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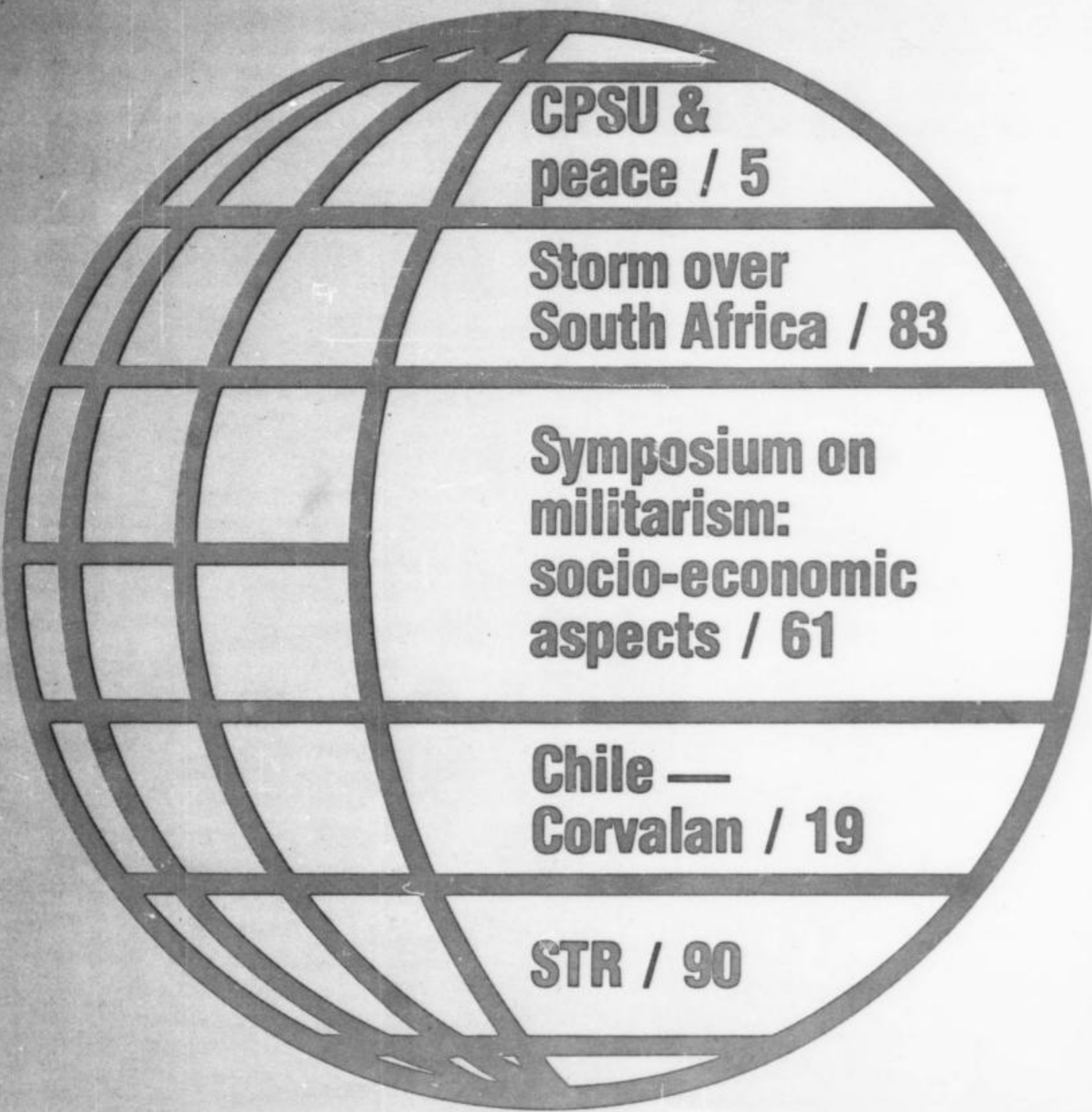
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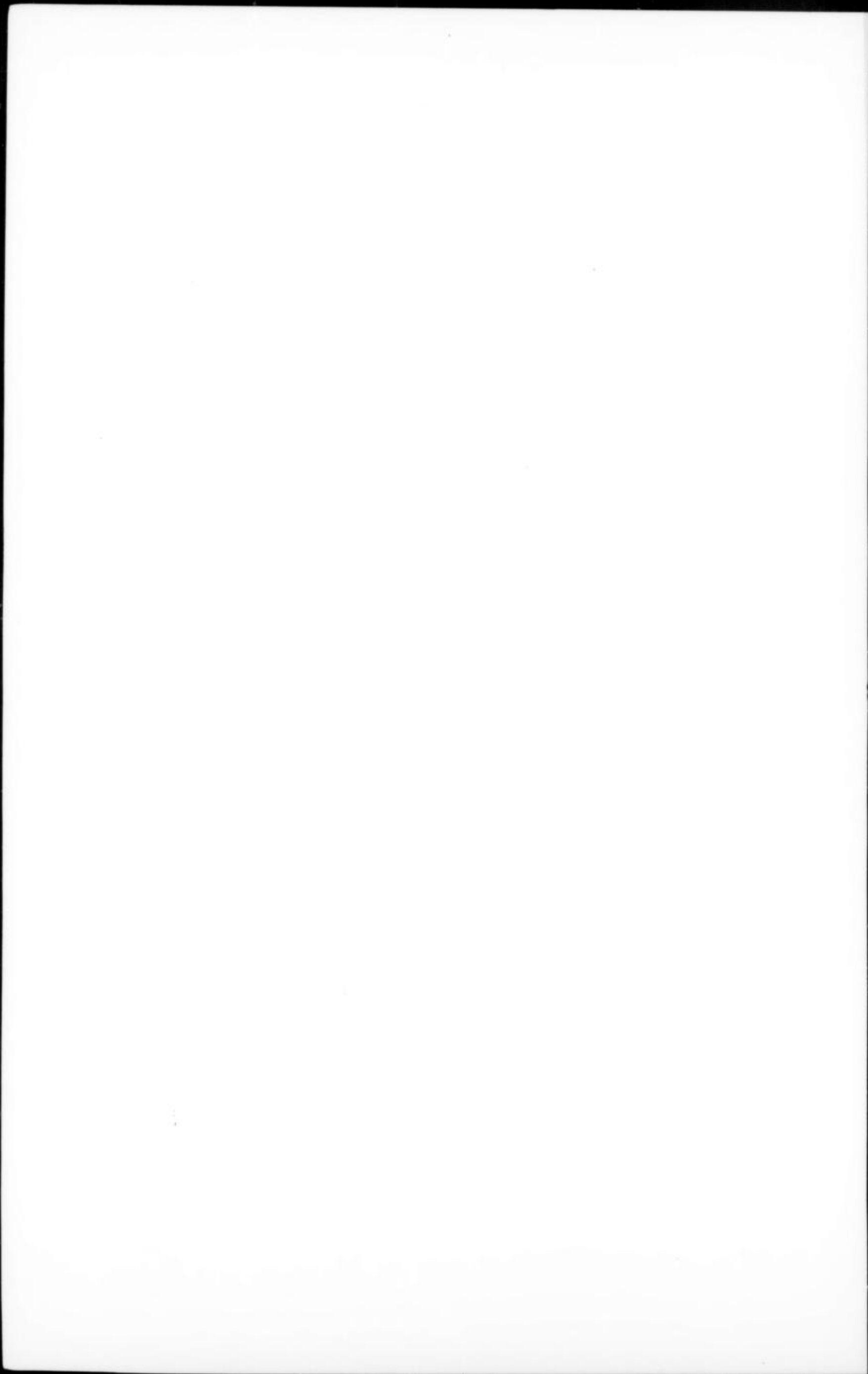
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Party of Lenin— Party of Peace

Horst Schmitt — Chairman, Socialist
Unity Party of West Berlin

WAR must be fought before it breaks out. This premise spells out the approach of the West Berlin Communists to their analysis of the current strained international situations. We are aware that the situation was made acute by the aspiration of imperialism's most aggressive elements to seize the historical initiative and return the world to the days when brute military force prevailed in international relations, and, of course, we realise how fraught with danger this tendency is. However, we understand that imperialism's influence on world developments is not absolute: it is opposed by a different political line stemming from the recognition that in our nuclear age, if humanity does not desire to destroy itself, even the most acute international conflicts must be settled exclusively by political means. The time has come when in the face of the nuclear threat it is imperative to learn the great art of living in peace.

Speaking at his press conference in Geneva after the Soviet-US summit was completed, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachyov said: 'Cardinal changes have taken place in the world in the past decades and these require a new approach to, a fresh look at many things in foreign policy. The present international situation is characterised by a very important specific, which we and the USA have to take into account in our foreign policy. Here is what I have in mind. Today it is no longer only a question of the confrontation between two social systems, but of a choice between survival and mutual destruction.'¹

This formulation of the question, as we understand it, is by no means motivated by a desire to dramatise the situation or fan fear. It is dictated by political courage, a profound understanding of the realities in the world and, above all, a firm determination to prevent a military catastrophe that would be fatal to humanity. The possibilities for achieving this aim exist. The draft new edition of the CPSU Programme, which holds the attention of the world community, states that the historical dispute between the two opposing systems can and must be settled by peaceful means. The interests of the peoples demand that state-to-state relations are directed into the channel of peaceful competition and equitable cooperation.

It is quite evident that an understanding of this truth is vital not only to statesmen but to all who want to prevent war. To a large extent this is the factor on which depends the growth of the mass peace movement's active political potential and of its ability to counter militarism.

The reactionary circles in imperialist countries are attempting to prevent people

from understanding the present complex international situation. They are befuddling the political consciousness of the people with specious theories about the inherent 'aggressiveness of the Communists', intimidating people with the 'Soviet threat' myth, and impressing upon them the belief that hostility for the West had been bequeathed to the USSR by Lenin.

In terms of political tactics inventions of this kind serve the aggressive elements in the USA and NATO as the pretext for justifying the growing military expenditures, the manufacture of a steadily increasing number of new armaments systems, the implementation of their programme for the deployment of nuclear missiles in Western Europe, and the militarisation of outer space.

This vicious campaign has, in addition, a strategic objective, that of blotting out the historical traditions of the Communists' struggle to avert wars, misrepresenting the Leninist principles underlying socialism's foreign policy, and casting doubt on the sincerity of the CPSU's striving to ensure security. This is, apparently, why it would be useful to consider some issues related to the attitude of the Communists to the peace struggle and, in the first place, to Lenin's scientific system of views on the problem of war and peace, views that underlie the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and are now further developed in the draft new edition of the CPSU programme.

Policy has its historical roots and its objective logic. In this respect, the policy pursued by the CPSU is no exception. We consider that the foreign policy of the CPSU rests on the solid foundation of the communist concept of peace, on the historical traditions of the struggle of the Communists to prevent wars.

The experience of the past, beginning with the activities of the League of Communists and the appearance of the *Communist Manifesto*, provides abundant evidence that the question of war and peace was first placed on a realistic foundation by the founders of scientific socialism. They were the first to shed light on the objective socio-economic and political causes of war and, at the same time, to identify the forces and potentialities that can preserve and consolidate peace. At each concrete, historical stage of the anti-war struggle, the Communists have invariably advanced effective programmes for the attainment of this aim. And, lastly, the Communists continue, as they always have done, to make vigorous efforts to mobilise large sections of the people for the struggle to ensure a really democratic peace consistent with the interests of the vast majority of humankind.

The lessons of history give us the right and grounds to maintain that it was due to the efforts of the Communists, to their concrete activities that the age-old aspiration of the peoples for peace has turned, to use Lenin's words, 'from a vague and helpless waiting into a clear and definite political programme, into an effective struggle waged by millions'.²

But the point is, of course, not only in historical merits. The principal distinguishing feature of the communist policy of peace is that it is consistent, meaningful, and constant. I believe it would be no exaggeration to say that these qualities manifest themselves eloquently in the foreign policy of CPSU. Had the first official act of the Soviet government not been the Decree on Peace? Was it accidental that the first socialist state worked out the principles of the policy of peaceful coexistence that opened the door to mutually beneficial cooperation and the promotion of good-neighbourly relations between countries with different social systems? Had the Soviet Communists not been in the front ranks of the fighters against the fascist danger and the Second World War, and had they not borne the heaviest burden of that war and paved the way for Victory and peace? Had the party of Lenin not fought consistently for a postwar arrangement consonant with the interests of the peoples and the interests of international security, and had it not done all in its power to end the cold war? Was it not the CPSU that came forward with a Peace Programme that opened the road to the policy of detente? And, lastly, was it accidental that the most recent eruption of

imperialist aggressiveness, the fanning of international tension, and the whipping up of the arms race were countered by the CPSU and the Soviet government with a policy aimed at continuing detente, preventing the militarisation of outer space, and creating solid guarantees of the preservation of peace?

The Geneva summit was further reaffirmation of the truth contained in just the listing of these questions: the peace policy of the party of Lenin follows the pattern of logic.

The people of West Berlin well remember the days when our city was called a 'thorn in the body of socialism', the 'cheapest atomic bomb', and the 'frontline city of the cold war'. We saw for ourselves how disturbing the NATO policy of 'containing' and 'rolling back' communism was for our own lives and for the lives and well-being of our kin and friends. Beginning from the 'Berlin crisis' of 1948 and up until the beginning of the 1970s the NATO powers resisted all attempts at finding an acceptable basis for the settlement of the question of West Berlin's political status and thereby removing a source of constant tension. It was only due to the perseverance and constructive initiatives of the Soviet Union that matters got off the ground. In September 1971 the USSR, the USA, Britain, and France signed an agreement on West Berlin which not only contributed to improving the political situation in our city but eliminated one of the most complex obstructions to the holding of a European Conference that culminated in the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki.

Of course, one can only regret that the detente process then came to a standstill and that the agreements on promoting mutually beneficial cooperation and maintaining good neighbourly relations between countries with different social systems did not receive the desired development. But this does not signify a loss of hope, nor a loss of confidence that better times of detente lie ahead. The Soviet-US summit which was a contribution of exceedingly great significance for implementing the jointly drawn up peaceful programmes of the socialist community countries, has created propitious opportunities for improving the international situation. We see this chiefly as the result of the persevering efforts of the fraternal parties and states of the new world, whose policy rests on a solid foundation in which the aspirations for peace and social progress have blended into a single whole.

I shall be saying nothing new by reminding people that in a socialist society there are neither classes, nor social strata, nor professional groups, nor individuals interested in war, in an arms race. There nobody can make political or financial capital out of preparations for war. On the contrary, the activities of the socialist states are wholly and inevitably oriented on a situation of peace, on the development of international cooperation. '... We promise the workers and peasants,' Lenin said, 'to do all we can for peace. This we shall do.' By its practical deeds the CPSU is proving that it is faithfully keeping this promise given to the people.

In this context I should like to draw attention to a very significant hallmark of Soviet foreign policy — the predictability that advantageously distinguishes it from the impulsive and inconsistent policy of the leading Western powers, a policy that is susceptible to sharp situation changes. During a visit to the USA in April 1985 the Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany Willy Brandt said, addressing the Council of International Affairs in New York: many people in Europe have long ago lost the confidence that America can be depended upon, that its actions are predictable. It would be of tremendous benefit, Brandt noted further, if with its main political forces the United States were able to chart a long-term foreign policy and a policy of security, at least on strategic fundamental issues of East-West relations, and make it, in a sense, independent of every change of leaders in the White House.

The immutable peaceful essence of Soviet foreign policy is crystal-clear. The CPSU speaks openly of the aims of its international policy, of the ways and means of attaining these aims. Soviet foreign policy is quite predictable: there are no secrets, riddles or

ambiguities in it. The Geneva summit demonstrated eloquently that the Soviet side had prepared for it painstakingly and constructively, thinking of current problems and defining long-term plans for normalising and promoting Soviet-US relations. As everybody knows, on the eve of the Geneva summit the USSR advanced a large series of constructive initiatives that opened up the prospect for achieving important agreements, including an agreement on halving the capacities of strategic nuclear armaments. These initiatives not only reaffirmed the sincere desire to make the Geneva summit successful but eloquently demonstrated how determined and far-reaching the Soviet intentions are to ensure the development of normal, stable relations with the USA at the present stage and in the future.

The draft new edition of the CPSU Programme states that these relations should be built on the basis of non-interference in internal affairs, respect for each other's legitimate interests, recognition and implementation of the principle of equal security, and the establishment on that foundation of the greatest possible mutual confidence. The Communists believe that distinctions in social systems and ideology should not be the cause of strained relations. There are other objective conditions for establishing productive and mutually beneficial co-operation between the USSR and the USA in different areas. The two powers should pursue a course oriented towards mutual understanding and not towards hostility that holds out the threat of catastrophic consequences for their populations and for all the other nations in the world.

The Soviet Union went to Geneva not only with a full set of peace initiatives but also with a long-term, clear-cut, and responsible stand envisioning the further development and deepening of the policy of detente, removal of the war threat, and an end to the arms race.

The American side prepared for the Geneva meeting differently. Until the very last moment Washington evaded concrete replies to the Soviet proposals, making every effort to keep cardinal issues of world politics and international security, notably issues related to ending the arms race and refraining from militarising outer space, outside the scope of the upcoming negotiations. Right until the meeting started the world community was practically in the dark about whether the USA was prepared to conduct responsible negotiations aimed at reaching clearly defined agreements. Quite naturally, the distinctions in the approach had their effect on the outcome of the summit.

Of course, the very fact of the Geneva meeting and the understandings it produced are considerable and significant. First and foremost, because they marked the resumption of a broken-off dialogue and reaffirmed the conviction of both sides in the paramount conclusion that a nuclear war must not be started, that it is not winnable. The prospect was opened up for clearing away the piles of acute international problems that had accumulated in recent years in Soviet-US relations and on a broader dimension. However, before that happens there is a long and intricate way to go to make the process of beneficial changes irreversible. It is a fact that the inertia of aggressive anti-Soviet, anti-communist policy in the thinking among the ruling circles of the imperialist powers is still very strong and much effort will have to be expended to transcend it. An important role in attaining this goal is played by the policy, substantiated by Lenin, of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems that was used as a basis for the comprehensive Peace Programme drawn up by the 24th, 25th and 26th congresses of the CPSU for the 1970s and the 1980s. New opportunities were thereby opened for the broad participation of all countries and peoples in resolving the most pressing problems of our time.

The draft new edition of the CPSU Programme notes that in foreign policy the party will steadfastly continue to move along the trunk road leading to the solution of the central problem of our time, that of entirely eliminating wars. As the draft says, the CPSU proceeds from the premise that however great the threat to peace from the

policy of imperialism's aggressive circles, there is no fatal inevitability of a world war. War can be prevented and humankind can be safeguarded against catastrophe. This is a historic mission of socialism, of all progressive peace forces in the world.

There is no other road for humanity.

Hope is inspired by the fact that a growing number of realistically minded persons in positions of responsibility throughout the world, of people of different classes, strata, and population groups, of different nationalities, persuasions, and religions, of different party affiliation or non-affiliation are beginning to understand the indisputable fact that there really is no other way.

In our city the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin and the Social Democratic Party of Germany and many youth, Christian, and other organisations have united in the Coordinating Committee of the Peace Movement. (Incidentally, I should like to make the reminder that in West Berlin more than 100 authoritative organisations are interacting in the interests of peace). On the eve of the Soviet-US summit they addressed a joint letter — signed by over 100,000 people — to US President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachyov, writing of the hopes linked to the attainment of understandings aimed at preventing the militarisation of outer space and at securing a substantial limitation of the arms race on earth. At a press conference conducted by spokesmen of the Coordinating Committee, members of the West Berlin peace movement pledged support for the Soviet initiatives for reducing the nuclear arsenals and for the proposals made in Sofia by the community of member-states of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation.

It is obvious to every person that far from always is there a common opinion among everybody on this or that question of cooperation. However, in the peace struggle we Communists give prominence to what serves unity, although we do not evade principled political discussions. This facilitates the growth of our party's prestige, enables us to attract new allies to the Leninist policy of peace and, together with people belonging to different political schools, organise joint mass actions and helps to surmount anti-communist prejudices.

The circles linked to right-wing revanchist groups in the FRG and the reactionary elements in the USA and NATO charge the peace fighters that solely fear is at the back of their choice, that they hold the view that 'it is better to be Red than dead'. Meanwhile, these preachers of a crusade against socialism, national liberation, and progress generally depict themselves as the successors of the traditions of the 'European', 'Atlantic' (why not Nordic?) spirit, demagogically declaring: 'It is better to be dead than Red.'

And this is where we are confronted with the most blatant juggling with political cards. In this crooked game the stake is humanity's future. The Communists have never suggested that anybody should choose between social progress and war. They want all the nations and peoples of our planet to live and develop in peace, and to choose for themselves their way of life and the way of arranging their society.

Let us consider this in some detail.

The adversaries of the Communists in West Berlin and in the capitalist states generally often assert that by supporting the peace initiatives of the CPSU, of the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries we are acting as 'agents of Moscow', that we are 'helping Moscow to win time' and prepare for the 'decisive confrontation with the West'. It is charged that we approach questions of international relations from a position of class intolerance and see our ultimate aim in 'exporting revolution', in destroying the notorious 'free world'.

Neither the theory, history, nor practice of the revolutionary struggles of the fraternal parties, nor the foreign policy of the Soviet Union give justification for assertions of this kind. The ideals of the Communists are by no means directed towards 'exporting revolution'. It is our view that no people can be 'made happy' by actions

from outside, just as it is impermissible and dangerous to reduce all conflicts and political crises in the world to the confrontation between capitalism and socialism. Every people has the right to decide by itself its internal political, economic, and social affairs. Some quarters may like or dislike these decisions, but they reflect the internal processes of the given country, the interests of the given people.

As regards flashpoints of international tension, regional conflicts and even wars between countries, they too must be considered strictly within the boundaries of the causes that gave rise to them. These conflicts and crises have their roots in the past and in present-day socio-economic conditions. To portray all the factors of present-day contradictions as springing from the competition between East and West is a serious political delusion fraught with dangerous consequences for the cause of peace.

The idea of 'exporting revolution' and the striving to see everything as the product of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism are thus alien to the Communists. Communist ideals pave the way for themselves precisely because they are free of the bigotry and egotism that may see a threat to socialism's class interests in any acute situations, conflicts, and contradictions. Lenin noted that 'from the standpoint of the basic ideas of Marxism, the interests of social development are higher than the interests of the proletariat'.⁴ This lofty principle of humanism is seen most strikingly precisely in the formulation of the question of war and peace. On its basis the Communists, notably the CPSU to whose lot has fallen the historical responsibility of being the first to resolve many cardinal problems of international security, have shown by deeds their ability to fight for peace not only for themselves but for everybody.

The CPSU's foreign policy of peace is paving the way for auspicious changes in the character and structure of international relations and creating the possibility for the triumph of a new, humanitarian type of political thinking in these relations.

In the nuclear age political thinking must shed the burden of militarist views, egotistical calculations, and reliance on strength. The world of international relations is immense, multiform, and contradictory. There are many objective causes of distrust, suspicion, and even hostility between states. Humankind has not yet delivered itself from class, national, ideological, political, race and other contradictions. The collision of class interests, the national liberation struggles, and the ideological and political confrontation on the world scene are not ceasing. And they cannot cease. However, the inexorable realities of the nuclear age have led to a line, to a turning point that poses humanity with the need to see these processes from the angle of the prospects of its further existence. We think highly of the initiative, which, in the struggle for the triumph of reason, is displayed by the CPSU in countering militarised political thinking with a stand dictated by political courage and humanism.

In this context mention must be made of some of the Soviet Union's unilateral steps that eloquently demonstrate its goodwill, its sincere striving to prevent war, to preserve and consolidate peace. These steps are:

the Soviet Union has *unilaterally* committed itself to not being the first to use nuclear weapons;

the Soviet Union has *unilaterally* desisted from deploying anti-satellite weapons in outer space, suggesting to the USA a mutual total cessation of all practical work in developing anti-satellite systems;

the Soviet Union has *unilaterally* halted the deployment of intermediate-range missiles and the implementation of other steps in Europe taken in retaliation to the start of the stationing of American Pershing and Cruise missiles in some West European countries;

the Soviet Union has *unilaterally* put a moratorium on all nuclear tests and suggested that the USA and all other countries follow its example and thereby stop the perfection of nuclear weapons and the further build-up of nuclear arsenals.

These are steps of exceptionally great significance. Exceptional preeminently

because they were made in a critical situation, when the threat of war had become particularly acute. From the standpoint of the old, outdated norms of behaviour, in a strained international situation such decisions are in conflict with logic. But the whole point is that the adopted steps were prompted by a logic of the new type, the logic of a high sense of responsibility for the destinies of humankind and the interests of peace.

* * *

The CPSU's preparations for its 27th Congress and the draft new edition of the party Programme, which the congress is to consider, compellingly reaffirm the continuity of Soviet foreign policy's traditions and innovatory character. Its aim is to disperse the thunderclouds of war, make detente the leading trend of international life, and ensure peace and progress on earth.

To quote Lenin, the Communists are strong because they not only explain events of the past correctly but are able to make unerring decisions where the question concerns a 'bold forecast of the future and. . . bold practical action for its achievement'.⁵ That explains the profound personal interest that all who cherish peace show in the new inspiring document in which it is declared lucidly and unequivocally: the party of Lenin will go on doing all in its power to preserve peaceful conditions for the creative work of Soviet people, improve international relations, stop the arms race that has engulfed the world, and avert the threat of nuclear war hanging over the peoples.

¹ *Pravda*, November 22, 1985.

² V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, P. 56.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, p. 379.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 236.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 21, p. 72.

The Anti-War Potential of the Democratic Movement

Rene Mauge Mosquera — CC
General Secretary, Communist Party
of Ecuador (CPE)

Jose Solis Castro — CPE CC
Executive Committee member, General
Secretary, Ecuadoran Peace Council (EPC)

THE people's anti-war struggle has been markedly activated in many regions of the world, largely owing to the international tensions and the ever more evident aggressiveness of the US imperialist circles' policy. Millions upon millions of men and women, increasingly aware of the actual danger of nuclear annihilation, are beginning to join in the movement for peace.

The peace policy of the USSR and other socialist states and the work of the Communists in the capitalist countries in its rank are a powerful factor invigorating the peace movement. The communist parties have in no sense 'inspired' anti-war action or

tried to bend it to their political interests, as bourgeois propaganda often claims. Being the most conscious and organised section of the working people, the Communists respond sensitively to the most painful and pressing demands of the epoch. That is why they are acting vigorously among the peace fighters and are prepared to stand shoulder to shoulder with the representatives of other political and ideological trends in safeguarding the peaceful future.

In Latin America, the anti-war movement has also grown in scale, its political spectrum has widened and its forms keep changing. But the struggle for peace has yet to reach the level of, say, that in Western Europe, from the standpoint of massiveness and the potentialities of exerting a real influence on political life. It also differs in the content of its concrete tasks.

The meeting of South American communist parties in Buenos Aires in July 1984 stressed that 'the defence of peace throughout the world is inseparable on our continent from economic, social and political transformations. Life shows that action for democracy, social justice and anti-imperialist solidarity, and against economic, political and military intervention is an invaluable contribution to the cause of peace and the struggle for the triumph of socialism in the Latin American countries.'¹ Such is the main specific feature of the anti-war movement in the region, whose countries are the victims of overt imperialist expansion in every sphere. In this context, the approach formulated by the fraternal parties' meeting has met with understanding among ever wider strata of Latin American opinion. It is shared by the representatives of groups maintaining different ideological positions. 'Freedom, independence and peace are tasks which cannot be fulfilled separately; they are organically connected with each other,' says Jorge Chiriboga, prefect of the Ecuadoran Province of Esmeraldas, and a member of the National Peace Council. Luz Elena Zabala, coordinator of the continental movement for unity (Colombia), which brings together Latin American intellectuals for peace and cooperation among the peoples of the region, supports the idea: 'A fighter for peace must be a fighter against tyranny, for democracy, for the assertion of human dignity and the cultural identity of our peoples.' They are echoed by Gregorio Finol, a Venezuelan Catholic priest and a well-known journalist, who says: 'It is alien to us to talk about peace without mentioning justice. Our people do not understand that because for them hunger is the atomic bomb.'²

These peculiarities largely predetermine the specific nature of the Communists' work in the ranks of the peace fighters, who, on our continent, are as a rule clearly aware that US imperialism is the main source of the threat to peace. The Latin American peoples have seen again and again from their own experience the aggressiveness and adventurism of the ruling circles of the United States and their NATO partners. Progressive opinion ever more often comes out openly in support of Soviet peace initiatives and the peaceable policy of the socialist community as a whole. The truth about the policy of existing socialism is making headway in the face of slander and savage resistance by reaction.

The experience of revolutionary Cuba, successfully advancing in socialist construction in the face of great difficulties, continues to have a powerful and beneficial influence. There is growing solidarity with Sandinist Nicaragua standing up to US aggression. More and more Latin Americans are coming to realise that just and lasting peace in our region is inseparable from defence of the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere, the revolutionary gains of Sandino's homeland, resistance to the intrigues of imperialism and reaction, and solidarity with the oppressed and fighting peoples.

The close interconnection of the tasks in the anti-war and the liberation, anti-imperialist struggle on the continent enables the Communists to lead the peace forces directly in many cases, with the public accepting their role with understanding. With a correct and sufficiently broad approach to practical matters in the activity of the anti-

war organisations, participation by Communists in their leadership does not result in the circle of these organisations' activists being confined to left-wing militants. Such is one of the practical lessons of the peace movement in Ecuador and in many other countries of the region. Within the framework of the EPC, for instance, there is cooperation among prominent members of various political parties (including the Social Christian Party, which is now a member of the government coalition), and also of trade union centres, and the Catholic Church. Among them are prominent diplomats, lawyers, physicians, writers, artists, members of provincial and municipal councils, and so on.

The political and social realities in the Latin American countries compel the representatives of various political parties and groupings, of the Church, the trade unions, cultural bodies and associations of intellectuals, among others, to become clearly aware of the interconnection between mankind's need to preserve peace, and vital everyday problems, such as overcoming backwardness and dependence on the imperialist 'metropolis', resistance to US hegemonistic aspirations, struggle for democracy and social justice, and defence of sovereignty. Real premises for the solution of these problems can be created only in conditions of peace.

However, there is not always straightforward public recognition of the interconnection between the global tasks in the struggle for peace and disarmament, and the 'local' problems of development and the anti-imperialist liberation struggle. Communists working in organisations of peace fighters are frequently confronted with attempts to deny the pressing importance of anti-nuclear and disarmament problems for the Latin American countries, on the plea of their geographical distance from the probable theatres of nuclear conflict, the acuteness of the social and political situation, and the limited possibilities for exerting an influence on the course of world developments and the policies of the major powers. That is a view widely accepted above all by intellectuals, students and the middle strata, and those who accept it often take a national-reformist approach or sympathise with groups of the extreme Left.

Such arguments are certainly refuted by life itself. The menace of war has also moved close to our own threshold. Our subregion has been turned into one of the hot spots of the globe, into a potential arena of a large-scale armed conflict, not excluding the use of nuclear weapons, by the intense social and political crisis in Central America and by the US attempts to deal with it by the traditional violent means, a state of affairs fraught with the gravest consequences both for Latin Americans and for mankind as a whole.

The NATO imperialist circles' adventure in the Malvinas has not only dispelled the assiduously cultivated US myth of 'inter-American solidarity and cooperation', but also demonstrated that geographical distance in the modern world is no synonym for military security. The activity, first of the Contadora group for a peaceful settlement of the Central American crisis, and then the 'initiative of the four continents' on nuclear disarmament, in which the governments of Argentina and Mexico are actively involved, have demonstrated the growing role of the Latin American States in the solution of regional and global problems. Life itself testifies to the need to tie in the everyday struggle with the universal task of defending peace.

Peace fighter organisations have already perceived that broad public strata on our continent are beginning to have a keener sense of involvement in the general problems of disarmament, and this is most noticeable in the largest and economically most developed states of the region, where the flow of information on world events is wider, the traditional ties with Western Europe are stronger, and the national consciousness is, as a rule, more pronounced. Important public steps are being taken in some countries for active participation in the world-wide anti-nuclear struggle.

Hundreds of thousands of Argentinians put their signatures to an 'Appeal by the 100 for Survival' which was issued by prominent political leaders, workers in science and

culture, and social organisations in defence of peace and disarmament. The campaign for the collection of signatures to that document spread to Brazil and Uruguay in 1985. Anti-nuclear demonstrations and peace marches were staged in Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Caracas and Sao Paulo, among other cities, in the past few years. The US anti-war film, *The Day After*, a terrible portrayal of a nuclear catastrophe, had extensive reverberations: hundreds of its video tapes were distributed by anti-nuclear activists in many centres of Latin America; the issue of a special booklet explaining the ecological consequences even of a limited nuclear conflict for the whole world, was timed for the showing of the film by Brazilian peace fighters. The Ecuadoran Peace Council has also regularly published items in defence of peace in its printed medium, *El Chasqui de la Paz*, and arranged lectures on the need for disarmament.

All these efforts help broad sections of the population to become aware of the urgency of the struggle for the prohibition of nuclear weapons and for disarmament. Two factors have recently helped to amplify this trend. First, the appearance of US bases in the region on which nuclear weapons could be stationed. One is on the island of Vieques (Puerto Rico), an actual colony with a concentration of sizeable armed forces ready for aggression against countries on the continent. Another is being hastily erected on Easter Island with the complicity of the Pinochet dictatorship on the pretext of building a reserve airstrip for shuttle-type spaceships. An Anglo-US base is being built on the Malvinas. The second factor is the growing awareness of the impossibility of repaying the external debt piled up by some governments behind the backs of their peoples. It has been multiplied over and over again by the neocolonial policy of imperialism and, in part, by the purchase of weapons. The peoples not only demand a cancellation of the debt, but also object to the use of the already meagre resources of the Latin American states for military equipment purchases, most of them meaningless.

A large part of the peace action in the recent period was aimed against the nuclear-war danger and for disarmament, such as the international conference in Buenos Aires (September 1985), which discussed Latin America's role in averting a nuclear war, a problem also considered at a conference of peace fighters of Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador on the struggle for peace in Central America and international security (Guayaquil, October 1985). One of its three main topics was formulated as 'The Militarisation of Space and the Mounting Danger of a Nuclear War'.

Still, the distinctive feature of the Latin American peace movement continues to be its less pronounced character as an anti-war (anti-nuclear and anti-missile) movement, and its greater connection than in Western Europe with general democratic processes on the continent. The realities of the continent invest the struggle for peace with a special anti-imperialist edge, above all against US imperialist intervention. This community and connection of the tasks in the defence of peace and democratic transformations are reflected in the names of many peace organisations, among them the Cuban Movement for Peace and Sovereignty of the Peoples, the Venezuelan Council for Peace and Human Rights, the Peruvian Movement for National Sovereignty, International Solidarity and World Peace, and the Panamanian Committee in Defence of National Sovereignty, Solidarity and Peace.

What does this close interconnection for Latin America between the problems of peace and social justice, peace and democracy, peace and national sovereignty in the social movements suggest? First of all, it is the explicit political character of their slogans. Experience shows that this has a twofold effect on the peace movement: on the one hand, it facilitates the quest for organisational unity of its participants, gives greater coherence to their ranks, and intensifies the progressive, anti-imperialist tenor of their actions and demands, and on the other, it produces some difficulties in amplifying the mass basis of the movement.

One should not forget that Latin American peace fighters have to carry on their

activities in an atmosphere totally dominated by the bourgeois mass media, an intense anti-communist campaign by US imperialism and the ruling classes, and a flood of anti-Soviet inventions. In this atmosphere of anti-socialist hysteria, the overtly left-wing character of the slogans of some peace organisations tends to scare away fairly wide sections of the population which in other regions constitute an important component of the peace forces. This means above all intellectuals and the urban middle strata, which are especially exposed to the influence of the bourgeois mass media, all of which impedes efforts to set in motion the whole enormous anti-war potential of the peoples of our continent.

Pacifist attitudes, often with a religious and ecological content, have had some spread in Latin America in the past several years, a reflection of shifts in the public consciousness (a comprehension of the growing threat of war together with a rejection of 'too radical' anti-imperialist views of the 'traditional' peace organisations), and of the influence which the Catholic Church still has. The direct influence of the West European anti-war movement should not be discounted either.

Under the impact of all these factors pacifist organisations have been emerging in some countries (the most active, in Brazil and Argentina), which in many cases uncritically accepted slogans that are popular among some of the 'new anti-war movements' in Western Europe, such as 'equidistance from the two superpowers' and 'equal responsibility of the superpowers' for the growing danger of war in the world. The anti-socialist forces are quick to capitalise on the lack of clarity in the pacifists' political criteria and actively try to exploit these slogans.

That being so, the possibility of the left forces cooperating with the pacifists is, of course, no simple matter, and it is being tackled in a different way in each country. Still, we believe, there are definite prospects for cooperation, and the basis is a sincere desire both of the 'traditional' peace organisations, in which the Communists work, and of the pacifist and ecological movements to safeguard peace and find a way of solving the most contentious problems. But one should not forget that in Latin America, where the anti-imperialist animation of the masses is so high, their involvement in the struggle for peace under the blurred and abstract pacifist slogans would signify a step backwards. The history of the peoples of the continent abounds in struggles against aggressions and interventions and testifies to the criminal substance of imperialist policy, which threatens peace and liberty. We believe that it is the task of the Communists and other consistent peace forces to see that they do not confine themselves to the framework of their own organisations, but go on to extend ties with all those trends which are desirous of cooperation, and to make skilful use of the available experience to tell people the truth about the sources of the danger of war.

When considering the specific conditions strengthening the anti-war consciousness of the peoples of Latin America, one has to mention a number of other elements which are a drag on this process. Violence, as an attribute of social life, is historically an instrument of the ruling classes. One need merely look at the annals of the endless palace revolutions, military putsches and sanguinary civil wars in most states on the continent. In addition, the most reactionary pro-imperialist circles now most frequently resort to 'pacification' demagoguery to justify their policy of 'internal war' against their own people, a practice of most repressive regimes that are dependent on the United States — from Guatemala to Chile. A salient example is provided by the cynical declarations of the ringleaders of the most odious Central American dictatorships, which hold forth on 'pacification', while exterminating patriots and torpedoing the peace initiatives of the Contadora group.

All of this naturally provokes an extremely negative response in broad circles of public opinion. Radical groups of students and intellectuals in some countries now and again transfer their mistrust of the reactionary governments' official 'peace-making' to the movements for peace and so artificially marginalise themselves. We believe that it is

an important task for the Communists to work with this section of the population, which has a great potential of anti-imperialist sentiments.

In the light of what has been said, let us consider some of the main lines of the anti-war struggle in our region today and in the near future.

Resistance to the aggressive and militaristic line of the United States continues to be the most important of these in the present conditions. The interventionist policy, the brutal trampling of the peoples' interests, of the norms of international law and of the provisions of existing treaties have generated a powerful anti-imperialist tide. These sentiments are being increasingly absorbed by the peace movement. Indeed, more vigorous struggle against the imperial policy of the United States is the way to bring out most fully Latin America's peace potential, and is our real contribution to the cause of disarmament and stronger peace.

The Continental Conference of Peace Movements of Latin American and Caribbean Countries, held in Guayaquil in July 1984, declared that 'now that the future of the Latin American peoples is at stake, peace fighters, regardless of their ideological and political differences, must join efforts in exposing the warmongers, so as to prevent in good time a repetition on the continent of the aggression like the one against Grenada, and to defend the peoples' inalienable right to build their own peaceful future'.³

We set ourselves the task of tying in more closely action by anti-war organisations against the concrete aggressive acts of imperialism in the region with the general tasks of the anti-nuclear and anti-missile struggle, and incorporating them in the context of the global problems of war and peace. The Latin American Communists are working to drive home to public opinion the significance of the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries and of their consistent policy aimed against the nuclear danger and militarism. On the other hand, we explain to the masses that the provocations along Nicaragua's borders and the deployment of the latest US systems of mass destruction weapons in Western Europe, the participation of the United States in the Malvinas adventure and its military and economic diktat with respect to the Third World are all links in the same chain, which is called the policy of imperialism that poses the threat of peace throughout the world.

Our efforts in this direction are beginning to bear fruit. Ever broader strata of the population are coming to realise that solidarity with the liberation process in Central America, defence of the just economic demands of the debtor countries, and protests against the establishment of new military bases on the Malvinas and on Easter Island are inseparable from the struggle against the plans for Star Wars, and the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe. In this way there is a gradual bridging of the gap between the slogans of the world-wide anti-nuclear struggle and the concrete realities in countries on our continent, a gap peace movements have allowed to develop in the past.

More particular and concrete lines of activity by Latin American peace fighters are also connected with the resistance to the aggressive policy of imperialism. Action directly aimed to prevent a US armed intervention in Nicaragua is now highly important. The link between efforts by a number of Latin American governments, notably the Contadora group, and public opinion, is now most evident. The concrete forms of action are highly diverse, ranging from international conferences and symposiums, to collection of signatures, peace marches, publications in the press, protest letters, and so on. The Communists take part in most initiatives of this type, and we intend to go on supporting the Contadora group's peace efforts, while exposing the false 'peace-making' of the imperialists.

The struggle for a peaceful settlement of Central American and Caribbean problems is directly connected with the protest movement against foreign military bases in the region and its further militarisation. Over a period of years, these problems have been central to peace fighters in Cuba, Panama, Puerto Rico and the English-speaking

island states of the Caribbean, where the imperialist military presence is particularly noticeable. In the recent period, similar demands have been voiced by the peace public in Honduras, which the United States has turned into a base for aggression against Sandinist Nicaragua, and in Cost Rica, where pro-US circles have been trying to achieve an effective repudiation of the constitutional status of that country as a demilitarised state, which has proclaimed its neutrality. Argentinian peace fighters are continuing the campaign against the establishment of a NATO military base on the Malvinas, something, we believe, that is of great importance for the anti-war movements of the whole continent. There is growing resistance in the Central American countries to the attempts by Washington and some reactionary regimes to reanimate old military pacts and to impose new ones on the peoples. These multilateral 'defence' agreements are aimed to weaken the forces of national liberation and social progress and to preserve the retrograde social structures and imperialist dependence.

