliberately embark on aggressive actions.

Lately, developments have shown that the possibility of relapses of colonialist policy cannot be discounted. This is exemplified by the military conflict unleashed by Britain against Argentina over the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands in 1982. Nobody can guarantee that tomorrow the situation will not grow acute in some other part of this region, where many islands (Virgin, Cayman, St. Kitts, Navis and others) are still in the status of British colonies.

Relative to the developing nations the

imperialists are guided by the traditional norms and principles of colonialist expansion modified somewhat to take the present situation into account. Encroachments on the independence and sovereignty of new states, constant interference in their internal affairs, provocations, and political and economic pressure combined with "modernized" forms of penetrating their economies and with a growing military presence have become part of the arsenal of neocolonialism. The imperialist powers often use the "aid" extended by them to developing countries on onerous terms to obtain the right to build new military strong-points and bases.

The activities of the *transnational corporations*, the rapid growth of whose strength and influence is one of the major elements of imperialism's evolution in the latter half of the 20th century, are among the key factors creating conflict situations.

Transnationals are invariably a political instrument of the imperialist states, which use their huge, ramified international economic links to implement a militarist policy. With supplies of weapons⁵ manufactured by transnationals they export tension and sow the seeds of military conflicts in various parts of the world.

As they move farther away from their national soil the transnationals begin to entertain their own political ambitions and lay claim to the role of an independent force standing above the sovereignty of the countries in which they operate. This gives rise to situations fraught with the danger of military collisions.

It is known, for example, that the international monopolies operating in Africa are directly involved in organizing interventionist actions against Angola and Mozambique. They had intervened in the ethnic conflict in Nigeria, fanning it into a civil war. The Nigerian economist I. Nzimiro wrote that the war between Nigeria and Biafra was signal evidence of how the transnationals can force an innocent country into slaughter.⁶

The main orientation, sense and substance of the policy of the transnationals are to promote the utmost development of the capitalist system of relations in the new nations and keep them in imperialism's orbit. With the contradictions between developing and industrialized capitalist countries exacerbating and the national liberation movement evolving into a struggle for social progress, the expansionist reactionary policy of the transnationals serves as a generator of international tension and increases the likelihood of flashpoints of war springing up.

We have not the least intention to fit conflict situations into some hard and fast pattern. As we have noted at the beginning, they emerge, develop and transform under the impact of diverse collisions. However, the fact remains that when a serious conflict flares up in some region it is invariably found that it is the handiwork of imperialist forces, who ignore the legitimate interests of other countries and peoples and try to interfere in their internal affairs and force their will upon them.

U.S. imperialism is today the main source of the threat of war. Local conflicts play an important role in its global strategy. Washington endeavors to manipulate them so as to prevent unity among those whom it regards as its potential adversaries, to weaken them, to give U.S. corporations access to raw materials, markets and cheap labor, and to build bridgeheads around socialist states. In regions where roots for local conflicts are non-existent, imperialism creates them artificially.

The communists are fully aware of the threat posed by armed collisions, especially in the thermonuclear age, but they adhere to a consistently class approach to them. Peoples fighting for independence and social progress cannot be equated to circles that are out to preserve the system of economic and political oppression by force. There is a clear-cut, fundamental distinction between the legitimate aspiration of peoples for liberation and the forcible conservation of outworn social practices.

This stand by no means implies a call for wars or encouragement of military conflicts. Its sense is that the aggressive forces hindering humankind's onward progress must be denounced and isolated. It hardly needs to be proved that in all cases the communists are on the side of the champions of state sovereignty and denounce interference in the internal affairs of other countries. This is fully in accord with the norms of modern international law and the principles recorded in the UN Charter.

The question of just and unjust wars as formulated by Marxism has consequently lost none of its urgency. A study of this question's class substance shows that in the nuclear age as well people must be able to differentiate between just and unjust policy, between just and unjust wars, and between just and unjust peace.

Any renunciation of the class approach contributes to the formation of a vacuum in the ideological struggle, a vacuum that imperialism seeks to fill. Reactionary quarters are more and more perseveringly advancing their own concept of "just wars" in order to justify their interventionist policy. Thus, one of the main ideological masks for the anti-communist

"crusade" proclaimed by Reagan is precisely the doctrine that it is "just" and "lawful" to suppress liberation movements portrayed as manifestations of "international terrorism." Essentially anti-communist, this doctrine justifies imperialism's predatory policies and therefore facilitates the appearance and aggravation of local conflicts. It is in fact directed against the forces of progress.

All this demonstrates how immensely important it is today to repulse anti-communism and anti-Sovietism and to stand up consistently for peace. It is imperative to react with determination to any lie and fabrication about the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the policy of peace pursued by them.

A concrete analysis of the dynamics of the social forces on the world scene brings to light the inseparable link of the efforts to extinguish existing and prevent new local conflicts with the struggle against imperialism and the militarism, expansionism, and anti-communism generated by it. The significance of this link is seen most strikingly in the context of the struggle between the two lines in world politics: on the one hand, the course of the socialist community countries and all other peace forces toward continuing and deepening détente, ending the arms race, and promoting peaceful cooperation among nations; on the other hand, the course of imperialism toward achieving military-political superiority, toward confrontation with the socialist world, and toward a revision of preceding world development.

On the question of local conflicts the attitude of the socialist community countries was clearly expressed in the Political Declaration adopted in Prague in January 1983 by the Warsaw Treaty member-states. The Declaration notes that there is no problem, world or regional, that cannot be justly settled by peaceful means. The main thing, the Declaration says, is that everybody should effectively recognize the lawful right of the people of each country to decide their internal affairs by themselves, without outside interference, and to participate in international life on a basis of equality; that there should be universal respect for the independence and territorial integrity of states, for the inviolability of their frontiers, and that the principle of the renunciation of the use or threat of force should be observed; that no power should try to pursue a policy of hegemony.

The Declaration contains concrete proposals for ending existing and preventing new conflicts. These envisage a renunciation of any enlargement of the operation sphere of military-political alliances; the creation of zones of peace and cooperation in various parts of Asia,

Africa and Latin America; an all-embracing negotiated settlement in the Middle East guaranteeing the right of all the states and peoples of the region to secure and independent existence; the political settlement of conflict situations in Africa, Southeast Asia, and Central and South America.

But imperialism continues to fan tension in different parts of the world, kindle flashpoints of war, and unfold a "crusade" against the forces of progress. The mounting tendency toward unity in the struggle against the threat of war, demonstrated by the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War, is therefore the natural response.

1. On August 9, 1982 the newspaper *Frankfurter Rundschau* wrote that in the period from the end of the Second World War to 1982 there were 148 local armed conflicts in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In 64 cases these involved the armed forces of Britain, Spain, the Netherlands, Portugal, the USA, and France. Some were started by imperialism's puppets (for instance, Israel and South Africa). Many inter-state collisions were triggered as a result of the internationalization of the class struggle in developing countries by imperialist circles. Nearly 10 million people died in such wars in the period from 1946 to 1975 alone.

2. The U.S. General Bernard Rogers, NATO Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, has said that any nuclear exchange would result in a rapid escalation to the level of a universal nuclear war (*International Herald Tribune*, November 9, 1981).

3. According to the U.S. Brookings Institution, in the period between 1946 and 1978 the White House considered using nuclear weapons on 19 occasions: on four occasions against the Soviet Union.

4. In 1981 the Pentagon had 2,500 military bases and other facilities in more than 110 countries. Nearly one-third of the U.S. nuclear potential (12,000 units) is deployed outside the USA. Of these, 7,000 units are in Western Europe, 1,800 in Asia, and between 2,500 and 2,800 on warships. In 1982 the USA increased its overseas military strength to 543,400 effectives (an additional 18,200 marines have been posted to Europe, 1,200 to Lebanon, and 1,300 to Egypt, including the 800 sent to the Sinai. The U.S. garrisons in the Pacific and the Far East have been increased by over 12,000 troops).

5. NATO accounts for 65 per cent of the armaments trade in the world. Of the total armaments exported, 45 per cent are U.S. made. In 1980 alone the USA exported armaments to the tune of 15 billion dollars. From 1967 to 1977 British arms sales increased five-fold. In recent years West Germany has been selling several billion dollars' worth of arms annually. Italy exports armaments to more than 30 countries. Israel supplies armaments to Latin American dictators, South Africa, and other countries.

6. See *Multinational Firms in Africa*, ed. by C. Woodstrand, Uppsala, 1975, p. 242.



The communist posture on trade union unity

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Trade union unity, the specifics of this problem and the communist stand are discussed here with J. Bower by Niall Farrell, *WMR* Editorial Council member and representative of the Communist Party of Ireland on *WMR*.

N.F. You will probably agree that in Northern Ireland religious sectarianism is one of the most difficult and specific issues faced by the trade unions. We should, of course, remind the journal's readers that while in the South, the Irish Republic, the vast majority of the people are of one and the same denomination, Catholic, in Northern Ireland the population is divided on a Protestant-Catholic ratio of 2:1. The conflict that has been raging between these two groups for the past 13 years is presented internationally by the British government as exclusively as

religious one. Of course, nothing is said of the fact that British imperialism has fostered this sectarianism as a means of dividing the working people into two antagonistic camps. The creation of the Northern Ireland statelet is perhaps a classical example of the imperialist principle of divide and rule. The main criterion for deciding the positioning of the border was that a significant majority would be of the Protestant faith, the denomination that has been deliberately courted by the British establishment, so that it should identify its interests with those of the British ruling class. The conflict deliberately fuelled by imperialism has inescapably become a problem for the trade unions in Northern Ireland and has its repercussions in the national trade union movement. *WMR* readers would like to know how members of

the party working in the trade unions try to overcome difficulties of this kind and what stand they take on these issues.

J.B. The question of sectarianism among the working people relates directly to the lack of a solution to the national problem. However, even before partition, it was used against the National Independence movement. Today sectarianism is directly related to the question of whether or not the country will be united.¹

Although the country is partitioned, the trade union movement remains united and is at the center of the struggle against sectarianism. The Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) is an all-Ireland trade union center operating in the North and the South. A very serious threat to this unity, sectarianism is inflamed by two trends in the trade union movement, and both continually attack the concept of a single trade union center, albeit from different positions. I am referring, first, to the politico-religious force in the North of Ireland which argues for a Northern Ireland trade union movement with close links to the British trade union movement and for a clean break with the trade union movement in the rest of Ireland. Second, there is a political opinion in the Irish Republic which argues that British-based unions should not be allowed to organize in Ireland and that all trade unions in Ireland should be Irish-based unions.

The trade union movement in Northern Ireland is dealing with the historical circumstances that led to partition. The country was divided through the efforts of British Conservatives, who employed the anti-Catholic argument that "Home rule is Rome rule." It was well received by many Northern workers, due to the fact that the North was more heavily industrialized than the South and Southern Catholicism was equated with underdevelopment and poverty. Despite the serious economic recession that is now affecting Northern Ireland, that ideology is still strong in the minds of many members of the Protestant working class. This has been fostered by the policy of discrimination used against the Catholic minority inside the Northern Ireland statelet.

There was open anti-Catholicism among employers, who publicly stated that to employ Catholics was to employ the enemy. It was the Northern Ireland government's policy to set up industries in politically loyal areas. Thus, job preference was undisguisedly given to workers of one religion. Today, the situation is that nearly all skilled engineering workers come from a Protestant background and there is a higher proportion of Catholics working in unskilled

jobs in construction and in the services industry. It is clear that Catholics are more seriously affected by unemployment.

The problem of unfair distribution of employment is particularly difficult. The ICTU is not yet in a position to make a very sharp attack on the consequences of generations of sectarianism, particularly in an environment of economic crisis where unemployment is at a record level (25 per cent). If you want to balance that out and have jobs more fairly distributed, then perhaps you're talking about Protestants giving over jobs to Catholics. In other words, the consequences of sectarianism cannot be seriously tackled until the capitalist crisis itself is tackled, until there is an attack on the unemployment question.

That is not to say that the trade unions are doing nothing. They have taken principled stands on the question of discrimination and have fought difficult battles on that front. On the question of sectarianism in the sense of physical violence inside the workplace, in the early 70s the unions won the overwhelming majority of workers against this.

The CPI has always urged unity of the working class, of its organizations. The communists working in the trade union movement feel that one of their principal objectives is to safeguard that unity. The issues that face all the working people are the same. Consequently, a struggle against unemployment is, at the same time, a struggle against sectarianism not only because, as I've said, the real root of sectarianism cannot be solved unless the consequences of the crisis are removed, but also because the struggle itself will involve both Catholics and Protestants. And in that sense Catholics and Protestants can identify together and see that the strength of trade union organization lies in unity. That applies also to the struggle for wages, against reduced living standards, and the struggle for all sorts of conditions for workers.

This link is seen in various campaigns, like the "Better Life For All" campaign, during which the trade unions raised the fundamental questions about repressive legislation, freedom from violence — both state and anti-state — the right to work and the right to housing. When the trade unions initiate a campaign for the survival of the Belfast shipyard, which is considered by many people to be the heartland of the Protestant section of the working class, when they lead those workers in a struggle to save their own shipyard and identify the necessity for them to mobilize the whole community in Belfast, then they are struggling against sectarianism. When the unions lead delegations of Belfast shipyard workers to meet the

Prime Minister of the Irish Republic looking for orders for ships for the Belfast shipyard, then they are struggling against sectarianism. So the whole breadth of struggle that the trade union movement is involved in is, in fact, a struggle against sectarianism, and communists have been and continue to be the force in leading these trade union initiatives.

N.F. You mention what is probably one of the unique features of trade unionism in Ireland, the fact that alongside Irish trade unions British-based unions are also active in both parts of our country. In Northern Ireland approximately 85 per cent of the workers are in British-based unions. I'm sure it would be of interest to our readers to know what the party sees as the advantages and disadvantages of British-based unions being active in the whole of Ireland.

J.B. Yes, indeed, this is a very serious problem. First of all, I should say that if Ireland was a united independent country, all unions would be Irish unions. By virtue of historical circumstances the trade union movement consists of both Irish and British-based trade unions. There are people who would argue that British-based unions should not be allowed to organize in Ireland. This is a sectarian position, as I define it, and it led to the splitting of the Irish trade union movement from 1945 until 1959. During that period there were two trade union centers, the Congress of Irish Unions and the Irish Trade Union Congress. The former had Irish unions only affiliated to it, and the latter had both Irish and British unions affiliated to it. Yet unity gained the upper hand in the long run. The All-Ireland ICTU reflects the realities of the political situation, industrial organization and history; it is the most effective organizational structure that best represents the interests of the working people, North and South.

Basically what I'm saying is that to raise the question that all unions in Ireland should be Irish trade unions is historically premature. The national question in Ireland has got to be solved first, or at least some significant progress has got to be made toward a solution before we can make a judgment about pushing the question among the organized working class.

The British labor movement and political parties will have to play a crucial role. Any progressive movement will have to find a way of separating themselves in a concrete manner from British imperialism on the Irish question. They will have to move to an independent class position which supports the right of the Irish people to determine their own future, unequivocally and positively. That means being

prepared to oppose reaction in Northern Ireland with the full weight of the British labor movement. In this context the fact that British-based unions are organized in Ireland can be a positive asset. It means that progressives working in Ireland can contribute to the debate on the Irish question in the British labor movement through their unions, which are almost all affiliated to the British Labour Party. So it is not just historically premature to attempt to exclude British unions from Ireland, it is also tactically incorrect.

Your question refers to disadvantages. Well, the right-wing in the trade union movement in the North of Ireland can also speak to the British labor movement in the same manner. Then that's politics — we've got to ensure that our influence in the trade unions in Northern Ireland is increased and that we win the battle of ideas, sustain and widen our leadership role, and more deeply embed ourselves among the working class in Northern Ireland, so that the party's contribution in the North and in the South is not found wanting in the difficult days ahead.

N.F. The solution of the national question inevitably figures in any discussion of the political situation in Ireland. This is natural as the national question revolves around the fact that British imperialism partitioned Ireland, creating divisions in the working people and thereby preventing the Irish nation from independently determining its own future, economically and politically. The CPI consistently speaks of a need to seek a solution to the national question, a solution that will invariably include the breaking off of the connection with British imperialism and the end of partition in Ireland. Now the majority of trade unionists in Northern Ireland would be opposed to these demands. They wish to keep the link with Britain and are not interested in an end to partition. Of course, this creates considerable difficulties for communists in the trade union movement. So how do party members tackle these difficulties?

J.B. The answer to the first question should highlight to some extent the difficulty there is for communists to raise the national question inside the trade union movement in Northern Ireland. The ICTU is not able to say anything on this question. The reason for this is that if the ICTU were to have a position on the national question, as to whether Ireland should be united or not, that would immediately give rise to organizational difficulties in the ICTU. That is not to say that trade unions are not involved on the national question, and certainly the problems facing the working people in Ireland

today are all problems which relate to the national question to one extent or another.

The trade unions have raised the demand that it is necessary to have closer economic cooperation between North and South in a whole variety of specific proposals relating to roads, electric power, agriculture and co-operation between enterprises. They have opposed the relationship between any part of Ireland and the EEC. This issue raises the fundamental question about whether or not we as people who live on this island have a right to determine how the economy should be run or how Ireland should develop its natural resources, or its economic policy, or even its foreign policy. When the ICTU Annual Conference concludes that the neutrality of the Irish Republic must be defended it is raising the national question. In other words, this question is omnipresent. On the question of neutrality the trade unions express an attitude that is sharper and clearer than that of political parties like Fianna Fail, Fine Gael, the SDLP, or Sinn Fein, all of which are committed to a united Ireland. Certainly, they are not as committed as the trade union movement to the neutrality of the Irish Republic or the peace question, so their concept of national independence is weaker in many senses than that projected by the organized working class.

It is difficult to raise the national question in the trade union movement in Northern Ireland, but if we examine specific experiences we can see how workers are faced with this question by the realities of their problems. I have already mentioned the struggle for the survival of the Belfast shipyard. The trade union movement has not said anything about the national question during that campaign, but they have raised questions about the policies of the British government, the economic and political decisions that the British government has taken that bear directly on the survival of the shipyard. The unions have developed an alternative policy for the survival of the shipyard. This policy has been discussed with the workforce and they have expressed their support for it. The unions then presented all the political parties in Northern Ireland with that policy and they have all said they endorse the trade union position. A whole industrial-political lobby has developed around the survival of the Belfast shipyard; it is in fact an anti-British state position. It is not saying very much about the unity of Ireland, but it is saying that the British state is not administering Northern Ireland correctly and specifically not managing the affairs of shipyard workers in Northern Ireland correctly. So the unions have developed what could be

described as an anti-British state position and many of the political parties who say they support that position would be people who say they are in favor of Northern Ireland continuing to be part of the United Kingdom. They were not happy to support the position, they were forced to do so because the shipyard workers had already spoken and that is a very important part of the working class in Belfast. The result is that these pro-unionist² parties have been pushed by a trade union initiative into a position replete with contradictions.

This is one practical example of a trade union campaign, in which our comrades played a leading role, which relates broadly to the national question not by design by anyone but because the genuine working class alternative works out that way.

N.F. From what you have said can the conclusion be drawn that the very existence of the ICTU raises the national question and offers a solution to the national problem?

J.B. Yes, the ICTU is proof that Irish workers, North and South, have common interests and require a united organization to deal with their problems. There are forces which oppose the concept of the ICTU. I have already mentioned two main rightist tendencies, but there are people who would define themselves as being on the left. I would define them as being ultra-left, who would argue that the unity that does exist in the ICTU is of the lowest common denominator. These ultra-left people would argue that this unity is not advantageous, that it would be more advantageous to have a divided trade union movement, particularly if one section of that division could speak more sharply on the national question.

The Communist Party has rejected that view as narrow, nationalist, and inconsistent with national independence. We see and say that the struggle for national independence will only be successful if we fully understand and can successfully bring into play the significant forces that will determine what kind of Ireland we will have in the future. When we're developing our strategy for independence we examine the forces that exist on the island and the forces that exist outside Ireland that can have an effect on the struggle for independence. It is clear that the influence of the working class is critical. The leadership of the working class is very important and may determine the contribution of that class when any immediate constitutional questions are settled.

Those ultra-left people I mentioned would openly state that "revolutionaries" should abandon their influence among certain sections

of the working class in the interests of speaking "freely" on the national question. It is the communist view that in order to understand what is happening it is necessary to analyze the situation and clearly see the forces influencing the course and results of the struggle.

The facts irrefutably show that British imperialism has taken no action to curb reaction in Northern Ireland. Any ideological battering that Northern Ireland unionists have got has been a battering that has come from the democratic demands of the civil rights movement as well as the pressure from the realities of present-day capitalist development in Ireland, which demonstrates the need to establish a more realistic relationship between the bourgeois Irish Republic and Britain. This battering was received despite the fact that there has been no effort by British imperialism to undermine unionist ideology or its military machine. To illustrate how explosive the situation is, let me add that the Ulster Defense Regiment is the biggest regiment in the British Army. There is also the police and its special reserve, as well as all the unofficial and illegal paramilitary organizations plus a civilian population with a high proportion of legal arms. In these circumstances is it a sensible policy to suggest that we should abandon sections of the working class, raise the national question in such a manner as to polarize the situation to the extent that the solution would have to be determined by force of arms? Why adopt a strategy which consolidates reaction and strengthens them rather than one which tends to make it difficult for them to become consolidated so that we can work easily to remove sections of the working class from the influence and domination of the right wing?

The work of our comrades in the trade union movement in Northern Ireland is consistent with this approach. We want to isolate our opponents. We want to mobilize, if possible, the British working class. We want to wean sections of the working class in Northern Ireland away from extremist views. Sometimes our contribution in the North of Ireland is only to convince people not to adopt a sharp position and that can be, in a relative sense, a very progressive achievement. Take as an example the events of 1974 and 1977.³ In the latter case we succeeded in keeping large sections of the organized working class out of that particular right-wing campaign. The right-wing campaign was defeated with massive effort from communists to convince workers not to support a reactionary campaign.

That's the tactics we're involved in, and at times they are the only tactics we have in trying

to pursue the party program inside the Northern Ireland statelet. These tactics are also an essential part of the present struggle to preserve and develop the unity of the trade union movement in Ireland.

1. In 1921 a large portion of Ireland received Dominion status as a result of a national liberation struggle against British imperialism. In 1949 it was proclaimed an independent republic. The northeastern six counties were retained by the British crown. — Ed.

2. The term "unionism" stems from those in Ireland, who wish to keep the "union" with Britain. It is a reactionary and religiously sectarian ideology, which at its most extreme contends that Catholics are inferior to Protestants. — Ed.

3. In 1974 and 1977 the right-wing launched campaigns to force the British government to succumb to their reactionary demands. In 1974 the unionists were successful in imposing a virtual lock-out of most Northern Ireland industries. In 1977 the workers defied the intimidation of the unionist terror groups. — Ed.

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In unity against missiles

EXCHANGE OF VIEWS IN THE WEST BERLIN COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT ON THE UNITY OF THE PEACE FORCES

Participants in the Coordinating Committee of the peace movement gathered in the small hall of the Charlottenburg Club, Kaiser-Friedrich-Strasse 76, West Berlin, to discuss at *WMR's* request and on the example of West Berlin the present and future of the people's struggle against the threat of a nuclear war. The participants were: Andreas Wehr, member of the Land Board of the Young Socialists organization and member of the Land Board of the SDPG; Michael Venedey, medical doctor and representative of the Press Coordinating Committee; Peter Gerlinghoff, publisher, chairman of the Standing West Berlin Working Committee for Peace and Understanding; Harvey Gundlach, Board member, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin; and Ton Veerkamp, Evangelical theologian.

Below we publish the questions and the answers.

When and under what impact did the mass peace movement emerge in West Berlin? What is the political and social spectrum of the forces cooperating in it? Who can join?

Ton Veerkamp. The idea of setting up a Coordinating Committee of the West Berlin peace groups was conceived during the preparations for the mass demonstration held in West Berlin on May 8, 1980 with the participation of approximately 20,000 people. It was prompted by two developments: the NATO decision of December 1979 to deploy new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and the abortive attempt of the Americans to free the hostages in Iran by force. There was a feeling in those days that the world was a hair's breadth away from an international confrontation. This dramatically increased people's emotional readiness to act in defense of peace.

