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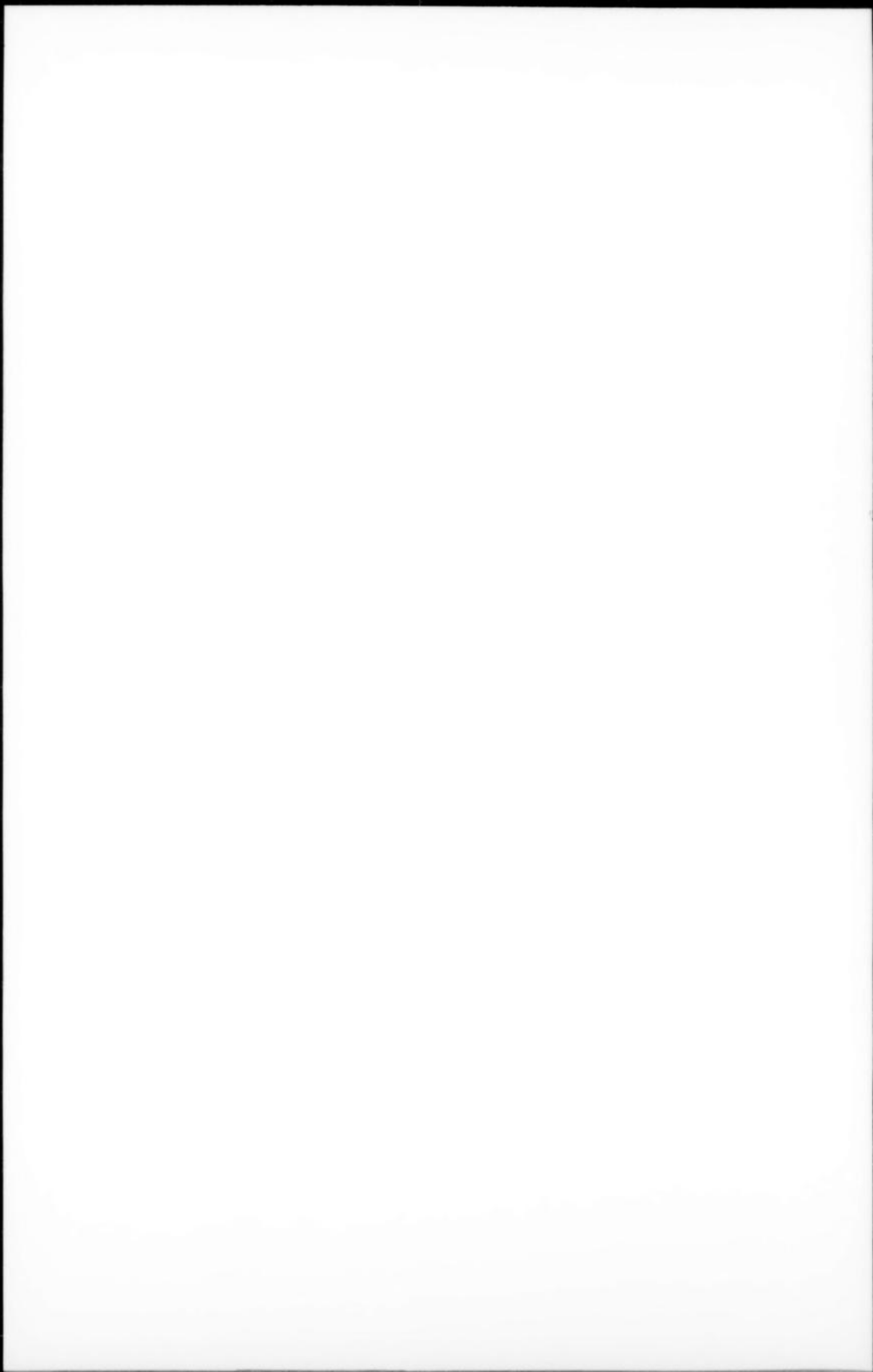
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Something All Humanity Wants

Kurt Hager – CC Political Bureau member, CC Secretary, SUPG

MARX, Engels, and Lenin pointed out time and again that scientific socialism, which they had elaborated, constitutes a guide to action and not a package of dogmas and fossilised rules. The cardinal principles and scientific corroboration of the teaching on the proletariat's historic mission of putting an end to the exploiting capitalist system and building socialism remain the solid foundation of the world-view of the working class and its revolutionary party. Marxism-Leninism's eminence, viability, and validity lie in the fact that it measures up to the requirements made of a scientific theory: it indicates how new problems of social development have to be tackled.

Those in the West who are now asserting that "Marxism is being modernised" are laying bare their total incomprehension of our world-view: Marxism-Leninism has never been "out-of-date" or "obsolete", it has been and remains relevant for it answers the questions put on the agenda by concrete historical situations and, in addition, performs a prognosticative function. This underlines our approach to questions of war and peace and humanity's other global problems, to the tasks to be addressed in the process of building a developed socialist society. This was compellingly demonstrated by the 11th Congress of the SUPG (1986). Its resolutions, the report of the party's Central Committee delivered by the General Secretary Erich Honecker, and the directives on the GDR's five-year (1986-1990) plan for economic development give a Marxist-Leninist answer to the requirements of the present and the future — with, naturally, consideration for the actual conditions in our republic.

We place a high evaluation on the outcome of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, which spelled out detailed guidelines for reinforcing peace and accelerating the Soviet Union's socio-economic progress. This is ushering in a new phase of its development and is of immense significance in the context of consolidating the socialist world. The other fraternal parties are likewise contributing to the enrichment of modern Marxist-Leninist theory and policy.

Needless to say, it is vitally important that the programme statements and documents of the various parties should reflect not only general laws of the class struggle and the socialist revolution, but also the character of social development in their respective countries. The SUPG ties its actions in with the Programme adopted by its Ninth Congress (1976) and the resolutions of its 11th Congress. In close unity with the people, it is doing everything in its

*Kurt Hager (b. 1912) joined the Communist Party of Germany in 1930. He fought in the Spanish Civil War. After 1945 Kurt Hager was professor of Marxist-Leninist philosophy at Humboldt University in Berlin. He was elected a CC member (1954), a CC Secretary (1955), and then an alternate member (1958) and a voting member (1963) of the Political Bureau of the SUPG Central Committee.

power to make peace durable, and further strengthen socialism.

For our epoch it is particularly symbolic that alongside its main contradiction — between socialism and capitalism — there is another on whose solution the existence of all humanity depends. The vital interests of nations and countries are in dramatic, global conflict with the purposes of a small stratum, namely, the rabidly aggressive and reactionary quarters of imperialism who want confrontation, the arms race, and world supremacy.

The policy of the militarist forces is inflaming tension and complicating the international situation. The build-up of nuclear weapons and the upgrading of conventional armaments have now reached magnitudes that can no longer bring victory to any side. In a nuclear war there will be neither victors nor vanquished: its only outcome will be a radioactive desert. For the first time in human history we have a situation in which the existence of the human race is at stake, in which the life of all humankind is in jeopardy.

A principle underlying the policy of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other socialist countries on the international scene is that since a nuclear collision will inescapably have devastating consequences, **war no longer makes sense as a vehicle of policy. All countries can safeguard their security only by acting not against but with each other, resolving this problem by international effort. Having recognised that every country has a legitimate interest in security, policy must be founded on reason, a sense of responsibility, concord, and restraint. Such a policy needs a new approach to international relations, it needs a new mode of thinking.**

In keeping with this conclusion Mikhail Gorbachov advanced far-reaching proposals at his meeting with the US President Ronald Reagan at Reykjavik. These proposals called for a 50 per cent reduction to be followed by the total elimination of intermediate-range missiles in Europe, a ceiling on their number in Asia, a ban on all nuclear tests, and the reinforcement of the terms of the ABM treaty with a simultaneous ban on the testing of space weapons outside laboratories.

The Reykjavik meeting was unquestionably a significant political event. It showed that it is possible to free the world of nuclear and conventional weapons. But this historical opportunity was missed on account of the US administration's refusal to abandon its SDI programme, to give up its plans to test space weapons in circumterrestrial space. On no account can nuclear weapons be reduced while outer space is being militarised.

There is not a hint of logic in the USA's obsession with the SDI. If both sides agree to eliminate nuclear weapons and comply with or even reinforce the terms of the ABM treaty, it would be senseless to develop a space-based anti-missile defence system. Adherence to the "star wars" idea can have only one purpose: to acquire military superiority and make it possible to deliver a first strike. Mikhail Gorbachov justifiably noted that this programme was destabilising the strategic situation and could only give a strong impetus to the arms race.

Who wants to aggravate the international situation, escalate the arms race, and prepare for a nuclear war? What are the grounds for the confrontational policy and, notably, the assertion that the Soviet Union is threatening the West? It is important to answer these questions and expose bourgeois propaganda's sophistry and lies.

With US imperialism's most reactionary circles calling the tune, the US administration is unwilling to forsake the SDI-programme tests in outer space. These circles include the leading war-related concerns for whom armaments production is the only means of expansion and enrichment. Much of the responsibility for the arms build-up, for which almost 300 billion dollars have been allocated for 1987, devolves on the Pentagon and the militarists in other governmental agencies. A state-monopoly body, the US Defense Department is going forward with the production of new weapons system and thereby spurring the arms race. An ominous role is played here by the many committees, groupings, and organisations of the Rand Corporation and Heritage Foundation type.

William Fulbright, a former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, characterised the forces active in the USA as follows: "There are very many people in the administration and particularly, in the Pentagon who are categorically set against an improvement of relations with the Soviet Union. They fear they will not get enough money

for armaments and for that reason are inciting alarm in the Congress."¹

The military-industrial complex's direct influence on foreign policy and military-political decision-making is due to several factors:

- the USA's persistent drive for supremacy in the world;
- the creation, for this purpose, of a huge war machine that is much more powerful than that of any other imperialist state;
- the vast extent of monopolisation and the concentration of power in the hands of the US monopolies on both the national and international levels;
- the intertwining between the imperialist state and the monopolies, a process that is most clearly seen in the USA.

At the close of the 1970s and in the early 1980s the forces linked to the military-industrial complex expanded their sphere of activities. The changes that took place in the internal and external situation to the detriment of US imperialism were used by them to arouse "patriotic" sentiments with the help of bellicose anti-communism. It played the role of a factor integrating the bourgeoisie and, at the same time, crippled the forces opposed to confrontation and the arms race.

Of course, it is quite obvious that the influence of the bellicose quarters in the USA is declining. In 1981 the increase in military spending had the approval of 60 per cent of the US population and was opposed only by 7 per cent: in 1985 no more than 16 per cent were in favour of the arms build-up, and 30 per cent were opposed to an extension of the military budget.

On several occasions after Reykjavik the US administration declared that the SDI could not be a subject of the negotiations with the Soviet Union and that the USA would never consent to eliminating all nuclear weapons. The US President is clinging to the "star wars" programme and in this he is supported by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl and other bourgeois politicians in NATO countries.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and all the other socialist states is based on an entirely different approach: **it is guided by realities and is permeated with a sense of responsibility for the destiny of peace.** Fully in accord with the stand adopted by the CPSU and other fraternal parties, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany declared at its 11th Congress that "there is a need for a firm will to depart from thought stereotypes of the categories of confrontation and striving for military superiority, there is a need for a new approach to the matter in order to find new forms and procedures for the relations between the different social systems, countries, and regions".²

Optimism is inspired by the growth in recent years of the social and political forces which are, like us, committed to a constructive approach to issues bearing on international relations. That there has been a shift to this direction is shown by the Delhi Declaration and the Harare Appeal, and also by the first steps that have been taken in Europe at the Stockholm Conference to create an atmosphere of trust and non-use of force. The recent initiative, agreed upon by the SUPG and the SDPG, for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Europe is of the same order.

Indisputably, the preservation of world peace is, more than any other aim, consistent with the interests of all humankind for, as I have already pointed out, at stake is ultimately the basic prerequisite for its continued existence. This fact is recognised by a steady widening spectrum of forces and it is increasingly determining their political thinking and actions, with the result that the world's conscience is more tangibly influencing the course of events. The mainstream of these forces has reached a magnitude unprecedented in history. It consists of governments and public movements, pacifists and sober-minded military men, exponents of all religions, Communists and non-Communists, workers and businessmen, politicians and housewives, intellectuals and young people, Social Democrats and trade unionists, bourgeois middle classes and moderate conservatives, in other words, of people in big and small countries of all the continents — neutral and non-aligned, socialist and capitalist, nuclear and non-nuclear.

By its policy of active dialogue, the GDR is, alongside the fraternal socialist countries, vigorously sustaining the possibility of forming a world-wide coalition of reason, realism, and goodwill. On behalf of our republic Erich Honecker declared that we are working "to promote unity among those in the world who are guided by reason and realism and given preference to cooperation over confrontation, to disarmament over the arms race".³

The prerequisites for interaction among the widest-ever spectrum of political forces and movement are to hand. Precisely the desire for such a coalition of reason — to do everything possible to preserve the human race — indicates that the interests of all humanity are growing increasingly visible in the world. They have become a new category of world politics. The question of the correlation between the interests of all humanity and specific class interests poses itself in a new way. No class can pursue its own, special interests without reckoning with humanity's main interest, that of survival; nor can the monopoly bourgeoisie permit itself to do otherwise, for it will not survive a nuclear war either. The shaping of this interest of all humanity is what generates the conflict between peace-loving humankind and the militarists, who are jeopardising this interest. This conflict can be resolved by persevering efforts to put pressure on and paralyse imperialism's most aggressive forces.

The working class and its Marxist-Leninist philosophy have always taken humanity's interests into close consideration. The founders of this philosophy never gave priority to the interests of the proletariat "because", as Lenin put it succinctly, "from the standpoint of the basic ideas of Marxism, the interests of social development are higher than the interests of the proletariat".⁴

In history there have never been moments when to achieve its aims the working class needed war; on the contrary, together with other people, it always bore most of the hardships brought by war. It was only when it was not possible to resolve the primary problem of preventing war that the call was issued for turning guns around and using the prevailing situation to accomplish the socialist revolution.

However, what was formerly correct and brought success would now be out of the question in the fundamentally new situation. A nuclear war cannot be turned into a socialist revolution, nor will it serve social progress. It is rather the prevention of such a collision, the preservation of peace that has become the condition for attaining the political goals of the working class and is becoming an inalienable component of the proletariat's historic mission.

This demonstrates Marxism-Leninism's profound humanism, its inherent awareness of its enormous responsibility for the destiny of all nations. On this point Erich Honecker noted: "In the struggle for peace the interests of socialism are indivisibly linked to the basic interests of all humankind."⁵ This explains why the working class and the socialist community countries have been and are the vanguard of the struggle for peace and for peaceful coexistence between the two social systems.

In this context we have been asked many times whether by urging this broad approach, by calling for dialogue, a policy of reason and realism, for peaceful coexistence we are not forsaking and putting an end to the class struggle?

It should be borne in mind that **peace can be ensured only in an unrelenting — class — struggle against US imperialism's aggressive militarist forces.** It would be a misplaced illusion to imagine that a limitation on armaments, disarmament, and a system of universal security can be brought about easily and quickly. The struggle for peace will be hard and long. Unexpected, conflict-laden developments are always possible in the continuing tense situation. Such developments require an intelligent response and a sense of responsibility. In our socialist society it is, above all, the duty of all of us to make a contribution to the defence and consolidation of peace by our labour achievements, by effective performance at the workplace or in study.

To avert the nuclear catastrophe threatening humanity's existence is to serve social progress and, simultaneously, create the condition for such progress. That is why we see as so highly important the fact that in recent years the most diverse workers' organisations have been more and more actively joining the peace movement, thereby combining the struggle against

the danger of war with the defence of their social interest. This is motivated by their own experience, which has made it clear that the spread of mass unemployment, the falling wages, the assault on the gains of the working people, and the invalidation of the rights of trade unions and entire nations are an outcome of confrontation and the arms race.

As the peace movement spreads, tremendous pressure begins to be brought to bear by humanity's conscience, anti-imperialist sentiments harden, and the masses act with growing determination for their democratic, social, and national interests. This is precisely why monopoly capital has been unable to put its strategic design into effect: that of fundamentally, qualitatively changing the balance of strength between capital and labour to the detriment of the working class movement.

Enduring, massive democratic movements have sprung up in many capitalist countries and are ceaselessly influencing the domestic alignment of political forces. Not only the Communists but also the most diverse forces of the left and democratic spectrum are working out their own understanding of questions related to labour, safeguarding peace, and environmental protection in keeping with the interests of the vast majority of the population; these forces are drawing a steadily growing number of people into political and social actions.

The fact that priority is given to ensuring the survival of the human species does not remove objectively existing class distinctions and contradictions, notably between monopoly capital and the working class, nor does it remove the contradictions and distinctions between the various social strata, population groups, movements, or groups of countries acting to preserve peace. This is making qualitatively new demands of the subjective factor: **arriving at correct understanding of the situation, having the ability to manage conflict situations and, as regards communist and workers' parties, to determine the corresponding forms of struggle.**

When we say that there has to be a new approach to international relations and new thinking we mean the only reasonable prospect open for mankind — peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. This principle was substantiated by Lenin: in the draft resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the 1922 Genoa Conference, he formulated it as "true equality of the two property systems — **if only as a temporary state, until such time as the entire world abandons private property and the economic chaos and wars engendered by it for the higher property system**".⁶

Peaceful coexistence changes nothing in the distinctions between the two social systems, in their economic structure, forms of administration, or ideology. However, it excludes war as a political instrument and makes normal, peaceful economic and cultural competition possible.

Moreover, the ideological contrast between philosophies and social concepts remains, for it is the outcome of the contrast between social systems and classes. Here compromises are neither possible nor necessary. But it is vital to learn to live with these contrasts and to resolve them in an atmosphere of peace. The ideological struggle is unavoidable, but it must be confined to civilised forms. Ideological differences should not be allowed to spill over into state-to-state relations so that attempts at resolving them should not erupt into threats to peace. They should not be made an obstruction to normal relations between countries, although their existence should not be either forgotten or blurred.

We have always said that peaceful coexistence does not eliminate the contradictions between socialism and capitalism. The establishment of peaceful state-to-state relations is the prerequisite and principal condition for the further development of the competition between the two systems, with both sides having an equal opportunity to respond to the challenge facing humankind as the 20th century draws to a close. I am confident that in this competition socialism will demonstrate the superiority of its main values in a steadily growing number of areas of life.

⁶ *Die Zeit*, Hamburg, October 3, 1986

⁷ *Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den XI. Parteitag der SED. Berichterstatter: Genosse E. Honecher*, Berlin, 1986, p. 10.

¹ *Neues Deutschland*, December 31, 1985.

² V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 236.

³ *Neues Deutschland*, June 14-15, 1986.

⁴ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 357.

Looking to Faster Economic and Social Development

Dumaagiyn Sodnom – CC Political
Bureau member, MPRP; Chairman,
Mongolia's Council of Ministers

THE main task of the economic policy of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party over the next few years is to advance the development of social production and to make it more efficient as the basis for raising the working people's well-being. To do that we shall have to build up the productive forces and simultaneously to make better use of our economic potential, and labour, material and financial resources, to improve the structure of the national economy, and to introduce scientific and technical achievements more vigorously. The course taken by the 19th Congress of the MPRP in May 1986 is fully consonant with the CPSU's strategy of accelerating economic and social development.

Our economic progress needs to be accelerated both for the historical reasons of transition from feudalism to socialism, bypassing capitalism, and in line with the general law-governed process in which the socialist countries' economic levels are aligned, an approach that is most pressing under the current scientific and technical revolution (STR).

A look at the past will help to clarify the substance of our policy today. In contrast to some of the European socialist states, Mongolia was unable to build up the material and technical facilities for the new society in the period of its transition to socialism (1921-1960), because of the extremely low development of the productive forces we inherited from feudalism and the historical conditions. By the early 1960's, when socialist property was finally instituted throughout the national economy, only 15 per cent of its fixed assets were in industry, and 75 per cent of the fixed assets in agriculture consisted of livestock. Many countries advancing towards socialism from a pre-capitalist or early-capitalist level of development have an economy with similar characteristic features.

Over the past 25 years, internationalist support from the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries helped us successfully to build up the material and technical base of socialism by further industrialising the country, mechanising agricultural production, and raising the level of technical facilities in all the sectors of the national economy.¹ That is being done primarily by our national-income distribution policy.

From 1961 to 1985, our accumulation fund constantly came to 30-40 per cent, as compared with the 20-25 per cent for the other countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). Such distribution made it possible to use the advantages of the international socialist division of labour for markedly enlarging material and technical facilities in every sector of the national economy, and for developing the industries for which we have favourable natural and economic conditions. Over these 25 years, the USSR alone helped to start over 700 economic projects, including 150 industrial projects, which now turn

Dumaagiyn Sodnom (b. 1933) was appointed minister of finance in 1963. He was first deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission from 1969 to 1972; deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission from 1974 to 1984. Dumaagiyn Sodnom has been Chairman of the Council of Ministers since December 1984. He joined the party in 1954, became a member of its Central Committee in 1966, and has been a member of the CC Political Bureau since 1984.

out over one-half of the country's industrial product. Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary, Poland, and Romania have also been giving us fraternal assistance in starting new industries and lines of production up to modern technical standards.

All of that has promoted the dynamic growth of Mongolia's economic potential. From 1961 to 1985, fixed production assets in our national economy multiplied 9.2-fold, the national income — 3.2-fold, and the gross domestic product — 4.0-fold. We now turn out in three months as much as we did in the whole of 1960.

Substantial structural transformations have been brought about by the MPRP's policy of industrialisation. Mongolia is being gradually transformed into an industrial-agrarian state. In terms of objectives, content, techniques and economic and social consequences, industrialisation in our country has common features with similar processes in other socialist countries. Industrialisation is being carried on in a balanced manner, at a fast pace, on the basis of social property, and so helps to consolidate the alliance of the working class and the cooperative peasantry, and further to improve the working people's life.

Industry has an ever greater role to play in our economy: the share of its net product in the national income went up from 15 per cent in 1960 to 33 per cent in 1985, and is expected to reach 36 per cent by the end of the current five-year plan period (1985-1990).

With Mongolia's fairly large reserves of coal, the fuel and energy complex has been developed at a faster pace. Over the past 25 years, electric-power and thermal energy output has increased roughly 20-fold. Energy centres have taken shape at Ulan Bator, Darhan, and Selenge, all within the central energy system, which is linked up with that of Eastern Siberia.

The development of the mining industry is being accelerated. Erdenet, the Mongolian-Soviet ore concentration combine, is one of the largest in the world, and is of key significance in raising the industrial level of our economy. Indeed, Erdenet has come to symbolise the friendship of the Mongolian and Soviet peoples, with the giant plant operating at full capacity being its material embodiment. The value of its output comes to over one-third of the country's exports. Joint economic associations, among them Mongolsovtsvetmet, Mongolczechoslovakmetal, and Mongolbulgarmetal are also operating successfully.

The material and technical base in livestock breeding, the most important and long-established sector of our national economy, has also been steadily consolidated. Our agriculture, which has been developed on an industrial basis since the early 1960's, now has modern machinery and facilities and meets the population's main requirements in bread. Over the past 25 years, the assets available per rural worker have on the whole multiplied 8.0-fold, and the energy per worker — 5.0-fold. Draught animals provided 53 per cent of the power used in agriculture in 1960, as compared with 21 per cent today, the rest being provided by machines.

Mongolia's economic progress is closely bound up with social progress, and one of the most important results of its non-capitalist development is the emergence of a national working class and the quantitative and qualitative growth of its ranks. The cultural revolution carried out under the people's power has produced a working intelligentsia. Citizens in the new society have become full masters of their country where socialist social relations predominate.

From 1961 to 1985, the population's real incomes have gone up 4.0-fold, and the housing stock — 5.6-fold. The task of introducing universal eight-year schooling has been successfully fulfilled. Science, public health care, physical training and sport have been developing dynamically. Ever wider strata of the working people are being put in touch with national and world cultural and spiritual values. A network of palaces of culture, clubs, cinemas, libraries and theatres has been set up and continues to grow. Radio, television, literature and the periodical press have a great role in meeting the society's cultural and spiritual requirements.

Socialist relations of production have been further improved with the accelerated progress of our productive forces, and development of forms and methods of production management, and the system of economic calculus and economic incentives, a process which

is still in progress. But, as Jambyn Batmunkh, General Secretary of the MPRP CC, and Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural, says, life has shown that the creation of the material and technical base of socialism is as challenging a task as advancing along the non-capitalist way of development.

Mongolia's economic growth rate is higher than that of most other socialist countries, but our GNP and national income per head, our labour productivity and other basic indicators are very much lower. That is why it is exceptionally important for us to speed up our economic and social progress and to make social production more efficient.

A wide range of potentialities and resources needs to be marshalled if we are to go on expanding and consolidating the material and technical base in our economy. As in the past, so in the new five-year plan period, over 30 per cent of the national income is to go into the accumulation fund. Capital investments in the economy are to total almost 25.0 billion tugriks, so that fixed assets are to go up by 50 per cent. Our investment policy is aimed to improve the sectoral and territorial structure of our economy and to raise its technical standards. The central element is our food programme, efforts to improve the country's supply with electric power, to build up the technical facilities in building, to develop ore-mining and concentration enterprises, to increase the capacities for processing livestock raw materials, to create new metal-working and repair plants, and to develop the industries proportionally.

The quality and efficiency of social production are Mongolia's most pressing aspects at the present stage, the 19th Congress of the MPRP said. Mongolia still has potentialities for economic development through the use of extensive factors, namely, additional tapping of labour and material resources, and increasing the quantity of production capacities. However, **further progress is increasingly determined by intensification, that is, growing labour productivity, rational use of the existing potential and the economical use of resources.** Concrete assignments were set by the Congress along each of these lines.

Much remains to be done to raise the still low efficiency of capital investments and fixed assets in the economy. With that end in view, the bulk of our resources is being concentrated on about-to-be-started projects, and on the expansion, remodelling and technical re-equipment of existing enterprises and farms. The reproduction and technological structure of capital investments are being improved.

The loading parameters for machinery and equipment are to be raised to the projected ones, and the number of shifts worked increased to the utmost. Everything is being done for the smooth supply of raw and other materials to production. The most modern hardware and progressive technologies are to be used in modernising production, with service personnel undergoing occupational training and retraining.

Economies in materials, fuels and energy, the recycling of waste, and the installation of wasteless technologies are a major economic task, whose solution should add up to 0.6 billion tugriks from 1986 to 1990, or 10 per cent more than in the preceding five-year period.

The party attaches much importance to the efficient use of labour resources in the country and to boosting the productivity of social labour. **We regard these problems not only as economic ones, but also as important social problems, whose solution calls for a high standard of occupational training for young people, the creation of favourable conditions for our citizens' work and everyday life, and rational distribution of the employed population.** All of that should have an effect on the final results of our work. Thus, in the current five-year period, at least 80 per cent of product increment at existing industrial enterprises should come from higher labour productivity.

Better workmanship and a higher quality of goods and services are an important way of increasing the national wealth, where defects and hitches hamper supplies for the growing requirements of the national economy and the population, hold down the expansion of exports, and ultimately do much harm to our economy. We intend to raise the qualitative parameters of our products, and to bring them closer to those of the other socialist countries.

The influence of science on economic efficiency tends to grow in present-day conditions, so

that no production or social problem can now be solved without the use of STR achievements. Ministries, enterprises and farms have been set the task of installing new hardware and technology up to the highest standards of the day. Much here depends on cooperation with scientific institutions in the fraternal countries in the use of electronics, automation, biotechnologies and new materials in accordance with the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA Countries Until the Year 2000.

The basic distinctive feature of the new five-year plan period is that special attention is being given to the shaping of plan assignments, and to more efficient and rational use of production base and intensive-growth factors.

Our country's power industry is to be substantially improved. The Soviet Union is to help start the building of a major electric-power plant near the Baganur coal mines.

The capacities of joint enterprises in mining are to be enlarged. Major deposits of phosphorites and coking coal are to be developed, while large-scale geological prospecting is to increase our mineral and raw material potential in non-ferrous metallurgy.

Metal-working and repair services are something of a bottle-neck in our national economy, and that is why we are working to enlarge the capacities and intend to build a number of new enterprises, notably a plant for the overhaul of tractors and farm machinery, with shops turning our spare parts, repairing worn-out components and making simple farming machines.

We have been developing the light and food industry, whose output has multiplied 6.0-fold over the past 25 years. In the current five-year period, much will be done to ensure the most complete processing of livestock raw materials, including the starting of carpet and felt factories, and enterprises for turning out felt footwear and fur coats, and remodelling a worsted mill, etc.

Extensive methods continue to prevail in agriculture, and especially in livestock farming. It is still a specific problem in our conditions to intensify this sector of our economy, and that calls for great efforts and much time. The party's agrarian policy in the near future is to **overcome the negative trend of agricultural output lagging behind the fairly high rate of population growth, and to prevent any disproportions from arising between food supply and demand.**

In the Eighth Five-Year Plan period, we shall have to put through the priority tasks set by the target programme for the development of agriculture and improvement of the country's food supply until the year 2000. We intend to set up numerous mechanised dairy farms, fattening-up and feed farms, to improve the technology of pasture livestock farming, and use scientific methods in breeding better livestock. Material and technical base in building, transportation and communications is also to be substantially consolidated.

Much remains to be done to enhance the people's well-being. In this five-year period, consumption funds are to go up by 20-25 per cent, and the population's real incomes by 20-23 per cent. Broad measures have been mapped out in the social and cultural spheres. Wages in material production and in the services are to go up, and the incomes of members of agricultural cooperatives are to increase. There is to be an improvement of the working people's housing conditions, and medical and everyday services, especially in the countryside. The education system is to be perfected. By 1990, there are to be 2,609 students, 27 physicians and 115 hospital beds per 10,000 of the population — a significant increase.

We have already got down to realising the tasks set by the Congress. A decision has been taken to raise minimum pensions for cattle-breeders, and to lower household electricity charges from the second half of this year. The first session of the 11th Great People's Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic took steps to improve everyday services for the population. A discussion by the whole people of the MPRP CC theses on public education problems is in its final stages. The building of dwellings and other social and cultural facilities, especially child-care institutions, is being expanded. Steps are being taken to cut administrative costs.

The party has given special attention to the further assertion of social justice, with a firmer and more consistent line in holding out incentives for honest, active and fruitful labour,

improving the system of socialist distribution in accordance with the principle of incomes being directly dependent on actual results and high-quality workmanship.

Our social programme is designed to promote the development of the socialist way of life, and formation of the individual in the new society up to the occupational and educational standards of the present and the future. Our assumption is that concern and care for our people will help to raise the quality and efficiency of their labour, which is all the more important since the role of the human factor in tackling vital problems tends to be immensely more important with the passage of time.

The material and technical base of socialism being build up in Mongolia provide the objective basis for tackling this three-fold task: **advancing production, developing the individual and providing ever fuller satisfaction of the individual's wants, and perfecting the socialist relations of production.**

The lines for improving the economic mechanism have been laid down in the light of those tasks. The implication is above all a switch to economic methods of management at every level, tightening up of centralised planning, with a simultaneous emphasis on greater initiative for sectoral and local organs, enterprises and farms, so as to enhance the efficiency of production and increase its final results. That also implies greater initiatives and more independent action by work collectives and a closer link-up of economic and social policy.

Such are the objectives of the economic experiment now under way in some of our industries in the light of the experience of the fraternal countries, the Soviet Union in the first place. Financial and credit instruments are accordingly being made more effective, with a greater role in the attainment of end results in production and fuller application of economic calculus. Each enterprise and farm is to tap its own reserves and potentialities so as to increase profits and accumulations, and make contributions to the centralised funds. All enterprises and organisations in industry, building, transportation, communications and everyday services are to be switched to the new methods of management in the current five-year period.

The results of the first year of the Eighth Five-Year Plan period show that the policy of accelerating and intensifying economic development is being successfully realised. Industrial output has gone up by 7 per cent, we have had a good cereal crop, and the livestock population has increased. The target figures for labour productivity have been surpassed. The elements of the new economic mechanism being introduced help to assert a new frame of economic thinking among the working people in line with the spirit of the day, with bold ventures in socialist enterprise, something that is bound to have a strong impact on every aspect of our life in the years ahead.

The 19th Congress of the MPRP noted that "as the country is being industrialised on socialist lines, it is being gradually transformed into an industrial-agrarian country. However, neither the country's industrialisation, nor its conversion into an industrial-agrarian country is an end in itself, because both are geared to the task of completing the build-up of an optimal complex of material and technical base of socialism, i.e., the formation of an optimal sectoral and territorial structure of the national economy, as determined by the MPRP Programme."²

Internal reserves of the national economy are to be tapped to implement the party's programme targets over the next few years, as the country's economic and labour potential is steadily increased. Thus, the current Five-Year Plan provides for some measures to rationalise the location of the productive forces, by building new industrial enterprises in the west, developing virgin lands in the east, and in the Khalkhin Gol area, enlarging industrial complexes in the central economic region, and developing their infrastructure.

The formation of an optimal sectoral and territorial structure of the national economy in our country has been proceeding in the course of socialist economic integration. Our economy's specialisation in sectors like livestock farming, the production of consumer goods from livestock products, and the mining industry has taken shape in the course of Mongolia's historical development and of the international socialist division of labour. These structure-

forming sectors of the national economy are being export-oriented.

The further development of our economic, scientific and technical cooperation with the fraternal countries will help to build up the country's production complex in line with our natural and economic conditions. This is based on the decisions of the CMEA countries' summit in Moscow in 1984, and the agreed long-term programmes for bilateral cooperation. Our European partners will go on helping us to speed up our development, building new projects, raising the efficiency and product quality of enterprises started with their technical assistance, and improving the technology of production and the training of national personnel. These decisions of the CMEA economic summit have been assessed by the party's 19th Congress as socialist internationalism in action, and as an expression of genuine fraternal relations.

Trade between Mongolia and the other CMEA countries is to go up by almost 30 per cent, with imports meeting a large part of our requirements in machinery, plant, spare parts and materials. In return, Mongolian exports of manufactures and mining products are to have a growing role in our foreign trade.

Cooperation with the Soviet Union will be of especial significance. It is to help us in this five-year period to build and modernise hundreds of our enterprises.

The friendly meeting between Jambyn Batmunkh and Mikhail Gorbachov in Moscow in August 1986 has given a fresh impetus to our cooperation, as they put a high value on broad and multifaceted Mongolian-Soviet ties. It was also noted that far from all the reserves had been fully tapped, and that there were potentialities for making cooperation and specialisation more efficient. The organisations of both countries in this field are to consolidate the policy of economies and to make the most effective use of material and financial resources. The same requirements are contained in the long-term programme for economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries until the year 2000. We shall naturally go on expanding and deepening our cooperation with other CMEA countries as well.

Mongolia has made much headway in industrialisation. On many parameters it is already ahead of the countries of Asia and Africa with which it but recently had similar economic and social development levels. Mongolia's experience refutes the notion that industrialisation is possible only along the capitalist way of development. Our revolutionary practice provides hard facts to show that the bourgeois theory of the "post-industrial society" is untenable, for it presents historical progress only from the standpoint of technical development, sectoral and occupational division of labour, while minimising the importance of relations between classes, and production relations and forms of property. **The community of the fraternal states has demonstrated beyond any doubt the basic advantages of socialism over capitalism, such as the planned-and-balanced development of the economy, social and national equality, the society's ideological unity, confidence in the future, and constant concern for human beings and their all-round development.**

The line of our party's 19th Congress of accelerating and intensifying the economy will raise every aspect of life in our society to a higher level. The plans we have mapped out are realistic above all because they are based on Mongolia's growing potential, the dynamism of the socialist system, and on close cooperation with the fraternal countries.

The Mongolian people are successfully realising the tasks set by the MPRP for the country's economic and social development, and making a contribution to further strengthening the might of socialism and its international positions, and to the triumph of the cause of peace and progress on the Earth.

¹ See 15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Ulan Bator, 1967, p.146.

² Jambyn Batmunkh, *Report of the MPRP Central Committee to the 19th Congress of the MPRP and the Tasks Ahead*, Ulan Bator, 1986, p.28 (in Mongolian).

International Labour and the Struggle for Peace

Michael O'Riordan – National Chairman,
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OVER the past year trade union organisation and federations of different countries have undertaken extremely productive activities for disarmament and world security. They responded, in particular, to the call of the World Federation of Trade Unions for a massive global campaign for peace and jobs as a trade union contribution to the International Year of Peace. This campaign proceeded under the powerful impetus of the many new sweeping peace initiatives and practical steps taken by the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community. Massive support of the trade unions, including trade unions in Ireland, was enthusiastically extended to the programme for building a nuclear-free world outlined in Mikhail Gorbachov's Statement of January 15, 1986, to the efforts of the USSR to curb the arms race and prevent it from spreading to outer space, and to the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests.

The trade unions have acted vigorously against the continuation of the arms race, which is one of the most disquieting features of our time. It is intensifying the threat of war, of a global nuclear holocaust, and adversely affecting many aspects of life. The hardest hit by it are the socio-economic interests of the working people, precisely the area in which the trade unions are active, in the first place. The struggle of the trade unions, of the labour movement for peace and disarmament is thus a struggle, simultaneously, for the working people's socio-economic rights.

The monopolies, imperialism's most reactionary quarters, have launched the most savage postwar assault on the living standard and rights of the working class in a bid to deprive the workers of their basic social gains. Moreover, by inflaming chauvinism and pseudo-patriotism they hope to get the support of the working people for their increasingly aggressive, militarist foreign policy, which is prompted primarily by their anti-communism. Workers, especially those employed in war production, are told that a curtailment of this industry would aggravate the economic crisis and extend unemployment.

However, this sort of argument now cuts less and less ice with the workers and their unions. They see that the loss of jobs, the falling wages, and the austerity economy are the direct outcome of the huge unproductive spending on the arms race whipped up by the military-industrial complexes of the imperialist states. As well as the sharply aggravated anxiety of the people over the threat of another war, this socio-economic reality of present-day capitalism has made the task of stepping up the struggle against militarism, for ending the arms race and achieving disarmament a top priority of the workers and the trade union movement.

The trade unions have today become a significant and influential force in the peace movement. Most unions are active in it, linking the defence of peace with the attainment of the goals to achieve which the unions exist. Evidence of this is, in particular, the creation and practical work of the International Trade Union Committee for Peace and Disarmament (Dublin Committee). It exemplifies the fact that different contingents of the working class can combine their efforts and unite in the anti-war struggle.

This Committee was set up by the First World Trade Union Conference on the Social and Economic Aspects of Disarmament held in Paris in December 1981. That Conference demonstrated the international trade union movement's commitment to the defence of

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peace, to ending the arms race. It unanimously adopted a Declaration, which says in part:

"Our opinions do not coincide on all points. Yet we unanimously consider it necessary to unite for the common cause: preservation of world peace.

"Being aware of the growing role and responsibility of the trade unions in the world today, we have reached agreement on common positions concerning the ways of achieving the goal we have set ourselves.

"We call on the trade unions to fight for an end to the dangerous and senseless arms race, which consumes immense resources in all the countries of the world, and for the use of the funds released for peaceful creative purposes, for the well-being of the workers and peoples of the world."

In accordance with an agreement reached at the Conference, in May 1982 its Preparatory Committee was reconstituted in Dublin into a standing International Trade Union Committee for Peace and Disarmament for the attainment of the goals spelled out in the Declaration. James Milne, General Secretary of the Scottish Trades Union Congress, was elected its President, while its 17 members represented trade unions in 15 countries and the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Following its formation the Dublin Committee performed diverse work — organisation, coordination, research, information, and so on — to establish anti-war cooperation amongst the trade unions of different countries. It initiated and sponsored many important international conferences and other major trade union actions. The Committee is successfully fulfilling its main function of providing trade unions of different orientation in many countries with the opportunity to meet, to consider ways and means for strengthening world peace, and to agree on joint actions on the national, regional, and global levels.

In this capacity the Dublin Committee has won broad international recognition. It energetically supports the anti-war initiatives of other progressive forces. Its guiding principle is to reinforce every peace initiative that allows the working class to join in the common struggle on the basis of united action.

The Dublin Committee made a large contribution to organising the Second World Trade Union Conference on the Social and Economic Aspects of Disarmament (Dublin, in May 1986), which constituted a continuation of the trade union dialogue in Paris. Just before the Conference opened there was a sitting of the Committee, one of whose acts was to elect a new President. He is Campbell Christie, General Secretary of the Scottish Trades Union Congress.

For this Conference the Dublin Committee issued the study **Workers and the Arms Race**¹ prepared by an international group of researchers and trade union experts. This is a serious, objective study of the social and economic aspects of the arms race, disarmament and, in particular, the conversion of the armaments industry to peaceful civilian production. Its novelty is that it compares the attitudes of socialist and capitalist states to these crucial problems and maps out the ways and means leading to genuine disarmament. Giving the working people this understanding of the consequences of the arms race is regarded as a contribution of the trade unions to the attainment of the goals of the International Year of Peace and the resolution of the International Labour Organisation on the social and economic effects of disarmament. This document provided a solid foundation for discussion at the second world anti-war forum of trade unions.

The holding of the Conference was dictated by the need to understand the new tasks of the struggle for peace confronting the international trade union movement. Also it was important to assess the actual, significantly increased participation of the trade unions in the mass anti-war actions, sum up initial results, and chart the directions and targets of further joint activity. The Conference demonstrated that there were favourable opportunities for drawing more trade unionists into an active struggle to end the arms race and ensure disarmament.

The choice of the capital of Ireland as the venue of the meeting was quite justified, and the reason is by no means that the Dublin Committee owes its name to it. The Conference

organisers timed its opening to the centenary of the founding of the Dublin Council of Trade Unions, and this gave the Conference a special dimension. This coincidence acquired a profound meaning also because the Conference was opened on the 70th anniversary of the death of James Connolly, outstanding leader of the Irish labour movement, who was executed in 1916.² Many delegates attended the annual memorial service organised by the Irish trade unions at the site of the common grave in which Connolly lies beside other leaders of the Irish Rebellion. On that day — May 12 1986 — the delegates to the Conference paid tribute to his memory with a minute's silence.