The movement for Latin America's nuclear-free status and the establishment of a peace zone for the whole continent has been noticeably intensified. It supports the peace initiatives of a number of governments, in particular, Argentina and Mexico (within the framework of the 'initiative of the four continents'), and also of the Contadora group, for the restoration of peace in Central America. Apart from the contacts between the peace public and governments and political parties, which help to enhance the prestige of the anti-war movement, this opens up the prospects of more effective involvement of the Latin American peoples in the world-wide anti-nuclear struggle and of a broad dialogue with its participants in other regions of the globe.

Serious importance attaches to the stand of the Latin American peace movements on such an issue as the just settlement of inherited territorial issues between individual countries. The imperialist forces, as a rule, seek to inflame these. Acting in the ranks of the peace fighters, the Communists strive to explain to the public at large the prejudicial consequences of local conflicts for the peoples of the region. In some cases, the opponents of war have successfully tied in with this problem the movement against mounting military expenditures, which signify an absurd squandering of their already meagre financial resources.

International tensions dictate the need to merge action for peace and disarmament with resistance to imperialism's economic and financial dictates, especially in view of the colossal growth of the external debt, the scale of inflation and the toughening up of trade protectionism by the United States and other Western countries. This relatively new line of struggle for Latin American peace fighters has been rapidly gathering momentum, and great interest in it was displayed, in particular, at the conference of Latin American and Caribbean peace movements at Guayaquil. The continental external debt meeting in Havana in August 1985 showed that the urge to solve the problem of the gigantic external debt is now capable of uniting the broadest political and social forces.

Imperialism, US imperialism in the first place, has been using the debt mechanism to extract funds from the countries of our continent to finance the arms race and to develop ever more inhuman and lethal weapons systems. Fidel Castro emphasised at the Havana meeting that it 'is absolutely correct . . . to link up our problems: underdevelopment, poverty and social calamities . . . with the preoccupations of public opinion in the industrialised world, the threat of war in the first place'.⁴

We believe that a most important reserve for invigorating not only the anti-imperialist but also the anti-war attitude can be tapped by explaining to the popular masses the crying fact that the Latin American peoples' hunger and sufferings and their lack of the necessary means for vital projects in education, public health and housing construction are directly connected with the inhuman policy of the imperialist military-industrial circles and their frontmen in the White House and other organs of power. The struggle for peace in Latin America could be given a fresh and powerful

impetus if this potential is used correctly and in good time.

Popular mass action for democracy and human rights also presents many potentialities. Now and again, the obvious prospects in this line of work are underestimated; although it contains vast reserves both in involving new participants in the movement and in enhancing its prestige. Cooperation with regional organisations standing up for democracy and human rights and exposing the crimes of imperialism and its agents is not yet adequately used.

Here is an example from our country's experience. The Ecuadoran Peace Council — with which the Communists closely cooperate — has established contacts with the Latin American Association for Human Rights (LAAHR), a Quito-based continental organisation of authoritative political and public leaders of differing convictions. It was set up in the early 1980s on the initiative of the then President of Ecuador Jaime Roldos Aguilera. Cooperation with that body has enabled the EPC and the peace movement as a whole to strengthen ties with political circles in many Latin American countries. For its part, the LAAHR obtained an additional rostrum in the anti-war movement. Its representatives took part in several actions by the World Peace Council, where the LAAHR's anti-imperialist line met with complete understanding. Thus, it was emphasised at the LAAHR conference on Central America in Montreal in March 1984, which was attended by observers from many anti-war organisations, that Washington is responsible for such an explosive situation in this subregion. Even the most inveterate conservative could not have labelled as 'Reds' the participants in the Montreal forum: well-known lawyers, diplomats, religious leaders and artistes.

Successful cooperation by peace fighters with the LAAHR is also exemplified by its arrangement, jointly with the World Peace Council and EPC, of an international conference in Quito on the interconnection of peace, democracy and human rights in Latin America (July 1984) and the above-mentioned conference in Guayaquil, timed for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. Representatives of our party took part in both forums.

There are other regional organisations taking a stand close to that of the anti-war movement, among them the Anti-Imperialist Tribunal of Our America, with headquarters in Havana, and the Latin American Unity (Medellin, Colombia), whose activity is a valuable contribution to the peace forces actions helping to involve progressive intellectuals in the battle for the security of the peoples.

While the peace fighters have had some success in coordinating action with these organisations, we feel that other opportunities are being used to a lesser extent for the time being. This applies above all to contacts with influential pacifist religious forces: the grass roots Christian communities, the Peace and Justice organisation, which has branches in most Catholic dioceses, and also the continental clerical and lay organisation Justice and Peace. While the 'liberation theology', by which these bodies are usually guided, is in many ways alien to the Communists' world-view, the democratic, anti-imperialist and liberation orientation of their activity provides, we believe, an adequate basis for successful cooperation within the framework of the peace movement.

Strengthening ties with the most diverse social circles, and overcoming the sectarian attitudes still in evidence among some left-wing trends on the continent which have been trying to transfer these attitudes to the peace movement as well, is a realistic way to enhance the political weight of the peace forces. Otherwise, it is impossible to convert the anti-war movement into an effective instrument of the democratically-minded masses. The possibilities here are great, and their practical realisation largely depends on the activity of peace organisations, and on their readiness to seek new forms of work and new conjunctions of anti-war and general democratic slogans.

The Latin American Communists taking part in the peace movement and working directly in anti-war organisations strive to set an example of such a broad and open

approach to the problem of alliances with other social and political forces. We shall go on doing our utmost to solve the key problem of our day: the preservation of life, and the defence of the peaceful future of the Latin American peoples and of mankind as a whole.

¹ *Nueva Eara*, No. 17, 1984, p. 22.

² See *America Latina*, No. 3, 1985, p. 5.

³ *Conferencia continental de los movimientos de la paz en America Latina y el Caribe. Resolucion sobre America Latina y el Caribe. 12-14 de julio de 1984*, p. 3.

⁴ *Granma*, special supplement, August 12, 1985.

Unity Against the Dictatorship: Ways and Forms of Struggle

Luis Corvalan — General Secretary
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THE powerful popular struggle that swept Chile in September 1985 shook Pinochet's dictatorship to its foundations and generated widespread response throughout the world. The fascist regime is going through a very difficult period. The days of protest helped to create a new situation. Pinochet has now been abandoned by most of his right-wing friends. Differences are surfacing among members of his cabinet and there is quarrelling among the military, who are trying to find a way out of the current impasse.

The coup of September 1973 was staged under the pretext of 'saving' Chile from communism and from an economic crisis. In actual fact, it overthrew a democratic government that was building an independent economy, successfully overcoming the difficulties created by imperialism and internal reaction. Twelve years later one can state that the dictatorship has not only failed to destroy the Communist Party but that the party has turned into the most militant force of the opposition, a force whose influence is growing, while the fascist junta is disintegrating before our very eyes. Nor is there any doubt that it is the dictatorship which has plunged our country into economic crisis by applying the neomonetarist policy of the Chicago School and submitting to the dictates of the International Monetary Fund. More than 30 per cent of our labour force are unemployed; real purchasing power has diminished drastically and so has production for the domestic market. Trade sales have dropped; the external debt, which was no more than four billion dollars twelve years ago, is now 23 billion. During Pinochet's rule the country has lost some 40 billion dollars merely due to the growing discrepancy between the prices for the products it sells to the United States and other developed capitalist countries and the prices it pays for their goods.

Today, Chile lacks the international independence it enjoyed under Salvador Allende. The structural crisis is more acute than ever and demands many radical transformations, above all an essential change of government. Our party therefore advocates the establishment, on the basis of a broad coalition, of a progressive democratic government capable of putting into effect the necessary anti-imperialist transformations, introducing democracy throughout the government structures, including the armed forces, reviving the economy and boldly tackling the problems

that the Chilean people face. This government will lay the foundations for a subsequent transition to socialism.

Should a clearly bourgeois-oriented democracy replace the dictatorship, this will also be a step forward compared to the current fascist regime, although the government of this type will be unable to lead the country out of the crisis, let alone meet the urgent needs of the masses. Nevertheless, the CPC will support an administration of this type in all its moves consonant with the genuine interest of the country and of the people. At the same time, we will continue to fight for more profound transformations and for advanced democracy.

Let us recall that Salvador Allende always distinguished between enemies and opponents. The latter he saw as those who held different but not antagonistic positions. Today, Pinochet and his clique who have been and still are trying to destroy the CPC, to put an end to communism and to physically exterminate the Communists are our enemies. Our opponents — according to Allende's classification — are those whose views both differ from and coincide with ours. They do not share our commitment to socialism, but we are united with them by our common objectives for the immediate future and for the medium-term prospect. These are forces that are mostly progressive and that fight against the dictatorship. We are acting jointly with many of them to uphold the interests of working people and the nation, to secure the soonest possible return to democracy.

Our official relations with some opponents of this type are less favourable. We are holding meetings and discussions with them in a spirit of respect. However they are making impossible demands upon the Communists. They want us to give up our political course and turn into an appendage of the Democratic Alliance (DA)¹ and of its new right-wing allies. Publicly and privately, we are being urged to renounce force in the struggle against the dictatorship, to abandon some forms of our struggle, to use only peaceful methods. There are insistent pleas that instead of pursuing our own policy, we follow the dictates of other parties, above all the Christian Democrats. There are also demands that we keep a low profile because, it is claimed, the presence of the Communist Party in the foreground may prejudice the return to democracy.

Chile's Communists believe that a decisive confrontation between the people and the dictatorship is the most likely prospect. As noted in the report of the Political Commission to the latest plenary meeting of the party's Central committee, 'we believe that it will take the form of a mass uprising involving the entire population, most of the political and social forces and perhaps part of the Armed Forces opposing the dictatorship. We refer to a state of general rebellion which will truly paralyse the country: popular action in the key urban centres with the decisive participation of the industrial proletariat, students, middle strata and peasants. This action must be backed by effective blows to paralyse the dictatorship and help to accelerate the moral and political disintegration of its repressive forces. This process should culminate in the capture by the masses of the main political centres of the country.'²

On the other hand, the mobilisation of social forces launched by the National Headquarters of Chilean Workers is continuing, and the ideas of active non-violence and civil disobedience are making headway in the parties of the Socialist Bloc³ and the DA. There is also broad support among the opposition for the proposal of a nationwide strike in all spheres of activity, a strike that will make it impossible for Pinochet to control the country. This prompts one to recall the nation-wide movement of disobedience that led to the fall of the Ibanez dictatorship on July 26, 1931. Many people believe that this experience can be repeated.

In the opinion of the CPC, our view about the probability of an uprising, as well as the assessments and ideas quoted above, contains all major elements necessary for the elaboration of an original course that cannot be schematically identified as either 'violent' or 'non-violent'. In practical terms, this course can draw close to either

option; it can be more or less 'violent' or more or less 'non-violent', depending on the scope of the revolutionary movement, on the resolve and militancy of the masses, on the changes that may occur in the behaviour and thinking of the military and on the stand they take at critical moments.

There is no Chinese wall separating peaceful and armed forms of struggle. They are not antithetical or irreconcilable; on the contrary, they are mutually complementary. We are speaking of an uprising and popular action. Others raise the question of civil disobedience and of making the country ungovernable. What is the essential difference here? If there is a difference, it is one of nuances. We see both approaches as expressions of the resolve to fight against the dictatorship from revolutionary positions. To a certain degree, all participants in social processes learn from one another, absorb and master the experience born of practical action by the masses.

The Communist Party believes that the outcome of the present situation will be close to our forecasts, although we must not discount other possibilities either. It is only the possibility of reaching agreement with Pinochet that we fully reject as illusory. At the same time, it would not be impossible to reach such agreement with the armed forces on condition that the tyrant be removed.

US imperialism, which engineered the 1973 coup in collusion with internal reaction, again shows serious concern over the way events are developing in Chile, especially over the growing influence of the Popular Democratic Movement (PDM) and the Communist Party. True, Laghorne Motley an emissary of the White House who visited our country a few months ago, declared smugly upon his return to Washington that 'Chile is in good hands'. But there is every indication that the scope the struggle of our people has attained in recent months has alarmed the US administration. Let no one be swayed by the illusion that the Reagan administration interferes in Chile's affairs only to try and prevent a truly democratic settlement of our problems. Imperialism strives to block radical transformations, countering them with superficial reforms that do nothing to affect its interests and will continue to collaborate with Pinochet as long as it is possible. Still, the centrist and right-wing politicians are wrong to entertain any illusions. Of course Washington has allies, it also has vassals and puppets. But even these it cannot impose or remove at will. It took three years of efforts to install in Chile a dictator ready to do the bidding of the imperialists. As time passed, their protege inflated himself, acquired a taste for power and can no longer live without it, so that now only the people can oust Pinochet.

The struggle of the masses and concerted action by all opposition forces are now the basic, central and decisive elements. It is this struggle and this action that can put an end to the dictatorship. They are the principal factor behind the aggravation of the profound crisis of the regime. They have been and will continue to be the basis for the correct development of our movement no matter how conditions may change in the immediate future.

Lenin noted that the Russian proletariat could not have been victorious without revolutionary violence. But he was equally, if not more forthright when he added that 'revolutionary violence was a necessary and legitimate weapon of the revolution only at definite stages of its development, only under definite and special conditions, and that a far more profound and permanent feature of this revolution and condition of its victory was, and remains, the organisation of the proletarian masses, the organisation of the working people. And it is this organisation of millions of working people that constitutes the best stimulant for the revolution, its deepest source of victory.'⁴

We are guided by this principle. In other words, we hold that the movement of the masses is the most important thing, and that the use of violence, its degree and advisability depend on specific conditions. This means that it is impossible to eliminate tyranny without a struggle which involves all the people; the national uprising which we consider the biggest probability will actually materialise only when, objectively,

there is no other way out, when the people realise this and accept it as inevitable.

The practical record of the popular struggle over the past few years bears out the conclusions of the Communist Party. The days of protest staged since May 1983, the barricades that have sprung up in communities in the course of these battles, the power failures that have occurred throughout the Chilean electric power network, the 'tin-pan' and other marches that are staged on prearranged days and at prearranged hours, the strikes, the capture of higher and secondary schools, the clashes with the police in the streets — all these are forms of struggle involving hundreds of thousands and sometimes even millions of people. And if people participate in such action on such a massive scale, this is due solely to the fact that this action is created by the masses, is born of their struggle and is consonant with their will, feelings and interests. Most frequently, the protest takes the form of pitched battles with the repressive forces of the regime despite the peaceful or almost peaceful character of many such actions. This makes no difference to the dictatorship which ruthlessly suppresses them without ascertaining whether they are 'peaceful' or not. Security agents even prevent people from giving a decent burial to their dead and from visiting graves. These agents beat up and arrest people who appear in the street carrying a carnation or a candle because carnations and candles have become the symbol of the struggle for the right to life.

The choice facing every Chilean man and woman is not whether to use violent or peaceful methods but whether to fight or not to fight against tyranny.

Dismissing these obvious truths, some members of the opposition continue to condemn violence 'no matter what its source' — a strange position, putting it mildly. Most of those who are now intransigent opponents of violence either supported the military coup or kept their peace during the bloodbath and the brutal reprisals unleashed against our people at that time. In those days and in the first years of the dictatorship the few voices raised in protest were, aside from the left parties, those of the Catholic Church and several Christian Democrats, specifically Bernardo Leighton and Radomiro Tomic.

We Chileans love to claim that Chile is a Latin American republic with a history of relatively few coups and relative quiet in the affairs of the state. There is a measure of truth in these assertions, but mostly, they are a myth. Violence was no doubt present to various degrees even under all democratic governments. Suffice it to recall the 'pacification' of Araucania by fire and sword, the army-supported naval mutiny against President Balmaceda, or the fact that the Chilean working class has repeatedly been subjected to persecution and inhuman genocide, from the mass murders at the School of Santa Maria to the bloodbath at El Salvador, Pampa Irigoin and many other places.⁵ Finally, what can be more convincing than the September 1973 fascist coup that installed the Pinochet dictatorship, one of the most brutal and blood-stained in the history of Latin America.

If we turn to Chilean history, we will see that violence has almost always been initiated by the ruling classes; the same is happening today. But, flying in the face of this incontrovertible fact, there are those who bring their entire passion for criticism to bear on the actions rooted in the people's justified hatred of the regime, the regime that has plunged them into hunger and repression.

Violence is inherent in all societies where antagonistic classes exist. The exploiters direct the brutal force of violence against their own peoples in order to protect their self-serving interests and to resist the liberation movements and the class actions that threaten their profits and privileges. In turn, the peoples are forced, at certain junctures, to resort to violence if they see no other way to throwing off the yoke of oppression. This has always been the case — from the era of Spartacus and his forerunners to this day. Neither the French Revolution, the most important of those led by the bourgeoisie, nor the October Socialist Revolution, the turning point to socialism in human history, was an exception.

Who would deny these facts? Who can defend and support violence that is aimed against the people and criticise the people when they resort to violence in the struggle against a fascist regime? After all, those who do are making it clear that they do not reject or condone violence as such: they decide the matter depending on which class resorts to violence and who it is aimed against.

Even before we began to assert the people's right to an uprising and the legitimacy of different forms of struggle, we were told that understanding among all democratic forces was possible only if we the Chilean Communists abandoned Leninism — and, consequently, Marxism too — and attacked the Soviet Union. Today the emphasis has shifted. The centre-right opposition claims that the issue of violence and different forms of struggle is an obstacle to agreement with the PDM and specifically, with the Communists.

True, we do have our differences with these quarters of the opposition on the issues in question — and on other issues as well. But the aim is precisely to achieve unity irrespective of the differences, in the name of joint struggle for the principal demand of the moment — democracy for our country.

Another incontrovertible truth we have stated repeatedly is that it is important to overcome isolationist moods, secure an understanding among the opposition forces throughout the political spectrum and promote the principal goal of ousting the tyrant — because it is obvious to all who are not blind or deaf that Pinochet must go.

The Popular Democratic Movement represents the most advanced and militant sections of the Chilean Left. Without it, no formula for the solution of our problems will be sufficiently viable or will be able to secure the necessary mass support.

The policy of isolating the Communists and their closest allies runs counter to the will and the interests of the people; for this reason it has no social base. On the contrary, the idea of broader unity is making headway everywhere. It springs up in communities, in trade unions, in higher and secondary schools, in the artistic community and in professional and other associations. Our youth has again provided us with a shining example. Its political organisations operating under democratic associations have signed an accord on joint action which is also an appeal for the unity of all popular forces and opponents of the dictatorship.

The Democratic Alliance is under pressure from its right wing to make concessions to the reactionaries. The policy of discrimination against the Communists is one such concession. Still, there are many advocates of an understanding with the united Left among the DA members. For example, the Radical Party decided at its June 1985 conference to set a deadline for the implementation of a policy of unity from which no one was to be excluded within the framework of the Civil Front which was then about to emerge. Soon the so-called Group of Eleven emerged which was in fact a civic front — in which the parties of the PDM and some others did not take part. Before that Ricardo Lagos, a prominent Socialist from the part of the former Socialist Party led by Carlos Briones, stated unequivocally that he would establish an alliance with the Communists on the very next day after the DA contacted the National Party. We know that DA representatives met and found common ground not only with that party but also with the even more right-wing National Unity Movement and even with individual reactionaries such as Francisco Bulnes. Meanwhile, the promised contacts with the Communists were shelved. We are simply listing facts, without expressing our opinion of parties or individuals. Moreover, we believe that these parties and individuals have been sincere in their intentions and statements, that they must be concerned over why events took a different turn, and that they will probably insist on their own positions.

The left parties have come out in support of an understanding and joint action with all opposition forces. The same step has been taken by the Humanist Party and the politically unaffiliated figures from the Democratic Intransigence group. It is more than probable that the course of developments will lead the left parties and all

advocates of unity (from which no one is to be excluded) to strengthen and promote mutual contacts; this will help to enhance their role in the search for such an accord.

What magnificent lessons were delivered by our people in the course of last year's September actions! Let us recapitulate the events. The National Headquarters of Chilean Workers issued an appeal to stage yet another day of national protest on September 4. On August 26 it was a matter of general knowledge that eleven parties had signed an Accord on the Transition to Full Democracy. This instrument contains political proposals that are close and clear to the masses, yet it lacks the most important element — the demand that Pinochet must go immediately. The accord ignores the struggle of working people for their rights, applies bourgeois criteria to the problem of ownership and refrains from defining other fundamental issues.

Thanks to certain virtues of this instrument and to the universal desire to resolve the crisis as soon as possible, the accord created certain illusions among the broad sections of the petty and middle bourgeoisie who believed that what had been achieved was enough to start a triumphant march towards democracy. Virtually all news agencies commented on the euphoria that seized prominent leaders of the centrist and right-wing opposition. The US State Department gave the accord its seal of approval. Cardinal Fresno thanked the Lord and the leaders of the eleven parties for the fact that an understanding had emerged. He called on the people not to take part in the protest actions scheduled for September 4. The Democratic Alliance issued an appeal urging people merely to sign a paper in support of the accord and decreeing that they should be back home by 2.00 pm. What happened in actual fact is well known. The developments took a different turn. The day of national protest on September 4 is, to date, the biggest action ever staged, the greatest militant mobilisation of the masses over the 12 years of the dictatorship.

It is a great accomplishment of the PDM that it was resolved to take a firm and clear-cut stand and not to lose sight of the main enemy. The Movement did not sign the instrument of the eleven parties because the accord lacked a number of very important provisions and had other deficiencies. However, the PDM has not blocked the path of those who signed this instrument and continue their efforts to find opportunities for joint action. This approach helped to make September 4 a protest action in which all currents of the opposition and diverse social strata participated unanimously.

The National Headquarters of Workers, the most representative, pluralist and broadest trade union association of working people, plays an important role in the attainment of unity. One must pay tribute to its leaders who refused to be induced into passivity in the course of the September actions and put the interest of hired labour in the foreground.

Summing up, one should openly admit that differences over the issue of violence have no relation to the moral precepts or the principles of humanism that, we believe, the democratic currents share. The differences are connected mostly with the class character of the various political projects advanced by the opposition. There are several such projects. Proceeding from consistently revolutionary positions, the Popular Democratic Movement advocates an advanced democracy with a socialist outlook. The Socialist Bloc is for a socialist-oriented democratic regime; the Democratic Alliance proposes a more or less 'progressive' democratic regime of a bourgeois type. Meanwhile, among the right-wing forces that have recently joined the Group of Eleven there are those who do not hide their desire to secure a ban on the activities of our party and its allies; this imparts a clearly anti-democratic character to their political projects.

The form the overthrow of the dictatorship will take and the methods that will be used have a direct bearing on the feasibility of this or that project — or, in other words, on the character, depth and effectiveness of the changes. The bourgeois West European press identifies the project of the Group of Eleven with the possibility of

'moderate' and 'orderly' change. This assessment is no accident because it is connected with the actual content of the policy pursued and of the statements made by Chile's right-wing and centrist leaders themselves. However, the option they propose is not the only possibility. For our part, we have already stated that the shortest way to the overthrow of the dictatorship is to meet it head on, that the defeat of fascism will create in our country the best opportunities for a transition to far-reaching transformations in the structure of the state and in all other spheres.

One should also acknowledge that a struggle for hegemony, for supremacy, for leadership in directing social change and in shaping Chile's future is going on within the opposition itself, between the bourgeoisie (in the final analysis, the finance oligarchy) on the one hand and the proletariat and the middle strata on the other. The differences over political projects and all other issues mentioned above, including the issue of violence and different methods of action, are but a reflection of this struggle.

The report of the 1984 National Conference of the CPC says that the struggle for hegemony within a socio-political movement is an objective and inevitable fact. The outcome of this struggle cannot be resolved through clashes of the rival forces; it can only be decided in the course of a common struggle against the common enemy and a subsequent comparison of the positions of each force in practical terms. In this, and in everything else, the people must be the final arbiter.

The principal question arising before the opposition is whether we should seek to draw up a common plan and common tactics of the struggle for the ouster of Pinochet, to jointly formulate the tasks of the provisional government which is to replace the dictatorship or, on the contrary, whether each party should act as it does today, upholding its own project in its own way and limiting itself to occasional agreements only.

The Communists are firmly in favour of the search for a common plan and common tactics, if only for the overthrow of the dictatorship — with the understanding, naturally, that each party has the right to preserve its own identity.

The proposal made by the CPC Central Committee in its letter to Gabriel Valdes⁶ on the joint elaboration of a specific way to victory over the fascist dictatorship is rational and realistic, if we take into account the common factors that unite all the opposition except the extreme right wing. The political platform of the National Headquarters of Chilean Workers, advanced at the August 1985 assembly in which more than 1,000 trade union leaders took part, can serve as a basis for an understanding all democratic forces can achieve. As our party noted in its message of September 6, 1985 to Cardinal Fresno, the immediate measures stipulated in the instrument of the Group of Eleven, as well as other demands stemming from the plight of poverty, hunger and unemployment afflicting the poorer sections of our population could become the objective of the proposed joint action.

In an interview to the *APSI* magazine Andres Zaldivar⁷ says that dictators strive to remain in power for life. Their power ends only when 'the Lord remembers the peoples and delivers them from tyrants or when the peoples themselves overthrow them'. There are two ways to achieve this goal: the dictator is ousted either by force of arms or by mass mobilisation and disobedience translated into social pressure. That is an interesting point of view which deserves to be discussed and specified in order to find common ground. It is also important because Andres Zaldivar maintains that Pinochet will not resign of his own free will and therefore regards public mobilisation and civil disobedience as a way of confronting the regime, as a 'permanent and growing process of pressure' on the dictatorship.

If all democratic forces fail to reach an understanding soon, if each of them clings to its own project refusing to yield anything, we will run the risk of letting slip the current favourable opportunity for dealing painful blows to and 'cornering' the regime.

There are some who think that the nation can oust the dictatorship without this

necessary concerted effort. Yes, that is a possibility. The suffering of the people, the hunger and the poverty of millions, the yearning for justice and the hatred of tyranny have transformed Chile into a veritable volcano. There are ample indications that a powerful social explosion is possible. On the other hand, there is frantic activity among the sectors favouring an 'orderly' and 'moderate' solution, and dissatisfaction with the dictator is noticeably growing within the armed forces which are virtually the last source of support for the regime. At any rate, the issue of an understanding among the broadest democratic forces remains on the agenda because, should the trend towards fragmentation gain the upper hand, the situation will get out of hand.

Whatever the circumstances and the sacrifices we may be called on to make, we the Chilean Communists will remain in the front ranks of the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, preserving our ties with the masses and maintaining close contacts with our allies. At the same time we will, as part of this struggle, continue to uphold our principles, our class-based course and our policy of militancy and unity with all democratic forces opposing the dictatorship.

The interests of the people are the highest and only purpose of the policy pursued by the CPC. That is why we advocate a system which will put an end to fascism, torture and political crimes and which will truly respect human rights. We are striving for a democratic regime which will ensure the sovereignty of the people and enable them to freely determine the future of our country. In theory as well as in practice, we are the most consistent democratic party. We want an understanding with all progressive currents so that effective joint action could end the tyranny as soon as possible.

The chance of directing events along the most favourable course is in the hands of the popular masses, above all of the working class. If this course leads to an advanced democratic regime, the Communist Party will keep up its policy of the broadest possible alliance of social forces from which no progressive current is excluded, because the transformations that Chile needs call for the participation and common struggle of most of our country's people.

¹ The DA comprises the Christian Democratic, the Social Democratic and the Radical parties, as well as the right-wing Republicans, part of the former Socialist Party and the Liberal Movement. — *Ed.*

² *Partido Comunista de Chile, Boletín del Exterior, No. 71 (extraordinary)*, 1985, p. 37. For more details about the line pursued by the CPC, see Hugo Fazio, 'Headed for Mass Popular Disobedience', *WMR*, No. 10, 1984.

³ The SB includes part of the Socialist Party, the Left Christians, the MAPU-Movement of United Popular Action and part of the MAPU Workers' and Peasants' Party. — *Ed.*

⁴ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 89-90.

⁵ Araucania is a region in the south of Chile whose Indian population — the Araucanos — waged an armed struggle for their rights against the Spanish colonial rulers for over three centuries (1536-1882) and later against Chile's bourgeois governments; Jose Manuel Balmaceda (ca. 1840-1891) was the first Chilean president who opposed the infiltration of his country by foreign capital, was overthrown by the reactionaries in a savage military coup and committed suicide; masses of working people were fired upon at the School of Santa Maria in Iquique in 1907 and in El Salvador, Pampa Irigoin and elsewhere prior to the advent of the Allende government. — *Ed.*

⁶ Chairman of the Christian Democratic Party of Chile and of the DA coalition of parties. — *Ed.*

⁷ Former chairman of the CDP; elected chairman of the Christian Democratic International in December 1982. — *Ed.*

The Initiative of the Masses Accelerating Scientific and Technological Progress

Antonín Kapek — member of the Presidium of the CPCz Central Committee, First Secretary of the Prague City Committee of the CPCz

AWARE of its responsibility, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is preparing for its 17th regular congress which is to be convened in March 1986. Primary organisations have already held their election meetings, and party bodies are focussing on the preparation of city, district and regional conferences.

The CPCz is concentrating all this work around the principal tasks of its socio-economic strategy — the drive to make the development of the national economy highly dynamic on the basis of its all-round intensification, of increased productivity and improved quality of labour. On the eve of the congress, the party's economic cadre and all working people in our country are striving not only to meet the targets of the plan but also to attain major changes in the quality of development so as to impart a decisive acceleration to the intensification of the economy and to make production bigger, better and more efficient in the new, eighth five-year period.

Each congress is preceded by the intensive and thorough work of all party organisations from the bottom to the top. The Communists tackle serious questions. Has the strategy of socioeconomic development chosen by the CPCz proved right? Has everything been done to translate it into reality? What are we to implement consistently, what forms of work are we to step up and what — in the light of the experience gained — are we to change and adjust? What should we attach our particular attention to?

The accuracy of our guidelines and, consequently, the success of socialist construction depend to a great degree on how realistically and scientifically we assess our accomplishments and on what conclusions we draw. It is therefore important not only to take stock of and compare the results actually achieved with the targets we set ourselves five years ago but also to try and grasp the underlying interconnections and identify the most important elements of our progress so that we could continue advancing and impart a new quality to the entire socio-political fabric.

The socio-economic strategy outlined at the 16th congress of the CPCz (1981) had to be implemented in more difficult conditions than we had originally envisaged: unfavourable shifts occurred in international politics and in the world economy. Nevertheless, Czechoslovakia's Communists did not deviate from their course and did not evade the challenge. The party took up a thorough and difficult job of organising working people in a drive to economise on resources and increase production efficiency. This made it possible to preserve the level of the people's well-being and sense of social security and confidence. The principal targets of the seventh five-year plan have been fulfilled and even overfulfilled, thus ensuring the necessary economic growth. We have advanced in the intensification of industrial and agricultural production. Our external economic relations have become more balanced.

On the whole, the country has achieved positive results over the five-year period. But we are also aware of a number of shortcomings and of considerable latent capacities, including those we can tap without additional capital outlays.

The 15th Plenary Meeting of the CPCz Central Committee (June 1985) made a fundamentally important conclusion in this connection: that in order to attain the

principal goals of our socio-economic policy, it is particularly important to continue perfecting economic planning and management, to tune the economic mechanism at all levels in the correct way. This is what the party will be striving for in the forthcoming five-year period. We shall have to show greater flexibility in using economic incentives and cost ratios. The place and role of individual managerial elements will have to be specified so that they could discharge their functions better and make competent decisions. In other words, we are to ensure the necessary balance in relations between the central agencies and the enterprises by expanding the power of the work collectives and enhancing their responsibility for the results of economic activity.

Extremely demanding tasks arise in the context of direct and prompt guidance and management performed by the party and government cadre. The CPCz is fighting resolutely against everything that impedes our rapid progress — against incompetence, waste, inflexibility and opportunism. The party is consistently promoting the Leninist style of work, instilling in its cadre a responsive attitude to all that is new and progressive.

A managerial system based on the principle of democratic centralism provides for broader participation of working people in managerial activities and enhances their stake in the efforts to improve production and rapidly modernise technology and equipment. This, in turn, contributes to a more successful tackling of an essential task facing socialism — that of mobilising the creative potential of the whole people, of furthering the people's activity and initiative.

Today, economic growth rates in our country depend above all on the human factor, on organisation and discipline, on a responsible and conscientious attitude of the people. It takes a more orderly system of remuneration and incentive for every worker to treat public property as his own; we are aware of this and we act accordingly. But an equally tangible effect — not only in economic but also in ideological and political terms — can result from a resolute struggle against shoddy work, against a wasteful attitude to public property, against parasitism and pursuit of easy profit, for this is what inflicts great moral damage on society by violating the principles of social justice. Conversely, strict observance of these principles in which word and deed are one opens unlimited opportunities for the development of the initiative and energy of the masses.

The socialist mode of production and public ownership give rise to economic development possibilities without precedent in human history. However, the economic environment inherent in the socialist system is not enough to automatically ensure the desired purposefulness and efficiency in the efforts of managers and working people. These qualities emerge gradually, as the socialist state creates effective tools, methods and forms of economic management — in other words, as a planning, managerial and stimulating mechanism takes shape that integrates socialist relations of production, their various manifestations.

The record has shown how important it is to monitor, at every stage of socialist development, the efficiency of this mechanism and the way this makes for a dynamic and balanced progress of the national economy. The response of the managerial system to the demands made on it can be judged by a number of criteria — its efficiency in the overall economic context and in individual branches, the rate at which labour productivity grows and approaches the world's highest levels, the way the organisation of production is improving, and whether the enterprises are really interested in producing high-quality goods society needs.

Our experience keeps demonstrating the profound impact the organisational and educational work conducted by all elements of the political system of socialism has on the operation of the components comprising the economic system. Directed by the Communist Party, this work is designed to comprehensively encourage and promote the activity of work collectives. Without it, the best tools of planning, management and incentive fail to produce the desired effect. Creative work and initiative of the masses is

a salient feature and a basic advantage of socialism over the social systems based on exploitation. Naturally, it would be wrong to believe that popular enthusiasm alone makes accurate fulfilment of the plans and smooth operation of the economic mechanism a foregone conclusion. Nevertheless, selfless work can no doubt play a great role; Lenin made this point repeatedly. Unfortunately, this factor is not always taken into due consideration in our actual practice.

To perfect the socialist relations of production means, specifically, to create a system of material incentives that would clearly and forthrightly encourage creative conscientious work and punish negligence and irresponsibility. Still, any such system is doomed to failure if the collective does not consciously exert an influence on its members, if a socio-political environment that makes great demands on the results of their work is lacking. The record shows that to be put into effect, a progressive system of organisation of production and remuneration calls for a constant and purposeful effort to explain, convince and educate.

This is why the Prague City Committee of the CPCz welcomed and fully supported the new initiative of the collectives of the metropolitan enterprises which decided to prepare for the congress by striving to meet the planned targets above all through strengthening the ties between science and production and through accelerating the modernisation of production. This movement built on an earlier initiative of promoting closer contacts between science and production. The objective of the pre-congress initiative is to create an atmosphere in which factories could rapidly and radically modernise their technologies and their output. This atmosphere implies a high sense of responsibility and discipline of each worker, it implies order on the shop floor, mobilisation of reserves and the removal of all bureaucratic obstacles to creative endeavour. This, in turn, makes for adequate and concerted interaction of the different elements of the economic mechanism.

This initiative demonstrated the ability of workers, technicians and scientists to jointly tackle the most complex scientific and technological questions of production and to effectively apply the results achieved. This cooperation helps to speed up the dissemination of progressive experience and progressive methods of organisation of production and to raise enterprises with a poor or mediocre performance to the level attained by the more advanced factories. It shapes a critical public attitude to slothfulness, slipshod ways, complacency and negligence.

In organising mass movements similar to the one launched in Prague, our party strives to ensure that all workers, technicians, technology experts, designers and innovators take a vigorous stand in this regard. Their expertise can help to accelerate the introduction of scientific and technological advances, bring order to the shop floor and create conditions for a more streamlined production regime and greater discipline in the work collectives.

Our party expects economic executives, including the staff of ministries and production associations, to support the initiative of Prague's working people and do everything in their power to help accomplish the pledges undertaken. There is a place for everyone in the new mass movement — for everyone who is ready to work creatively and thus contribute to the economic performance of his or her enterprise.

The task of accelerating scientific and technological progress introduces certain new elements into socialist emulation. Its participants do not confine their activities merely to an effort in the course of which they undertake pledges and monitor their follow-up. The typical thing about this initiative is that it strives to raise all production to a higher level and to ensure the application of new-generation equipment and up-to-date technologies. This is not a short-term, temporary objective; it reflects the CPCz policy of combining the advantages of socialism with the latest advances of science and technology.

In order to create favourable conditions for the masses' creative activity and

initiative and to orient them on the consistent implementation of the party's economic policy, greater freedom of action is being assured for the work collectives on the shop floor, at various enterprises and in other elements of the production system. These steps do not fragment the economy; on the contrary, they enhance the authority of centralised management. Specifically, it has been prohibited to redistribute the funds earned by advanced and vigorously working collectives and to use this money to offset the losses of backward, passive enterprises.

The creative endeavour of working people is essential for a decisive turn in our process of reproduction, a turn from extensive to intensive operation. 'Efforts to ensure a comprehensive turn to intensification and accelerated improvements in product quality, in the technological level of the economy and in the efficiency of production are urgent demands of the times; they are imperative for substantially increasing the viability of our economy and the social productivity of labour,' Comrade Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CPCz Central Committee, said at its 15th plenary meeting.¹ The party's leadership has also stressed repeatedly that in terms of its scope, this task is comparable to the country's industrialisation and to the collectivisation of agriculture.

Unfortunately, some party officials and party committees have not yet grasped this fully. But if we failed to really master scientific and technological progress, our national economy would inevitably lag behind. Future generations would then have every right to censure us for our inability to solve organisational questions and to raise the socialist economy to a new high.

A radical turn towards intensive economic activity can be attained only if social issues are regarded not merely as a concomitant of economic progress but also as an essential element of the development of the productive forces as such. After all, this development is not a spontaneous process: it is ensured by the efforts of work collectives, of all components making up our economic and political system. It follows that aside from a radical improvement of the economic mechanism, an acceleration of scientific and technological progress calls for further expansion of socialist democracy.

These steps exert a positive influence on the consciousness of working people, stimulate them to greater activity and shape well-defined personal and collective interests. The CPCz is striving steadily to ensure a unity, a correlation between the commitment of all society to effective and conscientious work on the one hand, and the satisfaction of the material and moral requirements of work collectives and individual workers on the other. That is when our policy, the work of Czechoslovakia's Communists will bear fruit.

I would like to cite an example. A new compressor engine for major pipelines has been developed at the CKD Electrical Engineering Factory. These powerful engines (each costs several million korunas) which can by rights be described as ranking with the world's best technical products, were designed and launched into production within a little more than two years any big capitalist firm would envy such prompt work. What was the reason behind this success? Was some sort of exclusive material and financial arrangement made? No, it was the result of well-considered organisation of work attained by a close-knit collective of workers and experts; it was a case of correct and prompt application of new scientific and technological know-how, a case of the executives displaying the ability and the resolve to take a calculated risk. It was a case in which the principles we intend to establish throughout the country were put into effect.

Our party strives to encourage the masses' initiative not only in production but also in all other branches of the national economy. Specifically, an effort is currently under way to make the work of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences institutes, various agencies and institutions of higher learning better geared to practical matters; we are also working to substantially intensify research and development. Research

establishments have already turned to the needs of production in fields such as technology, chemistry, biology and agriculture; and the results are quite tangible.

For example, the Institute of Electrical Engineering operating under the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, as well as the Czechoslovak Higher Technical School did much to help accelerate the development and introduction of the electric engines for major pipelines mentioned above. Contributing to the success was not only the professional expertise of the scientists but also their awareness of the fact that, since the researcher can be fully satisfied only if his ideas are implemented, this calls for close contacts with the engineers, technicians and workers who take care of production.

Combining science with practice will not only help to perfect the already well-known combinations of science and production such as scientific/production agglomerations, integrated workteams, etc., but can also give rise to new forms of this combination.

It is gratifying that science and technology have moved noticeably closer to the national economy. But it is equally significant that production, for its part, is also showing greater interest in the application of scientific and technological breakthroughs. The CPCz is working to step up this process in industry and agriculture, but also in transport, trade, the services and several branches sometimes referred to as 'manpower reproduction fields' — medical care, education, physical training, etc. Their material and technical infrastructure also needs to be strengthened and modernised; this will make it possible to use investment more effectively and to serve people better, for such is the goal of our party's policy.

Drawing up the CPCz strategy for the latter half of the 1980s and laying the basis of the country's development in the future, Czechoslovakia's Communists are attentively gauging their experience against that of the fraternal parties in other socialist countries, against the results of their theoretical work and the fundamental conclusions they make. The draft new edition of the CPSU Programme, a landmark in the development of Marxist-Leninist theory, has generated particular interest among us, just as it has in the entire communist and working class movement.