The demonstration was prepared by many groups that hitherto had almost no contact with each other. After May 8 it was decided to estab-

lish a flexible link between them so that they could share their experience and, as far as possible, plan joint actions. Each group remained entirely autonomous. In other words, the purpose was to unite the various peace forces in the struggle to halt the NATO arms build-up and ensure disarmament in the West and the East.

These aims were supported by religious circles. In this connection it must be said that the various churches have an important role to play in the peace movement in Western and Central Europe and also in the USA. It is, however, disquieting that the entire Christian movement is sometimes off-handedly identified with the peace movement. This is inaccurate because after the war many Christian leaders have used the talk about peace as a cover for policies that can by no means be described as peaceable. Take Konrad Adenauer. There were Adenauers in the Netherlands, in Italy, and in France. Suffice it to recall Georges Bidault.¹ Thus, Christianity and peaceableness are far from being identical.

But today we are witnessing the wonderful development that in the FRG broad church circles, both Evangelical and Catholic, have begun to come out against specific armament programs. And this despite the fact that today West Berlin and the FRG are ruled by forces that call themselves Christian but have no particularly warm feelings for the peace movement.

In the FRG, for example, Church leaders try not to take a public stand on this question.² In West Berlin the situation is, I would say, somewhat different. Many parishioners, especially young people, are committed to the peace movement. This is very encouraging. Half a century ago the situation in Germany was altogether different.

Harvey Gundlach. Let me add that at the time the Coordinating Committee was formed, in large part through the efforts of the anti-fascist Fritz Teppich, it was evident that the various groups were in need of coordination. They were brought together by their growing understanding that the breadth of action needed to prevent the deployment of missiles could only be achieved in a joint struggle.

This led to the idea of setting up an "information base," as our committee was first called, where each would give an account of the actions taken by his organization or initiative group and where potentialities would be determined and the timetable and direction of our actions would be agreed.

It is immensely important that now, apart from the Coordinating Committee that plans actions in defense of peace on the scale of the entire city, cooperation is developing in all of West Berlin's 12 districts, which have formed their own initiative groups. This is helping to accumulate experience of joint struggle both during preparations for mass demonstrations and in the discussions organized by the Coordinating Committee and — this is of special importance — at the district level.

Moreover, we are attaching much significance to work at production facilities and in the trade unions, where we want the people to focus more on the struggle for peace. There have already been some encouraging signs. Many of the peace groups set up at production facilities and in the trade unions have realized that success is inconceivable without coordination of their actions.

Michael Venedey. It is extremely significant that with the formation of our committee it is now possible to bring to one and the same table, representatives of diverse political schools, from the extreme left to liberals with the exception, of course, of the right-wing. The importance of this fact can only be fully appreciated by a person who has been closely following the development of the situation in West Berlin during the past decades and has lived through the cold war years.

Having said this I should like to answer the question of who can join the movement. Actually, it can be joined by all who are prepared to contribute to the struggle for peace and accept the principal aim of the movement on which a consensus has been reached by all its participants, namely, the aim of preventing the deployment of new U.S. missiles.

Peter Gerlinghoff. The prime reason for the successful work of the Coordinating Committee is its clear-cut political line formulated in the slogan: "Against the NATO arms build-up. For disarmament in the West and the East." It is simple and understandable, and therein lies its strength: clarity of aims is vital to the development of any movement.

Let me explain. If we look back over the recent past we shall see that as soon as we had a clear aim the peace movement at once gained steeply in strength, magnitude and vigor. This was the case, for example, in 1981 when an

80,000-strong demonstration took place in protest of a visit to West Berlin by the then U.S. Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig. Nobody thought an action of that magnitude was possible in our city. But this did not prove to be the limit: more than 100,000 people filled the streets to protest the visit to West Berlin by President Reagan.

"Action days" are contributing greatly to the growth of the West Berlin peace movement. One of these is May 8. More and more people are beginning to understand that it symbolizes liberation from Hitlerite fascism and reminds people that everything must be done to prevent war from ever again beginning in our city. Let me name another noteworthy date, September 1, the day of trade union struggle for peace.

It is extremely gratifying that our movement has begun to join in such campaigns. I see this as an important sign that it will move beyond its traditional framework and draw large sections of the population into its ranks.

Lastly, a few words about the political and social spectrum of the peace forces. To what has already been said it must be added that a very big part in the Coordinating Committee and in the movement as a whole is played by women. They initiate many actions and develop non-traditional forms of struggle. Also an important component is the Union of Anti-Fascists, an association of persons who were persecuted under the nazi regime. These people conduct painstaking work among the population and are making a visible contribution to educating young people in the spirit of peace.

The forces taking part in the peace movement are too numerous to list. The main thing is something else. For a movement to be successful it has to strike deep roots among the people and its composition must mirror society's entire social structure. I believe we have achieved this in West Berlin.

What brought each of the participants in this discussion to the peace movement? What unites them all?

Michael Venedey. I would say that the progressive traditions of many German families are among the factors that induce people to join the peace movement. These traditions are particularly important for the rising generation. It is no secret that our young people are inclined to underestimate history. Personally, I think it is important to feel related to the progressive traditions of German history. And I believe that active participation in the peace movement goes without saying at a time when a serious threat hangs over the planet. That is exactly

how my father acted at the close of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s.

Those who attribute my stand solely to the fact that I am a doctor are quite wrong. Professional affiliation is not decisive in this case. The preservation of peace is a matter that concerns everybody, and hence no single group of people can claim to have a special attitude to it.

Ton Veerkamp. There are two reasons for my unfaltering interest in the peace struggle. One is the political resistance of the Dutch people to the NATO arms build-up decision. The other is that my work brings me into daily contact with many people from Third World countries and their sense of the threat to the world passes on to me. Can one forget, for example, the above-mentioned U.S. gamble in Iran?

Andreas Wehr. I attended my first meeting of the Coordinating Committee shortly before the Haig visit. For me it was important and instructive to see that cooperation and consensus were possible among the different groups. Also important was the experience of planning and holding a huge demonstration that ended with a rally. There was also a lesson to be learned in the difficulties caused by those who at the time urged violent action or felt such action possible — these difficulties greatly impeded cooperation and placed a heavier responsibility on the Committee.

Two years have passed since then. All this time I have been working in the Coordinating Committee, representing young socialists and, to some extent, left-wing social democrats. Personally I make every effort to draw as many members of my party as possible into its work. At present 5 of the 12 district SDPG organizations regularly participate in the demonstrations and other peace actions. This is no mean achievement. Our aim is to bring the other seven into the struggle.

Peter Gerlinghoff. The wealth of any public movement is always the fact that its participants are guided by various individual motivations. I consider it is exceptionally important that in the West Berlin Coordinating Committee people of different views have been able to find a common language and learn to share experience and orient themselves on joint actions. People of all ages are represented on it — from the very young, from schoolchildren, to persons over 80. The latter include outstanding personalities who have given a big impulse to the peace movement, such as Professor Gollwitzer, who personifies, as it were, the post-war peace movement in the FRG and West Berlin, and Archbishop Scharf, who spoke on behalf of non-governmental organizations at the Second Session of the UN General Assembly on Dis-

armament. Concerted action by people of all generations is a key factor of our movement's strength.

Harvey Gundlach. I was born and bred in West Berlin and as long as I can remember there were propaganda howls about "the Russians are coming," with anti-communist and anti-Soviet hysteria whipped up everywhere, even in schools. It took a lot of time to shed these prejudices. One reason I became a communist, a person seeking to help reshape social conditions, is that the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin has always been in the forefront of the struggle for peace.

For the communists it is natural to act for peace and, at the same time, contribute to the expansion of the peace movement and to the joint accumulation of experience, participate personally in the struggle against the deployment of U.S. missiles, and explain the social roots of war. We are confident that our work in the Coordinating Committee helps to surmount anti-communist prejudices and promote understanding. We are gradually getting the feeling that we cannot do without each other, that we should hold together, associate, discuss, and conduct joint actions such as the big protest demonstrations during the Haig and Reagan visits. During these actions we learn much ourselves and see the possibility of cooperation not only in theory but in practice. This helps us to understand each other better and agree on common demands. Our meeting today is attended by people of the most diverse world views and religious and political persuasions, but each is aware how important it is to preserve unity.

What serves as the basis for cooperation? How, despite this motley composition of the movement, do you agree on joint aims and actions? What is the correlation between the conscious and the spontaneous in the behavior of people joining the actions in defense of peace?

Ton Veerkamp. When we speak of our cooperation a point that must be made is that it is not a fossilized state but a process, a specific aim for whose attainment it is necessary to fight anew in each case.

Two basic schools of thought, as everybody knows, are in constant conflict in the peace movement in Western and Central Europe and also in the Scandinavian countries. According to one of them, the threat of nuclear war is growing chiefly on account of the imperialist policy of the Western countries, notably of the U.S. government. The other school contends that both "superpowers," the USSR and the USA, want world supremacy and are stock-

piling armaments, and that therefore the peace movement should dissociate itself equally from both of them.

The two schools are represented also in West Berlin. It is hard to say which is predominant. In the Coordinating Committee we have agreed that regardless of what each of us thinks on this count all of us take the point that in the event the U.S. missiles are installed the threat to peace would acquire a totally new and extremely dangerous dimension. And under no circumstances can this be permitted. As regards the Soviet SS-20 missiles, the possibility of achieving some consensus is still unlikely. Nevertheless, we are unanimous in arguing that there must be disarmament both in the West and in the East.

Andreas Wehr. In the Coordinating Committee we do not pass mandatory decisions and do not vote. We have very vigorous debates, sometimes with several sittings in succession devoted to one and the same question and to comparing various viewpoints in order to reach a consensus. We are careful to prevent any, even the smallest group, from feeling it has been circumvented. Hence, nobody can speak of a majority or a minority stand.

While we are concerned with expanding the movement, we give unity most of our attention. The very fact that in West Berlin the progressive forces have been cooperating over the past two years on a very broad basis, is, in my view, a tremendous achievement. This is due to the understanding that it is only by cooperation among all the peace groups that it will be possible to prevent the deployment of missiles and that if, in spite of everything, they are installed, to secure their dismantling.

Harvey Gundlach. My colleagues have drawn attention to two very essential points. First, the principle that the Coordinating Committee works in accordance not with resolutions passed earlier but with a consensus, in other words, the debate goes on until a decision acceptable to everybody is found. Second, that unity has to be won anew in every case.

All this is true. But I should like to bring up a few points of history. It will be appreciated that in West Berlin the peace movement appeared not two or three years ago. The peace forces have been active here since 1945. Their role has acquired special significance after NATO passed its missile decision, which made many people act against the threat of war for the first time. Those who distributed leaflets in the streets were certain to have noted that the principal motive pushing people into action was fear. However, it was a real sense of the overhanging danger that brought us to one table.

Consequently, far from paralyzing us, fear helped us to realize that the deployment of missiles can be prevented only by joint struggle.

The question, "How, despite this motley composition of the movement, do you agree on joint aims and actions?" is not a simple one. I would say we are helped to see eye to eye because attention is focused on specific aims — to prevent the NATO arms build-up and ensure disarmament in both the West and the East.

The peace movement's unity is maintained in tireless battles, for feverish attempts are being made to slander, discredit and divide it. The Springer press and other bourgeois mass media are trying again and again to mute the anti-missile actions and smear us with the charge of "subservience to Moscow's interests" and with other calumnies of the same kind. In this situation it is vital to maintain the achieved consensus, which reliably sustains unity.

Michael Venedey. I am afraid I will have to dilute the euphoria that can be felt in some of the statements that have been made here. Indeed, to a very large extent emotion underlies the peace movement. In the present disquieting situation it could not be otherwise. Hopes and even illusions are quite natural in this situation.

However, the problem of the common aims of the peace fighters makes us ponder how far what we are working on in the Coordinating Committee reflects what is taking place in the streets, at the grassroot level of the movement. I feel that the political conclusions we arrive at in the Committee cannot be transferred to the movement's grassroots and no far-reaching conclusions can be drawn even if they are very tempting. I will try to illustrate what I mean with the example of the influence that the anti-communist prejudices planted deep in our society have on the peace movement.

It is hardly necessary to point out that my struggle against anti-communism is by no means dictated by a special sympathy for the Russians, although I admit to having that sympathy. The main thing is in something else. The peace movement's future depends largely on whether it can rid itself of the anti-communist syndrome.

It should be remembered that the present situation cannot in fact be regarded as a state of peace. True, there is no war, but in an atmosphere of anti-communist hysteria it will take humankind a long time to create the conditions for a durable and lasting peace. I believe that such a peace can be attained only with the removal of the principal reasons that has permitted anti-communism to remain rooted in the minds of so many people for decades. To a

large extent, the explanation is that fascism did not die in 1945, that, regrettably, it continues to live in the minds of much too many people. The phantoms of any anti-humane ideas cannot leave us indifferent, especially if we recall the history of Germany and all that was perpetrated against the Soviet Union during the Second World War.

For that reason we of the older generation, who experienced this history ourselves, have a special contribution to make to the extirpation of anti-communism. It must be stressed that the peace movement is in jeopardy when it acts on the fragile ice of irrational fear. All the participants in the movement have to realize that peace can be preserved provided there is genuine mutual understanding. For the population of West Berlin and the FRG genuine understanding implies, above all, the surmounting of anti-communism.

Ton Veerkamp. What Michael has just said was formulated as follows by one of my fellow theologians: in the peace movement there are very many people who, while acting for peace and disarmament, do not renounce their traditional notion that the USSR is the main adversary. This cannot go on endlessly. It is my firm belief that peace cannot be achieved so long as in Western Europe the attitude to the Soviet Union does not change. With the preservation of present moods the right-wing politicians will go on getting the support of the majority of voters and thus have the possibility of spending astronomical sums of money on armaments. As I see it, it is vital to eradicate this basic psychological prop of the arms race policy.

Peter Gerlinghoff. I subscribe to what has just been said and will also try to make a critical assessment of what we have achieved. The Coordinating Committee has proved its usefulness chiefly through the organization of large-scale actions, for example, demonstrations. But a hundred thousand persons is not a political majority capable of effectively preventing the arms build-up. We thus face a serious question: What new forms of work can help to further enlarge the peace movement? How can we enhance its political influence?

Hitherto, many forms of struggle — from the collection of signatures, discussions, and house to house canvassing to action groups uniting people of one and the same profession — have developed spontaneously, without the participation of the Committee. I want to stress this because I feel that the peace movement goes far beyond the framework of the Coordinating Committee. Take, for example, doctors, who on their own initiative are explaining the consequences of a nuclear war. They have pub-

lished small educational booklets in a total printing of more than a hundred thousand copies and are distributing them to their patients. The same may be said of the Peace Weeks conducted in schools and universities, the innumerable international events, the peace marches, and so forth. There is evidence that the trade unions are beginning to arrange talks on war and peace directly at the work bench.

Also, it is extremely important that in the peace movement there should be room for innovation. Nobody can claim that his or her mode of action is the only sure one. There must be many modes aimed at ensuring the movement's further expansion.

Andreas Wehr. I will go along with what Michael Venedey said. The movement's breadth cannot be explained if no account is taken of the impact of fear of a nuclear war, which, unlike previous wars, imperils the civilian population in the first place. In Europe a nuclear cataclysm would signify the annihilation or terminal affliction of a huge number of people in, among other places, the GDR, the FRG, and West Berlin.

Conscious of this threat, many come to the conclusion that finally they have to do something for their own sake as well. Fear for children is very widespread. This explains the growing participation of elderly people in the struggle for peace.

Within only a few years we have witnessed enormous demonstrations. There was nothing like them in the democratic or, as it is called, progressive movement in the FRG and West Berlin. But one must be clear on the point that the views of the initiators of the demonstrations, as well as of members of peace organizations, have not become rooted very firmly among the mass of the population. There are some reasons for this. Among them I will name anti-communism, the very low level of social consciousness, and the lack of adequate readiness to join in the struggle and go out into the streets to uphold common interests. A certain role is played here, of course, by the FRG's historical past.

Thus, the breadth of the peace movement is the result of an unprecedented sharpening of the sense of self-preservation, of the fear that something irreparable may happen. But if the magnitude of the movement is explained by fear, then the possibility should be taken into consideration that this fear will abate. True, there are many facts to show that this mobilizing factor will, I am sorry to say, persist for a long time. However, we unquestionably have the hope that ultimately a social consciousness

will take shape under the impact of this spontaneous reaction.

Michael feels that to this end it is necessary to surmount the syndrome of anti-communism. But this syndrome is only one factor of danger. The other is that the internal crisis of capitalism is exported and translated into aggressive actions with, say, the aim of controlling sources of raw materials. The most typical example of this is the policy pursued in Washington. More and more people are beginning to understand these processes.

The unusual breadth of the peace movement allows enlisting many allies from among people who formerly kept away from politics. The thousands upon thousands who joined demonstrations for the first time will now not turn away from the progressive movement; they will continue to show a political interest in it. However, there should be no illusion that already now hundreds of thousands of people are prepared to demonstrate in support of progressive policy. This is not so, and Michael is right on this score.

Harvey Gundlach. We are quite rightly speaking of fear as a motivation to action. But it would be well to understand what people are afraid of. The sense of self-preservation should have surfaced many years ago: nuclear weapons have been in existence for nearly four decades. However, it was the NATO Brussels decision on missiles that awakened people to fear, opening their eyes to the fact that the time had come for action. Why? I think because, honestly speaking, one cannot help being frightened hearing the calls of some American strategists to "decapitate the Soviet Union," to "twist the neck of the Soviet rooster," to prepare for a "limited nuclear war," and so forth. It must be remembered that the people saying this not only engage in rhetoric but are quite capable of trying to carry out their plans. I would say we are witnessing an explosion not of some irrational but of a well-founded fear, because the U.S. ruling circles are pursuing a policy that can turn a nuclear conflict, inconceivable to us, from a hypothesis into reality.

Also significant is that the recent demonstrations allowed many people to feel and understand how strong they are when they act together. The number of such people is growing steadily. For that reason I cannot support Michael when he says that there should be less euphoria.

Let us return to the sources of our movement. At the time nobody could surmise that the peace movement would be so big and important. If some three years ago somebody had said that a hundred thousand West Berliners would

demonstrate in protest of a visit by the U.S. President we would have regarded such a person as a simple-minded dreamer and asked ourselves: How could that happen? You will recall that in the past the U.S. presidents were welcomed here as proponents and champions of the ideals of freedom. Even today many people still see the USA as symbolizing positive values. However, these values are personified not by the Reagan administration but by the American people's democratic traditions.

Far be it from me to suggest that all problems have been settled. But it is very significant that the understanding is growing among the people of the need for joint struggle for peace and disarmament. I am young and much was not clear to me before. But a lot changed on May 8, 1981. On that historic day West Berlin social democrats and communists jointly signed an appeal for the first time in 30 years. What in 1981 was seen as a tremendous achievement has now become almost everyday reality. For that reason we should not underestimate everything that is today taken for granted.

Michael Venedey. I do not propose to go into the philological subtleties of the word "fear." But it is clear that in itself fear is irrational. This is what I wanted to say. Today people are in terror not only of war. They fear almost everything. This is a terrible sign of the times. For example, many people fear responsibility, and here I see a close link to politics. Fear of responsibility is preventing people from taking the political destiny of the city, of the country into their hands. One often hears the argument that everything should be left to statesmen. But understanding of the threat from the NATO decision is something entirely different. It is a rational understanding.

I really believe that fear of the war threat has become a significant factor promoting the peace movement. But fear alone is not enough to enlist larger sections of the people into our movement.

Peter Gerlinghoff. I agree that fear is indeed the prime motivator of the mass struggle. But it has, in addition, generated some important problems. Above all, it has compelled people to think. The first thing we did three years ago was to take a look at the balance of armaments and ask: Who is in fact doing the threatening? Who is whipping up the arms race? Who has the edge? In other words, the sense of fear generated an intense process of trying to understand the complex regularities of the arms race. In turn, this process helped the various groups of the population to see that the arms race was directly affecting their conditions of life. For example, awareness of the link between

unemployment, the prospect of becoming jobless, and the arms build-up led young people and the unemployed generally to the conclusion that armaments were absorbing the money needed to resolve their problems. This has become an impulse mobilizing the peace movement.

Another aspect that cannot be underestimated is the dependence between the arms build-up and ecology. People have come around to understanding that large-scale military preparations are having a sharply adverse effect on the environment. Lastly, the third aspect of the arms race worrying very many people concerns the relations of the industrialized nations with the Third World. It is today universally recognized that the spending on armaments is reducing almost to zero the hopes for the Third World's rapid economic development.

Fear has thus become a major impulse, but the processes it has started in the peace movement cannot be characterized as only irrational.

Do the Coordinating Committee and the peace movement as a whole discuss the various proposals for disarmament and how are these proposals assessed?

Ton Veerkamp. I am afraid there can only be one answer to this question, and it is that we have not yet gone that far because of the pressure of day-to-day organizational work. Our discussion of the content of the different concepts is only superficial. Of course, not all are worth discussing. Let's say it is hardly worth considering the official American disarmament proposals because, in my opinion, they are simply not proposals as such. But it is quite wrong that there is practically no discussion of the stand of the diverse peace movements that are putting forward constructive plans. We still do not give adequate attention to the ideas in the Prague Declaration.

Andreas Wehr. Lack of time is indeed one of the main reasons that the Coordinating Committee gives relatively little attention to discussing an alternative to the arms race. In large part this is also due to the circumstance that our minimum central demands ("No deployment of U.S. missiles" and "For disarmament in the West and East") have already been stated in appeals and leaflets. At its sittings the Committee takes into account the Soviet proposals, the Prague Declaration, and the proposals for freezing nuclear arsenals, turning Europe into a nuclear-free continent, and so on.

But, I repeat, the trouble is not only the existence of agreed slogans and the lack of time. There is a well-founded apprehension that if we begin such discussions there will be a split

and, for that reason, it would be better to avoid a broad discussion of all these concepts. You will agree that if we quarrel over a positive alternative it will be difficult to agree on joint action and the minimum consensus on resistance to the plans for deploying U.S. missiles will be in jeopardy.

However, it should be frankly acknowledged that many of the groups, initiative associations, parties, and individuals in the peace movement are suggesting proposals that merit attention and discussion. I'll mention some of them.

Take the "social defense" concept³ that, briefly, implies renunciation of armaments as such. Ideas of this kind, which represent something between civil disobedience and contempt of authority generally, are being put forward by many groups, notably the Greens in the FRG and the Alternative List in West Berlin. Further, they suggest separating Europe from the "superpowers" in total disregard of the social roots of the world's division into two systems. How otherwise is one to explain their demand that "Europeans should oppose the big powers"?

Or take the Young Socialists and, I would say, the social democrats as a body. They are suggesting continuing and reinforcing détente in the military sphere and in the entire political sphere. We see détente as the most promising policy that can help to end the confrontation.

There's another important point. A wide spectrum of concepts and considerations is represented in the peace movement. But in the Coordinating Committee — whether on the district or the city level — they do not matter very much because the distinctions are much too great to bring them together into a positive alternative for the movement as a whole. I think this is a serious omission which must be rectified as soon as possible. The point is not that we should at once work out a West Berlin policy program for the preservation of peace. A good start would be to get together, exchange views, and ascertain the various attitudes to the concepts of the different groups so that we should understand each other better in this sphere as well.

I believe that in the long term solely resistance to the NATO arms build-up plans will not suffice as a motivation for unity. In order to consolidate the movement there must be more links. It is therefore important to reach a minimum consensus on the question of an alternative to the arms race. I would say this problem will arise in the next few years.

Peter Gerlinghoff. The disarmament proposals are discussed sporadically because the mass media ignore many of them, especially if they

come from socialist countries. This makes information a problem. For example, in West Berlin the people were not fully informed about the exceedingly topical and important Prague Declaration. It took a great effort to bring the full text of that document to the notice of a more or less large number of people. You will agree that proposals for ending the arms race, in the first place from socialist countries, are of the utmost significance to the peace movement. Imagine for a moment what the reaction would be if statements like those coming from Washington were to come from Moscow, Prague, or Budapest?