The anti-war forum drew 140 representatives of trade unions and federations from 47 countries on the five continents and reflective of over 20 international organisations. The discussions took place under the slogan of **"The World of Labour for a World of Peace"**. These words form a ring around the forum's emblem — a missile reduced to scrap metal out of which grows a flower with petals extended to all the ends of the earth on the palm of a hand symbolising friendship and cooperation. This symbolism expresses the essence of the working class movement's aspirations.

The struggle for peace must become the main direction of the work of trade unions, for it concerns the principal human right, the right to life. This was the sense of the introductory speech by Campbell Christie, who heads the Dublin Committee. Comparing trade union participation in the peace movement five years ago and today, he noted that many significant changes had taken place in the attitudes and actions of the trade unions. "As a direct result of the pressure extended by the rank-and-file membership," he said, "more and more regional, national, and international trade union organisations have adopted policies on the questions of peace and disarmament that accurately reflect the growing concern of workers throughout the world, regarding the ever present danger of a nuclear catastrophe."

Speakers compellingly showed that this danger comes from the arms race being escalated by Washington. It is intensifying the threat of a nuclear war and is already now killing millions of people, taking food from the hungry and medicine from the ailing, and condemning large sections of the population to extreme poverty, misery, and decline in many countries, including the USA itself.

Laying bare the ruinous effects of the arms race, the conference showed what colossal opportunities an end to military preparations would open up for peaceful development. A delegate from Greece, for example, noted that if his country reduced NATO-related expenditures by 20 per cent it would be possible to resolve practically all the problems of the population's social security. A trade unionist from Chile said that a reduction of appropriations for military purposes would help Latin America to settle the astronomical debt of 400 billion dollars weighing down upon the economy of the countries of that continent.

Military expenditures are a heavy burden on all countries. But they are particularly damaging and senseless for the developing nations. The arms race is drastically cutting down the potential for resolving their most acute social and economic problems and surmounting their age-old backwardness. In the mid-1980s at least 800 million people did not have enough to eat and annually almost 50 million died of hunger in the Third World; 1,500 million people had no access to medical services; 815 million people were illiterate, while 600 million were jobless or worked part-time. Despite this grim situation, developing nations almost trebled their military spending between 1972 and 1984, from 33 billion to 94.3 billion dollars. They spend about 6 per cent of their GDP on military purposes, and only 1 per cent on public health and 2.8 per cent on education. This is not surprising: one tank costs as much as to build schools for 30,000 children.

Working people want to live in peace with each other, and call for the conversion of the armaments industry to civilian production and the use of the released resources for development and progress. Stressing this, delegates to the conference made wide use of UN statistics: it was noted that one billion dollars invested in armaments production creates 28,000 jobs, while the same sum invested in the manufacture of consumer goods generates

57,000 jobs. If it were to be invested in education, there would be new jobs for 71,000 persons. A reduction of the world's military expenditures by only one-fifth would put an end to hunger throughout the world by the year 2000. Such is the enormous, the prodigious magnitude of the criminal waste of human and material resources so vital to the world.

A crucial conclusion reached at the Dublin meeting was that the **conversion of the armaments industry to civilian production without the feared cutback of jobs is feasible in technical terms. Everything depends on the political will to do it. Accumulated experience must be generalised and widely disseminated.** Concrete steps have already been taken in that direction. It is planned to publish a volume containing programmes and models for conversion worked out by trade unions of different countries. Special attention was focused on analysing the **social and economic consequences of the militarisation of outer space, which delegates assessed as an extremely dangerous and wasteful gamble.** Proposals were adopted for the creation of an international working group within the Dublin Committee framework to study this question and send its conclusions to national and international trade union federations and also to the United Nations and its specialised agencies.

The programme demands of the trade unions in the struggle for peace are mirrored in the Conference's Declaration and the Final Document "For a World Economy Freed from the Arms Race". Special mention should be made of the fact that in the voting for these two documents there was no dissent. Generally speaking, it is indicative of the work and atmosphere at the Dublin meeting that all of the 40 amendments to the draft Declaration were closely considered and adopted unanimously. This expressed the constructive approach, democratic attitude, and striving for unity on the part of representatives of trade unions of markedly different countries and regions.

The basic estimates, principles, and goals of the trade unions in regard to the tasks of the day were summed up in the Declaration. **It states that because of the continuing exacerbation of the international situation and the steep build-up of armaments, which placed an onerous burden on all workers, on all people and countries, the trade union movement should mobilise its potentialities for the struggle to preserve life on earth and re-channel military spending into constructive projects** and resolve the most acute social and economic problems of the day.

The Declaration orients the trade unions on determined mass actions, on a search for new ways of promoting broad cooperation among workers' organisations in the struggle against war. "We are convinced," it says, "that trade unions should put aside all their differences and everything which keeps them apart, to struggle against the threat of a new war and the arms race. Here, just like the vital interests of those whom trade unions are called upon to defend, we should be united."

The Final Document specifies the principal concerns set forth in the Declaration. It is, in fact, a substantive programme of struggle by the trade unions against the forces of militarism, to curb the arms race, ensure peace, and improve the condition of the working class.

The time that has passed since the Dublin Conference has shown that the working class and trade union movement is entering a new phase of concerted action against the threat of war. This Conference gave a further impetus to the work of the International Trade Union Committee for Peace and Disarmament. The concepts and goals advanced by it were extensively discussed, further enlarged upon, and enriched at, for instance, such authoritative international forums as the 11th World Congress of Trade Unions (September 1986, Berlin) and the trade union forum that functioned as part of the World Congress devoted to the International Year of Peace (October 1986, Copenhagen). The tasks of the confrontation with militarism were defined at these meetings in the shape of programmes.

Thus, the first of the three directions identified at the 11th World Congress of Trade Unions³ as central to the work of the international trade union movement is to extend its participation in the struggle for peace and disarmament, to end the arms race, and use the funds thus released for the social and economic requirements of the peoples. The Congress drew the exceedingly important conclusions that there is a direct link between the struggle for peace and the struggle for the social and economic demands of the working class, that the

conversion of armaments production to civilian purposes is feasible and will have a beneficial impact on the living standards of the working people, and that it is vital to unite the forces of the international trade union movement in opposition to the threat of war.

Analogous concepts were put forward at the Copenhagen trade union forum as well. These were that, without belittling the role of the other peace forces, the success of the anti-war struggle depends, in the first place, on the **will and ability of the trade union and working class movement to formulate and pursue a new, coherent policy in keeping with present-day conditions regardless of who participates in the struggle; Socialists, Social Democrats, or Communists, believers or non-believers.** In this sense hope is held out by some of the changes in the relations between the social democratic and communist parties of Europe, between the trade unions of East and West, and by the joint actions of different trade union federations in Italy, France, Spain and Japan. Moreover, it was noted that the destructive attitude of the US administration at Reykjavik demonstrated much more clearly than ever before that it is essential to mobilise and unite the potentials of the working class, the trade union, and the peace movements to press for state-to-state agreements on questions related to ending the arms race and to disarmament.

The positions substantiated by the trade union conferences in Dublin, Berlin, and Copenhagen are now the point of departure of trade unions of different orientation. This is shown by the fact that the objective realities of world development are compelling all quarters, including reformist groups in the working class movement, to redefine their views. For example, some large trade unions in the USA, Japan, and West European countries are now linking their demand for a growth of employment directly to the struggle against the arms race. It is noteworthy that in 1985 even the AFL-CIO, which for many years had advocated more spending on armaments, redefined its stand, declaring that it would no longer support such spending because it was leading to cuts in social programmes. The shift to the left in the British labour movement continues to gain momentum: at their latest conferences the British Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party demonstrated their will for nuclear disarmament and a reinforcement of peace and detente.

Needless to say, these changes are taking place against the background of a conflict of opinions. There are elements in the leadership of the social democratic movement, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and the World Confederation of Labour who have still not disavowed their divisive, anti-communist views of the cold war years. This is hindering cooperation between different associations of working people. Nonetheless, **one can say there are unmistakable common tendencies towards intensifying the struggle of the international working class and trade union movement for peace, towards combining this struggle with the defence of the social and economic interests of the working people.** It is evident that, given all the complexities and contradictions of its present stage, this movement is growing stronger organisationally and politically. The working class and the trade unions are playing a growing role in the development of the world we live in. The Communists are in the forefront of these processes, striving to give an anti-war direction to the working class and trade union movement and consolidate its unity. This is quite natural because we see the principal task in preserving peace and reinforcing internationalist solidarity in order to promote the welfare of all working people, of all nations.

The workers and the trade unions are moving with growing determination from the "war of resolutions and declarations" to **practical mass actions** in defence of peace. This is taking place despite the expanding economic, political, and ideological pressure brought to bear by reaction, despite the ruthless repressions against peace fighters, and despite the divisive activities of right-wing social reformist quarters.

With the active participation of the Communists, the Irish working people are tenaciously doing everything in their power to preserve their country's neutrality. Ireland is the only EEC member-state unattached to NATO. Ireland's sovereign policy, founded on principles of non-alignment, is under constant attack from pro-NATO elements, who are using every possible pretext to drag the nation into this aggressive pact's sphere of influence. The

north-eastern part of the country is regarded by NATO as a crucial link of its chain. Military exercises involving US and British submarines are held regularly in the Irish Sea, an arena of many accidents and a resource already being contaminated by the radioactive waste from the British nuclear installation at Sellafield on the west coast of England.

It is our stand that Ireland and the Irish Sea should be proclaimed a nuclear-free zone, that the NATO exercises should be stopped, and that the region's peace and security should be reinforced. Precisely this would be the Irish labour movement's contribution to the spreading campaign to declare Europe a zone free of nuclear weapons and have it turned into a region of peaceful coexistence, confidence, and cooperation, in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act.

The struggle waged by the working people of Ireland is part of the efforts of the international trade union movement to safeguard peace. For example, in Western Europe, the USA, and Canada many trade union locals have become coorganisers of the anti-missile and anti-nuclear movement. In 1982, when the second special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament was holding its sitting, more than a million people took part in demonstrations in New York. The demonstrators carried the banners of trade unions and peace groups. Five-minute strikes staged in the FRG in the past few years, under a slogan calling for an end to the arms race and the preservation of peace showed that West German trade unions are widely participating in the anti-nuclear struggle. The world-famous action by women against the deployment of US missiles in Greenham Common, Britain, had the support of many trade unions, while a number of British trade unions have bluntly declared that "peace is the business of trade unions". The trade unions of Australia, New Zealand, and practically all the other Pacific nations are actively contributing to turning this region into a nuclear-free zone. Trade unions in Asia and Africa have adopted a unanimous stand in favour of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

September 1, 1986, the Day of Trade Union Action for Peace, was marked on all continents with further demonstrations, marches, rallies, meetings, and other actions in which millions of working people participated. The main slogan of that day was: "We Want Not 'Star Wars' but Peace on Earth!" Thus, two steadily widening popular currents, two global movements — the trade union and working class and the anti-war movements — have in fact joined hands in defence of peace.

The historic mission of the working class and the communist parties in the nuclear-space age is objectively becoming two-fold: **not only the revolutionary transformation of civilisation but, above all, its preservation.** In the face of the problems now confronting the world, particularly the problem of mankind's survival, humanity is increasingly coming to the understanding that it is a single entity, although a manifestly discordant one. The global magnitude of the social consciousness influencing both the political thinking and behaviour of statesmen, parties and trade unions, and the outlook and acts of working people with different, often conflicting views are surfacing in bold relief. **The working class stands for the progress of all humanity, while humanist and class interests fuse organically in motivating its activities.** The combination of these two aspects is historically indispensable. Peace, preserved by the efforts of peoples, is an independent, priority value and, at the same time, a sine qua non of social progress.

In the 1980s the working class and communist movement came face to face with fundamentally new realities: a new quality in the struggle for peace; the scientific and technological revolution that is reshaping society's productive forces and the population's social structure and, hence, the social base of the communist parties — the ranks of the workers and the trade unions; and the unprecedented assault mounted by imperialist reaction. All this requires the relevant response from and adjustment by the communist and workers' parties. The main thing today is to evolve a fundamentally new approach to the problems posed by life, first and foremost in the struggle for peace. The search for such an approach is being conducted in different directions, by different socio-political forces, including the trade unions, which are the largest organisations of the working people with

considerable experience and traditions of struggle for their interests. these interests are today inseparable from the elimination of the nuclear threat, from genuine disarmament.

¹ See *World Marxist Review*, No. 11, 1986, pp. 121-123 — *Ed.*

² From the outbreak of World War I, James Connolly was a passionate opponent of the imperialist slaughter and played a central role in the formation in 1908 of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, now largest in Ireland. This union finally won recognition in 1913 after a bloody class struggle against the forces of British "law and order", the native Irish bourgeoisie, the office of the Catholic Archbishop, and police brutality. Members of this union staged, in particular, an eight-months' hunger strike. From such battles against the police came the first workers' armed corps in Western Europe in this century — the Irish Citizen Army patterned on the groups of armed Russian workers during the revolution of 1905. Connolly led that army into the Irish Rebellion of 1916. Seriously wounded, he was seized and executed by the British imperialists. — *Ed.*

³ For details, see *WMR*, No. 12, 1986. — *Ed.*

Canada: Independence Under Threat

William Kashtan — General Secretary,
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THE objective development of the capitalist system in recent decades has produced an organic link connecting the struggle of the masses for peace with the struggle for sovereignty and independence. U.S. imperialism, which is the source of the nuclear threat, is obsessed with a desire to achieve global hegemony and absolute political, military, economic and cultural domination over other countries. This drive for hegemony and domination has a material basis — on the one hand, there are the military blocks in which the United States calls the tune and, on the other, there is the unprecedented growth of transnational monopoly capital to which U.S. monopolies and banks are central.

The power of transnational capital is now so great that it challenges national governments. At the beginning of this century Lenin wrote in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*: "Finance capital is such a great, such a decisive, you might say, force in all economic and in all international relations, that it is capable of subjecting, and actually does subject, to itself even states enjoying the fullest political independence."¹

At that time the reference was mostly to economically weak, semicolonial countries. Today, transnational finance capital which rests on the state hegemonism of the United States threatens the national sovereignty of all countries, industrialized nations being no exception. This is precisely the threat which faces Canada, itself a secondary imperialist power.

A characteristic feature of Canada today is the rise of movements of considerable scope centred on defense of Canada's sovereignty and independence, the battle for an independent foreign policy and with these, a growing strike movement: the working class refuses to pay for the crisis policies of monopoly and its governments.

Antagonistic Partnership

As our program "The Road to Socialism" describes it, "monopoly capital in Canada is in large measure interlocked with the big U.S. monopolies. U.S. interests control and to a large extent own outright large industries . . . While the Canadian capitalist class has shared with

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U.S. monopolies the profits from the development of Canada's raw material export industries, Canadian capitalists also have their own interests which they constantly strive to advance. This is expressed in the determination of Canadian finance capital to maintain control over banking, transportation and communications industries, and the extension of this control over other vital industries. The growing strength of Canadian finance capital has resulted in the Canadian capitalist class confronting the U.S. monopolies (read: transnationals — W.K.) in the competitive imperialist struggle for Canada's resources. This conflict between Canadian and U.S. capital for influence and control over the Canadian economy is the most important element of imperialist contradictions in Canada . . . It reflects growing rivalry over who will get the bigger share of the profits through the intensified exploitation of the Canadian working class.

"Canadian monopoly is more than a junior partner of U.S. imperialism. It is an integral part of the world imperialist system whose interests are interwoven with those of U.S. and British finance capital. What it now finds increasingly important is external expansion both in the sphere of trade and the export of capital, the securing of market outlets for raw materials, manufactured goods, and investments. Its partnership with U.S. imperialism is an antagonistic partnership, that of being simultaneously collaborators and competitors."²

The election of the Mulroney government with its pro-U.S. turn has tended to temporarily subdue the antagonistic partnership but it has not eliminated the antagonism which remains a constant factor in U.S.-Canadian relations.

In the prevailing conditions of capitalist crisis different groups of monopoly capital see two options open to them: one, to move deliberately toward closer integration with the USA or, two, to undertake a comprehensive long-term strategy to develop and strengthen the Canadian economy.

This found expression in the recent period in the conflict between the tendency toward Canadianization and Americanization in respect to economic and foreign policy.

Canadianization or Americanization?

The tendency toward Canadianization was seen in the policies pursued by the Trudeau government over the past 14 years (until 1984 — Ed.). It found expression in the advancement of a national energy policy directed to achieving 50 per cent Canadian ownership of that key industry and in the adoption of a Foreign Investment Review Act whose purpose was to minimize the negative effects of foreign ownership. It included as well some measures directed to extricate Canada from too close support of U.S. foreign policies. Not least the Trudeau government undertook to mitigate one-sided trade with the U.S. by a "third option", the extension of trade with Western Europe, the Pacific Rim countries, and the socialist countries.

The Mulroney Conservative government brought an end to the process of Canadianization. Under pressure of the Reagan Administration the Mulroney government dismantled the Foreign Investment Review Act and the National Energy Program. It proclaimed its intention of opening wide the doors of Canada to U.S. investments. It undertook to further strengthen Canada's ties with NATO and to increase military expenditures. Without receiving a mandate on this vital issue the Mulroney government undertook to negotiate "free trade" with the U.S. Administration. Not least the government declared its intention to support U.S. foreign policy. And as a first installment the government supported U.S. military intervention in Grenada.

This marked a sharp turn toward economic and military integration of Canada with U.S. imperialism. It marked a turn by monopoly interests and its government towards a policy of continentalism rather than independent economic development. This reorientation of direction mirrors the growing crisis of Canadian capitalism in a shrinking world capitalist system.

The Mulroney government claimed that free trade with the United States would give Canada an assured and larger market, create jobs and raise living standards. It is illustrative

of the illusions of broad sections of the Canadian people that 78 per cent, according to the polls, initially supported the idea of free trade. But the government and pro-U.S. interests hid from the people what the U.S. government and the transnationals expected to get out of free trade. These advantages were spelled out to be an open door investment policy, control over Canada's resources, energy and water, the elimination of safeguards by the provinces directed to protect their markets, the undermining of social programs and Canada's cultural sovereignty.

Such a bilateral trade agreement would seriously reduce Canada's ability to increase trade with all countries on an equitable basis. It would close the door for Canadians to chart a course of economic independence. It would lead to a further process of integration with the USA.

Around the issue of free trade Canadian monopoly and financial interests have deliberately traded Canada's independence for immediate capitalist profits. More than that, **Canadian-American integration is in fact a studied betrayal of Canada's future as an independent sovereign state.**

Independence and Jobs

The more U.S. aims were spelled out and capitulation to U.S. pressure by the Mulroney government became evident, the more people's opposition to this policy grew. This was particularly evident when the Reagan Administration imposed a 35 per cent tariff on shingles and shakes and a 15 per cent tariff on all Canadian lumber products. Illusions gave way to growing disillusionment. The polls conducted in the autumn of 1986 showed that only 54 per cent of the Canadian people continued to support free trade with the USA. This percentage has since declined even more. Many people have realized that free trade with a highly unstable U.S. economy will not create the "jobs, jobs, jobs" promised by the Conservative government but will, instead, create more unemployment as the Communist Party warned. These two questions of jobs and Canadian independence have become the centre of ever growing opposition to free trade with the USA.

The sharp turn by the Mulroney government to a surrender of Canada's national interests has evoked widespread concern and opposition from patriotic Canadians including some monopoly interests. This opposition is reaching out to sections of monopoly interests who see no future for themselves in economic integration with the USA. It reaches out to the trade union and farm movements, the women's movement and others, all of whom see in free trade loss of jobs, of the independence and sovereignty of Canada, and the eventual political absorption of Canada into the U.S. empire.

The Canadian Labor Congress, embracing the majority of unions in Canada, has undertaken a countrywide campaign on this issue and is seeking to build coalitions with other groups on a federal, provincial and municipal scale to force the Government to retreat from its present course. The struggle against free trade as is also the case of the struggle for peace, is tending to bring together the CLC (Canadian Labor Congress), the CNTU (Confederation of National Trade Unions) and the CSN (Teachers Syndicates in Quebec).

Increasingly there is a turn toward advancing an alternative to free trade. Indeed, the Council of Canadians which came into existence in opposition to the continentalist policies of the Mulroney government and represents non-monopoly interests, professionals, intellectuals, Liberals and NDP (New Democratic Party) members, set its second annual all-Canada conference around the theme of "The Canadian alternative". It is important to see how this alternative is spelled out: whether it is limited to the status quo or is aimed at genuine Canadianization linked to the demand for an independent foreign policy for Canada, for a national democratic culture, whether it calls for a restructuring of the Canadian economy, including nationalization of those sectors of the economy owned or controlled by the U.S. multinationals, as well as other economic measures leading toward full employment.

Up to now those forces have shied away from spelling out policies which could open the door to strengthening real Canadian independence. Some of them have also tended to place in different compartments the battle to defeat free trade with the struggle to achieve real independence, including the necessity of linking this up with the struggle for a foreign policy of peace. Some have focused on the issue of defence of Canadian culture and left open other decisive aspects of the struggle for genuine Canadian independence.

This makes all the more important the input of the working class and of the Communist Party so as to help unite the different currents into one powerful force and join it up with the struggle for a basic restructuring of the Canadian economy. The nationalization of U.S. branch plants opens the door to economic independence for Canada. Nationalization of other key sectors of the economy is vital for moving toward full employment. Trade with all countries including the socialist countries on a mutually satisfactory basis is a necessity to buttress the policy of peaceful coexistence.

Support of Dangerous Policies

Recent events have tended to weaken if not shatter the "equal partnership" Prime Minister Mulroney claimed to have achieved with the Reagan Administration.

This was made evident in three ways. The first was the Halifax NATO meeting where the U.S. decision to renege on SALT II was announced. This far-reaching measure was undertaken without prior consultation with U.S. allies and more particularly, with Canada, the host country. The second blow against the "equal partnership" was the unilateral decision of the Reagan Administration to introduce a tariff, resulting in a loss of jobs for thousands of woodworkers. The third blow was the trade war between the USA and the EEC with respect to grain. This developing trade war has had disastrous consequences for the farm industry in Canada, seriously undermining the livelihood of farmers and threatening the very existence of the family farm. On top of this was the decision of the Reagan Administration to subsidize the sale of wheat to China and the Soviet Union and an attempt to undermine a market Canada considered "belonged to it". The Mulroney government was compelled to speak out against some aspects of U.S. policies.

However, the continuing pro-U.S. orientation of the Mulroney government has found expression in support for some of the most dangerous U.S. foreign policies. The government has allowed Canadian companies to undertake various military programs for the Pentagon, under the U.S. Star Wars project, thereby paving the way to further militarization of the Canadian economy. It renewed the NORAD (North American Air Defense Command) treaty which in fact is the means through which to tie Canada to the U.S. military strategy. The new U.S.-Canadian partnership is dominated by military cooperation. This includes the creation of a sophisticated North Warning System of 52 radar stations. This could turn out to be a prelude to U.S. nuclear missiles deployment on Canadian soil.

With the de facto endorsement of Star Wars by the Mulroney government Canada has been made an accomplice, a "partner" of U.S. nuclear and space adventurism. **This "partnership" spells real danger to Canada and her people. It could open the door to destruction of Canada. Canada's membership in NORAD and the NATO umbrella are undermining rather than reinforcing Canada's sovereignty and independence.**

The Mulroney government, as the Liberal government before it, gives way to U.S. pressures and continues to support U.S. Cruise missile testing on Canadian soil. It actively participates in various NATO military manouvers, one of the latest being the provocative military exercise in Norway. In return for this line up with the global strategy of U.S. imperialism, monopoly interests in Canada hope to get substantial war orders from the Pentagon.

Upsurge of Peace Sentiment

Resistance to complicity with U.S. imperialism and the awareness of the growing danger of nuclear war have given a new impetus to the growing anti-nuclear, anti-war peace movement embracing various strata of the Canadian people. More Canadians than ever now realize there is no security for Canada as long as U.S. imperialism brandishes nuclear weapons and threatens to use them. This has given rise to the formation of the Canadian Peace Alliance uniting the majority of peace movements in Canada around a program whose basic thrust is the demand for an independent foreign policy for Canada. Presently around 300 peace groups have affiliated to the Canadian Peace Alliance among which is the Canadian Labour Congress and a number of trade unions.

Increasingly, the struggle for peace is merging with the struggle for Canadian sovereignty and independence. Growing numbers of Canadians now see that the independence of Canada and ending U.S. domination are very closely connected with the cause of peace.

At first important sections of the peace movement tended to place equal responsibility for international tension on both the USA and the Soviet Union. In the recent period a significant shift of opinion is to be noted on this question. This has been particularly evident in connection with the issue of ending nuclear tests. The unilateral moratorium undertaken by the Soviet Union has been widely acclaimed and supported. Various peace forces in Canada have already come out in support of the Soviet Union's peace initiative and called upon the Mulroney government and Parliament to press the Reagan Administration to do likewise. The door has been opened up, more than hitherto, to strengthening connections between the peace movements in Canada and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The world was looking for some positive results from the Reykjavik meeting between U.S. President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachov, for an agreement which have taken humanity on the path toward a nuclear free world. Meaningful proposals were placed on the table by the Soviet leader, but unfortunately, President Reagan took an opposite position, one that would lead to U.S. military superiority over the USSR. The Reagan Administration still adheres to Star Wars, to cancellation of the SALT I, SALT II and ABM treaties — and it intends to continue nuclear weapons testing. This adds up not to disarmament, but to an accelerated arms race.

The fact that, the quote Mikhail Gorbachov, a historic chance has been missed, should not, however, lead to pessimism or apathy. World public opinion forced Reagan to come to the summit at Geneva and it forced him to come to Reykjavik. It can also compel him to take the path of nuclear disarmament. It now depends on the people everywhere — including Canadians.

The Mulroney government must be made to speak up, to press the Reagan Administration to join hands with the USSR in concrete measures leading to a world without nuclear weapons — and a first step in his direction is to halt all nuclear testing.

The upsurge of peace representing the pro-Canadian wing of monopoly in Canada have come out for an end to U.S. Cruise missile testing on Canadian soil, for making Canada a nuclear weapons free zone, for the sovereignty and independence of Canada. The NDP, as labour's "political arm" has, besides, come out strongly against free trade and calls for ending the defense production sharing agreement with the USA and Canada's membership in NORAD and NATO.

The movement for an independent foreign policy is bringing pressure to bear on the government to actively oppose U.S. intervention in Nicaragua, to condemn U.S. military intervention in Granada and Libya. There is growing solidarity support for the people of El Salvador, Chile, and demands for an end to apartheid in South Africa. International solidarity of the anti-imperialist forces and the peace movement are joining hands.

The assumption by the Mulroney government that the Canadian people would support a close American relationship is showing itself to be not solidly based. On the contrary, growing numbers of Canadians increasingly oppose any "sell-out" to the USA. This mirrors

their growing anti-imperialist sentiment and the growing contradictions in the camp of imperialism.

Specifics in Trade Union Movement

Canada's trade unions are active in the struggle against free trade and for an independent foreign policy. Increasingly, they oppose economic and military integration with U.S. imperialism.

Within the trade union movement this sentiment has also found reflection in a break with "international unions" with head offices in the USA and the establishment of distinctly Canadian unions.³ Recently the United Auto Workers in Canada separated from the UAWA in the USA and established a Canadian union, the Canadian Auto Workers. A similar decision has been taken by the Canadian woodworkers at their recently held convention in Vancouver, British Columbia.

The significance of this should not be underestimated. Our Party has for years called for the autonomy and eventual independence of the Canadian trade union movement and a break from "international" unions emanating in the USA whose policies often reflected the interests of U.S. imperialism. What has given impetus to such action has been the realization among workers that being part of an "international" union in another country creates growing disadvantages to workers in Canada. In the auto industry and in the woodworking industry U.S. workers were compelled, often against their will to accept wage cuts and give other concessions to monopoly. This in turn undercut the position of workers in these industries in Canada.

There has developed growing support by workers for independent economic development, for an independent foreign policy, for defense of Canada's sovereignty. The slogans of "Canada is not for sale", "Free trade could cost us Canada" find widespread support among workers. The working class is beginning to catch up with the slogan advanced by our Party some years ago: "Unite to check U.S. imperialism — for peace, jobs and Canadian independence — Put Canada First". Nor is it only workers. Other sections of society are also responding to this slogan of a long term struggle. **This creates the possibility of uniting all the forces that can be united with the working class at the center, against those policies which tie Canada to U.S. imperialism.**

The balance of forces inside the trade union movement has changed. It is showing itself to be a significant and militant force in opposition to neo-conservative policies, for peace and independence. This development has also opened up the possibility of bringing all unions together around a common program.

Breaking the Power of Multinationals

In popularizing patriotic slogans which correspond with the strategic aims of our Party we have at the same time opposed any tendencies which would undermine international solidarity on a class basis with workers in the USA, with the working class in the capitalist and socialist world. This question has acquired a new significance arising from the emergence of the transnational corporations whose economic and political power now transcends individual countries and leads to a growing conflict of interest, to growing contradictions, between nation states and these transnationals.

In Canada this is not a new question. U.S. transnationals dominate key sectors of the Canadian economy. Today the transnationals have risen in power and influence in the capitalist world. They play a role that was never there before. They are becoming stronger than the governments of many countries. And that is a new element in the situation. In our conditions in Canada, the U.S. transnationals are the trojan horses for U.S. imperialism and its aims which go contrary to the real national interests of Canada. The transnationals strive to dominate the economy and threaten the very existence of Canada as an independent state.

This has not overcome the contradictions inherent in U.S.-Canadian relations but on the contrary, has sharpened them thereby creating new circumstances for building an alliance in defense of the sovereignty and independence of Canada, an alliance, which to be effective, must include not only the non-monopoly forces but also sections of monopoly whose interests are in conflict with those of the multinationals.

What is occurring argues against the view that integration is inevitable, and that the best course for the Canadian people is to accept it lying down, so to speak. The apologists of Americanization claim that Canada has no other choice, that integration with the United States is an objective process and that nothing can stop it. This oversimplifies the question and covers up or slurs over the contradictions that capitalist integration brings about, both within the capitalist class itself and between it and the people. With a wave of the hand they exclude the battle for alternate policies.

For an Independent Policy

The more the Mulroney government capitulates and supports the foreign policies of the Reagan Administration, the sharper becomes the struggle for an independent foreign policy.

This struggle for Canadianization also finds reflection today on the issue of culture and broadcasting and in the demand for a binational democratic Canadian culture.

What is developing is a national movement of major proportions which could challenge and defeat those political forces which have lined up with U.S. imperialism.

The issue of sovereignty and independence are not minor questions in today's world. **The fight for national sovereignty serves to strengthen the potential of the peace forces opposing imperialism.** They have an explosive character which could not only turn against U.S. domination but also against those parties and governments who subordinate Canada's national interests to U.S. imperialist aims. This is what is shaping up in Canada today.

In a monopoly capitalist state such as Canada is today, the democratic struggle to defend the national interests against the "sell-out" of Canada can be carried through only to the extent that the working class is drawn into that struggle and accepts responsibility for its success.

The issue of free trade raises the basic question of choosing between remaining a branch plant economy, a source of raw materials for the USA or the adoption of policies which would strengthen Canada's independence and sovereignty. The latter alternative foresees building Canada free of U.S. imperialist entanglements and using Canada's rich resources to build industry, develop manufacturing which alone can assure jobs for a growing labour force. An independent economic policy would be a policy of full employment. The path to full employment calls for an expansion of the home market, the raising of the purchasing power of the people, combatting poverty by effective economic and social policies, using technological change to benefit the people.

These measures call for Canadianization based on nationalization under democratic control of the key sectors of the economy. Economic growth depends on ending U.S. control over key sectors of the economy, achieving public ownership and control over finance and investment policies and pursuing policies of economic development directed to strengthen the independence of the country.

To win such a democratic alternative will require great effort. The labour movement by itself cannot do it nor can the NDP. Allies are needed no matter how unstable and temporary they may be. A powerful people's movement is called for, strong enough to check and stop Americanization. Such a movement is presently unfolding in Canada. The Canadians are turning away from free trade, from economic and military integration with the USA. This in turn is opening the door for new political realignments which could influence the outcome of a federal election in 1988 or thereabouts.

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 259.

² *The Road to Socialism in Canada. The Program of the Communist Party of Canada*, Toronto, 1972, pp. 8-9.

³ For a long time, Canadian trade unions were part of the AFL-CIO-sponsored "international" industrial unions comprising U.S. and Canadian members. — *Ed.*

Responsible Journalism in the Nuclear Age

Jiri Kubka — General Secretary,
International Organisation of Journalists

THE aphorism that "whatever is not reported in the newspaper or on television is generally a figment of the imagination" is well-known. Paradoxical as this is, it largely reflects the actual state of affairs, particularly in international life. The media make the events taking place on the world scene become a fact of the social consciousness and give them their political significance. The scientific and technological revolution has turned the media into an effective universal instrument shaping the thinking and, consequently, the behaviour of people.

It would seem that the development of the media had opened up ample opportunities for drawing nations together, for giving them a better understanding of each other, and for the formation and spread of new political thinking, which is a prerequisite for preserving civilisation. However, life is showing that the mass media genie may be harnessed to serve markedly diverse, often extremely reactionary objectives. In journalism, with its immeasurably enhanced political role and influence, there are two distinct lines — one is to use information's powerful potential to promote peace, democracy and progress, and the other is to use it to inflame international tensions, to whip up discord and hostility between peoples.

Our Prime Duty

Humankind's paramount objective today is to survive, to prevent a nuclear catastrophe. Because the responsibility for attaining this objective lies not only with governments and parliaments but also with the public at large, with all people of goodwill, the journalist cannot be an indifferent observer of developments. He is in duty bound to see this objective not through the spectacles of his publisher, not in terms of the interests of this or that socio-political system. His attitude should be determined exclusively by the imperative to save civilisation, of which he, his family, friends, and country are an inalienable part. Wherever we live, this is the task of everybody, and it is our prime duty to write and speak of this, to explain what is helping humankind to survive and what is exposing it to danger, who is determined to avert the nuclear threat and who is bringing it on.

Precisely this is the attitude of the International Organisation of Journalists. Since it was founded in 1946 it has unswervingly upheld the purposes recorded in the Statutes of the IOJ: the preservation of peace, the promotion of friendship and understanding among nations, and the dissemination of accurate and trustworthy information; struggle against the spread of war hysteria and propaganda, against the escalation of international tension, and against national and racial hatred; consistent defence of the interests of journalists.

The IOJ is now the world's most representative association of journalists: it has some 120 affiliates in the majority of countries situated in all continents and representing different social systems. This makes the IOJ not only international but global in the true sense of the word. It is recognised by the United Nations Organisation, which has given it a special status

in UNESCO and the Economic and Social Council. It works closely together with the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, and other big non-government organisations.

The 10th IOJ Congress, held in Sofia in October 1986, was a notable landmark in the development of democratic journalism throughout the world. At that congress we were joined by 17 new organisations, with the result that the numerical strength of our membership rose to almost 300,000. This is further evidence that the IOJ is successfully performing its functions, globally defending the interests of journalists, their right to devote their efforts to humanitarian aims, protect the sovereignty of their respective countries, and save humanity from nuclear incineration.

The 10th IOJ Congress adopted an Appeal to the Journalists of the World, noting that the imperialists are accountable for an ever increasing accumulation of weapons, of means of mass destruction of human lives and of material and intellectual values. The Appeal draws particular attention to the Soviet-US meeting in Reykjavik. The far-reaching proposals tabled at that meeting by Mikhail Gorbachov on behalf of the Soviet Union are consonant with the interests of all nations and open up a realistic prospect for delivering the planet from nuclear weapons within the next ten years. Our Congress deplores the fact that once again the US Administration failed to seize this historical opportunity of bringing a radical solution to the problem of war and peace. The Appeal calls upon all journalists to combine their efforts in the struggle for peace, against the threat of a nuclear conflict, for democracy and progress.

We democratic journalists see our duty in doing our utmost to counter Washington's massive campaign of disinformation, whose purpose is to distort the proceedings at Reykjavik, to justify the US administration's repudiation of the understandings that had been agreed upon at that meeting. We must make it our business that newspapers and TV screens should constantly remind people of the special calendar counting off the days until the year 2000 when, had the Soviet initiatives been accepted, nuclear weapons would have disappeared from the face of the earth. This would help to line up the peace forces for more vigorous action against the nuclear threat.

Democratic journalists play an esteemed role in the international peace movement. They present irrefutable arguments in favour of detente and lash out at the arms race and imperialism's aggressive designs. On the 40th anniversary of the IOJ, its General Secretariat issued a statement denouncing the dissemination of military-political doctrines and concepts based on the contention that nuclear war is permissible. It deplored the Pentagon's "Star Wars" plans and pledged total support for initiatives to ban nuclear tests and create zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons.

Democratic journalists gave considerable coverage to the World Congress devoted to the International Year of Peace held in Copenhagen at the close of 1986 and to its Appeal for the abolition of mass annihilation weapons, for commitments to desist from militarising outer space and ban nuclear tests.

A highlight of recent times is that at the various forums of journalists in capitalist countries, the participants are giving closer attention to problems of war and peace, and in their approach to these problems they are endeavouring to find points of contact and attitudes in common with journalists of socialist countries. One such forum was the first Congress of West European Journalists for Peace (1983, Helsinki). The IOJ General Secretariat responded favourably to the initiative of Finnish journalists that October 27 should be marked as the Day of Action for Peace by European journalists. The media report the participation of journalists in the peace marches and other actions that take place on that day. In many European countries, both socialist and capitalist, there now are committees of the Journalists for Peace movement.

We are fully aware that we live and work under the most diverse social, economic, professional, and day-to-day conditions. However, regardless of this, we believe that the sacred duty of every journalist worthy of the name has been, is, and must be to serve good, not evil; truth, not lies; concord, not enmity; freedom, not violence; peace, not war.

Freedom of Information: To What Purpose?

In the age of bourgeois revolutions, practically every leading politician was a journalist, and every journalist was a politician. People have long ago seen the tremendous ideological and mobilising power of the printed word. When in the form of proclamation this word shook thrones there appeared a deterrent in the form of a censorship. Before a king could be dethroned it was necessary to sweep the censors away. That was when the much-vaunted "free" press was born. In point of fact, it was free to put the plans and ideals of the bourgeoisie into effect.

Has the situation changed in bourgeois society since those days? If there have been changes, they were changes for the worse. The journalist is "free" only if his views and beliefs harmonise with those of his employer. Whole editorial staffs and information agencies are bought and sold. Of course, if a journalist disagrees with his employer, he is free to go. But where? The technological revolution is continuously reducing the demand for information workers.

Understandably, a capitalist will never permit his newspaper or journal to carry criticism spearheaded at himself. But what we are talking about here is that journalists and their organisations should fight for freedom to defend the interests of humankind, that they should act against the campaigns to whip up militarist hysteria and hatred between peoples, races, and religions. They can perform this mission freely only in the socialist world, where information is not a commodity of purchase and sale. Unquestionably, even in that world there is still room for upgrading the mass media. But these have always been and remain instruments of humanism and progress, for socialism, whose banner bears the words "Peace and Fraternity Among Nations", is not interested in wars and arms races.

Thus, in a socialist country, where mass media are run by state or public organisations, the journalist is free to defend and popularise social and human values, while in a capitalist society, where the vast majority of the mass media are run by monopolies, the journalist is free to defend the capitalist system, the power of wealth.

What do these colleagues by profession have in common? Here's what. In the nuclear age responsibility of the journalist has undergone a cardinal change. While in the past, albeit at the cost of hardship, nations could cope with the losses inflicted by wars, today not a single herald would survive a nuclear-missile conflict to announce "victory" or "defeat". That is why it is the professional and human duty of the journalist to fight for peace, above all by disseminating accurate and trustworthy information, by exposing those who kindle and inflame hatred and distrust between nations.

In the present disquieting situation the social mission of the journalist is inseparable from the striving to contribute to understanding among nations. Where this striving — realised through scrupulous, objective information — is non-existent one cannot speak of the responsibility of journalists in the constructive sense of the word. Where hostility is fanned under the freedom of the press slogan we find not freedom of the press but dangerous irresponsibility, freedom of disinformation.

The maxim "freedom of the press" has a class content. In the bourgeois society of today its mission is to camouflage the growing monopoly domination of the mass media. At the turn of the century 95 per cent of the newspapers in the USA were "independent", in other words, they were owned by individuals. Today, over half of them are the property of big corporations. By and large, in the non-socialist countries' monopolies control about 80 per cent of the daily output of newspapers, 90 per cent of the radio stations operating on international frequencies, and upwards of 90 per cent of the TV broadcasting capacities. Monopolisation of the mass media deprives journalists in capitalist countries of the last vestiges of freedom, of the possibility of writing without bias about burning issues of our epoch.

A particularly dangerous factor is that these media have found themselves in a huge whirlpool that sucks them into the whirlpool of operations of the military-industrial

complex, which uses them assiduously to maintain tension in the world and, in many cases, prevent nations from getting a better understanding of each other. Under these conditions, journalists sincerely seeking to contribute to peace have to contend with enormous difficulties.

In the long argument about freedom of information the latest word is that the journalist must have freedom to defend civilisation, to fight obscurantism, oppression, exploitation, violence, terror, racism, and all forms of chauvinism. He cannot be an impassive professional, a preacher of abstract freedom. What is the need for freedom? To destroy the world or to preserve it? Today, the most critical situation is in the USA, where the administration is pushing the pedal of the military machine harder than the government of the other imperialist powers. The USA is oversaturated with mass media, of which only a tiny proportion is sounding the alarm in the face of the nuclear threat. Repeated polls have shown that only half of the population know that none other than their own armed forces had atom-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Such is the outcome of systematic, long-term brainwashing with the help of the mass media. This situation is not unique to the USA.

Against Information Imperialism

The imperialist mass media are employed as weapons against entire nations. The forms and methods of massive ideological pressure are well known. There are the organisation of propaganda drives hostile to peace, the spread of deliberate lies, disinformation, and other acts of psychological warfare. In these campaigns the so-called big press grossly misrepresents the policies and way of life in socialist and developing countries, and also the governments of states in the capitalist world itself that pursue policies uncongenial to militarism. In parallel, this press vindicates imperialism's sinister preoccupations and papers over its crimes.