This policy document of Lenin's party in which a novel approach is applied to the pressing issues of acceleration of socio-economic development was welcomed by the Czechoslovak Communists with understanding and support because its ideas are in large measure consonant with our own problems and tasks. This is true, among other things, of an issue of fundamental importance at the current stage in the perfection of socialism — the role of the human factor. The CPCz experience fully bears out the idea that 'socialist society cannot function effectively without finding new ways of developing the creative activity of the masses in all spheres of public life. The greater the scope of the historical goals, the more important is the interested, responsible, conscious and active participation of the millions of people in achieving them.'²

It is precisely millions, the great masses of Czechoslovak working people that our party is addressing in its efforts to bring about a far-reaching shift in the economy and to put modern science and technology at the service of peace, social progress and continued successes in the building of socialism.

¹ *Rudé právo*, July 20, 1985.

² *Draft Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (a New Edition)*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1985, p. 35.

Commentary International Year of Peace

TIME OF ANXIETY AND HOPE, TIME OF ACTION

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A change of calendar years is a time of analysis, assessments, summing up of results, and making plans, a time of hope. Such are a tradition and imperative of life. In a certain sense there is symbolism in the fact that 1985, International Year of Youth, is followed by the UN proclamation of 1986 as International Year of Peace. There is profound meaning in this symbolism: all of us bear the responsibility for the future, and this is felt most acutely in the basic issue of the day — that of peace.

The link of time was seen vividly last year. It will remain in our memories as the 40th anniversary of the Victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism. Further, it was a year of tense, militant struggle to keep Europe free of any further war, spread detente to the entire planet, and prevent the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki from being repeated anywhere. A political event of immeasurable significance was the Soviet-US summit in Geneva, a dialogue that mirrored humankind's anxieties and its hopes for a turn for the better in international affairs.

Time is confirming its importance. It was the first meeting of the leaders of the USSR and the USA since 1979. The situation in the world has become much more complicated since then. Under pressure from the opponents of detente there has been a visible deterioration of Soviet-US relations. Tension was mounting in the world, and new flashpoints had appeared. The arms race curve was climbing swiftly. There was a real growth of the danger that armaments would be deployed in outer space, that circumterrestrial space would be turned into a source of deadly danger to all nations.

To quote a figurative expression used by Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, 'we have come to a line at which we must stop, look around, take stock of things and, on the basis of realities, on the basis of a broad approach to determining national interests, decide what next to do in the world.' Geneva was indeed a watershed if we bear in mind not only Soviet-US but international relations as a whole. The frank, candid exchange between the political leaders of the two great powers was vital and useful. It enabled the two sides to compare their attitudes, views, and assessments of the situation, get a better understanding of each other, and, on that basis, begin a quest for mutually acceptable solutions of pressing issues of our time.

True, no accord was reached at Geneva on concrete problems of limiting and reducing armaments. However, in the prevailing complex situation such a dialogue is in itself a stabilising factor. Of fundamental significance is that the joint Soviet-US Statement records the common understanding that a nuclear war must never be

unleashed, that in such a war there can be no victors; it also records the commitment of the USSR and the USA not to seek military superiority. Also of enormous significance is that there was a reaffirmation of the January 1985 understanding between the two sides that ways had to be found for preventing an arms race in outer space and halting the arms race on Earth. At the level of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the President of the USA it was agreed that the work in this direction would be accelerated.

The leaders of the two countries reiterated their commitment to help increase to the utmost the effectiveness of the nuclear non-proliferation regime, and spoke in favour of general and complete prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons. They agreed to foster the earliest consummation of the Stockholm conference with the adoption of a document that would contain concrete commitments on the non-use of force and on mutually acceptable confidence-building measures. Agreement was reached on a visit by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to the United States and by the President of the USA to the Soviet Union. An agreement was signed on contacts and exchanges in science, education and culture. All this tangibly serves the interests of peace.

Statesmen, political and civic personalities, and the mass media of many countries have noted that the Geneva dialogue created more auspicious possibilities for improving the international situation and for returning to detente. The top leaders of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation's member-states declared at their meeting in Prague on November 21, 1985 that it was now important for the two sides to translate these possibilities into practical deeds.

The Geneva understandings concern unquestionably the future. The first step has been made towards restoring confidence and mutual understanding between the USSR and the USA. The talks between their leaders enabled comprehension of the nature of the divergences between the two countries, dislodged so it seems, some biased American assessments of the Soviet Union and the policy of its leadership, and removed a part of the prejudices that had piled up. It is necessary to go further, keeping in touch with realities, seeing the prospect — peace, which is giving security to all nations.

The Geneva meeting showed that the changes that had taken place in international life over the past decades require a new approach, a fresh view of many things in foreign policy. In the interrelated and interdependent world of today it is no longer possible to build one's own security at somebody else's expense. It is impermissible not to take into consideration the fact that under present-day conditions the issue is not only of a confrontation between two social systems but of a choice between survival and mutual annihilation.

The existence of these systems and of basic contradictions and fundamental differences between them constitute a historical fact. Like peace and war, like fire and water, socialism and capitalism remain opposing social phenomena. But today the two systems must, have to learn to, coexist, to live in peace, if they do not want to be destroyed together.

Certainly, the capitalists do not like the socialist system, and nobody is asking them to laud it or ignore ideological differences. The Communists, too, have no need to conceal their attitude to capitalism. But the preservation of peace is more important than the contradictions between the two systems because any attempt to use force to abolish one of them or the ideological differences between them would be catastrophic for all humanity.

Therefore, let everyone live in his own system and think what he wants about the other. And first of all let us demonstrate which of them is better not by force, not by weapons, but by peaceful coexistence, by example. People are mature enough to decide on their own which system they would prefer. Without the differences and

contradictions, policy has to take the realities of this world into account. Whoever tries to gain the impossible will come into conflict with reality. The need to live together in peace on this Earth is as much a reality as the existence of the two systems and the ideological contradictions separating them.

Humanity is threatened not by armaments as such. The threat is in a policy that spurs the senseless arms race and proceeds from a belief that the historical dispute between the opposing systems and the ideological differences between them can be settled by military strength. Lasting peace and reliable security can only be achieved by renouncing this policy and curbing the arms race.

In the view of the Soviet Union what is needed now is, in essence, a feasible, first step as a beginning. Neither the USA, nor the USSR, nor anybody else should do anything that would open the door for an arms race in new areas, specifically in outer space. There have hitherto been no armaments there. Once they are deployed there, it will be extremely difficult to pull them back. The scale of the military competition will grow immeasurably. The arms race may become irreversible and go out of control. And there is absolutely no justification for expecting the development of space strike weapons to lead to the disappearance of nuclear weapons on Earth. The history of the appearance of new types of weapons and the realities existing today refute any surmise of this sort. Besides, is there any logic at all in the argument that disarmament must be sought through superarmament? What is the sense of developing missiles for the destruction of missiles when it is possible to agree on a reduction and subsequent complete abolition of existing missiles?

At his press conference in Geneva Mikhail Gorbachov showed convincingly what President Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative was leading to. This is a programme for stationing armaments in space, creating not a shield but space strike systems usable against missiles, satellites, and targets on Earth. It marks out a new type of weapon, the opening up of a new area for an arms race. If no obstacle is raised to the SDI it will not merely give an impulse to the production of all types of weapons but will put an end to all restraints to armaments, let alone cutbacks. That is why the peace forces regard counteraction to the Star Wars plans as one of the central directions of their struggle in 1986. They hope that what was said in Geneva about the SDI is not the last word of the American side.

The paramount task is to remove the nuclear threat by preventing the arms race from spreading to outer space and by putting an end to it on Earth. The attainment of this aim requires a responsible approach, further efforts, and a contribution by all states and socio-political forces committed to peace.

The leaders of the socialist countries, the majority of the representatives of the non-aligned states, many eminent Western public and political personalities, and military experts now believe that the growth of armaments stockpiles and, in particular, the development of new weapons under the SDI programme will not bring the world more security. On the contrary, they will make the international situation unpredictable, less stable. The Presidents of Algeria, Argentina, France, Mexico and Tanzania, the Prime Ministers of Greece, India, Sweden and Canada, the UN Secretary-General, prominent members of the business world and Churches and even some former US statesmen are urging breaking the diabolical circle of the arms race, and relaxing international tension.

The Socialist International, thousands of physicists, chemists, and medics, many of whom are Nobel Prize laureates, trade unions, womens and youth organisations, and the governments of France, Canada, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, Australia and Greece deplore the plans for militarising outer space. The world opinion is demanding in all languages: Reject the Star Wars plans! Reduce the stockpiles of nuclear weapons! Ban nuclear war! Stop nuclear tests!

These sentiments were very aptly characterised by Erich Honecker, General

Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee and Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, when at the Eleventh Plenary Meeting of the SUPG Central Committee he noted that never before had there been such a revolt of the world conscience in defence of peace as in the context of the Geneva summit.

The situation in the world is presently determined not only by the growing dangers to humanity but also by the increasing possibilities for safeguarding and preserving peace. The realisation of these possibilities is being facilitated by a number of facts.

These are: first, the growing sense of responsibility of the peoples for the world's destinies, the understanding that a nuclear war would be catastrophic, that it cannot be permitted; second, the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries and their consistent line to halt the arms race on Earth, prevent such a race in outer space, and bring down the military confrontation level between the USSR and the USA and between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation; third, the mounting role played by the non-aligned and neutral nations in the efforts to preserve peace, to end the arms race; fourth, the unparalleled sweep of the mass actions on all continents for the right to life, against nuclear war; fifth, the realism and reason on the part of many statesmen and political personalities of capitalist countries, and their efforts to secure a return to detente and peaceful cooperation.

The potential of the peace forces is growing. Their actions have proved their effectiveness in the past year. There is a natural striving to consolidate in the new year what has been achieved and move farther along the road of cooperation in the interests of strengthening peace and general security.

The struggle that lies ahead will, understandably, not be an easy one. Confrontation will not yet fade out, and the opponents of an improvement of the international situation will not stop creating new obstructions. The most reactionary, aggressive forces, particularly the military-industrial complex, which holds very strong positions in the USA and other leading capitalist countries, want confrontation and the arms race to continue. Underlying their stand is the aspiration to wreak social vengeance, to suppress progressive liberation movements forcibly, and to keep international tension at a level justifying the development of new types of mass annihilation weapons and the militarisation of outer space. These are the circles that refuse to reckon with present-day political realities with the aspiration of the majority of humankind to live in peace, and ignore the will of sovereign nations, seeking to deprive the latter of their right to choose their own path of development and threatening their security.

After Geneva it became obvious to many people that the dynamic, courageous, and innovatory line pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist community states in European and world affairs is consonant with humanity's hopes for a turn for the better. This line stems logically from the essence of socialism, from its concept of struggle to assert peace in the world and to ensure the social progress and national liberation of peoples. Proceeding from a profound understanding of present-day realities, the Soviet leader convincingly demonstrated the breadth of the approach of Lenin's party to international affairs, its ability to take changes in the situation into account opportunely, assess developments objectively, and respond flexibly to the imperatives of the day. What the communist and workers' parties and peoples of the socialist countries are striving to achieve is spelled out clearly in recently published basic documents. Among these, above all, are the draft new edition of the CPSU Programme and the Statement adopted by the Sofia conference of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee.

The programme document of the Party of Lenin sets out the fundamental principles underlying Soviet foreign policy, principles that objectively are the mainstay of all the peace forces. Firmly and consistently upholding the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, the CPSU advocates: renunciation of war, of the threat or use of force as a means of resolving outstanding issues, the

settlement of such issues by negotiation; non-interference in internal affairs and consideration for each other's legitimate interests; the right of peoples to decide their own destiny independently; unqualified respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of nations and the inviolability of their frontiers; cooperation on the basis of full equality and mutual benefit; conscientious compliance with commitments stemming from universally accepted principles and norms of international law and from international treaties.

The draft new edition of the CPSU Programme embodies the immutable solidarity of the Soviet Communists with all progressive forces, respect for their views and attitudes, and the striving to facilitate their unity in the struggle against reaction and aggression, for peace and progress. This line has the support of all Marxists-Leninists. It is consistent with the interests of all who are protesting against the neo-colonialist enslavement of nations, the interests of all who are fighting and repulsing imperialist interference in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It is helping peace fighters in capitalist countries to understand the relationship between the struggle against the arms race and the battles for national and social emancipation.

The Statement of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee specifies what could be done today to improve the international situation, namely: halt the policy of force and confrontation; strictly comply with universally acknowledged norms of international relations; prevent smear campaigns misrepresenting the situation in, the policies of, this or that country; renounce interference in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples, and bring state terrorism to an end; refrain from impinging upon the sovereign right of every nation to live and work under the socio political system freely chosen by it.

Compliance with these principles in political practice would clear the way for a turn towards dependable security and cooperation. A substantial contribution to this process would be the adoption of prompt measures in the military sphere. The socialist countries are proposing the cessation of all work linked to the development, testing, and deployment of space strike weapons, including anti-satellite systems. It would be necessary, in parallel, to freeze nuclear arsenals at their present quantitative and qualitative levels, place a maximum limit on the modernisation of existing weapons, abstain from developing new weapons, and stop the deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Europe. These are the main steps of what is quite feasible even before agreement is worked out between the United States and the Soviet Union on the entire range of problems relating to nuclear and space weapons. Further, given a shared desire, the sides could reach agreement on banning all nuclear tests and undertake a mutual commitment to refrain from deploying any nuclear weapons on the territory of states where none exist.

As we have already noted, in Geneva the USA proved to be unprepared for such radical steps in response to the proposals advanced by the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty states, proposals that have the support of many countries and large sections of peace opinion. If Washington could travel its part of the way in the new year of 1986, this would be welcomed by all nations. They are awaiting tangible progress and counting on both sides to refrain from actions undermining what was achieved at Geneva.

More than ever before, there is today an imperative need for mutual restraint, more confidence, and international cooperation. Hence the continued urgency of the proposals of the socialist countries to the NATO states on holding direct negotiations for a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force, the maintenance of peaceful relations, a non-increase and then reduction of military expenditures, and Europe's deliverance from chemical weapons. Significant efforts are being made by the governments of the GDR and Czechoslovakia to create a zone free of chemical weapons in Central Europe. The socialist community firmly supports the initiatives to

turn North Europe and the Balkans into nuclear-free zones, and the idea of a nuclear-free corridor in the centre of the continent along the line dividing NATO and Warsaw Treaty nations. It has reiterated its readiness to agree on the simultaneous disbandment of the two blocs, with the dismantling of their military organisations as the first step.

Unquestionably, an end to the arms race and the normalisation of relations between the USA and the USSR and between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation would be decisive in ensuring peace and international security. But this is not all. Many conflict situations have developed in recent years in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The possibility of their exacerbating or of new flashpoints appearing cannot be excluded if imperialism continues its present policy of bringing forcible pressure to bear, flagrantly interfering in the internal affairs of other nations, and having recourse to state terrorism and even direct aggression to suppress the struggle of peoples for liberation from bondage to neocolonialism and for their right to decide their own destiny by themselves. Moreover, there is the danger that regional conflicts may erupt into a major or, possibly, even a global war.

The in-depth causes of such conflicts are many-faceted — partially they are rooted in history, but in the main they are an outcome of the social and economic conditions in which the newly-free nations found themselves. These nations want the earliest just settlement of regional conflicts. This is precisely the direction also of the efforts of socialist community states. While steadfastly supporting the liberation struggles of Asian, African, and Latin American peoples, they stress that they are prepared to cooperate actively with all interested countries in order to improve the situation and prevent the emergence of new flashpoints of tension in these and other regions of the world. Needless to say, there must be respect for the right of each nation to determine its own destiny independently.

The non-aligned movement is becoming a factor of growing importance in the anti-war struggle. The countries in this movement are strongly advocating disarmament and peace, urging a dramatic easing of international tension, calling for the dismantling of bases on foreign territories, opposing neocolonialism and racism, and championing national independence. They are pressing for a normalisation of international relations in the fields of economy, science and technology and the removal of all artificial barriers and discriminatory restrictions. The non-aligned movement actively advocates confidence-building measures in economic relations, a just and democratic restructuring of the entire system of international relations, the establishment of a new international economic order, the abolition of underdevelopment, and the settlement of global problems. In all this the socialist community is an ally of the non-aligned states.

A world without armaments and wars and the peaceful settlement of conflicts are the ideal of all Communists. Such a world is still far from having been achieved, and they are everywhere working tirelessly for peaceful coexistence and disarmament. They go to the masses to explain where the threat to their life comes from. They help people to understand the need for militant struggle against the line of destabilising the international situation. Jointly with other social forces they launch massive campaigns protesting against the whipping up of the arms race and the US Star Wars plans. They initiate actions of solidarity with the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador, the Middle East, and Southern Africa who are defending their legitimate rights in a struggle with imperialism and reaction.

The Communists active in capitalism's citadels highly appreciate the contribution being made by all political and social forces to safeguard peace and ensure lasting security. They see existing socialism's peace initiatives as support for their efforts in defence of the vital interests of the peoples. For the same reason, the Communists are in solidarity with the positive proposals being advanced on the world scene by non-

aligned and neutral nations. The fraternal parties respond positively to all the peace ideas coming from the masses and strive to direct them into the channel of practical action.

An immense role is played by various political, public, religious and professional organisations and associations that act separately or jointly for peace and the elimination of the nuclear threat, against the arms race. Diverse motivations, professional interests, convictions, views, and religious persuasions are no hindrance to their participation in the peace movement. The broader this movement becomes the greater will be the ability of the peace fighters to win massive support for their actions.

In working to consolidate world security the Communists are unequivocally for a policy of realism; they give their undivided support to the line towards peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Without blurring and despite distinctions and contradictions, peace can and must be preserved and a broad worldwide coalition of reason and realism created in the interests of humanity's further onward development. The time for this has come, and the potentialities, of which there are not a few, are on hand. Given goodwill, by means of dialogue, relying on reason and political realism, and uniting their efforts, the peoples can achieve a turn for the better. May the International Year of Peace be marked by such a turn.

the party

Consulting With the People

Discussion of Precongress CPSU Documents
on the Pages of *Pravda*

THE drafts of the new edition of the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the changes in the Rules of the CPSU, and the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and in the Period until the Year 2000 have been presented for discussion by the whole party and the whole people in accordance with a decision of the October 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU CC. The final text of these fundamental documents is to be adopted by the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

The plenary meeting decision ushered in a highly responsible stage in the preparation for the Soviet Communists' highest forum, namely, the party's major and direct consultation with the people on the key questions of economics and politics. The precongress documents are being discussed at party meetings and conferences, and in every work collective. They have generated a tide of comments, proposals and letters addressed by the working people to party and state organs and the mass media, which provide a country-wide rostrum for discussion, and explain the party's innovative line seasoned with popular experience.

Addressing the Communists and all the other Soviet people, the CPSU CC has called for a workmanlike and constructive discussion, spreading an explanation of the drafts, in a meaningful manner, without show and without ostentation, seeing to it that the discussion is centred on various problems in practical work, and that not a single useful idea or sensible proposal is ignored. That is exactly the approach reflected in the flood of letters from which the paper draws the ideas, wishes and proposals for its articles and other items.

The essence of the party's present line, says *Pravda*, is embodied in the conception of the country's accelerated economic and social development, which it has now presented to the people and which it intends to put before its 27th Congress. This conception underlies the programmatic propositions which determine the objectives and tasks in the activity of the party and the Soviet people. To carry the society to a qualitatively new state by accelerating the country's economic and social development is the pivotal idea which runs through all the three documents being discussed in the USSR. These documents, says a letter from D. Bairamova, who lives in the city of Baku, the capital of the Azerbaijanian Soviet Socialist Republic, and who has been a member of the party since 1919, clearly show the continuity of the CPSU's theoretical and political strategy and its invariable loyalty to Lenin's immortal precepts. At the

same time, they give a perspective on new and higher historical horizons.

The programmatic propositions in the economic sphere are expressed in material terms and translated into the idiom of concrete plan targets in application to a responsible period in the country's history, namely, the twelfth five-year plan period, which has just started, and the period until the year 2000. Over the next 15 years, the national income is to be almost doubled, the social labour productivity to be increased by 130-150 per cent.

The party's plans rest on a sound foundation. The draft new edition of the Programme says, in part: 'With the adoption of the Third Programme at the 22nd Congress in 1961, the party undertook enormous work in all areas of the building of communism. The Soviet people achieved great successes in developing the productive forces, economic and social relations, socialist democracy, and culture, and in moulding the new man.' *Pravda* recalls some of the synthetic indicators which illustrate that point: from 1960 to 1985, fixed production assets in all the sectors of the national economy increased 6.0 fold, and labour productivity, 3.2 fold; in 1985, the national income produced was 3.8 times larger than that in 1960, and the social consumption fund — 4.2 times larger. Let us recall that the social consumption fund in the USSR is used to satisfy almost one-third of the total volume of material goods and services consumed.

The authors of letters, articles and other items in the paper note with pride what has been achieved, but focus attention on bringing out the existing reserves and describe the experience of the work collectives. Nikolai Popov, who heads a team of lathe operators at the Excavator Production Association in Voronezh (RSFSR), writes that when completing the five-year plan, they decided to determine their 1986 plans in advance on the basis of the target figures. For the first time, production tasks were set in the shops, the sections and the teams. Thousands of proposals were summed up by a special headquarters, so helping to map out a concretised growth of output in the twelfth five-year plan period by 140 per cent.

Acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the main instrument for making production more efficient, is being discussed on the pages of *Pravda* with concern and competence. Doctor of economic sciences Yuri Yakovets believes, for instance, that if we are to carry out a revolution in our hardware and technology — and if we are to do this in a balanced manner, with the maximum economic effect and in the shortest possible time — there must be an improvement of prognostication and intersectoral coordination of scientific and technical policy, with more extensive use of financial, credit and price instruments to compensate for the cost of developing new technology, and more potent economic incentives for the work collectives and individual workers engaged in its application.

'The acceleration of social and economic development of the country demands continuous *improvement of the guidance of the national economy*, and reliable and effective functioning of the economic mechanism,' says the draft new edition of the CPSU Programme. Reports on party meetings and conferences and letters from readers published in the newspaper show that it is a matter that is of profound concern to the Communists and all the other Soviet working people. Hitches in the economic mechanism are discussed, for instance, by Zoya Krasnova, a fitter at the Salavatnefteorgsyntez production association (Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic), and a candidate member of the CPSU CC, who says that it is most important to give a clearer definition of the duties and responsibilities of those who are in charge of industries for the organisation of labour and the introduction of technical achievements.

New technology and the economic mechanism do not turn out any material values on their own: these have always been produced by human beings, and the need to invigorate the human factor in the drive for acceleration is urged in many items carried

by *Pravda*. R. Zarinya, assembly shop operator at the Alfa electronic industry production association in Riga, the capital of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, insists that efforts should be made to get the new technology to yield everything it has. He expresses the confidence that the party will continue to carry on with the remarkable Stakhanovite tradition,¹ as one of the essential features of the Soviet working person's character.

In his report at the October 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU CC, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachov recalled what Lenin had said about the need to give due attention to social matters, science and culture: 'That will be the best policy. That will be the most economical management. Otherwise, while saving a few hundred millions, we may lose so much that no sum will be sufficient to restore what we have lost.'² That is the angle from which the party determines its attitude to the social sphere.

The Soviet people are accustomed to free education and medical care, considerable reductions in the cost of accommodation at sanatoriums and holiday homes, and the maintenance of children in preschool institutions. Readers share their ideas on the pages of the party paper about how best and most effectively to spend the people's money for all these needs and how to improve social and cultural services for the population.

Numerous critical signals concretely indicating shortcomings on the scale of whole enterprises, regions, industries and on an even broader scale are sounded in the course of the discussion of the precongress documents, as the items in *Pravda* show. A. Rakityansky, who leads a team of shaft sinkers at the Severnaya pit in Kemerovo Region of the RSFSR, says that there are many powerful enterprises in the region, but an obvious shortage of health-improvement centres, recreation facilities, hospitals, polyclinics, maternity wards, nursery schools, young pioneer camps, shopping centres, and cultural and everyday establishments. He says that the new edition of the Party Programme gives special attention to the social sphere, and expresses the hope that the attitude to these matters in the Kuznetsk coal area will change in the near future.

The draft of the new edition of the CPSU Programme says; 'A matter of key importance for the party's policy is to *develop and strengthen the Soviet socialist state* and increasingly bring out its democratic nature as a state of the whole people. The CPSU makes constant efforts to improve in every way the work of the Soviets of People's Deputies — the political foundation of the USSR, the main element in the people's socialist self-administration.' In the period of active preparation for the party congress more readers have written to *Pravda* about the work of their local organs of power. The paper carries a survey of these letters.

The more intensive the Soviets' creative quest the more considerable the actual result: that is a point made in this survey. Thus, the district organs of power in Tbilisi, the capital of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, have set themselves the task of establishing contacts with every citizen, and here they are being helped by the public councils of the residential areas, which have been doing much to improve local services. Their activity helps more swiftly to fulfil the mandates of the voters and to expedite the response to the working people's complaints and applications. But examples of a different kind are also reported, the kind when replies to citizens are delayed for a long time. The letters, says *Pravda*, urge that party guidance of the Soviets should be even more consistently improved, and the activity of Communist deputies in tackling all local problems intensified.

Enhancing the Communists role in every sphere of social life is one of the most important points continuously made on the pages of the party press. I. Omarov, senior machine operator at the Bogatyr opencast colliery of the Ekibastuzugol production association in the Pavlodar Region of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, describes how in his team they made efforts to organise the labour process in such a way that two or three members of the party group should work in each shift. Greater demands are

being made on the Communists for educating their comrades in a spirit of high discipline. That is understandable, since every minute of idle time at the Bogatyr colliery means a loss of 100 tons of coal. It is too early, workers at the colliery say, to let up on the efforts to tighten up discipline. The draft changes in the CPSU Rules now being discussed in the party put the duty on party members to multiply their efforts along these lines.

The scale, depth and complexity of the internal and foreign policy tasks being tackled, says *Pravda*, made new and higher demands on the level of party leadership and insistently dictate the need to master new approaches to the whole of party work. The fundamental meaning of the changes proposed in the Rules is, on the one hand, a further extension of inner-party democracy and the development of initiative and activity among the Communists and the party organisations, and on the other, a heightening of their responsibility for implementing party policy.

I. Khmara, first secretary of the Starominsk District Party Committee in the Krasnodar Territory of the RSFSR, and a candidate member of the CPSU CC, shares her reflections on this topic. She puts a high value on the additions and specifications relating to the rights and duties of primary organisations, which are, after all, the backbone of the party and are always at the cutting edge of the struggle for fulfilling the tasks ahead. The primary organisation, according to the Rules, conducts, on the basis of extensive development of criticism and self-criticism 'a struggle against manifestations of bureaucratic practices, furtherance of parochial and departmental interests, breaches of state, labour and production discipline, cuts short efforts to defraud the state, and takes measures against slackness, mismanagement and waste at enterprises, on collective farms and in offices'. The author of the article insists that the power of criticism and self-criticism lies in their efficacy.

The proposed changes in the Rules aimed to enhance the authority, name and significance of party member and his role as a political fighter have met with approval everywhere. Many have suggested that notions such as modesty and decency are duties that should be listed in the Rules, while a double responsibility — before the society and the party — should be borne for misdeeds and especially for any breach of Soviet law. Such an approach is fully justified, and meets the demands of life, say many Communists in their letters to *Pravda*.

The CPSU is clearly and consistently aware that it is an organic part of the international communist movement and so an analysis of the foreign policy and external economic conditions for the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution and for the successful building of socialism and communism has an important place in its programmatic documents. The draft of the new edition of the Party Programme says: 'The international policy of the CPSU springs from the humanistic nature of the socialist society, which is free from exploitation and oppression, and which has no classes or social groups interested in unleashing wars. It is inseparably linked with the party's basic strategic tasks within the country and expresses the Soviet people's single aspiration to engage in creative labour and to live in peace with all the nations.'

The items published in *Pravda* testify to the strength of this purposeful aspiration and the people's full support of the party's principled peaceable line in the world arena. Here is the example. An anthology of topical verse entitled *We Are All Responsible for the Globe*, consisting of works written in the 1980s, was published in Moscow in 1985, says the paper. It was sold out in a matter of days. The poet Tatyana Kuzovleva points out that this is good evidence of genuine civic feeling, of vibrant interest in the problems of our day, of a sense of responsibility to our contemporaries, to our friends and brothers on the Earth, and to our conscience.

There has been the broadest response among the Soviet people to this life-asserting statement in the Programme: '*... There is no fatal inevitability of a world war. It is possible to avert war and to safeguard mankind from catastrophe. That is the historical*

mission of socialism and of all the progressive peace forces on the globe.'

Let us work, therefore, to realise in due time everything that we have formulated and everything that has been written into our party's Programme, our own programme and the programme of every Soviet citizen. That is the idea that runs through all the discussions, reflecting the mood and aspiration of the Communists and of all the citizens of the Land of Soviets, which is advancing to the 27th Congress of its Leninist party.

Vladimir Shelepin

¹ A mass movement of innovators and frontrankers in production in the USSR for higher labour productivity and better use of hardware. It originated in the coal mining industry in the Donbass area on the initiative of miner Alexei Stakhanov in 1935. — *Ed.*

² V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 181.

VANGUARDS IN THE MAKING

On the Development of Revolutionary Parties in the Socialist-Oriented Countries

The rise and development of working people's vanguard parties in the countries which have chosen a socialist orientation is a distinctive aspect of the current stage in African political life. How have such parties sprung up? On what basis? What is their point of departure in evolving their ideology, political and economic programmes, organisational structures and standards? What is their relationship to the international communist movement?

The *WMR* Commission for Exchange of Party Experience has put these questions to representatives of three vanguard parties in power. Answers have come from **Ali Houdou**, CC member of the People's Revolutionary Party of Benin (PRPB), Minister of Information and Communications, **Kouka-Kampo**, head of department, Standing Secretariat of the CC, Congolese Party of Labour (CPL), and **Hailu Wondwossen**, CC member of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE).

The following is a summary of their answers.

WHILE the countries in question lie on one and the same continent, they differ greatly as to internal conditions and the experience gained by their peoples. Ethiopia with its 42 million people is one of Africa's biggest countries. The history of its statehood reaches back many centuries. The Congo and Benin (one-time Dahomey) are relatively new small states (population, 1.9 and 3.7 million respectively) that did not win freedom from French colonial rule until 1960.

These countries also differ with regard to their political evolution in recent decades. In August 1963, the working people of Congo overthrew the neocolonialist regime under Fulbert Youlou and established a national democracy. The ruling National Revolution Movement (NRM) party proclaimed a non-capitalist road for the country. However, its policy proved inconsistent and unsteady. On July 31, 1968, progressive army officers led by Marien Ngouabi removed the President of the Republic and set up the National Revolutionary Council, on whose initiative the Congolese Party of Labour was founded in December 1969.

In Dahomey the fight against the neocolonialist policies of pro-imperialist governments lasted twelve years. The revolutionary situation peaked when the patriotic section of the armed forces joined in the working people's actions. In October 1972, progressive military men took power and their leader, Mathieu Kerekou, declared for 'Dahomeyan socialism' and against all 'foreign influence'. Two years later the army leadership proclaimed Marxism-Leninism its 'philosophical guide' and in 1975 the People's Revolutionary Party of Benin was brought into being.

In Ethiopia, too, it was progressive army officers who gave expression to the people's pent-up anger against the monarchy under Haile Selassie and carried out a national democratic revolution. On taking power in September 1974, they established the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC), which declared for a socialist orientation of the country. On December 18, 1979, following unsuccessful attempts by diverse Marxist groups to form a united revolutionary vanguard, it was decided to set up the Commission for Organising the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE). The Commission's years-long effort resulted in founding the Workers' Party in September 1984. Mengistu Haile Mariam, recognised leader of the Ethiopian revolution, became General Secretary of the party CC.

This brief retrospect, which has no pretensions to revealing the great complexity and contradictory character of the political and ideological process of the time, shows a characteristic common to all three parties, namely, the fact that they did not organise or lead revolutionary changes in their countries but sprang up after progressive members of the military profession had come to power. The founding of these parties was a result of political struggles and ideological evolution within the army leadership, as well as of the influence exerted on it by revolutionary intellectuals and of the impact of a powerful if mostly spontaneous upswing in the working people's struggle.

The formation of the parties under survey dates from the time when a socialist orientation was proclaimed. It is important to note, however, that while the initiative of forming an organised political vanguard came from 'above' this was preceded by a fairly long period of vigorous dissemination of socialist, Marxist-Leninist ideas, of education and all-round mobilisation of the people, of isolation of the reactionary forces of society.

The question arises: How did it come that a policy for radical change prevailed and the formation of working people's vanguard parties was made possible in countries with extremely backward economies, social structures in which semi-patriarchal peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie made up the overwhelming majority, and a population at a low level of literacy and political consciousness? Secondly, how did it happen that progress came to be represented by young army officers who adopted the ideology of the proletariat and declared their resolve to rely on a small working class still far from being politically mature?

The objective need to form political vanguards in newly-free countries was shown as far back as 1969, by the Moscow International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. The Main Document of the meeting said that the solution of these countries' urgent problems of overcoming economic backwardness and raising the standard of living 'involves far-reaching socio-economic changes, the implementation of democratic agrarian reforms in the interests of the working peasantry and with its participation, the abolition of outdated feudal and prefeudal relations, liquidation of oppression by foreign monopolies, radical democratisation of social and political life and the state apparatus, regeneration of national culture and the development of its progressive traditions, the strengthening of revolutionary parties and *the founding of such parties where they do not yet exist*',¹ (Our emphasis. — Ed.)

As regards the progressive role of young officers in African countries many of them belong to the educated group whose members are, unlike the bureaucracy, in daily contact with the army rank and file — men of working class or peasant origin — and

are therefore keenly aware of the people's real problems. This brings to mind Lenin's idea that if the intelligentsia drew closer to the people, it could 'give quite considerable sections of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry just what they lack — knowledge, programme, guidance, and organisation'.² For their part, the experience and example of the countries of existing socialism served as a vast source of knowledge which determined the political choice of patriotic military men in Benin, the Congo and Ethiopia.

As a logical sequel to their ideological choice, young progressive leaders realised the need to form vanguard parties that would guarantee the pursuit of a revolutionary policy and educate and organise the people in building a new life. The founding of the CPL was anything but a spontaneous, let alone a voluntarist act, **Kouka-Kampo** notes; it was a response to an objective and pressing need for social development. The rise of the PRPB was, in **Ali Hodou's** opinion, a result of the maturing of objective and subjective internal conditions for the people's struggle against neocolonialism, as well as of the impact of the experience and example of existing socialism. The lack of an organised vanguard, **Wondwossen Hailu** stresses, complicated the development of the Ethiopian revolution from the very first day, and it was logical, therefore, that the PMAC leadership and spokesmen of Marxist-Leninist groups resolved to found a single workers' party.

Speaking to the Second All-Russia Congress of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East on November 22, 1919, Lenin said: 'In this respect you are confronted with a task which has not previously confronted the Communists of the world: relying upon the general theory and practice of communism, you must adapt yourself to specific conditions such as do not exist in the European countries; you must be able to apply that theory and practice to conditions in which the bulk of the population are peasants, and in which the task is to wage a struggle against medieval survivals and not against capitalism.'³

This fundamental thesis of Lenin's helps the working people's vanguard parties to correctly combine the general and the particular in their activity. Their leaders have repeatedly stressed, the answers state, that they perceive Marxism-Leninism as the only international doctrine applicable to any society, including African societies. In working out programme documents, the parties see the possibilities and peculiarities of development of the social process in the region, and take account of the age-long social and economic backwardness and low level of political consciousness of their peoples. These peculiarities condition the national liberation, national democratic, and socialist stages of the revolution.

The revolutionaries of Ethiopia, the Congo and Benin took an important step towards forming vanguard parties by approving programme documents without which no party can exist as a reasonably solid political entity capable of maintaining its line whichever turn events take. The party becomes a party only when it evolves, in line with its programme, an effective strategy based on an appraisal of the current political situation, giving 'explicit answers to the 'vexed problems' of our times',⁴ and indicating effective ways of fighting for specific goals.

In step with the maturing of political and ideological prerequisites, the parties of the three countries specified their programmes, carried them forward and perfected them, coming closer and closer to a precise Marxist-Leninist definition of current objectives and long-range tasks. In Benin, **Ali Houdou** points out, the situation prevented the revolutionaries from working out truly scientific documents at once; they had to overcome the ideological obscurantism which reactionaries cultivated among the illiterate masses. The tasks formulated originally were not class tasks but national ones, set with a view to consolidating independence and sovereignty. In 1976, however, the First PRPB Congress adopted a 10-point minimum programme calling for stage-by-stage development aimed at building a socialist society. The Ethiopian

revolutionaries' initial programme, published in 1976, was national democratic although it declared socialism to be the guiding principle of the revolution. Many of the tasks set in it were accomplished, according to **Wondwossen Hailu**, and others were incorporated in the party's first programme drafted on the strength of a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the state of society and with due regard to the history of the country, the international situation, and the ten-year experience of revolutionary change and approved by the Founding Congress of the WPE in 1984.

Leninism stresses the need to 'study not so much what they (the parties — *Ed.*) say about themselves as their *deeds*, the way in which they go about solving various political problems, and their *behaviour* in matters affecting the vital interests of the various classes of society — landlords, capitalists, peasants, workers, etc.'⁵ In this light, the answers say, it was particularly important to go over promptly from adopting progressive guidelines and general principles to their application, to 'master' scientific socialism in one's own ranks and base one's activity on it. In the countries concerned, two interconnected tasks have to be carried out: party building and the formation of strong mass organisations.

How are the three vanguard parties being built? The answers bring out a further characteristic common to them. In Benin, the Congo and Ethiopia alike, the parties apply the Leninist principles of party building tested by the communist movement, above all democratic centralism, a constant effort for the proper formation of the membership and the ideological schooling of the party cadre, recognition of the importance of maintaining day-by-day bilateral links between the party and the masses, study of the people's requirements, and encouragement of their production effort and political activity. All three parties set up branches on a locality or place of work basis. Their formation has in the main been completed at the level of higher and middle echelons: Central Committees, their Political Bureaus and Secretariats, diverse commissions under the CC, and regional and district committees. As for party branches in factories and offices, in rural and urban communities, they have been functioning for a fairly long time as far as the CPL is concerned. In Ethiopia work is continuing on their formation, the basis being the COPWE structures already there. In Benin the party has not yet succeeded in constituting branches everywhere according to the Rules.

The working people's vanguard parties admit to their ranks workers, peasants, servicemen, intellectuals on an individual basis and on the principle of careful selection of applicants. Exploiters are barred from them. The party leaderships consider that while the present social composition of the population makes it hard to ensure that most party members are of proletarian origin, they must strive for this none the less. Workers are given preference in both admitting applicants to the party and promoting them to leading posts. In the CPL, they now add up to approximately one quarter of the membership, which means that their share greatly exceeds the share of the working class in the economically active population. Nearly 20 per cent of the delegates to the First WPE Congress were workers while three years earlier workers accounted for a mere 2.9 per cent of the COPWE membership.

The answers to the journal's questions speak of a certain concern about the fact that the parties include few peasants, that is, members of the numerically strongest class in African countries. They attribute this primarily to the low standards of literacy and general culture in rural areas. As for members of the professions and office employees, the parties make particularly high demands on those of them who seek admission to their ranks. In 1981, a plenary meeting of the PRPB CC discussed the criteria to be applied in admitting civil servants and other administrative personnel to the party. At the same time, the meeting took a stand against a preconceived approach to the reinforcement of party ranks, considering that parties, especially ruling ones, must build up their numerical strength to be able to influence various spheres of public life

more effectively. This need is also felt by the WPE.

The Congolese Party of Labour, **Kouka-Kampo** says, is against increasing its numerical strength through bringing in people who have not been properly tested. It is careful to keep self-seekers out of the party and to expel those who have managed to worm themselves in. The CPL is certain that it is strengthening itself by constantly getting rid of alien elements. This explains why the party only had about 9,000 members as of 1984, or one in every 100 inhabitants. The answers indicate that the three vanguard parties see their chief task in becoming what Lenin described as a 'mass party uncluttered by alien elements'.⁶

The existence of a private-property environment and the pressure of a petty-bourgeois psychology and imperialist ideology make ideological education in the party a most exacting task. The purpose of this work is to help all members assimilate the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and analyse African realities and problems of their own countries from a Marxist position, and to ensure that the programme tasks of the revolution are well understood by party members.

Every member of a vanguard party is called upon not only to champion the ideas of the revolution but to set an example in labour, in his private life, and in his approach to public affairs. It is his duty, the Beninese comrades stress, to put state interests above his own, to be modest and devoted, and to refrain from taking advantage of his membership of the ruling party for selfish ends. Shaping these moral qualities is part of ideological education.

The forms and pattern of this work vary according to the degree of maturity attained by the party, to the party's material possibilities and the existence of competent cadres. In Brazzaville, a central party school has been functioning under the CC CPL for two decades; it now has branches in all nine provinces of the country. The PRPB has a national centre for the revolutionary education of cadre members. Special classes are offered to those preparing to join the party. The Yekatit-66 political school, opened in Ethiopia on the initiative of the PMAC, has already trained several thousand party workers. There is a plan for transforming it into an institute of social sciences under the CC WPE. 'Discussion forums' on current problems of the revolution are held on a regular basis at the level of party branches.

Links with the masses are the main prerequisite for carrying out the role of the party as the people's ideological and political vanguard. The trade unions and organisations of youth, women, peasants and others, whose activity is guided by the party, serve to strengthen these links. In Ethiopia and the Congo, they now encompass the overwhelming majority of the economically active population and are successfully building a new life. In Benin, **Ali Houdou** says, the efficiency of youth and women's leagues still falls short of exigencies in some cases and the party is making a special effort to remedy the situation. However, there also exist many distinctive forms of organising the masses, such as committees for the defence of the revolution and revolutionary action groups. Their function is to mobilise people in work places and residential neighbourhoods for specific political campaigns and to heighten vigilance against the intrigues of internal and external enemies.