I would say that to some extent the proposals of the socialist countries for limiting armaments and for disarmament — from an end to the production and deployment of SS-20 missiles, the concrete initiatives at the Geneva talks on Euromissiles and strategic armaments, and the GDR's readiness to create a zone on its territory free from theater nuclear weapons, to the further prospects for disarmament outlined in the Prague Declaration — give the peace movements in the capitalist countries their bearings.

Michael Venedey. The GDR's proposal has been mentioned here. For us it is important to put this initiative in a simple formula that could be understood by large sections of the people in keeping with the level of their political consciousness. Every person clearly understands what is meant by a nuclear-free zone. But if we take the Prague Declaration, it needs to be explained in detail. I am convinced that if a survey is conducted in West Berlin it will be found that a shockingly small number of people have read it.

We get questions from people whose line of thinking is quite different from ours. It is not easy to answer them because the disarmament proposals are sometimes couched in such complicated formulas that people with little knowledge of politics judge them on, so to speak, the geographical principle: if they are from socialist countries they at once get a label, which is judged as such and in the end rejected. Under some circumstances there is a similar response to initiatives from the other side. This means that ways must be developed for bringing proposals home to the people, for making these proposals understandable to them.

Harvey Gundlach. Yes, indeed, we have done very little in this area, and Andreas has quite rightly noted that the reason is not only a lack of time. However, political discussions are going on. We are circulating leaflets, setting up working groups to write them, and demanding a constructive reply from the West to the initia-

tives of the Soviet Union and to the Prague Declaration. For example, a special appeal was published on behalf of more than a hundred organizations on the eve of the actions on May 7 and 8.⁴ The fact that it got mass support indicates that there was a discussion. But I agree with Andreas that discussions are taking place rather in individual organizations than in the Coordinating Committee.

The peace movement has reached a stage where it is necessary to examine the disarmament proposals more actively. I think we should not merely take note of the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as has partially been the case, but discuss and use them energetically in our struggle. Close attention is merited by the Swedish proposal for a zone free from theater nuclear weapons in Central Europe, a proposal that has received the backing of the GDR government.

I would say that in this context the West Berlin peace movement has a particularly big responsibility. First of all, initiatives should be considered without bias, from the standpoint of whether or not they are consistent with the interests of our city's security, with the interests of peace. Further, support for them must come not only by publishing the relevant statements, as my party often does, but also by bringing them up for general discussion. Activity of this kind could help to prevent the deployment of new missiles.

Peter Gerlinghoff. Much is being said in the world about the Reagan "intermediate option." The Coordinating Committee has its own opinion about it. In our joint statements a year ago we rejected the "zero option." What Reagan is now proposing is in fact a rehash of the "zero option" broken down into phases. It is obvious to everybody that this notorious "intermediate option" is actually a step toward the implementation of the NATO plans for an arms build-up.

I do not wish to appear to be a prophet but as far as I know the dominant view in the peace movement is that we have to seek a radical solution of the problem. This gives rise to some scepticism about negotiations. Why was there such a big response to the proposal for a nuclear-free zone in Europe? Because it has a radical aim, that of removing all weapons of mass destruction from Europe. In the context of this aim the "intermediate option" is quite unacceptable.

Moreover, I am very worried that Washington intends to wreck the treaty on ABM systems,⁵ which is the rock foundation of the process of limiting strategic weapons. Judg-

ing by these plans they have no intention of complying with the terms of the treaty. In fact they are beginning to develop anti-missile space systems and planning to station nuclear weapons in outer space. This is having a destabilizing effect on international relations as a whole.

Michael Venedey. As the peace forces see it, a noteworthy point about the Reagan "intermediate option" is that it is the result of pressure on his policies. Concessions of this kind can give peace fighters some satisfaction. This is very important, for we all acutely need the sense that what we are doing is not in vain.

If we look at the changes that have taken place on the international political scene in the past two years, it has to be acknowledged that not only in West Berlin but throughout the world, and especially in the USA, our movement, whatever way you look at it, had set the wheel of history moving.

Some of what I have said here may sound a bit pessimistic. But the sense of success, even of a small one, puts one in a different mood. For me these successes are very important. And I do not feel that these concessions can negatively affect the peace movement in the sense that it will optimistically assess American policy as aimed at ensuring peace.

Harvey Gundlach. When our discussion turned to disarmament I did not, to be honest, think of Reagan for I do not consider his initiative deserves serious discussion. What is the "intermediate option"? Like the experts, we see it as no more than a process, stretched out in time, of installing new missiles. It is obvious that for technical reasons their deployment will, one way or another, have to be dragged out to 1985. In the meantime the USA is not negotiating seriously in Geneva. It is suggesting various options for no other reason than to calm public opinion. This is the significance of the "intermediate option." It has nothing at all in common with a serious approach to disarmament. People have already got the measure of Reagan's pseudo-proposals and are very critical of them. This is dramatic progress over what we had before.

Of course, Reagan has to respond somehow to the demands of the peace movement, and this is evidence of the movement's strength. But, regrettably, Washington is only active in words. And since at present it still seems to be difficult to make real progress toward disarmament, pressure has to be increased and a political climate created in which constructive disarmament proposals will begin to be put into effect.

Andreas Wehr. NATO now has, if only in words, to give more consideration to political realities, in particular, to the factors generated by the peace movement. But this response to pressure from the peace forces is not a concession to their demands; it is an attempt to undermine the movement's foundation. The first aim of the "intermediate option" is to try to prepare people psychologically to accept that the deployment of missiles is inevitable. The planned date for deploying missiles, end of 1983, is causing so much apprehension in many circles that there may be a dramatic reaction in the FRG: changes, crises, convulsions. To avoid this they have begun inventing various "intermediate options" in order to lower the "psychological threshold" of the objections to the stationing of the first U.S. medium-range missiles.

The operation is conducted in two directions: it is said that not all of the missiles will be installed at once and that the implementation of the NATO decision depends on the outcome of the Geneva negotiations. The calculation is that if not 100 but 10 or 12 Pershings are deployed people will feel that this small number of missiles will not be a threat to the Soviet Union and will only perform the function of a "road warning sign." Second, assurances are given regularly that there is a desire for further talks. And as long as these talks go on the illusion will be sustained that in principle nothing has changed since the Geneva meetings began: the talks are going on and their purpose is to work out some compromise. However, it is quite clear that the implementation of the "intermediate option" is tantamount to deployment of missiles.

A task of the peace movement is to explain that Reagan's latest initiatives do not in any way contribute to the success of the Geneva negotiations. You will remember that we debunked the "zero option," showing that because it conflicted with the principle of equality it was absolutely unrealistic. We now have to re-adapt for resistance to the "intermediate option." We have to act at once. Time does not wait.

As for my own organization I can say that the social democrats, as has been clearly stated in the election campaign, do not see the "intermediate option" as a proposal that can facilitate success at the Geneva talks and emphatically reject it as a step toward the deployment of new missiles. It would be useful to recall that the response to the "zero option" was not at all simple. The social democrats supported it for a long time. Now their stand is unequivocal: the "intermediate option" is not

the way to disarmament; it spells out the beginning of further armament.

Do you have links to the peace movements of countries where U.S. missiles are to be stationed? Are there contacts with the American peace movement?

Peter Gerlinghoff. The West Berlin peace movement has many links to its counterparts in other countries. Contacts on a personal level such as we have with American peace fighters, are also important and useful. International contacts teach us to see our own struggle against the arms build-up in a broader, global context.

Michael Venedey. As has been already noted here, our Coordinating Committee has a special status and no hard and fast organizational pattern. This creates some difficulties in establishing contact with peace movements outside West Berlin. If we look at it critically, we have to admit that such contacts are as yet not as intensive as we would have liked.

I should like to say a few words about contacts with the American peace movement. I consider this very important. And here is why. I have already said that the surmounting of anti-communism is one of the most urgent objectives. A sort of dialectical need dictates closer attention also to the problem of anti-Americanism. I admit that I sometimes feel like cursing the Yankees for all they are worth. But in addition to official Washington there is in the USA a peace movement that has grown tremendously of late. This is a reminder of how important it is to examine a political situation all-sidedly.

We must consider that it is very important to develop contacts with the American peace movement in which we sometimes see amazing aspects as, for example, the fact that the overwhelming majority of Catholic bishops have subscribed to the demands of the peace forces and hold a very correct attitude.⁶ It would be hard to imagine anything of the kind in the FRG. I would say that the peace movement worldwide inspires us.

Andreas Wehr. For our peace movement it is the most natural thing to maintain contacts with like-minded people in the FRG. The fact that we have the same social system predicates, in many ways, the identity of answers to the present situation.

Taking it from the angle of the political climate, the political balance of strength, although the planned deployment of missiles will not involve the territory of West Berlin it will most certainly affect us very strongly. For that reason we are developing many contacts and links. For example, at the district level assistance is being extended to the initiative groups in all places in

the FRG where missiles are to be deployed. It should be remembered that many missile pads are located in small communities far from big cities. For the population of these communities, support from West Berlin will be very helpful.

And further. Between the peace fighters in our city and in the FRG intensive contacts are maintained to coordinate joint actions. We hold conferences, coordinating meetings, and so on. Nobody is coerced. We acquaint ourselves with planned actions, with plans for organizing non-violent actions at the expected missiles deployment sites, and weigh the possibility of using various initiatives in our conditions.

Extremely important contacts are maintained with the British peace movement. In the Coordinating Committee we have heard several reports on the forms of resistance employed in Britain. Much of what is being done there can serve as an example, for instance, the actions directly at the missiles deployment sites. Mention must also be made of the links to Italy. West Berlin peace initiative groups also took part in the actions of the Italian peace fighters. We have collected signatures and sent them together with messages of greetings to the groups that organize resistance there.

I have briefly mentioned the contacts known to me personally. I am sure that actually the various regional and national peace movements are much more closely intertwined. Resistance to the NATO arms build-up must be so coordinated that no country is left outside the struggle. That is our main concern.

Harvey Gundlach. A condition for defending peace successfully is greater activity by each in his own backyard, and for us this backyard is West Berlin. Solidarity is an important factor here. Our experience is that the peace and disarmament demonstrations in all parts of the world stimulate and encourage our movement. Moreover, the West Berlin peace movement is spurred by the disarmament proposals of the socialist countries. We hope that our efforts, too, evoke a response from the peace forces. It is necessary to go on promoting cooperation among all people of good will and extend the exchanges of experience and views between them in a spirit of concerted struggle for peace and disarmament.

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The content of the discussion, its orientation, and the polemical passion with which each of the participants stated his view mirror the distinctive, complex and sometimes contradictory character of the contemporary peace movement, which unites tens of millions of people of

the most diverse political, philosophical and religious persuasions. Of course, this heterogeneity of the movement does not always allow coming to a common denominator in theoretical issues and creates some practical problems. However, the discussion made it plain that the growing danger of a global nuclear cataclysm is pushing distinctions in views on individual issues into the background. To resolve the immediate problem of our day, namely, that of cutting short the plans for deploying U.S. first-strike nuclear weapons in Western Europe, preventing yet another spiral of the arms race, and defusing the missile detonator of a world war, there must be cohesion and unity of action of all people who are united by the natural desire to survive on this earth.

The WMR editorial staff believes that the exchange of views in West Berlin may encourage a further discussion of the problems that were raised. It expresses its readiness to accord space in the journal for major contributions and also

for short letters from readers dealing with these problems.

1. Georges Bidault was France's Prime Minister in 1946 and in 1949-50. He was a vocal proponent of NATO and opposed granting independence to Algeria and other French colonies. — Ed.

2. The pastoral letter of Catholic priests of the FRG, of May 1983, says nothing about the NATO decision to deploy nuclear missiles. However, it categorically denounces nuclear war and the arms race. — Ed.

3. The "social defense" concept was conceived as early as the 1950s. In its present interpretation it suggests replacing the "policy of security" pursued by the ruling circles of the FRG, a policy based on armament and intimidation, with the population's civil resistance to any potential aggressor and also to any internal putsch. — Ed.

4. During the Peace Festival on May 7 and 8, 1983 there were in West Berlin many actions involving nearly a hundred thousand people. — Ed.

5. This is the treaty on the limitation of ABM systems signed by the USSR and the USA in May 1972. — Ed.

6. This is a reference to the pastoral letter of the U.S. Catholic bishops of May 1983, in which, addressing 50 million American Catholics, they condemn the threat of the use of nuclear weapons and call for the freezing and reduction of the U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals. — Ed.



Strengthening the people's patriotic unity

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The Saur (April) Revolution, whose fifth anniversary was marked this year by the people of Afghanistan, and by all their true friends, opened for the country the gateway to national revival and social progress. The revolution was a law-governed result and an objective imperative for the development of Afghan society, which had been riven by a continuous growth of antagonistic contradictions between a handful of exploiters and the mass of the working people. Through the revolution, the working people strove to escape from the medieval darkness and to shed the shackles of feudalism and pre-feudal relations. Millions of peasants demanded land and water, the people thirsted for knowledge, and wanted to have the right to decide their own future.

The revolution proclaimed simple and clear goals: to make the people happy and the country flourishing. But it was clearly impossible to

achieve everything at one stroke, because the way from deeply rooted backwardness to all-round progress is long and hard.

At the same time, the PDPA believes that, while the country's problems defy instant and simultaneous solution, there must be no pause in the country's revolutionary transformation, no marking of time. The programmatic and long-term goals should not obscure the urgent current tasks, that which needs to be done now, at once. The people must be given a chance to feel in practice the advantages of the new system. The key to winning the trust and support of the masses is to raise their material and cultural standards and advance in the radical restructuring of the society in every sphere.

The Afghan working people truly feel the concern of the revolutionary power for their problems. In the course of a land-and-water reform, nearly 300,000 peasant families re-

ceived land allotments free of charge; while over 3.4 million peasants were exempted by the government from the paying of taxes totalling 722 million afghani. The prices of chemical fertilizers and pesticides were lowered, while procurement prices for technical crops like cotton and sugar-beet were raised. The state has made credits available to farmers on a large scale for the purchase of high-quality seed, fertilizers, farm machinery and other implements.

The revolution has brought about a radical change in the work and everyday life of the workers. It gave them for the first time the right to have fixed working hours and paid holidays. Working women have been given paid maternity leave and leave for the care of sick children. The less-well-off categories of working people have had their wages increased by up to 50 per cent. Government appropriations for free meals for industrial and office workers at enterprises in the state sector were increased by 50 per cent. The scale of housing construction is being extended. Medical services are being developed and for many needy persons they are provided free of charge. More and more workers and members of their families are able to take their recreation and build up their health in holiday homes. The first such home was opened in Jelalabad, in a palace once owned by a relative of the toppled king. Many working people are also sent abroad, above all to the Soviet Union, for medical treatment and holidays.

Much has been done to raise the educational and cultural level of the population. Under the old despotic regimes, 95 per cent of the Afghan men were unable to read or write (among the women, the figure was even higher — close to 98 per cent). A program is now being implemented to teach all urban dwellers to read and write by 1987, and the rural population by 1990. There are more than 30,000 literacy courses attended by over 600,000 men and women; close to 1 million have already completed these courses and have received certificates to that effect. At the courses, they are not only taught to read and write but are also given the rudiments of political knowledge, the fundamentals of the advanced revolutionary theory. All Afghans now have access to education, regardless of their national or tribal origin, sex or age. A law on universal primary education has been passed, and schools have been opened for hundreds of thousands of children of various nationalities studying in their own mother tongue for the first time ever.

The achievements of the revolutionary power certainly would have been much more impressive had not imperialism and its satraps

started an undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA) in the most brutal and cynical manner. The U.S. administration is the architect of the unprovoked aggression against our sovereign and non-aligned state, and it is putting the most effort into knocking together, arming and smuggling bandit formations into Afghanistan. The United States has appropriated almost \$290 million for this purpose, apart from the cost of so-called covert operations. The bandits would have been wiped out long ago but for the imperialist support, and the shelter and military training camps outside Afghanistan.

Meanwhile, the counter-revolutionary rabble continue to leave a trail of death and destruction on Afghan soil. The bandits have destroyed more than 1,800 schools, 150 hospitals and medical centers, dozens of mosques and prayer houses. They are killing teachers and activists of the people's power, staging subversive acts, blowing up electric-transmission lines, leaving industry without electricity and the civilian population without light and heating. Realizing that the revolution cannot be defeated in open battle, the enemy seeks to disrupt industrial and agricultural production, the operation of transport, and the steady flow of supplies by means of sabotage and subversion. The purpose is quite clear: to cause discontent among the people with the economic hardships, and to set them against the revolutionary power.

But the schemes of the counter-revolution are collapsing. The country's economic condition is being steadily consolidated. Over the past two years, there has been growth in all indicators. In that period, the gross national product has increased by five per cent, while appropriations for social needs have nearly doubled. The area of cultivated farmland, and the output of wheat, vegetables, meat, citrus fruits and oil-yielding crops have increased. Last year,¹ industrial enterprises in the state and mixed sector increased their output. There has been a marked growth in the extraction of coal and gas, and in the volume of drilling and prospecting operations, in the generation of electric power, in the manufacture of cotton and woolen fabrics, and other goods. State subsidies have helped to keep the prices of some prime necessities unchanged. By way of comparison, let us note, for instance, that the prices of foodstuffs in Afghanistan are a third of those in Iran, and at least one-half of those in Pakistan.

When our party became the ruling party, it took upon itself a historical responsibility for the future of the country and the people. Under

the leadership of the PDPA, a revolutionary power resting on the alliance of the workers and the peasants, with the support of other sections of the working people and of all true patriots has been set up in the country. Being the main political gain of the Saur Revolution, this power is also the main political instrument for further deepening the revolutionary process. Consistently fulfilling the decisions and action program adopted at the national party conference in March 1982, the PDPA works to involve ever broader masses of people, various classes and social strata in carrying out progressive democratic transformations, so enabling them to acquire in practice the political experience which is required to comprehend and accept the goals of the revolution.

The Saur Revolution has converted the workers, once an oppressed and exploited class, into the collective owner of the means of production in the state sector. It is a key task of the PDPA's social policy steadily to enhance the role and importance of the working class in the life of society. This policy is aimed to make the workers of enterprises in the state sector the most organized and dynamically growing force under the national-democratic revolution.

The growth of their class self-awareness, and of their labor and political activity is exemplified in the activities of the trade unions. First set up after the Saur Revolution, they now have a membership of over 160,000. The trade unions stand up for the rights of industrial and office workers and take part in controlling the observance of labor legislation and the terms of collective agreements at enterprises both in the state and the private sector. Their efforts are aimed to improve working conditions and to extend social and everyday services. Whenever necessary, working people are given financial and other material assistance by the trade union from its funds.

Because of the enemies' subversive action, ensuring the security of production units and the people working there continues to be an acute problem. The trade unions have put forward this slogan: "Security of the Enterprises Is the Cause of the Workers' Collectives." This slogan has broad support, and the big factories and plants are now guarded by the industrial and office workers themselves. Many of them join the ranks of volunteer detachments in defense of the Revolution.

Labor emulation, initiated by workers at state enterprises, is a fundamentally new phenomenon. Those involved vie with each other to economize on raw materials and electric power, to fulfil and overfulfil plan assignments ahead of schedule. The winners are rewarded

with cash bonuses and honorary certificates. Giving a high appreciation of the role of labor emulation in training the working people in the spirit of collectivism and loyalty to the ideals of the Revolution, the PDPA CC, the DRA Council of Ministers and the CC of the Democratic Organization of the Youth of Afghanistan (DOYA) adopted a joint resolution in October 1982 setting forth measures to make the emulation nation-wide. An emulation campaign to mark the fifth anniversary of the Saur Revolution displayed patriotic enthusiasm and high labor élan.

The ancient Afghan tradition of *Hashara* — neighbor mutual assistance — is being continued and developed by days of volunteer work which are arranged with the active participation of the trade unions. On such days, work is done without pay in improving the environment in the populated localities, and repairing roads, schools and other public buildings. Volunteers helped to build the airport at Ghazni, the irrigation canals at Herat and the dams in Deh Sabz. Account No. 9462 at the State Bank is well known at all the factories and plants, at the farms and establishments in Afghanistan: that is where the money earned on volunteer labor days is deposited, to be used for the building of children's homes and to help the orphans — of whom there are many, as a result of the bandit raids.

Labor emulation and volunteer work yield a considerable economic and material effect, but that is not their only point. They are an invaluable means for enriching the political experience and raising the self-awareness of the working class as the leading, vanguard contingent of social development, which must set an example to the other social strata taking a national-patriotic attitude.

The PDPA believes that efforts to invigorate the activity of all the revolutionary and democratic forces looking to the triumph of the new system are of primary importance. The peasantry is the most massive of these forces in Afghanistan. That is why our party attaches special importance to the consistent implementation of the land-and-water reform, which in a backward agrarian country is, in effect, the material basis of the national-democratic revolution. The PDPA CC and the DRA government have drawn up a program for carrying on this reform over a period of years. The allocation of land in eight provinces has continued since May 1982, and a new type of certificate is being used to certify entitlement to land allotments and the right to use water. Plans have been drawn up to cultivate large tracts of fallow land, to carry out irrigation and land improvement

works and to introduce in practice advanced agrotechnical methods and modern techniques in the organization of labor. Mechanized state farms and machine-and-tractor stations are being set up to popularize such techniques and help the peasants to master them.

Cooperation in agriculture is the key element in the efforts to transform the social structure of the Afghan countryside, and to establish new agrarian relations. At the end of March 1982, the DRA's Revolutionary Council passed a law on cooperatives, which provides for the encouragement and support of various types of cooperation: production, supply, marketing, and the extension to cooperatives of the necessary assistance through bank credits, help in purchasing machinery, high-quality seeds and chemical fertilizers, and in marketing farm produce. Much importance is attached to explaining the principles of the cooperative movement. At meetings and in conversations with peasants, they are told what a cooperative is, what kind of tasks it can handle, and what kind of advantages it offers its members. This work has yielded results: cooperatives now have more than 200,000 members. When they are set up, the principle of voluntary membership is strictly observed, and not the slightest coercion is allowed, something that did, regrettably, occur at the first stage of the land reform.

The party and the revolutionary power also encourage diverse forms of cooperation among handicraftsmen, traders and artisans, all of whom can make a contribution to building a new and prosperous Afghanistan. Their socially useful efforts are merged with the common tide of struggle to effect national democratic transformations, which in content fully meet their vital interests.

Similar long-term and honest cooperation has been offered by the revolutionary power to the national bourgeoisie, both within the framework of the mixed sector and on an individual basis. In Afghanistan, national capital consists mainly of small and medium-size enterprises whose owners are not linked with imperialist monopolies and so have an objective interest in overcoming the country's backwardness and developing its economy. The party and the government expect private entrepreneurs not only to abide by the laws regulating their activity strictly and unconditionally, but also to take a conscious attitude to the needs of the state and society, helping to satisfy these needs through participation on mutually advantageous terms in capital investments in concrete national economic projects.

In the light of its objective scientific analysis of the structure of Afghan society today and the current arrangement of social forces, the PDPA has conducted a policy of shaping and consolidating broad national-patriotic unity. The forms, ways and means of bringing it about are set forth in well-grounded and concrete terms in the decisions of the national party conference, the PDPA's action program, the Basic Principles of the DRA² and other party and government documents. The need for such unity springs from the very substance of the national-democratic revolution. It is embodied in the new political system which is emerging in the country and which relies on the PDPA's leading role, and includes, together with the organs of state power, the National Fatherland Front (NFF) with all its affiliated organizations.

The establishment of the Front was an event of truly historic importance in our people's life. The Front is a mass socio-political organization uniting and bringing closer together all the progressive patriotic forces in the country, regardless of their social-class and national origins, for the purpose of building a new and just society and for defending Afghanistan's independence against imperialist encroachments. The basis and core of the National Fatherland Front is the alliance of workers and peasants, while its leading and guiding force is the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. The organizations affiliated with the Front — trade unions, cooperatives, young people's and women's organizations, associations of writers and workers in the arts, the Economic Consultative Council representing the interests of private capital, the Supreme Council of the Ulemas³ and the Clergy, and so on, constitute a ramified and flexible system through which the party maintains close ties with the masses, brings out their problems and moods, explains its policies to them, and mobilizes the people for tackling the vital tasks. The Front is the socio-political basis of the people's power and an instrument for establishing lasting civic peace and revolutionary order in the country, creating the conditions for settling controversial issues by peaceful means, and beating back the armed intervention by imperialism and reaction.