The virtually absolute domination by the imperialist media in developing countries cannot be tolerated. These countries account for only one-eighth of the world's newspaper output and have only five per cent of its television broadcasting facilities. Information monopolies resent any attempt to set up an independent information structure in these countries. Those who want to keep the public abreast of events in foreign countries have to buy information from the major bourgeois news agencies. For example, the USA exports a thousand times more television programmes than all the developing nations taken together. Instead of helping them, the rapid progress in communication prevents these countries from rectifying imbalances of this sort. New technology is growing not only more efficient but also more expensive, and for that reason it is controlled by powerful monopoly groups many of which have close ties with the military industrial complex.

One of the main directions of the IOJ's work is to combat information imperialism, to fight for the decolonisation and democratisation of information, for the establishment of a new international information order. It has always supported and will go on supporting all the initiatives in this area that serve the cause of peace and the freedom of peoples. Moreover, we thereby uphold the basic interests of our member-organisations in developing countries, our point of departure being that the exchange of information, as any other area of international intercourse, should be based on international law, notably on fundamental principles such as respect for the sovereignty of nations and non-interference in their internal affairs.

Of course, the provision that the mass media should be used constructively to promote peace and build up confidence between nations is recorded in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This matter was given considerable attention also at the last session of the UN General Assembly, where it was stressed that fundamental changes were needed relative to international mass media, namely, the creation of a new international information order, an end to domination by Western news agencies, and the reinforcement of national newspapers, radio, and television in developing countries.

The IOJ supports the Soviet proposal for a representative conference on the entire spectrum of humanitarian cooperation, including the question of information, to be attended by the countries that participated in the above-mentioned Helsinki conference.

We link the struggle for a new international information order with the imperative to resolve other acute problems of the developing nations. The Declaration of Solidarity adopted by the 10th IOJ Congress urges all democratic journalists to build closer ties of friendship with all mass media workers, who are fighting together with their own peoples for national liberation, self-determination, democracy, social progress, against imperialism and oppression by transnational monopolies, and harassment and terrorism, for the assertion of the sovereign right to manage their own natural resources, for the establishment of a new international economic and information order, and for deliverance from the debt burden imposed by imperialism.

The broad and, at times, sharp debate over the role and place of the mass media in the modern world and over the principles for organising international information exchanges is showing what an influential and real, essentially material, force this important area of intercourse between people and nations has become in our day. This is a force whose utilisation requires a responsible approach and the appropriate international regulation.

In Defence of the Rights of Journalists

To enable journalists to carry out their lofty mission successfully, they must have normal conditions of life and the right to work, rest, and a secure old age. All this is guaranteed and put into practice in the socialist countries, where journalists, just as people of other professions, can work without worrying about the morrow. The situation is different in capitalist countries. The employer wants cheap labour and is interested in cutting down personnel whose labour can be performed by new technology. The larger the production division of, say, a newspaper, the more pervasive and hurtful become the consequences of the use of computers, modern communication technology, and other equipment, with the result that unemployment increases among journalists and their social status deteriorates.

The IOJ attaches paramount significance to questions related to the salaries and social security of journalists, particularly in developing countries. In most of the latter the salaries of even the most highly trained journalists are so small that they do not suffice for the upkeep of a family, and in many cases the journalists concerned have to learn a second occupation. This in no way contributes to the professional skill of journalists or the development of the mass media. The IOJ has repeatedly considered matters such as the legal status of journalists in different countries, employment and dismissal, the duration of the working day and of the annual holiday, pension insurance, and so on. The IOJ's authoritative recommendations have helped to resolve these matters in favour of those who work in the mass media.

The harassment of journalists — from constraints on their freedom to manhandling — was intensified in many capitalist and developing countries in the early 1980s. The threats to which they are subjected reflect, first, the rising tension in the world, and second, the steadily growing significance of the mass media. As an active subject of opinion-making, the journalist becomes the object of the most diverse pressures, and this makes journalism a dangerous profession indeed, especially in countries with ultra-right, fascist, or racist regimes. According to statistics available to the International Committee of the Red Cross, since 1950 more than 300 journalists, mostly in Latin America, have lost their lives in the performance of their professional duties.

The IOJ calls upon governments to draw up and sign an international convention that would commit them to ensuring the security of mass media workers.

Strengthen Unity

It may now be said with certainty that journalists of different countries are increasingly adopting a common attitude towards basic problems of the day and to their professional

tasks. The IOJ is helping to reinforce this community of attitudes. It is doing much to expand contacts and promote cooperation among journalists in Europe by sponsoring many conferences, meetings, symposiums, talks, round tables, exhibits, and so on. We devote special attention to promote contacts between journalists of capitalist and socialist countries. The IOJ is successfully working together with regional associations of media workers.

A significant development is that international and regional organisations of journalists of different ideological orientation are holding joint consultative meetings. These contacts expand as the practice of cooperation shows the hollowness of mutual prejudices, alienation, and distrust. Representatives of associations that formerly lacked stable contacts now discuss concrete matters in a businesslike fashion. As they get to know each other better they find a common language on a wide range of issues. Participants in such meetings, that are not bound to regulations, speak for the majority of journalists in the world. With the backing of UNESCO, they consider issues of international significance to our profession, and in 1983 drew up a document on international principles of professional ethics in journalism. This document merits special attention because it is the product of cooperation between all the organisations represented at the consultative meetings. It can serve national unions of journalists as the basis for their own codes of ethics.

The 10th IOJ Congress exhorted us to continue strengthening unity among progressive, democratic journalists, promote cooperation between the journalists of all countries, take a stand for accurate information as a major contribution to peace and mutual understanding on the international scene, and report all cases of deliberate media misuse aimed against the interests of humanity.

Our civilisation's destiny depends to a large extent on how widely the imperatives of our time are understood in the world: either we shall all survive together, or we shall all perish together. Journalists bear a larger responsibility for this than people of other professions.

**From the Appeal of the 10th IOJ Congress
to the Journalists of the World**

We journalists have a special responsibility in this complicated and dangerous situation because we are the ones who not only express but also shape public opinion. The mass media can and must bring a significant contribution to the safeguarding and consolidation of peace and to the establishment of a climate of trust among countries and nations.

The Congress of the International organisation of Journalists urges all colleagues in different countries to mobilise public opinion in defense of peace on our planet and to avert a nuclear catastrophe. This is our major duty to our contemporaries and the generations to come.

... We appeal to the journalists of the world to join the forces fighting with determination for lasting peace and cooperation to the benefit of each and every nation and of mankind as a whole.

the party

Jamaica: The WPJ in the Struggle for Democracy

Trevor Munroe – General Secretary,
Workers Party of Jamaica (WPJ)

JAMAICA is the largest of the chain of the Caribbean islands which became independent of British colonial rule in the last 25 years. The Jamaican people, who now number 2.3 million, have historically played an important role in the struggle between progress and backwardness in the Latin American and Caribbean region. One hundred and fifty years ago, they played a significant role in the slave revolts which brought to an end the slave form of colonialism. A hundred years after the abolition of slavery they also played a leading role in the region in the struggle against British colonial rule and for national independence.

In the 1970s, conditioned by favourable changes in the balance of forces in the world and in the region, particularly by the advances in the Cuban Revolution, the Jamaican people, then led by Michael Manley, were the first in the English-speaking Caribbean to turn away from neocolonialism towards consolidating national independence, towards extending social justice and democracy for the masses of the Jamaican people. At that time, on main questions in the struggle between the two world systems, the Manley government and the Jamaican people took positive positions on the side of progress. Examples of this were Jamaica's support for the principled internationalist assistance rendered by Cuba to the Angolan people in 1975 and the strong support for the New International Economic Order (NIEO), the banner for which was raised in 1974. Jamaica in the 1970s became a leader of the left tendency in the Non-Aligned Movement.

These internal and external conditions helped to give rise to the rebirth of the Marxist tendency in the early 1970s.¹ This rebirth provided the basis for the establishment of Marxist study groups, then for the launching of a pre-party Marxist-Leninist organisation, the Workers Liberation League (WLL) in 1974 and ultimately the formation of the Workers Party of Jamaica (WPJ) in 1978.

These conditions, internationally and in Jamaica, as well as internal discontent with the consequences of decades of christian democratic and social democratic regimes also stimulated struggles in the entire Caribbean Basin for greater national independence and for progressive transformation. In almost all the territories, there emerged revolutionary democratic and Marxist oriented political formations, which oppose the right wing reformist or christian democratic parties. The high point of this process was the Grenadian People's Revolution in 1979.

As such, Jamaica, in recent times, attracted considerable attention from United States imperialism as an island of strategic importance in the Caribbean Basin. Arising out of this assessment, US imperialism placed great effort into the removal of the Manley regime in 1980 and its replacement by the right wing Seago government. Imperialism used methods similar to those used in Chile in 1973 in the removal of Allende, though in Jamaica, the actual removal was carried out through bourgeois-democratic elections. The Reagan administration, since its inception, has placed great effort into sustaining the reactionary

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Seaga regime as a showcase of US imperialism, as an "alternative" to the left-leaning Manley administration and as an "example" in the region and in the Third World.²

The Seaga Regime, in turn, has spearheaded regional support for world reaction as well as, in general, supported US positions in the Non-Aligned Movement and elsewhere. Most notorious was the Jamaican government endorsement of the criminal US invasion of Grenada in 1983. Seaga continues to provide practical and other forms of support to the US administration in its militarisation of the Eastern Caribbean region in particular.³ Seaga served Reagan very well in forming the Caribbean Democratic Union (CDU) of right-wing parties and organisations, as the regional affiliate of the International Democratic Union, which itself was formed by Reagan, Thatcher and Kohl, as part of their so-called crusade to bury Marxism. So that, with Reagan and Seaga at the helm, Jamaica turned from the left to the right in the world-wide struggle between the forces of progress and those of reaction.

In December 1983, the Seaga regime attempted to capitalise on the defeat of the Grenada Revolution and its consequences on the people of the region, to call a 'snap' general parliamentary election, using voters' lists which excluded many thousands of voters. Both opposition parties, Manley's Peoples National Party (PNP) and the Workers Party, boycotted those elections, with the support of the majority of the population. Since that time and to the present, Seaga's Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) has been the only party in a parliament which is based on the British model of bourgeois democracy. Against this background, the first real electoral test of the Seaga regime's popularity took place in the local government elections of July 1986. In these circumstances, those elections assumed much importance. What was being tested in Jamaica, was how far the majority of the people could be led to continue their support for Reaganism in the Third World in general and in Jamaica, in particular. The 1986 elections to the municipalities, therefore, were local in form but had national, regional and even international content and significance.

As our party pointed out in the Central Committee Report to the Third Congress in December 1984, "the heart and soul of this so-called model is to make countries like Jamaica totally dependent on international capital as well as to increase the wealth and power of the super-rich minority at the expense of all other classes in society" (page 27).

Indeed, under the Seaga regime and the sway of Reaganism, the Jamaican people have experienced the worst conditions of life in modern times. The Workers party of Jamaica raised the call for elections to remove the Seaga government from as early as 1984, when the tendency of resistance to that reactionary regime among the people was still a minor one. However, by 1985, the main opposition party, Manley's PNP, was advancing this call, as well as many public and civic organisations. However, not only did the Seaga regime not respond to the population's call for general parliamentary elections, it postponed three times the local government elections beyond the period required by the Jamaican Constitution. The regime also used its unilateral position in the country's parliament to reduce the number and power of the municipalities, despite broad-based national protest. By these methods, the Seaga regime and imperialism hoped to stimulate disinterest in the elections. There was also a massive attempt of bribery of the working people, including the regime lowering some prices of basic goods, using funds gained from the then reduction in oil prices. The elections were called for by Manley's PNP, mainly through representations to the authorities. The WPJ called directly on the people to demand elections. The elections therefore had to be held, despite the reluctance of reaction. Although these elections were to the local municipalities, in the existing circumstances the main issue for the population was: "Seaga, Yes" or "Seaga, No".

Taking this into account, both imperialism and social democracy put great resources into supporting their allies in this election. The PNP and the JLP spent approximately 3 million dollars (Jamaican) each in these elections, an unprecedented expenditure for elections in Jamaica.⁴

The WPJ put candidates in 14 of the 187 electoral divisions. Five years before, the WPJ, three years after its foundation in 1978, had put up two candidates out of the 250 divisions

being contested. At that time, the party received 13 per cent and 16 per cent of the vote in each of the two divisions against both the candidates of the social democratic PNP and the right-wing JLP, in 1981. The increased participation of the WPJ in the 1986 elections reflected the fact that the party had grown to become national in organisation and scope as well as attracted broader support. This present support is estimated at 10 per cent by reliable bourgeois political scientific polls.⁵ The WPJ's aim in participating in these elections was to strengthen the democratic forces ranged against Seaga and to call for his defeat, first and foremost. Secondly, to explain aspects of the party programme to the people; particularly the inadequacy of liberal two-party democracy from the standpoint of meeting the interests of the masses. Thirdly, our aim was to reinforce the Workers Party as a legitimate part of Jamaican politics. Specifically, the party hoped to gain a maximum of 15 per cent of the vote in some of the divisions we contested, less in others; and to win one or two seats to municipalities, in the most favourable areas. As is known, this objective of the party was not met. The local government elections resulted in majorities for Michael Manley's PNP in 13 of the 14 municipalities. This reflected the deep desire of the masses to get rid of Seaga and their determination to ease the burden of oppression, of unemployment, of inflation, of the deterioration in social services which have grown under the reactionary regime. These elections therefore represented a big defeat for Seaga and for US imperialism, for the most important ally of Reagan in the Caribbean islands. They also represented a victory for Manley and for the progressive movement. This victory was similar to the one in another of the Caribbean islands early in 1986, where the Barbados Democratic Labour Party of Errol Barrow massively defeated another surrogate of Reagan in the Caribbean Basin.

But within these generally positive developments, the line of social democratic reformism — a line which says: "struggle with reaction and with imperialism without involving the masses, except as voters" — that line has been strengthened. At the same time, the line of the working class and of revolutionary democracy — "struggle with reaction and with imperialism with the fullest possible, all-round involvement of the masses" — that line remains weak and in practice is confined to the fringes of political life at the present time. Indeed, the results of the 1986 local government elections in Jamaica appear to re-raise the question as to whether there is a basis for a working class, even a revolutionary democratic party in the conditions of Jamaica at its present stage of development and in the English speaking Caribbean.

This question needs to be continually kept under review but it cannot be answered only in relation to votes gathered in bourgeois elections. Also to be considered is the role of the working class party, the role of its members and leaders in the non-electoral life of the country, as well as the attitude of the people to such a party.

In considering the all-round role of the Marxist-Leninist party, let us first look at its role in the working class — that class, which, although relatively weak in ex-colonial countries, has still confirmed its latent capabilities as scientifically shown by Marx, Engels and Lenin in decisive and influential actions which sometimes outweigh its numbers in particular countries.

The WPJ has, from its inception, been very active in the day-to-day trade union struggle of the working people — their struggle for "bread and butter". In Jamaica, approximately 45 per cent of wage labour is unionised — this is relatively high for the Caribbean Basin. Within this unionisation, the two major unions — the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU) affiliated to Seaga's JLP and the other, the National Workers Union (NWU), affiliated to Manley's PNP — embrace approximately 85 per cent of unionised wage labour. The remaining 10-15 per cent is organised within smaller trade unions formed in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Amongst these is the University and Allied Workers Union (UAWU), embracing workers in educational, service and middle industrial enterprises, numbering about 2,500 workers. This latter is led by Communists, in alliance with revolutionary democratic trade unionist.⁶

There is no Trade Union Centre in Jamaica in the way that such exist in many of the

Spanish-speaking Latin American countries — there is no Confederation of Trade Unions. However, there is appearing recently a great tendency of the major unions and some of the smaller unions to reduce differences and to cooperate more in the trade union struggle. The policy and approach of the Jamaican Communists is to do everything to facilitate the reduction of differences and to extend closer cooperation amongst all the trade unions, as this is the only way that the vital interests of the working people can be safeguarded and enhanced in the context of the increased onslaught of big capital.

Communist trade unionists also work within the largest unions, in a non-sectarian way, and within the union in which they are in the leadership, in a way which seeks to set an example of principled working class unionism, defending the interest of the workers, seeking to extend democracy in the unions and encouraging the workers to struggle against the class collaborationism which predominates amongst some union leaderships, which are under christian democratic and social democratic influences. In pursuing its policy in the trade unions, WPJ comrades work to show, not only by teaching but also by example, that unity, increased consciousness and organisation are the only shield that the working class has against the attacks on its standard of living and its rights by reaction and imperialism. We work to improve the all-round position of the workers, including even assisting the workers to improve their educational level, so that they themselves can be better able to directly participate in the struggle for better conditions of life for themselves and their families. We also work to increase their internationalist consciousness, combating the efforts of big capital and imperialism to set workers of one country against workers of another country.

Considering this work, it is not surprising that in the General Strike of June 1985 against the policies of the Seaga government and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) diktat, the section of the working class under WPJ influence and leadership was the most organised and conscious in their activities. The leadership of the majority unions did not respond positively to the proposal of the communist unionists for greater unity, maybe out of anti-communist reservations or fear of reprisals from the regime. This severely weakened the strength of the entire working class. It is in these circumstances that the Seaga regime was able to carry out massive reprisals against the working class for participation in the General Strike — “united, we stand, divided, we fall”, a saying which was proved by real life. However, the WPJ was not daunted and continues to work for unity in the trade union movement in the interest of the workers.

The WPJ puts great emphasis on its work in the working class but also of very great importance is its work in other sections of the population because the vast majority of the people suffer from the effects of imperialist domination and have a vested interest in national independence and people's democracy. It is therefore important to consider the role of the party in contending with backward ideas and in raising the level of popular revolutionary awareness on topical issues. We can recall here the WPJ's role in organising solidarity with anti-fascist struggles in Uruguay in the 1970s, as well as in Chile against the Pinochet dictatorship, a role which continues to the present. The party also plays a major role in the anti-apartheid struggle. As is known, over 90 per cent of the Jamaican people are of African origin. The struggle to defeat the apartheid regime has extensive support amongst the broadest sectors of the Jamaican people of most classes and reflects itself in an active Jamaica Anti-Apartheid Movement (JAM).

So, in considering the necessity and role of the working class party, many factors must be taken into account — for example, the role of the WPJ in helping to organise important social sectors, like women and youth, in bringing more sharply to focus the people's position on a nation-wide basis in respect of critical issues like the struggle against war, for nuclear disarmament and for lasting peace.

In respect of the anti-war peace movement, the WPJ made an important self-criticism, at its Second Congress in 1981, of not paying enough attention to this vital issue. Since that time, we can take modest pride in the fact that this very hard ground, in our conditions of the peace struggle, has been broken. “Within a few months of the Second Congress, the Jamaica

Peace Committee, with active assistance from comrades in the WPJ, and involving personalities and organisations of varied ideological and political persuasions, was launched. This Committee has done well in raising the level of awareness of the importance of peace" (CC Report to Third Congress, page 10). Since the Third Congress, we have developed even more the work for peace as the central issue facing mankind. We have increased our work in diverse social sectors and this has yielded important gains, particularly among the national religious leadership. In recent months, primarily because of the WPJ's work, important personalities and prestigious individuals have declared their support for the concrete, practical and constructive steps being taken by the Soviet Union to safeguard world peace, including the repeated extension of the unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions. These sectors, who before were very much influenced by the theory that "both superpowers" were responsible for the nuclear arms race, have now grown highly critical of the Reagan position.

Taking all the factors into account, we can say that the role of a working class party, and of the WPJ in particular, derives from the objective needs of our people, comes from the very hard work of party members and relies on the people's ability to help the party to help them. But the question still remains regarding a specifically electoral role for the working class party, especially taking into account that parliamentary elections, in conditions of relatively liberal democracy, continues to be the main route to the state power in the country. The party's capacity to perform creditably, not only generally in national life but in elections particularly, is a matter of serious concern. To assess this, we need to look at the immediate and short-term prospects of the political situation in the country.

In the first place, broad forces, indeed a majority of the people, have accumulated for general elections to remove the Seaga regime, to bring about a change in the country's neocolonial status and to ease the burden of oppression on the poor as well as on the middle strata. The likelihood therefore is that the Seaga government will be removed when general elections are called either in 1987 or 1988, despite the support of Reagan for this regime. Michael Manley and the PNP will, most likely, come to power through these elections.

The Manley party is committed to a more reformist, more liberal anti-imperialism, excluding or moderating important aspects of its democratic anti-imperialism of the 1970s. The economic programme of the PNP has become more "moderate" than it was in the 1970s; less so, however, than its political programme which, to us, is the main thing. In the political sphere, the emphasis on strengthening the lower classes and the masses of the people has been significantly diluted. It has made much more general and vague its policy regarding the expansion of the state sector — indeed in critical areas such as retaining the state sector in finance and banking, there is a greater openness to allowing the de-nationalisation carried out by Seaga to remain. In its present economic programme, the PNP has reduced its original attitude to the IMF; it has left open the question of how it will approach and deal with the IMF, when it heads the government. We believe that it is necessary to have a flexible attitude to the IMF in the current difficulties in our region.

Therefore of most significance is the Agrarian Programme. In this sphere, the PNP appears to be retreating from the land reform which is urgently necessary in a country where less than half of one per cent of landowners control over 40 per cent of the arable land and where 80 per cent of landowners have less than five acres of land, each averaging approximately one and a half acres — these control only 16 per cent of the land. The WPJ believes that a deep agrarian reform, placing land as well as a certain degree of power in the hands of the landless and the small peasantry, is a most important element of any programme of transformation which is to be meaningful. This element is watered down in the current programme of the PNP.

In relation to the working class itself, the PNP's original programme of strengthening that class at the point of production by facilitating worker participation even in opposition to the bourgeoisie appears to be modified towards the centre and the right.

In the area of foreign policy, while diplomatic relations with Cuba will be restored, Manley has declared that deeper and broader relations with Cuba, similar to the 1970s, will not be

resumed. Greater reliance is being placed internally and externally on social democratic sectors and less reliance on revolutionary democratic, working class sectors, internally and externally.

This also relates to the links between the WPJ and the PNP, and it is necessary to look at these in their historical framework. In the period of the democratic upsurge, between 1974 and 1979-1980, the links between the PNP and the WPJ were of a multifaceted nature. There were regular consultations at the level of leadership of the two parties. There was also practical cooperation, particularly in the propaganda sphere of the struggle against imperialism and reaction. The WPJ played a vital role in raising anti-imperialism and strengthening it within the PNP and the country as a whole. Cooperation at that time also reflected itself in the mass movement, particularly of women and youth. The respective sectors of youth and of women in the two parties cooperated closely in order to extend the democratic gains to those sectors of the people, against resistance from reaction and in support of the Manley Programme and its most democratic manifestation. Most of all, cooperation focused in bringing together a Broad Front against the diktat of the IMF in 1979. So much so that in March of 1980 this Broad Front, composed of the WPJ and the mass organisations under its leadership, the PNP and its mass organisations, was able to gain a majority in the population and to isolate not only reaction but also those elements of the national bourgeoisie within the PNP as well, who were for a more accommodating course towards imperialism.

Cooperation at that time also took a partial electoral form. The WPJ did not contest the general elections of 1980 in recognition of the fact that the PNP had adopted a positive programme in relation to the IMF diktat and in the interest of not splitting the anti-imperialist vote. Another main area of partial electoral cooperation was that the PNP requested and received from the WPJ organisational help in that electoral struggle against reaction. The Report of the Central Committee to the Second Congress of the WPJ in 1981 summed up the results of this cooperation thus: "The fact is that instead of our Communist Workers Party of Jamaica causing the PNP to lose votes, we brought them a number of votes which they would not otherwise have got" (p. 42).

However, cooperation between the PNP and the WPJ was always disapproved of by the most bourgeois sectors within the PNP and this tendency became stronger in that party after 1980. In this latter period, the main bourgeois and reformist sectors have become dominant within the PNP. The revolutionary democrats have been removed from the leadership and made insignificant in their positions in that party. The result of this is that the party's attitude towards the revolutionary and left forces, inside and outside of Jamaica, has changed from one of willingness to cooperate to one of distancing from these elements, in the interest of recomposing relations with the national bourgeoisie and with a section of the American ruling circles. Consequently, the current links and relations between the PNP and the WPJ are much reduced compared to the situation in the 1970s. However, amongst the rank-and-file cadres of the PNP and of the WPJ, there remains the greatest respect and the possibility of cooperation in the present period.

The Programme of the WPJ, which guides our policy, is clear that the advance of the people against imperialism is dependent on some internal conditions, amongst which a most important requirement is the reduction in differences between the petty bourgeoisie, middle strata, patriotic elements in the national bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the masses of workers and farmers, on the other. Therefore, the political parties representing these forces have the responsibility to work to reduce differences and advance unity on the main questions affecting the lives of the people and for the national independence of the country. Hence, the WPJ seeks to extend the possibilities of cooperation with the PNP at the same time as we expose and struggle with the limitations of its reformist outlook. We make no concessions to the "left" argument which is often heard in some quarters that the PNP of Manley and the JLP of Seaga are the same. We reject this view and we make it known in practice.

The positive significance of the resumption of a Manley administration for the Jamaican people, for the region, for the forces of peace and progress should not be underestimated. The dismissal of Seaga will mean the removal of an important pillar for the militarisation of the Caribbean. A strong supporter in Manley for the Caribbean as a zone of peace, for Cuba's right to be socialist, for Nicaragua's right to choose a revolutionary road will have acceded to power in the most important of the Caribbean islands. This accession to power by Manley will come about not only as a result of the clear failure of Seaga's neocolonialism but it will also have been brought about by the work of progressive forces, including the WPJ. Manley's social democratic reformism, both in opposing Seaga and in governing the country following Seaga's removal, will retain popular support so long as some conditions are met.

So long, firstly, as the masses of the people remain exhausted by the democratic exertions of the 1970s, which ended in defeat in 1980. So long, secondly, as the working people remain unconvinced of the possibilities — whilst being acutely aware of the dangers from Reagan and that aggressive sector of the US ruling class — facing democratic mass struggles. And, thirdly, so long as the masses remain hopeful, but not convinced or enthusiastic, that Manley's reforms will significantly ease the burden of oppression and redistribute at least some power away from the oligarchy and the big national bourgeoisie and towards the lower classes.

It should be pointed out that the social basis for reformism has also grown in recent times with the contraction of the working class through lay-offs and dismissals, the growth of intermediate and small propertied sectors and with the economic recession both forcing and allowing individual forms of survival. There is therefore every prospect for a continued revival of liberal anti-imperialism in Jamaican conditions and little prospect for a renewal of nation-wide democratic mass activity, similar to the 1970s, before the end of the 1980s or the early 1990s. By then, social democracy is likely to have revealed, or provide the basis for revealing, its limitations in meeting the democratic aspirations of the masses. For this revival, regional and international factors are also decisive. Firstly, the removal of Reagan and the war faction of the US ruling class from the White House and, secondly, discernable gains by existing socialism in the current drive to overcome weaknesses and in making progress in economic modernisation as well as in the deepening of socialist democracy.

The future of the WPJ rests on its capacity to preserve that 10 per cent national support by continuing to champion the interests of the working people in a period of the decline of reaction nationally, of rapid revival of reformism and of gradual rebirth of democratic mass activity. How far the Workers Party is able to survive, to develop and to strengthen its links with this 10 per cent, how far it is able to convert more of that 10 per cent into electoral votes in the context of two strong, deeply rooted reform parties, how far it is able to connect with another 30 per cent of the electorate who are assessed to be relatively free from anti-communism — depend on the party maintaining its standing as a champion of the people's interests and strengthening its links with revolutionary democratic sectors. But very importantly, the continued survival and growth of the Workers party also depends on success in implementing radical reforms in the pace, tactics and forms of party work in this period.

This pace, these tactics and forms are still based too much on the democratic upsurge of the 1970s and on subjective wishes for an early revival. Another critical requirement is for the party to make progress in significantly strengthening its material base and its professional staff.

In this respect, the 5th Plenary Meeting of the WPJ's Central Committee, held in October 1986, came to certain important conclusions. It recognised that the party has made significant achievements in the short time of its existence. However, the poor performance in the July 1986 local government elections was a serious setback. Wishful thinking, born of the left trend identified at the Third Congress, continues to infect too much of the party, to hold back implementation of measures necessary to adjust to a period of downturn in the

democratic mass movement. This left trend was responsible for the setting of unrealistic targets in the party's electoral aim in the local government elections. The struggle against sectarianism, dogmatic and abstract Marxism, called for at the Third Congress, has therefore been renewed in an all-round and comprehensive manner.

The 5th Plenary Meeting gave guidance to the party to facilitate progress in overcoming this harmful tendency. It directed that the party draw closer to the working people in all-round and creative ways and on this basis help prepare the people to defeat reaction in association with liberal and democratic forces. The party should also help to prepare the people to expose and pass beyond reformism and ultimately to renew the democratic mass movement. This drawing closer to the working people cannot be done, the Central Committee said, so long as left opportunism hampers a more flexible application of the party's working class organisational principles and a fuller exposure of the national democratic nature of the party programme. Struggle with the left tendency is therefore a main task.

A secondary task, however, is to resist incipient tendencies to abandon democratic centralism, a selective approach to membership and to change the working class essence of the party on the ground that this is not suited to Jamaican conditions at the present stage. The plenary meeting concluded that the WPJ has come a significant way and registered important achievements on behalf of the Jamaican working people by virtue of the party's principles, its activity and the people's response. However more openness to life and all-round links with the masses on the basis of working class principles are the critical requirements for preserving and carrying forward the party, electorally and otherwise, in the present period.

¹ The first Marxist groups emerged in Jamaica as early as the end of the 1930s. But due to the relative weakness of the proletariat and the actions of the colonial authorities and their local henchmen who tried to push the national liberation movement from the revolutionary path to the bog of conciliation, anti-communist prejudice gained wide currency in the early 1950s and the Marxist tendency practically ceased to exist.

² Because of this, the aid from the Reagan administration to Seaga's Jamaica was second in the 1980s only to Israel on a world-wide scale when measured on a per capita basis.

³ The reference is to the so-called Regional Security and Defence System — a military block created, in 1982, within the framework of the Eastern Caribbean Community with direct US and British participation. — *Ed.*

⁴ One US dollar equals 5.5 Jamaican dollars. — *Ed.*

⁵ See C. Stone, *Political Trends in Jamaica in the Nineteen-Eighties*, Kingston, 1986, p. 24.

⁶ The UAWU is an affiliate of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), whereas the two largest unions are affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

Facing New Realities

The Politics of Culture

Jacques Moins — CC Political Bureau member, Communist Party of Belgium, Chairman, Joseph Jacquemotte Foundation

INDUSTRIALISED capitalist nations are now the scene of complex socio-economic processes. Introduction of new technologies and revamping of the traditional structure in industry, which have gained great momentum in recent years, are spawning important shifts in population patterns. The transition from fixed to flexible working hours, decentralisation of enterprises and stimulation of work at home, mounting unemployment and people being dismissed from their jobs before they reach pensionable age — all these factors combine to

fragment society, in the first place its more active segment, the work force.

It is the Communists' view of present-day Belgian society that **many social gains of the working class movement are imperilled**. This is clear from the emergence of new marginal groups, as a new poverty sweeps a nation long noted for the affluence of most of its people, while the moneybags are growing fatter. Simultaneously, the ruling class is mounting an onslaught in the sphere of culture to exonerate careerism and wealth.

The changes have an appreciable and varying impact on public consciousness. On the one hand, more and more people become discontented, realising that something has gone wrong. On the other, more working people in the non-productive sphere and members of the scientific and technological intelligentsia, though themselves objects of capitalist exploitation, still do not identify themselves with the working class socially and politically and are still unreceptive to its views and militant traditions.

Under these circumstances, **the Communists seek to add to their proven forms of organisational and ideological-political work new active methods to get across to people, to win their hearts and minds**. The aim is to help them better understand the fast-changing social reality and critically assess the problems of the present capitalist society. This is the task now facing the Joseph Jacquemotte Foundation, a cultural organisation sponsored by the Belgian Communists, though not part of the CPB and guided by its own charter.

The Foundation was started in 1961. Initially, its task was to organise lectures and conferences, publish research works, collect and sort out documents on the history of the working class movement, and set up a people's library. As time went by some of these activities evolved a life of their own, while others, like the archive and library ventures, became a party domain. The Foundation has focused on what is known in Belgium as **life-long education**, i.e., cultural and educational work mostly with adults.

This has won the Foundation recognition from the Ministry of Culture for the French-speaking community. It pays the salaries to the Foundation's staff members, subsidises various activities, in short, gives much material backing. A feature of the Foundation is that it works among the most materially and culturally handicapped groups like immigrants, who make up nearly a quarter of the Brussels population, unemployed young people, etc.

The Foundation has several departments now. One of them **coordinates the work of local and regional sections** in the country's three French-speaking provinces. The sections show films with follow-up discussions of them, arrange lectures, exhibits and such like things. The Foundation gives the sections all the help possible, but its principal concern is stimulating work in the provinces, for it is impossible to make provisions for all the diverse problems and interests in various parts of Belgium and consequently to devise adequate forms of cultural work.

Another department is in charge of **video equipment**. It shows, for educational purpose, both ready-made films and its own productions. Not infrequently, films are produced in collaboration with the communities of immigrant working people. For instance, one very useful video was made about crime among unemployed young people from Maghreb countries. It took an inside look at the problem, at the highly charged drama of people deprived of work, separated from their traditional social and cultural environment and lost, to all intents and purposes, in an indifferent society.

The Foundation's **publishing work** goes back a long way, but, for lack of funds, its scope is not what we would like it to be. It is a good year for us when we put out two or three well-selling books. We also issue brochures and give material help to the **Cahiers Marxistes**, the theoretical monthly of the CPB, published for many years now.

In 1986 we reprinted a widely acclaimed study of the ideological and political struggle within the Belgian socialist movement at the start of the century. One can also mention the memoirs of CPB veteran Jean Blume. In this gripping book the author reminisces about the time of the Popular Front, the Resistance and other important events from Belgium's past.

Exhibitions are an important facet of the Foundation's work. Both established and novice artists and photographers from Belgium and other countries arrange their shows in the

Brussels headquarters. Theme exhibits are a feature, too, for instance, about the life of CPB co-founder Joseph Jacquemotte (the Foundation was named after him) and former party chairman Julien Lahaut, killed in 1950 by paid assassins. We have many travelling exhibitions touring all the French-speaking provinces. For example, a show of anti-war posters by Belgian and foreign artists visited schools in Brussels and in Walloon towns and villages.

Last but not least, there is a Foundation department arranging **concerts and popular fetes**, both nationally and locally. The most important of them is the holiday of **Le Drapeau Rouge**, the CPB's French-language newspaper. It is usually held in September and is the long-time venue for contacts of members of the democratic and communist press in Belgium and other countries. It is a prominent cultural event in Brussels now and has much public attention. The holiday attracts performers of note, along with the young, many of whom get their first taste of performing in front of thousands of people.

The same goes for pantomime festivals, already two years old. Up-and-coming artists have the chance there to go through their paces alongside well-established companies. We arrange these festivals jointly with a cultural centre in Brussels, which has the support of the Ministry of Culture. The Foundation also takes part in promoting a more politicised dramatic art known in Belgium as "action theatre".

Our chief concern, as we stressed earlier, is supporting local initiative, in residential areas and the countryside. These are mainly folk festivities, which have both a social and a political aspect. They draw in many people living in the countryside.

The Foundation and its activists are eager to build up some sort of counterbalance to commercialisation of culture, a phenomenon typical of all industrialised capitalist nations. Essentially, culture is being turned into a consumer product which the people have no hand whatever in making. This does not imply that the masses are necessarily being conned but one thing is clear: there is a driving urge to sell a product, no matter how low its quality. To do this, neither television nor any other cultural media have motive to set the consumers thinking, preferably the opposite.

Fighting such things is not easy. We primarily want to make people culturally creative, capable and willing to critically view social phenomena. Our role is not to overly popularise the policies of the party but to gain for it a direct political effect as it were. Obviously, in mounting a week of Italian films. We are not out to immediately win new members for the party. But in showing the best postwar Italian pictures filled with realism and a sense of civic responsibility we stimulate people to reflect on the society they live in.

Equally, when the Foundation arranges for young performers and artists from different countries to show their skills and to help people find out more about one another and exchange experience, this is more of a cultural exercise than a political struggle. But at the same time it is part of the effort to win the right to recreation and cultural activities which has long been pressed for by the working class movement.

Take, for instance, the well-known "three eights" issue: eight hours of work, eight hours of sleep and eight hours of active recreation. How are they being allotted? The working people's action wins them shorter working hours and more time to spare. However, the bourgeoisie in power is anxious to use the hours meant for cultural endeavour and the development of personality for its own mercenary ends at the same time.

At one time the Belgians saw the appearance of so-called people's houses conceived as seats of culture for the masses. Many of them are gone now, and the few that are still around have been converted to run-of-the-mill cafes where people can sit and talk — which is quite important, too — but which offer no purposeful cultural activities.

I feel that one of the weaknesses of the working class movement and the left forces in general is that for a long time, they have underrated this aspect of the struggle. But its significance has been growing by the day, because society is growing more complex, is subject to substantive shifts and sees the emergence of new social groups with their specific and often varying interests. How are we to bring them closer together and sustain the idea of human solidarity

which has always been a cherished goal of the working class movement?

Evidently, **culture is now gaining a very great significance. We need to be active and innovative in it and reach out for new forms filling the present needs.** To end the deep alienation evident in Belgian society and egoism, which is cultivated, among other things, by the TV screen to which people are glued for many hours as passive onlookers, we need to offer them an alternative.

To meet this noble need the Communist Party, as a political organisation, will have to play its creative part and consequently to strenuously build up its cultural work. Significantly, this idea has gained much sympathy lately. Earlier we had heard our comrades say that culture was the domain of the expert, that they were all for it but did not think it was a proper tool to change society.

The attitudes to issues of cultural activities are changing but, alas, too slowly. What is being done by many federations and district party committees leaves much to be desired. Without direct and caring participation by the cadres and the rank-and-file members of the CPB we will be unable to get the thing off the ground. One reason for it is that the Foundation and its local branches have far too limited physical and material resources.

We were talking about aid from the Ministry of Culture but it should not be overestimated. Every centime of appropriation has to be battled for. With the present centre-right government in office, there is not much hope that things will change for the better. True, the ministry of the French-speaking community is willing to help. But the notorious "economic austerity measures" obstruct, in the first place, the progress of culture, which is seen as something superfluous and almost a luxury. The same problem faces the regions and communes. Whenever local budget imbalances have to be corrected, this is done at the expense of cultural appropriations.

All this goes to show that **more active work by the party in the field of culture is a high priority.** For the Communists, the cultural sphere is now an important venue of ideological struggle. For instance, an acute problem in Belgian society now is racism and hatred of the aliens. The Right is at pains to portray nearly all the unemployed immigrants as potential criminals. In this context the video film we mentioned earlier was a means to resist reactionary ideology. It told people how things really are, not with anti-racist lectures but with hard facts.

Another problem is how to help young Belgians who have lost their jobs. Many of them are depressed by the idleness forced on them and are desperate about their future. The important thing here is to act by political means, press for less unemployment and fight for the rights of the people which have found themselves "redundant" in this consumer society. The Foundation has its own, though modest, experience. By drawing these young men and women into our activities we offer them a real — though limited — way out of the situation and try to make them feel useful.

The interest young volunteers take in our work is an invaluable asset. Practically the entire Foundation's activities rest on people's enthusiasm. It has a staff of only six people, and surely their efforts alone are not enough. Reliance on volunteers is an important element of the Belgian cultural movement. If it is not to be ephemeral but ideologically and politically useful, it must have organisational backing by the party. The 25th Congress of the CPB in April 1986 examined the social shifts in the nation and **urged the Communists to work for as broad a popular alliance as possible in a drive in which culture should become an enduring element.**

In a Big City

Umberto Ranieri — member of the
Leadership of the Italian Communist Party,
Secretary of the Naples Federation of the ICP

Naples is Italy's third biggest city and a major industrial centre. The population of the entire Greater Naples conurbation currently totals 3.5 million. The following interview is about the way the Communists of this city are working and the problems they are tackling.

What is typical of the current socio-political situation in Naples?

The city is going through a deep economic crisis. The largest industrial enterprises of Naples, primarily oil refineries, steel mills, engineering and chemical factories, have encountered serious difficulties: the volume of output is contracting, the technological level of production is falling, and the share of the working class among the economically active population is diminishing.

The situation in Naples displays a number of distinctive features. First and foremost, I would single out unemployment as an extremely grave problem. In Naples, the unemployment figure is among the highest in the nation — over 350,000, and the young people who are searching for their first jobs are affected particularly painfully. By 1990, the biggest share of Italy's 'redundant' people is expected to be found precisely in the Naples area.

Another acute problem that has brought notoriety to our city has to do with the Camorra, a distinctly native form of organised crime which differs from the Sicilian Mafia. The Camorra controls the drug traffic, engages in profiteering in the construction industry and embezzles public funds. By playing on the difficulties of young people, the gangster syndicate strives to use them as the 'unskilled labour' of the underworld. The Communists are waging a resolute struggle against this and other forms of degradation of public life.

What is the Naples organisation of the ICP like; what are its weight and role among the city's political forces?

Naples has a fine revolutionary tradition. This was where Palmiro Togliatti returned from exile after World War II. This was also where the foundations were laid for the creation of a party of a new type. Viewed in terms of its influence on the electorate, the ICP is now the city's foremost political force: more than 30 per cent of the voters usually support us, and in the recent elections to the European Parliament we won 37 per cent of the vote, far outstripping the other parties.

The Naples organisation of the ICP numbers almost 50,000 members, including some 10,000 women. As far as its social composition is concerned, industrial workers and technicians predominate. Students and youth as a whole are represented extensively; there are also senior citizens, pensioners. Still, the bulk of the Communist Party membership in Naples is made up of hired workers and intellectuals.