The mass media are operating under the leadership of the ruling vanguard parties. Steps are being taken to expand them and improve their work. But the answers to the journal's questions indicate that the low standard of literacy, the shortage of skilled technical and managerial personnel, and the ignorance and incompetence of many echelons of the administrative apparatus — a legacy of the past — demand of every member of what is still a small vanguard in socialist-oriented African countries every effort in ideological and organising work.

Thousands of party activists are sent from the capitals to distant provinces. In Ethiopia they have been leading the campaign for the massive resettlement of rural inhabitants of arid areas on new lands, the cultivation of these lands, and the

elimination of the food crisis. As the WPE sees it, the situation is under control now, even though much has yet to be done, for millions of people are still suffering from the famine. The CPL has political commissars, CC members who are responsible for diverse regions of the country and maintain permanent ties between the centre and the periphery. Besides, a short time ago, all the bureau members of regional party committees were made full-time officials to ensure that they devoted themselves entirely to explaining and implementing the party line.

Building up the state, working out the ideological principles of important legislative documents, and participating in the formation of representative bodies constitute a further concern of every ruling party. The parties' leading role is enshrined in the Constitutions of the Congo and Benin. They offer the people electoral lists so compiled as to ensure to the maximum that the diverse sections of the working population, administrative districts, and ethnic groups are represented on democratic principles and by competent persons. In September 1985, a plenary meeting of the WPE CC announced the formation of a constitutional commission entrusted with drafting the fundamental law of the future People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

Africa's socialist-oriented countries are faced with difficult social and economic tasks. They are compelled to muster all their resources in order to end their age-long lag, and this inevitably demands sacrifices from the population. At the same time there is an urgent need to raise living standards and set up health services, an educational system, and so on. Economic policy is understandably the centrepiece of party work. The drawing up and implementation of long-term development programmes and the removal of bottlenecks are everyday concerns of the revolutionary vanguards.

Activists of the newly-founded African parties do their best to act on Lenin's following thesis: 'A vanguard performs its task as vanguard only when it is able to avoid being isolated from the masses of the people it leads and is able really to lead the whole mass forward.'⁷ Most of those in Africa who proudly call themselves 'professional revolutionaries', **Kouka-Kampo** stresses, are intellectuals, but they must appreciate the interests of the culturally backward mass of the people, take account of the actual level of their political consciousness and work to raise it. Otherwise the party's slogans will bring no response and its organising and educational effort will bear no fruit. This is why the Third CPL Congress (1979) gave so much attention to a serious reorientation of all party work to rural and urban neighbourhoods, or places where ordinary people live.

Reliance on the masses, taking their interests and aspirations into account, and a constant effort to foster their social consciousness and raise the level of their organisation were important factors for the parties' success in coping with the political crises that broke out at various stages and in repelling attacks from imperialism and domestic counter-revolutionaries. In Benin, where coups were an ordinary occurrence under neocolonial regimes, a progressive orientation has guaranteed stability for more than a decade now, all difficulties notwithstanding. In January 1977, the people of that country beat off an armed attack by imperialist mercenaries. The Ethiopian revolutionaries, having defeated attempts at political destabilisation, have been doing all in their power to solve on a fair basis ethnic problems inherited from the past. The sound forces of the CPL, led by Denis Sassou-Nguesso, won the upper hand in the fight against those who wanted to divert the country from its consistently revolutionary road in 1977, following the death of Marien Ngouabi, founder of the party, at the hands of terrorists.

The bonds of friendship and cooperation with the international communist movement, primarily with the parties leading the construction of a new life in the countries of victorious socialism, the answers underline, play a unique role in the ideological and political formation of the vanguard parties. These relations are developing in the most diverse spheres, including ideological cooperation, the

coordination of political actions, the exchange of experience of party building and economic management, and the training of personnel. Reciprocal visits and the study of political writings enable African revolutionaries to assimilate the experience of socialist construction and to grasp its general objective laws in order to apply them in their distinctive conditions. In the opinion of the PRPB, the experience of the communist and workers' parties of the world helps the party in its effort to develop into a strong and influential organisation that can be used as a powerful weapon by the young proletariat and other working people of Benin, who have resolutely set out on a path leading to far-reaching social changes.

Theoretical colloquiums held jointly by the CPL and CPSU have become a useful tradition, **Kouka-Kampo** says. A fifth meeting of this kind took place in Brazzaville in 1985. Its theme was the theory and practice of the socialist orientation in Africa, and the indefensibility of bourgeois and reformist concepts of socio-economic development. The colloquium offered an opportunity to exchange views on major problems of national construction in the developing countries which have opted for a socialist orientation.

The vanguard parties base their foreign policy on the principles of anti-imperialist solidarity, proletarian internationalism and support for the general democratic struggle the world over against the war menace. In carrying on ideological work, they are striving to inculcate these ideas in people's minds, to encourage them to actively defend the revolution and contribute to the progressive policy of their countries by their labour. They promote bilateral and multilateral ties with communist and workers' parties. At various international forums, including the UN, delegates of Benin, the Congo and Ethiopia invariably back resolutions in favour of peace, in support of embattled peoples under imperialist attack.

Africa's revolutionaries link problems of the fight for peace with current problems of their continent, whose peoples are hit by poverty, illiteracy, the pressure of transnationals, and imperialist plots. The WPE, **Wondwossen Hailu** notes, tells the population through the media and in direct contacts with it that resistance to acts of aggression on the part of the reactionary Somali regime and to hostile moves on the part of domestic separatists, who have dragged the country into a sanguinary war, is the road to peace for all the peoples of the African Horn. Like the peoples of the Congo and Benin, the Ethiopian people support their brothers in South Africa and Namibia; they hold Washington responsible for the South African tragedy.

The vanguard parties of Africa warmly support the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Their documents underline the significance of these initiatives from the point of view of the interests of developing countries and the national liberation movement as a whole. As they see it, the arms race is increasing the war danger and leading to an unprecedented waste of humanity's material resources. They insist on returning the world to the beneficial climate of detente and on spending part of the funds that would be released as a result of disarmament on aid for countries where millions die of hunger or disease every year.

* * *

The exchange of views and information on various activities of the working people's vanguard parties of the three African countries has shown that, along with undeniable distinctions in their formation and development, there are certain common characteristics and trends. These parties differ from the revolutionary democratic parties which were founded in some African countries shortly before or immediately after they had won independence.⁸ These distinctions consist, first and foremost, in their adopting scientific socialism as their ideological and political platform, including recognition of the hegemony of the working class. A general democratic approach has given way to a class approach; petty-bourgeois utopianism in theory and loose

organisation in practice are rejected. This class approach is also taken internationally; in pursuing a policy of non-alignment at state level, the vanguard parties identify themselves with the anti-imperialist and national liberation forces and show a resolve to make common cause with all the champions of progressive ideas who reject the exploitation of man by man and capitalist domination.

Both the existence of interparty ties and many inherent characteristics draw the vanguard parties closer to Marxist-Leninist parties; these factors are scientific elaboration of strategy and tactics, the application of Leninist principles in party building and in work among the masses, a permanent search for ways of increasing the party's leading role in every sphere of national life, and close alliance with world socialism. However, the newly-founded parties still lack revolutionary experience, as the answers received by the journal make clear; they are short of competent cadres and will yet have to do much in order to strengthen their links with the masses.

The participants in the exchange of views point out that backwardness, an objective legacy of the past which cannot be removed overnight, is a serious handicap slowing down progress in party building and work among the masses. Of course, the nature of this or that party is not conditioned directly by the socio-economic development level of the country concerned. Whether or not a party is really a working class party does not depend, according to Lenin, 'solely upon a membership of workers but also upon the men that lead it, and the content of its actions and its political tactics.'⁹ Experience has shown that in the conditions of non-capitalist development the formation of a vanguard party can begin before the national proletariat becomes the leading class of society. The party's purposive and scientifically sound activity and its solid alliance with the international working class and the countries of victorious socialism can make up at a definite stage for the weakness of the domestic proletariat and open up the prospect of social progress.

It is this line that the working people's vanguard parties of Benin, the Congo and Ethiopia intend to follow. The road from proclaiming or even adopting a socialist orientation to laying the material, technical, ideological, political and cultural groundwork for the new social system is long and arduous. A modern working class is emerging as economic and social changes are carried out; its class consciousness and social leverage are increasing and its revolutionary vanguard is gaining in maturity and efficiency.

¹ International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Moscow 1969, Prague, 1969, p. 28.

² V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, p. 215.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 161.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 17, p. 280.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 18, p. 45.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 42, p. 360.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, p. 227.

⁸ Some of these parties came forward as initiators of important changes in the working people's interests, announced their rupture with capitalism, and even proclaimed socialist goals. Alongside the Congolese PRM party mentioned earlier, they included the Convention People's Party of Ghana led by Kwame Nkrumah, the Sudanese Union of Mali led by Modibo Keita, and the Democratic Party of Guinea led by Sekou Toure. However, being unable to pass the test of time, these parties withdrew afterwards from the political scene, if in dissimilar circumstances. — *Ed.*

⁹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 257-258.

new experience

Our Interviews Class Approach to Replenishing the Party

Atanas Konstantinov — BCP Central
Committee alternate member, deputy head of the
Organisation Department, BCP Central
Committee

WHAT is the Bulgarian Communist Party's present numerical strength and social composition? How does this reflect the changes in the structure of Bulgarian society?

In 1985 the BCP had over 912,000 members. This is an impressive figure for a country like Bulgaria, whose population numbers roughly nine million. In the period since the Twelfth Congress (1981), the party's numerical strength increased by 2.6 per cent annually, in other words it admitted 87,000 new members.

It is our view that the BCP's composition ought not mechanically to mirror society's socio-class structure. For us it is important, above all, to ensure effective ideological and political leadership, to have Communists in the key sectors of society's economic and social life, and admit to the party people who have won public esteem and recognition for their culture, professional skill, and political maturity.

In replenishing its ranks the BCP is guided chiefly by the class approach. We do not confine ourselves to the criteria of social origin and affiliation. To quote Todor Zhivkov, the class-party commitment of a Communist is also expressed by his practical skills, efficiency as a worker, administrator and organiser, collectivist moral qualities, and ability to bring to light and implement potentialities for the steady improvement of our life'.¹

In admitting members of the working class to the BCP account is taken not only of the numerical growth of the working class, but also of the rising level of its education, skills, and culture, and the ever larger role played by it in the country's socio-political life. Account is also taken of the circumstance that the most rapid growth of the number of workers is to be observed in industries closely linked to scientific and technological development. Springing from these factors, the changes in the make-up of the working class largely determine the constant growth of the proportion of workers in the BCP. Since the Twelfth Congress this proportion has risen from 42.7 to 44 per cent, while among the new members workers constitute an absolute majority — 53 per cent. Of the workers in the party 95 per cent have a high or medium skill rating.

The socialist intelligentsia is playing a steadily bigger role in making production more efficient, introducing technological advances into the economy, and resolving

the problem of intellectualising labour. Accordingly the proportion of intellectuals and white-collar workers has grown from 32.1 to 33 per cent since the congress.

Further the decrease of the number of people working in agriculture has led to a drop of their relative proportion in the party: from 19.5 to 17.6 per cent. At the same time, the changes in the character, content, and organisation of agriculture are visibly influencing the composition of rural workers joining the BCP. The number of Communists is growing faster among technicians and specialists of the agro-industrial complex.

More and more women are joining the party. This is evidence that conditions have been created in the country enabling them to play a bigger social and political role. Today they constitute 32 per cent of the BCP's membership, while among those admitted since 1981 they number 41 per cent.

Another major factor of the party composition's qualitative improvement is the rise of the level of education. I shall only note that at present 61.2 per cent of the Communists have a higher, incomplete higher, or secondary education, while among those admitted in the post congress period this proportion stands at 91.6 per cent.

By and large, we regard the BCP's numerical growth and the changes in its social structure as the result of the natural process of the party's evolution from the vanguard of the working class to the vanguard of the entire people.

What is the party's age composition? What is the proportion of young people in it? What is the tendency in this respect?

All generations of working people are represented in the BCP: 11.7 per cent are people under age 30, 38.4 per cent are under 40, and the proportion of people in the most productive age group — from 31 to 60 — is 70.4 per cent. Thereby the revolutionary experience of senior comrades, who bore the party's glorious banner through the fire of struggle with fascism and during the difficult initial years of the establishment of socialism, is combined with the energy and creative potentialities of the younger generations.

The Bulgarian Communist Party takes pride in the ideologico-political make-up and educational level of its young people, but it takes into account the fact that by virtue of natural circumstances these young people have not been tempered in class battles. We therefore strive to create the most conducive conditions for enriching the social, organisational, and political experience of young Communists. All of them study in various units of the system of party education — schools and seminars, universities of Marxism-Leninism and, in individual cases, the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Administration of the BCP Central Committee, depending on their educational, professional skill, and political training level.

Although 74 per cent of the members admitted after the Twelfth Congress are not older than 30, there is now in the party a larger number of middle-aged people. This is due mainly to the growth of life expectancy in Bulgaria. But there is another reason for this: until recently admission of young people has been slowing down. The tendency towards the ageing of party organisations in some population centres, industries, professions, and specialties is being closely monitored by the party committee, which take steps to transcend this tendency.

What are the primary organisations doing to improve the selection of candidates for party membership?

This is receiving special attention, because the state and development of the party, of each of its units, and the people's confidence in them depend to a large extent on the qualitative composition of the new members.

New forms and methods of this work are now being asserted. These include, in the first place, a study of people's opinion about those being admitted to the party. The aspirant's colleagues at the place of work and neighbours are consulted, and the candidature is discussed at open meetings of the party groups and YCL organisations.

Approximately one-fifth of the aspiring members are now admitted at open party meetings. This mirrors the BCP's striving to rely increasingly on the entire body of working people, to draw them into the party's inner life.

Objectivity requires the acknowledgement that some primary organisations do not as yet entirely meet the requirements and criteria spelled out at the Twelfth BCP Congress. That is why we are giving the primary organisations a larger share of the responsibility for preparing the most worthy young people for admission to the party. For this purpose there are Young Communist schools, meetings are arranged with veterans of the BCP, and aspiring members are taken on tours of historical places and industrial facilities. Primary organisations make sure that every person aspiring to join the party engages in active public work and carries out party assignments.

We believe that the new forms are facilitating a fuller account of public opinion, accentuating democracy in the work of primary organisations, and making higher demands of those who are preparing to join the party and of young Communists. In turn, this is enhancing the role and prestige of the BCP's primary organisations and consolidating the party's ranks.

¹ Todor Zhivkov, *Problemi i podkhodi na izgrazhdaneto na zreliya sotsializm v NR Blgaria*, Sofia, 1984, p. 225.

First Steps by a Young Press

Khieu Kanharith — Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper *Kampuchea*, Deputy General Secretary, National Council, Kampuchean United Front for Construction and Defence

How would you define the tasks confronting the revolutionary press of Kampuchea?

Our efforts are today oriented on giving the entire population an understanding of the significance of the resolutions passed by the latest, Fifth Congress of the PRPK that was held in October 1985, and mobilising the people for the attainment of the targets set by the party for economic construction, for the country's economic restoration.

At the same time, our new-fledged press continues to be confronted with the vital task of explaining the actual substance of socialism and of Marxist-Leninist theory. The point is that to this day some sections of society are distrustful of the idea of the country's socialist transformation. The reasons for this distrust are understandable — the regime of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, which governed the country from 1975 to 1979, had conducted its bloodthirsty terror under the slogans of a 'radical social revolution', and the leaders of that regime had called themselves Communists. Of course, the people see for themselves that the situation has changed fundamentally. But some do not quite trust the aims proclaimed by the new government. The success of the party's economic and social programmes will depend to a large extent on how quickly we help people to drop these sentiments.

This is not all that makes the ideological situation in the country complex. Views inherited from the time when Kampuchea was on the capitalist road are still current. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that by intensified indoctrination of the people in the spirit of Maoism the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime implanted a chauvinistic outlook

among a section of the people, making them contemptuous of other nations and imagine that they are the centre of the universe. New Kampuchea's enemies have unleashed a psychological war against it, mainly from Thai territory. Voice of America, Free Asia (the equivalent of Free Europe), and Beijing radio regularly broadcast special Khmer language programmes. Moreover, the Pol Pot thugs have their own radio station in South China.

In this situation it is vitally important to give people a correct understanding of the world around them, to show who are Kampuchea's true friends and who are its enemies, and foster in the people a sense of internationalism. Our press explains the relationship between our country's progress, the development of the world revolutionary process, and the struggle conducted by the USSR and other countries of the socialist community against imperialism, for peace. This is getting growing attention because hostile propaganda tries to make people believe that the USSR and the USA bear an 'equal responsibility' for the arms race and regional conflicts and seeks to revive neutralist sentiments that were disseminated under the monarchy and to sow hostility for the policies of socialist states. To counter this assault Kampuchean newspapers and journals carry detailed information about international developments and the Soviet peace initiatives and expose the true face of imperialism and its minions, who have brought so much trouble and grief to the peoples of Southeast Asia.

Would you say a few words about the present day of the Kampuchean revolutionary press.

First, a few words about how it was organised. When Kampuchea was still under the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary tyranny, the peoples forces, who had begun an armed struggle to liberate their homeland, began issuing printed leaflets, which played the role of a guerrilla press. On December 3, 1978, the very next day after the Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation was formed, an insurgent information agency and radio station began functioning.

The newspaper *Kampuchea*, organ of the Front, the party, and the government, was founded on January 25, 1979, soon after Phnom Penh's liberation. The Communists had already held a congress, which approved the party's new programme and the measures for its restoration. People were beginning to return to the capital, which until then had been totally depopulated (the Pol Pot regime had expelled all of its residents). By that time the Pol Pot regular units had been completely defeated. We celebrated the victory on January 25 in a ravaged city, which still had very few people but was already beginning to revive. The first issue of *Kampuchea* was published on that day.

In the seven years that have elapsed since then our young press has perceptibly gained strength. Our newspaper is now brought out regularly. Its staff, which at first consisted of only a few persons, now numbers 50 editors and correspondents distributed among four departments: international developments, domestic political life, economics, and culture. The republic's armed forces, the trade unions, and the youth and women's organisations have their own publications. Last October, when the Fifth Congress was in session, publication was started of the newspaper of the party's Central Committee — *Pracheachun* (People). This was a major event in the development of the party press.

As yet we do not have the possibility to enable all of the people's organisations to have their own publications. Here the difficulties are not only material, although these are big enough. The important thing is that we are short of trained personnel: almost all journalists, editors, and publishing house workers perished at the hand of the Pol Pot butchers or in epidemics. Incidentally, this is also the reason why the quality of many of the contributions in our newspapers leaves much to be desired.

Technical facilities for the press are only beginning to be built. At present we are using mostly outdated equipment — all that was relatively new in the country was destroyed by the Pol Pot hoodlums. For that reason the printings of the newspapers are

very small, and often we cannot satisfy the reader demand. Besides, on account of the shortage of means of transportation and the poor state of the roads newspapers reach outlying districts very belatedly. To bring ideological education to the entire population, the party is doing much to keep the people informed by word of mouth.

You have radio broadcasting in mind?

No, not only that. The Central Committee has made it mandatory for all party members, whatever the posts they hold, to devote at least one-sixth of their working time to explanatory work among the people. Experience shows that this form of work, which ensures live, direct contact with people, yields excellent results. The party gives unremitting attention to this work. To help propagandists it publishes a special journal that prints the most important party documents, for instance, resolutions adopted by CC plenary meetings, and offers recommendations on how best and most effectively to get people to understand the party's policies.

Let us return to the situation in the press. What is being done to improve its quality?

We are aware that people will begin reading newspapers only if they find answers in them to worrying questions and if the articles are written in clear and understandable language. At present attention is focused mainly on training personnel and improving their skills usually without them discontinuing their work. Here we receive considerable assistance from specialists from socialist countries, whom we invite to read lectures or conduct classes to improve the professional skills of our personnel. Thanks to cooperation with the USSR, Vietnam, and the GDR we have the opportunity to send students and journalists to these countries for training or even for long periods of study. Moreover, fraternal countries are helping us to build the material and technical facilities for our press.

Further, all our newspapers and journals are organising and trying to maintain constant contact with readers. We have not had this before in our country. Now every newspaper devotes space to letters from the people and to replies to the questions asked in these letters. About one-tenth of the information from the localities appearing in *Kampuchea* and other newspapers comes from readers. Of course, we have correspondents but not so many as to cover the entire country. For that reason when we learn from letters about some interesting experience or achievement in one locality or another we often send a reporter and publish a detailed report.

At the present stage we are laying the foundation for the future development of the revolutionary Kampuchean press and for turning it into an effective media for the spread of socialist ideas.

In the Mirror of the Press

Praxis

THE WORKERS' STRATUM IN LEADING ORGANS

This monthly journal of the German Communist Party raises the question of the formation of the party's leading bodies.

Within a relatively short span of time, despite governmental repressions against Communists, particularly the practice of *Berufsverbot*, there has been a marked growth of the party's ranks. It has been joined by young people, notably by many

young workers. However, *Praxis* writes, there now are fewer workers in some leading party bodies. In objective terms, this is due to the changes in the social structure of individual party organisations. Nevertheless, the journal notes, it is vital to increase the stratum of workers in elected party bodies. To enable the party to win more influence among the working class it is crucial to have in leadership posts Communists with practical experience of struggle at factories and in the trade unions and who have an intimate knowledge of the needs of workers.

This orientation, the journal points out, does not conflict with the enlistment of intellectuals into the CGP. As the crisis of capitalism grows increasingly more acute the condition of salaried workers with a higher education is drawing ever closer to that of the working class. Thus, this opens up new potentialities for the party's work among intellectuals, white-collar workers, and working people of categories close to them.

While enlisting fresh forces into leading organs, the GCP abides by definite principles for the education of the new cadres. The central of these is the tempering of Communists in actual work. It is here that they learn to associate with people, resolve diverse, sometimes very complex problems, improve their general political level, and become champions, in the true sense of the word, of the interests of the working people.

l'Humanité

GROWING SIGNIFICANCE OF PARTY EDUCATION

l'Humanité, newspaper of the French Communists, ran an article on the present tasks of party education.

The discussion preceding the FCP's 25th Congress (February 1985), it said, gave the Communists a more profound understanding of the party's strategy but showed that not all of them have an adequate knowledge of the basic features of present day capitalism and socialism, the problems of the working class, and the development of the class struggle in France and the world. Many are insufficiently informed of the history and inner life of their own party.

The importance of party education is growing, *l'Humanité* underscores, in view of the aggravation of the class confrontation in France and the unprecedented pressure being put on public opinion by the bourgeois mass media. Every Communist has to become an exponent of Marxist philosophy, which is an effective instrument that gives people an understanding of the modern world. Without this understanding it is hard to keep to consistently class positions and work effectively to achieve the FCP's aims.

Efforts, the newspaper writes, are currently concentrated in several directions: to enlarge the network of party education, steel party cadres ideologically, update curricula, and improve the training of group and party committee secretaries. A course has been charted towards setting up a number of schools of the first level, which are the foundation of the system of party education.

Your Questions Answered

WHEN PEOPLE HAVE GROWN WEARY OF WAR

During the first half of the 1980s the anti-war movement embraced all industrial capitalist countries without exception. It has developed into a force of no little significance also in Israel, which is a centre of imperialism's aggressive policies. What has led to the vitalisation of the anti-war forces in Israeli society, how have the Communists contributed to this, and what is their assessment of the peace actions? These questions from readers are answered below by Ali Ashour, representative of the Communist Party of Israel on *WMR*.

In Israel the anti-war movement as a mass phenomenon came into being a relatively short time ago — on the wave of protests against the aggression started in Lebanon in 1982 by the country's reactionary imperialist quarters. For the first time ever there were powerful demonstrations, involving both Arabs and Jews, in all the major cities. A demonstration in Tel Aviv in September 1982 drew 400,000 people, an unprecedented number in Israel.¹ Also for the first time, the peace forces were joined by servicemen, officers and rank-and-file; furthermore, the slogans of the Communists, who have always been opposed to the aggressive foreign policy of the country's rulers, were backed by the largest-ever body of public opinion.

Our party sees this movement as a qualitatively new factor in the nation's life. Its foundations were laid over a period of several years. The 1950s saw the formation of the Israeli Peace Committee (affiliated to the World Peace Council), in which the Communists, the United Workers' Party (MAPAM) and some other democratic forces are represented. The Peace Now organisation was founded somewhat later. Most of its leaders are supporters of the Maarah bloc led by the Labour Party; also, there are liberal personalities among them. The social mainstay of the organisation consists of people from the middle strata, intellectuals, students, white-collar workers, and kibbutzim (Israeli agricultural cooperatives) members.

The big demonstrations of 1982 and 1983 were expressions of the weariness accumulated in society as a result of the Israeli government's sustained policy of aggression. The mood of the population was strongly influenced by the very heavy casualties taken by the Israeli army in Lebanon (over 5,000 killed or wounded). People began to pay more attention to world opinion, which emphatically censured the aggression and the atrocities perpetrated by Israeli troops in the occupied territories.

The gamble in Lebanon, which cost the nation half a million dollars daily, aggravated the already calamitous economic situation. Israel's military expenditures have now climbed to 78 per cent of the state budget. Of these 54 per cent service loans taken earlier mainly to purchase American armaments. The number of unemployed has reached 150,000, which is almost 10 per cent (an unprecedented level) of the entire workforce. Inflation is growing catastrophically (445 per cent in 1984).

More and more people are seeing the connection between the aggressive foreign policy, the growth of military spending, and the plummeting living standards. Demands are articulated, such as: 'Money for needy neighbourhoods, not for new settlements in occupied areas' and 'Money for food and jobs, not for armaments'. Although those who speak up are still relatively few, there is reason to believe that their numbers will grow.

I would say that to some extent the public frame of mind has been influenced by the meaningful work of the Communists and their allies in the Democratic Front for Peace

and Equality.² For years they have been tirelessly calling for a settlement of the Middle East crisis, for a just and lasting peace between Israel and the neighbouring Arab states. They have been insisting on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and on guaranteeing to the Palestinian people the right to self-determination and the formation of their own state on the West Bank of the Jordan river and in the Gaza Strip.

Our party has done much to reveal the actual aims of the aggression in Lebanon and mobilise the people against it. As soon as this aggression was started, the CPI and the Democratic Front organised protest demonstrations and picketing in the country's principal cities. Our group in the Knesset unequivocally denounced the invasion and proposed a motion of no-confidence in the government. There were Communists among the founders of the Committee Against the War in Lebanon, which conducted a series of large anti-war actions in Tel Aviv, Haifa, Jerusalem, and Nazareth. These played a note-worthy role in inaugurating the There Is a Limit organisation, which calls upon Israeli servicemen, officers and the rank-and-file, to refuse to serve in the occupation forces in Lebanon.

The Communist Party cooperates with some anti-war groups formed in the past two or three years, such as Mothers Against War, Soldiers Against Silence, and Women for Peace, and it is working in the various committees for solidarity with the Palestinian population in areas seized by Israel.

As in other capitalist countries, the Communists in Israel constantly encounter attempts by some quarters to push them out of the anti-war movement, to deny them the possibility of influencing large sections of the population. However, thanks to its own militancy and to the support it gets from working people, our party has been successfully repulsing these attempts. The CPI and 30,000 of its supporters participated in the above-mentioned big demonstration in Tel Aviv, doing so under their own slogans. The Communists were in the front ranks in the seven-day protest march in mid-1983 from the Israeli-Lebanese frontier to Tel Aviv, and carried out a series of anti-war actions in the past two years.

It is unquestionable that the broad movement demanding an end to aggression evolved into one of the cardinal factors that compelled the Israeli ruling circles to pull Israeli troops out of Lebanon in the spring of 1985.

It must be noted that this step caused some decline in the mass actions. Nonetheless, the anti-war movement remains a major element of the political situation in Israel. The Communists are doing all in their power to ensure its growth and unity and urge concerted actions by peace fighters even when they encounter hostility. In this context, the party feels that it is expedient to support the Peace Now movement at the present stage despite the vagueness of its demands and the anti-communism of some of its leaders. Our guideline here is that the organisation's main slogan — immediate peace with Arab states — is contributing to the growth of the people's political awareness and to the intensification of the protests against the aggressive policies of the ruling circles.

Also, the party is doing much to draw more people, especially workers, into the anti-war movement. This is hindered by the anti-communist, anti-Soviet platform of the Labour Party leadership, a party that still influences the majority of the working class, and by the activities of the Histadrut trade union federation. The latter owns or co-owns many factories and financial institutions within the Israeli military-industrial complex and, correspondingly, makes big money from government armaments contracts.

Further, the Communists are endeavouring to influence the anti-war movement's platform, which is narrow in some respects. Hitherto, it has acted only against the aggression in Lebanon or, at best, against the unchanging policy towards Arab states. Most of the people in the movement still do not see the threat to peace in the world,

including the Middle East, from the new American missiles in Western Europe and the Reagan administration's Star Wars plans. Nor do most of them realise the enormous danger created by the strategic alliance between the USA and Israel.

True, there have lately been some changes in the social consciousness. People are more frequently asking themselves whether Israelis should go on dying for US interests. There are signs of changes in the attitude to the Palestinian problem, although the population as a whole is still hostage to Zionist propaganda and does not see that the formation of an independent Palestinian state is a vital condition for peace in the Middle East.

In this connection the Communists draw the attention of the anti-war movement to the Israeli policy of annexing Arab lands fraught with extremely grave consequences and to forming more and more settlements in the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, and in large Arab cities, for instance, Nablus and Hebron. We are doing all we can to expose the terror against Palestinian Arabs: many have already fallen victim, hundreds have been imprisoned, and scores have been expelled from their homeland.

In denouncing the government's aggressive and anti-humane policy, the Communists and, with them, some other anti-war forces stress that this policy ultimately threatens the existence of Israel because it excludes the possibility of reaching a just settlement of the Palestinian problem and is a prodigious obstacle to peace with Arab States.

We do not close our eyes to the enormous difficulties involved in developing a large-scale and consistent peace movement in our country. Militarist thinking, chauvinism, and racism have sunk deep roots in Israeli society. However, the many years of effort by the CPI and other peace-loving democratic forces are yielding results. We feel that the struggle to relieve the tension in the Middle East and halt the adventurist policies of the country's Zionist leadership is a perceptible, albeit modest, contribution to the preservation of peace on our planet.

¹ At the close of 1984 Israel's population numbered 4,140,000. — *Ed.*

² This bloc of progressive political and public organisations was set up in 1977 on the initiative of the CPI. It consists of the Communist Party, the Black Panther movement, working people, students, intellectuals, and people from the middle strata. — *Ed.*

In Brief

Brazil

In October 1985 the Brazilian Communist Party, banned for most of the postwar period, had 20,000 members, of whom roughly 80 per cent are under the age of 30.

Britain

A bust of Nelson Mandela, the heroic fighter against racism and apartheid who has been in prison in South Africa since August 1962, has been unveiled in London.

Czechoslovakia

This year the Communists of Czechoslovakia will get a new scientific-theoretical journal called *Theory of Socialism*. It is to be copublished by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (of the CPCz Central Committee) in Prague and the Institute of Marxism-

Leninism (of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia) in Bratislava.

France

In October 1985 the French Communist Party held a national conference on the preparations for the general and local elections scheduled for March 1986. Convened in the Paris suburb of Nanterre, the conference was attended by over 1,000 delegates.

Peru

The Peruvian Communist Party's new headquarters, located in the nation's capital, was officially opened in October 1985 during the celebrations of the party's 57th anniversary.

Switzerland

At the elections in the Geneva canton, despite the harsh conditions of the struggle, the Swiss Communists once more surmounted the seven per cent barrier, winning the right to be represented on the canton's Greater Council. The Communists have been regularly represented in the Geneva cantonal parliament since 1945.

exchange of views, discussion

The Burden of Militarism: The Socio-Economic Aspects

Summary of an International Symposium

The runaway stockpiling of modern means of warfare not only threatens to destroy mankind in a nuclear catastrophe but also, even in peacetime, is a drain on the vital forces of the nations. How does this burden affect the masses in the capitalist world? How is the struggle for peace combined with the struggle to protect the interests of working people from the encroachments of militarism? These questions were at the focus of attention at the international symposium on 'The Socio-Economic Consequences of the Arms Race', organised by the *WMR* Commission on Industrialised Capitalist Countries. Taking part in the symposium were **William Stewart** (Communist Party of Canada), **Orel Viciani** (Communist Party of Chile), **Agamemnon Stavrou** (Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus), **Anders Hansen** (Communist Party of Denmark), **Willi Hoffmeister** and **Lutz Schröter** (German Communist Party), **Fred Steward** (Communist Party of Great Britain), **Stratis Korakas** (Communist Party of Greece), **George Toubi** (Communist Party of Israel), **Gunnar Wahl** (Communist Party of Norway), **Fernando Sequeira** (Portuguese Communist Party), **Ramon Mendezona** (Communist Party of Spain), **Ali Ileri** (Communist Party of Turkey), **John Pittman** (Communist Party USA), as well as **Yuri Vasilchuk** and **John Manning** (World Federation of Trade Unions).

A summary of the discussion follows.

The symposium participants underlined that today, every major socio-economic demand of the working class is organically linked with the struggle against the arms race. Whatever the issue — be it jobs, higher wages, broader rights for working people at factories or in society, development of the social security system or prevention of aggravation of social inequality — the solution of these extremely important problems that face the peoples of capitalist countries depends overwhelmingly on efforts to put an end to war preparations and switch funds and resources to the attainment of peaceful objectives.

This dependence is reflected in policy documents of the communist parties, in the decisions of their congresses and in the day-to-day work of the Communists.

Close Interconnection

'Our slogan 'Jobs Instead of Missiles' is the catchphrase the German Communist Party has been using since the early 1980s to draw the attention of the people to the

objective interconnection between the arms build-up and the offensive against social and democratic rights,' said **Willi Hoffmeister**. **John Pittman** stressed that the efforts of US working people, particularly the working class and its organised section, to combine their socio-economic struggles with demands for curtailing and ending the arms build-up increased notably in the latter half of the 1970s. The June 1985 plenum of the Central Committee of the CPUSA stressed the growing importance of participation by the organisations of working people, by trade unions in the struggle for peace and disarmament, for the conversion from military to civilian production.

In recent years, many trade unions have displayed new trends reflecting the increasingly profound mass awareness of the need to curb and end the arms race not only because this would reduce the war threat but also because it would be essential for the solution of day-to-day, urgent problems of working people. That is precisely why trade unions are gradually turning to face the issues of disarmament which, in the past, they often regarded as something outside their field.

For example, in 1985 US unions mounted a 'Jobs with Peace' campaign in 60 cities, an initiative that won widespread support. Even in Los Angeles County, where one out of every five aerospace workers in the United States is employed — and it is common knowledge that the aerospace industry operates mostly under military contracts — the initiative was approved by half a million votes. As early as October 1983, the AFL-CIO endorsed the nuclear freeze in a special resolution approved at its convention, and today many major unions affiliated with it oppose new programmes that the Pentagon plans and that entail increases in military spending. Typical in this regard is the position of the international Association of Machinists, one of the large unions in heavy industry and with a goodly percentage of its workers in armament factories. A paper prepared for this union said that 'the economic consequences of buying more weaponry will be substantial. Jobs investment and economic growth will be sacrificed. Technological progress will be distorted. And social programmes aimed at decreasing human suffering will be cut. . . Expanded military spending will not help solve our unemployment problem. . . Social costs will also be high.'

In other industrialised capitalist countries too, the working class movement is increasingly linking socio-economic demands with the theme of ending the arms race.

As **Fred Steward** noted, many big British trade unions have joined the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and are advocating an end to the arms race and conversion of the military industry. For example, a conference on 'A Better Future for Defence Jobs' was convened in 1984, and in 1985 the National Trade Union Defence Conversion Committee advanced several initiatives, including a civilian production alternative to the Trident Programme, the biggest British armament project. This proposal generated widespread response. The Greater London Council upheld the initiative, arguing for the establishment of a Greater London Conversion Council and 'Alternative Use' committees at each defence location. The Labour Party also supported the creation of alternative use committees in the defence industries.

Willi Hoffmeister reported that in the FRG, factory groups of peace activists which act as a link between the peace movement and the trade unions have acquired an important role. National meetings attended by representatives of hundreds of factories have been conducted. The groups hold that one of their tasks is to explain to working people the interconnection between the arms build-up on the one hand and the cuts in social spending as well as growing unemployment on the other.

Ramon Mendezona recalled that during the 200,000-strong May Day demonstration and in the course of other events organised by Spanish working people in 1985, demands for jobs and against the then planned pension cuts, as well as other socio-economic slogans were combined with calls for reductions in military spending and for the country's withdrawal from NATO. Many trade unions, including the Workers' Commissions, which are the most powerful association, were involved vigorously in

these initiatives.

Similar examples were cited by other participants in the symposium too. They noted the important changes that have occurred at the level of international organisations of working people. The World Federation of Trade Unions had long been waging a struggle for economic conversion from military to civilian production, for stopping the increasing waste of the nations' strength and resources on the arms race. **John Manning** recalled the important decisions of the Tenth WFTU Congress in Havana (1982) which pointed to the pernicious consequences of the militarisation of the economy.

For a long time, other trade union associations — the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the World Confederation of Labour (WCL) — kept aloof from the peace movement and even accused the WFTU of taking on issues that were 'none of its concern'. But their position began to change under pressure from the rank-and-file. At its 12th and 13th congresses (in Madrid in 1979 and in Oslo in 1983) the ICFTU came out in favour of banning nuclear weapons as soon as possible and for disarmament. In Oslo, the struggle against militarism was acknowledged as a 'concern of trade unions'. In the early 1980s the WCL, too, stressed the importance of promoting peace and disarmament as instrumental in the meeting of workers' vital demands. Against the background of these new developments, the establishment of the International Trade Union Committee for Peace and Disarmament in Dublin in 1982 was a step of particular importance. The committee was formed in response to a decision of the World Trade Union Conference on the Socio-Economic Aspects of Disarmament. Collaborating on the committee are trade unions affiliated with different associations. The regional conferences of the Dublin Committee held in 1985 focused on issues of the interrelationship between the socio-economic and the anti-war struggle.

At the same time, the symposium noted that large groups of working people are still unaware of the fact that solutions to vitally important problems depend on the cessation of the arms race. Swayed by militarist propaganda, many people in the NATO countries believe that the arms build-up is essential for defence and greater security. Aggressive imperialist forces are fanning the 'Soviet threat' myth to force people to accept increases in military spending.

Many people sincerely committed to peace, **Gunnar Wahl** said, oppose militarism and take part in anti-war demonstrations but, come election time, vote for those parties whose leaders advocate war preparations. In capitalist countries, said **John Manning**, anti-Soviet propaganda sometimes convinces workers to accept increases in military expenditures. The leaders of a number of unions are tied securely to the war chariot and to the policy of the monopolies; they accuse the supporters of cuts in military spending of preaching 'unilateral disarmament'.

It was also pointed out at the symposium that the militarist circles are trying to conceal or distort the connection between the arms race and socio-economic problems. The champions of the military-industrial complex argue that military appropriations can play a positive economic role, smooth out the cyclical character of production and act as a buffer in the upheavals of crisis. They claim that military contracts keep factories from standing idle and make jobs available to thousands of workers who would have been laid off otherwise. Now that unemployment is a grave social ill of the capitalist world, these arguments, do sway certain sections of the population.

The militarist quarters are striving to bind more securely to their policy the interests of certain categories of working people — those employed in the military industries — and to make them their allies. US Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger has said repeatedly that military appropriations help to 'increase the number of jobs' in the United States. It is pointed out that working directly under contract to the Pentagon are more than 20,000 companies and that 100,000 other firms act as their subcontractors. In several major industries 40 to 50 per cent of the work force are

engaged in work under these contracts. The US total of those employed in military production is over six million people. The US congressional approval of the plans to develop and deploy the MX first-strike ICBM was in large measure motivated by the prospect of many states receiving a 'slice of the pie' of the contracts connected with the manufacture of the missiles.

In advertising its plans of preparations for Star Wars, the Reagan administration is, among other things, waxing positively poetic about the 'advantages' this programme offers to the US and other NATO economies.

But the arguments marshalled by the instigators of the arms race, the symposium participants noted, are a fraudulent attempt to deceive public opinion and pass off the narrow corporate interests of some groups of finance capital, of those in control of the military-industrial complex as the interests of the entire nation. Exposure of these claims is essential for a successful mobilisation of working people to the struggle for their interests, against the pernicious policy of the robber barons of the military industry.

The Dealers in Death and the Scope of Their Business

What is the actual share of military production in the economies of industrialised capitalist countries?

Symposium participants stressed that the aggressive imperialist quarters have launched material war preparations on a scale without precedent in human history, transforming a large and growing part of their economies into a huge armoury. Working for war are the best modern factories equipped with the latest products of science and technology. The military industries employ the best-skilled personnel and use the finest, most valuable materials highest in demand and shortest in supply.

Modern arms are mass-produced by the biggest monopolies. Alliances of social groups materially interested in a continuous development of military industries have emerged. These groups have assumed dominant positions in the socio-economic structure of a number of imperialist countries. The alliances of arms tycoons with government bureaucrats, officials of military agencies, the militarised sections of the scientific community and the propaganda establishment — military-industrial complexes — are exerting a powerful influence on economic and socio-political activity. Major transnational banking interests are playing an increasingly prominent part among them; in the opinion of Yuri Vasilchuk, this makes it possible to refer to the existence of a 'military-banking-industrial complex'.

The arms race affects the entire systems of the world capitalist economy, including production, finance and commerce.