In the ranks of the Front now are more than half a million people who are members of 16 public bodies — the founders of the Front — and also over 100,000 individual members. Its local organizations (already numbering 408) operate in 24 of the 29 provinces. They are helping to put through the land-and-water reform, in restructuring education, setting up literacy courses, arranging volunteer labor days

and other public campaigns involving various strata of the population.

The Front is a historical successor to the traditions of the Afghan people's liberation struggle against foreign invaders and oppressors. Despite the cultural, linguistic and other distinctions between the numerous peoples and tribes inhabiting our country they all stood shoulder to shoulder in its defense whenever it was faced with a threat. But whereas in the past such unity took shape spontaneously and even contrary to the desires of the reactionary governments, which did their utmost to fan national, tribal and communal contradictions to promote their own selfish interests, it has now developed and strengthened through the consistent and purposeful policy of the PDPA and the revolutionary power.

Attitude to the traditional tribal meetings is a vivid manifestation of this policy. Such meetings, called the *jirgahs*, are deeply rooted in Afghan history. They were called whenever it was necessary to join efforts in finding a solution for some intricate and important problem or to beat back an enemy attack. The revolutionary power has supported and continued this ancient tradition, regarding it as an effective form for involving all the peoples and tribes in defending the gains of the Revolution and deepening the progressive transformations. The *jirgahs*, held with the participation of representatives of party and government agencies, are an avenue of consultation and cooperation between the authorities and the tribes. Participants in these meetings voice support for the policies of the PDPA and the revolutionary government, take decisions to participate in implementing socio-economic measures, to fight bandit formations and to defend the borders across which the bandits infiltrate into our territory.

The whole of the PDPA's policy on the nationalities question is marked by the spirit of unity and patriotic cohesion. It is not decided by short-term considerations, but by the very substance of the Saur Revolution. The goal has been set to assure all the peoples and tribes of our country of equal rights and opportunities for participating in state and social affairs and involving them in genuine material and spiritual progress. Since one of the most serious impediments to the solution of problems which spring from the intricate national and tribal structure of Afghan society is due to the unequal levels of socio-economic development in the country's regions, special attention is being given to raising the backward provinces.

The party and the revolutionary power are working to strengthen the relations of friend-

ship and brotherhood and bring all the peoples and tribes closer together, guaranteeing the preservation and development of all the best and most valuable elements of their historical and cultural heritage. Indeed, the national character of the Saur Revolution is expressed precisely in the fact that it reckons with the peculiarities of the peoples and tribes inhabiting Afghanistan and with their unique traditions and profound religious feelings.

The PDPA's attitude to the Moslem religion, which is that of the majority of the population, has been formulated clearly and explicitly. The tasks of our Revolution meet the hopes and aspirations of the Moslem working people and their urge for genuine social justice. The party and the revolutionary power effectively guarantee freedom of religion, and stand on guard of the legitimate rights of Moslems and the patriotic clergy. In Afghanistan, care is displayed for religious institutions, the protection of places of worship and help in observing Moslem holidays and rituals. All the religious schools — the *medrese* — which had existed are open, and the government helps the needy to perform pilgrimages, the *haj*. The government finances the construction of new mosques and prayer houses and the repair and reconstruction of those damaged or destroyed by the counter-revolutionary bands.

Internal and external reaction have spared no effort to make use of the ignorance and backwardness of a section of the Afghan Moslems so as to set them against the Revolution and against the party's policies. But this is meeting with growing resistance. An address issued by the Administration for the Affairs of Islam and the Supreme Council of the Ulemas and the Clergy said: "We, ulema and religious figures of the DRA, have found in practice that all measures and performance of the revolutionary government are in accord with the fundamental principles of sacred Islam. Therefore, we urge you not to believe the seditious lies of mercenaries and their hypocritical and criminal ringleaders. Rally round your Government." While displaying respect for the faith of the believers, our party and the revolutionary power will never reconcile themselves with the attempts by the enemies of the country to use Islam for counter-revolutionary purposes and to make Afghanistan depart from its chosen way.

The party's ideological, political, agitation and propaganda work among the masses is completely geared to the task of winning a majority of the people for the revolution and consolidating national patriotic unity. The further improvement and invigoration of this

work was examined by the ninth extended plenary meeting of the PDPA CC, which was held at the end of July 1982. It was stressed at the meeting that in order to govern the country and to achieve real changes for the better, changes for which the people had waited so long, the party must draw even closer to the working people and to extend and strengthen its ties with the masses. The party draws its strength from the trust, sympathy and active support of the people, who must have a profound understanding of the goals, content and main lines of its activity. This calls for painstaking and persevering effort in explaining the meaning of the PDPA's policy, of its programmatic goals and propositions, of the achievements of the revolutionary power and of the anti-people substance of the plans of internal and external reaction. There is a need to carry on the struggle against the enemy's ideological subversion more actively and vigorously, skilfully and swiftly exposing the enemy's malicious inventions, bearing in mind that lies will be heard where the word of truth is not.

We believe that the task is to reach literally every man and woman and to awaken to a conscious and active life all the working people of Afghanistan. This makes the question of perfecting the forms and methods of ideological and political work most acute. This work must be carried on in a differentiated manner, with an eye to the condition of the various strata and groups of the population, of their views, customs and traditions and of their educational and cultural level.

Here, the mass media — the press, radio and television — have a great responsibility. But with the mass illiteracy still existing in the country, and with television and radio broadcasts not reaching many regions of the country, the main instrument continues to be the living, impassioned and understandable word of the party propagandist and agitator. It is as necessary and important — and frequently even more so — as the submachine gun in the hands of the fighter. The battle is being fought for the hearts and minds of millions of people. Our comrades are able to counter the enemy propaganda with the party's arguments, which are much more potent and telling in the ideological disputes.

The agitation and propaganda teams consisting of PDPA and DOYA activists are dispatched into the remotest and most out-of-the-way regions, and travel across provinces and districts. The members of these teams are known as "soldiers of the revolution" and they go to the villages and address the population in the village squares, in the market-places,

organizing meetings and concerts. To their efforts we owe the formation of many detachments in defense of the revolution, whose fighters also undertake the functions of agitators and propagandists, acting as the connecting link between the party and the broad masses of people.

Just now, the central line in mass ideological and political work is to explain and popularize the results of the national party conference, the PDPA's action program, and the decisions of the 9th and 10th (December 1982) and the 11th (March 1983) plenary meetings of the party's CC. These are discussed not only in party organizations but also in workers' collectives, agricultural cooperatives, army units and at meetings of clergy, tribal assemblies and religious communities. Rallies, meetings and demonstrations attended by a great many people were staged throughout the country under the slogan of supporting the decisions of the national conference. Almost 200,000 people took part in such a demonstration in Kabul alone.

Regular meetings with working people by members of the party and state leadership are an important form in consolidating the ties of the party and the revolutionary power with the masses. Such meetings help to gain a closer understanding of the needs and aspirations of the working people and, on the other hand, provide an opportunity for presenting a kind of progress report by the party and the government about what is being done to improve life and raise the well-being of the population. Such meetings, an expression of the genuinely democratic character of the new system, help to find the desired solutions for the acute problems, eliminate shortcomings without delay and map out measures for accelerating the pace of socio-economic development.

While educating the masses in a spirit of national and patriotic unity and love for their country, the party does not relax its attention to strengthening in the midst of the people feelings of international solidarity with the forces of peace, democracy and progress throughout the world, with all those who are fighting against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism, racism and international reaction.

At the same time, the PDPA and the people's power believe that their patriotic and internationalist duty is to carry to the progressive forces of the world this fundamental truth: Afghanistan's sovereignty and freedom, and its people's happiness and well-being can be ensured only through the further consolidation and development of the fraternal friendship

and fruitful cooperation with the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place. The PDPA puts a high value on the level of relations between our two states, and believes that it is necessary to work for further enhancing the effectiveness of Afghan-Soviet cooperation. The Soviet Union's vast all-round assistance will always be remembered by the Afghan patriots as a shining example of internationalism in action. Our party and revolutionary government want the people of the whole world to know the truth about the solidarity and cooperation between the Afghan and the Soviet peoples, and to have a correct understanding of their friendship, which has a history of more than 60 years and which, since the victory of the Saur Revolution, has developed into a genuine brotherhood.

Afghanistan's revolutionary renewal is proceeding successfully, despite the tremendous difficulties produced by the aggressive schemes of world imperialism led by the U.S. imperialists, and of regional and internal reac-

tion. Under the leadership of the PDPA, measures are being consistently implemented to raise the national economy and culture, strengthen revolutionary legality and law and order, ensure democratic rights and freedoms, and establish fundamentally new relations of trust and cooperation between all the revolutionary and national-patriotic forces.

The unity of these forces provides the party and the people's power with reliable support in defense of the gains of the revolution. It is the guarantee of the Afghan people's ultimate victory in the undeclared war started against our republic by world imperialism, their victory in the struggle to build a new and just society in the country, and to strengthen world peace and social progress.

1. In accordance with the Afghan calendar, the year starts on March 21. — Ed.

2. Effective from April 1980 until the adoption of a new constitution. — Ed.

3. The ulemas are students of Moslem theology and law.

West European integration in crisis

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Our last issue reported a discussion on "The Working Class Struggle Under Capitalist Integration,"¹ a problem that has drawn the attention of many communist parties. *WMR* now presents an article setting forth the French communists' attitude to the EEC.

The European Economic Community was set up under the Treaties of Paris² and Rome³ in a period of rapid monopoly growth (with the formation of large financial groups of French capital) and a rural exodus into the cities. The Common Market was then presented by its advocates and the bourgeoisie as the foundation of a "union of peoples," "economic and social progress" and "steady improvement of living conditions and employment" (as the Preamble to the Treaty of Rome declares). At that time, the FCP was alone in France in exposing the true monopoly and imperialist content of the projects underlying the Community of the Six. Our party organized broad action in France and in Europe to resist these plans. In April 1959, the first meeting of the communist parties of the EEC Six called on the socialist parties, the trade unions and the democratic forces of these states to come out against the Europe of the trusts and

in defense of the working people's demands.

The Common Market was set up for two main purposes. First, in order to enlarge the field of activity for monopoly capital by the removal of borders; and second, to create within the framework of the Atlantic Alliance and in the context of the cold war a new political front against the socialist countries and the socio-political forces of liberation. The frustrated attempts to institutionalize a Defense Community (notably, the failure in 1954, as a result of the FCP's campaigns, of the plans to set up a European Defense Union) show that the political goal was precisely to take a stance against developing socialism and to hamper the upswing in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe.

The 30-year history of West European integration shows that Western Europe's political, strategic and economic dependence on the United States has never disappeared. The EEC, a creature of the cold war, and the West European countries have always followed the U.S. lead within the NATO framework,⁴ they have always backed the United States in its imperialist options against the liberation struggle of the peoples (notably, the people of Vietnam). Nor

has the EEC become an economic association independent of the United States, because Western Europe has never ceased to be a privileged zone open for U.S. investments (from 1966 to 1975, for instance, its share of U.S. investments abroad increased from 14.6 to 37.2 per cent).

This two-fold objective — economic and political — will also be found in the role assigned to the European Community with respect to the Third World countries. In the 1970s, the EEC formulated a policy of external "development aid" which was embodied in the Lomé Convention (1975),⁵ and in the cooperation agreements with the Mediterranean countries (1970-1971). This line also involved the Latin American region and the ASEAN countries,⁶ being a continuation of the colonial line with respect to these countries after their rise to independence. Privileged and "preferential" relations with one-time French and British colonies have been maintained. All of this created the economic, political and institutional framework for the continued operations by capital in these countries and obtaining raw materials and agricultural produce. At the same time, this policy helped to maintain the imperialist spheres of influence and to preserve strategic and political positions in the face of the growing national-liberation movements.

There are three milestones in the EEC's development: the entry of Denmark, Ireland and, most importantly, Great Britain in 1973; the entry of Greece in 1981; and the expected entry of Spain and Portugal in 1984.

But what is the EEC today, after 30 years of development, of which more than 10 years have been periods of crisis?

All the capitalist countries, including each of the EEC Ten, are in the throes of crisis. Unemployment (12 million in the EEC), inflation, budget deficits and stagnation on every hand are the gravest symptoms of the economic crisis, into the bog of which the West European countries are gradually but inexorably sinking, even if to a different degree because of their national peculiarities. France's deficit in trade with other EEC countries⁷ increased from 0.6 billion francs in 1958 to 21 billion in 1979 (30 billion in 1981). Meanwhile, the FRG has multiplied its trade surplus within the Common Market framework. The level of unemployment is rising everywhere, with the exception of France, where it now remains on the same level (in 1982, it came to 8.3 per cent of the active population). The rates of inflation were also high. Finally, economic growth in 1981 and 1982 was negative, zero or close to

zero in all the countries, again with the exception of France.

The crisis upheavals are not rooted in the Community as such, but above all in each country's internal factors. These are structural factors that are organic to state-monopoly capitalism. There is the crisis of productivity under the on-going technological revolution; the crisis of the markets brought about by the austerity practices and the pillage of the developing countries; the crisis of the monetary system and of public funding which has gone hand in hand with all manner of wasteful spending. Georges Marchais told an audience at the FCP Central School: "The type of development brought by capitalism in crisis brutally hits the aspirations of the peoples, leads to blockages in growth, aggravates the problems and leaves requirements unsatisfied."⁸

Consequently, the economic upheavals are not rooted in some "world crisis," as many bourgeois ideologists or reformists claim, but in the crisis of the very structures of state-monopoly capitalism. But it would also be wrong to underestimate its international aspects, which bear on the EEC countries. Everywhere, austerity policies tend to deepen the contradictions and intensify the crisis. Everywhere, the underlying criteria of economic policy exert pressure on social expenditures, incomes and public budgets to the detriment of the working people. Everywhere the contradictions produced by the sharpening crisis have brought about marked fluctuations in the exchange rates. One must note that here the European Community has had a role of its own: it has coordinated the adoption of austerity policies, and the changes in industrial structures that have led to the closure of plants, the reduction in the number of jobs and vast losses (especially in the steel industry, ship-building, and textiles), and gave broad access to U.S. capital and Japanese goods and encouraged the drive against the social services.

The EEC has ultimately promoted the crisis by coordinating the policy of its member-countries and taking steps affecting the structure of agriculture and industry at a time of recession and drive for profits. It has created a favorable outlook for dominant capital, especially West German capital, it has ensured extensive "social" funding of measures aimed to re-orient the economy and effect structural changes, and has helped the member-countries and the big bourgeoisie to implement these. Let us note, for instance, that from 1975 to 1980, the EEC gave the steel industry subsidies totalling at least

300 million francs in France and 500 million in Britain.

In agriculture, the EEC has even broader prerogatives: it has pursued a common policy, notably, in fixing prices and regulating the markets of many farm products. There is nothing exceptional in these prerogatives: in France, for instance, the results of the Common Market's activity have been supplemented with the results of the Malthusian and anti-peasant policies carried on for years by the right-wing parties, and it will take much effort to do away with its consequences.

Finally, the balance of the Community's cooperation with other states is also mainly negative. Initially, this cooperation to some extent — most insignificantly — met some of the requirements of the developing countries (stabilization of prices for their main products, opportunities for dialogue, financial cooperation). But the crisis and shortage of financial resources soon made themselves felt, and there is deep disappointment in the countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific. Promises have not been honored, for these countries, being extremely backward (most of them are among the industrially least developed countries), have not even constituted a "privileged" zone for the activity and investments of West European multinationals as the big bourgeoisie had wanted them to be. So the developing countries are still outside the process in which production is being internationalized, remaining no more than areas from which there is a capitalist extraction of farm produce, raw materials and energy. They continue to be dependent on the European powers, which maintain a neocolonialist type of relations with them.

The outcome of the EEC's activity shows that integration is now in crisis and casts doubt on the cohesion of the Community itself. Great tension is caused by the contradictions springing from the internal disproportions. These are determined by the successive enlargements of the EEC framework and agreements with external partners, a reflection of the monopolies' urge to increase the field of their activity, and also by the effects of the scientific and technological revolution, whose influence goes well beyond the framework of the Community.

In 1957, the FCP came out against the Common Market, because its main objective was to intensify the capitalist concentration of production and so counter the upswing in the socialist countries. In the early 1960s, namely, in 1962, our party decided, in accordance with a FCP CC resolution, to take cognizance of the EEC's existence. That was a realistic decision, which did not in any way alter our fundamental

analysis of the nature of the Community. It merely signified that, instead of denying the existing reality, it is better to fight within the established institutions for a different policy that reckons with the national interest, with the interests of the working people in each country; it signified the need to merge the class battles in Western Europe into a single stream.

This fundamental position remains unchanged, and the present disastrous results of the "Europe of the Ten" show that the FCP's political decision was right. Incidentally, our party had an opportunity of explaining it clearly and very broadly during the general elections to the European Parliament in June 1979. On the basis of "Twenty Proposals for Europe," 19 communist and allied deputies were elected, a success for the FCP. We came out, in particular, against any enlargement of the EEC (regarded as the main component of integration), against any extension of the rights and powers of the Community agencies (especially the inclusion of defense matters within their competence) and against the coordination of the policy of structural changes in industry and austerity. We proposed a Europe of cooperation and mutual interests: a democratic Western Europe with respect for the independence of each state, and with institutions giving the trade unions and the working people real opportunities to act and express their views; an independent Western Europe, in particular, with respect to the United States; and finally, a Western Europe of social progress, with a return to the major social objectives as proclaimed in the Treaty of Rome.

These proposals continue to be basic to the FCP's struggle within the EEC and are designed to expand inter-state cooperation and enable France to retain the resources and have the potentialities for ensuring its sovereignty and socio-economic development for the benefit of the working people. This orientation is obviously of primary importance for a country like ours, which has entered upon its own way of change and social progress. This line could be underpinned with concrete forms of resistance to supranationality and capitalist integration, resistance that is gaining in strength in view of the crisis. The latter generates broad social movements and trends toward a consolidation of national structures, defense of the public sector and social services, and of expenditures on the working people's social needs and incomes against the practice of austerity.⁹ The Community's most supranational projects have not been realized; a number of common policies (like the agricultural policy or the European monetary system) are periodically

threatened with collapse, while political cooperation remains no more than inter-state cooperation.

Consequently, all of this prompts a search for national ways out of the crisis and other forms of cooperation in Western Europe.

In the form in which the Community now exists, it is certainly a real factor and something of a constraint on France's freedom of action. It seeks to erect obstacles, notably economic ones, to the changes initiated by the government of the left. However, it is quite possible to reduce pressure from the external forces, as from the crisis itself, by resolutely implementing the policy which springs from the May 10, 1981, elections in France. There is a need to ensure the country's socio-economic development, to win back the domestic market and to re-establish the equilibrium in foreign trade, in short, to secure new economic growth relying on burgeoning demand. From this angle, membership in the Community should be no more than an additional factor in the activity of the states carried on in accordance with their own decisions. This activity can and must promote an economic upturn, the creation of jobs and so-

cial progress. That is precisely why the FCP has put forward its constructive proposals for going on to forms of cooperation in Western Europe that would display greater respect for the essential realities of the nations, their independence and the people's aspirations.

1. See WMR No. 6, 1983.

2. The Paris Treaty of 1951 set up the European Coal and Steel Community.

3. The Treaty of Rome signed in 1957, instituted the European Economic Community.

4. In 1966, France withdrew from NATO's military organization.

5. The Convention brings together the EEC countries and over 60 countries in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific.

6. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations, which includes Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines.

7. France has an especially large deficit with the FRG (38 billion francs in 1982).

8. *L'Humanité*, November 30, 1982.

9. According to EEC data, from 1972 to 1979, the purchasing power of the population increased in most EEC countries, apparently testifying to the fact that the social appropriations and the attained level of incomes are structural-type gains. Let us note, however, that since 1981 this purchasing power has declined or remained stationary because of the stepped-up policies of austerity in the EEC countries.

The hour has struck

Manuel Perez
Uruguayan journalist

In order to mark May Day this year, at least 150,000 men and women assembled in Montevideo, a record figure for such demonstrations in the whole of the country's history and an unprecedented fact after the long years under a dictatorship.

Responding to a call from the legal trade unions, which was supported by the officially recognized parties and the illegal Broad Front (FA),¹ masses of people thronged the city's central streets on their way to the venue of the main rally. On the rostrum, alongside its organizers, leaders of officially recognized trade unions, were the leaders of the banned National Working People's Convent (CNT)² headed by its chairman.

The working class was in the vanguard of the May Day demonstrations. It censured the government's economic and social policies and demanded direct participation in re-establishing legality and in seeking a way out of the country's crisis. That was a firm expression of the Uruguayan proletariat's will.

All of this was made possible by the significant changes that have taken place in the country. At a CC plenary meeting in February 1983, the Communist Party of Uruguay (PCU) considered the new situation which took shape after the victory of the opposition in the elections to the governing bodies of the officially recognized parties on November 28, 1982.³ Having closely analyzed the balance of forces and the mood of the masses, which are deeply indignant with the tyranny, the Central Committee declared: "A new political situation is in the offing, and, providing the struggle is continued, this should lead to the eradication of the dictatorship." A number of factors behind the new situation also enabled the CC to draw the following conclusion: "In 1983-1984, we are faced with an historic battle with crucial consequences for the future: *the winning of democracy for the reconstruction of the homeland and for further advance through an understanding among all the democratic and patriotic forces.*"⁴

The results of the November election returns go beyond the framework of the officially recognized parties. First, the opinion of the masses has been voiced clearly and definitively: in the 1980 plebiscite (on a draft constitution presented by the dictatorship),⁵ 58 per cent said "No," but in November 1982 the opposition forces got support from 82 per cent of the electorate. Second, 85,000 voters responded to the FA's call to leave their voting papers unmarked when refusing to vote for the National Party (PN) and the Colorado Party.⁶ Most of the unmarked voting-papers were cast in Montevideo, where they made up 12.5 per cent of the total poll. Consequently, many Uruguayans responded to the call of an organization which had been outlawed, and whose leaders and rank-and-file members are being persecuted and imprisoned. The FA has shown that it continues to operate as a real political force. Third, PN and Colorado Party candidates loyal to the regime suffered a crushing defeat. This debunked the official propaganda assumption that it is possible to maintain the old regime with the introduction of a "restricted democracy" functioning under the "tutelage" of the armed forces. In this context, special importance is attached to the defeat of Pacheco Areco, a former president of the republic and the dictatorship's ex-ambassador to the United States, the principal contender for the role of chief successor of the regime.

Nor did November 1982 signify an electoral act alone. The pent-up political energy of the masses, which had long sought to vent itself, spilled over into the streets in ever more numerous demonstrations which finally, in the evening of November 28, exploded in a great burst of jubilation over the victory of the opposition. The streets were effectively taken over by the people, putting an end to the reign of silence which the dictatorship had sought to make habitual by terrorism. These manifestations are a vivid expression of the masses' democratic sentiments. But in content, they are more far-reaching than that, setting forth before genuinely opposition forces the tasks of unity and joint action to overthrow the dictatorship. After all, hundreds of thousands of citizens, singing and shouting slogans in the center of Montevideo, were not celebrating the victory of some single political group: Colorado, PN and FA supporters mingled in the streets, all under the same, common slogan: "Liberty Now!"

The elections and the demonstration that followed upset the dictatorship's plans. The authorities had expected the elections to bring about a split and cause unprincipled infighting between opposition parties and within them;

they had hoped to contrast their policy with the activity of the Democratic Convergence Group (GCD),⁷ which helps to assert the idea of a coherent anti-dictatorial movement and the mustering of all the progressive forces of the continent in support of the fighters against the tyranny in Uruguay. In the streets and at the polling stations, the people have shown the untenability of the dictatorship's scenarios.