Our Young Communist Federation is the strongest in Italy, and it is widely supported by college and university students. The party maintains its research centre here — that's the Antonio Gramsci Institute. Several newspapers and periodicals (aside from communist publications, of course) which are not directly connected with the ICP but on which we exert considerable influence are published here in Naples.

However, right-wing and even fascist forces have been traditionally present in the city's politics. When a referendum on the Italian government system was held in 1946, support for the monarchists was strongest in Naples. In those days the Communists' influence on the electorate was not yet decisive. In the 1950s the city went through a period of "Laurism" — a

Umberto Ranieri (b. 1949), a historian, was elected to the Leadership of the ICP at its 17th Congress (April 1986).

phenomenon named after the monarchist shipowner who won an absolute majority of votes in Naples and was elected mayor for almost 10 years.

Today, the influence of the monarchists and the fascists is declining compared to the 1950s and 1960s, but it would be a mistake to discount it completely. These forces are still supported by large sections of the lumpen proletariat. Our task is to prevent the popular component of the electorate from looking to the Christian Democrats. The important thing is to channel its political aspirations and discontent into the mainstream of the left perspective, that is, to orient it on the Communist Party.

Communist participation in the city administration was a salient feature of the past decade. At that time, the left giunta (municipal council) which relied for support on an alliance between the ICP and the Socialists carried out a programme of measures to improve the situation in various public utilities and in urban development. Regrettably, on the eve of the 1985 municipal elections, the Socialist party decided to break with the tradition of the city's left administration. There was no discernable reason for giving up the ICP-ISP alliance on the local level, but the Socialists did that in Naples and in all other big Italian cities.

As a result, power in Naples is now held by a weak centre-left giunta which does not have a majority in the municipal assembly. Chronic internal crises and conflicts and frequent replacement of mayors have left Naples virtually without municipal government. Mid-term elections to the local self-government bodies are a distinct probability.

On the municipal council, the ICP representatives control 23 seats and play the role of a constructive opposition because otherwise city administration would have been completely paralyzed. Our strategic plans are firmly oriented on a revival of the left alliance. It is a matter of record that there are currents within the ICP which are critical of an alliance with the Christian Democrats. We are therefore urging the Socialists to consider the possibility of resuming cooperation between the left parties.

What steps are the Communists taking to regain a leading position in the city administration?

First of all, we are working to consolidate party organisations in urban communities, on the shop floor and in educational establishments, and to involve the forces influenced by the ICP into vigorous civic activities. We are trying to interest them in party work and in frank discussions, to help them develop a taste for politics. Our aim is also to broaden the forms of democratic activities within the ICP and to draw as many Communists and other working people as possible into consultations and decision-making. Besides, we think it is important to enhance the image of our party organisations which are active among technicians, intellectuals, members of the artistic community and mass media workers. We have worked hard in all these categories, and we now expect specific results to materialise.

The Communist Party is paying special attention to renovating the policy of alliances on a national and city level, on the basis of a correct understanding of the changes occurring in the economy and in the social structure. On the one hand, we cannot confine our activities to the category of industrial workers at a time when our traditional social base is contracting. On the other, it would be a mistake to speak about the disappearance of the working class because the decline in the numbers of industrial workers does not mean that the army of hired labour is diminishing. On the contrary, it is growing. Meanwhile, the changes affect primarily the character and the form of production activities: intellectual work is coming to dominate many sectors, technology is advancing rapidly, and new occupations and services are appearing.

The search for ways to approach the non-traditional forms of hired labour introduces a new element into the work of the ICP — first and foremost because we have turned to face problems that were far from the party's interests and policy only a short while ago. These issues include the social role of the new occupations and their role in and outside production, the increased importance of skills, and efforts to abandon old, crudely egalitarian criteria

which ignore the abilities of each individual.

The Communist Party has had to face various difficulties at certain turning points in Italy's history. Take the 1950s when, amid large-scale technological retooling, we appeared to be losing influence on the shop floor. But the Communists proved equal to the challenge and mastered the situation after noting and analysing the changes occurring at the time. We are trying to cope with the current situation in a similar way.

The ICP sees its task in organising the traditional and the new forces of the army of hired labour and in promoting an alliance between them and the artistic and academic communities, experts in science and technology, and the more realistic business interests ready to contribute to the development of production and to greater employment. By creating a new social front, we will lay the basis of a future political alliance so that a municipal giunta which would pose an alternative to the centre-left government on a national scale, too, could come to power in Naples.

What place will the proposed new social front accord to the people deprived of their right to employment, given that their numbers are increasing both throughout Italy and especially in Naples?

To mobilise the unemployed is a great challenge. If you approach them only as unemployed, you are running the risk of fostering corporatism and isolationism in the movement of the people made "redundant". This is an approach we reject. The solution is to rally them together with those who have jobs, with the trade unions. But this is not easy either because the unemployed tend to take only their own concerns into account. nevertheless, we the Italian Communists hold that the trade union movement must serve as the point of departure and as a link connecting the working class and the workers ousted from production in their common struggle for changing economic policy and solving the question of employment.

Aside from the problems you have cited, what else prevents the influence of the ICP and the left forces from growing faster?

Among the major problems I would single out the crisis of politics as such, the loss of popular confidence in it. The appeal of the ideals Italy's parties are guided by in the choice of their decisions and actions is fading. People no longer see politics as a sphere in which their civic and personal aspirations can be applied. The impression is that politics is no longer capable of reflecting new problems, interests and needs, that it is becoming increasingly divorced from real life, from the people and from society. A crisis of institutions is also in evidence. The state itself and the standards for the functioning of democracy are being discussed and debated.

This situation poses a danger to the Communist party too, because we are feeling the effects of this devaluation of politics. Hence the need and the duty of the ICP to lead politics out of the crisis. I think that there are two traps here: the danger of becoming a force like any other, of losing the distinctive image, mission and function of a communist party, and the risk of steering clear of it all, of isolating ourselves and withdrawing into an "ivory tower" in the name of our illusory uniqueness.

I think that the Communist Party should explain it to people that politics is their basic civic duty and that to take part in politics means to advocate change, transformations and, in the final analysis, the building of a more just society. In short, the objective is to enrich politics with new ideas aimed at the solution of major economic, civic and social problems.

It appears that in our country, there is no returning to the times when politics reigned supreme over the concerns of men. Aside from civic affairs, the Italian working people and youth now have many other concerns and interests. But this does not mean that politics can be ignored. It remains a sphere in which each individual makes the choice of a lifetime.

There is another question closely connected with the Communists' attitude to politics. A discussion about the distinctive features of a mass party has been launched recently within the ICP. Many people believe that in our age of radical social change and powerful influence of the mass media, the need for such an organisation has disappeared. They propose that a so-called simplified structure be created instead.

There is no doubt that the changes which are occurring pose formidable problems before the party. Nevertheless I believe that the preservation and expansion of ICP presence on the shop floor, at educational establishments and in urban communities remains the right choice that must be constantly backed by deeds. Of course, much is to be changed in the party's methods of work, and that includes its Naples organisation. The development of the ICP as a large and ramified organisation of the masses is essential for the growth of our influence.

INFORMATION

The Communist Movement Today

Editors of Periodicals Meet

FROM December 3 to 5, 1986 the journal *Kommunist* sponsored a meeting in Moscow of editors of theoretical and political journals published by communist and workers' parties. The participants represented 39 national publications and two collective journals of fraternal parties — *World Marxist Review* and *Al Nahj* (The Way), published by the communist and workers' parties of the Arab countries.

The editors dealt with new theoretical and political issues relating the developments underway in the socialist countries, in the communist, working-class and national liberation movements, and in mass democratic anti-war movements. In the course of a meaningful and friendly discussion, the need was stressed for promoting cooperation of fraternal parties' journals on theoretical problems.

IN A SPIRIT OF UNDERSTANDING

ON an invitation from the CPSU Central Committee, a delegation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia led by Milanko Renovica, President of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, was in Moscow on an official visit of friendship from December 9 to 12, 1986.

The LCY delegation held talks with a CPSU team led by Mikhail Gorbachov. The discussion was conducted in a friendly and open atmosphere, in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding. The two sides exchanged views on topical questions concerning the theory and practice of the building of socialism and on international issues of mutual interest.

A VISIT TO STRENGTHEN COOPERATION

IN accordance with a 1982 joint decision of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the French Communist Party on promoting their relations, a delegation of the CPCz visited France on November 24-29, 1986. A statement issued by the two parties notes that during the visit, the representatives of the CPCz offered detailed information about its efforts to accelerate Czechoslovakia's socio-economic development. A meeting with Georges Marchais, FCP General Secretary, and talks with FCP leaders centred on international issues, the tasks of the struggle for peace and the current state and prospects of the broad

popular movement in European and other countries for ending the arms race and reducing and eliminating nuclear arsenals. The statement emphasises that the visit was a major contribution to the expansion of fraternal cooperation between the two parties.

VIEWS EXCHANGED IN PRAGUE

IN December 1986 leaders of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia met with a delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China which was in Prague on an invitation from the CPCz Central Committee. At the meeting, the two sides exchanged their views on topical international issues of consolidating the positions of peace and socialism and of removing the nuclear threat. Questions of further developing relations between the two parties and countries were also discussed.

STEPS TO DEVELOP RELATIONS

DELEGATES representing the leaders of the Communist Party of the Netherlands and the Bulgarian Communist Party met in Amsterdam in November 1986. Particular attention was devoted to issues of the international communist movement and to the campaign for peace. It was noted that efforts to step up and enhance the struggle for disarmament, for removing the threat of nuclear catastrophe were now the foremost task of the Communists. The growing role of the anti-war movement and the need for more vigorous action by the Communists to strengthen it were emphasised. The sides underlined that further promotion of BCP-CPN ties in the name of common communist ideals would benefit the two peoples, the cause of peace and socialism.

A delegation of the BCP visited Spain in November 1986 and met with Gerardo Iglesias, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain. Some topical issues of international politics, of the international communist and worker's movement, and of joint action by the left and democratic forces in Europe and the world against the nuclear threat, for lasting universal peace and social progress were discussed.

SIMILARITY OF VIEWS REITERATED

IN late November 1986 political talks were held in Beijing between a delegation of the French Communist Party and the leaders of the International Department of the Communist Party of China Central Committee. It was noted that FCP-CPC relations had been strengthened after the October 1982 visit of Georges Marchais, FCP General Secretary, to China and that they now had a positive character. The two sides reiterated the similarity of their views on issues of peace, disarmament and economic development, agreeing that joint action by all forces, countries and peoples dedicated to peace can put an end to the arms race and banish war. In this connection the FCP delegation expressed appreciation of the pledge China had undertaken at the UN to take part in an international conference on disarmament at which the five nuclear powers would be represented.

DESPITE DIFFERENCES

ALVARO Cunhal, General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, visited the People's Republic of China in December 1986 on an invitation from the CPC Central Committee. In the course of the visit, Alvaro Cunhal had talks with Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, and other CPC leaders. At a press conference for Chinese and foreign journalists in Beijing, Alvaro Cunhal said that despite certain differences between the PCP and the CPC, including differences on international issues, both parties held similar views of the need for considerable efforts to be exerted to prevent a new world war. He also noted that in the opinion of the PCP, there can be no insoluble problems in relations between communist parties.

Post-Election Scene

Winning New Votes

THE November 1986 mid-term elections to Austrian Parliament revealed growing support for the Communist Party, according to the party's *Volksstimme* newspaper. This was achieved despite the bourgeois media, primarily television, denying the party the opportunity to get its election message across to the people.

The fact that the Communists received more votes than in the previous elections, the paper goes on to say, is a sign of their rising popularity. The party received nearly 10,000 new votes — chiefly in industrial areas where the CPA led a campaign in defence of state-run factories and won workers' sympathies by consistently upholding their interests.

The prime objective for the Communists and the entire Left now is to build on the trust voters showed for their policy of progress and democracy, a policy to keep jobs and social gains, the paper emphasised.

In the Mirror of the Press

l'Humanite-Dimanche

HOW DO THE COMMUNISTS FARE WITH THE FRENCH?

THIS was the question asked in the course of a public opinion survey conducted by the FCP weekly *l'Humanité Dimanche* in the autumn of 1986. Commenting on the results of the survey published in the newspaper is FCP Political Bureau member Roland Leroy.

The data is quite revealing, he points out. The poll showed, among other things, that 52 per cent of the French see the FCP as willing to "change the society". But only 26 per cent gave correct answers about the policy objectives of the French Communists; most of the polled have a fairly garbled idea of them. Roland Leroy attributes this primarily to the bourgeois media in France keeping the Communist Party's major objectives under the wraps or distorting them.

Forty-five per cent of the people are aware that television, radio and the big press present the Communist party in a very unfavourable light. But even these are misinformed, too: the poll showed that in France, where over three million people are unemployed, 75 per cent of the population know nothing at all about the party's broad programme to combat unemployment.

The influence of anti-communist stereotypes showed, too, in replies to the question about the sources of the FCP's finances. Most of the polled listed among them membership dues and deductions from the pay of Communists elected to national parliament and local authorities, which is true to fact. And yet, the paper stresses, 25 per cent claimed that the party used some "secret funds", while 21 per cent were convinced that it had funds coming "from Moscow". "Such slanderous allegations, which have been kept alive for many years now, still have their grip on the people," Leroy points out, "despite the fact that the FCP has not once been embroiled in scandals over secret funds and is advancing a law making public the source of political parties' finances."

Further, how do the French see the Communists' values and ideas? Sixty-five per cent of the surveyed think that the FCP is working, above all, for social equality; significantly, this is not only the view of its voters but of those who support the Socialists and the Right parties.

Thirty-nine per cent quoted the Communists' solidarity with the working people, 20 per cent — national interests, 15 per cent — freedom, and ten per cent — the peace campaign.¹ "I think it logical," Leroy points out, "that the Communist Party is seen as opposed to social inequality which is getting ever more pronounced, and a force in solidarity with the low-income social groups. But the fact that very few people rate political freedom among the Communists' ideals is evidence of the impact the human rights campaign² has had on the people. There were only few who cited peace action among the party's objectives, a sign of a flagging anti-war movement in France."

All the indications are, as the survey has found, that the Right's persistent claims of an "inevitable weakening of the FCP" have failed to affect mass thinking as one might expect. The polled were roughly equally divided in assessing the Communist Party's political prospects: 44 per cent, mostly those who vote for the Communists and the Socialists, believe that in the next few years the FCP will keep or increase its vote, while 47 per cent, chiefly the Right parties' electoral supporters, predict that the FCP's influence will wane.

The following figures give a general idea of how the people treat the Communists and the Communists Party:

What is your attitude to the Communists you know personally? (percentage)		What is your attitude to the FCP in general? (percentage)
Very favourable	7	3
Mostly favourable	35	26
	<u>42</u>	<u>29</u>
Mostly unfavourable	22	37
Very unfavourable	8	18
	<u>30</u>	<u>55</u>
Abstained	28	16

Those well disposed toward FCP activists, the *I'Humanité Dimanche* stresses, by far outnumber the communist detractors. The paper underscores the fact that the number of the FCP's well-wishers is thrice the number of votes the party gets in the elections. This is evidence that the communists could appreciably increase their popular appeal.

Summing up, Roland Leroy notes that the survey led him to the following conclusions:

— first, the FCP is quite a buoyant party needed by and attractive to many people, rather than a doomed and cornered organisation;

— second, the French see the Communists as the sole force opposed to the present social order and offering a different policy;

— third, and last, they alone are able to rally the working people in the drive for radical social change.

The figures on the party's growing membership *I'Humanité* carried late last year endorse these conclusions. Between January and November 1986, the party welcomed 45,000 new members — more than in 1985; there are many young people and women among them. The absolute number of party organisations grew in half the departments. "This shows," the paper emphasises, "that the FCP's work is attracting thousands of people willing to change things in the country and that precisely our party is generating new ideas."

¹ The questionnaire enabled those polled to give several answers to each question. — *Ed.*

² The reference is to a reactionary campaign mounted in the West against the socialist countries. — *Ed.*

Documents

CHINA

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE GRASSROOTS BODIES

A memorandum of the CPC Central Committee and the PRC State Council on improving the operation of the grassroots government bodies in rural areas has been circulated in China. The memorandum notes that the nation-wide campaign to separate administrative and economic management functions of what used to be people's communes has been completed and that people's government bodies have been established at the local level. Separation of administrative and party functions in the local bodies is the next step.

In accordance with the CPC Rules, district party organisations are to concentrate their efforts on the implementation of party policy, on the ideological and organisational strengthening of party ranks, and on directing the activities of youth, women's and other civic organisations. Party organisations must not assume the specific functions of the people's government bodies which should deal above all with economic development and with the legal and administrative measures to promote it.

The memorandum specifies that an effort to upgrade the educational level of all cadre members at the district level is to be organised during the next three years. The drive will centre on studies of the fundamentals of Marxism, law, modern science and technology, advanced methods of economic management, and profound understanding of CPC policy.

TURKEY

CONFERENCE HELD UNDERGROUND

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey has released a report on a national conference of all CPT organisations, held in one of Turkey's industrial cities in November 1986 and chaired by Haydar Kutlu, General Secretary of the CPT Central Committee. The successful completion of this conference in rigorous clandestine conditions is a turning point in the struggle of the Communist Party, the report stresses.

Opening the conference, Comrade Kutlu singled out preservation of peace and establishment of democracy in Turkey as the foremost tasks facing the people. He called on the Communists to concentrate on implementing the CPT's alternative programme of the struggle for peace and national democracy, noting that the national conference provided a good basis for preparations for the Sixth Congress of the CPT.

The report states that the conference was preceded by meetings on primary, local, district and regional party organisations, politically unaffiliated workers, women and youth; these meetings discussed the Theses of the CPT's alternative programme. Representative, of other sections of the working people, of progressive patriotic and democratic forces were also acquainted with this document. Taking their views into account and drawing on the experience of disseminating party ideas among the masses, Communists submitted a number of proposals and critical remarks during the discussion of the Theses.

The conference delegates approved the Theses unanimously and suggested that the CPT Central Committee begin preparations for the Sixth Congress and start working on a party programme.

In Brief

CONGRESS SCHEDULED

AT a plenary meeting, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria has decided to hold the 26th Congress of the CPA in March 1987.

The Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin is to convene its eighth regular congress from May 15 to 17, 1987.

PARTY COMMITTEE SECRETARIES MEET

Party committee secretaries from the culture ministries of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, the USSR and Vietnam held a conference in Moscow in mid-December 1986. The task of party committees in implementing the decisions of their party congresses on matters of culture and in perfecting the forms and methods of work with the artistic community and with the younger generation were discussed. Participants in the conference stressed that it was to promote closer contacts among the party committees of culture ministries in the fraternal countries.

ANGOLA

The first national workshop for radio and television staff has been organised in Luanda, Angola's capital. In the opening speech, Roberto de Almeida, Political Bureau member of the MPLA — Party of Labour and the party's Central Committee secretary for ideology, pointed out that efforts should be focused on involving the masses in the building of the foundations of socialism in Angola, on resolutely exposing the forays of the nation's enemies and on promoting patriotic education of the younger generation.

BELGIUM

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium has issued a statement calling on the government to help step up the movement of Europe's smaller and medium nations for the elimination of nuclear weapons on the continent. The statement has been made in connection with the fact that up to June 30, 1987 Belgium will chair the governing bodies of the EEC. The Communists also demand that the government pursue a more independent foreign policy and support the creation in Central Europe of a nuclear-free corridor and, subsequently, of a nuclear-free zone comprising the FRG, the Benelux countries, the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

DENMARK

The Danish Communists raised some 5.3 million kroner (about 700,000 US dollars) in the 1986 nation-wide drive to support *Land og Folk*, the party newspaper.

DEMOCRATIC YEMEN

For the first time in the history of PDRY, a political activity day was held in the factories, ministries and offices of Aden, the country's capital, in December 1986. Taking part in the events were leaders of the Yemen Socialist Party, including Ali Sulem al-Beidh, General Secretary of the Central Committee.

exchange of views, discussion

Christian/Marxist dialogue in Latin America Round Table in Prague

The *WMR* Commission on Latin America and the Caribbean has held an international round table in Prague on "The Dialogue of Communists and Christians Amid the Current Crisis in the Region" in which prominent experts on religion and the church took part. Presented for discussion were reports by **Juan Rosales**, Central Committee alternate member of the Communist Party of Argentina; **Jose Felipe Carneado**, Central Committee member of the Communist party of Cuba; **Orlando Millas**, Central Committee Political Commission and Secretariat member of the Communist Party of Chile (who could not attend); and Professor **Nikolai Kovalsky**, Doctor of History (USSR).

Taking part in the discussion were representatives of fraternal parties on *WMR*: **Jose Maria Lanao**, Central Committee member of the Communist Party of Argentina; **David Moraes**, Central Committee Political Commission member of the Communist Party of Bolivia; **Antonio Granja**, member of the National Leadership of the Brazilian Communist Party (by correspondence); **Orel Viciani**, representative of the Communist Party of Chile on *WMR*; **Alvaro Oviedo**, Central Committee member of the Colombian Communist Party; **Francisco Gamboa**, Central Committee Political Commission member of the People's Vanguard of Costa Rica Party; **Antonio Diaz Ruis**, representative of the communist party of Cuba; **Luis Emilio Veintimilla**, Central Committee member of the Communist Party of Ecuador; **Jaime Barrios**, Central Committee member of the Communist Party of El Salvador; **Donald Ramotar**, Executive Committee member in the Central Committee of the People's progressive Party of Guyana; **Randolfo Banegas**, Central Committee member of the Communist Party of Honduras; **Elean Thomas**, Central Committee Political Bureau member of the Workers Party of Jamaica; **Felix Dixon**, Central Committee member of the People's party of Panama; **Rogelio Gonzalez**, Central Committee member of the Paraguayan Communist Party; **Cesar Jimenez**, representative of the Peruvian Communist Party; **Jota Carrera**, Central Committee member of the Communist Party of Venezuela (by correspondence); **Dr. Hans-Gunther Stieler** (GDR); and Professor **Stepan Mamontov** (*WMR* staff member).

Following is a summary of the discussion prepared by Alvaro Oviedo. To cover this subject more extensively, *WMR* plans to publish several articles based on reports submitted to the round table.

A Short-Term Policy of Convenience or a Strategy?

ONE should stress at the outset that, referring primarily to the distinctive Latin American situation, all speakers noted not only the expediency of dialogue and cooperation with Christians but also the need to promote it and to arrive at a new level of understanding with due regard for the changes occurring in the world. The age we live in demands that we look

steadily for ways to exchange information and views on an issue of such great importance for revolutionary practice.

The question of relations between Marxists and believers is a subject long familiar to the Communists. The general principles for its solution were suggested by the founders of Marxism-Leninism. Later, the world communist movement acquired additional experience connected, for example, with the formation of united fronts against fascism and the war threat in the 1930s. The documents adopted at the time, after Maurice Thorez's declaration of the "hand outstretched in friendship" policy,¹ kept referring to greater cooperation with organisations of believers.

In their underground struggle during World War II, the communist parties of the countries overrun by the Nazis also oriented their members on joint action with all anti-fascist forces, including the Christians who joined the resistance movement. We also know about the cooperation of the Russian Orthodox Church with the government and people of the Soviet Union who bore the brunt of the struggle against the Nazis during the war.

After the victory over fascism, virtually all fraternal parties in the countries where the Catholic faith was widespread advocated coordination of action with Christians and with believers in general. The principles underlying this position were formulated in the collective documents adopted at meetings of communist and workers' parties — for example, in the Peace Manifesto of 1957 which appealed to people of goodwill, irrespective of their political or religious affiliation, to help prevent a new war. The participants in the 1960 meeting stressed in their statement that no differences of a political, religious or social nature must be a barrier to the unity of the working people.²

The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties was even more forthright, noting that as social, political and economic contradictions became more acute in many countries, new prospects were opening for a broad alliance with the masses of believers. The conference stated the communist conviction that close contacts and joint struggle could transform the masses of believers into a vigorous force of social change.³

This conclusion was also reiterated at the 1975 Meeting of Latin American and Caribbean Communist Parties: "Christians, particularly Catholics, ordinary priests and even some members of the higher clergy are increasingly active in the popular struggle for national and social progress. They are inspired by the idea of the church being on the side of the people... and rejecting a compromise with reaction and imperialism. Prominent representatives of the church oppose fascist terror and advocate democratic rights and social progress".⁴

The experience of contacts and sometimes, of cooperation between the Communists and the Left, renovation-oriented quarters of the Latin American Catholic Church — the working people in the parishes, grassroots clergymen and even some bishops — is sufficiently rich. This experience allows one to conclude — and this has been stressed repeatedly by Comrade Fidel Castro since the early 1970s — that this is by no means a short-lived policy of convenience rooted in tactical considerations, but a long-term **strategy** of the struggle for peace, social progress, democracy and national independence.⁵ As several speakers pointed out, joint action by Marxists and Christians can promote socialism in Latin American Countries.

New Problems, New Questions

World and, particularly, Latin American development have produced new phenomena connected with contradictions not only within the church itself but also within capitalism as a whole. This, as many round table speakers said, gives a new and specific shape to the tasks the communist parties have to tackle to involve the working people, most of them believers, in the revolutionary process. Without their participation, far-reaching social change is impossible.

Ever more Latin Americans, whatever their religion, conclude that one must combat a

system which deals blows to the working people indiscriminately, to believers and non-believers alike. The policy of the transnational corporations and other monopolies which shift the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working people encounters growing resistance on the part of the peoples who refuse to accept imperialist diktat. The contribution of believers to this struggle is hard to overestimate.

The threat of man's extinction in a nuclear catastrophe and the awareness of the connection between the arms race and the plunder of the developing countries are helping to open the eyes of people all over the world. The absurdity of military spending is glaring against the backdrop of hunger, contagious diseases and privations afflicting vast regions of the globe.

Tragic reality has produced profound changes in the religious practices of the Christian masses and their organisations in Latin America, above all within the Catholic Church. Adapting to the demands of the times, it inevitably gave rise to currents of renovation which asserted themselves at the Latin American Episcopal Council (CELAM) conferences in Medellin (1968) and Puebla (1979) and, theoretically, within the framework of liberation theology with its "preferential choice in favour of the poor" and with its challenge to the conservative quarters of the church.⁶ The chief theoreticians of liberation theology believe that the renovationist choice in favour of the poor is consonant with the general Christian principle of loving one's neighbour without drawing any social distinction. It is specified, however, that "love of the oppressed" is expressed through participation in their liberation struggle and "of the oppressors" through changing the world so that they could no longer exploit their neighbour and would thus regain their human condition. This interpretation has incensed the reactionary clericals and the US administration who invariably decry it as "subversive". There are areas in Latin America where even the Bible is regarded as a subversive book; a person in whose possession a Bible is found is liable to go before a firing squad.

Marxism cannot be blamed for the Bible becoming an explosively dangerous book. The way it is interpreted in the present conditions of poverty, exploitation and oppression expresses the aspirations of the dispossessed and their hopes for a better life. It is a protest against oppression — although, in Lenin's words, "in religious guise".⁷

It is common knowledge that Christianity arose in the Roman Empire as a religion of the slaves and the oppressed and that it proclaimed equality of all men. At that time, slaves were regarded merely as "cattle with the gift of speech," and they could express their yearning for justice in the only form open to them — in religious guise. Subsequently, the religion of the ordinary people was used by the ruling classes to consolidate their power.

What is new is that today, this yearning for justice and human dignity can be realised. The meeting across centuries between the ideals of early Christianity and the scientific goals of a revolutionary movement opens up prospects of social change, of building a more human society. Referring to the experience of the Island of Freedom, Fidel Castro notes that in Latin America, a just society has ceased to be a utopia and that if the church attempted to create a state based on Christian ideals, it would look very much like Cuba.⁸

New realities born of a contradictory process which at times deviates from a strictly onward course make a number of demands on the Communists. As the participants in the round table pointed out, we cannot remain indifferent to a broad mass movement which, although heterogeneous and often contradictory, has an important potential for development and is looking for a place of its own in today's revolutionary battles. One cannot approach this issue of paramount significance to revolution in Latin America while remaining hostage to the patterns and positions of the past. Creative Marxism, which is alien to all dogma or hidebound thinking, demands that the Communists follow closely the current trends of the revolutionary process.

The direction in which the Christian masses will move largely depends on our response. Generally, believers strive for emancipation, but their hopes may be frustrated unless we work jointly for banishing exploitation of man by man. There is simply no such thing as an

ideological vacuum. If Marxist, revolutionary ideas fail to gain the upper hand, other ideologies which are hostile to genuine change will influence the masses, confusing or restricting their action.

The participants in the round table expressed their concern over the fact that Marxist-Leninists are somewhat slow to study these issues, to arrange the available experience and its new aspects into a system, and to make practical use of the conclusions made. That is a serious drawback, and not only the fraternal parties of Latin America but also the entire communist movement has a stake in correcting it. As it was stated at the meeting, Latin American Marxists are paying due attention in their work to the realities of the Christian movement and its policy. This work is based on criteria that transcend national boundaries, whether this applies to reactionary clericalists, moderate reformists or to renovationists. But studies in this field must be intensified to identify the more promising subjects, to add vigour to the exchange of views and information already underway among the Communists — and, naturally, to take specific steps enabling Latin American Christians and Marxists to tackle common problems together. Finding common ground with believers is a task which, if accomplished, could make a great impact on the popular masses.

Cooperation with Christians

Speakers at the round table were unanimous in stressing the need to promote relations with the renovationist Christians in the spirit of sincerity and mutual respect. True, the materialist world view is a direct opposite of religious philosophy, and the truth of Marxism-Leninism has been borne out by historical practice. But joint action does not imply that either side must abandon its philosophical or religious convictions. While supporting liberation theology, we do not adhere to it at all; a correct understanding of this current helps to expose right-wing forces in the Church and reactionaries in general who want to use religious faith for justifying passivity and humble acceptance of exploitation, oppression and arbitrary rule.

As it was stated in the discussion, the Communists must openly proclaim their conviction that all forms of *desarrollismo*⁹ in Latin America have failed and that historically, revolutionary change is the only way out of the crisis. We must work with believers without imposing our view on them, without lapsing into sectarian attitudes, and never losing sight of Lenin's idea that "no number of pamphlets and no amount of preaching can enlighten the proletariat, if it is not enlightened by its own struggle against the dark forces of capitalism".¹⁰ However, both futile dogmatism which isolates us from Christians and concessions on matters of principle stand in the way of political education of the working masses, of their moving closer to Marxism.

The well-known precept of the founders of Marxism-Leninism — that atheist education must serve the primary task of intensifying the class struggle of the exploited against the exploiters — is the cornerstone of our relations with believers. This approach does not stem from tactical considerations or short-term advantages but from the demands of materialist dialectics — efforts must be focused on changing those social conditions which, today, prompt people to turn to religion.

This was why Lenin said that no effort should be spared to draw workers still believing in God into the party. He stressed that "we are absolutely opposed to giving the slightest offense to their religious convictions" and that "we recruit them in order to educate them in the spirit of our program".¹¹ Fidel Castro notes in this connection that from a strictly political point of view, "one can be a Marxist while remaining a Christian and work together with Marxists who are Communists to transform the world".¹²

Dialogue with Christians is a form of ideological struggle, not appeasement. However, participants in the round table pointed out, our debates with believers must not scare them away from us, must not degenerate into a violent quarrel in the course of a common struggle. These debates should demonstrate that Marxism-Leninism is a profoundly substantiated theory corroborated by social practice and consonant with the interests of the working class and the oppressed in general.

Certain new nuances arise here, the round table participants noted. In their rapprochement with Catholics, some party members may at times even depart from the philosophical principles of the Marxist world view. We tell these comrades that one must emphasise all that unites us, but never sacrifice our principles. It is particularly important to realise how those Christians who break with right-wing, reformist, anti-Marxist and anti-communist ideology can be helped to join revolutionary activities and find their place on the side of the oppressed. And, naturally, they should learn about the principles of Marxism-Leninism from the right source, not from the caricature present by reaction.

Another important point is connected with the fact that many Christians who call themselves Marxists and who take part in the political revolutionary struggle strive to master scientific ideology but cannot embrace it fully, cannot bring themselves to abandon their religious beliefs.

Thus, specific developments are making new theoretical and practical demands on the communist parties. In order to cope with these demands, the round table emphasised, one must remember above all that in the dialogue, Marxists and Christians can, without giving up their principles, find much in common in their approach to ethical values so close and dear to all people of goodwill.

Moreover, Latin American realities encourage believers and Marxists to unite within organisations playing the part of a vanguard — a completely new phenomenon in the contemporary liberation movement. For example, the leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front which is being transformed into an integral party, includes Christian activists and Catholic priests; the issue of forming a single revolutionary vanguard has also been raised in El Salvador. Here we are dealing not only with dialogue and cooperation but also with a convergence of several political forces in a monolithic organisation representing the advance guard of revolution.

National Opportunities and Difficulties of the Dialogue

The round table considered the distinctive place of religion in different Latin American countries. In an attempt to draw a tentative panorama of the subject and cover the views expressed at the round table and reports that have appeared in the press over the past few years, let us consider the position of the church and of believers and the attitude of Latin American communist parties to them.

Since the 1940s, the Communist Party of **Argentina** has pursued a policy of offering cooperation to Catholics. This course was followed in the first postwar decades, although at that time, the church as a social institution promoted conservative, reactionary, anti-communist and anti-Soviet trends and was openly hostile to any demands of the workers and to any progressive change. But even then, democratic currents, albeit very weak, could be discerned among the clergy.

Now that contradictions have sharpened and differentiation has become obvious within the church, the Argentine Communists reject all forms of crude anti-clericalism and all attempts to dismiss the church and the movements allied with it as totally reactionary social forces.

An unbiased look at the situation shows that the more conservative of the Argentine bishops are gradually losing their leading role, although they still retain firm positions in the top church hierarchy, among army chaplains and in urban and rural organisations of big capital. A group of bishops and prelates is asserting its place among the clergy: they have shifted noticeably to the left, support the more progressive demands of the masses and advocate liberation theology — although this has cost some of them their lives. Many priests and leaders of religious agencies realise that in order to retain its ties with the masses, the church must abandon its obsolete rhetoric and speak a new, more reformist language open to a discussion of social problems, of the aspirations of the dispossessed and the oppressed. True, these figures still labour under anti-communist misconceptions and class-based prejudice and try to avoid a radicalisation of the congregations. But even given such

conservative attitudes which do not go beyond timid reformism, some common ground can always be found, and this can make it possible to pursue a policy of alliances with the renovationists on issues such as the struggle for peace, democratic freedom and, to a certain extent, a more equitable distribution of material benefits.

The Communists of Argentina are working constantly among believers, and the party is aware of the numerous tasks it will have to solve while travelling in this direction. The Victorio Codovilla Centre for Marxist-Leninist Studies under the CPA Central Committee has formed a special study group on religious issues. The group has recently prepared a number of publications¹³ aimed at providing activists with theoretical background for dialogue and cooperation with the masses of believers.

In **Brazil**, where renovation has spread widely among the clergy, the left wing of the church played a prominent part in the struggle against the military dictatorship which had ruled the country for more than 20 years (1964-1985). Here is a quotation from the BCP policy document: "In the darkest period of fascist repression the Catholic church was among those few who had the courage to raise their voice to publicly expose the crimes and the arbitrary rule of the dictatorship, and it did this firmly and boldly, thus contributing decisively to the shaping of national public opinion which condemned the regime."¹⁴

In the absence of legal parties, the left-wing church acted openly as the mouthpiece of the opposition. Jointly with several progressive political figures it organised a campaign for a broad, general and unlimited amnesty and later called for a discussion of a constitutional reform.

With its 110 million parishioners, the Brazilian Catholic Church carries great weight in the Catholic world. Brazil accounts for nearly one-third of all Latin American Catholics whom recent years have set in motion — witness the emergence of some 100,000 grassroots Christian communities¹⁵ with a great democratic and collectivist potential. Liberation theology has even had an impact on the top level of the church hierarchy and is felt among the Brazilian episcopate, which, with its 367 bishops and five cardinals, is the largest in the Catholic world. A recent conference of the episcopate has raised the issue of promoting democratisation in Brazil and adopted a document calling on all Catholics to discuss ways of expanding popular participation in the nation's economic and social affairs. An open advocate of agrarian reform, the church reaffirmed its stand by proposing to hand over all its land (about 180,000 hectares) to the government should the latter decide to change the structure of rural land tenure.

In the modern history of **Chile**, relations between Communists and Catholics who constitute an absolute majority of believers have gone through two stages shaped by completely different political circumstances. In 1970-1973 the revolutionary government of Salvador Allende maintained relations of mutual respect with the church; the masses of Christians were extensively involved in the revolutionary process. The second stage began with the advent of the savage fascist dictatorship. But even in these conditions, and despite the intrigues of the conservatives who were encouraged by the appointment of a new cardinal in Santiago de Chile, the Catholic Church assumed a stand that was, on the whole, anti-fascist. The Communists have repeatedly welcomed its various moves. Conversely, Pinochet's regime has treated the church brutally and insultingly: priests have been arrested, exiled and even assassinated; churches and cathedrals have been besieged and mined. Maintaining their daily contacts under these conditions, Communists and Catholics strengthen their ties in the name of their common struggle for freedom. This is reflected graphically in the friendly relations existing between territorial party cells and grassroots Christian communities.

The Communist Party of Chile proceeds from the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the church, firmly and unequivocally advocating understanding and joint action between supporters of revolutionary change and the masses of Catholics and other Christians. The party is doing its utmost to make this a distinctive feature of the nation's future democracy and revolutionary change.¹⁶

In **Paraguay**, oppressed by Latin America's oldest dictatorship, the church also

demonstrates a desire to take the sentiments of the masses into consideration. This trend has affected even the higher members of the church hierarchy, signalling that considerable changes are occurring in the Paraguayan episcopate which, not too long ago, was a mainstay of the dictatorship. Archbishop Ismael Rolon criticises Stroessner's rule in his sermons. Last year, priests and nuns staged a procession in Asuncion, calling for peace, freedom and justice for all those suffering from poverty. The marches condemned the regime's reprisals against peasant families. The idea that dialogue, cooperation and joint action with the Communists and all democratic forces are needed is gradually making headway among the Catholic clergy and lay believers.

The Paraguayan Communist Party holds that there is sufficient common ground between Christian and atheist workers to unite for liberation from exploitation, oppression and poverty; as far as the church itself is concerned, it, too, is "increasingly opposing the dictatorship which accuses bishops and ordinary priests of abetting subversive activities".¹⁷

Bolivia is a Latin American country where the Catholic influence is particularly evident, although other denominations also exist. Despite the fact that some circles of the church hierarchy cling to old, reactionary concepts, after the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) positive changes occurred in the approach of the church to issues such as the socio-economic position of the working people, human rights, democracy and resistance to the dictatorships which had repeatedly unleashed reprisals against believers and even murdered priests. These new developments and a response to liberation theology opened broader opportunities for dialogue and joint action of Communists and Christians to champion national interests and the demands of the popular masses. The Bolivian church has recently taken a clear stand on the key issues of the nation's life.

First, it acted as mediator between the authorities and the workers of the Siglo XX and Catavi mines when the miners staged a mass hunger strike to protest against the government policy of privatisation and shutdowns. Second, the Assembly of the Bolivian Laity, supported by the leaders of the church, denounced the July 14, 1986 incursion of US troops into Bolivia, allegedly to combat drug dealers, as a violation of national sovereignty. Finally, one of the documents adopted by the Bolivian episcopate has described the external debt as "amoral" and stated that a refusal to service it is justified from the Christian point of view on social, political and purely humanitarian grounds.¹⁸ In a thinly veiled reference to the IMF, the bishops assert that "well known international organisations" are foisting their schemes on Bolivia and that the burden of implementing them is borne by the dispossessed.

In the Catholic Church of **Peru** there are quite conservative and even reactionary currents, but there are also influential renovationist forces who follow the ideology of Gustavo Gutierrez, a priest, a theologian and one of the founders of liberation theology. As early as 1971 the Peruvian episcopate acknowledged the advantages of socialism, although opponents of change again gained the upper hand in the mid-1980s.¹⁹ Gutierrez and his supporters appreciate Marxism highly as a doctrine of social development, and they use Marxist precepts in their theological constructs.

Significantly, Left Unity (LU), a coalition which includes the Peruvian Communist Party and which is the country's second strongest political force, maintains practical cooperation between Christians and Marxists. Alfonso Barrantes, the LU leader and the mayor of Lima, describes himself as a Christian Marxist. Within the framework of the LU, he strives to comprehensively promote contacts and cooperation with grassroots Christian communities and particularly with supporters of liberation theology. He maintains that unlike speculative theology, liberation theology is born of and rooted in Peru's tragic realities.

The unbearable position of the peasants is the nation's foremost social problem. The drama of godforsaken mountain villages, the brutal exploitation of those who go to the cities in search of jobs, starvation and living conditions unfit for human beings — these are the realities that influence the religious consciousness of believers and prepare them for acceptance of socialist ideas. The experience of the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions with their policy of close alliance between working Christians and Marxists exerts a perceptible

influence on the Peruvian renovationists and on the masses of believers who have been set in motion.

The Communists of **Ecuador** also believe that joint action is both possible and necessary. The 10th Congress of the CPE (1981) said in its political resolution the "the strategy outlined by the party calls for the unity of all anti-imperialist, democratic and patriotic forces in the struggle for a revolution of liberation with a socialist perspective. . . Conditions are in evidence for joint action with influential groups of progressive Catholics".²⁰

What is known as the people's church has played an important part in awakening the consciousness of the Indian working masses in Latin America. The "people's church" created a network of parish schools using radio broadcasts as teaching aids; this effort was inspired by Leonidas Proano, formerly the bishop of Riobamba and a well-known figure in Latin America. The reactionaries have repeatedly branded him a "Communist". In 1973 the vatican subjected him to a special "screening", and in 1976 he was even arrested on charges of "subversive activities". "The bishop of the Indians" and his supporters have done much to help overcome anti-communist attitudes among the Catholic masses and to promote the solidarity of the Ecuadoran workers and peasants with other Latin American peoples fighting for liberation.