It was emphasised at the symposium that we are dealing not only with the build-up of an unheard-of arsenal of death and destruction but also with chronic waste, with the pilfering, in peacetime, of a large part of many countries' national wealth. Marx's words to the effect that war preparations 'in direct economic terms are the same as though the nation dumped part of its capital in the sea' are as topical today as they ever were.

The share of military production tends to grow in the group of industrialised capitalist countries. Their military spending is constantly growing: it tripled from 124.6 billion dollars in 1970 to 367 billion dollars in 1980. The biggest military spenders are the NATO countries, particularly the United States whose military budget is the world's biggest. The Reagan administration has spurred the arms race on as never before. In 1980, the Pentagon's appropriations totalled 141 billion dollars; in 1984 this figure doubled, and in the current fiscal year, the military outlays are 302.5 billion. About one-third of the budget is used to prepare for war.

According to the Bureau of the Budget of the US Congress, the Congress earmarked 1.019 billion dollars for 'defence purposes' from fiscal 1982 to 1985 — almost 80 per

cent more than in the previous four years. The growth rate of military appropriations increased from 6.2 per cent in fiscal 1981 to 6.7 per cent in fiscal 1985. The Pentagon expects to appropriate another two trillion dollars over the next five years — more than three times the amount of the current total annual income of the population living in the world's 50 least developed countries. The actual US military expenditures are greater than the officially announced sum because a large part of the military outlays is hidden in the civilian parts of the budget — specifically, in the appropriations of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Departments of Energy, Transport, Commerce and other agencies.

Military spending is growing rapidly in other imperialist countries too. Great Britain's military budget was 4.5 billion pounds in fiscal 1975/1976, 10.8 billion in 1980/1981 and 15.9 billion in 1983/1984. The amount planned for fiscal 1986/1987 is nearly 19 billion pounds.

The military expenditure of the FRG grew from 20 billion marks in 1970 to 48 billion in 1984. Add to that the allocations concealed in other parts of the budget, and the total is in fact almost 80 billion marks.

Military spending grows faster than production, and its economic weight keeps increasing. From 1978 to 1982 alone, the share of military appropriations in the gross national product of the United States rose from 5.1 to 7.2 per cent; of Great Britain, from 4.6 to 5.1 per cent; of the FRG from 4.2 to 4.3 per cent; and of France, from 4.0 to 4.1 per cent. This ratio will become even bigger in the coming years: Washington plans to raise its own military spending to a level which, by 1990, will make up ten per cent of the GNP.

William Stewart, Ramon Mendezona and Ali Ileri pointed out that the NATO leaders — above all the US ruling quarters — are imposing accelerated growth of military spending on the rest of the bloc's member-countries too. For example, military expenditures have doubled in Canada over the past three to four years; in Spain, which is a recent newcomer to NATO, the growth rate of military spending is almost four times the corresponding figure in overall government spending; in Turkey these outlays have increased fourfold over the past four years.

Aside from the NATO nations, military spending is also skyrocketing in other countries that pursue a militarist policy and enjoy the support of the reactionary imperialist forces. In Israel, **George Toubi** said, more than 73 per cent of the budgetary allocations are channelled into war. **Orel Viciani** remarked that in Chile, with its external debt of 23 billion dollars, military expenditures have been rising steadily and now exceed the 2.3 billion-dollar mark against 802 million prior to the military coup.

The advocates of the military-industrial complex sometimes claim that industrialised capitalist countries can well afford 'both guns and butter'. In these countries, the mechanism of production is allegedly strong enough to withstand the burden of 'defence' spending while at the same time ensuring economic 'prosperity'.

However, the discussion at the symposium showed that the burden of the arms race is weighing increasingly heavy even on the 'rich' countries. It seriously exacerbates the ills inherent in capitalism and its economic structure, aggravates, not alleviates crisis developments, and threatens to undermine the entire mechanism of production. This situation is viewed with alarm not only by broad sections of the democratic public but also by that part of the capitalist countries' ruling class which is less tied to the military business.

The Locomotive on the Track to Oblivion

Assessing the negative impact of military production on the development of the civilian sectors of the economy, **Yuri Vasilchuk** underlined that it is by no means confined to the waste of five or six per cent of the gross national product but is much

more powerful and far-reaching. The deadly military business holds a special place in the system of capitalist reproduction and in the operation of contemporary state-monopoly capitalism. This business is closely connected with the functioning of the state, with centralised expenditures and contracts. It absorbs the latest advances of the scientific and technological revolution which increasingly influences the development of the productive forces. Weapons are a special kind of product consumed by a special kind of market. Their 'consumer qualities' differ from those of all other goods. The state is the biggest buyer here, and it pays for its purchases from the income of the entire society. Arms purchases therefore affect broad social strata, whether directly or indirectly.

Speakers taking part in the discussion stressed a fact that was confirmed by numerous studies: the higher the level of military spending, the lower the rate of economic growth and of increases in labour productivity. Over the past two decades — from the early 1960s to the early 1980s — the GNP growth rates of the United States and Great Britain, the two imperialist powers devoting the largest shares of their GNPs to military purposes, were the lowest among the major capitalist countries. Meanwhile, Japan, which spent less for these purposes, enjoyed a much higher economic growth rate. True, affecting improvement or deterioration of market conditions in industrialised capitalist countries are a variety of factors that may work in different directions. Still, the negative impact of military spending invariably manifests itself at all stages of economic activity and has been particularly far-reaching in recent years.

John Pittman said that the United States acts as a 'locomotive' dragging the other NATO countries along the track of unprecedented increases in military spending. The US authorities finance these expenditures mostly from huge government loans on the financial market, paying unheard-of interest (ten per cent and more) to the lenders. As a result, the national budget deficit now exceeds 200 billion dollars. For many years, the US administration has been 'living beyond its means', and the US national debt has been growing steadily.

When the Reagan administration was inaugurated in early 1981, the US national debt was 930 billion dollars. By now it has nearly doubled and reached almost two trillion dollars. This is what was used to increase the contracts awarded to military-industrial corporations and the allocations for the maintenance of the armed forces. In fiscal 1984 alone the Pentagon, the corporate contractors and banks received about 440 billion dollars from the national budget — including military appropriations (260 billion dollars) and interest payments to banks (180 billion dollars). These figures are a graphic illustration of the fact that increased military outlays are an important channel for redistributing the nation's income in favour of the military-industrial complex.

Government withdrawal of considerable resources from the money market, 'austerity' that cuts down social spending, as well as high interest rates make the position of the civilian industries more difficult. These steps result in a contraction of the market in consumer durables, aggravate overproduction and competition in the civilian sector of the economy, curtail investment possibilities there and reduce the demand for many types of civilian industry products. As a result, the position of many companies producing civilian goods has grown still worse. From 1981 to 1983, over 70,000 companies went bankrupt, and even during the industrial upsurge of 1984 the debts incurred by civilian firms continued to grow. The number of bankruptcies among the banks financing civilian production was unprecedented since the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Many participants in the discussion noted that the militarisation of production in the United States adversely affects the entire capitalist economy via the financial and monetary mechanism. The years of economic improvement in the United States (1983 and 1984) were when crisis developments shifted to Western Europe. The huge budget deficit and national debt of the United States, the high interest rates and the inflated

exchange rate of the dollar result in financial exploitation of Western Europe and other regions by US capital. There is a drain of capital from West European countries to the United States. Thus the Pentagon's programmes are financed, to a great extent, by its NATO allies. At the same time, investment growth rates and economic activity are falling off in these countries; in some cases, the external debt increases too.

Citing the example of his country to illustrate this point, **Ali Ileri** said that the external debt of Turkey has doubled over the past decade from 10 to 20 billion dollars. Add to that the sum Turkey owes to the United States in payment for arms deliveries; the figure is kept secret but is estimated at another seven billion dollars. The growth of the debt burden was accompanied by a drop in productive investment from 22 per cent of the GNP in 1978 to 18 per cent in 1984. **Fernando Sequeria** stressed that in Portugal, the external debt is 15.5 billion dollars — 80 per cent of the gross domestic product. Other countries, too, are crushed by the juggernaut of a mechanism which plunders them to finance the arms race in the United States. According to **Astratis Korakas**, the external debt of Greece almost tripled from 4.5 billion dollars in 1978 to 13 billion in 1985.

Military production adversely affects economic activity in the capitalist world via many other channels too. Scientific and technological progress is made to serve destructive and not constructive purposes. Major scientific breakthroughs are used in the manufacture of arms. This is the field in which patents and discoveries are amassed and the expert personnel capable of their application is concentrated. **Fred Steward** cited the example of Great Britain where over 50 per cent of the science personnel are engaged in military research.

Scientific and technological progress is confined to progress in military technology. In terms of access to patents and licences, this makes many civilian companies dependent on the military-industrial complex. Meanwhile, civilian industries are deprived of resources that could be spent on research and development. The mass of major R&D programmes is devoted to the development of new means of destruction. Purely military projects account for more than 50 per cent of all R&D allocations in the United States and Great Britain and for over one-third in France.

The preparations for Star Wars threaten to compound this inhuman aspect of research. **Lutz Schröter** noted that if the FRG undertakes to conduct ten per cent of the work involved in the 'strategic defence initiative' (SDI) 52 per cent of the country's research would be connected with US military space programmes.

The advocates of the arms business often claim that military research benefits civilian industries too since the latter can also make use of the discoveries made in the course of this research. **Anders Hansen**, **Agamemnon Stavrou**, **William Stewart** and others emphasised that this argument is currently advertised with particular force in a bid to justify the SDI and the involvement of West European nations in it. In actual fact, however, such 'transfer' of new technological breakthroughs and new technologies is severely limited. Experts estimate that the economic effect of using military discoveries in the civilian industries accounts for only five to ten per cent of the total spent on arms.

It was stressed at the symposium that in the hands of the militarists, science is increasingly turning from a productive force into a force of death and destruction; its misuse slows down and not accelerates progress, at the same time creating a potential that can destroy civilisation.

The Parasitism of the Arms Tycoons

In the opinion of **Yuri Vasilchuk**, the impact of the military-industrial complex on the economy is exacerbated greatly by the fact that the production of weapons and other material is a 'financially prosperous' sphere possessing huge stocks of resources and

reserves and the ability of rapid financial mobilisation of government subsidies, bank loans and the like. The enormous profits of up to 30 and even 40 per cent offered by these industries fill the coffers of the arms tycoons to overflowing. The government and the military agencies of the imperialist powers purchase all that is necessary for the armed forces at greatly inflated prices; as a result, the profits of the corporations active in this sector are several times bigger than the incomes of civilian companies. Such prices are possible only if the state apparatus is corrupt and can be easily bribed. Numerous scandals involving bribes received by government officials and politicians in capitalist countries from big military monopolies are a well-known fact.

'Financial prosperity' enables the military-industrial complex not only to seize control of companies in other sectors of the economy but also to increasingly control and direct the activities of governments in many capitalist countries, especially in the fields of currency regulation, finance, taxes, foreign trade, energy, regional economic developments, science and technology, as well as in the socio-economic sphere.

International economic relations are seriously disrupted by the attempts of the militarist quarters to undermine trade between capitalist and socialist countries under the pretext of 'safeguarding the secrets' of military technology. US authorities are toughening the 'control over the exports' of the West European competitors and applying various sanctions against the companies that refuse to comply with the demands of US 'controllers'. **Lutz Schröter** recalled the attempts by the Reagan administration to wreck the construction of the USSR-Western Europe natural gas pipeline. **Ramon Mendezona** underlined that since its entry into NATO, Spain has become the target of very strong pressures designed to hamper the development of its trade with the socialist world.

The question concerning the military, political and purely economic consequences of the growth of the arms trade was also raised in the discussion. The exports of sophisticated military equipment by the imperialist powers increase the political dependence of the recipient countries on them and produce a windfall of profits. Figures were cited reflecting the steep rise in the exports of deadly weapons. In the United States, annual contracts for arms deliveries abroad increased from ten billion dollars in the mid-1970s to 15 billion in the early 1980s to more than 20 billion in the mid-1980s. Here, NATO is used as a vast market that makes arms deliveries a lucrative business.

One of the typical examples concerns the 1975 decision of Norway, Denmark, Belgium and the Netherlands, in accordance with the NATO plans, to update their fleet of combat planes. After a pitched battle with competitors, General Dynamics of the United States secured the contract under which Norway, for example, ordered 72 F-16 fighter planes with a total of 2.9 billion kroner (less weapons and equipment). However, by 1979 the original price had increased drastically, and the total rose to four billion kroner. This 'contract of the century' turned out the same way in Denmark too.

Turkey suffered even bigger losses when the establishment of an F-16 assembly line was foisted on her. This made it necessary to invest four billion dollars in the project — half the annual national budget figure. The defence minister declared that this would create 4,000 jobs. But, according to the government planning commission, a programme to combat unemployment through the creation of hundreds of thousands of jobs in the civilian sector would cost exactly four billion dollars.

One of the arguments marshalled by the Turkish authorities to justify the F-16 deal was a reference to the threat from Greece. Meanwhile, Greece is buying F-16s and French Mirage planes citing the threat from Turkey as the reason. Thus, **Stratis Korakas** said, NATO and the US arms manufacturers are playing a rigged game in which they are sure to win political and economic advantages at the expense of the tensions between the two neighbouring member-countries of the bloc.

French arms manufacturers are not lagging far behind their US counterparts as far

as deals on the international arms market are concerned. Great Britain is also a traditional arms supplier; although its share of the market has diminished, British arms exports are increasing steadily in absolute terms. Aside from the biggest imperialist powers, other capitalist countries are also climbing aboard the gravy train. For example, Norway is the seventh biggest arms exporter. According to **Gunnar Wahl**, Norwegian arms manufacturers influence the government to further their interests. 'When politics decides what the customer will buy,' one of the directors of the **Kongsberg Weapons Factory** said, 'then we have to influence the politicians.'

Israel has developed into a vigorous arms salesman. As **George Toubi** said, the Israeli war machine was created by and serves the United States. Specifically, Israel sells weapons to those countries and regimes which the USA cannot supply due to congressional objections or other political considerations. That is why Israeli-made weapons pour into South Africa and Chile and into the hands of the Nicaraguan 'contras'.

While the arms manufacturers are reaping superprofits, the customers mostly in the developing world, incur huge debts. By the end of the 1970s their military spending reached 165 billion dollars. Their external debt increased from less than 300 million to 750 billion dollars in ten years. Instead of badly needed food, equipment and cultural items, many developing countries import a great mass of weapons. That is one of the tricks imperialism uses to draw them into the arms race. In the opinion of **Orel Viciani**, its consequences cannot be considered in isolation from the political and economic pressure brought to bear on this group of countries. He cited the following figures from Fidel Castro's report to the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit Conference: over the past decade, the developing countries' share in world military expenditures has doubled and reached 16 per cent; their arms imports in the 1970s tripled. At the same time, many of these countries do not have enough money to provide their population with food. **Agamemon Stavrou** quoted figures supplied by the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation: In 1985, grain shortages were 38 per cent in Sri Lanka and 80 per cent in Bangladesh. The cancellation of an order for one aircraft carrier would release enough money to buy and send to developing countries three million tons of wheat.

Local arms manufacture is another trend that is gaining ground. More than 30 developing countries are themselves manufacturing weapons and ammunition under licenses or in collaboration with companies based in the leading capitalist nations. As the representative of the Communist Party of Chile put it 'dependent military-industrial complexes are developing' — dependent mostly on the United States. In Latin America, this situation is in the making in Argentina, Brazil, Chile and several other countries. Out of the 100 major Pentagon contractors, 56 maintain branches in Latin America. This also has an impact on the growth of the external debt and on the reduction of internal investment.

Militarism entails a rise in antidemocratic trends. This interconnection is clearly visible in the policies pursued by pro-imperialist reactionary regimes in different parts of the world, be it in Pakistan or in Chile.

The dragging of developing countries into the arms race, **Orel Viciani** said, impedes economic growth, increases the gap separating them from industrialised nations, exacerbates the explosive problem of their external debt, and reduces domestic investment and social spending, thereby aggravating the people's poverty and the dependent status of the national economies.

In turn, the persisting economic underdevelopment and the low purchasing power of the population in the developing countries boomerang against the industrialised capitalist economies because these factors undermine the markets that assure employment, for almost 20 per cent of all industrial workers in Western Europe and 16 to 17 per cent of US workers.

One of the conclusions arrived at in the course of the symposium was that military production is parasitism squared. On the one hand, the surplus value created by the working class of the civilian industries is withdrawn from the economy. On the other, the new value created in the military industries and represented by such 'consumer products' as aircraft, missiles, bombs and other means of warfare neither increases the people's well-being nor contributes to their security. Only a narrow social category of the owners of militarised industries and the related corrupt and mercenary groups in the establishment dealing with political propaganda and ideology in capitalist countries are profiting from the arms race.

The Billions That Take Away Jobs

Close attention was paid in the course of the discussion to the impact of military production on the position of broad social strata, on the living and working conditions of the millions of people employed in the civilian sector of the economy. The participants in the symposium agreed unanimously that increasing mass unemployment in the capitalist world is among the most acute social consequences of militarism.

The overall slowdown in economic growth under the burden of military spending and the 'austerity' policy pursued by the conservative quarters of capitalist countries were the decisive factors behind the rapid growth of unemployment in the early 1980s. According to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development,¹ it increased from 21.5 million people in 1980 to 31 million people in 1984 in the OECD countries.

The United States and Great Britain have emerged as the world's two biggest centres of mass unemployment: they are countries with the highest level of military spending. In Great Britain, the number of jobs fell, after the Conservative Party won the elections, from 24.5 million in 1979 to 20 million in June 1983. With the advent of the Republican administration, unemployment in the United States increased from 7.5 million people in 1980 to 12 million in early 1983. The actual increase in the number of the unemployed was even bigger since, having lost all hope, some 1.5 million people gave up registration with the employment offices. Unemployment continues to run high despite the certain degree of economic growth during the past two years. For example, labour union sources put the figure at 8.5 million in early 1985; add to this those who no longer seek employment and those holding part-time jobs, and the total will be close to 15 million.

The slowdown of economic growth in Western Europe increased the number of the unemployed by two million to a total of 18 million in 1984 alone; experts estimate that last year the figure reached the 20-million mark. Western Europe has turned into a disaster area, and the disaster is unemployment, that grave social ill of capitalist society. Participants in the discussion quoted figures concerning the situation in their countries and showing that unemployment has beaten many post-war records.

A powerful 'transmission mechanism' operates on the world capitalist market, exporting mass unemployment from the centres of militarism to countries where military spending is not that high. Fernando Sequeira cited the example of Portugal. Its military expenditures were some 43 per cent of the national budget during the colonial wars; after the 1974 revolution they dropped to between six and eight per cent — although even this was high enough compared to allocations for social programmes. But the drop in military spending failed to bring about a long-term improvement in the position of working people. There are now 600,000 people unemployed in Portugal; over the past ten years real wages have declined by 29 per cent among construction workers, by 23 per cent among agricultural workers and by 42 per cent in industry and among salary earners. Such is the great strain inflicted on the Portuguese economy in

the course of the crisis developments aggravated by the huge deficit of the US budget, inflated interest rates and the growing external debt. In Spain, the rate of unemployment has reached 22.1 per cent, the highest level among the OECD countries.

'Austerity' measures, introduced above all to finance military expenditures, have a direct impact on the loss of jobs. Here, too, the United States and Great Britain were the trend-setters. Their governments began to slash social spending — outlays for education, health care, culture, urban and communal development; assistance to the needy, to senior citizens and children; unemployment benefits, housing grants, support to farmers, etc. These moves deal a direct blow to the purchasing power of the population and consequently, to the mass markets, exacerbating crisis developments in many spheres of production and pushing unemployment upward.

During its first term of office, the Reagan administration cut social spending by 110 billion dollars. The AFL-CIO compiled a long checklist of categories in which workers were deprived of their hard-won benefits. The checklist was entitled 'The Statistics of Pain'. Today, it is planned to reduce social spending by another 170 billion dollars over the next three years. If one recalls that every 40 to 50 billion dollars spent on social programmes creates about one million jobs, this means that over three million more people are to lose their jobs in the future.

The speakers noted that the resources invested in the social infrastructure, in the service sector or civilian industries make it possible, aside from directly meeting important needs of the people, to create considerably more jobs than the same amount of investment channelled into military production. The US Bureau of Labour Statistics points out in its paper entitled 'The US Economic Structure in 1980-1985' that the transfer of one billion dollars from the field of health care and welfare to military production is accompanied by a loss of 24,500 jobs; a similar withdrawal from the field of education means a loss of 51,000 jobs. According to the German Institute of Economic Studies, an allocation of ten billion marks from the national budget can create 180,000 jobs in the military sector against 196,000 in agriculture, 205,000 in health care, 215,000 in transport and the construction industry, and 269,000 in the social services.

It is a familiar claim of the advocates of the arms race that the same yardstick cannot be applied to compare the employment opportunities offered by military production and the civilian sector. They argue that any science-intensive, high-technology industry creates fewer jobs than those where less skilled personnel is employed and each job costs less. It is asserted that cuts in military spending may increase unemployment among the better skilled workers and experts. The participants in the symposium demonstrated the fallacy of these arguments. The point here is not one of directly replacing every single military factory with a school or a hospital; the issue concerns the overall orientation of economic development and the priorities involved in the planning of national expenditures. Even high-tech types of civilian, not military production create goods essentially destined to be used in production or in personal consumption; they therefore help to increase employment. Conversely, military production is a dead end: it paralyses a great amount of labour performed by the more skilled personnel and leads to a break in the chain of reproduction and to job loss.

Social Injustices Intensified

Much attention was paid during the discussion to the direct way unemployment and the cuts in social spending caused by the arms race reduce the living standards of working people. While typical of most NATO countries, this situation is particularly obvious in the United States, where a veritable offensive has been launched against the entire system of social security. The money thus 'saved' is handed over to the Pentagon.

The Afro-American Caucus of the US Congress has declared that 'this is a programme of boosting military spending at the expense of the poor'.

The financial position of most American families has deteriorated in recent years. During the Reagan administration's term of office, the number of people living beyond the official poverty line increased by five million and reached 35 million — 15 per cent of the population. The homeless who spend the night in parks or on the grates of subway ventilation shafts have become a standard feature of the US urban landscape; their number has topped two million. Obviously, 'Reaganomics' has intensified social injustice and polarisation.

The conservative forces of Great Britain and the FRG are waging an offensive against the living standards of working people. There, many social programmes have also been slashed which, among other things, has resulted in the spread of officially acknowledged poverty. Representatives of the DKP pointed out that since 1980, the overall size of the West German national budget has increased by 11 per cent, but the spending on education diminished by 5.8 per cent and on health care and assistance to families and young people, by 14.6 per cent. Meanwhile, military spending has increased 26 per cent over the same period. In the view of **William Stewart**, the whole structure of social gains won by the working people of Canada is now threatened. It is not only that the sizes of social benefits are diminishing: the need to have the educational and health care systems accessible to all is being questioned, and privatisation is being pushed in these fields.

The arms race adds greatly to the tax burden borne by working people. It was noted at the symposium that the 1977 NATO pledge to annually increase military spending by three per cent and more meant that taxes per family rose by about 20 per cent by 1983. The pledge was extended to remain in effect, and it is being financed by the taxpayers. In Great Britain, the share of taxes in wages and salaries increased from 38 to 42 per cent over the first four years of Tory rule. The income tax in the FRG is growing three times faster than wages and salaries, its share rising from 4.6 per cent in 1950 to 17 per cent in 1982. Between 1978 and 1982, taxes in the United States increased 67 per cent.

The advocates of military spending claim that it does not necessarily increase taxes. The impression is that the Reagan administration has cut taxes. But let us look at how this was done. The legislation on tax changes passed in 1981 did help people in the high income bracket. However, those earning the lowest incomes — almost one-third of the population — were to pay 25 per cent more in taxes. The new tax reform currently under discussion will also be a windfall for the monopolies and the rich at the expense of the majority of the population who will pay more.

Speakers at the symposium pointed out that there exists a variety of views with regard to the connection between inflation and militarisation of the economy and to the degree of dependence of the former on the latter. Still, although inflation may rise or fall at different times and due to different factors, it is fed, as a rule, by military spending. The inflationary effects of the latter are rooted in the fact that the increases in the effective demand on the part of those employed in military industries is not accompanied by a proportionate increase of production in the civilian sector of the economy. This artificially inflated demand pushes prices upward. Besides, the constant rise of production costs in the military sector also affects the overall level of prices.

At the beginning of the 1980s most developed capitalist countries suffered from two-digit inflation — from ten to 20 per cent and more. Inflation continues to affect the incomes of workers, although it has been brought down four to eight per cent in recent years. It is not that the economic laws governing inflationary processes have ceased to operate. It is simply that capital and the authorities have thrown another switch of state-monopoly regulation of the economy — that is, they have deliberately accelerated the growth of mass unemployment which affects workers' demand and

offsets the drop in the inflation rate. The losses of working people simply take a different form.

The participants in the symposium stated that mass unemployment and economic difficulties are used extensively as a weapon in the offensive against real wages and salaries. In the United States and in Great Britain, the threat of mass layoffs has forced even some powerful trade unions to make concessions in matters of wages and salaries. The wages of Canadian workers have decreased 19 per cent over the past decade. Invoking the deteriorating economic situation, the governments of several other capitalist countries have succeeded in abolishing or freezing wage and salary adjustments and in lowering or slowing down the growth rate of the minimum wage. The pressure exerted by the governments and the employers on trade unions to achieve 'economic recovery' by curtailing workers' demands has mounted greatly.

Where the Resources Should Be Channelled

Another question discussed at the symposium was the pernicious influence of the arms race on the solution of a number of global problems, such as the struggle against hunger, poverty, economic underdevelopment, illiteracy and disease. A convincing example was cited: the World Health Organisation spent only 83 million dollars in ten years to completely eliminate smallpox — less than the cost of a single modern strategic bomber.

The environmental crisis threatening the entire world has become an issue of unprecedented acuteness in recent years.

Bloated military programmes swallow up resources so badly needed for environmental protection. Efforts in this field are often either inadequate or drag on for years and decades. According to expert estimates, the United States should spend some 700 billion dollars in the 1980s to clean up the environment and bring it back to normalcy. However, the existing system of priorities in the imperialist powers makes these resources unavailable.

Participants in the symposium quoted the view of UN experts who hold that 2.5 to 4 per cent of the world's combined gross national product should be spent to protect the Earth's environment. Excessive military spending prevents allocation of such resources.

The analysis conducted at the symposium led to the inevitable conclusion that effective protection of the vital needs of the masses is impossible without the struggle to end the arms race. At the same time, many speakers stressed the need not only to destroy the shackles of militarism but also to adopt a socio-economic policy oriented on the interests of working people, not big capital. As **Anders Hansen** emphasised, the demand for conversion from military to civilian production must be an integral part of the working class movement's programmes on economic development and job creation. A cut in military spending alone is not enough. It is important to decide where the funds currently spent on arms should be channelled and how to best use the manpower, the material resources and the production capacities that can be released by disarmament.

The elaboration of alternative programmes covering the broad range of issues connected with the democratisation of the entire economic fabric, of all productive activity is an urgent task now tackled by the communist and workers' movement.

It was underscored in the course of the discussion that by participating vigorously in the drawing-up, discussion and militant follow-up of these programmes, the communist parties of industrialised capitalist countries can make a great contribution to the demilitarisation of the social fabric and to the conversion of resources to constructive purposes useful to the people. Political activity should focus on the issues of reducing military spending and using the funds thus saved to meet the socio-

economic demands of working people and to accelerate economic development. The task is to put forward specific conversion plans providing, among other things, for employment opportunities for former military industry workers, for more jobs, as well as for expansion of civilian production and services. In their documents and slogans, the communist parties highlight the priority importance of disarmament for the solution of problems in the fields of education, health care, social security, culture, science, environmental protection and assistance to developing nations. It was stressed at the symposium that the Communists are conducting an extensive drive to explain the issue, to mobilise public support for these plans and proposals, to expose the fraudulent arguments marshalled by advocates of militarism and to rebuff the policy pursued by the military-industrial complex and its puppets.

The fact that working people are interested in the cessation of the arms race, in a slowdown of military production followed by its conversion to peaceful purposes creates an objective basis for joint or parallel action by the fraternal parties, by the different organisations of the working class and by intellectuals, the middle strata, the petty bourgeoisie, farmers, etc. This can help to bring different points of view into greater conformity and to enhance the effectiveness of the struggle for the people's interests by combining the socio-economic demands of the masses with their aspiration for durable peace. The Communists are fully resolved to follow this path.

¹ The OECD comprises 24 industrialised capitalist countries. — *Ed.*

viewpoints

Two Lines in the Current Producer Revolution

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FOR a fairly long time the scientific and technical revolution (STR) ran essentially in the field of knowledge. The discoveries which made it possible to use non-traditional technological processes did not at once yield fundamentally new technical solutions; nor were they embodied in new machinery and equipment, let alone broadly applied in production. The basis industries continued to use old, even if substantially improved, technologies and classical energy sources and structural materials. Development proceeded mainly through an increase in the capacity of assemblies and technological lines and in their capability of working up ever larger masses of primary raw materials and intermediate products in a unit of time. That is why, far from helping to overcome the mainly extensive model of economic development in the industrialised countries, the STR in effect largely helped to consolidate it.

The partial improvement of the old technologies produced a 'resource-devouring' model of development, and this, for its part, generated an adequate international-division-of-labour model: the collection of vast masses of fuel and raw materials at manufacturing centres. The energy crisis of the 1970s sounded something of a warning signal for the capitalist economy and compelled serious thinking about the inevitability of resource and ecological constraints in the future. It showed how irrational such technical progress was, for each new twist of it amplified the mass of consumed resources and increased international exchange above all in terms of 'weight'.

A radical remodelling of the structures of production and external economic ties became patently inevitable, and it took only a short time to realise that many types of scarce primary resources effectively turned out at the given moment to be in relative surplus. That only took some fairly simple economy measures. Partial improvements in the old technologies were used for the first time on a large scale to reduce the mass of consumed primary resources. The world entered upon its 'first round' of intensification, in the strict sense of the term, when the same, or a smaller, volume of resources is put in to yield a growing final efficiency.

It now seems fairly safe to say that the STR is evolving into a science-and-production revolution which is working a qualitative transformation not only in the individual

industries but in the economy as a whole. Such a revolution can be said to be under way when qualitative changes in science are embodied in engineering projects, are applied in practice, and begin to play the major role in the development of social production as a whole. One should not forget, however, that such a revolution does not create resources for its own realisation all at once. There is a need for facilities to multiply the new hardware and technology, and here one has to overcome a definite barrier, the threshold beyond which the new technology becomes economically competitive, and then ever more advantageous, as compared with the old. The inevitable physical replacement of obsolete fixed assets involves an irredeemable loss of social labour (for the given period of time), something that cannot be compensated at once either. That is why the STR evolves into the science-and-production revolution through several stages, since the society is incapable to introduce overnight all the new solutions that are potentially ready for practical use.

The current technological revolution, it should be stressed, is proceeding in conditions which differ fundamentally from those of the first industrial revolution: the world economy is no longer economically and socially uniform, which means that the course and consequences of such a revolution are bound to be different under capitalism and under socialism. Besides, the scale and character of the developing countries' involvement in international economic ties have changed.

The current technological revolution is also reflected in the sphere of ideology. Bourgeois and reformist apologists have been quick to see it as providing yet another possibility of arguing the viability of capitalism, to which the science-and-production revolution is allegedly giving a chance not only of survival but even of further development. No wonder such technocratic and technological interpretations of the 'second industrial revolution' have had an influence on the programmes of most social-democratic and socialist parties in West European countries.

The initial consequences of the changes in production and exchange (such as the new price ratios) have in the main been 'digested' by the economy of the industrialised capitalist countries, which took the way of more economical expenditure of primary resources, their broader replacement by other less scarce resources, the raising of prices for manufacturing products, and the recycling of petrodollars. However, monopoly capital failed entirely to restore the world capitalist market to stable development.

International capitalist trade was destabilised: its rate of growth and even its absolute volume were sharply reduced; the spiralling inflation in practice demonstrated the weakness of the currencies of the leading imperialist countries claiming the function of 'world money'; and there was an increase in protectionist trends. These phenomena have now become a constantly operating factor and testify to the deep crisis of the international capitalist division of labour.

Even some bourgeois economic theorists (for instance, J. K. Galbraith) are aware that the postwar model of capitalism's economic development has a dead-end character. The widely advertised attempts by neoconservatives to restore faith in the potentialities of 'free enterprise' turned out to be unworkable: the practical use of their prescriptions tends sharply to exacerbate economic and social problems.¹

Crises have, of course, always been organic to capitalist reproduction, but under the present pattern of forces in the world arena, the monopolies of the leading capitalist powers can no longer manoeuvre as they did in the past. But the main thing is that the current crisis of the international capitalist division of labour is so closely bound up with the deep-seated transformation of the whole producer apparatus and with the new stage in the socialisation of production, that the very possibility of its development within the framework of the old social system is further curtailed.

These new processes have affected the existing schemes of the international division of labour, and the lines and forms of its further evolution.

Under sharp structural changes in the past (primary industrialisation, rehabilitation

of war damage, etc), the national-economic complexes made a heightened demand for virtually every type of goods and services, an 'omnivorousness' which generated a rapid growth of imports and then — as an effect — stimulated interest in the expansion of exports, something that in many cases did result in a growth of the trade turnover.

Under a predominantly extensive economic development, there is frequently very great demand in external ties and relatively high external economic activity.² By contrast, when production is intensified, the 'well established' complex tends to be more selective both with respect to imports and to exports. Imports may be cut back (for instance, when excessive consumption of import fuel and raw materials is abandoned), and exports may develop selectively, being limited to the most effective products and without attempts to build them up at any price, so long as export revenues keep growing. From the 1950s on, the quantum of foreign trade in the world tended to grow faster than the national income and the gross product. The international division of labour developed more dynamically than the division of labour within the economy, so that the role of the former in the economy of most countries on the globe was sharply increased. The world price dynamic in that period was also relatively 'even'. There was a steady growth in the demand of virtually every type of resource.

Such an amazingly sustained increase in the volume of the world market was often said to be due to the fact that the STR had transformed and sharply activated international exchange by intensifying the resource-and-technological interdependence of countries and regions, an idea usually backed up with references to the universal character of integration processes not only in associations like the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and the European Economic Community (EEC), but also in ephemeral regional and subregional outfits.

Such an interpretation was based on the idea that the basic technical, economic and social parameters of the international division of labour were invariable, with the international division of labour itself being identified with its then existing historically transient phase. It is well known, however, that major structural changes in some economically developed capitalist countries have no longer led to a corresponding growth in the quantum of foreign trade,³ a fact which did not quite square with the accepted notions about international exchange servicing structural transformations within the framework of the national economies. This phenomenon, which is in evidence today, cannot be explained either by the heightened selectiveness of a developed national-economic complex alone, or by the flabby state of the internal market.

The existing international-division-of-labour model has apparently started to lose its potential impulses for further development. Indeed, whereas the division of labour is itself an endless process, its concrete forms are historically limited. That means there is a need to study its transformation and the dynamic of its various forms, including those which had once appeared to be secondary or concomitant.

Scientific, technical and producer cooperation is prominent among such new forms. It tends to replace the exchange of finished products and has a contradictory influence on international exchange: on the one hand, it helps to fill its channels with additional masses of products (parts, components and other units turned out on the basis of cooperation deliveries), and on the other, it makes such exchange more compact, since the national technical and producer experience that is of interest to the foreign customer can be 'packaged' in the so-called active components of the machinery and equipment, while the importer is capable of making the passive part of the equipment himself.

It is quite possible, therefore, that cooperation will turn out to be a definite stage of transition to mainly scientific and technical exchange, eliminating the diverse flows of finished products which will give way to deliveries of active machine components.

Under certain conditions, this process could well 'swallow up' not only the increment, but also a substantial share of the earlier attained quantum of foreign trade.

Furthermore, the demand for the delivery and assembly of ready-to-start producer and other facilities has grown steadily over the past decades, and this may well ultimately bring about a sharp change in world trade of the ratio between the cost of goods (plant, structural elements, etc.), on the one hand, and services, on the other. The commodity content of such transactions already comes to no more than one-half of their value. The involvement of local subcontractors in erecting the finished facility tends to substitute internal economic exchange for a share of international exchange.

The ever more widely provided specialised services in remodelling and modernising production tend to have a scientific and technical character, because their main purpose is not to replace the available equipment with better import equipment, but to modify the hardware and technology.

The exchange of advanced experience in organising production likewise tends to supersede trade to some extent, because it cuts costs and makes effective the output of once less-than-profitable products. The 'import' of experience can, of course, entail the import of goods (such as automated control systems, managerial aids, etc.), but even then this form of international exchange remains purely intellectual.

Let us imagine the following abstract model: a group of countries with a technologically uniform producer base (automated, robotised and capable of self-reproduction on the basis of self-programming.) There is here a sharp decrease in the need to transfer material goods, and an exchange of knowledge, of 'product ideas', instead of the products themselves begins to predominate. In that case, the centre of gravity in international exchange and division of labour generally begins to shift towards an exchange of scientific and technical achievements, production experience and other types of know-how. Sets of programmes for various kinds of production control systems could well become the materialised vehicle of such an exchange. Incidentally, such programmes have already become a noticeable component of international exchange.

Our abstract model does, of course, also have a place for the territorial division of labour in its old form. But the relative importance of the traditional forms will evidently decline. Besides, with a wide switch to new sources of energy and a smoothly functioning system of repeated recycling of raw-material inputs, the dependence of production on the import of resources is bound to decrease. The installation of flexible automated systems could also produce a similar situation with the indirect 'import of labour' based on the difference tautness of manpower-resource balances of different 'prices' of labour in the various countries.

In other words, the tendency towards a gradual narrowing down of the classical exchange of goods cannot be ruled out, for there is no point in importing commodities when instant-application technology is readily available.

Like any other abstract scheme, the above model merely serves to demonstrate the most general lines of future development, but the growing role of the technological factor in international exchange today is an incontrovertible fact. The question is how this factor will be reckoned with in practice in the development of the two types of international division of labour: the socialist and the capitalist. Under socialism, scientific and technical progress leads directly to the further socialisation of production, whereas under capitalism it is extremely contradictory, and has not only constructive but also explicitly destructive tendencies.

Even the growing transnational coalescence of capital does not reduce the technological competition between the economically developed imperialist states, as they strive to monopolise scientific and technical achievements and to prevent their drain to developing countries within the orbit of the world capitalist economy. That is why the intellectualisation of exchange threatens to knock out an entire sector of that

economy, which, it is true, is relatively small in specific weight, but which has traditionally had a highly essential role in shaping and developing the structure and also the lines of the international capitalist division of labour.

Finally, the urge of imperialist reaction to use the 'technological weapon' against the socialist community countries, which have a major scientific and technical potential of their own, could merely increase the mass of disadvantages for the industrialised capitalist countries themselves.

The destructive influence of their policy on the world economy is most clearly demonstrated by the activity of the TNCs, many of which are directly connected with the military-industrial complex and act as the vehicles of its 'foreign policy'. The TNCs are effectively the vanguard of monopoly capital with a special place in the imperialist powers' economic policy: in remodelling the structure, developing the hardware and technology of production and also control of these processes outside the countries where the TNCs are based. Their strategic function is to ensure a redistribution of resources in favour of the former metropolitan countries and to weave a web of subsidiaries guaranteeing access of these resources in the future.

There now seems to be good ground to say that the development of the capitalist economy has entered a new phase characterised by transnationalism, i.e., by a dynamic growth of transnational enterprises, whose foreign operations acquire ever greater significance and exert an influence on the world capitalist economy as a whole.

Transnationalism is now connected above all with a progressive concentration of capital running in two main forms: beyond the national boundaries there is a repetition of the same production processes as at the 'parent' enterprise or company, and in addition, these processes are fragmented, with some of their segments being transferred to other countries in accordance with the division of labour within the TNCs. In this way they control the technical preparation of production, the output of the finished product, and the distribution of the results of economic activity between the participants in the producer process. This has negative consequences which will be felt for a long time to come.

First, the TNC-controlled reproduction process inevitably loses touch with the national base — beyond any rational limits. It is 'extended' in space; raw materials and fuel are transferred over great distances, with a reverse flow of equipment and consumer goods and services required to make up the national balances of consumption.⁴ A similar situation takes shape when the TNCs do not export raw materials but labour materialised in the product.

Second, the virtually total dependence on international exchange tends to distort the key conditions for expanded reproduction in the developing countries. Their more active involvement in the international division of labour (deliveries of their own product and purchase of all the products they need) narrows down the division of labour within their own economies, instead of expanding it. The results of international specialisation and cooperation are alienated and monopolised by the industrialised capitalist states, and especially by the TNCs. The developing countries' national wealth, being, as it is, dependent on the terms of international exchange, is converted into something like a function of stock-exchange quotations, of the state of the world market (estimates of the value of natural-resource stocks tend to change in accordance with demand, price level, etc.).

Third, circulation also tends to be distorted. From the standpoint of a state whose exports are virtually based on some single product, this product becomes the sole equivalent of the entire necessary commodity mix. There is, in effect, a covert return to the simplest forms of value, and this is fraught with the threat of grave (and in some cases of total) disruption of the reproduction process in the developing countries, turning them into petty specialised producers of a product which may not always be recognised as a commodity on the world market.

Such deformations do not affect the Third World alone. It is estimated that at least a quarter of the turnover on the world capitalist market in one way or another involves barter trade, because buyers are ever more often short of ready funds. Faced with such a situation, exporters have to accept various forms of compensation, buy-back or barter deals.

Even bourgeois experts say that barter trade is complicated and possibly involves the greatest risk, because it often requires the most intricate international arrangements,⁵ which pose a threat to the existing international-division-of-labour system, a threat not stemming directly from the new technology but from the social consequences of its use under capitalism.