Such is the outcome of the long years of persevering and heroic resistance, which began on the day of the coup d'état and spread, involving more and more strata of the population as the socio-economic conditions worsened as the result of the workings of the "model" being implanted by the dictatorship.

The incumbent regime is an instrument of international finance capital linked with the top strata of the Uruguayan oligarchy: the big landowners, the merchants and the financiers. Ten years of the dictatorship, to which should be added the preceding period of patently oligarchic rule, have been a time of policies aimed to satisfy the most parasitic interests of finance capital, in whose hands the national income and the country's wealth are being increasingly concentrated.

That is the policy which has pressed the working people's real incomes down to half the early 1970s level. It is the policy that has led to a stifling of production, rampant speculation and usury, and a steep rise in unemployment, which, according to official data, involves about 15 per cent of the active population. The country's borders have been flung open for the uncontrolled movement of capital and goods, and financial resources are being concentrated at foreign-controlled banks, which effectively extract interest from their debtors coming to more than 50 per cent a year when adjusted for inflation. As a result, the economy labors under the burden of the heaviest crisis since the 1930s. Livestock-breeding enterprises have mortgaged virtually a year's output as collateral for their debts, but are still incapable of paying even the interest. Ever greater numbers of industrial and commercial companies are declared bankrupt or go into liquidation. The shrinking of the internal market (because of the decline in the real incomes of the population) and the flooding of the country with more competitive import products are aggravated by the protectionism of the imperialist centers, which have sharply curtailed potential exports.

The collapse of the dictatorship's economic "model" is obvious, although big business has not reduced its turnover. There is open meddling in the country's affairs by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and a group of

major transnational banks, the country's chief creditors. Uruguay's external debt has been spiralling at a dizzy rate: estimates in the official press put the total debt in September 1982 at more than \$6 billion (and this with a population of not more than 3 million). Last March, the government, which has difficulties in refinancing its debts, was forced to declare a three-month moratorium on the servicing of short-term credits. At the same time, it admitted that in 1982 alone, more than \$1 billion worth of private capital fled abroad. The country is being laid waste.

The dictatorship has ruthlessly attacked the working-class movement, banned the CNT, closed down trade unions and occupied their premises, and imprisoned and tortured thousands of trade unionists. Some of them have "disappeared without trace." Still, the tyranny has failed to break the working-class movement or to saddle it with officially approved syndicalism. The social protest is spreading to every stratum of the population, and a significant role in the growing resistance belongs to the young generation of Uruguayans whom fascism has been incapable either of demoralizing or infecting with its retrograde ideas. The students, like most intellectuals working in the arts, have been ever more active and can no longer be paralyzed even by repression.

The business associations now want more than a change of economic policy. Thus, the associations of agricultural producers have announced their intention to "establish direct contacts with the recently elected governing organs of the parties" and to declare a moratorium of their own debts, "until the country has a government elected by the people."⁸

But the dictatorship has responded to such demands only with more threats, more measures to maximize the profits of finance capital and to increase its subordination to the IMF. In February of this year, the government signed a "Letter of Intent,"⁹ which is patently capitulationist and is the most disgraceful of any over the past decades.

A gulf yawns between the regime and the people. The CPU CC says: "*Objective and subjective prerequisites have emerged for the eradication of the dictatorship.* But this can be achieved only through mass struggle. It is time to discard any illusions about the dictatorship's leaving the stage of its own accord, without attempting to let loose the poisoned arrows of fascism, whatever the political situation."¹⁰

In view of the present mood of the masses, the regime can indeed be defeated. Victory is not far off and the dictatorship will have to

leave the political stage. But for the time being it is still trying to twist and turn, and to create the conditions for prolonging and institutionalizing the fascist set-up and outfits. The leaders of the regime have drawn up a "schedule" for the holding of a general election in November 1984 and the handover of power to a new government in February 1985. But this excludes the participation in the election of the FA and its constituent organizations.

The authorities have continued their brutal reprisals against the trade unions and against all the left-wing forces, the communists in particular. But they have also threatened the rest of the opposition. The dictatorship has maintained its rigorous censorship, closed down periodicals, toughened up the repressive line in the sphere of culture, and increasingly invaded the education system. The prison cells are packed with political detainees. In order to break them down physically and morally, they are held in an atmosphere akin to that of the nazi torture-chambers. Mass arrests are being staged from time to time, people keep "disappearing," and the parties are still banned from political activity, while their leaders and many rank-and-file members are forced to live in exile.

The authorities are trying not just to continue but to institutionalize this state of affairs, so as to habituate the people to it and to get them to accept the idea that the only way leading from the dictatorship is to something called "restricted democracy" in the sphere of human rights and trade union and political freedoms. They want to have the people accustomed to the idea that elections to new organs of power will be held with the prisons packed and many citizens and left forces proscribed from participation in public life.

The regime is trying to force the political parties to accept a constitution that would institutionalize the permanent presence of the military on the so-called National Security Council (CSN, an organ set up by the "traditional" Armed Forces command), something that was already rejected in the 1980 plebiscite. For all practical purposes, it would operate independently of any elected government and even behind its back, with the right to decide on ministerial appointments. This means, in short, a "supervised democracy," a political system subordinate to the Armed Forces, whose command, appointed in camera by the military, would have the power to bring down governments and cause chronic instability.

So, it is a poisonous legacy that the country is to be saddled with as a condition for the elec-

tions and a change of government. That being so, the only way for the people is boldly to intensify the struggle, without succumbing to any conciliatory illusions.

Today, 10 years after the coup, the isolation of the dictatorship is greater than ever before. In the light of the internal situation, this is directly indicated by the results of the plebiscite and the elections to the leadership of the traditional bourgeois parties. In early 1983, the newly elected governing bodies of these parties reaffirmed their demand for a lifting of political bans, and reiterated their protest against the regime's anti-constitutional decrees. The PN has expressed its readiness to coordinate their efforts with the actions of all the organizations (clearly meaning the FA and the CNT) for the sake of rallying the anti-dictatorship forces.

The new move made by the head of the regime, General Alvarez, his project to set up a "process party" (i.e., an association of his adherents) was no more than a massive fraud which naturally produced a negative response among the people. And that is also fresh evidence of the regime's isolation, despite the fact that it has had a monopoly of power for a decade, that it has had all of the country's resources at its disposal and has been fully backed by finance capital.

In the international arena, the dictatorship has also had to face resistance from a broad spectrum of political forces, something that is being felt throughout the world, but especially on our continent. Democratic organizations allied in the Standing Conference of the Political Parties of Latin America (COPPAL)¹¹ have voiced their firm solidarity with the opposition movement in Uruguay.

The Reagan administration is trying to support the Uruguayan dictatorship. It has increased military aid to it and has issued it a "certificate of good behavior" in the sphere of human rights. But while creating a climate favoring dictatorial governments and emboldening fascist groups, Reagan's policy of confrontation, militarism and war hysteria also tends to aggravate the contradictions with the dependent countries. In Latin America's South Cone, the period in which the counter-revolutionary forces advanced and fascist coups were staged has passed, giving way to a period of a rise of the liberation movement and resistance to the imperialist plunder, especially on the part of the United States. Under the influence of the example of socialist Cuba, the Salvadoran people's heroic struggle and the Sandinista revolution, Central America has come into motion. The TIAR¹² system and the Organization of American States (OAS) are in

crisis, and there is growing opposition from democratic parties and governments to Reagan's interventionist gambles.

Both the internal and the external signs indicate that in Uruguay there is a "break-down of the regime, a new political situation in which the opposition forces are advancing despite the continued repression in the most diverse forms."¹³

It is time for the general politicization of the people, for its awakening to the struggle for democracy. In various ways, the masses are moving into the arena of legal activity, voicing their opinion in opposition publications and promoting the revival of progressive culture and art. The youth movement is asserting itself.

In Uruguay, there is now broad awareness of the fact that *no political, social and economic problems can be solved without toppling the dictatorship, and this naturally implies a winning of democracy*. In our country, 1983 should become a year of release of imprisoned political and trade union leaders, a return of all outlawed parties to public life, and a resumption of free trade union activity.

There is also an awareness of the need for a constructive *national salvation program* which takes into account the people's economic demands (primarily the re-establishment of the level of real incomes and the solution of the grave problem of unemployment), a program which provides for the reactivation of agricultural and industrial production, nationalization of credit and financial institutions, an end to the flight of capital and the release of the country from the burden of external debt. There is also a broad consensus on the re-establishment of the seriously degraded education system, the re-instatement of those dismissed and the extension to all Uruguayans of equal civil rights.

But fulfillment of a real national salvation program is obviously bound to clash with the interests of imperialism, international finance capital, the local oligarchy and banks, all those to whom the dictatorial regime has given the greatest privileges.

The key to genuine changes will be found in a blend of two elements: struggle by all those who want to see the re-establishment of democracy, and also demands by all the social strata suffering from the dictatorship's "ultra-liberal" economic policy.¹⁴ Nothing will be achieved through the good will of the regime. The crucial factor is the growing mobilization of the working people, of the people as a whole.

The decade of dictatorship has been a time of grave trials for the Communist Party: the torture and death of many of our comrades. The com-

munists were in the front lines of the 1973 general strike, of the resistance organized by the trade unions, of defense of public education and national culture, of the denunciation of the regime, and of the solidarity movement. They will continue to work for unity and will act with all firmness, militancy and dedication to promote the fulfillment of the most important patriotic task: the overthrow of the dictatorship.

1. Frente Amplio, an association of left-wing political organizations, including the Communist Party; set up in 1971. — Ed.

2. Convencion Nacional de Trabajadores, set up in 1964 as Uruguay's largest trade-union association and banned after the 1973 coup. — Ed.

3. Following a prolonged ban on political activity, the Uruguayan government allowed the traditional bourgeois parties to elect their governing bodies. Since these parties have no formal membership, all Uruguayans with the right to vote could apply for balloting papers. The authorities were forced to take such a decision under pressure from the opposition, but were hoping that their own supporters would win. — Ed.

4. "Declaracion del Comité Central del Partido Comunista de Uruguay: Por la caída de la dictadura y la recuperacion inmediata de la democracia," PCU. *Boletin exterior*, No. 3, 1983, p. 10, 13.

5. See *Estudios*, Nos. 76-77, December 1980, pp. 1-3.

6. Traditional bourgeois parties in Uruguay, now in the opposition. — Ed.

7. Grupo de Convergencia Democratica set up by representatives of various opposition organizations. For details see E. Viera's article "The Political Climate Is Changing" in *WMR*, No. 1, 1982. — Ed.

8. *El Pais*, February 8, 1983.

9. The document setting forth the obligations of a recipient of IMF loans. — Ed.

10. "Declaracion del Comité Central ..." PCU. *Boletin exterior*, No. 3, 1983, p. 12.

11. A body set up in 1979 which includes national-reformist and social-democratic orientation parties. — Ed.

12. The Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance Treaty (on military and strategic obligations) imposed by the United States on Latin America in 1947. — Ed.

13. "Declaration del Comité Central ...", PCU. *Boletin exterior*, No. 3, 1983, p. 11.

14. Meaning the utmost use in economic practice of the reactionary methods of neoliberalism, a doctrine advocating a "free" market economy. — Ed.

Nationality: Cuban

Alexander Sukhostat
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You accompany your question with a thousand pardons. Indeed, would a Black¹ citizen of free Cuba like it if he were suddenly asked: "Do you have any difficulties because of your color?" Or a mulatto: "Do you meet with any discrimination?" Some look at you with surprise, others parry: "Why don't you ask a white?" Naturally, the problem is quickly settled.

The Cuban poet David Fernandez Cherisian relates: "There was this Afro-American ballerina who came from the USA. One of her first questions was about racial discrimination. I replied that there were no Blacks in Cuba. To which she said: 'You a white man wish to tell me that there are no whites either?' 'Yes,' I replied 'all are Cubans.'"

The reply makes it plain that there is no racial problem in Cuba. It is now the one country in Latin America where all trace of four centuries of color discrimination has been erased finally and irrevocably. This is one of the cardinal achievements of the revolution.

Five years after that revolution was accomplished, even *The New York Times* had to acknowledge that Blacks and mulattos, who comprise from one-fourth to one-third of the population enjoy complete equality in Cuba.²

What is, in brief, the history of this problem?

How was racial discrimination and oppression put into practice? And how was this deep-rooted disease, which was seemingly rampant in all areas of society's life in old Cuba and affected the nation's consciousness, stamped out in so short a space of time? This is what this article is about.

History of the question

Scholarly works mention four progenitors of the Cubans. The first were Indians. However, genocide by the Spanish conquistadors led to their annihilation. The only traces of Indians to be found today are in a person's name or nickname, and in the name of a river or village. Then there were Chinese. They are not conspicuous, but they are nonetheless there. There are Chinese associations, Chinese-language newspapers, cemeteries, and restaurants. Lastly, there are Africans and Spanish — the two main personages of Cuba's history. They determine the outward appearance, character, customs and culture of the Cubans.

The story is continued by José Felipe Carneado, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and head of the CC's department of science, culture and educational institutions:

"From 1511, when the first batch of slaves was brought from Africa, onwards, Blacks were regarded as chattel in Cuban society. This view was current not only among the white population. It was shared also by the victims of oppression. Small wonder that José Martí said that in Cuba the color of slavery was black.

"The efforts of the landowning oligarchy and then of the bourgeoisie were directed toward separating the whites from the Blacks. Strangely enough, some Blacks themselves, wittingly or unwittingly, played into the hands of the makers of this policy. Separatist feeling and the ideology of negritude were widespread among them. The separatists called for equality between Blacks and whites in the sense of 'parallel existence.' The Blacks had to have clubs that matched those of the whites, but these had to be for Blacks only; there had to be as good kindergartens as were run for whites, and these again were to be for Blacks only, and so on. Even a party emerged that used these ideas as program guidelines. While they appealed to the 'ancient traditions of ancestors' and called for 'universal brotherhood among Blacks,' the proponents of negritude failed to see class problems, and forgot that injustice and lawlessness could be the handiwork also of Black exploiters. A complex system of inequality was fostered also among the mulattos. Wishing to safeguard themselves against discrimination, many obtained documents certifying their 'European' origin, and for greater effect slighted their darker fellow-countrymen."

Pedro Serviat Rodríguez, department head at the Institute of the History of the Communist Movement and the Socialist Revolution of Cuba, added:

"I should like to emphasize that there is a big difference between the racial or Black problem that existed in Cuba and the national antagonisms that are so acute in many other, including European, countries. In Cuba, Blacks were not a special ethnic group. Recognition of the unity of the Cuban nation is indispensable to studying the racial question in our country. Back in the mid-19th century the Cuban people formed a lasting community with a single language, territory, economic life, and a very close spiritual make-up. Consequently, it was discrimination in the nation of a definite group of people with some anthropological features of their own. Besides, these features did not separate Blacks and mulattos all that sharply. Further, the position of the racists was shaken badly by the abolition of slavery, an abolition that was carried out in a revolutionary way. Decisive here was the 1868-1878 war of inde-

pendence. True, it did not lead to an end to racial discrimination, and slavery continued for a few more years, but it was then that Blacks and mulattos acted shoulder to shoulder with the whites for the first time. While in the army of liberation, that removed the Spanish yoke at the close of the 19th century, they comprised nearly 75 per cent of the personnel. Some of them, for instance, Antonio Maceo and Guillermo Moncada, displayed outstanding leadership qualities and have become national heroes of the Cuban people.

"A huge contribution to the formation of the nation and, consequently, to racial integration was made by José Martí, who was a staunch, committed fighter for equality regardless of color. Nevertheless, the Black problem, that bleeding ulcer of society, persevered right until the revolution of 1959. It was sustained chiefly by the ruling classes and U.S. imperialism, which backed them. Survivals of Spanish colonialism intertwined with U.S. neocolonialism virtually from the outset of the intervention of 1899-1902."

José Felipe Carneado: "When the Communist Party³ was founded, some of its members were of the opinion that there was something in the nature of a Black nation in Cuba. They went so far as to advance the idea of the self-determination of regions with a predominantly Black population and tried to substantiate this idea with 'scientific' arguments. Some of these were that Blacks spoke somewhat differently from whites, comported themselves differently, and professed a totally different religion. True, these were no more than individuals, and they soon saw that the slogan of the self-determination of Blacks had to be dropped and replaced with the call for unity among all Cubans. We are aware, of course, that total racial integration could not be achieved under capitalism, but this call unquestionably contributed to the struggle for democratic changes. We were strongly influenced by Lenin's ideas on the nationalities question and by the example of socialist construction in the multinational Soviet Union.

"With the support of the people the communists succeeded in having two articles, directed against racial oppression, included in the progressive constitution of 1940. One made sex and racial discrimination, as well as other actions humiliating to human dignity, criminal and punishable. The other stated that the interests of all Cubans had to be taken into account when new jobs were created. However, the society we had at the time was bourgeois and these laws were not put into effect."

What it was like before

Pedro Serviat Rodriguez: "One sometimes hears that in our country racial discrimination was much less pronounced than in the USA. Although there are grounds for this comparison — the Black problem has the same roots in both countries — one cannot, in my view, draw conclusions favorable to the Cuba of the old days. Long years of participation in the political struggle give me the right to say that there was brutal racial discrimination on the island. As a Black, I personally experienced all its 'charms' time and again. In the labor market non-whites were offered the heaviest, dirtiest, and lowest-paid jobs, and as soon as an economic decline set in they were the first to be thrown out into the streets. There was a taboo in even the services industry: the long list of trades denied to Blacks included waiters, salesmen, and railway conductors. For us a managerial post, either in state-run or private enterprises, was in the realm of fantasy. But jobs like porters, doorkeepers, and caretakers seemed to be created specially for us. Many Blacks were employed as servants, newsboys, and shoe-shine boys. Many were unemployed. Cane-cutting was regarded as a specifically Black job. Blacks had an even more miserable life in the countryside. While they comprised the majority of the rural population, they owned only seven per cent of the arable land.

"There was discrimination in absolutely all areas of life. For instance, although the constitution formally recognized that all racial groups had equal rights to education, university doors were closed to Blacks. So far as I know, prior to 1959 only two Blacks became university teachers. Police repression was directed mainly at the non-white population. Private clinics denied medical assistance to Blacks, and there could be no question of rest at a spa for them. In the whole of Havana there was only one beach for Blacks.

"Racial demarcation flourished in the armed forces as well. The most a Black could hope for was a sergeant's stripes: the number who reached officer ranks was negligible.

"Discrimination did not bypass amateur sport either. The membership of the national sports society was almost exclusively white. Some events were closed to Blacks. These included tennis, swimming, horsemanship, and even chess. True, Blacks were sometimes admitted to sports clubs. These were especially gifted youths and usually their membership was not a long one. Black participation in professional sports was determined by the interests of gangster syndicates.

"Of course, personal relations were influenced by racism. There was, in particular, a very strong bias against mixed marriages. The constitution contained no formal barriers to such marriages, but bourgeois morals outweighed the law. A white girl who fell in love with a Black had to be prepared to be ostracized by friends and even by parents. If a white man married a Black girl, he had to face not only moral condemnation but also serious material privation up to dismissal from his job.

"I won't forget two cases that occurred shortly before the revolution. I was assigned to accompany a delegation from the Venezuelan Communist Party led by its present General Secretary Jesus Faria. On the way to one of the planned talks we decided to go to a café. Faria went in without hindrance, but I was stopped at the door and told that the place was closed to Blacks. Faria was outraged, of course, but that did not help, and all of us had to dispense with coffee. The other incident took place in the Cienfuegos Park, where I had come on a party assignment to contact the local comrades. The communists had to work underground at the time, and for that reason all rendezvous were made in public places. I came early and sat down on a bench. Suddenly, with shouts of 'A fly in the milk!' a group of people surrounded me and ordered me away. It turned out that without knowing it I had gone to that part of the park that was 'for whites only.' Cases like this happened all the time throughout the island."

Everybody I spoke to noted that this situation outraged all progressive people regardless of color. Fidel Castro and his comrades were uncompromisingly opposed to racial oppression. As a student at Havana University he organized a committee to fight color discrimination. Subsequently, in planning the assault on the Moncada barracks or the landing from the yacht *Granma*, he remained true to his convictions. "Recalling the most challenging episodes of our struggle," he said shortly after the revolution, "there was this expedition on the *Granma* on which all of us aboard, white and Black, were united by one and the same banner and one and the same idea, and faced death at sea."⁴

The crumbling of barriers

The definitive eradication of racial discrimination became one of the main aims of the new government. On March 25, 1959 Fidel Castro made his historic call for an end to racism. He declared that henceforth there would be in Cuba one nation, the Cuban nation, and that there was no need for a special law recognizing an obvious right of every citizen.⁵ Eyewitnesses

recall that after this speech by the leader of the revolution the streets were filled with reactionaries of all hues, who tried to organize something in the nature of a protest march. It would be worth looking at the "validity" of their arguments — they could not accept the idea of a white woman dancing with a Black man in a public place. They did not take the trouble to look about themselves and see that the people had jubilantly accepted unity and integration. In the long run, those who were prepared to faint at the very thought that in the event they fell ill they would find themselves in a ward with Blacks preferred to "take no risks" and left the country.

But calls alone cannot eradicate racial discrimination. Its political, economic and social roots had to be torn out. The bourgeois state machine was dissolved and replaced by a new government apparatus championing the interests of the masses.

The property of foreign monopolies and counter-revolutionaries was nationalized and profound agrarian, juridical and university reforms were enforced. Private schools were abolished, and free medical services were instituted. Concurrently, a determined drive was started to wipe out illiteracy and combat the corrupting practices of anti-communism. Marxist-Leninist ideas were popularized among the people. All this led to the break-up of old customs, morals and habits, deprived the proponents of reactionary ideology of strength and power, and helped to sweep away many vices of the past, including racial discrimination.

One of the revolution's first steps was to proclaim the right to work of all Cuban citizens irrespective of color and sex, the right to choose any profession according to one's inclinations and ability. The people's government took practical steps (administrative and technical) to ensure to Blacks the possibility of working in professions that were formerly closed to them.

The revolution cleared away slums. Their inhabitants, most of whom were Blacks, were given housing in the apartments of the well-to-do people who had fled the country. Today Blacks and mulattos live alongside whites in Havana's formerly exclusive districts of Vedado and Miramar, where formerly a Black could not appear without attracting the attention of police. Jointly with whites, Blacks are on the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution and together safeguard public property. Blacks serve in the army and the navy. There are not only Black privates and non-commissioned officers, but also commissioned officers of both junior and senior rank. A crushing blow at

discrimination was struck with the nationalization of holiday homes, clubs, and recreation zones, including beaches.

Young Black men and women are now able to show what they are capable of in sports, for they have access to all of the country's sports facilities. The names of many of them are now known to sports fans throughout the world.

Identical headway has been made by the revolution in reviving national culture. For a long time bourgeois "intellectuals" sought to ignore African cultural traditions, denying them the right to exist with the allegation that they were "savage," "primitive," and quite alien in Cuba. Spanish cultural influence was, on the other hand, absolutized. The African sources of Cuban culture received full recognition as soon as the revolution was accomplished and this has benefited musical and dance ensembles, the theater, cinema, literature and painting.

Pedro Serviat Rodriguez: "The leaders of the Communist Party of Cuba have repeatedly stated that Cubans are a Latin-African people. Prior to the revolution imperialist propaganda went to all lengths to blur this historical fact, to sow aversion for African peoples. Today thousands of young Cuban teachers, engineers and doctors, descendants of Black slaves, go enthusiastically to the most distant parts of Africa to pass on their experience and knowledge, while thousands of young African men and women travel to Cuba to learn the professions needed for the development of their various countries."

José Felipe Carneado: "In Cuba today you will not always distinguish a white from a colored, for mulattos make up half the population. As a matter of fact, this completely demolishes the talk about the 'separation of Blacks from the Cuban nation.'"

"Our party makes it its business to see that Blacks are proportionately represented in all areas of life. I'll give you an example: formerly all the television announcers were white women, and all the models in fashion houses were white. Today, of course, the situation is quite different. Some TV and film producers attach no significance to whether or not there are any Black actors, believing this to be inconsequential. But we keep a constant eye on this for when it is a matter of attaining full racial equality nothing is trivial."