The right-wingers tried to use the 1985 visit of Pope John Paul II to Ecuador to strengthen their hand. They opposed the idea of unity of the working people in their struggle for social change. But these attempts failed. Hundreds of thousands of Indians filled the streets and squares of the capital and the roads leading to the city; they demanded that the church defend the poor. **El Pueblo**, the principal newspaper of the CPE Central Committee, wrote at the time: "We Communists are often accused of being enemies of believers. That is an outright lie. We are enemies of the way the ruling classes use religion to dampen the struggle of the people for their interests. We believe in unity and cooperation of Communists and Christians who uphold their economic and social rights and oppose war and the arms race."²¹

Some of Ecuador's Catholics are politically affiliated in the Revolutionary Movement of Left Christians, an ally of the Communists. A large part of believers votes for the CPE and the Socialists in elections. It is no accident that in Chimborazo province where Proano now lives and works, only Communist and Socialist candidates won in the latest elections.

The Catholic Church in **Colombia** plays a prominent role not only in the purely religious sphere but also in government, due to the concordat²² with the Holy See. In many respects, it is even more traditionalist than the similar covenants with such fundamentally Catholic countries as Spain or Portugal.

There are three main currents within the Colombian Catholic Church. First, there is the far-right, reactionary current which unites certain prelates, the army chaplains who subscribe to the infamous national security doctrine, as well as traditionalist priests. Obscurantist figures such as Father Lefevre publicise their views in Colombia and have open supporters, many of them connected with the Opus Dei.²³ The second, conservative-reformist current covers most of the clergy. Opposing the renovationists either openly or covertly, it is the main obstacle to the propagation of liberation theology. Its doctrinal rebuttal is the task of "moderate" reformists who are backed by various West German Christian funds and foundations. Finally, there is the third, truly renovationist current which is closest to the left and which upholds the more radical precepts of liberation theology. Its members, including a group of priests who have joined the people's armed struggle, often take a progressive stand — from a consistently democratic to a revolutionary one.

The conservative-reformist elements constitute a majority in the Colombian church. However, today this majority which is hostile to liberation theology and which has been weaned on anti-communism, holds that the guerrilla movement and the "subversive activities" in Colombia cannot be eliminated by force of arms only. Therefore, this current proposes agrarian reform and other measures that would ensure peace, jobs, and the people's access to education, adequate housing and basic services.

The Colombian Communists believe that unity of all forces advocating change can be

attained in different ways — from concerted action when the objectives coincide temporarily to a joint struggle for long-term goals, ensured by a succession of accords on specific issues. For this reason the CPC uses every opportunity to find common ground with all those who want the truce²⁴ to continue and who strive for socio-political change in favour of Colombia's democratisation and progress to advanced democracy. Prominent among these forces are Christians, including some prelates.

The secular tradition has always been quite strong in Venezuelan politics, and that is a marked difference from the situation in Colombia. A complete division of functions between the church and the state has been a distinctive feature of the Venezuelan scene for more than 50 years. Civil marriage, divorce, government-controlled education, etc., are realities which no Catholic challenges. The people of Venezuela practice Catholicism their own way, which is devoid of any fanaticism. They are very tolerant with regard to religious matters, and this opens great opportunities for the party's political and ideological work among believers.

The Communist Party of Venezuela and the Catholic Church maintain relations of mutual respect and refrain from attacking each other. The contacts established with certain ecclesiastical quarters can be described as very good. This applies not only to that part of the clergy which has embraced liberation theology, that is, not only to the "rebellious" and renovationist priests, but also to the priests who are less receptive to new ideas but who uphold the liberal traditions of Venezuela's Catholic faith.

This is why the CPV appreciates the cooperation established with these religious figures on specific issues. Acting in the interests of the people, the party rejects behind-the-scenes manoeuvres and demagogy about the church. The materialism and atheism of the Communists do not pose an insurmountable obstacle to the dissemination of Marxism in the Venezuelan working class movement, nor do they stand in the way of the policy of broad alliances with all democratic forces. Such is the course mapped out by the Seventh Congress of the CPV (October 1985) and aimed at helping to overcome the consequences of the severe crisis which has afflicted the country in recent years.

Central America and the Caribbean

The participants in the round table were particularly interested to learn about the experience of cooperation between Christians and Marxists accumulated by socialist Cuba.

Although the Cuban Catholic hierarchy, connected with the United States and Franco's Spain until the 1960s, at first supported the counter-revolutionaries, publicly condemned court sentences to the butchers from the Batista clan and opposed the agrarian reform, Cuba's revolutionary leaders treated the religious sentiments and needs of believers with respect, displayed exemplary patience and calmed the people's indignation over the stand of the prelates. The new government exposed the clergymen and lay Catholics who cited religious motives to justify their anti-patriotic activities. But Cuba's churches were not closed, and there were no impediments to the celebration of religious services.

When the acute confrontation provoked by the reactionary clergymen in the first post-revolutionary years was overcome, the church entered a gradual process of adapting to the new Cuban realities, and this evolution was not without its contradictions and zigzags. The first signs of this adaptation appeared in 1969, when the Catholic Church opposed the US blockade of Cuba. As for the Evangelical and Protestant denominations, represented in Cuba by more than 50 quite heterogeneous communities, they tended to support liberal and progressive views from the very beginning. The Cuban revolution also stressed the need to respect the religious practices unconnected with ecclesiastical institutions but widespread, since colonial times, among the poorer sections of the population.

This policy made it possible to unite diverse forces around the objective of defending and developing the revolution; their own experience led them to accept Marxism-Leninism. This is a lesson of great value for contemporary Latin America. Today's leaders of Cuba include former Catholic and Protestant ministers, as well as women who belonged to the organisation "With the Cross for the Country", created to unmask the machinations of the

top ecclesiastical hierarchy and of the reactionary clergy. Freedom of conscience and freedom of religious practices are guaranteed constitutionally, and proper material conditions are created to ensure their actual exercise.

After the dictatorship of Somoza was overthrown in **Nicaragua**, the Catholic dignitaries opted almost unanimously for an alliance with the opposition, and in Nicaragua, the opposition has close ties with the counter-revolutionaries. Spiritual leadership of these forces has been assumed by Miguel Obando y Bravo, the archbishop of Managua who has recently been elevated to the rank of cardinal in recognition of his dubious services. The local episcopate is openly critical of grassroots Christian communities and demands that the priests serving as cabinet ministers — such as Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto and Minister of Culture Ernesto Cardenal — step down from their government posts. This policy is supported by the Latin American Episcopal Conference and by the Holy See.

This is what *Solidaridad*, a Colombian periodical, wrote in this connection: "The attitude of John Paul II to Nicaragua is in sharp contrast with his tolerant position vis-a-vis Cuba. He has accepted the Cuban socialist revolution as irreversible. At the same time, he refuses to accept the firmly expressed will of the Nicaraguan people who are also resolved to carry out a revolution. Why this difference of attitudes? The impression is that Rome proceeds from purely political, not evangelical considerations."²⁵

For all the complexity of the relationship between the state and the church in Nicaragua, the higher levels of the Catholic hierarchy do not play a decisive role. Grassroots Christian communities united in what is called the people's church make a great contribution to the defence and reconstruction of the republic, and so do many priests who fill government posts and even serve on the cabinet.

The Sandinist policy in religious matters has been articulated by President Daniel Ortega: the revolution has never infringed and will never infringe on the freedom of religion and religious practices; this is borne out by the fact that services are held daily and encounter no obstacles. "But", the Nicaraguan leader added, "we shall never permit this freedom to be used to justify terrorism or counter-revolutionary activities."²⁶ these are the positions from which the government of national revival is conducting official negotiations with the local hierarchy and with the Holy See.

The episcopate of **El Salvador** generally follow a pro-US course and supports the anti-popular regime of Napoleon Duarte. Nevertheless, in the course of the dialogue conducted to end the armed conflict which is devastating the country, the policy of the FMNLF-RDF²⁷ has generated understanding with some prelates. Monsignor Arturo Rivera y Damas, Archbishop of San Salvador, acts as a mediator between the parties to the conflict.

Grassroots Christian communities which appeared in the country in the 1960s have done much to help organise and unite the Salvadoran working people. In 1980, the so-called Coordinating Centre of the people's church was set up. While recognising the authority of the episcopate, it coordinated the activities of the communities and of those priests who "made a choice in favour of the poor". Speaking on their behalf was the late Archbishop Arnulfo Romero who was shot and killed during service. He called on soliders not to follow orders when they were sent against the people.

Today, two governments are vying for control of El Salvador — the old, exploitative power which is gradually losing ground, and the new, revolutionary authorities which control a large and growing part of the country. In the liberated areas, local government bodies operate which are in charge of education, health care, production and self-defence. They receive considerable assistance from priests, monks and lay believers. This means that the church is in fact also divided in El Salvador. One must note that all five member-organisations of the FMNLF strictly observe the principle of respect of religious beliefs. In the zone they control, everything has been done to make religious services possible. Progressive religious quarters make a great contribution to the solution of the country's problems by organising humanitarian assistance to the population from various churches in the United States and in Europe.

The church of **Costa Rica** wields considerable influence and is quite conservative. As a servant of the ruling classes, it currently supports the counter-revolutionary campaign launched in Nicaragua by Cardinal Obando y Bravo; during elections at home, the Costa Rican church acted as the shock troops of reaction, urging the electorate not to vote for the Communists and to be as submissive and humble as possible. When mass popular action is staged however, all this does not prevent the church from mediating the disputes between workers and employers or from displaying a degree of understanding in response to the specific proposals and demands of the people.

The People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica pays special attention to its relations with ecclesiastical figures, including higher-ranking ones, because the interests of organised Christians and of the Communists coincide in matters of the struggle for peace and international solidarity, in the protection of human rights, and in joint action in the mass organisation of workers and peasants striving for better living conditions and upholding other demands of the working people.

Compared to other Latin American countries, the number of clergymen in **Honduras** is small: one priest per 15,000 people as against 8,000 in neighbouring El Salvador. In the late 1960s and early 1970s a ramified network of grassroots Christian communities sprang up in Honduras and firmly supported the peasants' demand of an agrarian reform. Bishop Nicolas D'Antonio led an effort to draw up a progress for training these communities' leaders; the landowners described this programme as "communist".

The latifundistas and the army mounted a series of reprisals against progressive priests and peasants. In the massacre of June 25, 1975 in the Santa Clara farmers' religious instruction centre and the Los Horcones hacienda, Department of Olancho, 12 parishioners (including two women) and two clergymen were killed. Those who sponsored the instruction of community leaders with the help of radio broadcasts, as well as the personnel of religious instruction centres and other religious national organisations were subjected to persecution and censorship. The bishops responded meekly to attacks against the church.

Generally, the higher levels of the church hierarchy resist the new trends which have appeared in Honduran Catholicism under the influence of liberation theology; they often assume a reactionary attitude to the key problems of concern to the country and the region. At the same time, many clergymen work extensively to assist Salvadoran refugees and those Hondurans who have been driven from the border areas where an undeclared war is being fought against Nicaragua. They are also active in people's organisations which fight for human rights, national sovereignty and peace. The lower clergy is becoming increasingly aware of the true culprits responsible for the deteriorating economic situation in the country and for the growing threat to peace in Central America. The change in the thinking of those who form the backbone of the Honduran Catholic Church cannot fail to influence the views of the prelates: some bishops now begin to display an understanding of the need for social change.

In **Guatemala**, where the impoverishment of the peasant masses, particularly in mountainous areas, reached frightening proportions after the US intervention of 1954, grassroots Christian communities began to appear quite early. In 1965-1970 they began to organise into cooperatives so as to improve the condition of the people. Today, the community members and the entire nation are opposing reprisals and exploitation. The communities joined the revolutionary movement after government troops overran the interior part of the country. Some communities include 1,500 to 1,800 members. At their assemblies they decide on participation in military operations and vote to determine who should take up arms and who is to do the farming.

All this has resulted in an overall polarisation of the country's religious forces. The reactionaries have taken steps to bolster the nearly extinct right-wings, organisations such as Opus Dei, various Christian "training courses" and anti-communist religious sects. Efraim Rios Montt, a former dictator, has even founded his own "church" which is close to US fundamentalists. The dual objective was to infiltrate the ranks of revolutionary believers and

to support and justify the reprisals.

Meanwhile, unwilling to compromise itself, the Guatemalan episcopate is forced even to expose, at times, the more odious moves of the reactionaries. For example, Archbishop Prospero Penados del Barrio of Guatemala City has criticised the US government for its support of the massive programmes to sterilise the working population of the country's central and northwestern areas.²⁸

Unlike most right-wing political organisations, the Catholic Church of the **dominican Republic** has supported, in its own way, some of the popular demands connected with the plight of the workers in the sugar-producing industry and in agriculture; it has also made statements in support of the liberation struggle in neighbouring Haiti. The Dominican Episcopal Conference has welcomed the positive role of the Haitian Catholic Church in the overthrow of the Duvalier dictatorship, approved the Haitian migrant workers' refusal to accept slave labour at Dominican sugar refineries, and spoke in favour of self-determination for the Haitian people. For an agrarian reform it has proposed that fallow lands be expropriated and that government-owned estates be divided among the peasants.

The Dominican Communist Party has welcomed and supported this position of the church hierarchy, noting, however, the limited nature of the episcopate's proposals, specifically on the issues of land tenure. It has been stressed specially that the high-level Catholic clergy is adopting a "new style of conduct and setting a new tone" consonant with the demands of the times.²⁹

In **Panama** and **Mexico**, the situation is generally similar to what is happening in other Central American countries where the church authorities can no longer close their eyes to the problems of concern to the people and where the Christian communities and the low-level clergy cooperated with the dispossessed ever more closely and vigorously. Two examples will suffice: the Mexican episcopate has declared that a moratorium on external debt servicing is the only way to save the country from imminent danger; the church of Panama is critical of those who pin the label of "Communist" on any advocate of social change.

In the English-language countries of the Caribbean, the religious panorama is even more motley. Although Christianity is dominant here, the leading part is played by Protestant and Anglican churches and not by Catholicism which prevails in Latin America. Besides, animist cults, some Oriental creeds and Islam are also widespread in the subregion. All this is rooted in the differences in the cultural and historical development of Latin and Anglo-Saxon America. The discussion at the round table also touched upon the English-speaking Caribbean peoples — for the well-known reason that the internal contradictions and, specifically, liberation theology are common to other Christian denominations too.

In their relation with believers, the Communists of **Jamaica** are guided above all by their commitment to isolate the main enemy — imperialism and local reaction. They are strengthening their ties of cooperation with the democratic sections of believers in the anti-war struggle and in the tackling of the country's urgent problems. Many democratic Christians took part in the work of the Jamaican Peace Committee, and together with the Caribbean Conference of Churches, in a seminar of the peace forces. This seminar was attended by representatives of all Jamaican political currents, 30 civic and mass organisations and ten different churches; this means that the work of the committee has assumed truly nation-wide dimensions.

The church in **Guyana**, particularly the Catholic Church, played a negative role in the struggle for independence from the British crown, preaching anti-communism and supporting the colonial regime. Now that two decades have passed since independence, changes are surfacing in the position of the clergy: it condemned the rigging of the December 1985 general elections; in response, the authorities persecuted some representatives of the Catholic and Anglican hierarchy. Religious quarters oppose government violations of human rights. All this increases the opportunities for dialogue and cooperation between Communists and believers in the name of the triumph of genuine democracy in Guyana.

To sum up the general description of the religious situation in Central America — the way

it was outlined at the round table — let us recall that in its document “Pastoral View of the Human Condition in Central America”, the General Assembly of the regional Episcopal Secretariat has named poverty, institutionalised violence and economic backwardness as the main problems afflicting the population. The document says that the economy of the region depends greatly on international capital which ruthlessly deals with the destinies of the nations, depriving them of the right to tackle their own problems. Criticism is also levelled at the predatory policy of the International Monetary Fund. Archbishops Arivera y Damas (El Salvador) and Penados del Barrio (Guatemala) who took part in the assembly urged that believers pray for the United States not to invade Central American countries.³⁰

This panoramic survey of the relations existing between the church, believers and the Left makes it possible to assert that in Latin America and the Caribbean, where millions of people are suffering from poverty, efforts to consolidate the democratic process are now supported by the more farsighted ecclesiastical quarters, including individual prelates. Objectively, this increases the opportunities for dialogue and cooperation between Communists and believers and raises these efforts to a higher level. At the same time, these new opportunities are making new demands on the fraternal parties and other revolutionary and democratic forces working for peace, independence and social progress.

¹ In a Paris radio broadcast on April 17, 1936 Maurice Thorez said, among other things: “We atheists are offering our hand in friendship to you, Catholics, be you workers, office employees, craftsmen or peasants, because you are our brothers and because we are plagued by common concerns.” — *Ed.*

² See *Meeting of Communist and workers' Parties, Documents*, Moscow, 1960, p. 29 (in Russian).

³ See *International Meeting of Communist and Worker's Parties*, Moscow, 1969, Prague, 1969, pp. 26-27.

⁴ *Latin America in the Struggle Against Imperialism, for National Independence, Democracy, People's prosperity, Peace and Socialism*, Moscow, 1975, pp. 44-45 (in Russian).

⁵ See *Fidel y la religión. Conversaciones con Frei Betto*, Havana, 1985, p. 274.

⁶ For detail, see A. Oviedo, S. Mamontov, “Theology of Liberation: a New Heresy?” in *WMR*, No. 3 1986. — *Ed.*

⁷ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 243.

⁸ See *Fidel y la religión*, *Op. cit.*, p. 263.

⁹ Desarrollismo (from Sp. “desarrollo” — development) is a bourgeois reformist theory which appeared in Latin America after World War II and became particularly widespread in the 1950s and 1960s. It claimed that Latin American countries could overcome their backwardness by gradually modernising their economic structures within the framework of capitalism. — *Ed.*

¹⁰ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, p. 86.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 15, p. 409.

¹² *Fidel y la religión*, *Op. cit.*, p. 333.

¹³ Foremost among them is *Christ and/or Marx? The Communists and Religion* by Juan Rosales.

¹⁴ *Uma Alternativa Democrática Para a Crise Brasileira*, Sao Paulo, 1984, p. 98.

¹⁵ For details, see *WMR*, No. 3, 1986, pp. 85-86. — *Ed.*

¹⁶ For details, see Orlando Millas, “The Anti-Fascist Struggle and Chilean Catholics”, *WMR*, No. 9, 1984. — *Ed.*

¹⁷ *Adelante*, April 30, 1986, p. 4.

¹⁸ *Granma*, February 14, 1986.

¹⁹ *Informe Lationamericano*, August 7, 1986.

²⁰ *Resolucion politica del X Congreso del Partido Comunista del Ecuador*, Guayaquil, 1982, pp. 16-17.

²¹ *El Pueblo*, February 1-7, 1985, p. 3.

²² A compact between the Vatican and a national government on the status, rights and privileges of the Catholic Church. — *Ed.*

²³ A political religious organisation founded in 1928 to organise “new crusades against communism”. — *Ed.*

²⁴ The truce between the Colombian government and guerrilla representatives, signed on May 28, 1984. — *Ed.*

²⁵ *Solidaridad*, 1986, No. 73, p. 46.

²⁶ *Granma*, July 7, 1986.

²⁷ Established in 1980, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMNLF) is a military and political alliance of five left rebel organisations, including the armed forces of the Communist Party of El Salvador. The Revolutionary Democratic Front (RDF), also created in 1980, is a much broader political alliance comprising more than 100 trade unions, political, civic and other mass organisations which oppose the puppet regime. — *Ed.*

²⁸ *Granma*, August 28, 1985.

²⁹ *Hablan los comunistas*, No. 371, p. 4.

³⁰ *Cono Sur Press*, December 6, 1984.

Ecology and the Working Class (Politico-Economic Aspect)

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THE pressure on the natural habitat in the Federal Republic of Germany is one of the heaviest in the world: the FRG has as many chemical enterprises and military installations as any other country; its consumption of energy is very high; it has a large fleet of motor vehicles, an enormous network of highways, and intensively developing agriculture. No wonder a movement for protection of the environment emerged in this country relatively a long time ago.

The movement was initially concerned with the occasional local "ecological scandal", but since the late 1960s and early 1970s it has been faced with new problems following the marked worsening of the conditions for the reproduction of labour power, and for the living, leisure and recreation activity of the population. These problems were caused by the spread of garbage heaps and the sprawl of disposal sites of industrial toxic waste, river and air pollution and an ever higher level of traffic noise. The large-scale construction of highways aggravated the land use problems, while new nuclear power plants increased the potential dangers of radio-active contamination. In recent years, environmentalists have also been most concerned with the military components of the pressure of the environment (NATO troop exercises, firing and garrison training grounds, the absorption of land by military installations, the roar and whine of low-flying jets, etc.).

The environmental movement has grown into a big force within a short period of time, but its social, theoretical and political basis is far from being homogeneous. In their study of the relevant problems, the Communists seek to evaluate the research and practical initiatives on non-Marxist components of the movement, while formulating and substantiating their own strategy. The GCP has approached the problems and contradictions stemming from the ever greater pressure on the natural habitat in the light of the ideas of the Marxist-Leninist classics, and of the international discussions by Marxists.

Need to Regenerate the Natural Environment

What are the conclusions to be drawn for the working class from a politico-economic analysis of ecological problems? These appear to lend themselves to the following summary.¹

In his metabolism with nature, man inevitably does harm by his production activity to such environments as water, soil and air, with soil pollution being the most dangerous over the long run.

Capitalism has accelerated the development of the productive forces to an extreme through the exploitation of the working people and the rapacious use of nature in its wild drive for profits and competitiveness. So long as there is no shortage of manpower, and natural resources can be used up without sizeable inputs of social labour, these are ruthlessly wasted by capital. The self-seeking interests of the monopolies also distort technical progress: technological development in the processing of raw materials tends to run ahead of the use of techniques to decontaminate industrial waste.²

The collective struggle by the organised working class for more advantageous terms for the sale of the commodity called "labour power" sets limits to the capitalist exploitation,

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especially to some of its most brutal and repugnant forms, while impelling the capitalists to improve processing technologies. Unlike human beings, nature is incapable of protecting itself but, as Engels remarked, it "takes its revenge on us".³ Man's natural habitat is being worsened by the injudicious use of technical prowess, and man's very survival could well be jeopardised.

At the stage of intensive expanded reproduction and the scientific and technical revolution, through which the FRG and possibly all the other industrialised countries are now passing, social progress also implies progress in the ways in which natural resources are appropriated. The extensive factors of economic development are running out: their continued use would cause ever greater difficulties in regenerating the environment. The rise in the living standards of the bulk of the population needs to be qualitative, so that there is a reduction in the use of natural resources with the growing provision of material goods and services. The main prerequisite for attaining this goal is not just the common sense use of new hardware and technology, but the establishment of a social system meeting the people's interests.

This new type of social and ecological progress can be theoretically comprehended only by means of categories taking account of the interconnection between the growing output of material goods and reduction in the inputs of natural resources.⁴ The concept of "social wealth" used in political economy has a concrete historical content, a category now also covering the conditions necessary for the protection of human health and of the human habitat. Labour inputs for such purposes accord with the interests of the working class and the other anti-monopoly strata.

The working class seeks to create an economic system under which social wealth is produced with the lowest expenditure of effort, as rationally as possible; an organisation of the economy implying the proportional development of its sectors and also of science and technologies, thereby ensuring the use of available resources for the production of use-values, on the one hand, and for safeguarding and developing the natural potential on the other.

The concrete historical proportions between labour inputs into the production of material goods and environmental protection are established and sustained in two basically different ways. First, through **long-term planning** on the scale of the society as a whole, which is made possible by socialism. That depends on the quality of planning, on the production capacities, the awareness of ecological problems and a number of other factors. The second way is **economic and ecological crises**. Under capitalism, economic crises are a "violent form" for re-establishing the necessary basic proportions, and allocating social labour between the sectors of the economy (the "purge function" of economic crisis). However, "purge function" is an idea that does not apply to ecological crisis, which may well plunge the environment into a disastrous and irreversible state, when it is too late to take any ecological and economic counter-measures.

At the present stage in the development of capitalism, the bourgeois state tries to use regulatory and partial planning measures, and social, political and economic instruments to maintain the basic proportions, whose disruption leads to economic crises. It tries to preserve and regenerate the natural environment by similar means. State-monopoly policy in the ecological sphere comes down to two basic methods.⁵

The first method is "involving the use of the resources of the society as a whole", which implies that the damage done to nature is made good by the state: environmental protection measures are financed from tax revenues going into the budget, and the scale of these measures is ultimately determined by the class struggle.

The second method is "eliminating the harmful effects in production", which entailed the use by enterprises of their own technical facilities to reduce the harm done to the environment, with the costs being recouped through higher prices of goods and services. This is exemplified by RWE and VEW,⁶ the major West German energy concerns, with power plants fired by hard and brown coal: they intend to increase the price of electricity supply 25-30 per cent by 1990. That will allow them to instal sulphur- and nitrogen-trapping filters,

without reducing their profits, and carrying on with their wasteful structure of energy generation and consumption. With the monopolies' high stake in the faster turnover of capital and higher profits, they refuse to develop rational and ecologically safe power generation technologies (which, besides, creates many jobs when under construction). Thus, they have hindered the construction of linked-up power supply lines.

In contrast to the entrepreneurs, the working class and its most mature section take a different approach in applying the method of "eliminating the harmful effects in production". They want the cost of technical facilities helping to reduce the harmful effects at source of pollution, and the costs of replacing environmentally unsafe technologies, processes and products to be covered from monopoly profits, instead of through higher prices for consumers.

The Monopoly Approach

Like economic and social policy, ecological policy comes in a variety of state-monopoly forms. Wherever environmental protection measures become inescapable, the monopolies and right-wing, conservative parties clamour for an "ecological market economy", claiming that the state has the duty to lay down emission standards for such toxic waste as carbon monoxide, carbon dioxide, lead, and cadmium, with the entrepreneurs themselves applying these standards. Various ways of inducing them to do so are already being popularised and applied in various forms of compensation payments for damage done to the environment.

The economic and social core of these incentives is the urge to **privatise the air and water environments** (virtually the whole of the land has long since been held as private property). A peculiar form of property in the various environments known as "pollution rights" with a market for these is being set up, so as to induce enterprises to invest in environmental to invest in environmental protection and discontinue the use of old equipment.

The advocates of the "ecological market economy" claim that the measures they propose will help to meet the established state standards at the lowest cost. The idea is that the "pollution rights" market will function freely (although in practice it is bound to be soon taken over by the monopolies, while the state keeps toughening up the toxic waste emission standards. But that can hardly be expected to occur; the monopolies, those which are mainly to blame for the environmental pollution, have too strong a hold on government ecological policy. Finally, new enterprises are expected to buy up "pollution rights" from old and unecological enterprises, but the more likely prospect is that in situations of crisis that will have to be done by the state. If it fails to do so, it will have to ease its environmental pollution standards, as was, in actual fact, done in the United States in 1981, a practice West German entrepreneurs now present as a way of improving the economic health of unemployment-ridden areas.

The first attempts at regulating environment pollution problems by means of compensation payments were made in the FRG in 1986, when the government's clean-air regulations were substantially rewritten for obsolescent technology. FRG administrative agencies have also made available "water pollution rights" in accordance with the law on industrial effluents. The price of these is calculated in accordance with the toxic substance content of effluents. Most scientists and environmentalists believe that the amounts involved are too small to induce capital investment in water purification.

We find, therefore, that in practice the "ecological market economy" idea boils down to first getting the entrepreneurs to defray the costs of environmental protection by inducing them to make relevant technological improvements and investments, and then to pass on the bulk of the costs to the final consumer through the price mechanism.

International competition has impeded the implementation of this concept. On the one hand, the monopolies want an "ecological market economy" and, on the other, they fear that their positions in the world markets could be weakened because of the unequal terms of competition. For years, for instance, West German business associations resisted the

introduction of tougher environmental pollution standards on the plea that the FRG had a need for low-cost energy to remain competitive on the world market. By contrast, the Social Democrats and those who favour a democratic economic and social policy argued that more stringent standards would provide an impetus to technological progress, which would ultimately strengthen the positions of West German industry on the world markets. Sooner or later, they argued, the environment would command respect.

The social democratic version of the "ecological market economy" is designed for more active state intervention, which is supposed to reconcile the capitalist economy and the ecology. It is proposed (albeit with reservations) that special environmental protection funds should be set up to finance investments and create jobs, with the money coming from higher prices of goods and services.

A Precaution Strategy

An economic, social and ecological policy formulated in the light of the interests of the working class implies the principle of precaution: before the production of any material goods and services is started, there is a need to decide on their actual social utility. Only then should an optimal industrial strategy be worked out to meet the interests of the society and environmental protection.

The criteria of optimality on the scale of the national economy are subjected to global and international influences. In the capitalist world, consumer preferences are developed under the impact of the total sway of information monopolies and the US transnationals operating in the sphere of the services. The result is the generation of numerous pseudo-wants, conflicting with ecological standards, as will be seen from the introduction of the "American way of life". It has had a negative effect on the FRG, resulting in an anomalously high individual ownership of cars, the wide spread of throwaway goods, the excessive consumption of meat, and so on. Such influences are based on the rapid internationalisation of the productive forces and wants.

The precaution strategy can evidently be put through only in economic and social conditions for managing production on a national and partly on an international scale. Socialist property relations provide favourable prerequisites for developing the society in accordance with the ecological imperatives. Conversely, the production relations of state-monopoly capitalism do not create such prerequisites, an idea that can be clarified in the light of the state of many industries acting on the ecology, notably, power production, transport development and urban construction.

There is now urban renewal with an eye to "ecological renewal", but under present-day capitalism that can be done only on the most modest scale. The resources of most local authorities are limited; they are in a state of financial crisis. The main thing is that if the harmful effects of transit development are to be removed and resource-saving energy supply rationally organised, there is a need above all for radical changes in government policy in these sectors of the economy. The monopolies' drive for superprofits and the most lucrative investment of capital hamper the creation of optimal energy supply in accordance with the society's interests and the tasks of environmental protection.

The cars turned out in the FRG, Japan and other industrialised countries are of good quality, are fairly economical for their horse-power rating, and relatively safe ecologically. But capitalism's transit system as a whole, giving preference, as it does, to individual motor vehicles, and creating a vast sprawl of highways is increasingly negligent of public transport, which is why it absorbs an excessive amount of resources and is harmful for the environment. Present-day capitalism is capable of developing **individual elements** of the productive forces most rationally, but their **system and structure** are on the whole characterised by deep disproportions and parasitism.

The importance of the latest high technologies should, of course, never be underestimated when building up a productive forces structure to meet the imperatives of environmental

protection, the objective of democratic policy in economics and ecology. Among these high technologies, microelectronics and metering and control instruments have an especially unique role to play.

Democratic Public's Policy Demands

The working class and its organisations first, historically, carried on a struggle for better working conditions, a more hygienic state of housing, and against occupational diseases, and later joined in the struggle for environmental protection. A section of the working people has long since been organised in environmental protection associations.

The rapid pollution of the environment following the vast growth of production in the 1950s and 1960s (known as the "delocalisation of pollution") also affected the interests of the middle strata in the FRG, despite the fact that they lived in the better residential areas and had higher living standards than those of the workers. Meanwhile, the spread of education, notably higher education, led to a growth of the intelligentsia, and the democratic movement in the higher schools focused on environmental problems, which it began to regard as the key ones. Since the 1970s, young intellectuals in the FRG have acted vigorously on the issues of the ecology, peace and democracy.

New social relations were established between wage and salaried workers, and wage-earning middle strata, with the changes in the traditional habitat, the intelligentsia's growing dependence on capital, and the major class-structure shifts in the society. Whereas the environmental movement initially represented the specific interests of the middle strata that are dominant in the Green Party, which sprang from these strata, the objectives and value judgements of the movement have now also been deeply ingrained in the minds of the working class and working young people, and in their organisations.

The Federation of German Trade Unions adopted a progressive environmental protection programme back in 1974, but it was not translated into a policy of action all at once. A deep contradiction and even a dangerous alienation developed between the environmental movement and that part of the trade unions (chemical workers, miners, power workers, and also builders and partially metal workers) which saw the consistent implementation of traditional growth concepts as the way to preserve jobs. That produced this false dilemma: "More environmental protection or more jobs."

In the course of persevering political and theoretical efforts, the impending confrontation was defused by the progressive section of the trade unions, ecological movements. Analytically-minded scientists, and Communists, who demonstrated that social dismantling, the growth of mass unemployment and poverty could be successfully resisted only if the requirements of environmental regeneration were fully and unequivocally met.

Since the 1970s, the FRG Communists have been working on their theory and political programme in the sphere of the ecology, as will be seen from a comparison of the theses for the Dusseldorf Congress of the GCP in 1971, which did not contain any separate section on environmental protection, and the GCP's 1978 Programme, which contained several such sections. The theses for the GCP's Hamburg Congress in 1986 characterised the ecological crisis as a global problem and attached much importance to environmental protection. The Communists have proposed a number of individual programmes formulating their energy and technology policy, showing the interconnection between employment and environmental protection measures, etc. The SCP has set forth and continues to elaborate its view of the possibilities, conditions and framework for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.⁷

A series of dangerous accidents occurred at chemical and pharmaceutical enterprises in the FRG and Switzerland at the end of 1986. Highly toxic and carcinogenic products spilled over into the Rhine and other rivers, filtered down into subsoil waters, and filled the air. The GCP Board Presidium issued a statement urging counter-measures without delay. The Communists demand the formulation of a new policy in the chemical industry to take account of the social and health-protection interests of the working population.⁸

The basic demands of the Communists' economic, social and ecological programme are as follows: first, the framing of broad state programmes for qualitative economic growth (provision of investments in environmental protection technology, energy saving, extension of public transport at lower cost) and formulation of a research policy on ecological problems. Second, the tying in of the further growth of production with shorter working hours. Third, the nationalisation of the strategic industries, including the energy industry and the banks, their conversion into the property of the state and/or the local authorities under democratic control. Nationalisation would provide economic and political instruments for actually managing production with an eye to all the social and ecological requirements.

In 1982 and 1983, with the CDU/CSU/FDP government installed, the Social Democrats reviewed some of their approaches: their policy theses now emphasise the need for tying the economics and ecology, and support the rejection of nuclear energy over the long term. But the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SDPG) is not prepared to enter into a tough conflict with the monopolies in order to protect the environment; it is inclined to give preference to the methods of "involving the resources of the society as a whole" and of "eliminating the harmful effects in production", with the costs of environmental protection being passed on to the final consumer through the price mechanism. The extremely unfavourable consequences of that strategy connected with the decline in real wages could be eliminated through a relevant social policy, but it fails to accord with the social democratic idea of a "partnership" between labour and capital. In the present conditions, "social partnership" understandably also calls for compromise with the environmental protection movement.

The **Green Party** takes a stand in between that of the 'ecological market economy' advocates, and the left Socialists' economic, social and ecological policy aimed against the monopolies. The initial anti-industrial trend has now lost its influence within that radical-democratic party, whose policy has naturally been altered in consequence of its greater emphasis on social and economic issues. In 1986, the Greens issued their draft programme for "Restructuring the Industrial Society", which is a reflection of their evolution.

The Communists have noted that the Green Party has taken a consistent stand in its programme for disarmament and radical measures for the equality of women, while many of its other points pave the way for joint action. The Greens intend to have environmental problems solved at the expense of monopoly profits, in accordance with the methods of 'eliminating the harmful effects in production' and 'precaution strategy'. They want extensive and balanced influence on economic development so as to do away with the military-industrial sector and the parasitism of monopoly capital in transit and in the energy and chemical industries. The ecologists have kept insisting on lower fares in public transport.

The Marxists believe that there is a basis for joint action with the Greens, while making no secret of their substantial differences on some political and theoretical issues. The Communists cannot accept their claim to being the sole representatives of the extra-parliamentary movement, and note their unwillingness to see the differences between the conservative and the social reformist versions of state-monopoly policy. Finally, the Greens can be reproached for often confusing the technical and social causes of the negative social and ecological effects of the use of high technologies.

When analysing the stand of the environmentalists, one should bear in mind the changes that have taken place over the past several years in the strategy of struggle by the trade unions and the Communists for environmental protection. Earlier, they backed technological innovations as a matter of principle, and strove to limit the social and ecological damage these innovations did, but the growth of mass unemployment and poverty made them take a fresh look at their approach. The trade unions and the Communists now firmly refuse to back new technologies unless there are guarantees that these will not cause any negative social and nature-destroying effects, and if they do, then only within tolerable limits. Resistance to hard technology is akin to necessary defence and struggle by the working people in cases when there are no guarantees of new jobs in place of those being wound up at

the enterprises. In virtue of their world outlook, the Communists invariably favour technical progress, but keep a close watch on preventing the society from running into a "technological dead end".

The characteristically specific Marxist approach to ecological problems is determined by the Communists' urge to bear in mind that these are global problems. Our party does not abstract the tasks of environmental protection from the contest between imperialism and socialism. Socialism is still unable fully to realise all its advantages in practical policies. The arms race being generated by US imperialism and the barriers it keeps erecting in the way of international cooperation prevent the socialist countries from conducting a radical ecological course. The imperialist forces have mounted a fresh offensive on the social gains of the peoples of the Third World through their neocolonialist policy. The pressure from world reaction on the less developed countries prevents their peoples from putting through the indispensable social reforms and revolutionary transformations, from instituting a new international economic order, and impedes their attempts to maintain the ecological balance.

In this age of weapons of mass destruction, the interests of the world community evidently make **international cooperation, instead of confrontation, and disarmament instead of the arms race**, an imperative. Global ecological problems need also to be tackled for the benefit of mankind as a whole. Civilisation can survive only if all its productive potentialities are used for peaceful construction, for doing away with hunger and under-development, for supplying resources and energy, and for overcoming the ecological crises.

Problems in the use of natural resources can be solved only if the working class and ecological movements, the fighters for peace, and the movements for anti-imperialist solidarity and national liberation manage to arrange joint actions on a world scale and force imperialism to accept detente, cooperation and disarmament. The sooner that is done, the more funds can be channelled into environmental protection and the shaping of productive forces to serve human wants and the preservation of Nature.

¹ Let us note the following among Marxist publications in the FRG: Edgar Gartner, *Arbeiterklasse und Ökologie*, Frankfurt am Main, 1979.

² *Umweltgestaltung und Ökonomie der Naturressourcen*, Autorenkollektiv (Leitung: H. Roos, G. Streidel), Berlin, 1979.

³ See Frederick Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972.

⁴ Thus, in any discussion of energy policy today, there is a need to draw a clear-cut distinction between such categories as primary energy, secondary energy, useful energy and energy services. The latter (for instance, the energy for house heating, transport and information service) may grow, while the expenditure of primary energy may decline as a result of, say, heat insulation, remodelling of installations, etc. (see, for instance, F. Krause, H. Bossel, K.-F. Mueller-Reissmann, *Energie-Wende. Wachstum und Wohlstand ohne Erdöl und Uran. Ein Alternativ-Bericht des Öko-Instituts Freiburg*, Frankfurt am Main, 1980, p. 27 ff.).

⁵ For details on ecological policy in the FRG, see Edgar Gartner, "Waldsterben und Umweltpolitik in der Bundesrepublik", *Informationsbericht Nr. 29 des Instituts für Marxistische Studien und Forschungen*, Frankfurt am Main, 1984.

⁶ RWE — Rhine-Westphalian Electric Power Plants; VEW — Association of Electric Power Stations.

⁷ *Entscheidung des Parteivorstandes der DKP zur Kernenergie*. Beschlossen von der 2. Tagung am 17. Juni 1986, UZ-Eigenbeilage, June 21, 1986.

⁸ *Unsere Zeit*, December 13, 1986.

viewpoints

The Abiding Significance of Lenin's Lessons

**The 70th Anniversary of
the February 1917
Revolution in Russia**

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THE February bourgeois-democratic revolution took place in Russia seventy years ago. It has gone down in history as the first victorious people's revolution of the epoch of imperialism, which generated the class struggle processes that led to the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, the fundamental turning point in the development and destinies of world civilisation. The experience of the liberation struggle by the peoples of the Russian Empire against the autocracy and bourgeois and landowner oppression is more than mere history, for its analysis helps to comprehend current problems and look into the future, to discover the continuity of history, current policies and revolutionary traditions, and to make assessments and draw theoretical conclusions for contemporary practice.

Let us recall some of the historical facts in this context.

The Revolutionary Situation: The Pattern of Class Forces

The economic, social, national and political contradictions in the country were sharpened to an extreme by Russia's involvement in the First World War, which led to the dislocation of industry, starvation and a transport and fuel crisis. Agriculture was short of hands and draught animals. Not only was the countryside unable to feed town and army, but it itself was in the grip of starvation, especially owing to the requisitions of food for the army. Prices were soaring, and speculation was rampant. The price of bread multiplied six-fold, and that of cotton fabrics — 12-fold. Government finances were in a sorry state. As of March 1, 1917, something like 10 billion roubles of paper money was in circulation, as against the gold stock at roughly 1.5 billion. Russia had debts running to billions of roubles, loans which it had received on the most onerous terms. The army, led by inept generals, was suffering heavy losses. The state of the economy, the situation at the fronts, and the corruption of the ruling elite, all showed that the country was on the verge of a national disaster.

A revolutionary upswing emerged in Russia in the autumn of 1915, and began rapidly to grow. Within a year, 150,000 workers were on strike in Petrograd, the capital. These strikes were led by Bolshevik party organisations and were explicitly political. Things were moving to a general political strike, an idea which was becoming ever more popular and was winning ever more supporters.

The peasant movement intensified. In 1916, the government sent troops to the countryside on 91 occasions to put down the peasants who were rising against the landowner oppression and the war requisitions. The soldiers and sailors were being actively revolutionised, and most rapidly on the Northern Front and in the Baltic Fleet, both connected with Petrograd. The military censorship was reporting to the government that there had been "a turn for the worse" in the mood of the army. The orders of the command were increasingly ignored, and there was fraternisation with enemy soldiers in what were cases of peculiar rank-and-file armistice. The national liberation struggle, which in Central Asia and Kazakhstan

occasionally assumed the form of armed uprisings, did much to raise the revolutionary clan.

The Empire of Russia was a weak link of international imperialism, a knot of its contradictions, and simultaneously of the world revolutionary liberation movement. That is where the revolutionary situation came to a head earlier than it did in other countries, and developed into a democratic revolution of the whole people.