Four important points need to be noted in assessing the effect of the current science-and-production revolution on the world capitalist economy. First of all, the growing outlays on the revolution just as military expenditures are being sharply boosted increase the critical overstrain of the imperialist powers' monetary and financial system, something that may have disastrous consequences for it.⁶ Furthermore, the 'robotronic' revolution tends sharply to diminish the role of living labour in international exchange, which means that with the passage of time the relative advantages gained by the TNCs in transferring labour-intensive lines of production abroad could markedly decline, and that, too, is fraught with major upheavals for the world economy and for the established international-division-of-labour schemes in manufacturing. It is also clear that the traditional technologies used in the developing countries, including the so-called new industrial states, cannot stand the competition against technologies emerging in the course of the science-and-production revolution; that also leads to a radical break-up of the structure of the international division of labour. Finally, the massive uprooting of the old producer apparatus and the use of fundamentally new technologies brings about an abrupt change in the intensiveness of demand for various types of raw materials.

These factors do not, of course, account for all the internal contradictory influences of monopoly capital and its 'transnational vanguard' on the structure and lines of world exchange. The vast international debt, running to trillions of dollars, and the deepening crisis of the capitalist monetary system tend to erect ever new barriers in the way of external economic expansion, which is an instrument for redistributing incomes in favour of the imperialist powers. The basic contradiction of capitalism manifested on the global scale ultimately has a destructive effect on their economy. It is manifested, for instance, in the fairly sharp threat in recent years to the marketing outlets of the FRG, Japan and other countries within the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which realise a sizeable part of their commodity exports in the Third World.

The meshing of less developed countries with the existing international-capitalist-division-of-labour system turns them into suppliers not only of living labour and products with a small share of past labour, but also of some producer goods. The result is an accumulation in the industrialised capitalist countries of a large quantity of imported materialised labour whose use 'in fact, *costs* the nation nothing, because, on the one hand, it is reproduced by the same quantity of *living* labour, and on the other, the quantity of consumer values increases to such an extent that the *greater part* of them can replace this (increased) fixed capital.'⁷

Marx says that 'the richer nation may expend on the individual product more than a poorer nation, without getting poorer', and this is 'seen, incidentally, from the growing price of the non-productive types of labour'.⁸ This nowadays applies also to the gigantic non-productive appropriations on armaments, the maintenance of a large army of unemployed, and the existence of mammoth facilities which are kept idle. It is quite natural to ask to what extent the unprecedented outlays of this kind can be covered from the developed countries' own resources, and to what extent from

redistribution. In the situation that has taken shape, the latter appears to be the main source.

Consequently, the current technological revolution falls far short of justifying the hopes pinned on it by the bourgeois economists, for it leads to a further sharp exacerbation of the contradictions of the capitalist world economic system and confronts imperialism with this insoluble problem: to find a constructive way out of the situation which casts doubt on the effectiveness of its structures and fundamental principles of functioning.⁹

Capitalism cannot, of course, lay claim any longer to having a monopoly in the field of technical progress. The science-and-production revolution has been spreading ever more widely in the socialist countries. Thus, the twelfth five-year plan period (1986-1990) in the USSR should inaugurate deep-going qualitative changes in production and bring about a resolute turn in the intensification of all the sectors of the national economy.

As they tackle their science-and-production tasks, the socialist countries work to establish ever closer interdependence between the society's economic, social and spiritual progress. Under the new system, for instance, the robotisation of the national economy holds promise of setting free labour resources on a fairly large scale. But whereas under capitalism this process assumes the form of a coerced alienation from labour, under socialism and labour-power is set free for labour in other sectors and industries, and, as a rule, for labour that is more creative and efficient from the national-economic standpoint.

The science-and-production revolution, which has evolved as a phenomenon of the world-wide (global) economy is inevitably internationalised and acts to transform its sectoral and reproduction structure, with some of the vanguard lines of the current technological revolution being characteristic both of the socialist and of the capitalist countries. That does not mean, however, that some kind of prerequisites are being created for the convergence of the two economic and social systems on a 'common' basis. Such an assumption would be the height of technological determinism. In actual fact, the 'community' of the technical basis is extremely relative, for it is the economic and social conditions that are ultimately of crucial significance in assessing the immediate and more remote consequences of the technological revolution, including those for the functioning of the two types of the international division of labour.

In contrast to capitalism, the planned socialist system is capable of anticipatory and effectively controlling the whole set of results from the frontal technological revolution in the life of the society. The new society keeps perfecting its system of economic and social relations, its economic-management mechanism and its international socialist division of labour, to make full use of the fruits of the revolution for further developing the advanced social system and consolidating the progressive trends in the world economy.

The socialist states have worked together to create a real alternative to the international capitalist division of labour, and here the further deepening of their cooperation and economic integration, and the expansion of their production, scientific, technical and trade ties with each other have a growing role to play. Such cooperation is becoming an ever more essential factor in consolidating the collective positions of the states of our community in the world economy.

The possibility of taking a systemic approach to the whole complex of scientific and technical progress and the control of it sharply enhances the economic and social effect and eliminates the ground for the typically capitalist clash of interests between various countries and corporations and the deepening of disproportions in the international division of labour. The advantages of socialism have been confirmed in these

conditions by the modernisation of the system of the division of labour between the states of our community, a process proceeding voluntarily and equitably, through coordination of strategic and tactical decisions. At the latest meeting of the political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries in Sofia in 1985, their top-ranking leaders declared their readiness 'to continue consistently to pursue the line of making their cooperation with each other ever more effective in every sphere by harmonising their national and internationalist interests'.¹⁰ The growing unity of the socialist countries is a convincing response to the 'challenge' of the decades ahead.

The international socialist division of labour is neither static nor rigid: its qualitative characteristics are retained and developed, but orientation of the process towards the future is now more important than ever before. This means preparing in advance the material, financial and organisational prerequisites for the collective solution of key national-economic problems.

The large scale additional potentialities for speeding technical progress latent in the modernisation of the international-socialist-division-of-labour system and the perfection of its structure and concrete forms of operation are being ever more consistently taken into account by the CMEA countries. The socialist community has all it needs to counter capitalist transnationalisation by advancing from the coordination of separate measures in the field of mutual cooperation to concerting economic, scientific and technical policy and intensive development of coproduction ties at every level of economic activity.

The draft new edition of the CPSU Programme stresses our party's striving to 'actively participate in the joint work of the fraternal parties to concert economic policies, to improve the machinery of economic cooperation, to evolve new forms of that cooperation, to expand specialisation and coproduction, to concert plans, to exchange advanced experience and to establish direct ties between amalgamations and enterprises'.¹¹ In the new conditions that is the way of consistently practising the principle of socialist internationalism.

¹ The bourgeois ideologists' talk about 'free' enterprise, liberalisation, etc., is no more than a propaganda trick aimed to divert public attention from such facts as the growing subordination of the capitalist economy to the interests of the military-industrial complex and the transnational corporations (TNCs), which dictate to the governments of imperialist states their domestic and foreign policies. One journal, for instance, says: "When the neoliberals urge the state to refrain from any intervention in the economy they want to abolish the very essence of democracy, instead of expelling some bureaucratic monster from the game. In the international arena, they also try to impose the one and only law of the balance of forces between such unequal magnitudes as Burundi and the United States, the owner of a petrol pump and the Exxon corporation, a tiny enterprise and a TNC, Argentina and the IMF" (*Monde diplomatique*, November 1984, p. 26).

² The ratio of a country's foreign-trade growth to its gross-domestic-product growth.

³ According to GATT, the quantum of world trade in 1982 shrank by two per cent (and in value terms, by four per cent), down to roughly the 1979 level. In 1983-1984, the state of the capitalist market remained flabby, despite a slight economic recovery in some countries.

⁴ Practice shows that far from contracting, such "extension" tends to increase whenever the developing countries manage to improve the terms of trade. With their one-sided orientation towards the capitalist market, these states merely increase their dependence on the TNCs when spending their increased export revenues on this market. Thus, the OPEC countries, with their high export earnings, began to import more consumer goods, armaments, new hardware, etc., and find themselves in very stringent dependence on the economically developed imperialist powers.

⁵ One US paper has described the procedure as follows: an aerospace company eager to sell aircraft to Turkey arranged for the sale of Turkish cement to India and the sale of Indian steel accessories to Saudi Arabia. The latter paid India in cash, which went to pay for the cement, while the aerospace company got a credit from Turkey which helped to pay for the cost of the aircraft. See *Los Angeles Times*, June 5, 1983.

⁶ In 1984, the total debt of the United States, that rich capitalist country, was seven times greater than the total debt of the developing countries: the Federal government and the regional authorities, enterprises and consumers owed an aggregate \$5,994 billion (*Time*, October 15, 1984, *Monde diplomatique*, February, 1985).

⁷ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Works*, Vol. 48, p. 86 (in Russian).

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ The French politologist M. Duverger has noted that capitalism has one "natural advantage" over socialism: its task is to preserve the existing structures by repairing some of their functional defects. It has always been a much more difficult business to create new structures (See M. Duverger, *Lettre ouverte aux socialistes*, Paris, 1976, p. 20).

¹⁰ *Pravda*, October 24, 1985.

¹¹ *Pravda*, October 26, 1985.

Storm Over South Africa

Oliver Tambo — President,
African National Congress (ANC) of
South Africa

The struggle going on in South Africa has risen to a qualitatively new level. The growth in strength of the anti-apartheid forces, the increased militancy of all sections of the oppressed and democratic forces has reverberated right into the citadels of exploitative capital at home and abroad and confronted the Pretoria regime with an unparalleled politico-economic crisis.

Our people want freedom now. They want to govern and determine the destiny of their own country today and not tomorrow. They have lost patience with all ideas that their liberation can be postponed for any reason whatsoever. They measure the purpose of life by no other standard than that it should be spent in the struggle for the liberation of our country. They have shed all fear of death because the words *to live* have acquired the same meaning as the words *to be free*.

Faced with the rising tide of popular revolt and defiance, the racists have simultaneously responded with brutal repression and so-called reforms none of which address the central question of political and economic power, held exclusively by the white minority. Armed with a massive military budget running into billions of dollars, exploiting the intricate labyrinth of repressive laws at its disposal and making full use of a host of paid informers, Pretoria has unleashed a vicious reign of terror against the oppressed black majority. From the time of the creation of the fraudulent tricameral parliament in August 1984,¹ many more than a thousand lives have been sacrificed in what has become a continuous, relentless battle for our birthright and human dignity.

The declaration of a state of emergency in magisterial districts was a pretext for army occupation of black residential areas wherever the police were unable to maintain control of the black population in revolt. It was an admission by the regime that it could no longer contain the people's anger against white minority domination.

However, the armed occupation of townships by the police and army, which has been reinforced with the state of emergency, has dismally failed to intimidate our people. Instead, the revolt and resistance has spread further afield and will extend across the entire country. Despite the daily arrests, detentions and fatal shootings, our people have risen to confront the death-dealing armoured cars with whatever weapons they can lay their hands on, including stones.

Our people have heroically responded to the call by the African National Congress to make apartheid unworkable and South Africa ungovernable. Virtually all the black community councils, which are instruments of apartheid oppression in the urban areas, have been rendered inoperative. In certain areas the people have not been paying their rents for several months, demanding the recognition of their own organs of civil

administration. The consumer boycott of the white-owned shops has forced many to close down.

Religious organisations embracing communities and people of various faiths and racial groupings have issued what amounts to a South African religious manifesto. This document clearly instructs all the faithful to embark on "civil disobedience" against the ungodly precepts of apartheid. In the history of organised church institutions in South Africa, such a direct confrontation with a ruling regime is virtually unknown.

The workers' trade unions have marched victoriously from one strike action to another in ever-growing numbers. There were more strikes in the first half of 1985 than there were in the peak year of 1982. Late in November 1985, the Congress of South African Trade Unions came into being. It is a black and anti-racist federation having over half a million members.

The militancy of the student community has thrown the government into utter confusion and despair. In some areas the regime has closed schools because they are centres of defiance, while in others the police force the students back to the classrooms as a safer alternative to their street mobilisation against apartheid and all its manifestations.

The resistance of our people has been sustained by their confidence in the striking power of our People's Army — Umkhonto We Sizwe. Despite the strict censorship of news dealing with armed activities of our combatants, some newspapers were able to record that between April and May 1985 there were no less than 40 instances of shoot-outs and use of grenades in the confrontation with enemy forces.

The failure of the regime to contain the country-wide black resistance is compounded by divisions which have beset the white ruling class. The unending unrest has resulted in the polarisation of the white electorate, splitting all sections of the white community including the business circles, professional groups, the students and the church. This schism has cut across even the ruling Nationalist Party headed by Botha. For the die-hard racists, the meagre concessions introduced by Botha represent capitulation and can only result in chaos and the total destruction of so-called white civilisation in South Africa. For the pragmatist and progressive whites, these concessions merely amount to a case of too little too late. This group has been increasingly urging the racist regime to open up some dialogue with the authentic representatives of the majority of the people, including those in prison, notably Nelson Mandela, as well as to lift the ban on our people's organisation, the African National Congress. Influential sections of the white population as well as some of South Africa's major trading partners, have become convinced that there can be no solution to the problems facing South Africa without the participation of the ANC. Perhaps nowhere else is this view more clearly demonstrated than in the recent meeting held between leading South African industrialists and the leadership of the ANC, despite Botha's explicit disapproval.²

The image of Botha as a reformer, which has been vigorously projected by South Africa's allies, is fading. His patent inability to respond to growing demands to dismantle apartheid, emanating even from his own supporters and allies, has exposed his true fascist colours. We have always maintained that Botha is no reformer but one of the most obdurate defenders of white supremacy.

In a rather remarkable foresight into present-day reality, the then Prime Minister Botha told the Congress of his Nationalist Party in 1977 that "apartheid is a recipe for permanent conflict". The fact that since that time Botha has made no serious efforts to avoid that conflict merely points to his belief in brute force as a means of securing the survival of the apartheid system. But the racist regime cannot rule in the same old way and is trying to appear different by ruling in a slightly different way, one that is superficial and unrelated to the apartheid system, which remains as vicious, as

murderous, as aggressive as it ever was.

Botha's language is beginning to change. When talking about a united South Africa he has never spoken about before, Botha uses the language of the ANC although he means something else. But he has come so far as to realise that some day our country is going to be one country, not so many Bantustans. When talking about a common citizenship, he stops alleging that the blacks do not belong to South Africa. But the aim of all his talk is to try to contain the growing power of the revolutionary movement. The racist leader is manoeuvring because he cannot hold his ground any longer. He accepts that he must change some way but he wants to try and survive for as long as possible. His strategy is a strategy of survival.

Our strategy is to destroy apartheid in the shortest possible time. This system cannot be reshaped, let alone "improved". We must raze it to the ground and replace it with a unitary, democratic and non-racial South Africa. These are basic issues which are not negotiable. We have no illusions that our task is an easy one. The regime may be weakening but it still has a reserve of military, political and economic power. And before it goes down it will throw all this in. So the immediate future will see an escalation of conflict. Even so, we entertain no doubt whatever but that our cause will triumph.

The apartheid regime has survived for 37 years now. Born three years after the destruction of its Nazi progenitor, this regime was an historical anachronism from the very first day of its existence, a remnant of an epoch that was passing away. That it continues to exist to this day is a sign of the tenacity of the forces of imperialism and reaction which in the last four decades have sought to reverse the results of the Second World War and to stop the process of the democratic transformation of our planet.

In 1969, when the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands, Angola, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe still suffered under the yoke of Portuguese colonial domination, and when Zimbabwe³ was ruled by the white minority, the US government adopted the so-called National Security Study memorandum 39. Among other things, this official document said: "For the foreseeable future South Africa will be able to maintain internal stability and effectively counter insurgent activity... There is no hope for the blacks to gain the political rights they seek through violence..." The memorandum dismissed the liberation movements of Southern Africa as ineffectual and not "realistic or supportable" alternatives to continued colonial rule. It ruled out any possibility of victory by these movements.

Five years after the US government had reached these conclusions, Portuguese fascism collapsed, thanks to the heroic struggles waged by the peoples in the African Portuguese colonies and the democratic forces in Portugal itself. Mozambique and Angola attained independence in 1975. The racists felt that the initiative was slipping out of their hands. The component parties of the Patriotic Front won the elections in Zimbabwe in 1980. Pretoria's desperate efforts to keep the Smith regime in power had come to nothing. Equally, the last-ditch attempts to avoid complete defeat by sponsoring a puppet regime failed miserably.

Thus began for us a decade which our own people inside the country characterised as the Decade of Liberation. But in the early eighties, the most aggressive and reactionary forces of imperialism had gained or were gaining the upper hand in several countries of the West, including the United States. These forces began to resuscitate the cold war everywhere. They assumed an active posture against the progressive movement throughout the world.

In an interview he gave while still campaigning for the Presidency, Reagan asserted that the Soviet Union was achieving world domination and that the Communists were the 'menace to civilisation in the world today', adding that he therefore believed the United States had a "destiny". The ominous meaning of these words chilled the forces of progress throughout the world but they were like music in the ears of Pieter Botha.

They signified that when Reagan assumed the Presidency of the United States, the Pretoria regime would have a powerful ally in Washington.

Yet the apartheid regime, imposed on the majority of the South African population as a kind of colonial power, is criminal and illegitimate, and we want this to be recognised, with all its consequences. Declaring the regime illegitimate would justify action allowing the people of South Africa to have a legitimate government of their own choosing. We are making the point again that power in South Africa must be held by the people as a whole, not by a white minority, nor even by a black majority, but by a majority of the people of South Africa as a whole. Such a government would be legitimate, it would derive its mandate and authority from the people.

So it goes back to the question of the removal, the abolishing, the destruction of the apartheid regime, and hence of the isolation of that regime, by all the measures that constitute pressures upon it. The racist colonialist regime meets the legitimate desires of our people with increasing violence and exports that violence into the countries of Southern Africa. To continue to collaborate with the racists is to assist actively in and be equally responsible for the death and destruction they sow in our country and region. We accuse those Western countries and their transnational corporations which collaborate actively with the regime of complicity in the commission of the crime of apartheid. The time has come to cease all collaboration and set up all-round support for the struggle of the oppressed people in South Africa, who are led by their vanguard, the ANC.

There is the question of comprehensive sanctions against Pretoria. It is time for us to redouble our efforts and fight for this form of pressure because it could have very decisive effects on the apartheid system and largely complement our own struggle. Now is the time to put into operation the numerous resolutions of the United Nations which, inter alia, call for an arms and oil embargo against the Pretoria regime, the withdrawal of all foreign investments, the suspension of new investments for as long as apartheid exists in South Africa, and the severance of all diplomatic, economic and socio-cultural links with the apartheid regime and its institutions.

We are far from suggesting that sanctions will bring apartheid to its knees. They will only weaken it. This will minimise the loss of lives, shorten the duration of our struggle and lessen bloodshed.

For a long time now, we have heard that the African population and the African states of our region would be the first to suffer if sanctions were imposed on South Africa. Let us assume that this is true, as indeed it is. So what do we do — fold our arms? Are the Africans so afraid to suffer that they must continue to have this aggressive, dominating regime in their midst? No. This argument does not come from the oppressed because it is the oppressed who call consciously and reasonably for sanctions. In the latest opinion poll, the blacks have reaffirmed, by between 70 and 80 per cent, their full support for economic sanctions against South Africa.

It is the multinationals who are against sanctions. They are using the same argument as the slave-owners did, saying that the slaves would die if left to fend for themselves. The multinationals prefer the apartheid system because it brings them enormous profits. They fear that sanctions would bite into their profits. So they defend apartheid, claiming, however, that they do so in the interest of the oppressed.

We are involved in a life and death struggle and are prepared to suffer and to make sacrifices. Sanctions will not kill us. Sanctions will help us to kill the system that kills us.

Where people face bullets they should not fear that pressure on the apartheid system would lose them their jobs. Unemployment runs into millions as far as Africans are concerned. It is nothing new for us to be out of work. What is new is that white supporters of the regime are thrown out of work.

As a result of the disinvestment campaign and other forms of economic pressure, the

myth that economic sanctions will mainly hurt the starving black masses has been exploded for ever. The employers, in their bid to salvage their sinking enterprises, have decided to retrench the expensive white labour. It is therefore the white workers, too, who are feeling the pinch.

We express our deep appreciation for the magnificent efforts deployed by various anti-apartheid groups, particularly in the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Italy — the major allies of the South African regime — in pressurising their governments and the transnational corporations based in their countries to disengage from bolstering the apartheid economy and its military machinery. Even the Reagan administration, with its policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa, has been forced to make some tactical adjustments. Faced with a Congressional anti-apartheid Bill, the administration issued a Presidential decree imposing limited sanctions against South Africa, under a newly-worded "active engagement" policy.

The ANC wishes to place on record its deep appreciation of the resolute support it receives from the Frontline and other states of Southern Africa, as well as generally from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). Some member-countries are making sacrifices. They are doing so out of their own commitment as African states but also in pursuance of the decisions of the OAU. We think it is very important that African countries are offering themselves as a natural base to which we can look for support. In common with the non-aligned movement, they are campaigning vigorously for the total isolation of the apartheid regime. Despite the overwhelming developmental odds confronting the majority of these countries, most of them have stood firm against the pressures exerted by the powerful Western allies of Pretoria. We highly appreciate the support and material assistance we receive from the Western and especially the Nordic countries.

The socialist community countries have sided consistently with the movement against apartheid. They have shown themselves to be allies we can always rely upon, a secure rear base without which our struggle would be even more difficult and protracted. The forces of reaction are always busy trying to detach us from these countries, hoping that if they succeeded, they would weaken our positions and defeat us. As a movement, we need to be conscious of this all the time and protect our friendship and cooperation with the socialist community of nations very jealously.

For all its importance and necessity, international support is only a complement to our own struggle, as we have noted. There is no doubt that we are in a position to really make the present decade the Decade of Liberation. The enemy still has sufficient forces to fight back, yet its defeat has become inevitable. On the other hand, while we have more than adequate forces to gain victory, this outcome will only be assured if we move now to mobilise and use these forces.

The Second National Consultative Conference of the ANC (June 1985) was a veritable council-of-war that planned the seizure of power in South Africa by the oppressed masses, the penultimate convention that gave the order for us to take our country through the terrible but cleansing fires of revolutionary war to peace, democracy and the fulfilment of our people. We met under the theme "From the Venue of the Conference to Victory". Therefore the central tasks of our Conference were to assess the situation in the movement and agree on the measures we need to take in order to achieve victory over the apartheid regime. Our Conference agreed unanimously that the Botha regime is still determined to defend the apartheid system of white minority rule by force of arms. Accordingly, it agreed that there was no reason for us to change our broad strategy, which pursues the aim of seizure of power by the people through a combination of political action and armed struggle. However, the possibility of victory is greater now than at any other time in our history, and this requires that we should step up our all-round political and military offensive sharply

and without delay.

We cannot overemphasise the special importance of ensuring the unity of the ANC and the masses of our struggling people on the basis of the programme, strategy and tactics of our organisation. The national democratic revolution in South Africa has both class and national tasks which influence one another. This is natural given the nature of our society and the oppression existing in it, as well as our historical experience. One of the outstanding features of the ANC is that it has been able to encompass both these tendencies within its ranks, on the basis of the common acceptance of the Freedom Charter as a programme that encapsulates the aspirations of our people, however varied their ideological positions might otherwise be.

The forces of counter-revolution continuously seek to separate these tendencies both politically and organisationally, to set them at loggerheads, and thus to divide the national liberation movement. That is why the enemy always speculates about divisions between "Marxists" and "nationalists" within our ranks.

The ANC has survived countless storms and risen to eminence partly because of the sterling qualities of its membership, and partly because each member has regarded himself or herself as a guardian of that unity. Unity is the rock on which the African National Congress was founded; it is the principle which has guided us down the years as we feel our way forward. To lose sight of this basic principle is to betray those who paid the highest price so that the ANC should flourish and triumph.

The ANC has always encouraged the unity of our people. We have campaigned ceaselessly for united action. We have called on our people in the various organisational formations, in different political units, to fight on their own front, but also to address the common enemy, and to do so in unity with everybody else. That is why the ANC was pleased, to say the least, when the United Democratic Front was formed in South Africa. The UDF, that outstanding example of the political maturity of our people, is a product of the years that our country's forces of progress have spent, first, to mobilise the masses of our people into action and to organise them, second, to ensure that these masses adhere to a common political platform, and third, to give this political unity expression in organisational unity.

This unity must ensure the mass activity of all our people against the apartheid regime. Consequently, it is necessary to organise and mobilise all our people, in the towns and the countryside, including those in the Bantustans. The black workers are of special importance in this regard and are, as we have repeatedly said before, the backbone and leading force in our struggle for national liberation.

The key to our further advance is a strong organisation of revolutionaries without which it will be impossible to raise the struggle to greater heights in a planned and systematic fashion, to take full advantage of the uprisings of the oppressed, which merge into a mass offensive of our people. We have developed many cadres inside the country who understand ANC policy very well, are committed to our organisation and the cause of liberation and are in daily contact with our people. It is vital that these cadres should be properly grounded in ANC strategy in its entirety, so that they can in fact advance all our strategic tasks.

We must also move with all due speed to tackle the tasks posed by our perspective of people's war. We would like to mention, in particular, the question of mass revolutionary bases very seriously. As a result of the strength and tenacity of the people's offensive, many areas in our country are emerging, perhaps in a rudimentary way, as such bases. The people are engaged in active struggle as a conscious revolutionary force and accept the ANC as their vanguard. They are organised in mass democratic organisations. They have destroyed the enemy's local organs of government and mounted an armed offensive against the racist regime, using whatever weapons are available to them. We must step up our work in a determined and systematic manner because it is within these mass revolutionary bases that we will

succeed in rooting our army. It is the risen masses in these areas who have to be organised into larger formations of Umkhonto We Sizwe that have to replenish and swell the military ranks of the ANC.

However, the ANC does not reject a negotiated settlement in principle. No revolutionary movement can be against negotiations in principle. But we are convinced that the regime is not interested in a just solution of the problems of South Africa. Rather, it is interested to use the question of negotiations to divide our movement, to demobilise the masses of our people by holding out the false promise that we can win our liberation other than through its overthrow. In any case, we consider that no negotiations can take place or even be considered until all political prisoners are released.

We have been trying our best to keep in contact with these outstanding leaders of our people and activists of our movement. When the need arose, we have consulted them on important questions of our revolution. Their constant steadfastness and their calibre as leaders was demonstrated only recently when they turned down Botha's offer to release them on condition that they renounced violence. By its offer the regime has admitted that it is finding it difficult to withstand the internal and international pressure for the release of our comrades. We can take pride in the fact that, through consistent campaigning, we have utterly defeated all attempts by this regime and others before it to blot out the memory of these heroes of our people by keeping them behind bars for such a long time. We go on doing everything in our power to secure their release. Their release would give a powerful spur to the advance of the people of our country towards a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

The "Call to the People of South Africa" adopted by the National Consultative Conference of the ANC says: "Forward, our people in a single mighty current. The struggle is yet hard. There will be many more sacrifices. There is no easy road to freedom. But we are on the advance. The enemy is falling back. Let us turn his retreat into a rout, the rout into collapse, collapse into surrender."

The black giant is rising to his feet, tall and strong. He is breaking the chains that have bound him for centuries. He is marching on in confidence and with strength to a new social order. He is determined to liberate not only himself but also the whites, whose lives have been corrupted by the apartheid system.

¹ For details, see Alfred Nzo, "Manoeuvring Will Not Save the Racists", *WMR*, No. 12, 1984.

² This unprecedented step on the part of the South African businessmen can be better understood in the light of the economic crisis that has shaken South Africa. The unending violence in the country has frightened foreign investors into withdrawing their capital to greener pastures. In the first three months of 1985, as much money was pulled out of the country as in the whole of 1984. This resulted in a sharp fall of the South African rand—from 1.29 US dollars in 1980 down to 35 cents.

³ Then called Southern Rhodesia.—*Ed.*

When the Computer is no Longer a Friend

Emil Bjarnason — CC member,
CP Canada, Director Trade Union Research
Bureau (Canada)

The wide use of scientific achievements in the sphere of production, the emergence of altogether new industries and the consequent rapid growth in labour productivity all add up to what is known as the scientific and technical revolution (STR). In the United States and Canada, for example power production has been expanded 700-800 per cent since the Second World War. Simultaneously, there has been a vast increase in the manufacture of synthetic materials, fertilisers, food and feed additives, etc. But what is most important has been the intensive introduction of a wholly new type of technology based on electronics.

Advances in this field have made it possible to design and manufacture automatic production machinery and the computer. The latter has evolved from a clumsy and enormously costly device built out of thousands of electronic tubes, to smaller and cheaper ones based on transistors, and now to sophisticated, small, cheap computers built with silicon chips.¹ Today, these are the basic units from which are constructed radios, TV sets, computers and automatic devices of all kinds. The past few years have seen the introduction of robots capable of performing most or all of the functions of human operatives and doing so with greater speed and precision.

The STR contains within itself the two contrary possibilities that are inherent in all technical progress, and the ongoing changes can produce enormous benefits for mankind by eliminating hard labour, shortening hours and providing an abundance of goods and services, or they can add to human misery by creating unemployment and poverty.

The bourgeois economists argue that the labour-saving propensities of automation are not a cause for alarm, since the same devices which eliminate jobs in the goods-producing sector create new ones in the white-collar fields. Computers need operators, programmers and data processors, as well as the people who make the machines. But do capitalist production relations permit the full-employment alternative?

The capitalist always seeks to maximise his profit. In a perfectly competitive market, he could only do so by producing as much as possible at the market price over which he has no control. The introduction of new technology under such conditions which was available to all producers and which increased productivity substantially, as a rule led to increased output and to some reductions in the labour force. Monopoly control of the market by one or several producers makes it possible to keep prices high and economise more on labour inputs.

At the present stage of capitalist production, revolutionary changes in hardware and technology entail deeper and more painful consequences for employment. Jobs are being eliminated on a massive scale. The advance to efficient tools and production techniques enables pioneering firms to capture a larger share of the market and to raise the degree of its monopolisation. Thus, new hardware and technology help to concentrate production in the hands of the monopolies and lead to a sizeable reduction in the demand for labour power. Hence, the growth of structural unemployment.

To the bourgeois economist this problem does not exist. At least one major economist has argued that the term 'unemployment' should be changed to 'job search', since, in his opinion, 'jobs are always readily available'. Others will concede that there is a kind of 'frictional unemployment', representing the lag between being displaced from one job and finding another due to structural changes. However, the capitalist reality confirms the evidence that the faster the technological change, the more intractable the problem of unemployment.

At a meeting of the Central Committee of the CP Canada two years ago, it was pointed out that the government's orientation towards encouraging high-tech industries at the expense of the extractive sectors would not help to cope with the mass unemployment; high tech helps to develop the productive forces, but this is achieved at the price of disappearing jobs for literally millions of working people, both blue and white-collar workers. Thus, Canada is faced with the prospect of a growth of unemployment, rather than of its decline. The truth of this conclusion is clearly evident against the background of the long-term employment trend in our country.

At the lowest point of the Great Depression of the 1930s, 27 per cent of the non-agricultural workforce in Canada was unemployed. Never since then has the officially acknowledged rate of unemployment been so high, but the displacement of people from the workforce has been gathering speed. In the 1970s, unemployment has grown largely as a result of the use of STR achievements which make it possible to replace people with sophisticated automatic equipment.

Table 1

		Official Unemployment (per cent of labour force) ²	
Crisis		Recovery	
1950	4.4	1948	2.1
1954	4.8	1951	1.9
1958	6.9	1956	3.4
1971	6.2	1966	3.4
1978	8.4	1974	5.3
1982	12.2	1980	7.5

The trend shown in the table is unmistakable: the rate of unemployment grows, in good times and bad, but while that is even true of officially admitted unemployment, the concealed unemployment that does not find its way into the figures, grows faster. Indeed, the total unemployment has been estimated to run as high as 15-16 per cent of the total labour force, involving up to two million people.

The victims of the crisis and of the unemployment are now, of course, not in such a hopeless plight as they were in the 1930s. In the half century since then, Canada's population has increased by 134 per cent, and the consumer price index, by 724 per cent. Therefore, if we discount the increase by these percentages, it turns out that unemployment insurance and relief *payments per capita* in constant dollars were 850 per cent higher in 1983 than they were in the worst year of the 'dirty thirties', and pension and family allowances, similarly measured, 1,500 per cent as high. Such payments are, of course, a real benefit for the working people, won during the decades of struggle. Nevertheless, the fact that they have become necessary on such a scale is some sort of measure of the extent to which capitalism deprives people of the capacity to earn their own living.

The changes of production in the mode effected in the capitalist society by the STR are in accord with the laws of capitalist development discovered by Karl Marx, in particular the law of the falling tendency of the rate of profit and the concentration and centralisation of capital. In the century since the publication of *Capital*,³ the predictions based on the working out of these laws have proved to be amazingly accurate.

In Canada, there has been a definite cyclical movement of the rate of profit (corporation profits as a percentage of capital investments), with peaks in the years of 1955, 1965, 1968, 1974, and 1979, and troughs in 1960, 1967, 1970, 1977, and 1982 — a movement that coincided with the periods of recovery and crisis in the development of the economy. There was also clear evidence of a very definite long-term trend.

Table 2
Change in the Rate of Profit (per cent)

	Average nominal rate	Average real rate ⁴
1955-59	8.24	6.17
1960-64	7.14	5.56
1965-69	8.22	4.30
1970-74	9.19	1.69
1975-79	9.81	0.82
1980-84	7.35	-1.48

The nominal rate of profit, i.e., profit in current dollars as a percentage of the capital accumulated in the past when dollars were worth more, has remained within a fairly narrow range of 7.14 per cent and 9.81 per cent, with no significant trend. But when we look at the real rate of return (i.e., each year's nominal rate discounted for the year's rise in prices), we observe a steadily falling average rate, which, by the 1980s, and under the impact of the economic crisis of the mid-1970s and early 1980s, has actually become negative. Such a trend should not be taken to mean that the falling rate of profit has finally fallen to zero to herald the end of capitalism. There have been long periods in the past when profits trended downwards and rose again under circumstances more favourable to capitalism. What it does, however, is confirm Marx's analysis, namely, that new technology demands massive amounts of new investment, the profit on which is curbed by the market consequences of that same technology, namely, a narrowing of the market due to reduced employment and purchasing power.

The movement of the average rate of profit must be seen in the context of the related processes of the concentration and centralisation of capital. The point is that the average rate of profit is derived from the performance of all firms and corporations, and is largely affected by the distress of the mass of smaller and medium producers, while the monopolies are shielded by their monopoly position and suffer much smaller losses, or even none at all.

The concentration and centralisation of capital is a process that has continued to run in the Canadian economy as smaller producers go to the wall and bigger ones gain in strength. From 1977 to 1983, the share of corporations with over \$10 million in assets in total corporate sales rose from 57 per cent to 63.4 per cent. Although the tendency to declining profits affects both large and small companies, the former are to a considerable extent shielded by their monopolies position. In times of crisis especially, the low profits or losses of the smaller firms tend to drive them out of business and hasten the concentration of capital in the hands of the larger ones.

High tech does nothing to modify this process, although it does spawn new businesses, including small ones. Although electronics appears at first to provide boundless new opportunities for these innovative new ventures, the end result is further monopolisation in the new industries as well, in accordance with the laws of the capitalist economy. The electronics industry provides something of a classical example of one-monopoly domination. In 1983 there were 150 firms operating in the industry, with total earnings of \$6.1 billion. One corporation, IBM Canada, the leading producer of computers and the third high-tech producer in size, took \$2.16 billion, or 35.4 per cent of all the earnings, which meant more than the total for the next 15 corporations. In other high-tech industries — chemicals and aerospace — 12 and 7 leading corporations, respectively, concentrated a large part of the product and the labour force.

In real terms, technological advance, and the application of science to production, increase productivity and reduce costs. Prices should, therefore, fall. Instead, they rise more or less relentlessly. Apologists for capitalism put the blame for inflation on the trade union wages and government welfare spending.

The fact is that neither the competitor nor the monopolist adjusts prices and wages automatically to reflect the changed conditions that arise from automation. Collective bargaining sets the wage rate for a period of time, usually a year or more. In that period, prices tend to rise as a result of inflation towards the mid-term of the labour contract, while wages remain unchanged. This produces additional profits for the capitalist, at least until the conclusion of the next labour contract. If during the period when the wage is fixed by the contract, he has been able to introduce new technology, his profit will have increased still more. Thus, the monopolist has an interest in continuing inflation and also in restraining the income of his employees.

The concentration and centralisation of capital is a process that has led to the emergence of giant transnational corporations (TNCs). Their international scope provides them with opportunities to frustrate government controls and to intensify the exploitation of labour. If costs, or taxes, safety, environmental protection or labour laws in a given country do not suit them, they are quick to transfer their production operations to subsidiaries elsewhere, so stepping up the exploitation of labour.

Canadian and US workers have become increasingly familiar with the phenomenon of runaway plants. At first, employers would transfer production to areas within the country where trade unionism is weak and wages low. Latterly, plants have been transferred to other, less developed countries, where wage rates are a tenth or less of those in the home country, and where safety and labour regulations are almost non-existent. After trade unions have had a taste of such treatment, employers begin to use the threat of runaway as a means of cutting wages.

In the United States and Canada, the capitalists have been using a device called two-tier bargaining to bring down wages and divide the working class. Under the threat of transferring production to other countries, the employer will persuade the union that wages must come down, but to make the settlement acceptable to the members who must ratify it, the lower wage rates are made to apply only to new employees, while the existing workforce retains its previous wage. In some instances, the old employees are paid three times as much per hour as the newly-hired. Quite apart from the cost savings, the employers undoubtedly see this as a means of dividing and weakening the unions.

With the coming of the silicon chip and its associated microelectronic technology, all of this becomes much easier for the employer. The small size and weight of the component make it economical to ship across thousands of miles for fabrication in one country and assembly in another. Thus, the TNCs not only save money by employing labour in the country where it is cheapest (South Korea, Singapore, etc.), but, just as importantly, wrest concessions from workers in their own country by using the threat of export of jobs as a weapon.

The famed Silicon Valley in California (United States), is a notorious example. There, key experts earn high salaries, while tens of thousands of production workers are grievously exploited. A recent book says that a majority of the workers are women almost totally non-unionised. Wages are as a rule kept either at or just above the legal minimum. 'The production worker is surrounded by materials which will irritate the skin, cause rashes, dizziness, nausea and when inspecting the wafers under a microscope, severe eye strain.'⁵

The picture is even grimmer at the subsidiaries of US TNCs in Asia. Wages at new plants in Indonesia and the Philippines come to less than a dollar a day. A full working life for these women tends only to be about four years, because over this time their eyesight will be ruined by looking through a microscope all day, wiring the edges of the chips to the pins. Once their eyesight deteriorates to the point where they fail one of the regular checkups, these women who have been dragged out of their rural society to work for US bosses serve them in another role by joining the growing population of prostitutes which is a constant feature of all Southeast Asian capitalist cities.

The involvement of women in production in consequence of scientific and technical progress is two-fold. While lessening hard labour, microelectronics increases the availability of jobs for women. At the same time, the insecurity of employment, and increasing rates of unemployment, together with the effect of technology in depressing wages, makes it more and more necessary for married women to take paid jobs to maintain family income. Thus, the number of women as a percentage of the Canadian labour force has risen from 22.7 per cent in 1946 to 41.7 per cent in 1983. Women have been traditionally paid less than men. Notwithstanding equal pay laws, the situation is still the same.

Economically, the STR brings about an increase in labour productivity comparable to what was accomplished by the industrial revolution of the 19th century. This holds the potential for a radical improvement of living standards all over the world, but by the same token it can potentially produce under capitalism unemployment and misery on a huge scale. Socially, the monopolies seek to use it to undermine the trade unions, depress wages, worsen working conditions, and effect a further redistribution of the social product in favour of the capitalist class.

The monopolies expect the STR to provide an opportunity to reverse the fall in the rate of profit. Marx pointed out that the cheapening of the elements of capital is one of the factors operating against the falling rate of profit. Ten years ago, for instance, a computer set with a disc capacity of 5 million bytes⁶ cost about \$75,000; today sets with 20-50 times that capacity can be bought for half as much. Hence the active penetration of microelectronics into industrial and office processes at relatively low capital cost, and, drastic reduction of the workforce and consequently of labour costs.

The reduction in the cost of electronic equipment is, in part, the result of fierce competition among a multitude of firms striving to profit by the new technology. At the moment, buyers of micro-computers can choose among the products of many companies. The process of concentration is, however, already in evidence even here: a number of computer companies have declared bankruptcy several have withdrawn from the micro-computer field, a few dozen more are trying to survive on what they can capture out of ten per cent of the market, while four leading firms share the other 90 per cent.

The transition from competition to monopoly will mean superprofits in the high-tech sector for big capital. More importantly, the economies in labour-power in consequence of the STR are likely, for some time, to help the monopolies to cut costs and once again raise the average rate of profit. Simultaneously, however, its employment effects in production, notably its impact on employment, tend to erode the population's purchasing power and must also give rise to a new upsurge in the class struggle.

There is a growing conviction within the working class movement in our country that STR achievements must benefit the working people, instead of serving the capitalist drive for profits. This means that the installation of new hardware and technology should lead to shorter working hours with no cut in wages, and broader opportunities for occupational training and retraining. The working people must have the full right to take part through their unions in deciding matters in restructuring production, applying new hardware and technology, closing down or transferring enterprises, and the hiring and firing of manpower. Such demands have already been made by some of the major Canadian trade unions. That is, of course, only a partial answer to the problems arising under the impact of the STR on production. The important thing is that such demands help the masses to become aware of the common class interests of the various strata of the working people and create a basis for their joint action, as raising the struggle between labour and capital to a new level in line with the STR-induced changes in the productive forces.