"Were racial discrimination suddenly to surface in some hypothetical situation," said the eminent Cuban poet **Nicolas Guillen**, "the instigators would be inescapably punished. I repeat, hypothetical, because from childhood, in school and at work the Cuban is brought up to see that this should never occur. In Cuba there

is a total absence of factors that may be characterized as discriminatory."

"Like a religion"

Even in calm weather you hear the sound of the sea, but when storms blow the sea roars. Plaza de la Catedral is one of the most interesting sights in Havana. Situated in the heart of the old city it has retained the image of colonial times. The name derives, of course, from the famous Cathedral in the square. It is silent and cool. This is what attracts some passers-by when the air is swelteringly hot.

The seminary student was soft-spoken and of medium height. My name, he said, was of no importance to him. It was enough for him that I was a European. And then flowed quiet-spoken words, in which truth and half-truth were mixed with poorly concealed mockery:

"Generally speaking, the racial problem is artificial. Prior to 1959 there were individuals who behaved abominably. For example, a banker who did not want to see colored people among his employees. The revolution gave Blacks the opportunity to study and to work. But in many cases he does not want this, preferring to steal. This comes from a low level of consciousness, from long ages of racial discrimination. Talk to a white person. He will never speak of another person's color. But when a Black person speaks every third word is precisely about this. He does not say simply 'person,' but invariably 'that white man,' 'this Black man.'"

Let me compare these words, that echo that past, with what I heard at one of the country's oldest agro-industrial facilities, the Camilo Cienfuegos Sugar Refinery. I spoke to three of the persons working at this refinery — a white, a Black and a mulatto.

"This refinery," said José Maria Montes Sanchez, assistant to the refinery's deputy director, "belonged to a North American. During the early months after the revolution he could not see what it was all about but, terribly worried, sought the sympathy of the workers, invited trade union representatives to his office trying to talk them into siding with him. But even while engaged in this he refused to notice Black people. In this way racial discrimination persevered here for some time after the triumphant days of 1959, right up to the moment the last North American capitalist departed from Cuban soil."

"My father," said Rolando Mori, head of one of the departments, "worked all his life at this refinery, and here he was pensioned off. It was only after the revolution that I got a job at a building project. My first job was that of an

unskilled laborer, clearing the building site of rubbish. The work was, of course, uninteresting and there was little future in it. However, the trade union helped me to transfer to the mill, first as a messenger and then directly to production. For a long time I worked in one of the production departments, and recently I was appointed head of the attendance monitoring department. All at once I found myself busier than I had ever been. Some time ago, because of the higher consciousness displayed by the workers, it was decided to do away with the job of attendance recorder — each worker checked in and out of the refinery himself. Regrettably, not everybody was up to the mark. This relaxation of control was taken by some to mean that labor discipline could be relaxed. Violators had to be notified and spoken to, and if that did not help, measures had to be taken to see to it that the principle of 'to each according to his work' should be observed. No significance is attached to a worker's color — the sole criterion is his attitude to his work."

"We must distinguish between racial discrimination and racial prejudices," said Manuel Frutos Sosa, the refinery's deputy director. "Prejudices are like a religion: a person sometimes cannot himself explain why he is prejudiced toward people of a different color, and realizes how absurd this is, but he nonetheless clings to this prejudice. Even though cases of this are rare, they crop up and not only among white but also among Black persons. I think Rolando, here, can bear me out. His wife is white."

"My wife," said Rolando Mori, "came to the refinery as an electrician among the first skilled workers trained by the revolution. At the time I headed the Young Communist League organization at the refinery. Public work and study at a school for young revolutionaries brought us together. We fell in love and soon decided to marry. It did not worry us that I am Black and she is white. We thought it strange that some of the people around us took a dim view of it. We noticed that a number of the people who were friendly to us individually were disapproving when they saw us together. This could also be said about my wife's parents. They did not say they objected to us getting married; they simply were in no hurry to get to know me. Having grown accustomed from childhood to respecting the opinion of parents and not wishing to hurt their feelings we did not get married for almost 10 years. This is now a thing of the past. My in-laws now sometimes reproach themselves for having caused this long postponement of our marriage, and worry when we do not find the time to visit them more often. It is

my firm belief that this about-turn can only be made under socialism although, of course, you sometimes come across young people who, in the heat of an argument, can throw a person's color to his face. But these cases are few and far between and do not make the weather."

"A thing that is helping to extirpate racial prejudices," continued Manuel Frutos Sosa, "is that nobody bothers about a person's color in the settlement of matters of business or everyday life. Other things are taken into account. For instance, in the distribution of housing the relevant commission selects candidates on the basis of the number of children they have, their attitude to work, their work record, labor discipline, and so on."

"It would be useless to ask me how many Blacks or mulattos work at our mill. I simply do not know, because nobody needs statistics of this kind. On the other hand, I can tell you the number of engineers, technicians, men or women working here."

Here's another example in the production sphere, but concerning another enterprise. The person who gave it to me was Juan Rigo, deputy manager of the Valle Del Peru dairy complex: "In the past ours was one of the most backward and neglected districts. It was damp and swampy. Besides, there was oppressive latifundism. During the first few years after the revolution what preoccupied us was not any racial problem — there no longer were any — but social problems. We were faced with the problem of developing the land, raising the consciousness level of the people, and giving them the feeling that they were masters of their land — not only of their own plot but of the whole region. We now have a factory, cattle-sheds, well-tended land, a water reservoir, and an artificial irrigation system, to mention a few things. At the beginning there were some who felt they could work any which way and yet get everything at once and free of charge. But they soon saw how wrong they were. A revolution is not paradise. It requires hard work. The small proprietors had to be sobered: some of them thought that the new government would rid them of sharks and let them grow teeth of their own. That created problems, and they had nothing to do with a person's color."

A monument to fighters against slavery is being built in Matanzas Province. Its centerpiece is the powerful figure of a Black slave poised for battle. I was told of this monument by Arnaldo Tamayo Mendez, the first Cuban and consequently the first Latin American and Afro-American cosmonaut. Symbolically, we met during the May Day celebrations. In the course of the Soviet-Cuban space flight we saw

him as a sociable person with an attractive smile. And this was exactly what he was like in ordinary life. "The Black man, downtrodden, ignorant, but never reconciled to his fetters, could not, even in his wildest dreams, have seen a future like mine," said Arnaldo Tamayo Mendez. "You must remember that only two generations have passed since the abolition of slavery. September 18, 1980, the day the spaceship was launched from the Baikonur cosmodrome, was a day of jubilation in Cuba. Millions of my countrymen watched the live telecast via a Soviet communications satellite. My parents and neighbors were more delighted than anybody else. It was breathtaking: a Cuban, and a Black man at that, was in space. It's difficult, I think, to give a more convincing illustration for your theme. After the flight there was even talk (in jest, of course) of discrimination against whites in Cuba."

The northern neighbor

When we examine the origins of the racial question, once so pronounced in Cuba, we see that they must be looked for not in the anthropological characteristics of one race or another but in the nature and history of the exploiting system. Only then will it be understood why people of one color are given preference over people of another color, and why justification is fabricated for the brutal oppression, violence and extermination of entire peoples that stain the conscience of some "master races." Racism and the discrimination that accompanies it would have been consigned to oblivion a long time ago had they not had deep-going social roots in a society divided into antagonistic classes, had it not been for the imperialist policy of divide and rule designed to assert domination over oppressed peoples.

Pedro Serviat Rodriguez: "In 1979 I had occasion to get another glimpse of racism and racial discrimination — I delivered a series of lectures at some U.S. universities at the invitation of a number of Afro-American public and scientific organizations. I visited some southern states, where the racial question is particularly acute. In the state of Alabama and the cities of Atlanta, San Francisco, and Los Angeles one quickly sees how deeply entrenched the social ill of racism is in the world of arbitrary rule. One comes away with a grim impression from New York's Harlem, that enormous city within a city where Afro-Americans and others live in squalor and appalling poverty."

"Each of my lectures usually ended with a question and answer session. Many students and teachers wanted to know how racial op-

pression was abolished in Cuba. Some questions would have seemed naive or biased had I not known that they were prompted by the reality in which my listeners lived. It is hard for the people of a country, where the racial problem is like a boundless impassable bog, to suppose that given certain conditions this bog can be drained.

"The U.S. racists like to say that most of the criminals in the USA are Blacks, that there is more moral and social degradation than among the white population. However, they are silent about the reasons for this. In Harlem and other Black ghettos the jobless rate has reached 40 per cent, and people often are compelled to resort to stealing or other criminal offenses to stay alive and save their families from starvation. Many of the Blacks who find themselves in prison are victims of lawlessness and police brutality. In effect, often their only crime is the color of their skin. Time and again I got evidence of this listening to the horrible detailed stories of those who had experienced this lawlessness and brutality and knowing only too well the morals of that country's social system. We had the same picture in Cuba before the revolution: chronic unemployment pushed many Blacks to the bottom of society, into crime. The ruling circles missed no opportunity to use them as scapegoats, to blame them for all of society's ills. The Black preponderance in crime statistics disappeared with the disappearance of discrimination.

"The U.S. press is blatantly hypocritical. If a criminal offense is committed by a white man, his racial affiliation is usually not mentioned, but if the same offense is committed by a Black or a member of some other oppressed ethnic group, the race or nationality is given in bold

face headlines. In other words, the conduct of individuals is attributed to a community or ethnic group as a whole, and people are led to believe that viciousness is a genetic trait."

Cuba and the USA are only 90 miles apart, but what is the yardstick for measuring the contrast between the two systems? Not only Pedro Serviat, but many others said that one has to make only a short visit to the USA to see that contrast: in Cuba the day has dawned that was the dream of José Martí, the day when the Black man feels he is a person in the full sense of the word, when people react to the color of a person's skin as to the color of his or her hair or eyes.

I recently saw a documentary about Cubans who had emigrated to the USA in 1980. An American woman journalist was interviewing a group of them that included a Black. He answered willingly and in detail to her questions, many of which were malicious. In conclusion she asked him if there was racial discrimination in Cuba. He replied that he had seen none. Although he was pressed again and again, his answer remained the same. Suddenly he lost his temper and shouted into the camera: "I'm not Black, I am Cuban. Do you hear me, a Cuban!"

Havana-Prague

1. Black, mulatto, white ... We are compelled to use these terms, now obsolete in Cuba, because we are trying to draw a comparison between the nation's past and present. In the republic today relations between people may be best described with the words of José Martí that a human being is more than a white, Black or mulatto.

2. *The New York Times*, December 31, 1963.

3. This refers to the first Communist Party of Cuba. Set up in 1925 it was later renamed the People's Socialist Party.

4. *Noticias de Hoy*, March 27, 1959.

5. *Ibid.*

What makes Centcom dangerous

BRIEF COMMENTARY

Ever since January 1, 1983, when Washington strategists announced the formation of a Central Command (Centcom), the name of this agency has invariably been associated with the sharply increased danger of imperialist invasions of any part of a vast region of Southwest Asia or of adjacent strategic territories of Africa where Egypt, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia and Kenya are situated.¹ In fact, it is with a view to preparing for wars of aggression and armed intervention that the system of U.S. military interference in the Middle East and elsewhere is now being restructured. The operational po-

tential of the notorious rapid deployment force set up under President Carter is going on at full pelt. The creation of Centcom is a further step on a road extremely dangerous to peace-loving peoples.

The idea of Centcom was conceived some time ago. Recent years have seen intensive effort to shape the infrastructure of an aggressive U.S. presence in the Afro-Asian region. In some instances Washington cautiously made its way into new states demanding that they should take greater account of its strategic interests and in others it simply imposed its will as it sought a right to build and use military

bases. This was the case with Egypt, Somalia and some other countries. Recourse was had to every possible device to paralyze resistance to the dangerous schemes of the U.S. military and bring regimes acceptable to the USA into its far-reaching geopolitical plans. Washington backed Somalia's armed operations against Ethiopia and the undeclared war of aggression started against revolutionary Afghanistan from Pakistani territory. It exploits for its own ends the Iraqi-Iranian war, which has been going on for nearly three years now and causes untold suffering to both nations. Aggression by Israel, that spearhead of imperialism aimed at the heart of the Arab national liberation movement, enabled the USA to establish its military presence first in Sinai and then in Lebanon.

And now there is Centcom. It is expected to be a sort of "foreign roof" over the house belonging to the Iraqi, Iranian, Afghan, Jordanian, Egyptian, Kenyan, Ethiopian and many other peoples. They all now find themselves in Centcom's area of operation. What the U.S. military stand to gain from this was unabashedly revealed by Caspar Weinberger, the U.S. Secretary of Defense. "We have long felt the need for a rapid deployment force," he told *Al-Majalla*, a London periodical published in Arabic. "What happened in January 1, 1983, (meaning the formation of Centcom. — Ed.) means a revision of the range of commitments and responsibilities of commanders . . . Special attention is being devoted to the Middle East, one of the most important regions of the world. Besides, re-organization provides the commander of this force with the means of accomplishing the tasks assigned to him. While earlier the command of our armed forces in the region was decentralized, being stationed in Stuttgart (Federal Germany) and Honolulu (Hawaii), we now have an appropriate basis for the formation of a new military command in the Middle East, since it is very likely that a rapid deployment force may have to be used precisely there. However, it may also be necessary to use this force elsewhere. The British, for example, were quite unexpectedly faced with the need to send their troops to the Falklands . . ." Weinberger went on to name outright the Egyptian Ras Benas base as the contemplated place of stationing of Centcom.

It follows that Centcom is all but a gift from heaven as far as U.S. strategic interests are concerned. After all, "while earlier the command was decentralized," it will now be stationed at the heart of the Afro-Arab world — near, say, Cairo. U.S. headquarters would be able to directly control from there operations by a rapid deployment force. The chief of the Pentagon

makes clear that the operations would be roughly of the same kind as those mounted against Argentina not so long ago, when Britain attacked that country. Washington expects to avoid the mistake made by the British, and so wants to prepare in advance for war in any part of the globe. It apparently does not occur to Weinberger that his man-hating, militarist zeal is only apt to cause the strongest revulsion and draw protests from peoples who were suppressed for centuries by colonizers and are now resolutely raising their voice against insane imperialist plans.

The purpose of creating Centcom is to make up for defeats inflicted by the national liberation movement in the past. By building up their military presence in our region, Washington and its allies also want to hearten reactionary rulers and bolster their dwindling faith in the might of their overseas patron, who was dealt blows by the Vietnamese, Cuban, Ethiopian, Iranian and many other revolutions. The USA persists in counting on these regimes and in attempts to tie dependent countries to the United States militarily, financially and in other respects. Nevertheless, even reactionary rulers are worried by what is a one-way street more than anything else. Indeed, Washington is concerned above all with its own interests, with the preservation of control over the immense natural resources of the Middle East, where in the early 80s U.S. monopolies contrived to make profit in the private sector at the rate of over 120 per cent and in the oil industry, 290 per cent.

A further aim is to turn regions in the proximity of the Soviet Union into advanced lines of "U.S. defense." Revealingly, every device has been used since the Reagan administration took over to set up a dense network of military bases, blocs and alliances in our region and extend the activity of NATO to the Afro-Asian world so as to create conditions for a shift in the balance of world forces in favor of imperialism.

Lastly, the creation of Centcom as a further step adding to the aggressiveness of U.S. imperialist policy is an attempt to bar the road of new revolutions and the liberation movement. At the same time, it is designed to increase imperialism's potential of direct armed intervention in those countries of the region which have opted for a policy of strengthening their independence and making economic and social progress.

Hence the functions of Centcom. They consist above all in the following:

— *Serving as an instrument of aggression.* Henceforward every act of aggression is planned, worked out and put into effect under the

direction of Centcom or in cooperation with it. (The recent armed provocations against Libya were an example.)

— *Restricting and directly infringing the state sovereignty of many developing countries.* Not accidentally, Centcom was set up without consulting in any way the states situated in its area of operation. Centcom also poses a threat to countries lying outside its "area of operation," all the more since in planning operations, it treats Diego Garcia as almost the chief base. Hence the danger directly affecting India, Sri Lanka and other countries of the vast region involved. Should a U.S. politician or general want to send troops there, he would not ask the Asians or Africans concerned for permission. The military mechanism would operate automatically. Centcom today has the largest foreign armed forces in Southwest Asia and on the littoral of the Indian Ocean within easy reach.³

— *Helping build up the armed power of the USA,* which plans to spend 30 billion dollars in the next five years for the construction of military facilities in Southwest Asia.

— *The role of Centcom in the context of world politics is equally plain: serving as another instrument of undermining every effort intended to curb the arms race and create a climate of détente and fair peace, especially in an explosive region like ours.*

— Last but not least, *Centcom directly endangers the Soviet Union and other socialist countries,* for it covers regions bordering on the Soviet Union.

A pressing task facing the peoples of the Middle East and freedom-loving African states is to step up their actions against the threat of aggression as embodied by Centcom, unite in struggle for the dismantling of foreign bases and the abrogation of treaties curtailing national sovereignty and prevent the formation of new imperialist military blocs. Real peace in Southwest Asia, the Middle East and the African Horn can be achieved only when these regions have been rid of the military presence of the United States or any other imperialist power.

Hamid Majid Mussa
Alternate member,
CC, Iraqi Communist Party

1. Centcom's area of operation extends to 19 Asian and African countries.

2. *Al-Majalla*, No. 152, January 8-14, 1983 (in Arabic).

3. As many as 140,000 U.S. servicemen are stationed at U.S. bases and other military installations within Centcom's area of operation, namely, at Berbera (Somalia), Mombasa and Nanyuki (Kenya), Masira Island, Seeba and Masqat (Oman), Bahrain, and Diego Garcia. The bases have airfields and vast storing capacities for military supplies. The Diego Garcia base alone can support the combat operations of 12 brigades during a month. Based in the Persian Gulf is a powerful U.S. aircraft carrier group.

Bring the patriots out of prison

AGAINST REPRESSION AND PERSECUTION

The Saudi Arabian regime has put another large group of people behind bars on political grounds even though its prisons are full. * At a time when our Lebanese and Palestinian brothers are battling with the Israeli aggressor, who is fully backed by the United States, new lawless acts are taking place in our country. The regime's arbitrary practices grieve and anger all progressives, all Arabs who cherish the honor and independence of their country and demand an end to an antiquated order.

It is tragically symbolic that the outrages of Saudi reaction coincided with the atrocities perpetrated by the Israeli military in war-torn

Lebanon and with imperialist and Zionist attempts to destroy the Palestinian Resistance Movement and the Palestinian people themselves and to break Syria. Such is the true role of Arab reaction, which pays lip-service to the "Arab cause" but has actually become an accomplice of the USA and Israel.

The Saudi regime dreads exposure in the eyes of its own people. The more reactionary its home policy and the closer its ties with imperialism on the international scene, the worse its tyrannical rule and the deeper its hatred for anyone courageous enough to think differently and champion the truth and the interests of his country.

True patriots advocating Arab unity on a common anti-imperialist platform are jailed and cut off from society and their kin. Prisoners are tortured with electricity, radiation, paralyzing gas, chemical preparations suppressing the victim's will and mind. News has come of the use by Saudi jailers of some of the latest U.S.

*The Saudi regime's stepped up terror against patriots and democrats was dealt with in an interview with a representative of the Communist Party of Saudi Arabia; see WMR, No. 4, 1983. — Ed.

"achievements" in this field. Relatives never know anything about the fate of prisoners.

Prison inmates include prominent intellectuals, workers and students. Members of modern professions, independent-minded people — the flower of the nation — are victims of arbitrary rule. More and more new names are added to the list of the arrested.

Fighters for freedom and democracy denounce the torturers and insist on the release of the political prisoners in Saudi Arabia.

A halt must be called to the humiliation of fair-minded people. Everything must be done to bring the patriots out of prison.

Abu Abdallah
Saudi Arabia



Airland Battle: the road to nuclear omnicide

A survey of U.S. French and British press comments and literature on the Pentagon's new doctrine.

Astronauts often tell about the beauty of the earth as seen from outer space. But the earth is now threatened with a nuclear war spelling omnicide. More and more people stop to think what will become of our planet — possibly the only heavenly body inhabited by rational beings — whether it will still be that beautiful, vibrant gem, that blue oasis in the black desert of the universe, or whether it will become a floating graveyard. After all, there are members of the species *homo sapiens* who are willing to reduce the earth to a gigantic graveyard as a means of furthering their selfish interests and ambitions. It is they who conceive increasingly sinister war plans.

Late in the summer of 1982 the U.S. Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) at Fort Monroe, Virginia, put the finishing touches to a new strategy. It was named Airland Battle and made the military doctrine of the United States without any consultation with Congress. Last December the new doctrine was approved by the defense ministers of NATO and adopted by that bloc as a guideline.

Airland Battle has aggravated an already tense international situation. Its purpose is spelled out in U.S. Army Field Manual 100-5, issued in August 1982. The attacker, the manual says, must seek to extend the battle in depth (our emphasis. — A.P.) and break down the enemy's defenses to make it impossible for him to recover from the initial shock and retaliate. "This notion of 'strike-in-depth,'" *Le Monde*

diplomatique wrote, "applies from now on to all the operations of the U.S. Army throughout the world but has been conceived precisely for Europe, where NATO is to 'destroy' the Warsaw Pact troops even before they engage in hostilities and while they are still deep inside their territory (our emphasis. — A.P.)."¹

Yes, Airland Battle provides undisguisedly for a first strike. This is one of the novelties offered by it. Another novelty is that this strategy must, from what Gen. Bernard Rogers, the U.S. commander of NATO, says, help Europe defend itself without recourse to nuclear arms, by using more sophisticated conventional arms. The general went as far as to claim that "the anti-nuclear groups want the same things I do."² Does this imply that henceforward conventional arms are to be preferred to nuclear ones? Says *Le Monde diplomatique*: "... Some observers believe, on the contrary, that it (this doctrine. — A.P.) increases the dangers of war — even that of nuclear war — because it puts the emphasis of offensive operations."³

According to FM 100-5, nuclear and chemical weapons are "perfectly suited" for in-depth strikes. It stresses the pre-emptive use of weapons of mass destruction, and this is the essential distinction between Airland Battle and the earlier strategy. The U.S. *Military Review* pointed out that the new doctrine envisages not only the possibility of a U.S. initiative in the use (first use) of nuclear weapons but the possibility of a first strike by the Americans. The difference lies in the fact that whereas "first use" implies that the United States could be the first to decide on switching from conventional

to nuclear war, "first strike" indicates that the USA could start a war with the use of nuclear arms.

What about "peacemaker" Rogers' statement? It is a deliberate deception aimed at allaying the fears of the people of Europe and the USA, lulling their vigilance and misleading the world's greatest-ever peace movement, which has become a force that is harder and harder to ignore. Pierre Lellouche, director of studies of the Institut Francais de Relations Internationales, writes: "Less reliance on nuclear weapons sounds like a perfect antidote to the European peace movement . . . Airland Battle sounds like a miracle solution that should get support from generals, politicians, the arms industry and even pacifists."⁴

What makes the new doctrine dangerous is that from now on any routine military training exercise in a Warsaw Treaty country could be seized on by the NATO command as a pretext for war just because its generals mistook the exercise for an indication that troops were being massed for an attack on Western Europe.

Recall the fact that in 1979 alone U.S. Army units were placed on a nuclear alert nearly 50 times — an alert that turned out to be false, of course — that there are Americans in positions of command who are obsessed by anti-Sovietism, and it becomes clear that the implementation of FM 100-5 could begin by accident or a misreading of what happened on the territory of Eastern European countries.

The appalling cynicism of the originators and proponents of the new doctrine lies in their calling conventional war the "lesser evil," a more "humane" war than its nuclear variety. But this so-called "lesser evil" is a fraud. There is no identifying today's conventional arms with those used in World War II, which took a toll of over 50 million lives. The strike capability of modern arms has increased immensely, which means that far more lives would inevitably be lost in a future war. Secondly, we must not forget that Airland Battle's emphasis on the advantage of using nuclear and chemical arms at the outset of the conflict makes nuclear war still likelier.