The issue of power in the country was being decided in struggle between three political camps: the tsarist monarchy, the liberal bourgeoisie, and the democratic forces. The camp of the autocracy included the gentry and landowners, the top bureaucracy, and the senior officers. It was in a state of deep crisis and degradation.

The liberal camp, which was headed by the Constitutional Democratic Party (Cadets), was fighting for power not for the purpose of ending tsarism, but for bolstering the landowner-capitalist system with a constitutional monarchy. The bourgeoisie in Russia would have been quite happy with a mini palace coup, replacing one tsar with another, so as to form a government with the participation of its representatives, and to obtain a vast field for capital investments, leaving the land in the hands of the landlords, and carrying on the war for the attainment of imperialist objectives. The class interests of the bourgeoisie in Russia were deeply antithetical to the whole people's struggle for democracy, and against the war. The liberals were in mortal fear of democratic change.

The political objectives of these two camps just before tsarism collapsed was aptly characterised by Lenin: "We have before us the clear-cut stand of the monarchy and feudal-minded landowners — 'no surrender' of Russia to the liberal bourgeoisie; better an understanding with the German monarchy. Equally clear is the liberal bourgeoisie's stand — exploit the defeat and the mounting revolution in order to wrest concessions from a frightened monarchy and compel it to share power with the bourgeoisie."¹

The democratic camp set itself totally different objectives, and these were formulated in Bolshevik slogans: "A Democratic Republic, an Eight-Hour Working Day, and Confiscation of the Landed Estates". Lenin's party was the only one that opposed the war as soon as it broke out. It also indicated the only sure way out of the fratricidal, imperialist slaughter: all the democratic forces and weapons in each country had to be turned against the monarchies and the imperialist bourgeoisie, which were to blame for the war. On the nationalities question, Lenin's party called for the complete equality of the peoples and the nations' right to self-determination, protection of their national culture, and a fight against the autocracy's Russification policy. The democratic camp included the proletariat, the peasantry, the country's most massive class, the urban middle strata, and the democratic intelligentsia, including the students. The labouring masses acted as the motive force of the revolution, led by the working class, with the Marxist-Leninist Bolshevik Party at its head.

How then did the contest between these three main political camps proceed? Lenin pointed out that for a revolution to take place, it is not enough to have a revolutionary situation when the upper classes cannot live in the old way and the lower classes do not want to live in the old way. For a revolutionary situation to develop into a revolution, the revolutionary class has to be able "to take revolutionary mass action strong enough to break (or dislocate) the old government, which never, not even in a period of crisis, 'falls', if it is not toppled over".²

In early 1917, there was rapidly mounting pressure from the revolutionary-democratic forces. In January, there were 270,000 strikers throughout the country, more than at any time after the war broke out; columns of demonstrators were already marching in the centre of the capital on February 14 with these slogans: "Down with the War!", and "Long Live the Second Revolution in Russia!". Within ten days, the number of strikers in Petrograd alone went up to more than 200,000. At several enterprises, the workers began to elect deputies to the Petrograd Soviet.³ On February 25, the workers' political strike became a general strike, and there were clashes with the police. The Bolshevik CC Bureau and the Petrograd Committee issued leaflets with these calls: "Rise Up One and All! Down with the Tsarist Monarchy! Long Live the Eight-Hour Working Day! All Landed Estates to the People!

Down with the War! Long Live the Brotherhood of the Workers of the Whole World!"

The following day, the general political strike began to develop into an armed uprising. That day, the police in Petrograd opened fire on the demonstrators, killing more than 50 people. Those who had organised the shooting hastened to assure the tsar that order in the capital had been restored. However, the police action caused resistance from some of the troops of the Petrograd garrison, and military units and whole regiments began to side with the revolution. On February 27, 60,000 soldiers joined the insurgent people. That night, virtually the whole of the capital was in the hands of the insurgents. Walls in the city were plastered with a Bolshevik CC Manifesto "To All Citizens of Russia", announcing the more immediate revolutionary programme: the establishment of a Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic, defence of the people's rights and freedoms, confiscation of the landed estates, the eight-hour working day, and end to the war.

At the time, the monarchy still had at its disposal the forces who were prepared to fight for it: the generals, the reactionary officers, the police and the gendarmerie. The tsar was supported by the landowners and the top strata of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie. But the balance of class forces left it no chance of staying in power: the autocracy was able neither to crush the revolution, nor to moderate its proportions by any kind of reforms. The leader of the monarchists Vasili Shulgin later made this futile complaint: "If we had had only a single regiment on which we could solidly rely, and one resolute general, things could have turned out differently. But we had neither the regiment, nor the general . . . What is more, we could not have had any."⁴ On March 1, the power of the tsarist government was finally broken down, and on the night of March 7, the last autocrat of Russia had to sign an act of abdication from the throne. The monarchy had no strength to resist the pressure of the revolution, and collapsed under the blows of the popular masses.

On February 27, members of bourgeois parties and groups set up a Provisional Committee of the State Duma (Parliament) which still tried to rescue the monarchy, and only when it had become quite clear that the Duma either had to join the revolution or go down together with the autocracy, Mikhail Rodzyanko, its spokesman, announced the Provisional Committee's decision to undertake the formation of a government, in the fear that the Petrograd Soviet would declare itself to be the new power.

The Political Vanguard's Role

Bourgeois historians keep claiming that all the classes and strata of Russia's society and all the political parties — with the exception of the Bolsheviks — took part in the February Revolution. They say this for a very simple reason, namely to contrast the February Revolution as a "genuine" revolution, as against the "Bolshevik coup" in October 1917, to leave the impression that the victory in February 1917 resulted from a spontaneous outpouring of the masses, with the liberal intelligentsia and the bourgeois and petty-parties playing the leading role. Such assertions are merely a repetition of what the bankrupt leaders of the main petty-bourgeois parties in Russia — the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries — said at that time. The Menshevik Nikolai Sukhanov wrote: "Not a single party was preparing for revolution . . . Everyone was dreaming, reflecting, anticipating, 'sensing' . . ."⁵

But was that really so? The tremendous force of the spontaneous revolutionary element cannot, of course, be denied, and spontaneous movements are bound to occur in any revolution. The indignation and anger of the exploited masses, which had been building up for decades, inevitably breaks out on the surface at such historical movements. But that alone is not enough. For a revolution to triumph, there is a need for long preparatory effort by the society's forward-looking revolutionary forces. No revolution can win unless the masses come to realise the need to struggle against war, against the social and national oppression, and the obsolete reactionary order.

When considering the relations between conscious and spontaneous movement, a major

problem in any revolution, one has to bear in mind that the spontaneous mass action in February had been largely prepared by the masses' previous revolutionary experience and the selfless struggle of the Bolshevik Party, which tirelessly spread Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ideas and slogans in the midst of the workers and soldiers. At the end of 1915, Lenin defined the party's tasks as follows: "Today we are again advancing towards a revolution."⁶

The Bolshevik Party, which then had 24,000 members, was the most organised political force in the country, with the CC's Russian Bureau, its governing body, acting on the scale of the country as a whole. Bolshevik Party organisations and groups were active in more than 200 towns across the country, on the Northern and Western Fronts, on the ships of the Baltic Fleet and in many army units in the rear. The party organisation of the capital, where the outcome of the revolution was being decided, had 2,000 members, and had links with many other towns. Bolshevik committees in Russia had a well-organised messenger service with comrades abroad and with Lenin from whom they received advice and instructions on how to prepare for fresh revolutionary battles.

Despite the severe repression and persecution, the Bolshevik Party carried on the most active political and organisational work in the midst of the proletarian masses and among their allies. Communist publications dominated the underground press, and legal periodicals were also issued. Party propagandists prepared 600 anti-war leaflets and circulated them in a printing of over 2 million copies. The Bolsheviks were increasing their political authority in the midst of the proletariat and were working successfully for the internationalist cohesion of working people of the various nationalities, consistently stood up for their vital interests. Much was also done to unite the internationalist forces in other countries.

Armed with Lenin's theory of revolution, Lenin's strategy and tactics, the Communists fought hard for the proletariat's leadership. They were with the masses on the eve of the February Revolution, and in the course of the uprising, and guided the struggle of the workers and soldiers.

In 1917, the proletariat of Russia was well-knit, seasoned in the class struggle, and fully resolved to act as the leading force in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, so as to carry the struggle of the popular masses to a victorious end making use of the vacillation and difficulties of the tsarist government and the bourgeois camp. It was a role of which it was assured by the Marxist-Leninist party, the leading contingent of the working class.

As for the claim by the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks about leading the revolution, they were in fact incapable of acting as the vanguard of the revolutionary masses, mainly because they were captive to chauvinism: while coming out against the autocracy, they supported the continuation of the imperialist war. The petty-bourgeois parties believed that their main task was to support the cowardly bourgeois opposition and urged it to take power.

Transitional Stage of Revolution

The February Revolution drew "unprecedentedly vast numbers of ordinary citizens" into the movement.⁷ Millions of people began to take an interest in politics, especially after the revolution had won out. The small shopkeepers which stood between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat formed a vast petty-bourgeois tide that engulfed and depressed the conscious proletariat. Petty-bourgeois views of politics penetrated into wide strata of the workers. It was a tide that brought to the surface of social development the Socialist Revolutionary and Menshevik parties, which reflected the views of the small and middle owners and a section of the working people who had succumbed to bourgeois influence. While the Bolsheviks carried on the fight together with the working people and soldiers in the streets of the capital, where the fortunes of the revolution were being decided, the members of the petty-bourgeois parties seized the majority in the Soviets, the organs of local self-administration, many soldiers' committees, and the leadership of some trade unions. They claimed to be a "revolutionary democracy" and used their majority to give up power to the bourgeoisie, i.e., the Provisional

Government.

With the collapse of the monarchy, there was a substantial change in the pattern of class forces in the country. Two main opposing forces remained in the political arena: the bourgeoisie of Russia, which had taken up a totally reactionary stand, and the working class. The broad vacillating masses of the petty bourgeoisie and a section of the workers initially tilted towards the liberals, although the Provisional Government had failed to include in its programme any of the mass demands for the establishment of a democratic republic, the eight-hour working day, and the handover of land to the peasants. They promised peace only after the war had been carried to a "victorious end", while proclaiming loyalty to their allied commitments.

That was in effect a historical injustice: the revolution had been carried out by the workers, soldiers and peasants, while the government was formed by the bourgeoisie. However, the Provisional Government did not wield full power, and was able to exercise its functions only to the extent to which it was supported by the Petrograd Soviet. Then led by an SR-Menshevik majority, the Petrograd Soviet issued a special declaration saying that the Provisional Government had been formed with its participation and that it was the legitimate power claiming obedience from all citizens. The result was a dual power in the country: the bourgeois government, and the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

The dual power was an expression of transition in the development of the revolution, which had gone beyond the conventional bourgeois-democratic revolution, but did not give full power to the working people. The formation of the Provisional Government did not halt the revolutionary process in the country, not just because of the subjective urges of the political parties, but because of the objective pattern of class forces.

Concerning the political situation at that time, Lenin wrote that the basic issue of the bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia had been decided: power had passed from the hands of one class — the landowners — into the hands of another class — the bourgeoisie. Its first stage had been completed. But all the other issues bearing on the satisfaction of the demands of broad popular masses remained outstanding. Land was still in the hands of the landlords, thousands upon thousands of people were still being killed in the war, which was alien to their interests, the workers were still exploited, and the peoples of Russia nationally oppressed. The government backed the self-seeking interests of the capitalists (those of Russia and foreigners) and landowners, and so ran into an irreconcilable contradiction with the interests of the popular masses.

The Provisional Government's true class face was soon unmasked by its practical deeds. It sent punitive units against the peasants in an effort to put down their partitioning of landed estates, it re-introduced the death penalty in the army, in an effort to get the workers to take orders in continuing the war, it toughened up working conditions, especially at the munitions plants, arrested revolutionaries, etc.

The masses of working people were convinced from their own experience that the demands put forward in the course of the February Revolution had not been fulfilled. A fresh revolutionary wave was building up. Russia entered upon the second — socialist — stage of the revolution. In these conditions, the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin believed that the alternative to the bankrupt rule of the bourgeoisie was for the working people to take all power in the country. The democratic revolution could advance only if it went on to a socialist revolution.

Democratic and Peaceful Way

Following an analysis of the situation and the balance of forces, Lenin reached this conclusion: although a section of the popular masses trusted the Provisional Government and supported it, the Soviets were in a position to take political power peacefully.

The working people's organ of power was already there: the Petrograd Soviet. At the time, Lenin said, it was the chief unofficial and still embryonic working class government. The

Soviets, set up in the course of the February Revolution throughout the country, were a ready-made form of power of the workers and peasants, the most massive and most democratic organisations of the working people.

The Bolsheviks did not expect the bourgeoisie to give up power voluntarily, but if the Soviets announced their take-over of full power, there was no force in the country to oppose their decision. The Provisional Government did not have a police, an army or a powerful officialdom rising over and above the people. "What **really mattered** was that arms were in the hands of the people, and that there was no coercion of the people from without. That is what opened up and ensured a peaceful path for the progress of the revolution."⁸

The Communists were working for the handover of full power to the Soviets, being aware that the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks still had a majority in the Soviets. Any government they set up would be responsible to the Soviets. The Bolsheviks had no intention of taking part in such a government: they would be in the opposition and would work through their groups in the Soviets for the satisfaction of the working people's demands.

"By seizing full power, the Soviets could still today . . . ensure the peaceful development of the revolution, peaceful elections of deputies by the people, and a peaceful struggle of parties inside the Soviets; they could test the programmes of the various parties in practice, and power could pass peacefully from one party to another."⁹ The bourgeois-democratic revolution could go on peacefully to a socialist revolution on the basis of political struggle between the parties, with the free re-election of the Soviets. Through these the working class would be able to force the bourgeoisie to give up first its political and then its economic power. Implementation of that plan would provide for the least painful transition to a new social system. The Bolsheviks repeatedly voiced their readiness to engage in a compromise with the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, but the latter rejected the offer of joint action. The opportunity for peaceful transition of power to the Soviets and a peaceful way for the revolution was missed.

It was not the Bolsheviks who were to blame for the revolution taking another way, but it is one of Lenin's greatest achievements to have worked out the question of the possibility of the working class and its allied taking power in a peaceful way: "We Marxists have always been proud that we determined the expediency of any form of struggle by a precise calculation of the mass forces and class relationships. We have said that an insurrection is not always expedient; unless the prerequisites exist among the masses it is a gamble."¹⁰

The question of the forms and methods of revolutionary struggle in our day, when mass democratic movements keep growing on a global scale, with ever wider action for peace, democracy and social progress, is still as important, and perhaps even more important than ever before. The record of the February Revolution, as of many others since then, goes to confirm that the peaceful way is possible in the presence of several indispensable conditions. **The most important of these is a broad and stable class and political alliance of the revolutionary forces led by the working class. Its might, authority and — most importantly — actions can turn the representative organs of the state power into the organs of revolutionary democratic transformations.**

The peaceful way of revolution best accords with the humanistic substance of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. It requires the utmost flexibility from the party leading the revolution. In our day, which is often called the nuclear era, and in the presence of armaments of monstrous destructive force, contest continues in the international arena and within the individual countries, but the harsh realities make it necessary, when choosing the forms of struggle, to give utmost and deep reflection to what Engels said at the end of the nineteenth century: "If conditions have changed in the case of war between nations, this is no less true of the case of the class struggle."¹¹

Now that the problem of human survival on the Earth and prevention of a nuclear catastrophe has become paramount, diverse forms to combine the class struggle and defence of peace are being worked out and actively used. **The changed conditions of the class struggle call for the utmost circumspection in opting means and methods of struggle, and a fundamental**

rejection of diverse manifestations of leftist extremism. Such an approach does not, of course, do away with the need to give resolute, including armed, rebuffs to imperialist reaction and counter-revolution whenever they try to use force in eliminating democratic and social gains and hampering historical progress.

Those are some of the aspects of the history of the February 1917 bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia, and they show that the Bolsheviks were the party that led the popular masses in the triumphant storming of the autocracy. The February 1917 bourgeois-democratic revolution was a natural stage in the advance towards the socialist revolution. Led by Lenin, the Bolsheviks in practice combined their struggle for genuine democracy with the struggle for socialism. Today, seventy years on, the experience of the revolutionary proletarian party in formulating the programme for democratic demands and their implementation, Lenin's great lessons in the February Revolution are still of abiding importance.

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 380.

² Ibid., Vol. 21, p. 214.

³ Soviets of Workers' Deputies were first set up in Russia during the 1905-1907 revolution to direct the strike struggle. During the February 1917 revolution, they were elective organs of revolutionary power. In most cases, they were joint Soviets of Workers and Soldiers' deputies. — *Ed.*

⁴ Quoted in *Pravda*, 31 March 16, 1967.

⁵ N. Sukhanov, *Notes on the Revolution, Book 1*, Berlin, Petrograd, Moscow, 1922, p. 19 (in Russian).

⁶ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 418.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. 24, p. 61.

⁸ Ibid., Vol. 25, pp. 183-184.

⁹ Ibid., Vol. 26, pp. 67-68.

¹⁰ Ibid., Vol. 27, p. 24.

¹¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Moscow, 1969, Vol. 1, p. 199.

Nuclear - Free Zones in Europe

The establishment of zones free from nuclear weapons in various regions of the world is an important step towards a nuclear-free world. In some regions such nuclear-free zones have already been set up (as in Latin America and the southern part of the Pacific). This is a most pressing matter in Europe, where the risk of a nuclear war breaking out is much higher. That is why the idea of setting up nuclear-free zones on the continent has focused the attention of many European governments, parliaments, political parties and public circles. The problem was recently discussed at an international symposium in Bulgaria.¹ Below are articles by a Bulgarian scientist setting forth what was said at the symposium, and remarks by a WMR representative.

A Practical Measure in Disarmament

Alexander Yankov — BCP CC member,
corresponding-member, Bulgarian Academy
of Sciences

Regional measures to halt the arms race, and primarily to set up nuclear-free zones and corridors, areas free from chemical weapons, and zones of peace, security and cooperation

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are of paramount importance in the present international situation. Such measures are advisable because parallel efforts by various countries on regional levels could create favourable conditions for limiting armaments and for disarmament before agreements on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction are reached (and that could take much longer).

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, together with the other socialist-community countries, regards the establishment of zones free primarily from nuclear weapons **as an important element of joint action in averting a nuclear clash between the two military-political groupings in Europe.**

The socialist countries made the basic contribution to the all-Europe peace-making process through their compromise initiatives, flexible approach to the solution of acute problems, and firm resistance to Western efforts to frustrate or slow down the process. The unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests has had a great influence on the situation in Europe. In April 1986, the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (WTO) countries handed through the good offices of Bulgaria's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Bulgarian embassies abroad their address to the European countries, the United States and Canada on the establishment of nuclear-free zones on our continent. It is a document containing a number of constructive proposals expressing in concrete terms their agreed foreign policy line as formulated at the Sofia conference of the WTO's Political Consultative Committee. It is consonant with the far-reaching plans to create a nuclear-free world which Mikhail Gorbachov put forward in the Statement of January 15, 1986. At a meeting in Budapest in June 1986, the allied socialist countries worked out and put forward a balanced programme for disarmament within a wide geographical zone, from the Atlantic to the Urals, while one of the USSR's key proposals at Reykjavik came down to the total dismantling of US and Soviet medium-range missiles in Europe. In November 1986, the Soviet Union issued its new initiatives that should help to give Nordic Europe, including the Baltic Sea area, a nuclear-free status. Finally, in December 1986, the USSR became the first nuclear power to sign the protocols to the treaty on a nuclear-free zone in the Southern Pacific (Rarotonga Treaty).

The role of vigorous action by governments and broad public circles in backing the process of building up European security has never been greater. That is why **all initiatives, including regional ones, aimed to lower the level of military confrontation on the continent acquire major political significance.**

There are general and specific factors urging the need to create nuclear-free zones. It does not seem to be possible, or politically advisable, to work out some single zone model that would apply to all the regions of Europe. Every zone has its own specific characteristics and concrete objectives, like the Balkans, though no such zone should be considered in isolation, outside the context of European and general security. There is, therefore, a constant dynamic interconnection between the concrete political situation, zone status and international security as regional nuclear-free regimens are established, which means that the setting up of zones requires a complex consideration of diverse factors, such as political, military, strategic, economic, geographical, international law, and other issues.

From the standpoint of law, a nuclear-free zone is a definite space within whose framework there is a total ban on the development, testing, manufacture, deployment, storage, transportation and use of nuclear weapons on the basis of international understandings, which means that the ban applies to any activity connected with nuclear weapons. The main objectives of a zone could be reduced to the following: **first**, limiting the nuclear arms race and strengthening the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons regimen; **second**, reducing the quantity of armed forces and armaments in the given area; **third**, enhancing confidence and good neighbourliness between states in the zone, and establishing politically stable relations between them; and **fourth**, consolidating European and general security.

Political and military aspects of nuclear-free zones as a means of nuclear demilitarisation of the region are usually emphasised among these closely interconnected objectives, but the

establishment of such zones also helps to extend economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation between the states and enable them to take joint measures on environmental protection.

Nuclear-free zone regimes can be worked out and can function only on the principles of sovereign equality, equal security and respect for the interests of all the constituent countries, which means their voluntary and equal participation in shaping the zone and exercising the relevant rights and duties. Those are the principles which ensure the legal basis of nuclear-free zones.

An active role for the states is a necessary political prerequisite for making nuclear-demilitarisation regimens effective. The forms and means for reaching zone agreements naturally depend on the concrete terms and the views of the participants. Practice shows that nuclear-free zones can be instituted on the basis of multilateral international treaties or inter-related unilateral commitment by the countries concerned. The best way to set up a nuclear-free zone is undoubtedly to conclude an international treaty, since it has incontestable advantages in reflecting the accords reached most fully and precisely.

International recognition of such zones both on the part of neighbouring states and of the nuclear powers are another essential prerequisite for making a nuclear-free regimen effective. The nuclear powers, for their part, should abide by the adopted status, and commit themselves not to resort to the threat or use of nuclear weapons against any country in the zone, and to guarantee the security of all its participants in the event of a nuclear clash. Such guarantees for the proposed nuclear-weapon-free zones in Europe have been formulated, for instance, in a number of statements issued by the Soviet government.

A system of measures for verifying and monitoring compliance by the participating countries with their commitments is a key component of the nuclear-demilitarisation regimen. Such measures are of great significance both for its functioning and for mutual confidence among the states. The character and procedures governing means of surveillance, the holding of consultations, the settlement of disputes, etc., are largely determined by the peculiarities of the various zones, their purpose and status, since these imply specific procedures. Control can be periodically exercised by means of national technical facilities and international verification. The experience in setting up a nuclear-free zone in Latin America shows that standing regional bodies with definite monitoring powers are also effective.

Nuclear-free zone regimens, as a regional measure of nuclear disarmament, should be arranged, we believe, in unconditional accord with international treaties bearing directly or indirectly on security problems. The institutions of nuclear-free zones in Europe is in complete accord with the principles and norms of international law as proclaimed in the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act. For example, Article 52 of the UN Charter underlines the importance of regional agreements on the maintenance of peace and security acquittable for each given region. There could be direct intercation with the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and other confidence-building and arms reduction agreements.

Another essential point is that all the proposals made up to now for nuclear-free zones on the continent provide for the maintenance of the status quo with respect to effective international treaties and military-political alliances, which means that commitments on the establishment of such zones do not entail any withdrawal from such alliances. The approach is dictated by Europe's political realities and the need to respect the sovereign right of every state to decide on its foreign policy line and adherence to treaties and alliances.

Nuclear-free zone regimens could be made more effective through their recognition by the United Nations, the International Atomic Energy Agency, and other inter-government organisations, and also by the European military-political alliances, with the United Nations and the IAEA exercising definite control functions, helping to settle controversial issues, and making the process of nuclear demilitarisation more stable.

The said components of nuclear-weapon-free zone regimens should not be regarded as an

exhaustive list of political and juridical requirements, for one should bear in mind that every zone has its specific features, as will be seen from an analysis of the characteristics of nuclear-free zones proposed by a number of states for the Balkans and Nordic Europe, or corridors in Central Europe and in the Pyrenean Peninsula. Let us consider some of the most essential features of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkan region.

It is an idea that has been under discussion for almost thirty years, and that has become most pressing in the recent period. It was once again placed on the agenda of bilateral and multilateral negotiations in 1981 by Todor Zhivkov, when he spoke on the occasion of Bulgaria's 1300 anniversary.

Bulgaria's initiative stimulated diplomatic activity on various levels. The next step was a proposal by the Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu for an expert conference in Athens to consider matters relating to the strengthening of mutual confidence and cooperation between the Balkan countries and the creation of a nuclear-free zone. It was held in two stages: from January 16 to 18, and from February 13 to 18, 1984, and was attended by delegations led by the ambassadors of all the states in the peninsula (except Albania), with Turkey being represented by an observer delegation at the first stage, and as a full-fledged participant at the second stage.

The Athens conference did much to invigorate international efforts in establishing a nuclear-free zone in the region as a part of the all-Europe process. A joint communique stressed the willingness "to put before the governments of the participating countries for their consideration the ideas, proposals and recommendations expressed in the course of the conference so as to continue the dialogue it began", including that concerning "procedural steps to turn the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear weapons".

The next meeting is to be held after the results of the Athens conference have been duly studied. Romania has proposed Bucharest as the venue. Continuation of multilateral consultations and talks on the level of experts will help to clarify the positions of the countries concerned, gradually to overcome the existing differences, and further to develop contacts.

The idea of setting up a nuclear-free zone in the peninsula has been gaining ever wider international support, and that has been reflected in a number of important official documents, both bilateral and multilateral.

The Balkans are, geographically, a region which serves as a connecting link between Europe, Asia and Africa; it is a part of the European continent with a highly peculiar political situation, since its states belong to different social systems: socialism and capitalism.² Across the peninsula runs the line of direct contact between the military-political groupings — the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO — since Balkan countries are involved in the one and the other. Two of them, however, are not members of either alliance. Some outstanding issues and differences of view remain in the relations between some of these states.

The specific features are certainly reflected in the Balkan countries' foreign policy, but these do not present any insurmountable barrier to joint measures for the purpose of strengthening peace and good neighbourhood. Todor Zhivkov has said: "Equal security for all is the basis for the proposal to declare the Balkans a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons. It is our view that these actions of ours, while being regional in ambit, are a contribution to solving the cardinal problems of our day."³

The establishment of a regional collective security system through the institution of a nuclear-free zone will undoubtedly help to improve the political climate, strengthen peaceful coexistence in the Balkans and develop mutually advantageous cooperation. There are many concrete areas of common interest, such as transportation, energy, environmental protection, science, culture, tourist travel and sport in which much wider ties can be arranged between the states on a bilateral and multilateral basis.

The claim that there is no parity in conventional weapons between the WTO and NATO in the Balkans is one objection to the institution of a nuclear-free zone, so that the presence of nuclear weapons on US military bases in Turkey and Greece allegedly has a deterrent effect. It is perfectly clear that the claim about some imaginary superiority of the WTO states in the

Balkans in conventional armaments is designed to keep US nuclear forces in the peninsula. Indeed, the very idea of nuclear weapons having a deterrent role, with the underlying stake on a first strike as the crucial military factor, is perfectly absurd: a nuclear strike at any single country in a region like the Balkans is bound to be fatal for all its peoples.

Alongside the peculiarities and difficulties which stem from the specific situation in the peninsula are also a number of positive political factors which could, in the aggregate, promote the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the region. Let us note, in the first place, that, irrespective of the well-known differences, the predominant trend is towards stable relations between the Balkan states.

It is also important that the countries of the region are signatories of bilateral and multilateral treaties and other international agreements bearing on disarmament and the strengthening of universal security. Thus, with the exception of Albania, the Balkan states are all involved in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, under whose Article 2 each of the non-nuclear weapons states is under an obligation not to receive from anyone whomsoever nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or assume control over such weapons or nuclear explosive devices, whether directly or indirectly; not to manufacture or acquire in any other way nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, or to seek or receive any assistance in the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. These countries have accepted IAEA rules and safeguards in the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, among them the relevant measures of control.

With the exception of Albania, all the Balkan states have signed the Helsinki Final Act, so assuming the responsibility of taking "effective measures which by their nature constitute steps towards the ultimate achievement of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control". That is the context in which the proposal has been made to turn the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear weapons.

No Balkan state has nuclear weapons within its armed forces. Greece and Turkey, which have US nuclear military bases, could join other countries, for instance, in implementing the proposals put forward by the Bulgarian CP, namely, the adoption by the states of the region of unilateral commitments "not to deploy nuclear weapons on their territory or to receive new weapons where these have already been deployed, and to reduce the existing stockpiles of such weapons".⁴ Such action would help to phase in limitations in the period of preparatory work on the institution of a nuclear-free zone so as to ensure the necessary conditions for the region's complete nuclear demilitarisation.

The shaping of such a zone clearly calls for constructive steps on the part of the governments and social and political forces of the Balkan countries. We have in mind above all diverse actions by states, including bilateral commitments and treaties containing what could be a code of good-neighbourhood. One example is the declaration on friendly and good-neighbour relations and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Greek Republic of September 12, 1986, in which both parties solemnly declare that they "will continue their efforts in implementing the idea of turning the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear weapons".⁵

The parliaments of the Balkan countries have an important role to play. Members of parliament representing, as they do, their countries' legislatures, could make a substantial contribution to solving the problems connected with the basic provisions and procedures in establishing a nuclear-free regimen. Various public circles, political leaders, participants in the peace movement, organisations for Balkan mutual understanding, committees for European security and cooperation, and trade unions, women's, youth and other associations could join actively in the discussion and drive for realising the proposal to set up a zone free from nuclear weapons. That would help shape a large-scale public movement in support of efforts to consolidate collective security, confidence and cooperation between the states of the region, so turning the process into a massive drive. The convocation of an assembly of the Balkan countries with the broadest participation could, we believe, be a concrete act of the movement.

Ridding the Balkans of nuclear weapons would be a major step towards the creation of nuclear-free zones in Europe and its eventual and complete ridding of weapons of mass destruction. Such a course of events would be of exceptional significance for ending the nuclear arms race and going on to disarmament, for advancing the all-Europe process, and strengthening peace and international security.

¹ The Symposium "Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones in Europe" (Sofia, October 27-29, 1986) was attended by some 60 prominent political and public figures, and by researchers into nuclear disarmament problems from 23 countries. Our journal was also represented at the symposium.

² The Balkan Peninsula includes Bulgaria, Albania, most of Yugoslavia and Greece, a part of Romania and Turkey. — *Ed.*

³ *Rabotnichesko delo*, September 11, 1986.

⁴ *CC Report to the 13th Congress of the BCP*, Sofia, 1986, p. 26.

⁵ *Rabotnichesko delo*, September 13, 1986.

Similarity of Positions

Roland Bauer — CC member, Socialist
Unity Party of Germany (SED),
WMR Editorial Board member

THE Sofia symposium was one among many other events held in the International Year of Peace on every continent. It concentrated on the need and ways to set up nuclear-free zones in Europe, and with such an important matter before them, the participants naturally had to assess the present state of international affairs and to examine the factors which hamper the arms race and which help to end it.

I have no intention of presenting a report or of commenting on the discussion. I merely want to acquaint our readers with some of the ideas expressed by the participants on security problems.

All the participants expressed the confidence that a turn for the better in international relations was not only necessary but also possible. There is a need for common sense, realism and good will, which could eventually bring success. They drew encouragement from the Reykjavik meeting between Mikhail Gorbachov and Ronald Reagan, the successful completion of the first stage of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, and the joint initiative of the SED and the SPD on the establishment of a nuclear-free corridor in Central Europe.

Here are three characteristic statements on the progress achieved in military detente and on the causes for which the expectations of millions of men and women were not realised at Reykjavik:

"The meeting at Reykjavik has led to dramatic changes. Although no final understanding was reached because of the differences over SDI, both powers displayed a willingness to eliminate nuclear weapons over the next ten years. As a result of the intensive efforts, more progress was made in the course of one weekend than over the many years of negotiations at various fora" (**Sanford Gottlieb**, Senior Analyst from the Centre for Defence Information, Washington, D.C., USA).

"For the first time, the two great powers were able to agree on a radical reduction of strategic nuclear weapons. It was not their control but their reduction that was on the agenda. The negotiations drew close to basic agreements, but collapsed when they ran up against SDI. Nevertheless, since Reykjavik the situation has undergone a complete change. Mankind saw for the first time that disarmament can be achieved, and that the two sides can reach agreement . . . At the point at which one side begins to seek superiority over the other, namely, to implement SDI, even the agreements based on the principle of common security are undermined. SDI is an example of how unilateral security tends to destroy common

security. SDI is an example of how the urge for superiority is fraught with the world's destruction" (**Egon Bahr**, M.P., SPD Presidium member, Director of the Research Institute of Peace and Security Policy, Hamburg, FRG).

"I also believe that the Reykjavik meeting showed for the first time that historic agreements can be reached on arms reduction and control, agreements opening up fresh prospects for the institution of nuclear-free zones and the removal of nuclear weapons from the European continent. It is Europe, which has the highest concentration of nuclear weapons, that must help to compensate for the missed opportunity at Reykjavik, to make a contribution to overcoming the differences over the 'space shield', to promote the achievement of a common accord that could lead to the adoption of effective measures on nuclear disarmament, and usher in a new stage in the development of international relations in Europe and the world.

"If the US 'space shield' is built up (and the possibility of its development is under doubt in scientific circles even in the United States) the strategic equilibrium will be seriously upset, Europe will be faced with a new danger, and the ever less controlled arms race will start on another devastating twist of the spiral. For that reason, my party, the Italian Communist Party, and numerous representatives of left-wing, and not only left-wing, European forces have come out and continue to come out against SDI and against the European countries' participation in the programme. We want strict observance of the ABM treaty and prevention of an arms race in space, including the development of anti-satellite weapons" (**Bruno Bernini**, M.P., ICP member, and member of the Parliamentary commission on Foreign Policy, Italy).

Many participants in the symposium stressed the exceptional importance of Soviet-US relations and the great responsibility falling on the two great powers with the largest nuclear arsenals. Some speakers also said that the different approaches of the USSR and the United States to the cardinal issue of ending nuclear tests show that they have not coped equally with their responsibility. The stand taken at Reykjavik by Mikhail Gorbachov and by Ronald Reagan were variously assessed but all spoke in favour of greater efforts to achieve mutually acceptable understandings and to advance the Soviet-US dialogue.

Speakers urged the need to develop a new political thinking, with common security as its key element. Here is what was said on this matter:

"Unilateral security no longer exists in this nuclear age. Only by more cooperation with the opponent, more security can be obtained, which means that any striving for more security at the expense of the security of the other party will not improve security and peace in the long run. Recognition of this inter-dependence of security demands that states and alliances organise their policy through cooperation, so as to connect its political and military components" (**Walter Bohle**, scientist, member of the National Executive Committee of the Dutch Labour Party, the Netherlands).

"Agreement is possible when states are guided by the principle of common security in recognition of the fact that one's own security cannot be greater than the security of a potential opponent. On the basis of such principles agreement can be reached on reducing strategic weapons and medium-range missiles. It was possible to reach the understandings at Stockholm on the basis of such principles" (**Egon Bahr**).

"Realisation of the basic idea of the nuclear space age — security can be only common security, and can no longer be ensured by military means — has come up against the US urge for military-technological superiority. Fair political understandings must be the main regulator of international relations.

In view of the qualitatively changed conditions and multi-faceted interconnections in the modern world, the USSR leadership has proposed and practised a new political thinking, new approaches to complex problems of world politics based on the principle of equal and common security. The Soviet concept of international security put forward by the 27th Congress of the CPSU is all-embracing and covers every sphere of life and region of the globe" (**Lorenz Knorr**, publicist, Vice-President of the International Liaison Forum for Peace

Forces, FRG).

"We in the peace movement have started from the basic premise that nuclear weapons do not give any advantage in military terms and in practice pose a threat to national security. We believe that responsibility for averting war is not the exclusive prerogative of the leaders of the superpowers or of the political leaders of other countries. It is also our common responsibility for creating favourable conditions for the adoption of positive decisions, first at a national and then at an interstate level. That is why it is impossible to separate the mass national peace movements from the international movement of the peace forces" (**Roger Barton**, President of the Secretariat of the Movement of Cities Proclaimed as Nuclear Weapon-Free Zones, Great Britain).

Speakers were unanimous on there being only one reasonable alternative in the face of the inexorable logic of the late twentieth century — survive together or perish together — and it is the need to cooperate in ending the arms race on the Earth, and to prevent it from moving out into space. They believed that important steps in this direction would be an immediate ending and prohibition of nuclear tests throughout the world, liquidation of chemical weapons, reductions in nuclear and conventional armaments to an ever lower level under equal security down to general and complete disarmament, including the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the globe.

The participants in the Sofia symposium, being in a realistic frame of mind, were aware that the struggle for lasting peace, for a prosperous world without nuclear weapons would not be an easy one, while zones free from nuclear weapons on the European and other continents would not solve all the acute problems facing mankind. But they were clearly aware — and said so in convincing terms — that the institution of such zones would be of great significance for tackling the basic problem: nuclear disarmament. Meanwhile, cooperation between states in the process of establishing and functioning of regional nuclear-free regimens would help to improve international relations.

"The problem of nuclear-free zones now tends to acquire a new ring. It relates mainly —but not only — to short-range tactical nuclear weapons. The institution of nuclear-free zones raises the 'nuclear threshold', creates stability in East-West relations, and strengthens European security. Such zones stimulate the conclusion of new agreements on disarmament and contain the spread of nuclear weapons, something that is now the greatest danger" (**Bruno Bernini**).

"Let me voice the apprehension that the creation of nuclear-free zones could be reduced to isolated acts. Ideally, it is military measures as a part of the political process that should lead to greater mutual confidence and a sizable reduction in all armaments. From our standpoint, such a measure is not the end but a part, rather, only the first step in a series of interrelated actions. The shaping of zones free from nuclear weapons has the advantage that it can be attained by regional groups of states and does not require any agreements between alliances. That will become a significant and inspiring example of the right decisions" (**Walter Bohle**).

"Like other Scandinavian countries, Denmark holds the view that the institution of a nuclear-free zone in Nordic Europe will not create the conditions of greater security in the absence of guarantees from the nuclear powers. But it will help markedly to improve the political climate not only in our region but also in relations between the two superpowers in the interests of keeping tensions in the European North at a low level. A majority of Denmark's population and the parliaments of the Scandinavian countries want the establishment of a nuclear-free regimen. There is a need broadly to mobilise public opinion in support of this initiative" (**Lasse Budtz**, M.P., Chairman of the Security and Foreign Policy Commission, Social Democratic Party of Denmark).

"Nuclear-free zones in Europe are not a full-scale alternative to NATO's present policy, which is aimed at building up armaments and confrontation. But the limited effect and the urgent need for such zones are not at odds with each other. The necessity for regional security is greatest wherever there is the heaviest concentration of nuclear weapons. Zones free from nuclear weapons are an important matter for building an all-Europe peace order and

partnership in security.

The consolidation of peace on the continent would benefit from a nuclear-free zone not only in Central Europe, but also from a whole nuclear-free belt running from Scandinavia to the Balkans. That would limit the possibility of any transfer to Northern or Southern Europe of military potential taken out of the Central region. The creation of a nuclear-free belt is a much weightier measure for ensuring security" (Lorenz Knorr).

Within the framework of the efforts to remove the threat of nuclear war and to curb the dangerous arms race, the idea of establishing nuclear weapon-free zones at national, regional and locality levels has its essential and significant role. A very important and attractive feature of this idea is that it opens a real possibility for small and medium-size states to make their own contribution to the achievement of the major and crucial goal of our times — prevention of a nuclear holocaust" (from the Statement adopted by the symposium).

The Sofia symposium and similar other measures are a reflection of the wide range and diversity of the forces now acting for peace. It has demonstrated once again that there are now a number of conceptions for ensuring security, instead of one or two. They accumulate the acute concern of the human race for its survival. These conceptions, put forward by vigorously acting political and public peace movements, are having a strong effect on public opinion and on the minds of vast masses of people, so arousing them to anti-war struggle. Such is the new phenomenon of our day which, like everything that is novel, has to be supported by those who want peace and disarmament.

The participants came from 8 socialist and 15 capitalist countries and represented various political parties and ideological trends, often with opposite world-views and value judgements. Nevertheless, they were able to reach a considerable identity of views and objectives and draw common practical conclusions. Why did that happen? Because, first, they all acted in the light of the truth, which they had come to realise independently of each other, namely, that the threat of nuclear annihilation hanging over life itself on the Earth can be warded off by common effort alone. Second, each participant displayed respect for the right of the others to differ, refrained from setting up his own political-party tenets as the measure of all things, and tried to centre the discussion on what united instead of dividing.

The ultimate conclusion of the discussion was that one has to cooperate and act, if the chance for turning potentiality into reality is not to be missed.

"In view of the present situation in Europe, renewed efforts by the governments of Europe are needed to implement the proposals for the creation of such nuclear-free zones. Parliaments, political parties and the public in general should encourage their governments for a speedy implementation of this idea. All nuclear powers should commit themselves to observe the non-nuclear status of zonal countries and extend guarantees of non-use of nuclear weapons against them, as well as not to deploy new nuclear weapons, and to withdraw the existing ones from areas where they are stationed.

"The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones is in the interest of all the peoples. To achieve this goal, all statesmen, all nations and governments should join their efforts" (from the Statement).

Against Repression and Persecution

Stop the Terror, End the Despotism

THE campaign of terror and persecution started last August by the government of Saudi Arabia against democratic forces continues unabated. Many workers and students have been arrested, and people of different nationalities — Saudis as well as Yemenis and Pakistanis resident in the country — are being put behind bars. The ruling circles are showing

no mercy either to the elderly or young, to women or men. There even are housewives among the detainees.

Patriots, fighters for democracy and progress, are sadistically tortured and meted out punishment such as amputation of hands and limbs, stoning, and decapitation — medieval despotism has run amuk. The absolutist regime repudiates civilised norms of legal procedure, shamelessly tramples universally recognised human rights, and saddles Saudi society with unchallengeable rule by the royal family.