¹ A chip is a device about the size of a finger-nail capable of retaining a large volume of information and used for storing and processing it.—Ed.

² *Statistics Canada, Canadian Statistical Review* for the respective years.

³ Volume One of *Capital* was published in 1867.—Ed.

⁴ Calculated from *Statistics Canada, National Income and Expenditure Accounts* for the respective years.

⁵ *Microelectronics, Capitalist Technology and the Working Class*, London, 1982, p. 16.

⁶ Byte—a unit used to measure the volume of information.

Promote the Dialogue to Build Up Trust

Lasse Budtz — Chairman, Security and
Foreign Policy Commission, Social Democratic
Party of Denmark, MP

The following interview with Lasse Budtz, a Danish Social Democratic leader, continues the journal's series dealing with the views and positions of major Socialist, Social Democratic, and Labour parties on current problems, primarily those of the movement for peace and disarmament as well as the dialogue and cooperation between countries with different socio-political systems.¹

What place does the programme of work adopted by the 1984 Congress of the SDPD assign to the issue of international and national security?

The programme, which is called 'For New Progress', reflects international developments over the previous period and the overall state of affairs in regard to security. The new wording should be seen as a reaction in particular against the totally unacceptable rearmament which has taken place, and against the lack of results in the arms reduction discussion.

In 1979 the SDPD was in power as a minority government. Then as now, we found that there is no alternative to our membership of NATO, but also then as now, it was our opinion that NATO can also be used for detente and disarmament initiatives. We worked to have the double track decision postponed for six months, in the hope that there would be a new move on the part of the East. However, we could obtain no support for a postponement from the other NATO countries, and we therefore accepted the double track decision but stressed the section concerning talks.

Today we all know that the talks brought no results, and that the Western deployment of intermediate-range missiles commenced as a reply to the deployment of the Soviet SS-20 missiles. It was our opinion then that neither the Western nor the Eastern missiles were a military necessity, as the targets at which all these missiles were aimed were already covered by other nuclear weapons. It was and still is our opinion that rather than increasing our security, this continued rearmament created a greater degree of insecurity and also aggravated the international climate.

In the programme we establish the point that the efforts for peace, disarmament and detente must be infused with renewed strength, and that to succeed one has to observe the principle of common security as underlined by the Palme Commission² among others. We must seek trust through cooperation and we must avoid

confrontation. We therefore want a strengthening of the UN, and we say that the North-South dialogue and the contacts between East and West must be intensified so as to create a basis for trust and prevent increasing tension. The programme emphasises the importance of economic and trade cooperation as part of the detente policy, and expresses support for the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures. It sets a number of specific objectives which were previously outlined in a parliamentary resolution adopted by the majority, excluding the Conservative government which succeeded the Social Democratic minority cabinet in the autumn of 1982. These objectives are:

- a freeze on the arsenals of nuclear weapons, and their subsequent reduction;
- a resumption of the talks about intermediate-range missiles on both sides, with the complete removal of these missiles, including the British and French nuclear weapons, as the ultimate aim;
- a cessation of the deployment of intermediate-range missiles;
- an intensification of the talks about conventional weapons;
- an international ban on nuclear tests, on the production, storing and use of chemical and biological weapons, and on the deployment of weapons in space;
- an agreement between the military alliances on non-first-use of nuclear weapons;
- a limitation on international trade in arms;
- the implementation of confidence-building measures.

In the programme, we point out the importance of the Western peace movements, adding that we find it equally important for the populations in the Eastern European countries to be able to take part in the efforts for peace and disarmament.

We state the idea that defence within the framework of NATO must be of a defensive nature. In accordance with its double objective, this alliance should be used to work for further detente.

We are opposed to an extension of NATO's tasks and fields of responsibility, and we still neither can nor will regard NATO as an end in itself. The perspective of the detente policy must be a world in which the two military blocs render themselves redundant.

The SDPD will work actively for Denmark's remaining nuclear-free in times of peace, crisis or even war, and for the establishment of nuclear-free zones consolidated by treaties, as part of the efforts to restrict nuclear weapons in a wider European context. This applies primarily to the proposal about the Nordic region as well as the proposal of the Palme Commission about Central Europe and the proposals concerning the Balkan region.

In our view, rearmament locks the economic and political structures in both East and West, and taxes resources which could have been used for support to developing countries.

Finally, in the chapter of the programme which deals with security policy, we point out that the SDPD together with other sections of the labour movement and the Socialist International will aim at spelling out the above factors to public opinion and work for the coordination of intensifying efforts for peace and democratic socialism.³

As in many other countries, a powerful anti-war movement has recently emerged in Denmark. How far are the aspirations and demands of hundreds of thousands of Danish people reflected in the foreign policy stand of the SDPD? In this connection, please describe the role the SDPD group plays in the Folketing which, under pressure from the 'anti-missile majority', has adopted a number of important resolutions on topical international issues.

I think it is fair to say that we have by now reached the point where there is relatively

broad agreement between the attitudes of the peace movements and the SDPD. There are exceptions, of course. Factions in the peace movements want Denmark to resign membership of NATO immediately and declare itself neutral, to disarm or to reduce armaments. Our party is against such a unilateral step. Firstly, we think that a Danish defence is valuable only if it is a link in a chain; and it is well worth remembering that a majority of the population—almost 60 per cent—is in favour of our membership of NATO. This figure is relatively constant. In the Folketing, too, there is a majority in favour of our membership.

A unilateral Danish resignation would, we believe, harm rather than benefit detente by creating a vacuum which the superpowers could be expected to try to exploit. At this point, we probably should not tamper with the so-called Nordic balance, which has made the North a region of stability. Another thing is that if we could one day reach a situation where the military alliances were simultaneously abolished in favour of a common European security system, this would meet with the sympathy and support of the SDPD. However, for reasons of international politics, we are unfortunately a far cry from such a situation.

There are also factions in the peace movements wanting Denmark to declare itself nuclear-free in any circumstances, irrespective of whether other Nordic countries are prepared to do the same. This, too, we are opposed to, first and foremost because we consider it more realistic to make the North nuclear-free as part of Nordic cooperation. This would produce greater effects, extend the nuclear-free region, and create far better chances of taking neighbouring areas.

We should like to see the Baltic as part of a nuclear-free zone, and the Soviet Union has in fact declared that it is ready to negotiate the inclusion of the Baltic. In addition, the Soviet Union has declared that it is prepared to negotiate a thinning out of nuclear weapons in the Soviet areas bordering the zone, and also to guarantee the zone once the Nordic countries agree. A unilateral decision by Denmark would hardly serve this purpose. It must be added that the Nordic region is already nuclear weapons free, but it would benefit the international climate if we declared that we would accept no nuclear weapons on our soil even in times of war.

These attitudes are reflected in a series of resolutions adopted by the Folketing. All those resolutions—13 in all, the last two rejecting Star Wars and Denmark's participation in SDI programmes—were written or formulated by the SDPD and gained a majority. The majority was made up of the SDPD, the Radical Liberals, the Socialist People's Party, and the Left-wing Socialists. The government has been compelled to live with these resolutions, even though it has either voted against them or has abstained.

Perhaps it should be added that the more stringent attitude of which the anti-war policy of the SDPD is an expression is not a result of pressure from the peace movements but of a parallel development in the SDPD. Our parliamentary group has been in agreement nearly all the time, and our policy has been unanimously supported by the Executive Committee and the 1984 Congress. The fact that among the population there is also a majority for this policy has been shown by an opinion poll. But at the same time there is a solid majority among the population for continued Danish membership of NATO. However, there is a wish for NATO to contribute to the efforts for disarmament and detente.

How real, in your opinion, are the prospects for establishing a nuclear-free zone in the North of Europe? What is hampering progress towards that goal? What is the SDPD attitude to other initiatives aimed at freeing Europe from nuclear weapons?

We consider the efforts for the establishment of a Nordic nuclear-free zone one of the

most important initiatives for disarmament and detente. This is stated quite clearly in our new programme of work, as well as in some of the resolutions which we have passed through the Folketing and which say that the government is to work actively for the establishment of such a zone.

It is paramount, however, for the Nordic countries to agree, and therefore the results of the general elections held in Norway and Sweden in September are of great importance. There will probably be a majority in the Swedish parliament for a Nordic zone, just as there is already a majority in the Finnish parliament and in the Danish Folketing. In the Norwegian parliament there has so far been a majority of only one vote *against* a zone.

To publicise the zonal plan more widely, the SDPD arranged a conference in November in Copenhagen. All political parties in the Nordic region were invited to participate, which made it a highly representative forum. The attitude to the conference was very positive regardless of the political background of the individual parties.

Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and Greenland have all in their parliaments adopted resolutions supporting the establishment of a Nordic nuclear-free zone. The Icelandic resolution has a somewhat different wording from those of the other Nordic countries. It attaches great importance to the zone being established in a wider European context and in connection with many other initiatives for detente. Thus the positions differ somewhat, but the differences are not so great as to be insurmountable when actual discussions start.

We hope that the delegations of the various countries which attended the conference in Copenhagen will gradually ensure that their respective parliaments adopt resolutions by which the governments of these countries are called upon to start jointly work on elaborating a draft treaty. Not until the Nordic countries have agreed on such a draft can an initiative for talks with the two great powers, the neighbouring countries, and the military alliances be taken. For our part, we can exchange views with NATO, as we have for many years participated by our own choice in the security-political work of this defence treaty.

It is unlikely for NATO to take up from the first a positive attitude to the plan, which, if carried out, would mean that the Nordic members of NATO, i.e., Iceland, Norway, and Denmark, and thus, indirectly, also Greenland and the Faroe Islands, would automatically be withdrawn from NATO's nuclear weapons strategy built on the principle of flexible response. After numerous discussions with the present US government, we know that the USA is against the establishment of a nuclear-free zone. This, however, will not prevent the sovereign states of the North, which have by the terms of a treaty⁴ secured the right to frame their own foreign and security policy—a right guaranteed constitutionally as well—from continuing to work on their plan, with the individual parliaments making the ultimate decision.

Naturally, we have great sympathy for other plans for the establishment of nuclear-free zones. It is gratifying to note that there is one already in Latin America, even though a Nordic zone would, in view of the character of NATO, be somewhat different.

We all know of the plans of the Balkan states to establish a nuclear-free zone in their region. Not surprisingly, their realisation is delayed as a consequence of the attitude of the Turkish government, which, in our opinion, is not based on democratic principles.

During the last few years, plans have emerged for making the Iberian Peninsula with Portugal and Spain nuclear-free, which we welcome. Australia and New Zealand entertain similar plans.⁵ There are efforts on the same lines in Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia.

Thus the North is by no means alone in seeking the establishment of a zone. Nor

should one overlook the plan of the Palme Commission for a corridor across Europe which is at least free from tactical nuclear weapons. The appearance of one zone may well be expected to lead off the establishment of others.

Could you describe the Danish Social Democrats' position vis-a-vis the plans of the Reagan administration to begin the 'military exploitation' of outer space? In this connection, what do you think about the proposals and unilateral steps of the USSR aimed at preventing the militarisation of space?

The SDPD is against any militarisation of space because we feel that such a development would lead to an unrestricted arms race in other areas as well. We are against the American SDI programme, called the Star Wars programme, but we are also opposed to the Soviet wish to place weapons in outer space.

As mentioned earlier in this interview, we have carried through two resolutions in the Danish Folketing which quite clearly turn against space weapons and Danish participation in their development. The resolution of May 14, 1985, says that Denmark is against the deployment of weapons in space and also against research and development of space weapons. It points out that Denmark favours the preservation and observance of the ABM treaty and calls for a new treaty between East and West which will prevent the militarisation of space. Finally, it appeals to the government to actively support these views in NATO as well as in all other relevant international organisations.

We think that the Star Wars projects may not only aggravate the international climate but also lead to a blocking of the Geneva talks. As will be known, three sets of problems are being negotiated there: European intermediate-range missiles, long-range missiles and other strategic nuclear weapons, and lastly, space weapons. Logically, development in one 'basket' will influence development in the other two. And if the unrestricted development of Star Wars weapons continues this may very easily lead to a renewal of strategic arsenals and a modernisation of intermediate and short-range missiles, that is, may have unhappy, dangerous and unnecessary consequences.

The Soviet moratorium on SS-20, SS-4 and SS-5 missiles, as well as on the shorter-range missiles placed in Czechoslovakia and the GDR, is a positive step, and our party would like the West to respond by an equally positive step. But we are extremely worried about the fact that the USA will not enter negotiations on SDI. This may result in a breakdown of the ongoing talks, with a subsequent unrestricted arms race in new areas. We think that it must be possible to arrive at an agreement in all three areas, first on a stop in the development of weapons and then on their reduction. In this connection, an enormous responsibility rests with the great powers.

Could you offer a brief outline of the SDPD approach to the socio-economic development problems of the Third World countries and to their demand for a new international economic order?

The SDPD has continually supported efforts for the creation of a new economic order in the world, for we find the relevant demand of developing countries both reasonable and just. Obviously, Denmark's influence is limited in this respect but this will not prevent us from cooperating with other countries and parties to achieve this objective. It is evident that if an international agreement were arrived at which led to just some of the military expenses being saved and used instead to benefit developing countries, the international climate would improve. Fortunately, Denmark has always pursued an active policy in the Third World, and together with Norway, Sweden, and Holland we have for a long time aided developing countries as

recommended by the UN. We are worried that so many other industrialised countries have not been doing as much.

We are also worried at the steadily increasing military expenses of developing countries, as statistics indicate. Excessive military spending complicates the international situation and prejudices the developing countries themselves. These countries would certainly benefit if the major world powers reached agreement on a joint reduction of their military budgets.

¹ See Olof Palme, 'Step by Step Towards Disarmament', *WMR*, No. 5, 1981; Carlos Andres Perez, 'One World, Common Responsibility', *ibid.*, No. 3, 1982; Kalevi Sorsa, 'Do Everything Possible for Disarmament and Peaceful Development', *ibid.*, No. 12, 1983; Luis Prieto Figueroa, 'Our Common Cause', *ibid.*, No. 5, 1984; Egon Bahr, 'Partnership Instead of Confrontation', *ibid.*, No. 7, 1984; Tony Benn, 'In Search of an Alternative for Britain', *ibid.*, No. 3, 1985.

² International commission for disarmament and world security set up in the autumn of 1980 as an independent body. It comprises noted politicians and other public figures of countries with different social systems.—*Ed.*

³ 'Democratic socialism' is the official doctrine of the contemporary social democratic movement proclaimed by the Frankfurt Congress of the Socialist International (1951).—*Ed.*

⁴ The reference is to the 1949 treaty establishing NATO.—*Ed.*

⁵ In August 1985, they both signed, along with other South Pacific countries, a treaty establishing a nuclear-free zone in the region.—*Ed.*

A Comment

WHAT PRICE 'FREEDOM FIGHTERS'?

'SOMETHING is always happening in Dallas,' *Paris Match* of France commented recently, obviously hinting at the ill fame of this American city as a centre of crime. One would be hard put to decide whether Dallas owes this reputation to that fateful day in November 1963 when the President of the 'freest country of the free world' was 'freely' killed there or to the 'Dallas' television serial which has been exciting the imagination of US and West European TV viewers for many months now. Be that as it may, Dallas has yet again confirmed—in September 1985—its status as a favourable playground of pseudo heroes from the underworld.

This time the occasion was an annual conference of the so-called World Anti-Communist League. The unmistakable odour of the gangland, exuded by the riffraff that gathered in Dallas from all over the world, did not at all bother the local police. Filling the conference hall were representatives of 90 subversive organisations waging undeclared war against progressive regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America—expert terrorists specialising in blowing up bridges, firebombing schools and hospitals, mining roads and poisoning wells.

Having listened to a message of greetings from the White House, the participants got down to an in-depth analysis of the experience accumulated by 'anti-government movements'. For four days, paeans to counter-revolutionaries of every stripe—from pro-South African UNITA to the remnants of Somoza's death squads—were sung in a fashionable Dallas hotel. The conference ended with a banquet at which a 'world-wide fund-raising drive to support the resistance movement' was announced.

The reason behind the publicity accorded to this campaign is apparent enough: the White House and the CIA would like to create the impression that the gangs of

saboteurs fighting against the governments of Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua, Kampuchea, Mozambique and other countries have an 'international' support. The aim is to create the impression that they enjoy 'international' support. However, General John Singlaub, chairman of the League, bragged openly that the WACL had the backing of US authorities. Invited to the conference as guests of honour were major figures representing US monopoly interests—those who spare no expense to block progressive, revolutionary change wherever it may occur. In other words, the Dallas conference spotlighted yet again the bonds of cynical alliance linking open terrorists who 'defend democracy' by any means (including physical elimination of its more prominent 'enemies') with figures of respectable appearance representing the interests that sustain anti-communism, goad its hirelings and pay for everything—for conferences in expensive hotels and for the contras' weapons.

Here one might recall that shortly before the Dallas conference, the same political (and financial) platform was used by the 'gusanos' who gathered in the capital of Venezuela to hold their congress at which they discussed their subversive plans aimed against the Cuban people. When last summer the leading 'gusanos' crossed the Atlantic to set up together with their partners in counter-revolutionary terrorism, a 'democratic international' in an area held by UNITA, an Angolan anti-government group, they did not pay the air fare themselves. Expensive assemblies of similar 'freedom fighters' were held in Europe too, including conferences organised in Paris and Lisbon by the so-called International Council for Security, an agency operating under the aegis of the South Korean obscurantist preacher Sun Myung Moon. This latter-day apostle of the 'Unification Church' has founded Causa, an international sect that describes itself as 'a non-political society of an educational and social nature offering new prospects for democracy and a challenge to Marxism-Leninism'. Ironically, until recently the leader of this 'educational' organisation directed the activities of thousands of his agents from jail: after a string of conflicts with Internal Revenue, he had finally landed in prison.

Besides, no matter how hard US authorities try to pass off terrorist gatherings as an 'international resistance movement', every day brings additional proof that all this rabble is, as always, fed and supported mostly by the CIA, in accordance with a notorious official doctrine stipulating that it is incumbent on the United States to render support to any anti-communist revolution 'on every continent, from Afghanistan to Nicaragua'. The *International Herald Tribune* assures its readers that this 'doctrine costs little: less than 50 million dollars a year'.¹ But the scope of US spending is obviously understated. In actual fact, the US government has used up over 100 million dollars to support the anti-Sandinist gangs alone. Almost 250 million dollars are earmarked to finance approved programmes of assistance to the Afghan counter-revolutionaries, to say nothing of the vast sums the CIA covertly channels into terrorist activities in different regions.

Those who flock to the sinister banners of anti-communism in Dallas, Paris and Lisbon do not even remotely resemble 'militant idealists'. These mobs of hired saboteurs, spies and assassins are the embodiment of the policy of international crime and state terrorism, pursued by the extremely reactionary imperialist quarters which grudge no money and stop at nothing to attain their goals.

No matter how loud the lip service to freedom at the assemblies of these leagues, councils and internationals, it cannot drown out the rustling of greenbacks in the background.

Serge Dim

¹ *International Herald Tribune*, July 23, 1985.

surveys, information and mail

The Socialist Way of Life Rights and Dignity of the Individual Protected Dependably

In ending this series of surveys highlighting the socialist way of life* we publish the following contribution from Doctor of Law *Yelena Lukasheva* (Institute of State and Law, USSR Academy of Sciences).

THE bourgeois mass media are peddling all sorts of inventions claiming that 'rights are denied to the individual in a socialist society. Permit me to comment.

A general reply is that nothing is farther from the facts. I should like to make the point that precisely the human being has always been in the focus of Marxism-Leninism. The founders of Marxism saw the objective of the revolutionary struggle for social emancipation, justice, and progress in providing every member of society with the opportunity to 'freely develop his human nature'.¹ The practice of existing socialism has compellingly demonstrated the viability and strength of Marxist-Leninist humanism, which proclaimed the human being as the highest value. The idea of human dignity is linked precisely to this perception of the human being—social and individual. Respect for the dignity and rights of the individual is an immutable principle of socialist democracy, of socialist self-administration.

This humanist principle does not imply that the attitude to the individual, to his nature, is passive. Not only society is reshaped in the course of socialist and communist construction. A vital component of this reshaping is the change in people's way of thinking and morals, in other words, the formation of the new citizen building his life on the basis of essential moral values—kindness, honour, conscience, dignity, justice, civic duty, and social responsibility.

A fundamentally different situation prevails in the society founded on private property and exploitation. The widely touted words 'sanctity and inviolability of human rights' used by bourgeois ideologues cannot conceal the fact that millions of people are denied the elementary right to work, a dignified life, and participation in the affairs of state. The abolition of private property in the means of production, the establishment of power by the people, and the enlistment of the working people themselves into decision-making raise respect for the rights and dignity of the individual to the level of the highest political and moral value. Such is the situation in the socialist world, where political, judicial, and moral barriers are erected and reinforced against any kind of impingement upon human rights.

* See *WMR*, Nos. 8, 9, 10, 12, 1985.

As well as its moral aspect respect for the individual's rights and dignity has more tangible, so to say, elements.

Between the individual and the socialist state there are political and judicial relations. And these relations have to be based on mutual responsibility. Consequently, both the individual and the state have not only rights but also duties. 'There are no rights without duties, and no duties without rights—this is an immutable political principle of socialist society,' states the draft new edition of the CPSU Programme.² The rights of the individual are ensured by the work of the socialist state, its agencies, and officials. For their part, too, citizens themselves see to the implementation of their rights.

Underlying these relations is the organic coupling of the interests of the state, society, and the individual. Bourgeois propagandists constantly misconstrue them, charging the socialist states with ignoring the individual's interests, restricting his rights, focusing on his duties, and so forth. In fact, under socialism the state has the paramount role to play in protecting the individual's rights and dignity. It would be in order to identify several ways in which this role is manifested.

Let us begin with the fact that the socialist state legislatively defines the individual's legal status, i.e., his rights (to work, education, rest and leisure, housing, to express his opinion freely, to unite in public organisations, to participate in affairs of state and society, and so on) and duties. By judicially endorsing rights and duties, the state undertakes the commitment to guarantee them by judicial, economic, political, ideological, and organisational means.

Further, in its work the state under the new political system is guided by the constitutional principle of socialist legality, one of whose main purposes is to protect the rights and freedoms of citizens. This principle is enshrined in the constitutions of the USSR, Bulgaria, Vietnam, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other socialist countries.

Socialist legality presupposes strict and steadfast compliance with laws and other judicial acts by all agencies, officials, public organisations, and citizens without exception. It is linked indivisibly to socialist democracy, in the focus of which is the individual with his rights, interests, and freedoms. For that reason by protecting the individual's rights and freedoms socialist legality ensures the further development of democracy, enriches its content, and creates the conditions for ever broader self-administration by the people.

Lastly, the high demand made by socialist states of the judicial culture of officials is of vital significance. Such culture is more than a good knowledge of the law. It implies strict compliance with the law. Its promotion and a resolute weeding out of bureaucracy, of red tape help to reinforce socialist legality and enhance respect for the individual's rights and freedoms.

In addition, the state makes definite requirements of the behaviour of citizens, formulates judicial duties, and establishes the measure of responsibility for violations of these requirements. The exercise by the individual of his rights and freedoms should not be prejudicial to the interests of society and the state, to the rights of other individuals. This is spelled out in provisions in the constitutions of Bulgaria, Hungary, Cuba, and USSR and in operating legislation in other socialist countries.

Precisely this is the starting-point of bourgeois propaganda's rhetoric about the 'suppression' of freedoms in a socialist society. Let us take a closer look at unfounded assertions of this kind.

The fulfilment of civic duties and respect for the interests of society, the state, and fellow citizens are a vital condition for normal human association. Had that not been the case, the talks about the rights and dignity of the individual would have been an empty sound.

An analogous approach is recorded in the relevant international documents. The

UN pact on civil and political rights, for example, allows for the possibility of restrictions in the exercise of rights in order to ensure: a) respect for the rights and freedoms of other persons; b) the interests of state security, social law and order, and the health and morality of the population (Articles 12, 19). Similar restrictions are envisaged in the International Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (Article 4) and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 29).

In socialist countries legislation is concerned not with restricting this or that freedom but with preventing abuse of freedoms. For instance, in the Soviet Union the law prohibits war propaganda, the spread of misanthropic ideas, the stirring up of hostility and hatred on grounds of nationality or religion, the spread of narcotics and pornography, and the running of gambling houses and brothels. How does one qualify this—as impingements upon the individual's rights and freedoms or the protection of the individual against destructive influences, the protection of his dignity and health?

Now for a few words about the possibilities of citizens to ensure respect for their rights and dignity. These possibilities are determined by, above all, the character of the socialist system, the entire system of social relations based on the principles of social justice, and by the corresponding socio-psychological climate in which any impingement upon the individual's rights and dignity is seen as unlawful and immoral.

Bourgeois democracy offers protection of the individual's rights and freedoms virtually through only the court of law (the innumerable instances of court harassment of peace fighters in Britain, the *Berufsverbot* in the FRG, the Peltier case in the USA, and so on are indicative of how the bourgeois custodians of the law understand their duties). In a socialist society the individual's rights are protected by in the entire political superstructure—the state apparatus, party organs, the trade unions, and other public organisations. A significant factor here is the constitutional rights of citizens to submit grievances, statements, and recommendations to bodies of authority of all levels. This right is one of the major guarantees of compliance with laws on the part of officials. It is recorded in the constitutions of all the socialist countries. Moreover, legislation establishes a specific time-limit for examining the substance of grievances and forbids sending them to those charged in these grievances.

The right to submit grievances, statements, and recommendations is profoundly democratic in terms of content. It places under the people's control the work of state and public organs and of officials, binding the latter to be attentive to the interests of citizens and respect their rights and dignity.

Let me emphasise that in a socialist society the attitude to letters, statements, and grievances is one of the key criteria in evaluating the work of the state apparatus. The ruling parties of socialist countries attach special significance to this sphere of its work, noting the need for a tactful and attentive attitude to letters and statements from citizens and doing everything to remove any remaining bureaucratic practices, red tape, and indifference and neglect towards the needs and interests of the working people. This, too, is a manifestation of respect for the rights and dignity of the individual.

Lastly, it goes without saying that there is the possibility of filing a complaint in a court against actions that transgress the law, against actions in which officials abuse their powers and impinge upon the rights of citizens.

Let us return to the question of the relationship between rights and duties. A favourite argument of anti-communist propaganda is that duties and the growth of their significance are the result of an extension of the 'totalitarian foundations' of the life of socialist societies.

Our ideological adversaries are not very scrupulous about the arguments they use.

It is hard to assume that they seriously regard the elementary duties of citizens as being something abnormal. But let us not concern ourselves with their propaganda kitchen. It is much more important to note the following objective phenomenon implicit in socialist countries. We are observing a process of growth of the individual's responsibility to society. This process springs from the growth of political consciousness, the consolidation of moral principles, and the active position that people take in life. It is thus a matter not of any extension of the alleged 'totalitarian foundations' but of the individual's mounting respect for his duties, of society's moral progress, which demonstrates the creative strength of citizens and the advantages of the socialist way of life. The individual's social responsibility is a direct component of social relations in which the rights, honour, and dignity of citizens are observed, respected, and guaranteed. Under these conditions the relationship between the rights and duties of citizens embodies social justice, the organic combination of the interests of society and the individual.

In this connection let us consider one of the main aspects of bourgeois propaganda: its allegations that human rights are violated under socialism. Special zeal is displayed here by Washington, which is trying to use these allegations as a pretext for interference in the internal affairs of socialist countries and appear before public opinion in the pose of a champion of human rights and a model of compliance with these rights. How do the claims to this role fit in with the socio-political realities of the USA and its behaviour under international law?

It is no accident that the ruling circles of the USA and their NATO allies have made the question of human rights practically the core of their ideological attacks on the USSR and other socialist countries. With their unbridled smear campaigns against socialism they are seeking to divert attention from the situation prevailing in their own backyard. But facts are stubborn things.

Is it not a fact that by whipping up the arms race it is the imperialist powers that are endangering on a global scale the human being's prime right, the right to life, without which everything else loses all significance? Is it not a fact that in the industrialised capitalist countries tens of millions of people are denied yet another basic right, the right to work? Are not racism and racial discrimination in the USA and some other 'citadels' of bourgeois democracy, Britain, for instance, a flagrant violation of human rights, freedoms and dignity? Or, what about the social discrimination against women rampant throughout the capitalist world? In the USA this discrimination is, on top of everything else, still legal: the amendment to the Constitution giving women equal rights with men was voted down in 1982 by the legislatures of the states and by the US Congress. Then, what about the flouting of the rights of trade unions, a model of which was the short work made by Washington of the American air controllers union? Also, what about the systematic secret surveillance? The police have files on practically the entire adult population of the USA. There have been 6,400,000 political screenings of persons working in government agencies during the past twelve years. The bugging of telephones and the opening of letters are widely practised by the secret services in Britain.

There is no end to facts of this kind. The stigmatising of other countries with the allegations that they deny human rights and the uncereceremonious flouting of civil rights in the capitalist world constitute the slanderous and hypercritical crux of the bourgeois propaganda campaign.

The congenital falsity of this campaign becomes even more evident when one looks at the USA's activity and stand in matters concerning international law. Suffice it to note that of the 19 treaty acts on human rights adopted within the framework of the United Nations Organisation, the USA has ratified only five. The obstructionist policy pursued by Washington and its closest allies dragged out, in particular, for almost two decades the drawing up of two international pacts—one on civil and

political human rights and the other on economic, social, and cultural human rights. Although these documents were adopted by the UN in 1966, they still remain to be ratified by the USA. In the same unjustifiable way the USA ignores the international conventions on the abolition of all forms of racial discrimination (1965), on the prevention of genocide (1948) and apartheid (1973) and on punishment for these crimes, on the abolition of discrimination in education (UNESCO, 1960), and some other international laws. Of the 160 conventions passed by the International Labour Organisation, the USA has ratified only seven, and none of these seven concern the human right to employment.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries, on the contrary, have ratified and comply with all acts in international law on the question of human rights, including the relevant (seventh) principle of the Helsinki Final Act, whose fulfilment by the socialist countries bourgeois propaganda is making a special effort to deny. In this context, one can state that in the Soviet Union all the ten principles of the Final Act have been given the highest legislative force—they have been incorporated in the Constitution of the USSR.

The pose of mentor taken by Washington and its allies relative to socialist countries obviously does not fit them. No inventions can refute the fact that socialism proclaims, ensures in practice, and constantly develops a sum of rights and freedoms of the individual that is inaccessible to capitalism, that it is only the new social system that actually protects the dignity of the human being.

This is the long-term guideline of socialist society's development. As the draft new edition of the CPSU Programme states, 'the ideas of freedom, human rights, and dignity of the individual are filled with real vital content'; 'the party will continue to facilitate . . . the creation of increasingly favourable conditions for and guarantees of their full realisation'.³

¹ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 263.

² *Pravda*, October 26, 1985.

³ *Ibid.*

THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL'S VIENNA APPEAL

A Survey of Conference Proceedings

THE Soviet-US summit meeting at Geneva was undoubtedly the major political event of last year's international life. It inaugurated a dialogue aimed to bring about changes for the better in relations between the USSR and the United States, created more favourable opportunities for improving the world situation, and filled the hearts of millions of people all over the world with fresh hope for a life without wars. Let us recall that well in advance the Soviet Union began to work to create a favourable climate for the negotiations, striving by the power of example, argument and common sense to effect a turn in the dangerous course of world developments. Here, the USSR's bold and concrete steps and the complex of constructive proposals it put forward had a key role to play.¹

Many countries of the world, authoritative statesmen and public leaders, political parties and anti-war movements strove in their own way to exert a positive influence on the foreign-policy atmosphere of the forthcoming Geneva negotiations. Efforts were made in this direction, for instance, by the top statesmen of the Delhi Six, a large group of Nobel Prize winners, numerous movements of women, young people and Second World War veterans, and men and women from various walks of life. Among the influential international organisations which were directly involved in seeking ways to influence the world situation on the eve of Geneva was the Socialist International, which held a special conference on disarmament in the capital of Austria on October 16 and 17, that is, a month before the Soviet-US summit.

The work of the international forum drew the attention of the peace public. And that is quite understandable. The world situation is now such that no government claiming to be responsible, no statesman or political party has the right to act as a bystander and to keep aloof from the efforts to tackle the most acute problems of our day. This is a period which calls for new efforts and concrete proposals and initiatives aimed to halt the slide towards nuclear war, to curb the arms race and to ensure lasting peace and reliable security.

Here a great deal depends on the Socialist International and its affiliated parties, many of which have substantial political weight in their countries, are in government or are the leading force of the opposition, in short exert a real influence on the shaping of policy and public opinion. The conference was to be a kind of barometer for the attitudes and intentions of the leaders of social democracy on the most burning international problems of our day.

The Vienna forum was in a sense a continuation of the line of the first meeting held by the social democratic parties on disarmament problems in Helsinki in April 1978, with the attendance of delegations from 20 countries. This time Social Democrats, Socialists and Labourites came together from almost 50 states on five continents. The range of matters dealt with at the conference was also markedly wider. In order to give greater content and depth to the discussion and to obtain an idea of the stand of states, movements and organisations with a leading role in world affairs, the sponsors of the Vienna conference invited representatives of the USSR and the United States, the United Nations, the non-aligned movement, China and some other states. All of this held promise of a serious and circumstantial exchange of opinion.

A sharpened sense of alarm for the state of affairs in the world was the distinctive feature of the atmosphere at the conference, and this was manifested above all in the reports delivered by two prominent leaders of the Socialist International: Willy Brandt, the leader of the West German Social Democratic Party, and Kalevi Sorsa, the leader of the Finnish Social Democratic Party. These largely determined the character and set the tone and lines of the whole discussion.

There is no doubt that mankind is at a critical moment of its history, representatives of the various parties agreed. The feverish accumulation of weapons of mass destruction threatens the survival of civilisation and life itself on the Earth. The world has come close to a point beyond which the arms race is about to escape the control, ruling out any possibility of limiting or reducing armaments in the future. A destabilising influence on the international situation, the Social Democrats believe, is also exerted by such global problems as mass starvation, drought, environmental pollution, and growing unemployment, with the resulting tensions in so many countries and regions of the world.

It is noteworthy that anxiety over the unbridled arms race and the general danger of a nuclear confrontation was voiced not only by the representatives of the social democratic parties of Europe, the continent where the risk of such a clash is especially high, but also by their colleagues from other countries of the world. Guillermo Ungo,

Chairman of the National Revolutionary Front of El Salvador, and Vice President of the Socialist International, says: "The development of any types of weapons is a like source of alarm for the peoples of the Third World, in particular, Latin America. In the event of a general nuclear conflict it would be difficult for our countries, being situated as they are so close to the United States, and to strategically important zones the Panama Canal, to escape the catastrophe." It was emphasised in Vienna once again that the struggle against the nuclear threat is the prime duty of all states and nations, big and small, with or without nuclear weapons.

The conference naturally gave special attention to the question which now agitates all the realistically minded forces of the globe: how to bring about a radical turn for the better in international relations? The social democratic leaders were unanimous in urging a new approach to politics based on a recognition that genuine 'security for all', as Sweden's Prime Minister and leader of its Social Democrats Olof Palme said, cannot be achieved by modernising military hardware and stockpiling even more armaments. It can be ensured only through partnership, in the process of international disarmament, with respect for the interests of each side. In this context, the Vienna Appeal adopted by the SI Bureau and approved at the conference says: 'It is not the quality of weapons, but the quality of politics, which must be improved. Disarmament, peaceful cooperation and detente are the only reasonable answer to the dangers facing mankind.'

That was possibly the first time that the parties affiliated with the Socialist International gave such definite support to the concept of 'partnership in joint security', a concept on which the West German Social Democrats² and the independent Olof Palme commission on disarmament have been working so hard in the recent period. We believe that this is a fact of fundamental importance, because not long ago most social democratic parties of NATO countries unconditionally supported the bloc's military doctrines. Now, the Social Democrats, while not questioning their countries' participation in NATO, take a sceptical view of its role in containing the arms race and believe that it is necessary to repudiate the urge for military superiority and to substitute the idea of East-West partnership in ensuring joint security for the idea of 'nuclear deterrence'.

It is true that the participants in the Vienna forum, in keeping with the traditional social democratic 'balanced' approach to the policy of the USSR and the United States, stopped short of drawing an unambiguous conclusion about who is directly responsible for the tensions in the world and the arms race. That was an outcome of the habitual social democratic urge to act as some kind of independent 'third force', exerting 'simultaneous pressure on both superpowers'. But as an analysis of the conference proceedings shows, there is growing awareness within the Socialist International that the stand of the USSR and of the United States on the issues of peace or war are far from identical, an awareness which was most manifest in the discussion of the concrete problems of limiting the arms race and of disarmament, of relaxing international tensions and settling regional conflicts.

As was to have been expected, disarmament issues were central to the conference. The Vienna Appeal says: 'In the interest of humanity the arms race, with its obscene waste of material and intellectual resources, has to be brought to an end.' Kalevi Sorsa, Chairman of the Socialist International Disarmament Advisory Council (SIDAC), urged the need to "regain our belief in arms control and disarmament as a viable and credible instrument of peace and security".

The delegates' attention was drawn to the various peace initiatives on limiting and reducing armaments put forward in the recent period by various states, political leaders and public leaders, and the participants in the discussion spoke with interest and approval of the broad programme set forth by Mikhail Gorbachov in Paris for improving the international situation. Virtually every speaker in one way or another

commented on the new constructive proposals and bold unilateral acts of the USSR. Here are some of their statements either from their speeches at the conference or from their interviews with the press.

Willy Brandt, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) and of the Socialist International: 'The direction that has been given is the right one, and it is necessary to keep urging our American allies—and I say this as a West German—to formulate their proposals as constructively as possible.'

Neil Kinnock, leader of the Labour Party of Great Britain: the Soviet proposals 'deserve a serious and considered response'.

Karel van Miert, leader of the Belgian Socialist Party (Flemings): 'These are very interesting proposals. They contain new elements and realistic potentialities for achieving success at the talks. The Soviet Union has given a positive signal and it would be quite wrong to brush it off as propaganda.'

The representatives of many leading social democratic parties called on the United States to take a workman-like attitude to the USSR's proposals. It is perfectly obvious, besides, that the following words from the Vienna Appeal are addressed to those who like to take a 'tough stand' and brush aside any Soviet initiative: 'Any offhand rejection of a disarmament offer is detrimental to international understanding, peace and stability. The constructive proposals by the Soviet Union, made in Paris, to reduce nuclear weapons should be thoroughly examined.'

The well-argued criticism to which the Star Wars programme was subjected at the conference merits attention. Thus, Willy Brandt said that the militarisation of space seems to have become an 'insurmountable obstacle to any understanding'. He added: 'The concepts for the development of a space-based strategic defence are an attempt at a technical rather than a political solution to the problem of assuring common survival. Experience should have taught us that this will not succeed. Neither side will grant advantages to the other side which could lead to military exploitable superiority. Should the arms race be carried into outer space despite these experiences, it is to be feared that as a result not only would there be an increase in defensive and offensive weapons, but, in addition, the opportunity would be lost to sort out relations between East and West in a political manner and thus to reach a higher degree of security.' That is why, he concluded, 'we need decisions today which guarantee that there would be no weapons in outer space'.

Analysing the threat posed by the Star Wars plans, Olof Palme said: 'An initiative of this kind will accelerate the nuclear arms race instead of making nuclear arms obsolete. Outer space should be reserved for peaceful, constructive purposes.' Other speakers also voiced their disagreement with Washington's Strategic Defence Initiative, stressing that it threatens collective security, that it fails to provide solution for any conflict, and increases the 'domination of East-West relations by military considerations', as Willy Brandt put it.

It is indicative that *none* of the parties represented at the Vienna meeting came out in defence of the Star Wars programme. What is more, authoritative social democratic leaders noted in the document approved at the conference their special concern over the danger of transferring the arms race to space and made clear their 'rejection of the SDI and similar concepts'.

When considering the problems of nuclear disarmament, the representatives of various parties pointed to the need for both sides strictly to abide by the Soviet-US SALT I and SALT II treaties. They also reaffirmed the continued importance of the 1972 ABM treaty, whose provisions have been literally turned inside out by some members of the Washington administration in an effort to prove the unprovable, namely, that their plans to militarise space accord with the letter and spirit of that document, whose importance was stressed by Kalevi Sorsa as follows: 'The ABM treaty is one of the cornerstones not only of the relations between the two contracting

parties but of the arms control regime in general.'

The West European Social Democrats also ranked the prohibition of chemical weapons and a gradual clearing of these barbarous weapons of mass destruction from the territory of Europe among the vital problems calling for urgent solution. The Socialist International gave a high appreciation of the joint efforts of the SPD of the FRG and the SED of the GDR in preparing a 'Draft Agreement on the Creation of a Zone Free of Chemical Weapons in Europe' and said that the initiative of the two parties was a 'model for regional solutions of arms reduction'.

The Socialist International's proposals for priority measures in limiting the arms race are summed up in the Vienna Appeal, which calls on the United States and the Soviet Union to initiate reduction of armaments; to respect the SALT I and SALT II agreements beyond 1985; to reaffirm their commitment to the 1972 ABM Treaty; to agree on a process of radical reductions of strategic arms comprising both warheads and delivery systems; to refrain from testing and developing anti-missile and anti-satellite weapons and from transferring an arms race in outer space; to agree on a moratorium on nuclear-weapons tests to begin in January 1986, and further the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban treaty; and finally, to agree on halting further deployments of medium-range nuclear systems and then eliminating the existing systems on both sides. The Socialist International believes that the Soviet Union and the United States should refrain from further deployment of nuclear arms during negotiations, at least for an agreed limited period of time.