The new doctrine confirms the U.S. administration's intention to deploy Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in Western Europe at all costs. Experts describe these missiles as first-strike weapons. *Le Monde diplomatique* was puzzled by the fact that "European defense ministers of NATO backed" this strategy.⁵

Airland Battle is no spur-of-the-moment concoction. It is a logical result of the Reagan administration's maniacal bid for world domination, to achieve which the main bulwark of

peace, the Soviet Union and the socialist community of nations, would first have to be destroyed.

As far back as 1980, or before Reagan became President, Colin Gray and Keith Payne, political analysts called neoconservatives, co-authored an article for *Foreign Affairs* in which they wrote: "Washington should identify war aims that in the last resort would contemplate the destruction of Soviet political authority and the emergence of a post-war world compatible with Western values."⁶

Reagan was pleased with the idea. In 1982 he appointed Colin Gray to the Advisory Board for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA). It was Gray and his co-author who specified that "20 million U.S. fatalities would represent a compatible level."⁷

The general direction and guidelines for FM 100-5 were laid down earlier in a document formulating U.S. military policy for the next five years. Representing the views of Caspar Weinberger and his advisers, this document, according to *New York Times* commentator Tom Wicker, "accepts nuclear war fighting as a necessity in which the United States must be able to 'prevail' over the Soviet Union even in a 'protracted conflict period'; would have the effect of moving the United States toward a perpetual wartime state; presents to the world a picture of a United States committed to nothing save power, willing even to exploit outer space for U.S. military purposes."⁸

Wicker concludes: "... What kind of country would this be if all these militaristic plans became reality? Reagan may mourn the nation's war dead on Memorial Day and proclaim that 'the freedom for which they died must endure and prosper'; but nothing is less likely than freedom to endure and prosper in a garrison state that is dedicated to eternal war, and willing to destroy itself in order to prevail over the rubble."⁹

The journalist was referring to Reagan's speech in which he said: "With good will and dedication on both sides I pray that we will achieve a safer world." Yet even as the U.S. President announced that talks on reducing nuclear arms would begin on June 29 (1982), his military planners were well along in preparing the blueprint for a war to the death, the blueprint that spawned Airland Battle. This is good will?

The decision to deploy Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in Western Europe is not a matter of the USA "putting more bargaining chips on the table" in order to get "a better deal" in arms reduction talks, as Weinberger lamely claims. Nor is the Airland Battle doctrine sim-

ply a matter of playing war games. They both represent components of a definite plan to start a nuclear war.

This insane policy of the current U.S. administration has its genesis in the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD), organized in 1976 by Paul Nitze and Eugene Rostow. The Committee was the main driving force in the failure of the U.S. Senate to ratify SALT-2 and played the spearhead role in the election of Ronald Reagan to the Presidency. The alarmists did not try in vain.

In his book, *With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush and Nuclear War*, Robert Scheer writes: "It was the fall of Reagan's first year in office, and Charles Tyroler II, the director of the Committee on the Present Danger, was boasting a little. Five years ago he and a small band of cold warriors had set out to reshape American foreign policy, which they felt was too soft on the Russians, and suddenly they had succeeded beyond their wildest dreams. One member of their group was now the President of the United States, and he had recruited heavily from the Committee's ranks for his top foreign policy officials."¹⁰

According to the author, CPD members include, in addition to the President, the Vice-President, the Secretary of State, the Chiefs of the CIA and the ACDA, the Representative to the United Nations, and most others in key foreign policy positions. He lists 51 members of the CPD in the Reagan administration.

Scheer records his interview with Dr. Herbert York, former director of the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, the California atom-bomb development center. York pointed out to Scheer that the so-called experts who advise Reagan on foreign and military policy are people who, in the main, have depended on the Pentagon for a living. He emphatically states that the Pentagon is planning to destroy the Soviet Union.

"York: 'What's going on right now is that the crazier analysts have risen to higher positions than is normally the case ... when the ideologues come in with their fancy stories and their selected ... data, the President and the Secretary of Defense believe the last glib person who talked to them.'

"Scheer: 'From the right.'

"York: 'That's the only people they talk to ...'"¹¹

The 1983 Federal budget asks for substantial appropriations for "civil defense;" a large part of this money is to be used for the purchase of millions of shovels to dig holes. The author of *With Enough Shovels* quotes T.K. Jones, deputy Under-Secretary of Defense, who explains how

this will save the population: "Dig a hole, cover it with a couple of doors and then throw three feet of dirt on top ... It's the dirt that does it ... if there are enough shovels to go around, everybody's going to make it."¹² You cannot help thinking that this is probably the best way to dig your own grave.

The stone-hearted cynicism of the nuclear war planners was expressed by Eugene Rostow, a founder of CPD and former director of ACDA. Asked by Senator Pell whether "either country could survive" in a nuclear war, Rostow replied: "... Some estimates predict there would be 10 million casualties on one side and 100 million on the other. But this is not the whole population."¹³

The preparations for nuclear aggression are accompanied by a steep increase in the psychological warfare offensive of the U.S. administration in an effort to prevail on the masses to accept an eventual world cataclysm. This is the essential meaning of Reagan's "crusade against communism" speech before the British Parliament, of the State Department's numerous conferences and propaganda campaigns on "democratizing the socialist countries," of its "program for democracy and public diplomacy," and of Reagan's inflammatory speech to the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando, Florida, in which he invoked the name of God for a "holy war" against the "Soviet threat."

Reagan was furious when he learned that the U.S. Catholic bishops had declared nuclear weapons and their use to be immoral. His reaction throws light on what he really meant when he told the Evangelicals that the world was divided between good and evil: good meant preparing for nuclear war, evil meant defending peace and life. Hence all who, like the Catholic bishops, want nuclear arsenals to be frozen until nuclear weapons are totally banished, or who do not accept the myth of a "Soviet threat," are on the side of evil as Reagan sees it.

Thirty-seven years have passed since Churchill at Fulton, Missouri, and then Truman opened the cold war against the Soviet Union on the plea that the Soviets were a "threat" to Western civilization. Thirty-seven years — and never has the assault from the East against the West predicted by the two political actors taken place. Yet, for nearly all of these 37 years, Western Europe and the world have been assaulted with endless lies about a "Soviet threat."

Some Western diplomats suggest with a condescending little smile that the rhetoric of the former Hollywood actor and his team should not be taken too seriously, adding that they have heard worse things. Nevertheless,

there is growing concern among influential circles in the United States and Western Europe that the Reagan administration will not stop at hysterical rhetoric but will actually take a fatal step toward omnicide. This is perfectly possible, for they have power. For this reason, prominent Americans increasingly realize the need to strike out against the lie about a "Soviet threat" even though some of them are anti-Soviet.

Gerard Smith, a former director of ACDA and chief U.S. delegate to SALT-1, said: "Since the war (World War II. — A.P.), I have not seen any evidence of a serious Soviet intention to mount a massive attack on Western Europe."¹⁴

Seweryn Bialer, Director of the Research Institute on International Exchange of Columbia University, and Joan Afferica, professor of history at Smith College, state categorically: "Soviet leaders do not want war with the West."¹⁵ Michael Howard, professor of modern history at Oxford University, writes: "In spite of the repeated warning of its (the West's. — A.P.) military specialists, no threat has materialized."¹⁶ Addressing the annual conference of the International Institute of Strategic Studies, of which he is co-founder and Vice-President, Howard, a well-known defense specialist, said that the chance of a conventional Soviet attack against Western Europe is "absolutely minimal" and that a nuclear attack is even less likely.¹⁷

There are enough statements of this nature, made by spokesmen of the U.S. establishment, to fill a book. Incidentally, *World Marxist Review* has published a survey of the opinions of prominent Americans on the myth of a "Soviet threat."¹⁸ Why is it, then, that this myth persists? We wonder whether anybody has calculated how many items on the "Soviet threat" the world bourgeois press carries every day. It would be useful to have such statistics. However, even those who do not know the figure must know that it is large, provided they read, say, the non-communist press of NATO countries. Well-paid masters of manipulating mass consciousness create radio and TV programs and films for the express purpose of scaring the man in the street with the specter of "Soviets armed to the teeth" and making him believe that the "peace-loving West" is lagging behind them all the time. James Avery Joyce, international lawyer and Consultant to the UN on Disarmament and Human Rights, asks in his impassioned book for peace, *The War Machine*: "How much cold war brain-washing does it need to take the 'Russian threat' seriously?"¹⁹

Even the somewhat less feverish among the warmongers occasionally admit that they do

not really expect a Soviet first strike. In *With Enough Shovels*, Scheer quotes Richard Perle, who played a key role in blocking ratification of SALT-2, as saying: "I've always worried less about what would happen in an actual nuclear exchange than the effect that the nuclear balance has on our willingness to take risks in local situations. It is not that I am worried about the Soviets attacking the United States with nuclear weapons . . . It is that I worry about an American president feeling that he cannot afford to take action in a crisis because Soviet nuclear forces are . . . better posed than we are to move up the escalation ladder."²⁰

A most revealing statement, indeed. It acknowledges that were it not for the existence of strategic parity between the USSR and the USA, U.S. militarists would have no fear of being involved in local conflicts anywhere. In other words, Soviet arms are a deterrent to U.S. imperialism's aims, to its attempts at militarily reversing the liberation processes at work in the Caribbean, Latin America, Africa and Asia. It is confirmation from the war-minded circles that U.S. imperialism aims to dominate the world by military means. And that is why it seeks military superiority, why it is building up vast nuclear, chemical and conventional arsenals for use against both the socialist countries and the developing world.

All this is done in the name of destroying a "Soviet threat" which they know not to exist. The reader will recall that those whom we have quoted and who refuse to believe in Soviet "aggressiveness," are by no means partisans of socialism; in fact, some of them are anti-Soviet and anti-communist. Even so, they do not want the historically objective competition between the two social systems to take the form of a war to the death. This is the attitude of many in the capitalist world — clergymen, retired generals and admirals, politicians of top rank, reformist and even reactionary trade union leaders, and others. And it is a measure of how vast is the potential of the growing movement for peace, for ending the arms race, for saving humankind from omnicide.

Nuclear war must be condemned as a crime against humanity. John Sommerville, Professor Emeritus of Philosophy at the City University of New York, author of numerous books, including books on problems of war and peace, said it well: "... The most urgent objective must be . . . the prevention of nuclear omnicide in particular. We might survive war, but we cannot survive omnicide. Someone could win a war, but no one could win omnicide. There is such a thing as a just war, but there is no such thing as a just omnicide. There can be a war of libera-

tion, but there cannot be an omnicide of liberation. A human being could argue that there is, on occasion, a right or even a duty to wage war, and still be considered a sane human being, but if a human being argues that there is a right or duty to wage omnicide, he will have to be considered insane by definition. We human beings have created the practical possibility of omnicide, and now we must make ourselves face the reality of that possibility in order to prevent ourselves from implementing it in practice. The extreme urgency of this problem can be felt in the single fact that at the 1982 United Nations Special Session on Disarmament it was impossible to obtain agreement to a resolution condemning nuclear war as a crime against humanity . . .

"Has any positive step been proposed at any authoritative, decision-making level that would ameliorate this enormously frightening situation and lay a basis on which we could build further? Such a step has indeed been proposed, and has been partly implemented. I wish I could say it was proposed by my own government, but the fact is that it was opposed by my government, entirely in the spirit of the cold war. At the UN 1982 Special Session on Disarmament, although no progress was made on actual disarmament, the Soviet government pledged itself never to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and proposed that other govern-

ments follow its example, pointing out, with incontestable logic, that if there is no first use of the omnicultural weapons, there will be no use of them at all."²¹

So it must be. We humans have only one home, our beautiful blue planet!

Arthur Paull
American journalist

1. *Le Monde diplomatique*, February 1983.
2. *Newsweek*, November 1, 1982, p. 35.
3. *Le Monde diplomatique*, February 1983.
4. *Newsweek*, November 1, 1982, p. 35.
5. *Le Monde diplomatique*, February 1983.
6. Quoted from *International Herald Tribune*, August 16, 1982.
7. *Ibid.*, June 1, 1982.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. Robert Scheer, *With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush and Nuclear War*, New York, 1982, p. 35.
11. Quoted from *Political Affairs*, January 1983, p. 13.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Ronald Brownstein and Inia Easton, *Reagan's Ruling Class*. Washington, 1982, p. 506.
14. *Dialogue* (The Trilateral Commission's Quarterly), Summer/Fall 1982, p. 5.
15. *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1982/1983, p. 262.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 314.
17. *International Herald Tribune*, September 15, 1982.
18. Marilyn Bechtel, "Myth Is Myth Indeed," in *WMR* No. 2, 1981.
19. James Avery Joyce, *The War Machine. The Case Against the Arms Race*, Hamlyn Paperbacks, Feltham, 1981, p. 106.
20. Robert Scheer, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
21. *New World Review*, January-February 1983, p. 21.

A close look at reality

Herbert Mies, *Wende nach rechts? Ruckblick und Ausblick nach 13 Jahren SPD-Regierung* (A Swing to the Right? A Look at the Past and Present After 13 Years of SDPG Administration), Frankfurt on Main, Verlag Marxistische Blätter, 1983, 141 pp.

In this book Herbert Mies, Chairman of the German Communist Party, scrutinizes the activities of the Social Democrats during the period they were in power, showing the reasons and political significance of the change of government in the FRG and noting that factors emerged in recent years that have unquestionably influenced the conditions of the struggle of the working class and other democratic forces in the country and are not at all easy to alter.

The CDU/CSU and the section of the FDP supporting it urged a change of government with the contention that there had to be a shift in politics. But this "shift," which took place in 1982 with the ascension to power of the

CDU/CSU-FDP coalition, spells out a swing to the right, which the Social Democrats opposed with their "leap forward." But what does this "forward" leap mean as understood by the SDPG leadership? A continuation of the "missile course"? Following in the wake of Reagan, Shultz, Weinberger, and their ilk?

Mies believes that a significant development like the change of leadership in Bonn is always the culmination of an intricate intertwining of reasons, of which it is hard to distinguish the most important. Hence the untenability of the SDPG's principal argument that it was "deceived" by the FDP. This argument sooner reflects the external aspect of the matter. Changes of government in capitalist countries should not be overestimated, but experience shows that such changes can have serious political consequences. "This is especially the case if they take place against the background of deep-going economic crisis processes and in a complicated international situation" (p. 8). It

goes without saying that in the FRG there was no change of power in 1982, just as there was no change in 1969.* However, what did take place was a certain turn brought on principally by the objective situation. The people of the FRG, Herbert Mies writes, found themselves facing a fundamentally new situation. There is a growing danger that new U.S. missiles will be deployed, and the FRG may become the bridgehead and central theater of an all-destroying nuclear war. The picture is made darker by the economic crisis under whose impact the living standards of millions of ordinary people are steadily deteriorating. A new stage of the struggle is beginning with the return of the CDU/CSU to power because this government, having joined the Reagan "crusade against communism," is counting on an arms build-up and military confrontation and hoping by means of a massive social dismantling to find a "way out" of the crisis benefiting reaction.

At first the government acted with restraint, although it was at once clear what it stood for: the parties of the coalition would have committed political suicide had they revealed their reactionary plans before the elections of March 6, 1983. "Actually, the swing to the right is still ahead of us," Mies writes (p. 9). The government program, adopted after the March 6 elections, bore out this forecast (the book was published before the elections).

The present developments in the FRG can be fully understood only if they are linked to the recent SDPG administration. It will be recalled that the Social Democrats came to power precisely because in the 1960s the CDU/CSU ship foundered on the rocks of reality. However, by in effect siding with the adversaries of socialism in their governmental foreign and domestic policy, the Social Democrats found themselves at odds with the objectively operating historical regularities. True, they tried to somehow take the changed international situation into account and adopt a more realistic and flexible approach to political problems. They registered some successes and managed to retain their position, but only as long as they reckoned with the actual state of affairs. On the other hand, the farther they moved away from reality the more they undermined their own policies.

Herbert Mies points out that the SDPG government brought no change into property relations, that its policy was neither socialist, nor left, nor even entirely reformist, although in the beginning attempts were made to accommodate it to the new processes. The hopes that

this policy generated for détente and reforms enlisted support among the people and engendered a dynamic process that exists by itself as it were. But when they acted against the hopes they had themselves generated, the Social Democrats once again played into the hands of the right-wing coalition. It was neither détente nor the struggle for reforms that failed in the autumn of 1982 and then on March 6, 1983. What failed was the policy of vacillating between détente and confrontation, between talk about peace and actions to vindicate the NATO missile decision, between promises of social reforms and the practice of social dismantling. What failed was the policy whose makers championed the interests of capital, went forward with an arms build-up, and sought to retain the confidence of the working population (p. 13). All this began in the mid-1970s, and although much of what was achieved during the SDPG administration should undoubtedly be defended today, it must be said that the swing to the right came into focus when the Brandt-Scheel government was replaced by the Schmidt-Genscher government.

Further, the author considers the inheritance received by the SDPG-FDP coalition when it came to power. August 13, 1961,* he says, was serious evidence that the positions of strength policy pursued by the CDU-headed government was built on sand. It can be accurately traced how voter-support for the conservative forces gradually slumped at various elections (from over 60 per cent to below 50 per cent) and grew for the Social Democrats.

The "big coalition" (CDU/CSU, SDPG, FDP) government, into which the FRG ruling circles were compelled to include the SDPG leadership in order to govern the country more easily and, in particular, pass extraordinary laws, i.e., the period when significant political movements helped to reshape the political landscape of the FRG, was followed by a government headed by the Social Democrats. This was dictated, first, by West German capital's urgent need for more realistic domestic and foreign policies and, second, by the spread of a popular movement in support of détente and of democratic and social reforms. These two factors had to combine in order to clear the way for a new government. This new government steered a course toward modernizing state-monopoly capitalism and reinforcing its international

*An SDPG-FDP government was formed in 1969. —Ed.

*On August 13, 1961, in order to safeguard its state interests and the security of other socialist countries and cut short subversion from West Berlin the GDR took steps to reinforce the protection and control of the frontier with West Berlin. —Ed.

positions, on the one hand, and toward détente and concessions to the working people and democratic forces, on the other (p. 27). Although this was an extremely contradictory course, positive trends were predominant in it until the mid-1970s.

The GCP welcomed the formation of this government and gave it every support in all cases when it came forward for reforms and a new foreign policy consonant with the interests of millions of ordinary people. At the same time, in keeping with its principles, our party constantly opposed all of the government's attempts to befuddle the people with anti-communism and the social partnership ideology.

In dealing with the SDPG-FDP government's contribution to détente, Herbert Mies notes that even this contribution was made from the angle of imperialism's interests, that this was a policy with a "double bottom," and that the government decided to accept détente in order to "social-democratize" socialist countries to the greatest possible extent (p. 33 and further). Nevertheless, the course toward détente was the major achievement of the 13 years the Social Democrats were in power.

Herbert Mies writes that frightened by the successes of détente, imperialism's leading quarters are going to all lengths to reverse developments. This began under the Schmidt-Genscher administration. Publicizing the "German model," they sought to give precedence to the interests of FRG monopoly capital and kept setting themselves up as the spearhead of imperialism's aggressive and reactionary forces in issues concerning relations with Portugal, South Africa, Turkey, Pakistan, and Kampuchea and also the deployment of missiles in the FRG.

Can the SDPG correct this misguided posture? Herbert Mies feels it can if it opts for a different orientation, if it in fact relies on democratic forces. Naturally, these forces receive considerable attention in the book. In the FRG the mass movement secured a change of the political macroclimate and a certain turn to the left in society's life. "The improvement of the political climate and the growth of the movement of democratic forces," Herbert Mies writes, "are the most significant achievements of the 1970s" (p. 58). The four major peace actions (two demonstrations in Bonn, the spring marches, and the Bohum Art for Peace Festival), in which 1,400,000 people took part (in the period from the autumn of 1981 to the autumn of 1982), are evidence that this process is developing. If to this are added the powerful

wave of trade union rallies in October and November 1982, the December demonstration against the decline of financial support to students, and the many mass actions against the building of nuclear power stations and the air strip at Frankfurt on Main, a simple computation shows that within only a year the number of people involved in such actions exceeded three million. "There has never been anything like it in this country," Herbert Mies writes (p. 60). The ruling class is favoring the right-wing coalition precisely because it "expects it to bring about a radical turn in society's political and ideological development" (p. 61).

Herbert Mies considers the role played by the communists in mass movements. In addition to helping these movements to grow and achieve headway, the Communist Party and friendly youth organizations made a substantial contribution at the close of the 1960s to fostering anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, and peace thought patterns among large sections of the working people and youth, reviving the class consciousness of individual categories of workers, and asserting the idea of social progress. Herbert Mies refutes the favorite arguments of the class adversary that the GCP's positions in elective bodies are weak and stresses that in representation there is no criterion for a judgment, even for the most superficial and general one, of a party's strength. How else is one to assess the reaction of the adversary who sees the "hand of the communists" in everything taking place in the FRG? If the communists are a quantity that can be discounted, then how is one to understand the innumerable governmental and other actions against them — actions beginning with the Berufsverbot and not ending with the five per cent barrier at elections? The adversary daily refutes his own arguments.

The closest study is merited by the sections in this book in which Herbert Mies addresses problems linked to the appearance of new political tendencies and currents in the FRG — the Greens, the Alternativists, and the Democratic Socialists.

In conclusion I should like to note that the value of this small book by the Chairman of the GCP is that it analyzes an exceedingly important period of the history of the FRG and of the closely related history of the Communist Party, and substantively examines the processes that led to the appearance of the right-wing coalition. This book is permeated with optimism, with the confidence that our people have the strength to topple the designs of reaction.

Robert Steigerwald
Board member, GCP

Siberia through the eyes of a Canadian

Harold Griffin, *Soviet Frontiers of Tomorrow*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1982, 221 pp.

What distinguishes the economic development in Siberia is not only what is being done, but how it is being accomplished. Under the tsarist regime this was one of Russia's most backward areas. The Soviet power inherited this backwardness and now, as is well documented in *Soviet Frontiers of Tomorrow*, published in English in Moscow, Siberia together with other remote areas of the USSR has become the first frontier land in the world to be developed comprehensively under a planned, socialist economy.

The author, a well-known Canadian writer and historian, contrasts what is happening in Siberia with what is taking place in Northern Canada, where the mineral and forest wealth is in the hands of national monopolies and multinational corporations. In doing so, he proves the superiority of socialism over capitalism in terms of economic progress in frontier regions and in respect to the treatment of the minority Native peoples.

As one who is well informed about Canada's North, a vast area similar to Siberia in many respects, the author put a question to himself: "I asked myself, as I travelled through Siberia, not so much what is similar but what is different" (p. 203). Then, he gave the answer: "What is different is the socialist basis of development" (p. 203).

The hydro-electric power grid supplied by new dams on the Angara and other Siberian rivers, the oil and gas pipelines, the Baikal-Amur Railway, and the many new towns, are all part of a carefully worked out plan. They represent enormous investments of billions of roubles. But the wealth produced by the industrial complexes, the oil and gas network in the Tyumen Region, the wood-processing plants already in operation at Bratsk and Ust-Ilimsk, the new diamond-mining operations, and the coalfields at Neryungri will repay the investment and will continue to provide funds to be reinvested in still newer towns that are on the drawing boards. All this, the author writes, is part of a wide-ranging program of socialist construction that is being realized in an orderly fashion.

The contrasts between the two social systems

are illustrated with concrete examples. One of these is the new coal-mining complex and town of Tumbler Ridge in the northeastern part of British Columbia. This Canadian coalfield will be developed by two giant corporations, both privately owned. They will also build a new town for between 5,000 and 10,000 people. The sole purpose of this complex will be to supply Japan with metallurgical and thermal coal. To enable these companies to ship the coal, the British Columbia Railway, owned by the provincial government, must spend close to half a billion dollars to build a rail link with the Canadian National Railway, owned by the federal government. The federal government in Ottawa, in turn, is committed to spend a further 100 million dollars for the construction of a coal port on the Pacific coast.