Some brutal sentences have already been put into effect. Many of the prisoners fail to endure the unbearable conditions of incarceration or die under torture. Their mutilated bodies are buried by relatives who have seen time and again the horrible marks of inhuman treatment in the hell of Saudi prisons.

The authorities cannot mute the voice of protest. The Human Rights Committee functioning in Saudi Arabia is finding ways of informing Saudi society of the arrest of innocent people, whose "crime" is solely that they want to see their homeland free of oppression and wish to have nothing to do with the regime's pro-US policy. The Committee has called upon the kin and friends of prisoners, upon all patriots to join actively in the fight for their release.

The forces of democracy and progress in the country are demanding an end to the repressions and the release of political prisoners. They are appealing to international opinion to speak out against the campaign of terror in order to halt the arrests, the barbaric tortures, the executions, and compel the Saudi regime to respect human rights as the supreme universal value.

Sa'ad al Almri
Saudi Arabia

Egypt and the Arab Liberation Movement

Mohamed Magdi Kamal — Political
Bureau member, Central Committee,
Egyptian Communist Party (ECP)

MUCH is being currently said about a crisis in the Arab liberation movement. The reference is to the confusion which has been plaguing the movement since the early 1970's, the setbacks and defeats it has suffered, the worsening of the situation in the Arab countries and within progressive patriotic parties and organisations which are afflicted with disunity, sometimes to the point of armed clashes.

Obviously, this weakens the positions of the revolutionary forces, plays into the hands of the imperialists and reactionaries, and enables them to deal increasingly painful blows to the Arab countries. The aim is to subject them to imperialist and reactionary domination and to involve them in the pursuit of a militarist and anti-socialist strategy. What has brought it all about?

The First Step: Isolation of Egypt

The imperialists selected Egypt as the starting point of their schemes — the biggest Arab country with a population of about 50 million and with the highest level of economic and cultural development. Egypt carries particularly great weight in the Arab world and enjoys considerable influence in Asia, Africa and the Third World in general.

This was why world imperialism, above all US imperialism, allied with Zionism, decided to strike the first blow against our country and to turn it into a docile tool of aggressive

schemes. The plot was essentially aimed at the following objectives: first, to sever Egypt's ties with its friends abroad, that is, the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist community; second, to undermine the national democratic policy pursued and promoted under Gamal Abdel Nasser; and third, to isolate Egypt from the Arab sister countries.

Within Egypt, it was Anwar Sadat who zealously undertook to lead the effort to implement these schemes. He began with deporting Soviet military advisers and economic experts. Then he abandoned the national democratic gains. Under the open-door economic policy ("economic infittah"), the restrictions imposed by the 1952 revolution on the Egyptian bourgeoisie's activity, growth and ties with foreign capital were gradually lifted. The doors were flung open to foreign capital and to foreign goods with which national industry could not compete. Foreign banks were given a free hand, but this in no way helped the Egyptian economy to develop. Instead, these banks hoarded domestic funds and transferred this money abroad. Steps were taken to dismantle the state sector. Private Egyptian and foreign capital was forced on this sector as a partner, and the sale of shares in state-owned enterprises was advocated. The large-scale programme to develop production, launched in the 1960s, was suspended.

In order to underpin this new policy, substantial changes had to be made in the way the mass media operated. They were handed over to reactionary elements and CIA agents. Several avenues were used by imperialism for its cultural and ideological subversion. Scientific ideology was combated with the help of metaphysics, disseminated above all by religious groups. A fierce anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign was mounted. National democratic ideas promoted after the 1952 revolution, especially in the 1960s, were attacked increasingly. There was surreptitious propaganda of the American and, generally, the Western way of life and bourgeois values in films, on television, in the press and in education. All this, taken together, was a concerted and large-scale operation to brainwash public opinion.

Under the pretext of "diversifying the sources of arms deliveries" (but, really, reorientating the arms purchases of the Egyptian army on Western dealers), the ruling upper crust of the bourgeoisie began to reap considerable profits in commissions. A new parasitic layer emerged which accumulated great wealth and continued to add to it through connections with imperialist arms manufacturers. The paramount interest of this layer in preserving such ties affected national policy: it was the parasitic sections of the Egyptian bourgeoisie that gradually assumed control of government.

Camp David was the peak of betrayal, the culmination of the conspiracy to undermine the Arab national liberation movement by breaking Egypt off from it. Playing on our people's sincere striving for peace, imperialism and reaction produced a fraud which had nothing to do with genuine peace. The Egyptians were told that their dream had come true with the signing of the Camp David accords and of the "peace treaty" with Israel, that the lands seized by the enemy were soon to be restored to Egypt, and that difficulties were about to end.

The mass media of the Sadat regime and the imperialist and Zionist propaganda machine went to great lengths to confuse the popular masses. The anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist struggle and Arab solidarity were attacked and disparaged. It was claimed shamelessly that Egypt had gained nothing from its ties with the Arabs, particularly with the Palestinians but had merely lost its sons in the war against Israel, let alone squandered millions on arms; therefore, the argument ran, the country should orient itself on the "civilised" West and on Israel. The United States was presented as the best friend and the Soviet Union, as the worst enemy of the Egyptians.

The Communist Party and the National Progressive Unionist Party were the only political forces in Egypt to oppose Camp David and expose its true nature. The very first leaflet issued by the Communists after the "peace treaty" was concluded with Israel was entitled "This Is a War, Not a Peace Treaty".

Vicious propaganda by the Sadat regime did produce a subversive effect, but it was unable to deceive people for long. An escalation of repression began. But even reprisals failed to

stem the rising tide of resistance to the regime and to its policy. In October 1981 Sadat was assassinated.

The presidency was assumed by Hosni Mubarak who declared immediately that he would follow in the footsteps of his predecessor. Nevertheless, the scale of resistance to Sadat's policy forced Mubarak to distance himself from this course to a degree. Those imprisoned in the campaign of arrests in September, a month before the assassination of Sadat, were released. The ban on the publications of the opposition was lifted. A certain improvement occurred in relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and this was also of considerable importance. Anti-Soviet and anti-communist attacks in the mass media declined noticeably, although they did not cease altogether. In the economic sphere, criticism of the previous interpretation of the open-door policy mounted, and there were critical remarks made by Mubarak himself; "production infittah" began to be mentioned. Several trials involving corruption charges were held.

Our party followed all these shifts closely. The Communists warned that **despite certain differences between individual groups within the ruling quarters, the overall character of the regime was unchanged.** The CP Programme notes that the regime remains a reactionary class-based bloc comprising the parasitic bourgeoisie, the upper layers of the bureaucratic and technocratic bourgeoisie, and of the big industrial, commercial and agrarian bourgeoisie, — all of them being connected with imperialism and foreign monopoly capital — and the remaining feudal elements. What then prompted Mubarak to forego the policy of his predecessor? We are convinced that the complete failure of this policy was one of the principal motives.

In the Grip of Dependence on Imperialism

Sadat kept telling the masses that prosperity was just around the corner. Today, no one doubts that **the country is going through a profound economic crisis which the former policy cannot overcome.**

"Economic infittah" has increased our external debt which, according to IMF estimates, is 38.5 billion dollars. Until 1985, principal and interest servicing used up 35 per cent of our export earnings. The drop in oil prices is expected to drive this figure up to 90 per cent.

The United States, France, Spain, the FRG and Italy are the principal creditors. The United States accounts for 60 per cent of the debt incurred by Egypt which, according to the IMF, receives 14 per cent of all US foreign "aid" (compare this to the 19-per cent share of Israel), and that aside from military loans and subsidies.

The Egyptian ruling quarters asserted that the "peace treaty" with Israel was to cut military spending and thus ensure prosperity. But in 1985 alone, budgetary expenditures on the armed forces rose by six per cent and on the security service, by seven per cent. Meanwhile, all other budgetary allocations were cut drastically.

Although part of the US military aid to Egypt takes the form of grants, arms purchases have run up an officially announced debt of 7.5 billion dollars. Interest payments alone use up increasingly huge sums from the national treasury.

Meanwhile, the debt keeps growing for reasons connected with US, not Egyptian requirements. The creation of new munitions factories (they will actually be assembly plants because the main parts and components will be manufactured in the United States) financed from US credits will add to the burden borne by our national economy.

Today, Egypt is almost wholly dependent on US "aid". Its objectives have been stated quite openly in an official document of the US Congress saying that "the scope and direction of our aid to Egypt is determined not so much by the objective requirements of its economy as by the economic and political interests of the United States in that country and region".¹

Significantly, 90 per cent of the loans Egypt received in 1975-1980 have gone into purchases of US-manufactured goods, thus helping to allay crisis developments in the US economy — at a time when our country is itself in the grip of an economic crisis. Specifically,

there is an acute shortage of foreign exchange, aggravated by a decline in the amounts of money sent home by Egyptians working abroad and by reduced revenue from oil sales, tourism and the Suez Canal. In the meantime, the United States and the IMF attach increasingly tough terms to their credits in a bid to tie our country hand and foot. For example, the IMF wants no less than a complete abrogation of the government subsidies used to maintain the existing prices for basic necessities; it also wants the interest rate to rise from 11 to 20 per cent.²

Washington and the US-controlled international financial agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have devised a new orientation for Egypt which is the opposite of the policy the country pursued in the 1960s. The new recipe emphasises the development of the private sector accompanied by the elimination or severe curtailment of the state sector. Approval of each new loan entails interference and petty tutelage. For example, strings were attached to the seven million-dollar loan Egypt received from the World Bank for retooling and modernising the national textile-producing company. Specifically, the retooling blueprints had to be submitted for examination and approval to a foreign firm for a fee of 3.5 million dollars to be paid by the World Bank — half the loan. The number of jobs at the company's factories is to be reduced by 9,000. The most onerous condition is that the government has promised to privatise the company by 1987.

It is clear that the loans and the US "aid" are designed to guide Egypt's economic policy in a direction which would put a complete end to independent development, the course pursued under Nasser. Another objective is to consolidate the layer of the Egyptian parasitic bourgeoisie (middlemen and profiteers) whose interests intertwine with those of imperialism, and to control our national wealth with their help.

The parasitic sectors and the big capitalists refuse to give up even the smallest part of their profits and privileges. The National Progressive Unionist Party has recently published a study entitled "Support for the Rich and Privations for the Poor". The study notes that the customs and tax privileges for the rich cost the national treasury four to five billion pounds, while the cancellation of price subsidies for basic necessities will yield only 1.8 billion pounds. As the authorities move to comply with the World Bank demands concerning the repeal of subsidies, the deposits and investments made by the Egyptian bourgeoisie abroad have reached an amount that is far greater than the country's foreign debt.

On the domestic scene, the government is bowing to the pressure of the employers' association with which it consults constantly, and on the international scene, to the pressure of the US administration and the transnational corporations. The fact that **Washington uses this to tie Egypt firmly to its aggressive militarist schemes** is particularly dangerous.

Recent developments — conclusion of a contract with General Motors,³ the signing of an Egyptian-US agreement and protocol on encouragement and protection of capital investment, and the accords reached by Minister of Defence Abu Ghazalah during his visit to Washington on the creation of new military bases in Egypt and on continuing the programme of joint military exercises — have not only undermined our national sovereignty but are also turning Egypt into a springboard of imperialist aggression threatening the entire world.

The United States is working hard to give an aura of legitimacy to its "special status" in relations with Egypt, to the US "right" to interfere should any change occur in the status quo. The Egyptian-Israeli "peace treaty" specifies that if our country violates it, "the United States shall provide the support it deems necessary to the steps undertaken by Israel in response to the violation of the treaty". One might recall here that apparently, Reagan acted upon the Carter Doctrine for the first time in the wake of Sadat's assassination (this doctrine asserts Washington's claim to take any measures it wants so as to repel a threat to its "vital interests" in our region). Without any request from the Egyptian government, US Sixth Fleet warships moved closer to our country's shores, demonstrating US readiness for armed intervention in case of external attack or, as the then State Secretary Haig put it, of "internal subversion".

The US Rapid Deployment Force — armed, as we know, with high-yield nuclear weapons

— currently uses five US Air Force bases in Egypt. US aircraft carriers with nuclear warheads on board pass through the Suez Canal. The Rapid Deployment Force has 38 B-52 strategic bombers. These planes have already taken part in Bright Star, an Egyptian-US military exercise, and each carries a nuclear payload 300 times more powerful than the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. These interventionist troops are also armed with howitzers firing tactical nuclear artillery shells.⁴

Enemy Onslaught Mounting

Egypt's perfidy is a blow to the Arab liberation movement as a whole. In a bid to secure maximum advantage from this, imperialism, Zionism and reaction are mounting their onslaught against the countries of our region and seek to act here as if it were their backyard.

The imperialists are striving to fragment the common front and to break off other Arab countries from it as they have done with Egypt. Putting increasingly tough demands before them, the US administration no longer bothers to conceal the full identity of its stand with that of Israel, America's partner in "strategic cooperation" and now in the "star wars" programme.

Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Morocco are the prime targets today. It is in this light that one should view the visit to Morocco of Shimon Peres, until recently, Israeli Prime Minister. Our party holds that the trip of the Israeli head of government to another Arab country (after Egypt) is clearly an attempt at breathing new life into the Camp David accords and giving them an "Arab slant" in order to push King Hussein of Jordan into direct negotiations with Israel. At the same time, it is a gulp of air for the Egyptian regime which is suffocating in the trap of Camp David: the Egyptian President hastened to welcome the meeting of Peres and King Hassan of Morocco. The visit is another move in the conspiracy of US imperialism, Zionism and local reaction to suppress the resistance of the Palestinian people and of the Arab nation to imperialist pressure and to impose on the Arabs a settlement tantamount to surrender.

This has highlighted the collusion between Saudi Arabia and Jordan. According to reports from US sources, both King Hussein and the rulers of Saudi Arabia were informed about the visit in advance. Using high-level diplomatic channels, Washington tried to secure Arab support for the meeting.

The trip to Morocco was also designed to be a prelude to another meeting — one of Mubarak and Peres — and to create, in the Arab world and in Egypt, an atmosphere conducive both to the success of such a meeting and to normalisation of Egyptian-Israeli relations as a whole. Washington insists on such normalisation and uses Egypt's deteriorating economic position and dependence on US aid as a means of pressure. At first, Mubarak advanced three conditions on which a visit by Peres could occur — settlement of the Taba problem,⁵ withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, and progress in the solution of the Palestinian problem. Under US pressure, however, these conditions have been abandoned. The meeting did take place. But the Taba question is still open, the Israeli military continues operating in Lebanon, and the settlement of the Palestinian problem remains deadlocked.

Egypt's government-controlled press tried to gloss over the negative public reaction to the talks between Peres and Mubarak. The fact that agreement has been reached on the need for an international conference on the Middle East was emphasised laboriously. But statements made by Israeli officials literally the day after the talks have shown that this agreement is virtually meaningless. In Washington, Peres talked about "an umbrella and a platform",⁶ meaning that the conference was to be an incentive to and a cover for direct bilateral negotiations. Besides, Israel still refuses to accept participation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation on an equal basis and tries to impose unjustified preconditions on the Soviet Union.

The meeting in Alexandria — a new and grave step closer to Egypt's complete isolation, a

move to force unconditional surrender on our and other Arab countries — was rejected categorically and universally. All, even right-wing opposition parties, condemned it. Opposition members of the National Assembly, prominent public figures, the artistic community and college and university teachers expressed concern over the consequences of the meeting.

Our party has circulated tens of thousands of leaflets throughout the country. One of them says that "efforts to destroy Camp David are the Egyptian people's response to the attempts at extending the conspiracy across the Arab world". **We are calling on the masses to fight against the schemes of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, against the Egyptian ruling elite's policy of obediently following these schemes and involving other Arab regimes in them.** The ECP rejects appeals for Egypt to again join ranks with the Arabs (or for the Arabs to again join ranks with Egypt) in helping to bring imperialist designs to fruition.

Having stated that rapprochement with the Egyptian regime is possible only inasmuch as it disentangles itself from the Camp David accords, the Communists are working above all to increasingly isolate the government from the people so that an end could be put to the policy of dependence, hunger and oppression. At the same time we hold that it is necessary to strengthen the bonds of friendship which unite the masses of the Egyptian people with other peoples in the Arab countries and the world, to promote contacts between the Egyptian patriotic movement and the Arab liberation movement, between mass democratic organisations in our country and in the Arab world. This is essential for frustrating imperialist plots and for Egypt's return to the front ranks of the Arab liberation struggle.

Path to National Salvation

The imperialists want our country to play an important role in their aggressive strategy. The forces of peace and progress must realise how important it is for Egypt to feature no longer in these plans. And, despite the deterioration of the situation, the task is quite feasible. The revolution of July 23 produced major gains in the drive to free Egypt and other Arab countries from the colonial policy of imperialism. The departure from these gains and from the previous course cannot neutralise the powerful revolutionary potential of the popular masses.

However, while up to the 1960s the Egyptian bourgeoisie was in the vanguard of the national movement, now it can no longer claim leadership in the national anti-imperialist struggle. But is the working class, the class which is called upon to lead this struggle, ready to discharge its historical mission?

Egypt's working class is large — some 12 million people — and has a rich history of militancy in the defence of class and national interests. There are many enterprises at which sizable concentrations of the working class are massed. Despite reprisals and terror, the working people who are doubly oppressed by local and foreign capital continue to defend their rights and fight against the worsening of their living standard.

Imperialism and reaction are doing all they can to undermine the class-based unity of the working people. Deteriorating living conditions have forced many people to look for work abroad. Several million people, mostly skilled industrial and agricultural workers, have left the country. The brain drain is also being encouraged. However, the drop in oil prices and the consequent reduction of economic activity in the oil-producing Arab countries have prompted many migrant workers to return home. This aggravates the economic crisis but also intensifies the class protest of the working people and promotes their unity.

Although participation in a strike is an offence punishable with 25 years of forced labour, strikes do not cease. In 1985-1986 alone some 100,000 people took part in more than 40 strikes. Unrest has spread to the state apparatus as well. In February 1986 a mutiny broke out in the security forces (these troops are used for punitive purposes). All these actions were brutally suppressed by the authorities. Many strikers, including members of our party, were imprisoned. The government usually accuses Communists of organising strikes.

Although the leadership of the Egyptian Federation of Labour (EFL) submits to the government and is connected with the ruling party, pressure from the working masses has forced it to oppose the dismantling of the public sector, privatisation and affiliation with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Contacts with the World Federation of Trade Unions are beginning to be restored.

Industrial unions and committees have assumed a patriotic stand. The Helwan Steel Works local can be cited as an example: it firmly opposed a visit to the enterprise by the President of Israel. The Left scored a major success in the 1983 elections to union committees and boards. However, intervention by the current EFL leadership and the security service prevented the elected candidates of the left to win seats on ruling trade union bodies.

Our comrades have sponsored the establishment of the Union of Egyptian Peasants which unites several thousand agricultural labourers, owners of small land plots and tenant farmers. The union has branches in all provinces, fights against the onslaught on the gains of the peasants won as a result of the agrarian reform, and together with the working class, strives to deliver the country from imperialist slavery.

There is also growing opposition to the policy of the authorities on the part of other mass organisations, such as unions of lawyers, journalists, physicians and actors, clubs of college and university teachers, the committee for the defence of national culture, as well as youth, student and women's associations.

Resistance has frustrated all attempts at forcing the Egyptian people to accept normalisation of relations with Israel. Significantly, not a single candidate of the ruling National Democratic Party dared support the Camp David Accords in the recent elections to the National Assembly. Hostility to the US presence on Egyptian soil and to Egypt's "special ties" with the United States is growing.

The Egyptian Communist Party, still having to operate underground, is playing a prominent part in directing these actions. *Al-Intisar*, its clandestine newspaper, exposed imperialist and reactionary schemes and calls on the people to fight for a programme of national salvation. Striving to consolidate its ties with the masses, the party issues numerous leaflets on vital issues of concern to them and uses every opportunity for legal forms of political work among the working people.

We hold that objective conditions for change have matured in Egypt. Therefore, the aim is to turn the ECP into a mass party, to step up activities among workers and peasants, the main base of support for the transformations to come.

The Communists are aiming at progress in the establishment of a national democratic front uniting all those opposed to the policy of dependence on imperialism and advocating a national democratic government. We are taking steps to unite the Left on the basis of a principled and correct programme — above all, the Communists, the National Progressive Unionist Party and the nascent Nasserist Arab Socialist Party. At the same time, in order to secure specific objectives, particularly democratic liberties, the ECP is concluding temporary alliances with other opposition forces.

The demand that the ban on the Communist Party be lifted is heard increasingly, supported by all opposition parties. In connection with the recent verdict in the "Trial of the Egyptian Communist Party" which sentenced 34 Communists and patriots to prison terms, the leaders of these parties and of the lawyers' and journalists' unions sent a message to the President of Egypt insisting that the sentence be revoked.

In August 1986 the Central Secretariat of the ECP Central Committee issued a statement outlining the Communists' goals and tasks at the current stage. **Together with the defence of the living standard, democratic rights and freedoms of the popular masses, these goals and tasks include efforts to end Egypt's military, political, economic, cultural and other dependence on US imperialism and Israel, and a struggle against the Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Israeli "peace treaty", for the elimination of all forms of the US presence in our country.**

On the Arab scene, the ECP wants the US-Zionist plots against the peoples of Syria and Lebanon frustrated, and supports the national patriotic forces of Lebanon and the

Palestinian resistance forces fighting against the Israeli invaders in South Lebanon and in the occupied Palestinian territories. The Communists are contributing to the efforts aimed at preserving the unity of the Palestine Liberation Organisation on an anti-imperialist basis by promoting dialogue among its constituent elements. We are assisting in the work to launch a broad campaign against the US military presence in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf area, for making the Mediterranean and the Middle East zones of peace free from nuclear weapons. **This calls for vigorous and concerted action by the progressive and patriotic democratic quarters in the Arab world which strive for the creation of an all-Arab progressive front relying for support on a national front in every Arab country.**

The Communist Party is working to make the Egyptian masses aware of the danger that threatens peace and security in our region and in the world; our policy is to involve these masses effectively in the world-wide anti-war movement, in the struggle against the production of nuclear and chemical weapons and against the deployment of missiles with nuclear warheads in Europe and the Middle East. We consider it our duty to firmly rebuff the anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaigns mounted by Egypt's ruling regime and other hostile forces. The Communists are calling for firm friendship with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, seeing this as an essential condition for effectively resisting imperialist and reactionary schemes.

The imperialist conspiracy spearheaded against our country and against the Arab liberation movement as a whole can and must be frustrated!

¹ Quoted from *Kadaya Fikriya*, Cairo, Book II, January 1986, p. 332.

² President Mubarak told this to *Der Spiegel* in an interview. See *Al-Shark al-Awsat*, July 28, 1986.

³ Under the contract, an assembly factory is to be built in Egypt for the production of Opel automobiles. On July 16, 1986 the newspaper *Al-Ahali* reported that, according to an official letter from the US Defense Department to a high-level Egyptian official, this project was connected with the manufacture of components for a US tank engine. With this end in view, the factory's auto assembly lines are to be readjusted. The necessary resources will be included in the US programme of military aid to Egypt for the next fiscal year. Military contracts were what prompted the Egyptian government to sign the agreement in spite of more lucrative offers from other Western companies.

⁴ *Kadaya Fikriya*, Book II, p. 94.

⁵ An area in the Sinai disputed by Egypt and Israel. — *Ed.*

⁶ *The Economist*, September 20-26, 1986, p. 54.

Brief Commentary

A New Way of Political Thinking

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SEVERAL remarkable events occurred in the last months of the International Year of Peace. One of them deserves special mention. We refer to the visit of Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to India in November and to his talks with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi which resulted in the signing of important documents. There is no doubt that foremost among them is the **Delhi Declaration on Principles for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World**. Besides, the leaders of the two countries articulated ideas of global significance in their statements — specifically, the proposal on the establishment in India of an international space exploration centre for the developing countries, as well as reflections on the growing role of the United Nations and of international institutions and on the importance of a nation's culture — and consequently, of its psychology and philosophy — for grasping its foreign and domestic policy.

In the course of the visit, our perception of the content, effectiveness and objectives of such meetings was raised to a new and radically higher level. The important thing is that a new stage has been ushered in not only in Indo-Soviet relations, not only in efforts to analyse regional problems and find ways of solving them, but also in the elaboration of the principles that are to underlie a civilisation without nuclear weapons and without violence.

Today, history has set us the task of elaborating principles that would be the same for the entire international community and would form the basis of an effective international mechanism for the prevention of nuclear catastrophe. The Delhi Declaration is an excellent tool that can be used by the entire international community for joint action to save the human race and preserve civilisation.

While reflecting to the fullest possible degree the contribution of India and the Soviet Union to the creation of a new world order, it goes far beyond the framework of bilateral relations. Another practical step has been taken towards bringing about a new way of political thinking. The principles outlined in the declaration form the **moral-political basis of international relations of a completely different type**. This is an instrument of universal significance, and it is addressed to all peoples and governments, as is clear from three factors referred to in the Delhi Declaration itself.

First, the crucial and extremely acute nature of the situation mankind has reached. The world is so oversaturated with nuclear warheads that detonation of even a tiny fraction of these arsenals is enough for the end of the world to begin. The nuclear threat has made us all equal — both those who can use these deadly weapons, those who refuse their first use, and those who have never possessed and never intend to acquire them. As the declaration states, "humanity deserves a better fate than being a hostage to nuclear terror and despair. It is necessary to change the existing world situation and to build a nuclear-weapon-free world, a world free of violence and hatred, of fear and suspicion".

Second, recognition of the fact that universal human concerns which now unite peoples and countries closer than ever before demand that morals should carry greater weight in the policies of all countries and that appropriate principles should take root in international relations. Great masses of people on different continents increasingly feel the need for the simple laws of morals and justice to govern relations not only among private individuals but also among nations.¹ It follows that attitudes to man and relations among people are becoming a model for the conduct of states. This is precisely the connection the key provisions of the Delhi Declaration highlight:

- human life is recognised as supreme. The right of every state to survival, political and economic independence and sovereignty must be equally recognised;

- non-violence should be the basis of community life and peaceful coexistence, the universal norm of international relations;

- understanding and trust among men must replace fear. In world politics, the "balance of terror" must give way to a comprehensive system of international security;

- the following demands are similarly interrelated: that conditions must be created for the individual's harmonious development and that resources being spent on armaments must be channeled into social and economic development;

- finally, since the destinies of nations are inseparable, their material and intellectual potential must be used to solve universal human problems, that is, global problems that affect all nations. It is important to prevent even some of them from piling up because their future solution will involve much greater sacrifices.

Third, the need to act without delay. History is giving us too little time for reflection, while difficulties are more than ample. Imperialism is imparting a new quality to the arms race which may burst into outer space. The Washington administration is undermining treaties that have established strategic arms ceilings, fomenting regional conflicts and building up international tensions. The current leaders of the United States and of some other Western countries refuse to adopt a new way of political thinking and action, clinging to the pipe dream of military superiority. "A nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world," the

declaration emphasizes, "requires specific and immediate action for disarmament." Steps to this end, listed in the declaration, do not prejudice but, on the contrary, fully correspond with the interests of every country. They are:

- complete destruction of nuclear arsenals before the end of this century;
- barring all weapons from outer space which is the common heritage of mankind;
- banning of all nuclear weapons tests;
- prohibition of the development of new types of weapons of mass destruction;
- banning of chemical weapons and destruction of their stockpiles;
- reducing the levels of conventional arms and armed forces.

It is time for the will of the overwhelming majority of people committed to peace to become a usual practice of international relations. Meanwhile, with nuclear weapons not yet eliminated, India and the Soviet Union have proposed the immediate conclusion of an international convention banning the threat or use of such weapons. This step would no doubt further the interests of all mankind by reducing the real danger of human self-destruction.

Upon reflection, one can see that the declaration has absorbed the main thrust of the contributions to human thought embodied in Lenin's concept of peaceful coexistence, the initiatives and practical action of the socialist community, the principles of "panch sheel" and Bandung, the ideas of non-alignment and the provisions of human rights charters born of bourgeois-democratic revolutions. The Delhi Declaration (and this is what is fundamentally novel about it) identifies man as the world's supreme value and his creative genius, as the motive force of progress in a peaceful environment.

The declaration is to promote a truly revolutionary restructuring in the thinking and sentiments of the popular masses, statesmen and political and civic figures; it is to vastly expand their perception of what is necessary and possible in politics. The document adopted in Delhi prompts one to switch from contemplation, discussion and appeals to resolute and immediate action so as to ensure a radical turn for the better in today's international situation. In the words of the Executive Committee of the CPI National Council, the Delhi Declaration "symbolises the determination of two streams of anti-imperialist movement — socialist and non-aligned — to build a new world free from war and violence".

But there are those who are not happy with the declaration. The right-wing, reactionary forces are trying to ignore it, underplay its significance and twist its logic. They want to present it not as an inspiring example of new political thinking but as a case of India "sliding into a pro-Soviet attitude" or of "the Russians' bid to play up to Delhi while pursuing their expansionist goals". Finally, the declaration is dismissed as an abstraction or utopia. But all these are miserable and untenable attempts. The Soviet programme for ridding the world of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 was also declared a utopia and a propaganda gambit. But Reykjavik demonstrated the realism of this plan and convinced many sceptics, even the more inveterate ones. Undoubtedly the same is going to be true of the Delhi Declaration, a **veritable manifesto of the principles for the creation of a new and just world order consonant with the aspirations of all mankind.**

Indo-Soviet relations today are a model of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. Typical of these relations are profound mutual respect, sincerity, warmth, trust, dialogue that is continuous, vigorous and meaningful, and cooperation that is widening and growing steadily more active. New major agreements were signed in Delhi; these integrated and large-scale accords cover various economic, scientific and technological spheres. Specifically, the USSR will assist India in the construction of a hydropower complex, in the modernisation of a steel plant and in the setting up of coal mines. The similarity between the two countries' cultural values which is expressed first and foremost in their profound humanism, their long-established warm and friendly relations have, for the first time in international practice, made it possible to agree on conducting, in the Soviet Union and in India, each other's national festivals scheduled for 1987-1988.

As Rajiv Gandhi said, "India sees in the Soviet Union a trusted friend who has stood by us

in moments of trial and anxiety." Both sides noted the effectiveness, in the current international situation, of the 1971 bilateral Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation. Mikhail Gorbachov has confirmed that the Soviet Union firmly condemns all intrigues and plots against our republic, all attempts to undermine India's territorial integrity and unity. The treaty also offers a good example of the way countries in Asia and the Pacific and outside that region, too, could build their relations.

The two biggest countries of the socialist world and the developing world view international affairs from identical or close angles, rejecting imperialism, neocolonialism and racism. This was elaborated exhaustively in the joint Indian-Soviet communique. The similarity of views is rooted in **strict observance of such fundamental principles as the sovereign right of peoples and countries to choose their development path, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and peaceful settlement of any disputes that may develop.** This approach makes it possible to settle conflicts effectively and equitably, to eliminate hotbeds of tensions and to improve the international climate.

In his speech before members of Indian parliament the Soviet leader referred to common support for the UN decision to convene, not later than 1988, an international conference for implementing the UN Declaration proclaiming the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. It is high time that its demilitarisation really got underway. For essentially, it is a threshold of India, the USSR and scores of other countries. Peace and stability there are vitally important to all these nations and can be ensured only through expanded cooperation, an atmosphere of mutual trust and an end to the arms race.

This explains why the Soviet proposals that have attracted close international public attention are so topical. They concern:

- confidence-building measures in the military field related to Asia and the adjacent waters of the Indian and Pacific Oceans;
- readiness to begin with the United States and other non-littoral countries which have naval vessels on a permanent basis in the Indian Ocean negotiations on reducing the size and activities of naval forces there;
- guarantees for the safety of sea lanes and air traffic, including the conclusion of a relevant international convention to combat terrorism;
- guarantees of the littoral countries' sovereignty over their natural resources.

These initiatives are giving a new and powerful impetus to the struggle for demilitarising the Indian Ocean. They are a sharp rejoinder to the US tactic of delaying and blocking for over a decade the convening of the relevant international conference. The Soviet initiatives are designed to prevent accelerated militarisation of this ocean by Washington and its allies who strive to make the region strategically and militarily unstable and to threaten the security of the littoral countries. The USSR's proposals follow up on the programme of peace and security in Asia and the Pacific, advanced by Mikhail Gorbachov in Vladivostok. Having noted that the fundamental principles of "panch sheel", Bandung and non-alignment created a theoretical and political framework for analysis of the complex and historically specific problems of peace and stability in Asia and the Pacific, Rajiv Gandhi reiterated India's commitment to continued efforts aimed at transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and readiness to take part in a constructive discussion of regional security issues. This is how conditions are being prepared for an Asian Helsinki.

Cooperation between India and the Soviet Union, two powers of great prestige, is reaffirming its role as an important factor of international politics, of peace and universal security. The Indian Communists note that the visit was very fruitful and successful for the bilateral relations which are of great international importance as well in the struggle against the nuclear war threat. The visit has helped to consolidate all peace-loving and patriotic forces in our country and to step up the struggle for peace. It has effectively stimulated the movement for greater security in Asia, the Pacific and throughout the world and the involvement of other governments and peoples in this drive.

Meanwhile, multilateral efforts are already beginning to shape the new world order the

need for which is affirmed in the Delhi Declaration — witness the Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing, the initiatives of the Delhi Six, the proclamation of nuclear-free zones in two parts of the globe, the activities of the Contadora Group, the action taken by millions of people against Reagan's "star wars" plans, and the readiness of the overwhelming majority of countries and of influential public and political quarters to contribute to disarmament and detente. **The Communists welcome and support comprehensively any efforts to assist in the building of a safe, nuclear-free and non-violent world, a world corresponding to our social and moral ideals.** Billions of people want it to be the world of tomorrow and are working hard today to make it a reality.

¹ See Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 13.

A Political Report

Social Protest in an 'Affluent Society'

Alexei Pushkov — WMR Staff member

THE newcomer is struck by the tranquility in Geneva. Life is leisurely-paced in its business and shopping districts, tourists stroll unhurriedly in the inner city, and people admire the beauty of the lake as they sit for hours in a cafe on the small Rousseau Island with its memorial to a distinguished Genevan.

As you roam about Switzerland it is hard at first to shake off the impression that there is little to galvanise political life. For almost 30 years there has been no change in either the party make-up of the government or the overall alignment of strength in the parliament. Strike actions and collisions between demonstrators and the police are very rare. Since the Geneva anti-fascist demonstration of 1932, which was shot down by troops (leaving 13 dead and more than 50 wounded in a blood-spattered street), and the powerful workers' actions of the close of the 1940s the big bourgeoisie has learned to operate flexibly, in kid gloves, so to speak. Those who govern this country of 4,000 banks (one per 15,00 inhabitants)¹ take every precaution to sustain Switzerland's image of a land of conservative traditions and "social peace". It is only when you observe searchingly that you become aware that here, too, even if in distinctive and sometimes in blurred forms, a social protest is gathering strength and the forces of progress and reaction are in confrontation, which is typical of all capitalist countries.

What makes this protest distinctive? What new problems does it pose for the communists?

"Level the Alps — We Want a Look at the Sea!"

These pugnacious words (are they expressive of an anarchic tantrum, a desire to provoke shock, or a desperate challenge?), scrawled in a bold hand on a long reinforced — concrete wall in Lausanne, where evocative of a video-tape televised in the summer of 1980: young people scattering in the streets of Lausanne while heaving cobblestones, sticks, and empty bottles at robot-like helmeted police armed with truncheons, with the latter pouncing on yet another victim and shoving him into a barred van. Those were turbulent months in Switzerland: young men and women, mostly from the low-income groups, poured out into the streets to attract the attention of a society that had fenced itself off from them.

And now, with the intervention of years, the Swiss "big press", caught in the wind of neoconservatism, asserts categorically that young people, including former rioters, are now preoccupied with something entirely different — finding the way to prosperity and personal

advancement. But it looks as though the reality does not fit into this simplistic estimate, which is ideologically so amenable to right-wing quarters.

The Youth Affairs Commission of the SPL Central Committee is of the opinion that 20-year-olds are today indeed more inclined than previously towards individualism and conformism. This is equally true of young people from bourgeois families and of working class origin. However, the "consumer society" has failed to depolitise young people entirely. "Look," Commission members said, "at who turns up to demonstrate for peace and against racism, and to take part in anti-imperialist solidarity actions, at who is angered most of all by Swiss capital's role in pillaging the Third World. They are mostly recent college graduates, students, young teachers, workers, and white-collar employees."

Groups of disenchanted youth appear and then fall apart, only to reappear again and again. Many young people cannot accomodate themselves to a society which they call "glacial" and "unfeeling". "We suffocate here," they say to express what they feel.

This terse phrase speaks eloquently of their unsuccessful hunt for jobs and affordable housing, of their sense of being unwanted, of their rejection of the prevailing values, and of their aspiration to live in a different way. All this is met with indifference by the authorities and with hostility by the conformist man-in-the-street. Young marginals have not blended with the Swiss way of life and they are resented by the smug bourgeois. Jobless and seeing themselves as outcasts, young people respond to this attitude with hatred. "Everything is for them, we get nothing!" they chanted six years ago in a spontaneous revolt in Zurich. Today their coevals do not smash windows or fight the police to express their disaffection, but they do not cease to feel that they are the pariahs of a fat and complacent Switzerland.

The youth protest has quite a large potential. However, the problem is that it is often spent to no purpose. Many of those who find no niche in society opt for self-isolation, turning their backs on accepted norms of behaviour. This is the choice of wierdly hairstyled young tramps deliberately dressed in rags and quietly smoking grass in a manicured Geneva park, and of punks in black leather suits and hung with pendants and fake medals, with rings in their nostrils and clownish make-up on their faces compulsively drawing attention to themselves at the Zurich railway terminal.

In most cases this non-acceptance of society is purely emotional and articulated in vague catchwords. Take, for instance, the "decalvinisation" cry, which seems, at first glance, to make sense. John Calvin, a central personage of the European Reformation, left a deep imprint on the spiritual life of Geneva as, indeed, of the whole country. Sculptured in granite, he stands at the foot of the old inner town. A narrow, high forehead, a sombre, thin face with a sparse beard; one gets the impression that the wild eyes of a fanatic are about to blaze with a cold light in the eye-sockets. Pastor of St Peter's Cathedral from 1541 onwards, Calvin dominated Geneva as its religious dictator for 23 years — until his death — laying down rigid rules for the life and activity of the people, forbidding the arts and any manifestation of a love of pleasure, and outlawing independent thought. Brow-beating the people with all the threats at this command — from banishment to the medieval *autoda-fé* — he inculcated a fear of God, humility, and blind faith in his teaching. He was a rabid proponent of asceticism, which, as Frederick Engels put it, boiled down to bourgeois parsimony. It was on account of Calvin that Geneva became a major banking centre and several generations of its citizens were condemned to a dismal, tedious life. Liberation from these fetters came only with the stirring influence of the French revolution.

Switzerland's rulers are in many respects officiating as the ideological heirs of the authoritarian, anti-democratic postulates of Calvinism. this is what gives the call for "decalvinisation" a specific socio-political context, being a protest against a distinctive thought and behaviour pattern that has deep roots in Swiss society. However, as interpreted by the young people carrying banners inscribed with this call, it appears to be abstract and little more than a demand for "greater freedom". Nor is it clear what sort of freedom is meant.

The Communists see an imperative in helping young people with an analytical turn of

mind — whether they study at a university or work in an office or factory — to unite around well-defined progressive slogans that could impart purpose to their actions. Moreover, the party is working to ensure a better life for young people. Christian Jacquet, member of the SPL Political Bureau, said that in Lausanne, for example, the municipal council was persuaded to allocate funds for a youth centre project, place some premises at the disposal of groups of amateur musicians, institute a discount on theatre tickets for teenagers, and provide some other benefits.

But so far the efforts of the Communists to involve young men and women in political actions have yielded very modest results. The most active young workers are showing their militancy mainly in trade unions dominated by the Social Democrats. Besides, the working youth and students continue to prefer non-partisan forms of political self-expression.

Who Gets the Votes of Disillusioned People and Why

In the populous streets of Geneva or Lausanne one often sees young people distributing leaflets and asking for donations of two or three francs to fund the activities of their groups or organisations. They explain their aims, and one certainly gets an earful: immediate disarmament, opposition to the building of a new motor highway, a halt to the industrial pollution of forests and lakes, and so on. These young people handing out leaflets and wearing badges on their jackets are sincere and forthright. They represent new, non-traditional movements that have been introducing an additional and many-faceted element into Swiss society over the past few years.

The appearance of these movements is in itself an indication of the growing distrust that ordinary Swiss people have for the existing political system. "The parties have betrayed us," young people declare, and this is the sentiment of many. However, one and the same yardstick is used to evaluate the bourgeois parties, that indeed shelve their promises soon after elections, and the Communists. The fact that in the municipal councils and in the parliament the SPL is tirelessly — and not without success — pressing for palpable steps to better the condition of working people is not an argument accepted by the disillusioned. They want to have their own organisations, to look independently for answers to the questions troubling them.

The new movements have incorporated the protest potential of a fairly large section of Swiss, let alone that of young people. To a large extent they are providing a mass base for the peace forces, who signalled their existence in no uncertain terms at the outset of the current decade. People are evidently finding little reassurance in the media reports to the effect that against contingency of a nuclear war there already are shelters for practically the entire population. Progressive people are protesting against the nation's excessive military spending (22 per cent of the budget), the US missiles in Europe, the stockpiling of chemical weapons, and the continued nuclear tests. Although the anti-war actions have aroused the nation, they have so far not led to changes in the alignment of political forces. This alignment has been most affected by the spreading popularity of environmental organisations. At the first elections in which it participated — in the Geneva canton in October 1985 — the local ecological party won over 8 per cent of the votes, which gave it as many seats on the canton's Great Council as are held by the Communists.