Anyone who has an inkling of the state of things in the international arena will easily see that many of the propositions of the Vienna Appeal are consonant with the aspirations of the world's peace forces and contain ideas consistently backed by the USSR and the socialist community countries. That was a point made in his speech, which was heard with great attention, by Boris Ponomarev, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU CC and CC Secretary, who headed the Soviet delegation. He described the principles and objectives of the USSR's peaceful foreign policy, showed the substance of its bold proposals in disarmament, and analysed the pressing tasks before the world's anti-war forces.

The conference heard a speech by Zhu Liang, the Chinese representative, who set forth the Chinese leadership's views on some of the key problems of our day. He said that China stood 'for the total ban and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, outer space weapons, chemical weapons and biological weapons' and called 'for drastic reduction of conventional armaments'. He stressed that 'at no time and under no circumstances would China be the first to use nuclear weapons', and 'would not use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries'.

A note of sharp discord with the general tone at the conference was sounded by the US representative, Kenneth L. Adelman, Director of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He mentioned in passing that the USSR proposals 'appear to include some potentially positive elements', and then tried to persuade his audience that the 'Soviet package' was unacceptable and sought to vindicate the plans for further building up US nuclear armaments, and especially the Star Wars programme. The content, to say nothing of the tone of his speech, caused bewilderment among the SI conference participants. The fact that Adelman was late for the opening of the conference and even for the time appointed for his speech did not go unnoticed, a lack of punctuality, to put it mildly, which was naturally seen by the participants in the conference as a display of disrespect by the US representative for the authoritative social democratic forum.

While giving priority attention to disarmament, the conference did not neglect any of the other burning issues of international life, including the elimination of regional conflicts, the establishment of nuclear-free zones, environmental protection, strengthening the role of the United Nations in the modern world, combating

terrorism, the situation in South Africa, etc. An urge to promote the solution of these problems in order to strengthen peace and security and help peoples to exercise their legitimate right to independent development was a characteristic feature of the Social Democrats' approach.

Guillermo Ungo of El Salvador said that the United States was grooming itself for the role of 'world gendarme', and exposed the falsehood of the claims that the national liberation movements in the Third World were engineered by 'Moscow's involvement'. Any movements or conflicts which, in the opinion of the US administration, pose a threat to US interests or to those of its allies, the speaker said, 'are instantly ascribed to the acts of the USSR or its allies, ignoring such causes of conflict as poverty, inequality, injustice and repression'.

At the Vienna forum and at a subsequent press conference, social democratic party spokesmen advocated the creation of nuclear-free zones in Northern and Central Europe, the Balkans and the Korean Peninsula. It is the view of the Socialist International that the emergence of such zones is especially important in view of the impossibility of any global solution to the problem just now. The Social Democrats welcomed the signing of the Treaty on the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone,³ which the Social Democrats said was a 'real contribution to the processes of nuclear disarmament'.

The conference, therefore, has brought out the similarity or proximity of the positions of social democratic, socialist and labour parties on many international issues, but it also revealed some differences, which were, of course, due in part to factors like the various parties' different status (some are in government and others in opposition, while others are banned and engaged in armed struggle), their dissimilar political weight and regional location. Among the controversial issues was the line taken by the socialist-led government of France, which has continued to stage nuclear blasts at Mururoa Atoll, ignoring protests from the states in the region and international opinion at large.

The situation in the Middle East was another area of contradictions. Never before in the history of the Socialist International, Brandt told the press conference, had the differences on this issue been so acute. The reason is the policy of expansion and state terrorism pursued by the Israeli government, which is headed by the Labour party, a member of the Socialist International.

Different views were also expressed on other matters, but on the main issue—the problems of peace or war—the Socialist Democrats assembled in Vienna took a common stand, and—most importantly—on the whole a constructive one.

The results of the conference suggest a number of other conclusions. It showed that concern for the defence of peace and for disarmament has come to the fore in the Socialist International's activity and is an increasing preoccupation of Social Democrats today. But however important declarations and calls may be, statesmen, political parties and public bodies are judged about their sense of responsibility for peace, their sincerity and seriousness of intention above all by their concrete actions, and in this context one has to admit that the Socialist International and its affiliated parties (especially those vested with government power) can and must do much more than they have done up to now to check the arms race, to resist the build-up of hatred and fear in international relations, and to help all the peace forces to act together. Translation into practice of the political ideas contained in the Vienna Appeal would enable the Socialist International parties to move from words to deeds in a more resolute way.

A close consideration and comparison of the international positions of the social democratic movement, on the one hand, and of the socialist states and communist parties, on the other, further suggest the conclusion that on many key problems of world politics their approach is either identical or proximate. Such a similarity is

evident in the rejection of the SDI and the plans to militarise space; in the stand on reducing strategic nuclear weapons and medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe; and in the acts in favour of creating zones free from nuclear and chemical weapons. They take a fairly similar approach to ensuring reliable security in Europe, the need to restore the detente and to make it global, to cut back military budgets, to increase aid to less developed countries, and to have political settlement of regional conflicts.

Identity of views on such a wide range of questions provides a platform for workmanlike cooperation between communist and social democratic parties. There is every indication that here the Vienna conference could provide a definite impulse. Suffice it to say that in their speeches and at the press conference many authoritative social democratic leaders spoke of their desire to develop cooperation with all the political and public forces, the parties and movements carrying on the struggle for peace and disarmament, and their readiness was also emphasised in the Vienna Appeal.

In this way the conference provided fresh confirmation that political independence and ideological identity of the various forces (naturally, including the Communists and the Social Democrats) coming out against the threat of war are no impediment to dialogue and cooperation. It is the Communists' profound belief that life itself, and the very status and world view of the communist and social democratic parties dictate to them fulfilment of their prime duty, which is to do their utmost to rid mankind of the danger of nuclear annihilation. Fulfilment of this duty is an imperative of our time.

Kurt Jastermann

¹ See 'The Soviet Programme: A Novel Approach'. *WMR*, No. 12, 1985.

² For details see Egon Bahr, 'Partnership Instead of Confrontation', *WMR*, No. 7, 1984.

³ A treaty concluded at the initiative of the Labour Government of Australia in August 1985 by 13 South Pacific countries.—*Ed.*

The Reader Wants to Know . . . State Terrorism: What It Is

'There have been frequent references to 'state terrorism' in the Argentine press recently. Your journal also uses this phrase. What does it mean? How does this variety differ from other types of terrorism?' asks Magdalena Ruiz of Cordoba, Argentina.

To answer your question, I would like to begin by noting that the US ruling quarters frequently resort to terrorism as a tool of their imperialist policy. Political assassinations of individuals and mass murder are acts that are planned, covertly or openly perpetuated and financed by Washington. Condemned under international law, these brutal tactics of intimidation are aimed at undermining the social and political systems of foreign countries and at suppressing liberation movements. These international crimes are committed by secret services, armed forces and mercenaries. This is the alarming phenomenon the term 'state terrorism' is used to designate.

That it is terrorism is clear, but why 'state terrorism'? The US reactionary quarters cynically sanction as 'legitimate' any criminal moves enabling them to impose their

will on other countries, above all on the nations fighting to uphold their right to independent development. In April 1984 the White House issued Presidential Directive 138, stipulating 'preventive' use of terrorism against countries posing, in Washington's view, a potential threat to US interests. The directive merely gave the seal of approval to methods long and shamelessly used by Washington. In an interview to the Miami-based *Diario Las Americas*, retired Admiral Stansfield Turner (under President Carter, Director of the CIA, the agency specialising in spying and sabotage) admitted that the assistance the US government had been extending to the Nicaraguan 'contras' for several years could only be described as state terrorism.

In July 1985 NBC television reported that several options for combating communism were submitted to President Reagan, including physical elimination of persons Washington found undesirable. One of the options that were considered suggested transfer of the CIA's functions of carrying out executions to armed ranger units. This statement gives one food for thought. It is additional confirmation of a fact already ascertained by the US Congress (but not acted upon): the CIA organises political assassinations. Let us take a look at the victims.

One could quote a long list of political and religious figures in many countries, including people who were far from communism—Patrice Lumumba, Salvador Allende, Omar Torrijos, Maurice Bishop, Orlando Letelier and Aldo Moro, to name a few. Archbishop Romero, an advocate of a peaceful settlement in El Salvador, was another victim of terrorism. The numerous criminal attempts on the life of Comrade Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, are a matter of general knowledge.

It has been determined that the assassins who killed Indira Gandhi were members of a Sikh terrorist group trained in one of the US-based special camps. The Indian press had every reason to describe the United States as the paradise and headquarters of terrorists, noting that adventurers, Nazi war criminals and other rabble felt at home in the United States and enjoyed the protection of US authorities.

The terrorist acts inspired from the banks of the Potomac take the form of genocide, of mass murder in foreign countries. At a rally held in Managua on July 19, 1985 President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua said that US state terrorism had already cost more than 12,000 Nicaraguans their lives. Each day adds to the death toll that includes the names of thousands of people killed in Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and other Latin American countries. Mercenaries—hired hit men—perpetuate terrorist acts in Angola, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Mozambique and the Middle East.

This global campaign of terrorism is financed by the United States. From 1981, the export of counter-revolution to Nicaragua cost the United States more than 100 million dollars, the money that was handed over to the hangmen formerly maintained by Somoza. The US Congress has recently approved the release of another 27 million dollars to the contras—despite the growing opposition on the part of US public opinion which is aware that the country is sliding into an undeclared war of major proportions. Over the same period, millions of dollars were given to Afghan bandits so that they could conduct terrorist campaigns murdering civilians, setting fire to schools and destroying crops. The counter-revolutionary gangs in Angola are also paid handsomely.

But to the warhawks in Washington, that is not enough. They are working to escalate the campaign of mass terror against other peoples. US Presidential aide Robert McFarlane has recently declared again that the struggle against terrorism must, when necessary, include use of force. Washington has set up a special working group under Vice-President George Bush to study the struggle against terrorism from the point of view of US legislation. One is led to conclude that the US ruling quarters

expect to receive legal 'authorisation' for engaging in terrorist acts on the international scene. The phrases about 'combating terrorism' serve merely to camouflage the crimes committed by the imperialists—there is no other way to describe what they and their mercenaries are doing in Nicaragua: civilians murdered, fuel depots in Corinto blown up, ports mined, Sandino Airport bombed and so on and so forth. Some contras have been captured carrying a CIA manual, a collection of illustrations showing the 'techniques of gouging out eyes, decapitation, maiming—let alone instructions on how to blow up bridges, commit arson and organise riots.

The sharp intensification of terrorist activities by US imperialism against other peoples in the 1980s reflects the drastic changes that have occurred in US foreign policy. US imperialism has switched to open political confrontation with the socialist countries, aiming to hit back with social reprisals—above all against the national liberation movements in Latin America, Asia and Africa, movements that have advanced greatly over the past decade.

The fact that imperialism has transformed Central America into a region of particularly intensive terrorist activity is rooted in the deepening of the crisis of imperialist domination in this region and in Latin America as a whole, the crisis that began with the victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959. These terrorist acts pursue a dual objective—that of restoring and consolidating the positions US imperialism is losing and of teaching a 'lesson' to all Latin American peoples who are fighting vigorously against the policy of plunder and oppression and for a new international economic order.

It is a matter of historical record that the use of terror to intimidate governments and peoples has been a traditional method of US foreign policy. In the past, it featured under different names; to the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean it was known as the 'policy of the big stick' and 'gunboat diplomacy'. It has been present in all the 130-odd cases of military intervention committed by the United States on our continent over the past 100 years. The atomic incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was a monstrous terrorist act of US imperialism. We know that its political objective was to intimidate world public opinion with the US monopoly in nuclear weapons and to create an atmosphere of fear conducive to the realisation of imperialist plans to dominate the world.

The invasion of Grenada by US armed forces is fresh in everyone's memory. This act of armed brutality against the people of a tiny island was also a ploy to strike fear into the hearts of other Latin American peoples, to crush their militant anti-imperialist spirit.

State terrorism is complemented by the various uses of force Washington resorts to in its reactionary foreign policy and in its role as world policeman. Aside from acts of direct aggression and armed intervention, these include the fomenting of fratricidal conflicts between different peoples and the instigation of riots and civil strife. The United States uses and encourages terrorism even against countries with which it maintains diplomatic relations.

US imperialism turns client governments (the dictatorships of Central America, Israel, South Africa and the like) into agents of its policy of state terrorism; it also uses NATO and other aggressive blocs as its tools. Emulating Washington, the governments of some other capitalist countries also resort to policies of state terrorism. The brutal crimes committed against sovereign countries in recent months include the invasion of Angola by South African troops and the bandit Israeli air raid on a suburb of Tunisia's capital.

The hope that terrorist acts can make peoples give up their struggle and bow to imperialist diktat is, of course, an illusion. But this policy is very dangerous: it leads to new cycles of violence, serves to build up international tensions and aggravates the global threat of war.

As we can see, gross extra-economic coercion, threats, blackmail and terrorism have become distinctive features of US reactionary quarters' foreign policy. This, however, does not mean that imperialist domination is no longer based on economic expansion—a factor currently thrown into particularly bold relief by the monstrous external debt of the developing countries. In Fidel Castro's words, this problem is 'a drain on the life-force of all Third World countries'.¹

State terrorism has sprung from the same seed that gave birth to the rule of capital. Analysing the development of the class struggle in France from 1848 to 1850, Karl Marx wrote: 'Having constantly before its eyes the scarred, irreconcilable, invincible enemy—invincible because his existence is the condition of its own life—bourgeois rule, freed from all fetters, was bound to turn immediately into *bourgeois terrorism*.'² Within the context of an individual country, bourgeois terrorism becomes a tool of the exploiter class's dictatorship vis-a-vis working people and is brought into play at all critical junctures.

State terrorism is a reflection of the overall political propensity of imperialism for violence and reaction—a trend spotted by Lenin. In the United States, state-monopoly capital provides the economic basis of political terrorism and the US messianic idea, its ideological basis. Systematic terrorism in international relations results from the fact that imperialism cannot offer anything progressive to the world's peoples. At all costs, it tries to perpetuate exploitation and block socio-economic progress.

At home, under a bourgeois democratic regime, US big monopoly capital rules chiefly by money. However, the US ruling class did not hesitate to mount open reprisals whenever this was deemed necessary. Suffice it to recall the martyrs of Chicago, Sacco and Vanzetti, the Rosenbergs, Martin Luther King, anti-labour legislation such as the Taft-Hartley Act, the witch hunts, or the persecution of labour activists and intellectuals.

There is a dialectical unity between the domestic and foreign policies of any country since, in the final analysis, both express the will of the ruling class. At times, however, differences between the two may occur—including differences in quality. While US foreign policy during World War II did pursue the self-serving interests of the ruling class, it nevertheless coincided with the course the world's progressive forces were steering. US imperialist quarters' current foreign policy, with state terrorism as its salient feature, no doubt threatens bourgeois democracy itself: after all, McCarthyism was born of the cold war.

Viewed from a different angle—that of international relations—the interdependence of foreign and domestic policy was expressed in the advent of military juntas which were imposed on the peoples of Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil and Bolivia and which still have a stranglehold on Chile, Paraguay, Haiti and several Central American countries. While they are a product of the local oligarchies as far as the social dimension is concerned, all these regimes enjoy the protection of US imperialism. The same is true of several other regions.

There is, therefore, a close interconnection between the aggressiveness of imperialism in international affairs and the terrorism engaged in by pro-US regimes against their own peoples under the pretext of 'combating terrorism and communism', upholding 'national security' and 'defending the Free World'. The military regimes of the Southern Cone countries used their state apparatus to stage kidnappings, carry out reprisals, etc. Criminal acts of this kind are also defined as state terrorism. It is a phenomenon present in the domestic policies of bourgeois democratic regimes too—for example, in the system of denunciations, spying and police surveillance..

Condemning US imperialism as the foremost terrorist of our time, we refuse to oversimplify things. One cannot assert that all terrorist acts committed throughout

the world are ordered by the CIA. The henchmen of the global US imperialist policy—Israel the 'strategic ally', South Africa the 'trusted friend', Pinochet and other tyrants—often overstep the bloodstained limits of what Washington officials—specifically, the less extremist quarters—consider the acceptable degree of violence. On the other hand, the impossibility to solve here and now the very grave problems connected with neocolonialist oppression, capitalist superexploitation, social injustice, religious fanaticism, discrimination and the like creates an oppressive atmosphere encouraging terrorism by individuals. A 'boomerang' effect is also in evidence: weapons are used against those who were the first to resort to armed force. For example, extremists from the United States were the first to use aerial hijacking against socialist Cuba, but then this technique was taken up by adventurers who turned it against the United States. Under the pretext of combating such adventurist acts, the US 'hawks' are working to suppress the just struggle for national liberation and social emancipation and perpetuate mass terrorist acts.

The demagoguery of imperialist politicians and ideologists has long lost its power to shock, but one is nevertheless stunned by their cynical and hypocritical attempts to justify gross violations of basic norms of ethics and civilised behaviour and shift the blame onto others. Accusations of terrorism are fraudulently levelled at those who have been firm opponents of such practices—at the socialist countries, the international communist movement and the peoples fighting for genuine independence or against the yoke of racism.

The policy of peaceful coexistence upheld by the socialist countries is aimed at banning all types of terrorism—state-sponsored or any other—from international affairs. Proceeding from the conviction that the practice of terrorism on the world scene serves to considerably exacerbate the already grave international situation, the Soviet Union submitted to the 39th UN General Assembly (1984) a draft resolution on 'The Inadmissibility of the Policy of State Terrorism or Any Other Acts by States to Undermine the Social or Political System of Other Sovereign States'. Enlarged, this truly historic resolution was adopted by 117 votes in favour. By approving the Soviet proposal, the United Nations proclaimed, for the first time in its history, the principle of inadmissibility of the policy of state terrorism and condemned it as an international crime. The fact that Washington and its closest allies refused to support this decision has given the world community of nations yet another indication of who is really responsible for this policy.

The Warsaw Treaty countries stressed in their statement adopted in Sofia in October 1985 that 'nothing can justify interference in the internal affairs of other nations or conduct of a policy of state terrorism. No one must infringe on the sovereign right of each nation to live and work under the socio-political system it freely chooses.'³

Marxism—Leninism rejects terrorism in international relations as a method of struggle incompatible with a fundamental principle of the communist world-view—the recognition of the decisive historical role of the masses. More than 120 years ago Marx urged in the Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association 'to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice which ought to govern the relations of private individuals as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations'. Such has always been the position of the Communists; such will it always remain.

Raul Valdes Vivo
Central Committee member,
Communist Party of Cuba

¹ *Encuentro sobre la situación de la mujer en América Latina y el Caribe hoy*, Editora Política, Havana, 1985, p. 30.

² Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, p. 69.

³ *Pravda*, October 24, 1985.

Pages of History

Memorable Dates of 1986

The following is a reminder of some memorable dates of 1986 linked to the development of the revolutionary teaching of the working class, the history of the international communist and working class movement, the national liberation movement, the anti-imperialist struggle, and mass actions for peace and disarmament.

In early 1886, *a hundred years ago*, Frederick Engels published his *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, in which he dealt with the rise and essence of the Marxist world-view—dialectical and historical materialism—showing the fundamental qualitative distinction between it and all preceding philosophical systems and substantiating the principle of the partisanship of philosophy.

In June it will be *70 years* since Lenin wrote *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, in which he unbared the economic and political essence of capitalism at the monopoly stage of its development, definitively formulated the basic hallmarks of imperialism, and showed that it was the eve of the socialist revolution.

Two notable dates evoke the memory of two vivid landmarks of the class struggle and the international working class movement. May Day will see the *centenary* of the general strike of American workers that laid the beginning for the annual festival in commemoration of the day of international solidarity among working people. The *120th anniversary* of the First Congress of the International Working Men's Association (First International) headed by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels will be marked in September.

Some memorable dates relate to the history of the international communist movement. The Second International Socialist Conference, which adopted an anti-war manifesto when the First World War was still raging and social-chauvinism was running amok, was held at Kintal, Switzerland *70 years ago* in April.

The Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties, which made a major contribution to the struggle for peace, security, cooperation and social progress and helped to reinforce interaction among the European fraternal parties, took place *10 years ago*, in June 1976.

This year will be the *centenary* of the birth of outstanding personalities of the international communist and working class movement Bela Kun (February), Ernst Thälmann (April), and Ferenc Munnich (November).

A number of communist and workers' parties will mark anniversaries in 1986. A double anniversary will be celebrated by Algerian Communists: the *20th anniversary* of the Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria in January and the *50th anniversary* of the founding of its predecessor, the Algerian Communist Party, in October. The *40th anniversary* of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany falls in April, the *60th anniversary* of the Communist Party of Ecuador in May, and the *40th anniversary* of the Communist Party of the Sudan and the *60th anniversary* of the first party of the Communists of Cyprus in August.

There will be several important anniversaries of the peoples of socialist countries. In January it will be *40 years* since the proclamation of the Albanian People's Republic. Hungary was proclaimed a republic in February *40 years ago* and the Constitution of Cuba was adopted in the same month *10 years ago*. The Vietnamese people will mark the *10th anniversary* of the proclamation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (July) following the nation's reunification and the *40th anniversary* of the coming into operation of the country's first-ever Constitution (November). In Bulgaria the

monarchy was abolished and a people's republic was proclaimed 40 years ago, in September 1946. In December it will be 30 years since an insurgent group led by Fidel Castro landed in Cuba and sparked a guerrilla war against the Batista dictatorship.

Popular Front in France, the 70th anniversary (April) of the national liberation rising in Ireland against British imperialist rule, and the 50th anniversary (July) of the outbreak of the war of the Spanish people against fascism and the Italian-German intervention.

The following dates are reminders of important milestones in the history of the struggle of the peoples for peace, security, and disarmament. The World Conference for Ending the Arms Race, for Disarmament and Detente was held in Helsinki 10 years ago, in September 1976. This conference was attended by envoys of the peace forces of more than 90 countries and 50 international organisations. An international conference of representatives of 60 states against the war threat, military pacts and bases, nuclear armaments, and colonialism took place in Delhi, 20 years ago (November).

Individual memorable dates and events of the 1986 calendar will be mirrored in upcoming issues of 'World Marxist Review'.

Diary

Comrade Jorge del Prado, General Secretary of the Peruvian Communist Party Central Committee, visited the *WMR* office during his stay in Prague. Speaking at a meeting of the Editorial Council, he discussed the current situation in his country and the struggle of the Communists for revolutionary transformations, peace and social progress.

* * *

Karim Mroueh, Political Bureau member of the Lebanese Communist Party Central Committee, visited the *WMR* office and discussed with the editor-in-chief further efforts to strengthen the ties between the LCP and *World Marxist Review*.

the book scene

The Swastika Yesterday and Today

A Survey of Books on Fascism

Reinhard Opitz, *Faschismus und Neofaschismus* (Fascism and Neofascism), Verlag Marxistische Blätter, Frankfurt on the Main, 1984, 537 pp.

1933. *Texte, Fotos, Chronik* (1933. Texts, Photographs, Chronicle), edited by Kurt Bachmann, Verlag Marxistische Blätter, Frankfurt on the Main, 1983, 312 pp.

Alexander Blank, *Neonatsizm—revanshizm. Mify 'psikhologicheskoi voiny'* (Neonazism—Revanchism. Myths of the 'Psychological War'), Mysl, Moscow, 1985, 239 pp.

Serge Dumont, *Les brigades noires* (The Black Brigades), Editions EPO, Berchen, 1983, 246 pp.

Charles Higham, *American Swastika*, Doubleday and Company, New York, 1985, 359 pp.

HITLER'S criminal Reich burnt to ashes in the flames of World War II, which it had started. However, fascism as a socio-political phenomenon, an instrument of the most reactionary and aggressive imperialist forces, has not departed from the historical scene. Nowadays it changes its disguise according to the situation in the capitalist country concerned. Neonazism in the FRG, the military terroristic dictatorships in Latin American and Asian countries, ultra-right extremism in Western Europe, the USA and Japan all indicate that bourgeois society reproduces fascism as a component of its system, a reserve means of suppressing the working class movement and combatting socialism.

Like its predecessor, neofascism borrows racist, nationalist and militarist slogans from right bourgeois conservatism. In exchange, the latter is willing to forgive old fascism its sins and impart respectability to new fascism, which takes up not only anti-communist slogans of today but Nazi ones of yesterday.

The undiminishing attention given by analysts to neofascism, which is being reared by imperialist reaction, is due to the potential threat coming from this phenomenon in the political life of capitalist society. They also probe into the conditions and causes of the Nazi seizure of power in Germany to help democratic forces resist neonazism the more effectively by drawing on the lessons of history.

Fascism and Neofascism, a book by Reinhard Opitz, the West German Marxist publicist, is one of the noteworthy investigations of this kind. It reveals the inseparable connection between old fascism and its new variety, which adapts to

modern times by dissociating from Hitler's 'excesses' while preserving the substance of his ideological legacy, especially its rabid anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

Logically related to Opitz's book is *1933. Texts, Photographs, Chronicle*, a collection of documents edited by Kurt Bachmann, Presidium Board member of the German Communist Party. Citing numerous facts, the collection traces out the history of the Nazis' collusion with big capital, offering a detailed account of the struggle carried on by the Communists and other democrats against the impending danger, a struggle which had a tragic finale due to divisions in the working class movement.

Both works are characterised by an explicit class approach. 'Fascism cannot be understood in isolation from imperialism; this is a simple truth overlooked, however, only too often' (Opitz, pp. 5-6). At the imperialist stage the monopoly bourgeoisie, casting about for a way out of the crisis and faced with a growing revolutionary movement, resorts to overt terroristic dictatorship. In 1933, being terrified by the effects of the 'great crisis', it paved the way to power for the Hitler clique. Nor is it a question of the German bourgeoisie alone. '... Fascism was not only a result of development inside Germany but also a response of the most reactionary forces of financial capital in Germany and the world to changes in the balance of international forces, above all since the Great October Socialist Revolution '... Socialism was to be eliminated. To this end capital needed, first of all, the most determined and aggressive anti-communists, that is fascists' (Bachmann, p. 17).

The reference to the fact that the ideological and political groundwork for Nazism in Germany was laid by the conservative wing of the ruling class is relevant. 'The German conservatives were the decisive political factor in paving the way for Hitler fascism before and after the foundation of the Weimar Republic... German fascism could derive ideas from conservative sources and traditions' (Bachmann, pp. 6-7). Added to these ideas in the imperialist epoch were, along with social Darwinism¹ and racism, violent chauvinism, the worship of militarism, hatred for the working class movement and Marxism and, since the victory of the October Revolution in Russia, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. 'All the essential ideas of fascist policy had been thought up by the conservatives. Their common socio-political goal was to maintain the existing system of monopoly capitalist domination and they saw their common enemy in socialism, both as a movement and as state power. This is true to this day of the wide range of conservative forces, including the neofascists in our country' (ibid., p. 7).

To be sure, the Nazis did not merely borrow many ideas from the conservatives. They also made a contribution of their own to the theoretical arsenal of fascism, including Führer worship, the claim of the 'Aryan race' to world domination and the geopolitical 'rationale' for wars of conquest. Of unquestionable interest in terms of contemporary reality is Opitz's analysis of how the fascists secured mass support, particularly before seizing power.

Nazism was characterised by, among other things, a demagogical play on the working people's anti-capitalist sentiments and spontaneous socialist aspirations, a ploy coupled with the poisoning of people's minds with racism and chauvinism. The name of the Nazi party, National Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, pretended allegiance to the working class movement and socialism. Yet no country had ever had a more anti-labour party than the Nazi party. Completely rejecting fundamental socialist concepts such as internationalism and class struggle, the Nazis defamed them in every way, saying that they had been imported and divided the nation. To these concepts they opposed 'blood relationship', which would enable the German race, or so they alleged, to assert itself in the world. All of the Nazis' reasoning proceeded from anti-communism and anti-Semitism. Opitz lays bare the nature of Nazi demagoguery, which affirmed that the 'road to the realisation of "true", "national"

socialism leads only through the destruction of its racially alien "internationalist" falsification. This was seen as the basis on which people could be urged and mobilised in the name of socialism to combat and smash socialism' (p. 28).

This 'socialist' camouflage, which the Nazis went out of their way to use before seizing power, was less misleading for the working class because Communist and Social Democratic influence was dominant among the workers. However, the Nazis' pseudo-socialist and seemingly anti-capitalist slogans tinged with racism had a considerable impact on the petty-bourgeois section of the population, hit by the 'great crisis' with particular force, and won the Nazis votes before the end of the Weimar Republic.

Both books published in the FRG help unmask falsifiers of the history of German fascism. Furthermore, they invite the conclusion that it is necessary to resolutely fight its spiritual and political heirs, who are operating with the connivance of official quarters in both West Germany and other capitalist countries. The face of present-day capitalism, whatever its nationality, is pock-marked with neofascist organisations.

Even according to official data, which are anything but impartial, there are over 80 neonazi unions, organisations and groups in the FRG today. Whereas in 1978 their members committed 992 crimes, mostly of a political nature, three years later this figure rose to 1,824. In September 1980, the country was shocked to hear that a bomb planted by neonazis in Munich's Theresienweise park during a popular fete had killed 13 people and wounded over 200. Time and again the press carries reports about caches of arms, explosives and ammunition set up in preparation for acts of terrorism.

Neofascism's spokesman on the West German political scene is the National Democratic Party (NDP). In the sixties the NDP won seats in several state legislature and expected to make its way into the Bundestag. However, the climate of detente in the seventies gradually lost it ground among the electorate and its influence today is hardly noticeable. Many of its members were absorbed by the right wing of the conservative CDU/CSU bloc.

Outspoken neofascism is the tip of the iceberg. '... Speaking generally,' writes Alexander Blank, a Soviet analyst, author of *Neonazism—Revanchism*, 'organised neonazism in the FRG has a powerful "second echelon" in the form of revanchist organisations, such as the "fellow-countrymen's associations" of East Prussian, Silesian and Sudeten Germans, Germans "coming from Central Germany" (meaning the GDR) and other Germans grouped in "unions of exiles". They constitute a powerful reserve of revanchism and neonazism about two million strong which systematically organises annual mass rallies and commands substantial funds, including subsidies from the Federal budget' (p. 37). The activities of 'fellow-countrymen's associations', which are encouraged by leaders of the CDU/CSU bloc and demand the restoration of the Reich within its 1937 boundaries, are consonant with the neonazis' programmes and help disseminate their views on the past and future of the country.

Most of the neofascist organisations in diverse capitalist countries betray a common tendency to take an attractive name. This is why their names include words such as 'popular', 'national', 'workers', 'social', 'socialism' or even 'revolution'. A frankly neofascist organisation operating in France calls itself the National Revolutionary Movement. The Italian neofascist party assumes the name of the Italian Social Movement—National Right. Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front (France) has a British double of the same name. Neofascism, writes Serge Dumont, a French analyst, in *The Black Brigades*, 'is the smallest yet most virulent and, above all, most active current of the extreme right. Rather than calling themselves "national socialists", a description which became defamatory after World War II, its adherents use the term "national revolutionaries" or "social racists"' (p. 27).

Some of the organisations of this type prove quite acceptable to the bourgeoisie and pretend to have a mass following, as in Italy or France. They have become so respectable in the eyes of the powers that be that in April 1985 leaders of some neofascist movements, in particular Giorgio Almirante (Italy) and Jean-Marie Le Pen (France) were received in the Vatican by the Pope, who gave them his blessing for a continued 'fight against the decline of moral values in Europe'.

Typical of neofascist organisations and currents is a bid to contribute to the 'unification of Europe' against communism, such as the Nazis made in the past. The French Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (mentioned earlier), as well as combating the 'intellectual terrorism of the Left', aims at defending the 'European idea' and 'participating in the construction of European revolutionary nationalism' (see p. 29). In Belgium Rex National, the neonazi heir to the Rexists of Hitler's flunkey, Leon Degrelle, parades as a champion of 'racial and social justice' as well as 'European independence'. For a number of years there was a Federation of National and European Action in France. The government banned it but it was succeeded almost overnight by the European Nationalist Fasces under the führer of the outlawed Federation.

Imperialism's main citadel, the United States, has a notable neofascist potential. Neofascism there rests on the traditions of the pro-Hitler organisations active in the country in the thirties as well as on the practices of the highest echelons of US power, which cooperated with the Nazis before, during and after World War II. Charles Higham, an American publicist, comments on this in *American Swastika*, giving details on the basis of a wealth of factual evidence. '... There has been in high places at various times in our history,' he writes, 'a concerted effort to give aid and comfort to Nazis, to avoid confrontation with them in the period before World War II, to bring about a negotiated peace with them during the war, and to restore them to power in the postwar period' (p. 111).

Prior to the war, propaganda in support of the Hitler clique was openly carried on by the 200,000-member German American Bund, Black Legion, Christian Front, and other pro-fascist organisations. Their activity was largely directed and partially financed by German diplomats in the USA. Due to the sympathy for fascist Germany shown by influential persons (members of government included), official US representatives, violating obligations under the alliance, established contacts with top Nazis during the war in an effort to bring about a separate peace and, in the long term, joint action against the Soviet Union. After the war the USA sheltered Nazi criminals from well-deserved vengeance; it recruited from intelligence officers for espionage against the Soviet Union and harnessed scientists with an evident Nazi record to building up the US military potential.²

It follows that neofascism in the USA has a long prehistory. Today it finds fertile ground in the worship of force, which is widespread in the US reactionary quarters, in the US claim to messianic role and world leadership, in blind hatred for the Soviet Union and 'Reds' generally, reckless racism, and the idea of 'purity of the white race'.

The spectrum of neofascist organisations ranges from the Ku Klux Klan and John Birch Society to the National Socialist Party of America, American Nazi Party, NSDAP-Ausland, Nazi SS Action Group, Hell's Angels, etc.³ R. Butler, the pastor leading the National Socialist Party today, preaches from the pulpit the idea of superiority of the Aryan spirit and its exponent, the 'white superman', allegedly destined to rule over the 'lower races'. Such groups not only propagate man-hating views but organise sorties and provocations against fighters for civil freedoms and the equality of Afro-Americans, against peace supporters and all democrats.

Of course, loudmouthed and bellicose groups are not the only source of the neofascist danger. Now as in the past, they are backed by influential forces. G. Covington, a leader of the National Socialist Party of America, has boasted that many

of its most devoted supporters have no party card. From what he says, they hold positions of note in business and politics and have no reason to advertise their ties with the party, whose supporters are much more numerous than is assumed.

The reactionary nature of US imperialism is seen in the methods of implementing policy, organising propaganda and indoctrinating the population. Power in the USA is in the hands of an oligarchy, Blank points out in his book; surveillance virtually involves the whole population; every effort is made to foment ethnic and racial prejudice and conflict; the authorities and the extreme Right have powerful means of controlling and manipulating people's thinking (see p. 219).

It is not accidental that the United States has become a haven of the World Union of National Socialists, the umbrella organisation of neofascists coordinating their activity in various countries. Ultra-right terrorists from other countries receive training in camps on US territory. The Black International, as the world-wide network of neofascist organisations is called, has largely been placed in the service of US imperialist interests.

Western regimes generally refuse to adopt any effective measures against neofascists. They try to explain and justify this in various ways ranging from a description of the problem as one of minor excesses on the part of small and insignificant groups to praise for bourgeois democracy, said to tolerate all viewpoints, including those of the extreme Right. Actually the tolerant attitude of capitalist states to neofascism is motivated by definite class considerations. Neofascism is, now as before, one of the extreme means of upholding the power of the monopoly bourgeoisie, which has no intention of renouncing it, as the cases of Chile or Paraguay indicate.

When neofascism is not used in today's capitalist world directly, as an instrument of terroristic dictatorship, it performs a number of other functions important to the bourgeoisie. Opitz lists some of these functions in the second part of his book. He describes neofascism's primary function as detecting discontent and diverting and reorienting the protest potential in capitalist society, especially during economic upheavals. Diverse population groups lose faith in the habitual bourgeois parliamentary game between the ruling and opposition parties and turn their backs on them. This makes it likely that the masses will swing to the left, a development dangerous to the existing system. Neofascism is expected to win over the discontented, turn their anger under false pretexts against class opponents of monopoly and channel social protest in a way suiting the ruling classes. It also operates as a barometer showing how far an anti-parliamentary mass base for the transition to authoritarian rule has developed or may develop.

When bourgeois society is living an ordinary 'normal' life one of neofascism's functions is to help justify the reactionary policy of the government. In deciding on anti-popular measures fraught with the loss of electoral support, the regime can invoke 'public opinion' in the person of neofascism, saying that it insists on these measures. In this way it can suggest that the measures are inevitable, and clear the decks for their adoption. Thus a function of neofascism is to swing social evolution to the right.

A special role in destabilising the political situation is assigned to the 'strategy of tension', which is expected to set the scene for a pro-fascist coup. By carrying out acts of terrorism on a massive scale, neofascists intimidate the population and, on the other hand, create in bourgeois quarters the impression that the state is 'unmanageable'. This makes it easier to go over to authoritarian rule, as was the case in Chile before the overthrow of Salvador Allende or in Turkey before the 1980 military coup, and as the P-2 Lodge planned to proceed in Italy. In such periods, the ultras invariably show a stronger desire to terrorise working people's organisations (a desire always cherished by them) and to deal them direct blows. And when an open

clash between classes occurs neofascism joins directly in civil war as a backer of reaction.

The books under review raise the fundamental issue of stopping fascism's successors, which is only natural. Humanity paid too dearly for Nazism's bid to reduce the whole planet to a gigantic prison camp. The abundant evidence contained in the books helps the reader appreciate the lessons of history, warns against underrating the neofascist danger, and stresses the need for all anti-fascist, democratic forces to unite.

Dieter Wenzel

¹ Ideological current in bourgeois social science mechanically applying the laws of biological evolution to the development of human society. —*Ed.*

² For details, see *WMR*, No. 7, 1985, pp. 125-127.

³ For details, see *WMR*, No. 6, 1985, pp. 115-119.

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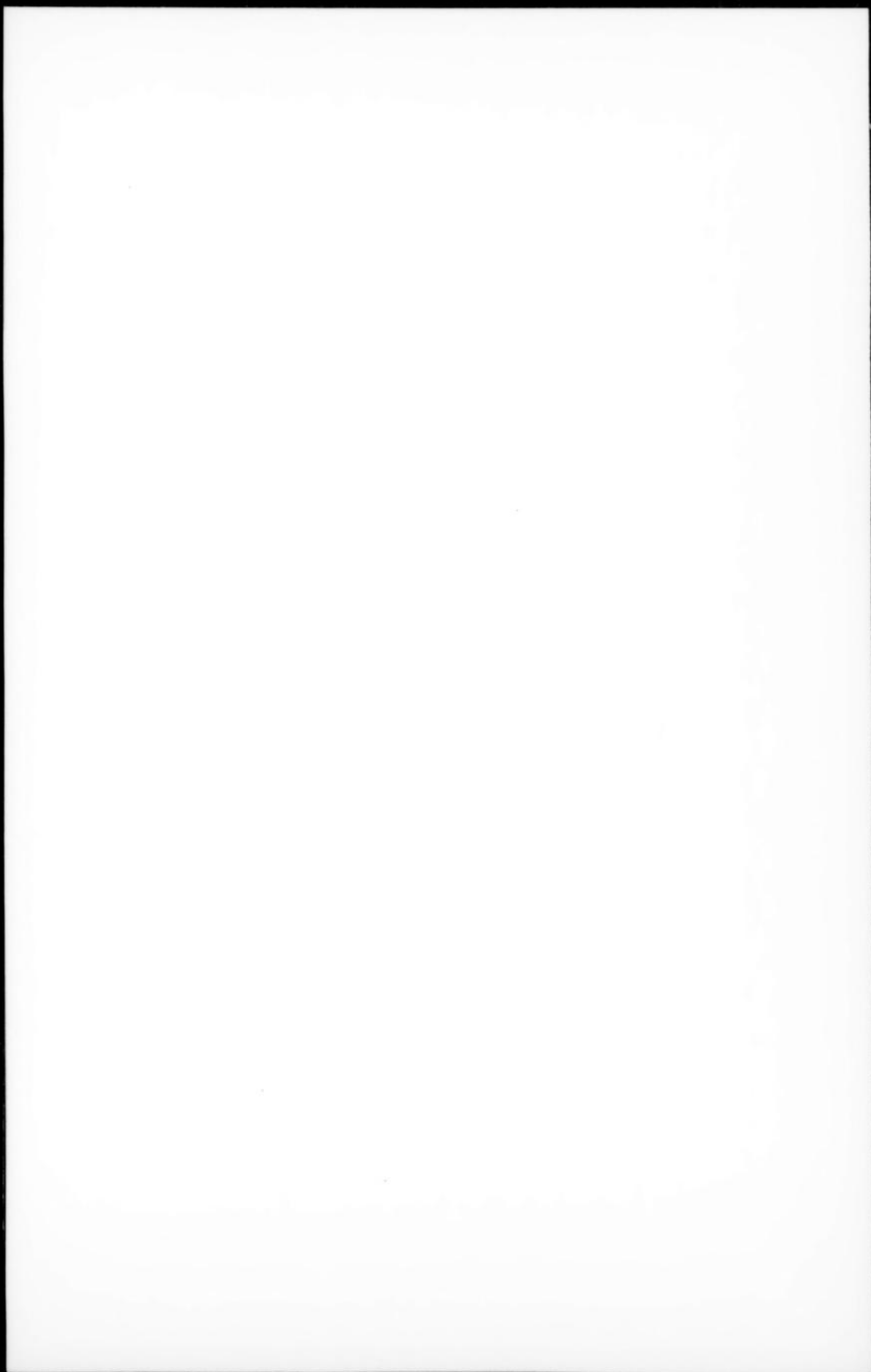
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