It is estimated that it will take 22 years to recover these investments. And already now it is clear that British Columbia, which has been seeking to establish a steel industry for some 50 years, will be no closer to that objective. Instead, the province will find itself with less resources on which a steel industry must be built.

If the Tumbler Ridge development follows the normal course of coal extraction in Canada, it will end up as a ghost town, like many other mining towns of the past century.

The industrial development in the Neryungri area follows a different course altogether. A new steel plant, the machinery and equipment for which are to be received from Japan, among other places, in return for coking concentrates, will be served by the local coal deposits and the Aldan iron-ore basin. A town for miners and steelworkers is to be built together with the steel mill. There will thus be one more major industrial center providing permanent jobs and higher living standards.

The author, who has always shown a keen interest in the history of the Native people in Canada, describes in some detail how in the Soviet Union the national rights of the Yakut and other ethnic minorities are fully recognized in law and in fact.

Twenty-six ethnic minorities (Chukchis, Evenks, Yakuts, and others) live in the north of the European part of the Soviet Union, in Siberia, and in the Soviet Far East. Under the

tsar they were the most backward and oppressed people in Russia. The October Revolution was the turning point for the whole country. In laying down the guidelines for the work of the party in the border lands, Lenin wrote that "we are in a position to inspire in the masses an urge for independent political thought and independent political action even where a proletariat is practically non-existent."* The victorious working class of Russia used state power and the country's economic capacity to put an end to the backwardness and oppression of ethnic minorities and give them the possibility of moving to socialism directly from the patriarchal-clan system.

Under socialism no ethnic minorities have ever known any form of discrimination. They

*V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 243.

have an equal opportunity to enter any occupation they choose. They also have a full voice in all decisions affecting the development of their homeland. Griffin contrasts this with the poverty, lack of opportunity and discrimination which are the lot of Canada's Indians and Inuits.

Soviet Frontiers of Tomorrow is part of Progress Publishers' *Impressions of the USSR* series written by authors who have visited the Soviet Union in order to gather material for a book. This particular book will play a positive role in promoting a better understanding of Soviet society among the people of Canada and other countries.

Jack Phillips
Central Executive Committee
alternate member,
Communist Party of Canada

The implications of a polemic among British militarists

Michael Chichester and John Wilkinson, *The Uncertain Ally: British Defense Policy 1960-1990*, London, Gower, 1982, 246 pp.

This book is an expression of sharp differences in British ruling circles on which military strategy, misnamed "defense policy," is in the best interests of British imperialism.

There are two names on the book's cover: John Wilkinson, Conservative MP and Parliamentary Secretary to John Nott, the Minister of Defense who resigned in January 1983; and Michael Chichester, a retired Commander of the Royal Navy, who since his retirement has been a regular contributor to various journals, writing on defense policy issues.

One of their main conclusions is that there should be a massive reduction in the number of British troops stationed in Western Germany, so that more money and resources can be devoted to building up Britain's navy and air force (see p. XV).

They attack those determined "to preserve the British army of the Rhine at all costs," which they say has "now become almost a Maginot type obsession of British defense policy" (p. 229). This view was supported by Wilkinson's former superior, John Nott, who devoted a major article in *The Times* to the case for keeping British forces in Western Germany at their present strength, speaking of the "vital

military and political advantages to the United Kingdom of in-place forces deployed well forward as a deterrent against a sudden attack," and asking "what effect would a reduction in our forces have on United States opinion?"¹ The arguments for a stronger navy, he said, were not sufficient reason "to reduce our military and political commitment to the forward land/air defense of Europe; for the forward defense of Germany (meaning the FRG, of course. — G.M.) is the forward defense of Great Britain itself."²

These quotations graphically demonstrate the existence, within the Ministry of Defense itself, of deep divisions on British policy. The main conflict is between those who see the priority as Britain's role in Western Europe, and those who put the emphasis on attempting to preserve the worldwide positions and interests of British imperialism. These differences are not confined to military matters, but also extend to political and economic questions — for example, in relation to the European Economic Community.

Naturally, the British ruling class would like to be in a position to maintain a large army in Western Europe, to have a vast navy deployed in all the world's oceans, and to build a more powerful air force. But its weakened economic position, especially in face of the growing influence and strength of the socialist world, the

success of the national liberation struggles, and the challenge of rival, and stronger, capitalist powers, make this impossible. As the authors of the book repeat on several occasions, "something has to give."

The Falklands war has given a new impetus to the debate about what that "something" should be. A massive Task Force was assembled and despatched at enormous cost, allegedly to defend the rights of 1,800 people on a group of small and poorly-developed islands 8,000 miles away. The motives were primarily strategic and economic, related to the immense potential mineral and other resources of the South Atlantic region and British imperialism's plans for exploiting them. The Thatcher government also saw the political advantage of a military adventure at a time of acute economic and social crisis at home.

To the protagonists of a bigger Royal Navy and a British "global strategy," the Falklands adventure proved their case. It showed the need for forces, especially naval forces, which could be deployed thousands of miles away from Britain, they claimed.

But their opponents drew different conclusions, pointing out that the Falklands war showed the vulnerability of surface ships to air attack. Field Marshal Lord Carver, for instance, wrote: "An inexperienced air force (of Argentina. — G.M.) equipped mostly with out-of-date aircraft, target acquisition systems and weapons, operating at extreme range, was able to inflict considerable damage on surface ships ... if the operation had had to be conducted nearer to the (Argentine) mainland than it was, the risks would have been unacceptable."³

The Uncertain Ally was published before the Falklands war, but one of its authors, Michael Chichester, returned to the fray in the post-Falklands discussion. He put forward the case made in the book not only for building up the navy and the air force (after a reduction in the British army of the Rhine), but for Britain "to propose to its NATO allies the establishment of a strategic plan for the defense of vital Western interests worldwide."⁴

The false claim is made that there is a "global threat" from the Soviet Union which requires a global response from NATO, with a sharing of the military burdens. Praise is lavished on the Reagan administration for its policy of cutting domestic spending while increasing the military budget. In particular, the building of a rapid deployment force is applauded as a means of enabling the USA to use its military strength in the Middle East, the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, the Pacific and other areas.

But the authors are worried about the prospect of total U.S. control. They say: "Europe has so far missed the opportunity to become a more equal partner in this resurgence of American power, but it will be fatal for the long-term future of the NATO alliance if the original dominance of the USA is allowed to re-establish itself" (p. 111). Their proposed method of preventing this is a "strategic summit conference ... to lay the foundations of a new and more equal strategic partnership between the USA and Western Europe" (ibid.).

Britain's role in this would be to maintain "a balanced ocean-going fleet which with the help of her allies can project power and political influence beyond the NATO area, and for this purpose the deployment of European naval forces in the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic region is essential" (p. 227). It must also have "an air mobile and amphibious intervention capability," which, by reacting fast, "could often prevent the adverse developments of politico-military emergencies, particularly in Africa and the Middle East, which might endanger the West's vital strategic interests" (pp. 227-228).

Field Marshal Carver wants the emphasis to be placed on conventional rather than nuclear arms. But Chichester and Wilkinson want both. They are in favor of the replacement of Polaris by Trident missiles, in spite of the enormous cost. They are advocates not only of U.S. Cruise missiles being stationed in Britain, but of a British force of high-altitude air-launched Cruise missile carriers to provide Britain with an "independent theater nuclear capability" as well as a strategic nuclear capability. And they make clear that Britain should be prepared to use nuclear weapons first if it thinks itself threatened by "conventional aggression" (p. 226).

It would be wrong to exaggerate the differences between the British military strategists. Both groups are dedicated to the advancement of the interests of British imperialism. Both are bitterly anti-Soviet and opposed to the national liberation movements. Both agree on the need to increase the already crippling burden of arms spending. Both justify their policy by the old lies about Soviet aggressive intentions and the alleged great military superiority of the Soviet Union. Neither explains why, if the Soviet Union is both aggressive and more powerful, it does not use its power against the West before the latter's "global strategic plan" is completed in 1990.

Nor does either group have any intention of agreeing on genuine measures of disarmament. Chichester and Wilkinson do not even pay lip

service to the idea, and completely ignore the repeated Soviet proposals for the banning of nuclear weapons, cuts in conventional forces, and other measures to end the arms race. Both groups are prepared to surrender vital British interests and allow the country to continue as an advanced U.S. nuclear base.

The very title of the book, *The Uncertain Ally*, betrays the authors' view of Britain's role. They can see no greater or more desirable destiny for Britain than that of the certain and totally reliable ally of the USA, which in view of the relative strength of the two powers leads in practice to virtual subservience on most key questions.

Since the book was published, relations between Western Europe and the USA have worsened because of differences over the gas pipeline from the Soviet Union, exports of European steel to the USA, Middle East policy, and West European reluctance to fall in with other aspects of U.S. foreign and economic policies. A Western summit and agreement on the "global strategic plan" may prove far more difficult of achievement than the authors think.

It would be unwise, however, to rely on such differences to save Britain from the disaster which will befall it if either the policy of the former Minister of Defense or that advocated by the authors is carried through. For both are a

recipe for the economic ruin of the country and its eventual destruction in a nuclear war. It is not a policy of defense, but a policy of suicide, which both sides put forward.

In *The Uncertain Ally* there is only one spark of hope, and that is unintentional. It is the authors' concern about what they call "the increasing left-wing and pacifist campaigns in many member (NATO) countries against nuclear armaments generally and the stationing of theater nuclear weapons in particular" (p. 129), and in Britain "the unilateralist stance of the opposition Labour Party" (p. 130).

In fact, as British communists consistently point out, Britain's defense and security depend on ending the arms race, on massive opposition to the deployment of Cruise and Trident missiles, on unilateral nuclear disarmament, on friendly relations and cooperation with the socialist countries, on working for a system of European security to replace both NATO and the Warsaw Pact, on major cuts in the arms program, and the devotion of more resources to the improvement of the economy and the lives of the people.

George Matthews

1. *The Times*, July 27, 1982.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *The Times*, June 22, 1982.
4. *The Times*, July 12, 1982.



Neonazism — a serious challenge

"It is disturbing to read that pro-fascist oriented groups have become perceptibly active in the FRG. However, judging from the press, there is growing resistance to neonazism in the FRG; this was seen most strikingly in connection with the 50th anniversary of the fascist putsch in Germany. I would appreciate a sketch of what neonazism is like today and of what democratic public opinion is doing to fight it."

— K. Makeyev, war veteran, Minsk, USSR

At *WMR's* request this letter is answered by Helmut Stein, member of the Presidium of the

Union of Anti-Fascists, a West German association of persons who were persecuted under nazism.

After Europe was liberated from fascism the peoples were unanimous in the belief that peace, social progress and freedom were possible only if the brown plague, as was stated in the vow taken by the prisoners of Buchenwald, was totally extirpated.

However, it must be noted that the reactivation of neonazi groups in the FRG has now reached menacing proportions. Even the federal and lander interior ministers have

repeatedly admitted in their official reports that there is a dangerous growth of criminal actions by these groups and of the output of fascist literature. While in 1978 the justice agencies registered 992 crimes of this sort, in 1981 the number jumped to 1,824. More and more caches of weapons and explosives are being discovered. If to this is added the number of unregistered crimes, it will be clear what a scale this activity has acquired.

Have the authorities seriously assessed the danger of this escalation of neofascist activity and has this served as a signal for taking the steps envisaged by law? Regretfully, a survey of the actual state of affairs compels a negative answer to this question. Let us look at some of the facts.

Associations of former SS-men continue to function openly. Last May they gathered demonstratively in Bad Hersfeld and, conjuring up the past, sought to give the impression that they had been ordinary soldiers "who had done no more than to carry out their duty."

Neonazi publications circulate without hindrance. These maintain, among other things, that all the evidence about the horrors of Oswiecim (Auschwitz) had been fabricated. They preach the ideology of neofascism and glorify war and militarism. In fact, this is done with impunity. Neither the publishers nor the distributors bear criminal responsibility as required by law. The Federal Department for the Protection of the Constitution has noted in its report: "There is still a large demand for pro-extremist literature, especially for books by or about leading National-Socialist personages." Those who wrote these lines evidently did not realize how cynical they are.

In the FRG there are about 80 neofascist organizations of various hue: from the National Democratic Party, which claims it is "constitutional," and groups on the pattern of the German People's Union to undisguisedly terrorist groups such as the Action Front of National Socialists and German Action Groups, which have been responsible for many acts of wrecking and terrorism. However, we believe that the number of such organizations is not entirely expressive of their potential. Suffice it to note that the neonazi newspaper *Deutsche National-Zeitung* has a circulation of well over 100,000 copies. Little wonder that an opinion poll showed that of the persons questioned 13 per cent had neonazi views on history and abided by the corresponding ideology, while 18 per cent believed "on the whole life in Germany was better under Hitler."

The neofascists have found a new field of activity in their campaign to kindle hostility for

immigrant workers. Using the economic crisis and the accompanying unemployment, the neonazis have started a malicious hounding of "guest workers" in an effort to make them the scapegoats for the shortage of jobs. With the contention that the foreigners "differ" from Germans biologically and racially they have advanced a program of brutal discrimination and argue that the attempts to integrate immigrant workers and citizens amount to "murder of our own people." In this campaign one can see the old fascist spirit of racism and nationalistic arrogance and its political kinship to apartheid. For their part, governmental agencies are tolerant of the activities of the neonazis, so much so that at the landtag elections the organizers of the baiting of immigrant workers enjoy the right to put forward their own lists of candidates.

One cannot say that in the FRG there is a coherent and close-knit neofascist movement with a single leadership. On many secondary issues there are distinctions in the attitudes of individual groups, and there is in-fighting among some of their chieftains. This is not new: such was the case prior to 1933, and such was the case also in 1933-1945. An analysis of the general guidelines of neonazi organizations will bring to light some common underlying political views that indicate that these are fascist-type groups. What unites them?

All justify and glorify the nazi state, the atrocities committed in 1933-1945 against citizens of Germany — communists, social democrats, Jews, resistance fighters, Christians, and so on — and also against other peoples. Resistance to nazism is insultingly branded as a "crime against the German nation." The neofascists deny that their ideological predecessors were responsible for the Second World War and engage in vile militarist propaganda, laud the "military operations" of the SS, and the preaching of revanchism. They want a "strong-men" dictatorship, worship the "person of the Fuhrer," agitate for a policy of "law and order," and sow the fascist world view. Bellicose anti-communism is one of their principal media for spreading their ideology.

In the FRG and other West European countries it is constantly debated whether the neofascist groups are a real threat. On the basis of our own political experience we believe that it is a serious threat. There are many reasons for this belief.

The sources feeding fascism, nourishing its economic, ideological, and manpower potential continue to exist in the Federal Republic. Eloquent evidence of this is the amazing flimsiness of justice in the FRG. For instance,

the criminal activity of the nazi imperial security department which handed down countless death sentences, as did other nazi courts, has not been investigated at all. Of course, there are hardly any former nazis in high position today. But they have trained successors and succeeded in creating a social climate in which it has become possible to declare: "What was lawful in 1933-1945 cannot be regarded as unlawful today." The shift to the right, the resultant restrictions on democratic rights, the mad arms race, and the attempts to return to the cold war shape the political climate instilling the neonazi groups with the hope of winning more weight and influencing some political processes already now.

The neonazis are actively reinforcing their international links. Considerable quantities of printed material bearing nazi emblems are imported from the USA. The neofascists in the FRG openly acknowledge that they can obtain weapons and explosives from abroad.

In parallel, the dialectics of political strug-

gle has led to a growth of a movement against the mounting neofascist danger, a movement that has sprung up on the basis of a broad anti-fascist alliance of social democrats, communists, non-party people, trade unionists, Christians, liberals, scientists, cultural personalities, and peace fighters. In this movement respect and prestige are enjoyed by the Union of Anti-Fascists, an association of persons who were persecuted under nazism.

This movement is facilitating the realization of the political behest of resistance fighters which has had a large response in the FRG. With our assistance, in many big cities tours are being arranged to acquaint people with the history of the anti-fascist struggle. These are welcomed particularly by teachers, who with the support of the education workers' and scientists' union are seeking to give schoolchildren a true picture of the past. Another service of the anti-fascists is that practically all the provocations of the neonazis encounter strong public protests and actions. We feel it is important that the anti-fascist struggle is being joined by more and more trade unionists and that the documents of the trade unions are increasingly reflecting anti-fascist positions.

The biggest mass actions by anti-fascist and democratic forces seen in the past few decades took place in the FRG in connection with the 50th anniversary of the fascist putsch in Germany. These were sponsored by our organization, the GCP, the SDPG, the trade unions, church circles, youth and student organizations, and the peace movement. On the initiative of the Federation of German Trade Unions alone there were 220 actions. Mass rallies and processions were held in seven big cities in the FRG under the slogan: "Fascism — Never Again! War — Never Again! No to New Nuclear Missiles!" More than 110,000 people took part in them, demonstrating their determination to draw correct lessons from the past and prevent new U.S. nuclear missiles from being deployed on our territory. United action by all democratic forces can halt the nascent shift to the right in the FRG's political life and safeguard the rights of citizens.

There is another important point that must be mentioned. Developments have shown that our organization was correct to decide to admit anti-fascist youth. Many young people have seriously accepted the behests of the fighters against nazism and subscribed to the vow of the prisoners of Buchenwald. The joint struggle of the rising generation of anti-fascists and resistance veterans is the guarantee that nazism will not pass, that the opposition to it in the FRG will grow.

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The reader and the journal

The following are some of the responses received for the upcoming 25th anniversary of *World Marxist Review* in September.

WE SHALL GO ON MAKING MORE FRIENDS

Dear comrades,

Accept my militant greetings on the occasion of WMR's 25th anniversary. I am a member of the Jordanian Communist Party. I began reading *World Marxist Review* about eight years ago, but I used to get my copies irregularly. The trouble is that in my country the progressive press, like the communists themselves, is banned and harassed on the basis of reactionary laws. The special law banning communism is still in operation. In spite of these difficulties our party publishes many articles from WMR in its theoretical journal *Al-Hakika* (Truth). These are used for political education in party organizations.

I now have the possibility of reading WMR regularly and have a better understanding of the big role played by it in the struggle for the ideals of progress, in spreading the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and in giving people a knowledge of the experience of fraternal parties functioning under diverse conditions.

A service rendered by the journal is that it exposes the political terror to which communists are subjected in countries ruled by dictatorial regimes with links chiefly to U.S. imperialism. Attention is also attracted by articles examining the experience of national liberation movements, analyzing their victories on different continents, and telling of the defense of revolutionary gains from internal and external enemies.

We get a vast amount of information from the journal. My comrades and I are interested in articles dealing with key questions of the building of a developed socialist society. These give communist parties working in difficult underground conditions the opportunity of using the extensive experience of the fraternal parties of socialist countries to educate and steel their cadre. WMR plays a significant role in defending world peace and in uniting the peace forces.

It makes a valuable contribution to averting the threat of a world war and gives wide coverage to the active policy of peace pursued by the socialist community headed by the Soviet

Union. Justifiably, this policy is assessed highly by the world's peace forces.

The attention of all peoples is now focused on the situation in the Middle East. They emphatically denounce the aggressive actions of Israel and U.S. imperialism, which is enveloping our region in a network of military bases and pursuing a policy of genocide toward the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. As the whole progressive press, WMR speaks from a position of active solidarity with their just cause.

This letter which I am writing to you on the occasion of WMR's 25th anniversary reiterates the high esteem that the Jordanian communists have for this collective publication of fraternal parties.

The Jordanian Communist Party began participating in the publication of WMR soon after it was founded and sees this participation as an internationalist duty. I should like to assure you that in spite of the difficult conditions, we shall go on making more friends for the journal in our country.

— Abu Mihyar, Jordan

HELP TO DEVELOP THE RIGHT DECISION

I represent the Federation of Students of Panama in the International Union of Students. I am responding to your request to readers of *World Marxist Review* to tell you of my attitude to the journal.

My impression of WMR must be regarded as the opinion of a person who refers to the articles printed in it in order to understand complicated political and ideological problems.

I read the journal for the first time in 1976 when I saw a copy at our Federation. My interest was aroused by articles on ideology and party life because they touch on subjects I am familiar with and help to develop the right decision on matters which my comrades and I encounter in our day-to-day work.

By and large, I would say that the contents of WMR excellently mirror the problems of peace, national liberation, socialist construction, and party life. This is a positive factor which gives readers the possibility of choosing the themes interesting them most. For instance, in my case the important questions concern the role of

communists, their participation in the growing movement for peace, and their attitude to other political forces. The articles published in the journal are extremely useful.

Also, I would say, it is very important that the journal helps readers, particularly in Latin America, to see the direct link between the defense of peace and the struggle for national liberation on our continent.

As regards the student movement, it is my opinion that the journal helps readers acquire a more profound understanding of the link between the struggle of students for their demands, for their rights, and the common struggle of the peoples for a more just society and a better life in the world. I am speaking of this because the student movement in Panama has come round to seeing this link and it is not accidental that it is acting consistently against the imperialist "presence" in our country, in support of the treaties on the Panama Canal signed by the late General Omar Torrijos. The struggle of Panama's progressive forces has won wide international support, including the support of the journal *World Marxist Review*.

I am not a long-time reader of the journal but I can say without fear of error that in the 25 years of its existence it has tangibly helped the democratic and progressive parties and organizations of the whole world. It effectively serves the cause of peace, disarmament, and national and social liberation. I speak of this not only from my own experience but also from the

experience of my older comrades, many of whom work in the left newspaper *Bayano* and have been reading *WMR* ever since it was founded.

We are of the opinion that on the whole the articles in the journal are of a high standard, show the need for united action by democratic and progressive forces, and help to understand the problems of the working class. I should like to note, however, that individual articles remain inaccessible to people who lack thorough ideological training. Also, it seems to me that the presentation of materials is excessively strict — there are few illustrations helping to make various articles understandable to a larger audience. Possibly, this could be taken into account in deciding on the lay-out of some national editions.

I expect the problems I have raised are not new. However, I am of the view that the very fact of this appeal to readers is a splendid idea which allows the editorial staff to use their opinions to make *WMR* a still more effective instrument serving the interests of the working class and its vanguard parties.

In conclusion, I should like to congratulate the journal on its upcoming 25th anniversary. We are confident that it will play an even larger role in the future.

Fraternally,
José Castillo, Panama

FROM THE STANDPOINT OF A YOUNG WORKER

Dear comrades and friends,

I am 29 and I am a steelworker. I have clear-cut class convictions and regard myself a Marxist-Leninist. I am striving to improve my knowledge and understanding of the processes of society's life. In the past I belonged to various political parties but found that I did not share their negative attitude to the USSR and other socialist countries and also their assessments of international development.

Last summer I spoke of my thoughts to a friend of mine. The talk proved very useful to me, for our views coincided entirely. It was he who showed me your excellent journal, and I took out a subscription.

It seems to me that the journal contains much that every internationalist should know. By setting the orientation, informing, and conducting discussions *WMR* attracts considerable attention and plays a constructive role.

I wish you further success and staunchness in the struggle for peace and socialism.

With comradely greetings,
Carlos Alvarez M., Vigo, Spain

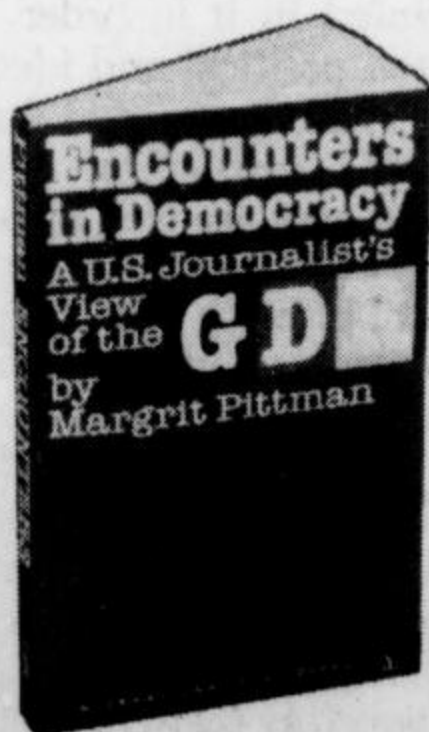
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