What accounts for the success of these organisations? SPL activists say that the ecologists attract voters by their high-minded, clear-cut aim and by the concrete nature of their demands and actions. Participation in these organisations allows people to see that they can achieve real, tangible results — to compel a specific enterprise to stop discharging waste into a nearby lake or to prevent the materialisation of a project that might hurt the environment. The growing support for the environmentalists, my interlocutors said, reflects the anxiety caused by the operations of big corporations; but far from all ecological organisations take an incontrovertibly progressive stand on socio-political issues.

This is not hard to see — one has only to read the programme of the Geneva ecologists. It

is slanted towards the privileged classes in the first place: it justifies their prerogative to "enjoy nature", in other words, to live in rural settings, build villas with extensive grounds, and occupy areas for elitarian sports clubs. As for those who cannot afford to have a suburban chalet, they are told to use cars less, cut down on drives to the countryside on off days, and accept a high-rise development of urban territory. This programme, the Communists hold, expresses not so much concern for the environment as the striving of conservatives to sustain and reinforce their privileges by using the ecological issue as a cover.

"But even these undeniably moderate organisations," said Rene Lechleiter, SPL Political Bureau member, "are seen by the public as an alternative to bourgeois and, in many cases, left-wing parties. For their part, the progressive non-traditional movements have filled the political vacuum between the Social Democrats and the Communists, accentuating new issues that had earlier attracted little attention."

Another current development is the considerable debate in Switzerland about the steep growth of voter support for the ultra-right racist Action Nationale and Vigilance parties. How is this to be read?

"The economic crisis did not affect Switzerland for a long time," said Jean Spielmann, Deputy General Secretary of the SPL, who was the Communist candidate at the latest elections to the Geneva cantonal government. "But over the past few years large sections of the population came face to face with its effects, notably the rise of unemployment and the acute shortage of affordable housing. Those of the extreme Right were able to benefit by the spread of discontent. They convinced a body of opinion that immigrant workers were the principal cause of the deteriorating situation. The Vigilance people in Geneva are urging the expulsion of most of these workers. Many Swiss, especially of the low-income groups, think these racists constitute a popular movement in opposition to the government and the business establishment, which derives enormous benefits from immigration as a source of cheap labour."

During the election campaign in Geneva the extreme Right used the slogan: "We've Had Enough!" They fueled tension, using the reactionary press to spread hysteria against African and Asian refugees. This racist fever spilled into other cantons. It seemed for a time that all public life in Switzerland had focused on a few thousand Turks, Sri Lankans, and Zairians, who had fled from political, religious, and racist persecution and were seeking permanent residency rights. Charging the government with inertia, the racists declared that the immigrants were a "threat to the nation's identity", while Marcus Ruff, an Action Nationale deputy in the parliament, urged their forcible expulsion, going so far as to demand legislation permitting Swiss citizens to form armed "self-defence" units.

Progressive quarters are taking a stand against these chauvinists. At May Day demonstrations trade unionists, students, and white-collar workers carry anti-racist slogans. In Zurich, fifty political and public organisations, including the SPL, took part in the latest annual forum of solidarity with immigrant workers and refugees. In Geneva, responding to a call from the trade unions, hundreds of people protested against the television appearance of the French neofascist leader Le Pen, while the parties of the Left — the Socialists and the Communists — acted in concert to prevent the Vigilance chieftain from being elected to the cantonal government.

Nevertheless, the positions of the extreme Right are growing stronger. This, I believe, is largely because the entrepreneurs and bankers are profiting from the demagoguery of Action Nationale and Vigilance, which have turned immigrant workers and refugees into scapegoats by blaming them for the crisis. In Switzerland big capital always had a large role to play in disseminating xenophobia. The extreme Right is now helping it to divert the social protest into a safe channel and undercut the electoral base of the Swiss Party of Labour and other progressive organisations.

Take the following typical instance. Speaking on television, a lady who had voted for Vigilance at the elections said that her motivation was that "Vigilance ought to be given a chance" to try its recipes, that there were "much too many foreigners and this cannot be

tolerated any longer". The programme moderator replied with a polite smile and a barely perceptible nod.

The Party of Labour Rises to the Challenge

The ruling class is making extensive use of its old weapon of anti-communism to neutralise and disorient the social protest.

In Switzerland today anti-communism is, of course, a far cry from what it was in the 1950s when in broad daylight at the Zurich railway station members and supporters of the Free Citizens Action organisation savagely manhandled young people returning from the World Youth Festival in Moscow; the Communists were charged with being a "fifth column" and expelled from trade unions; and in Geneva, with the tacit consent of the police, a mob of several thousand spent a whole night hurling stones at the printing facility of the Communist newspaper *Voix Ouvrière*.

However, the ban, imposed in 1950, on the employment of Communists at public companies and institutions has not been lifted to this day. A person may be denied a promised job if he or she belongs to the SPL, and there have been cases of people being sacked for attending a seminar or any other undertaking, sponsored by the Swiss Party of Labour. There have been relapses into "cave anti-communism": in 1983 two members of the SPL Berne organisation, both of them activists of the peace movement, were accused of being "agents of the Soviet Union". Of course, this fraud was exposed, but there was a frenzied clamour at the time.

As a rule, the bourgeois media deny coverage to breakthroughs by SPL deputies in local authority bodies. Communist-sponsored initiatives benefiting the working population are credited to the respective municipal council, while the Communists are only mentioned when they fail to secure the passage of any of their motions.

Our meeting with Armand Magnin, SPL General Secretary and member of parliament, took place in the Federal Assembly building in Bern, the nation's capital.

"We are represented in the parliament," he said, showing us the spacious, panelled assembly hall, "but, unlike the other political parties, we are denied time on television during the run-up to elections. It is no secret that television is an important opinion-making factor. When Communists are invited to take part in television programmes it is usually when these are of an unmistakably anti-Soviet character such as, for instance, a televised debate on the situation around Afghanistan. We are invited to speak as though on behalf of the Soviet Union. Or our representative is left single-handed against a panel of right-wing politologists, media pundits, and professional demagogues. In short, it is very hard for the party to get television time for arguing its stand on a wide spectrum of issues. To have such an opportunity involves exposure to some bullying."

The following illustrates this. The SPL General Secretary was invited to take part in the regularly televised programme called "Challenge". In this programme a well-known political or civic personality is put on "trial", so to speak, and has to field all the questions put to him. After the first "Challenge" programme was televised, the media called it an "assassination panel", and many viewers insisted on banning it. For that reason when the programme sponsors dared the SPL General Secretary to face the TV cameras the party was put before the ticklish question of whether or not to accept this loaded offer. After long discussion it was decided to accept. The media response was: "Magnin is the latest quarry of the slaughter."

"It was not easy at all," Armand Magnin recalls. "Imagine, two hours of live broadcast from the studio where you come under ceaseless fire: devious and point-blank."

What was the outcome? An opinion poll taken right after the programme showed that more than one-third out of 400,000 viewers who saw it declared that they had gotten "a different opinion" of Magnin as a political leader, while for 70 per cent this was a favourable opinion. Almost all the Geneva newspapers printed acclamatory comments on the SPL leader's replies.

The Communists are looking for every possible channel for disseminating their views. In Lausanne Christian Jacquet took me on a tour of the head office of the left-wing radio station Acidule, which was set up three years ago through the combined efforts of the Communists, the Socialists, and the local trade unions. It now has a permanent audience of roughly 12,000. Although reactionary elements are intent on obstructing its further operation, it continues to broadcast the left view of local and national problems.

While I was in Geneva I had a glimpse of the renewal process in the SPL's French-language newspaper. Work was in full swing in its editorial office in the quiet Rue du Pre Jerome, where it has been putting out this newspaper for the past 40 years.

"We aim to make the paper more upbeat and attractive with a new graphic, dynamic make-up and photographs," said the paper's editor-in-chief and SPL Political Bureau member Andre Rauber. "But the main thing is to adapt it to the ongoing changes in society's social structure. We have always been orientated towards traditional industrial workers. On the other hand, a growing number of workers are employed in commercial enterprises, management, and the services industry. This does not mean that the proletariat as such is disappearing. But most of the Swiss wage-earners belonging or standing close to the working class do not regard themselves as a component of the working class. We see our mission in helping the party to develop an approach to this growing category of the population."

"What are the directions of the renewal process?"

"What are now focusing more on the social and economic effects of the use of new technologies, on the peace struggle, and on questions related to nuclear power engineering, ecology, the condition of white-collar workers, young people, women, immigrant workers and refugees, Switzerland's military policy, and taxation — in other words, on matters of interest to the largest sections of the working people, to democratic opinion. Our paper now carries more information, giving detailed coverage to international politics and to cultural life. We are trying to enlist more contributors and turn our paper into a medium for dialogue with all progressive forces."

One more point: instead of *Voix Ouvrière* (popularly called by the acronym *VO*), the paper's title page now carries the name *VO réalités*. The new name symbolises the SPL's intention to have the newspaper address the most essential aspects of society's life and the ongoing political battles while remaining the spokesman of the interests of the entire working population.

A City of Left Traditions

In La Chaux-de-Fonds, the second most important town in the canton of Neuchâtel², I got a glimpse into how the Communists develop contacts with other democratic forces and movements.

Sprawling in a lovely valley and the slopes of the hills on the border between Switzerland and France, this town of 36,000 inhabitants has long been famous on account of its watch-making industry. Apart from the headquarters of the European Esperantists and the centre of a Masonic lodge, one of its notable landmarks is the Watch Museum, described as "the richest in the world" by the town's ardent patriot Gerard Berger, a leader of the local party organisation and a deputy to the cantonal parliament. Right next to the museum is an odd modernistic structure made of criss-crossing silvery pipes — this is the only "space clock" in the world — it responds with a long, melodious ring to signals from a satellite.

La Chaux-de-Fonds is unique in a political sense: since 1912 it has been uninterruptedly administered by a left majority, and the present mayor is a Socialist. The workers are militant: they have time and again conducted tough strike actions and, on occasion, taken over enterprises (a rarity in Switzerland). Lately, with the forces of the Right on the offensive, the left majority has been under constant pressure. But the Left is successfully holding its own. At the latest local elections (May 1984) the Socialists and Communists won 22 of the 41 seats and again emerged as the principal force in the municipal council.

"A major contributing factor was that unlike almost all the other cantons except Jura, in Neuchâtel the immigrant workers are eligible to vote in communal elections, i.e., at the level of towns and communes," Gerard Berger noted. It is largely due to their votes that the left majority had been in power during the past 10-15 years.

I had earlier heard from the Communists that the extension of suffrage to the more than half a million immigrant workers could bring about a significant strengthening of the positions of the SPL and all the other left forces. This is strikingly illustrated by the situation in La Chaux-de-Fonds. There, as in some other Swiss towns, immigrant workers constitute more than one-third of the population, and now that they have suffrage rights they vote mainly for the Socialists and the Communists. While in some cantons the SPL's defence of immigrants and refugees deprives it of the votes of people who succumb to chauvinistic sentiments, in La Chaux-de-Fonds, on the contrary, the internationalist stand of the Communists strengthens their positions at elections. Lastly, the expansion of the electorate with the addition of immigrant workers has reduced the electoral base of the extreme Right, cushioned the political effects of the racist campaign, and prevented Action Nationale from breaking through into the municipal council.

The stability of the left majority in La Chaux-de-Fonds is largely due to the cooperation established by the Communists with the various democratic forces in the town. The party has concluded an agreement with the immigrant associations on mutual support at elections and on the distribution of seats on the working bodies of the municipal council. The Communists offered to act at the elections together with progressive organisations left of the Socialists on the basis of a common programme. This gave rise to an electoral bloc called PLP-Socialist Unity. This bloc won six seats in the municipal council, with three of these going to the Communists.

An interesting point is that the bloc's successful candidates include a prominent local ecologist. This is not accidental.

"Some people have only now begun to appreciate the significance of environmental protection," said Gerard Berger. "This is a problem that has existed for many years. The simple reason for the new awareness is that the danger of air, river, and lake pollution has grown and there is a stronger public reaction. Yet it was the Communists who first raised the issue of environmental pollution as early as in the mid-1960s, and since then have been pressing hard for a solution. It is therefore not surprising that here we are regarded as an 'ecological party' and the Greens do not get the same support from the population as in neighbouring cantons."

Our talk took place in the premises of the PLP town committee. There were many posters on the walls and on the tables were copies of the Unity Action information bulletin. Also, there were a xerox and other duplicating machines. Brochures and leaflets used in political campaigns on maternity problems, abortion, the funding of small and medium enterprises, and changes in the taxation system were also on display.

In a town with a large immigrant community, the party is doing much to reinforce solidarity among the working people. The Communists recently drew up a special report, which says in part: "the forces of the Right are encouraging distinctions that can prejudice the militancy of the working class. They are playing men off against women, young people against senior citizens, and native Swiss against immigrants. They are now playing the xenophobia card." In response the Communists put forward this slogan: "From recognition of the need for solidarity it is necessary to move to actual unity of action."

Such unity was achieved in the campaign against apartheid in South Africa and in the actions of solidarity with striking British miners, for whom the working people of La Chaux-de-Fonds collected donations.

"People gave what they could afford — some 10 francs, others 20," said Charles de la Reussille, secretary of the local party organisation. "Quite a large sum was collected. We hope that this money helped the miners. On the whole, actions of this kind are very important. They unite working people of different walks of life, give them the opportunity to

act in alliance with other progressive forces, and help the party to eradicate anti-communist prejudices."

Thus, by their untiring efforts, the Communists of La Chaux-de-Fonds are developing ways for attaining their party's programme aim of setting up a popular democratic association capable of challenging the power of the banks and monopolies.

At the Zurich airport, before boarding my plane, my eye was caught by an ad of the Swiss Credit Bank depicting tall mountains with their snow-capped peaks piercing the blue sky. Calvin's present-day heirs see these mountains as symbolising the nation's social pillars, guaranteeing total safety of bank accounts.

For the moment, the social protest developing at the foot of the Swiss Alps is not troubling these pillars too much. Diverse in form and often controversial, it does not always help to strengthen the positions of the forces in progress, while in some instances it is used by political reaction for its own purposes. This is the objective reality that determines the environment for the struggle of the Communists for a democratic alternative to the government's policies.

Space does not allow dealing exhaustively with the complex phenomenon of social protest or giving a detailed analysis of the SPL's relations with its exponents.³ The party is endeavouring to expand these relations in the cantonal governments and city municipal councils and forge stronger links with the many associations demanding equal rights for women and championing the interests of tenants, tax-payers, pensioners, and other groups of the population. The SPL is seeking a more active role in mass organisations, the trade unions in the first place; here and there the latter organisations are showing signs of awakening from the lethargy of the "labour peace" and electing Communists to lead them. The SPL is not a mass party and does not have the potential for launching major, nation-wide action and builds up its activity through unostentatious efforts to protect the day-to-day interests of the working people, seeing these efforts as the basis for acting together with other democratic forces and movements.

The Communists play a special role among these forces. "We are exponents of an idea that in our country nobody else ventures to put forward," Armand Magnin said in an interview given to the Lausanne weekly *Illustré*. In the SPL programme documents it is emphasised that this is the idea that the country needs profound transformations leading to its democratic renewal, to fundamental changes in social relations with the purpose of moving gradually, in the long term, to socialism.

As for the present stage, the party's Honorary President Jean Vincent formulated its credo with the following words:

"To do everything to better the lot of the working person, protect democratic freedoms, and renew and transform life. There is particularly much to be done to preserve peace—which is the world's most precious possession . . . This struggle is an imperative need—for the working people, for our people, for our country, which we have always served, are serving today, and intend to serve always."

¹ Switzerland has a population of over six million.

² Here, as in other Swiss cantons, the SPL functions under the name of People's Labour Party.

³ The forms used by the Swiss Communists in their work in this direction and the problems confronting them are dealt with in Andre Rauber, "Militarism Will Not Be Beaten Without Mobilising the People", *WMR*, No. 5, 1985; Roger Dafflon, "Local Government with a Right-Wing Majority", *WMR*, No. 7, 1985; Armand Magnin, "Can the 'Conservative Tide' Be Stemmed?", *WMR*, No. 4, 1986.

surveys, letters, and diary

The Reader Wants to Know Solidarity is their Motive

I have read a *WMR* report on West German volunteers working in Nicaragua. I have heard that such teams of internationalists have been organised not only in the FRG but also in other countries. How did these teams appear and who comprises them?

Daniel Olsson, Denmark

We present a story a *WMR* staff member heard from **Bertrand Pericaud**, a member of the French Communist Youth Movement and a teacher of geography from Bethune, Department of Pas de Calais, who visited Nicaragua with one of the first teams of French internationalist volunteers.

WE are often asked why we went to Nicaragua. First of all, I think, it was because we wanted to see for ourselves what was going on there. The bourgeois press invents all sorts of lies, but we wanted to learn the truth about the events that made Nicaragua an object of world-wide attention.

The appeal of travelling to a remote and exotic country also played a part, of course, but the appeal of taking a hand in the transformations underway there was greater still.

It all began with the French Communist Youth Movement (FCYM) deciding to raise money for the construction of rural schools in Nicaragua. As the fund-raising drive proceeded, as we explained to people why we were doing it, this idea inspired our boys and girls so much that, having collected the required sum, they decided to see things through and to build three schools in Nicaraguan villages with their own hands. That was how "solidarity teams" were born. They were broadly supported by the Communist Party, the trade unions and other democratic organisations of France.

Our group of thirty was one of the first teams of French volunteers to fly to Managua. At that time, few of my friends could expect that this movement would soon assume international dimensions and that young people from the FRG, Sweden, Canada and other countries would arrive in Nicaragua to help the republic rehabilitate its national economy.¹

The Nicaraguan capital met us with scorching heat and with friendly welcome of Managuans. Wherever members of the team went, people thronged around them, smiled, shook hands and asked us who we were and why we were there. From the outset, from these very first meetings, it was clear to my friends that the Sandinists enjoyed popular support.

Our team was soon sent to the south of Nicaragua, and there it was divided into three groups, each to be assigned a project of its own in a remote village. My group was to cover a particularly difficult route in the mountains, to the village of El Mojon located 60 kilometres from the border with Costa Rica.

We finally arrived at our destination. The first thing that struck us was the village itself. It was poor — you can't imagine how poor it was. Our Nicaraguan comrades later told us that Somoza's rule was a tragedy, especially for rural areas where epidemics and hunger had been rampant.

Much changed in Nicaragua with the Sandinists' victory, and one could see a new life taking root even in El Mojon. A school had been opened there four months before. Ramon, a young Cuban, was teaching Nicaraguan children to read and write. When we saw his class in a deserted, dilapidated shack, when we saw the bare-foot pupils who hung on every word of their teacher, we realised that we simply had to see things through to the end, no matter what difficulties or dangers lay ahead.

And dangers there were. Although the Nicaraguan comrades did all they could to protect the volunteers, war is war, and you can't guard against all risks. A French solidarity team working in a nearby area was ambushed. The contras fired at a truck, and a French girl was one of the casualties — she was seriously wounded.

No, it was not a sightseeing tour, as some bourgeois newspapers tried to present our mission. But the young Communists who joined the "solidarity teams" were people with firm convictions, morally prepared for harsh trials.

I must say that all villagers, even seven- and eight-year-olds helped us in El Mojon. They came to the construction site and worked as hard as they could, together with adults. Small wonder that these ordinary Nicaraguans were so enthusiastic — under Somoza, most of the people were illiterate.

I lived with the Rosarios, a young peasant couple with five children, two of them already going to school. The parents were very proud that their kids could read and write and showed me their exercise books. Those two were the first in many generations of the Rosarios to be able to study.

We also saw many other changes occurring in El Mojon. Take the first general elections in Nicaragua. The country was preparing for them while we were there. Young Sandinists came to the village several times. They did not simply register voters — they explained things to the villagers, canvassed and held debates.

The arrival of the first doctors in El Mojon was also a sign of the times. Before the victory of the Sandinists, most Nicaraguans did not know what medical care was, but now it is a field to which the government pays unflagging attention. As a result, infant mortality has declined more than 50 per cent over the past few years.

I'm recalling all this to illustrate the atmosphere of revival and enthusiasm in today's Nicaragua. Naturally, the country is still facing major problems in the economy and in the supply of food but, in spite of all difficulties, the popular masses are fully resolved to uphold revolutionary gains.

And so, seeing this resolve, we could not help wondering why attempts were being made to prevent a nation that had overthrown a brutal dictatorship from building a new life. Why does the right-wing press refer to the campaign of terror against civilians, to the destruction of whole villages and to the wrecking of economic projects as "defence of democracy" and to the contras as "freedom fighters"?

Back in France, we learned that one of the three schools built by our team had been destroyed by the contras. We haven't ascertained which it was — perhaps the one my comrades and I built in El Mojon. The right-wing press probably described this act of banditry as yet another victory won by the "champions of democracy".

Generally speaking, as an eyewitness of what is happening in Nicaragua, I am simply amazed at the zeal with which the "free press" slanders the newborn republic. Anything goes, even a blatant distortion of facts. When we returned home, we did everything possible to enable our countrymen to learn the truth. At first we had speaking engagements virtually every day. At rallies and meetings we told our listeners about that unforgettable trip which convinced us that the Nicaraguan people had made the right choice.

More teams of French volunteers are leaving for Nicaragua to help it advance. I think that the mission of the solidarity teams is an important phenomenon in today's France. It reflects the commitment of the democratic public to support the just struggle of the Nicaraguan people for independence, freedom and a better future.

¹ For details, see *WMR* No. 2, 1986, p. 110.

A United Front Against the TNCs

I have read about joint action undertaken by workers employed at enterprises of the same transnational corporation in different nations. This form of struggle is used by trade unions in industrialised capitalist states. Are there similar examples in developing countries?

S. Abdallah, Lebanon

WMR has addressed this question to **Antoine Herrero**, under-secretary general of the WFTU-affiliated Trade Union International (TUI) of Textile, Clothing, Leather and Fur Workers. For several years now this TUI has been involved in organising joint action by African workers against the Bata TNC.

FIRST, a few words about the company itself, to give you an idea of what a giant of a monopoly the trade unions of our international have taken on.

Bata is a typical TNC with a "vertical" structure which ensures control over all stages of production, from the procurement of raw materials to the marketing of the finished product. This footwear empire comprises 97 branches in 90 countries, more than 5,000 retail stores and 200,000 warehouses. Its annual output is 350 million pairs of shoes.

The corporation plays a prominent role in world-wide leather and footwear trade. It operates several plants producing machinery and equipment in Canada, Great Britain, France and India, and maintains numerous research laboratories.

I have often visited Bata's factories in Africa, and I can say that people work in terrible conditions there. Most of the equipment is old and obsolete; a high rate of industrial accidents is a direct result of this. Industrial hygiene is substandard. By setting arbitrary work quotas, the management forces workers to accept overtime without additional pay. Citing economic difficulties, the employers are steadily reducing the number of jobs; as a consequence, hundreds of workers in Senegal, Benin, Burkina Faso and other countries have lost their livelihood.

The plight of black workers at Bata factories in South Africa is particularly severe. The sweatshop reigns supreme, and the wages are meagre. A leather cutter earns 7.75 dollars an hour in Canada and only 39 cents in South Africa — for the same kind of work. Workers are not entitled to pensions or free medical care. The system of fines is such that 25 per cent of the monthly wage is deducted for damage to or loss of a pair of scissors. Trade Unions are banned completely.

True, the situation in South Africa is an extreme case, resulting, on the one hand, from the greed of the monopoly and, on the other, from the racist social order. Still, it is a graphic example of how far a TNC can go in search of superprofits if it meets no trade union resistance. Driven to despair, Bata workers in South Africa have repeatedly risen in spontaneous protest. The police suppressed this massive unrest with habitual brutality.

Expressing their solidarity with the South African workers of the Bata corporation, many representatives of our TUI nevertheless believed that spontaneous protest would hardly force the employers to yield. Only organised and concerted action could make the monopoly agree to concessions. That was how the idea of joint action by workers in different African countries against this corporation was born.

Before beginning to create conditions for unitary action at the factory level, the representatives of the African trade unions affiliated in our TUI decided to establish a coordinating committee which was to draw up a concrete platform of struggle.

Set up in 1983, the committee prepared a memorandum which listed Bata's violations of the existing international labour conventions and demanded that arbitrary practices at its factories cease. Besides, it proposed that negotiations be held to discuss the vital needs of the company's personnel. The memorandum was sent to Bata's regional headquarters in Africa and to the central headquarters in Canada.

Receiving no reply, our TUI held consultations with trade unions in several African countries. Agreement was reached on staging the first Day of Joint Action by Bata Workers in Africa on May 18, 1983. This date went down in the history of the African trade union movement.

Delegations of industrial and office workers submitted petitions to the management of their factories, demanding better working conditions and higher pay. The central events of the Day of Joint Action occurred in Dakar where representatives of the Coordinating Committee led by its general secretary G. Housinou from Benin marched to Bata branch headquarters to discuss the demands set forth in the memorandum. At the last moment, despite its earlier promise to hold such a discussion, the management refused to negotiate.

Denouncing such manoeuvrings of the monopoly's leaders, the Coordinating Committee set itself the task of securing, with support from the workers, compliance with their demands by the regional management. It was decided that a second Day of Joint Action be held on May 18, 1984. On that day, at factories in Gweru (Zimbabwe), Cotonou (Benin) and other Bata plants various demonstrations of African workers were staged.

Realising that it had underrated the organisation and unity this action demonstrated, the regional management of the company decided to seize the initiative. Shutdowns were threatened. Attempts were made to bribe the secretary general of the Coordinating Committee. When this failed, the management tried to dismiss him from his company job. But the reaction to that move was the opposite of what was expected.

The Coordinating Committee called for stepping up the struggle at Bata factories and scheduled a third Day of Joint Action for May 18, 1985. It was marked by increased political activity, more militant action and better organisation. Footwear workers in Benin, Congo, Kenya, Senegal, Uganda, Zaire and Zambia and other countries suspended work and held mass protest rallies which received vigorous support from many trade unions unaffiliated in our TUI. Worker action was particularly intense in Pinetown, South Africa. The management of the factory called in the police, and in the clashes one worker was killed and three were gravely wounded.

Taking stock of the third Day of Action, representatives of the Coordinating Committee declared that the anti-social and anti-union policy of the monopoly left the workers no alternative except to continue their organised struggle.

The fourth Day of Action was staged on May 21, 1986. Here are some of the results. The trade union local at the Bata factory in Senegal blocked the management's moves to reduce the workweek and to set arbitrary work quotas. In Zimbabwe, the workers secured a substantial pay raise. The Benin Bata plant's shutdown was prevented. The fact that the corporate scheme to dismiss G. Housinou, secretary general of the Coordinating Committee, from his job was frustrated was a major success of all African trade unions.

But the struggle is not over yet. We want the corporation to recognise the Coordinating Committee and to meet the demands it advances on behalf of thousands of African workers.

What we have accomplished is important not only to Bata workers but also to the entire African trade union movement. An initiative launched at factories of a TNC has spread widely and given a powerful impetus to the unity of the working class, to the growth and consolidation of trade unions in those African countries where Bata branches operate.

One should also mention the influence this large-scale action has had on Bata workers elsewhere. A letter the Coordinating Committee has received from the Bata footwear workers' union in West Bengal, India, is typical. The authors stress that strong trade unions able to protect wage and salary earners from arbitrary action by the employers are necessary at all TNC factories and branches. The West Bengal union maintains that the struggle against such arbitrary action could be furthered if the trade unions functioning within the framework of a given monopoly established a coordinating committee or even a federation.

The Coordinating Committee has received a similar message of solidarity from CLATEXC, the Latin American Confederation of Textile, Clothing, Leather and Fur Workers.

Trade unions from several Asian countries have asked our TUI to help them establish a coordinating committee similar to that operating in Africa. We discussed this proposal and organised a meeting with union leaders of Bata's Asian factories. The meeting, held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, in November 1986, established a regional coordinating committee comprising representatives from trade union locals at Bata enterprises in India, Bangladesh, Thailand and Malaysia.

The Trade Unions International of Textile, Clothing, Leather and Fur Workers strives to make the struggle of the Bata industrial and office workers for their rights better organised and unitary. Our immediate goal is to draw up a joint programme and stage a Day of Trade Union Action at all factories of the monopoly. I am convinced that in the not too distant future, workers in different countries will oppose this transnational giant in a common front. Joint action is a real possibility.

Letters to 'WMR'

Youth Taking Up Arms

Ramiro Vasquez – General Secretary,
Central Committee, Communist Youth of
El Salvador, Comandante of the Liberation
Armed Forces (LAF)¹

I am writing these notes in one of the military camps that have been set up in our country. Here, I have had an opportunity to read *World Marxist Review* articles about young communist leagues in different countries. I, too, would like to share my experience and to tell you about our organisation — The Communist Youth of El Salvador (CYS).

Many of my friends who helped found our movement in 1973 have lost their lives in the people's revolutionary war. But their cause lives on: the young people brought up by the Communists are fighting for our nation's bright future, and new forces are joining their ranks.

The CYS was founded in response to objective requirements of the revolutionary process in El Salvador. Life itself was calling for a Marxist-Leninist organisation which would uphold the policy of the Communist Party and be able to apply it creatively in the struggle and in work among youth.

Since the establishment of the CYS, workers and students have dominated its membership. This has made it possible to unite young people in the major trade unions and at enterprises; it has also given a vigorous and purposeful impetus to the activities of our organisation. The CYS has always been active in the struggle for the rights of the working class, peasants and students. We established cooperation with Christian youth movements and helped to promote ties with the Christian Democratic and Social Democratic parties, as well as with the student branches of the left revolutionary currents which sprang up in the 1970s and are now an integral part of the FMNLF.

Since its inception, the CYS has maintained close ties with communist youth organisations in Central and South American countries and in Europe and is a full-fledged member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. Our organisation shows solidarity with other nations defending their freedom and independence and advocates peace, disarmament and peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. CYS activities have an anti-imperialist thrust. We oppose all forms of colonial and neocolonial domination, apartheid, Zionism and other manifestations of oppression and discrimination.

The Communist Youth of El Salvador is active in the international movement of youth festivals. In 1978 we organised several projects to mark the 11th World Festival of Youth and

Students in Havana. And, even in conditions of a revolutionary war our country's young men and women staged a mass event during preparations for the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students which Moscow hosted in 1985.

Efforts to publicise culture have become an important element of our activities: the CYS has helped to establish musical, theatrical and dance companies and promoted the development of amateur art forms. This has facilitated closer contacts with the younger generation. We are using these means to assist in the dissemination of communist ideas and in the shaping and development of an important revolutionary current within the artistic community.

In April 1979 the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of El Salvador adopted a decision on taking up arms against the reactionary dictatorship. The task of training guerrillas assumed priority and our youth organisation provided these fighters. The best leaders and activists of the CYS joined those who had been working to create the Liberation Armed Forces, the military wing of the Communist Party. Simultaneously, the CYS cadres enlisted in the LAF.

That was the beginning of a new stage in our history: in March 1980 the CPS Central Committee assumed direct leadership of the Communist Youth with the exception of its student branch. Such was a specific requirement of the armed struggle. But the CYS did not cease to exist as an organisation; it merely entered a special period, with its autonomy temporarily suspended. Still, we have not lost our distinctive image, although we observe party and army discipline. It is a situation without precedent in the history of our struggle. This makes it all the more gratifying that young people accepted this decision without any dissent, demonstrating their unity and their sense of responsibility for the future of our country. Our youth realised, of course, what this turn of events was fraught with — working deep underground, participating actively in military operations in cities, rural areas and the highlands as long as necessary, giving up creature comforts and even basic conveniences, being separated from one's home and family, and risking one's life. This was a conscious choice on our part, and we have gone through it all. Much of what we knew in theory has become everyday practice with us. These trials have given us new experience which is becoming part of our individual and collective consciousness. A feeling of personal involvement in a great common cause gives us strength: even facing his enemies alone and under torture, a revolutionary never stops his struggle because he has the support of his friends and of his nation.

The war has taken a toll of many young lives and brilliant minds. I will never forget my comrades who perished in the struggle — Rafael Aguinada Deras, second secretary of the CYS Central Committee known as Comandante Julio; Central Committee members Amilcar Mendoza, Jorge Molina, Rogelio Reynaldo Lopez, Victor Manuel Mejia, Carlos Armando Rodriguez, Arturo Garcia Vasquez and scores of others.

Many LAF leaders are graduates of the Communist Youth of El Salvador. This is another contribution the younger generation is making to the revolutionary cause, foregoing joys of youth.

¹ The Liberation Armed Forces are the military arm of the Communist Party of El Salvador. The LAF is part of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMNLF). — *Ed.*

WMR Ties

FREDA Brown, President of the Women's International Democratic Federation, has visited *WMR* offices. In her talk with *WMR* executives she dealt with the activities of the WIDF during the International Year of Peace, the cooperation of various women's organisations in the struggle for disarmament and progress, and the current preparations for

the World Women's Congress in Moscow. Opportunities for closer cooperation with *WMR* to expand the coverage of the women's democratic movement were also discussed.

Comrades Yacoub Zaiadin, deputy First Secretary of the CC, and Emely Naffaa, CC Political Bureau member, Jordanian Communist Party, paid a visit to the *WMR* offices to discuss further development of cooperation between the JCP and *WMR*.

Comrades J. Christodulidis, Political Bureau member of the Central Committee of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), and L. Aletras, alternate member of the AKEL Central Committee Political Bureau, have visited the *WMR* offices. Future cooperation between the AKEL and the journal was discussed.

In Memory of Henry Winston

COMRADE Henry Winston, National Chairman of the Communist Party U.S.A. and an outstanding figure of the U.S. and international communist movement, is with us no longer.

His whole life is an example of a selfless and principled struggle for the cause of the working class, against racism and exploitation, for peace and socialism.

Born into a working-class family and a worker himself, Henry Winston encountered discrimination and oppression while still a child. Refusal to accept the injustice of capitalist society led him to join the Young Communist League in 1931. He was among the organisers of the Hunger March on Washington, and of a campaign in defense of Black workers. In 1933 he was admitted to the Communist Party. From 1936 Henry Winston served on the National Executive Committee of the Young Communist League and in 1938 he became its secretary. During World War II he volunteered to enlist in the armed forces and served in the European theater of the war.

Henry Winston was a member of the Central Committee of the U.S. Communist Party from 1938, and in 1947 was elected National Organization Secretary. He went through a severe ordeal during the cold war years. There were the hysteria of McCarthyism, the need to work underground, a legal frameup, a five-year prison term, an illness caused by criminal negligence of prison authorities and the consequent destruction of his eyesight. But nothing broke his fighting spirit. A broad campaign of international solidarity forced the authorities to release him from prison in 1961. The words he said when he emerged from the prison gate circled the globe — "I have lost my sight, but not my vision".

In 1966 Henry Winston was elected National Chairman of the party. He had served in this position ever since and conducted a great amount of political and organizational work. His accomplishments include many remarkable books, articles, pamphlets and speeches in which he offered a Marxist analysis of fundamental issues raised by the struggle against imperialism, reaction, racial discrimination, and apartheid for peace and international solidarity. He was a contributor to *World Marxist Review* and a loyal friend of our journal, working hard to strengthen the ties connecting the U.S. Communists and the collective publication of the fraternal parties.

The fond memory of Henry Winston, ardent internationalist and staunch champion of the working people, will live forever in the hearts of Communists and of all those dedicated to the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

the book scene

The Militarist Kit of Psychological Tools

A Survey of US, British and Canadian Academic Studies

THE clash of views around the key issue of our age — whether there should be lasting universal peace — and the consequent shifts in social consciousness are attracting the attention of various scientists and scholars, including experts in political psychology. This survey is an attempt to highlight the more typical aspects of studies in this field conducted by scholars in capitalist countries in recent years.

Expectedly, the conservative “think tanks” in the United States such as the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, the RAND Corporation, the Hoover Institute of War, Revolution and Peace, the Heritage Foundation and the like take a militarist view of political psychology questions. The views of William Taylor, editor and co-author of a collection entitled *The Future of Conflict in the 1980's* are a case in point.¹ The concepts put forth in this book which both deals with theory and is designed as a manual, reflect the essence of the activities of the research centres working for the Washington administration and provide a tuning fork of sorts for ascertaining the pitch of reactionary political thought in the United States.

Taylor owes his position of prominence among far-right experts to his record of service on government agencies directly involved in the elaboration of US aggressive strategy, to his ties with the “neo-conservatives” in the current administration and to the zeal and cynicism with which he supports militarist concepts. In his part of the book, he discusses the psychological aspects of the “theory of threats” in international relations.

“Threats play upon the mind,” he writes. “They are designed to compel a person, a group of people, a nation to bend to the will of another” (p. 120). “Psychological operations” are designed to enhance this influence. They, and appeals to American “patriotism” and “self-sacrifice”, are recommended to be used to prepare the Americans for losses and privations in case of war, to bend the will of the potential adversary and to split enemy ranks; for the latter purpose Taylor advises resort to “ethnic differences” as a particularly convenient tool. Finally, “psychological operations” can disinform the enemy and enlist the support of other countries. Taylor suggests that the activities of US military and civilian agencies that organise psychological warfare be directed accordingly; he even offers different types of scenarios for some operations of this kind.

Against the background of Taylor’s biased constructs and other similar books, a sober approach is distinctive of the works written by those bourgeois political psychologists who display an increasingly concerned attitude to Washington’s aggressive schemes. This applies, specifically, to contributions by some experts from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Harvard and Stanford universities in the United States and from several research centres in Great Britain and Canada.

“The Social Psychological Dimensions of the Arms Race”, a study by the prominent US scholar Morris Schwartz, published almost simultaneously with the Georgetown University collection, deserves special mention.² It reveals the methods used to implant cold war stereotypes in human thinking. Schwartz notes that US leaders strive to “justify and rationalize the necessity for increasing our nuclear arms . . . They do this by claiming that our national security is at risk because of a window of vulnerability, and that we have to

overcome Soviet nuclear superiority if we are to maintain a credible deterrent" (p. 269). The "nuclear deterrence" strategy is thus presented as the only option possible.

The author adds that "polarization of the enemy" is a widespread technique of militarist propaganda. It is based on typically American ethnocentrism — a propensity for viewing and evaluating all events through the eyes of one's own ethnic group, for dividing the world into "ours" and "theirs". All positive qualities are ascribed to one's group and all negative ones, to "the enemy". And, depending on the situation at a given moment, any country whose policy Washington finds objectionable can be declared to be this "enemy" — be that Afghanistan, Libya, Nicaragua, Syria or any other nation. A scapegoat is thus created as a target for the fears, bigotry and inferiority complex of the average American.

The effort is to convince the Americans that agreement with "the enemy" is improbable or impossible. As a result, Schwartz writes, a logical chain is forged: "it becomes virtually impossible to find bases for accommodation, and as we prepare for conflict with them (the Soviets) we deny its suicidal potentialities" (p. 271).

There is another psychological technique frequently used by the Reagan administration — "sanitizing of the language", i.e. introduction into everyday vocabulary of words and notions allowing the discussion of nuclear war as a perfectly routine thing. Schwartz maintains that this leads to a deliberately distorted perception of reality, to the normalisation of the abnormal, and to the transformation of a concrete danger into an abstract one, of the absurd into the rational. By referring to "calculated risks" and to "possibilities of winning a limited nuclear conflict", the US military wants to present nuclear war as something acceptable and to have the Americans grow used to the thought that neither their side nor the enemy should be spared. Schwartz states that there develop "dehumanizing attitudes and orientations utilized toward self and others" (p. 270). the value of human life is reduced to zero.

Roy Menninger, a US psychologist and psychiatrist, studies the thinking of the ruling elite, of the people who base their policy on the concept of nuclear deterrence. His contribution, "Living with the Unthinkable. Psychological Aspects of the Nuclear Arms Race", is part of a monograph published in Canada.³

"Unfortunately," he writes, "many of the people in position of power and responsibility are people who share the views of . . . the 'Thinkables' those who maintain that nuclear war is thinkable and therefore acceptable. Their great concern with the evil of the enemy leads them to minimize the evil of the weapons" (p. 23). The American expert believes that the US ruling quarters suffer from the so-called rationality paradox — that is, perception of insane ideas of nuclear war as rational and reasonable. The other side of this paradox is reflected in the conviction which is current in Washington and according to which only other countries tend to behave irrationally while the conduct of the United States is perfect.

"These views, deeply rooted in emotionally primitive aspects of our thinking," Menninger says, "reflect personal and cultural prejudices . . . By such a device our stereotypes allow us to see our own attitudes and behaviour in a pure and positive light, and enable us to reconfirm our hateful views of the enemy" (p. 27).

Menninger notes that prejudice often gains priority over actual facts in decision-making on matters of US foreign policy. Even the fact that 20 million Soviet people died in World War II is cynically used by the preachers of militarism as "proof" that the USSR is now insensitive to huge losses of human life and can therefore launch a new war in the right conditions.

Menninger holds that the declaration of "national interests" as interpreted by the White House not only appears uncompromising but also displays the unceasing vanity of the Americans and their confidence in their manifest destiny. Driven to an extreme of absurdity, the conclusion is, "We have not only been created in God's image, we are God's incarnation." This narcissist attitude denies the legitimacy of other opinions or values and promotes a narrow and rigid world-view which facilitates and justifies the taking of "extreme" measures.

"Toward a Collective Psychopathology of the Nuclear Arms Competition" is a study by the well-known US scholar John Mack, published in a periodical of the International Association for Political Psychology.⁴ The author draws a clear distinction between the normal and the pathological in the thinking, emotions and decisions of US leaders; he also points to the role they play in escalating hysteria and chauvinism in the United States and aggravating US-Soviet relations.

In this case, John Mack describes as pathological the kind of thinking which is incompatible with objective reality, and the group decisions or actions which are taken in accordance with these decisions and which are inadequate or even dangerous in today's world. He refers to "segmented thinking" — a tendency of persons or organisations in positions of power to focus their attention only on the immediate tasks, without giving sufficient consideration to aspects beyond the framework of political expediency — as an alarmingly pathological case. Specifically, this applies to the practice of US leaders to decide on the development of new weapon systems without thinking what this entails.

The study also introduces the concept of "emotional pathology" — emotional reactions incompatible with actual reality. The author argues that a policy based on actual or intended use of weapons of mass destruction is an example of emotional pathology. This prompts one to recall a situation modelled by Roger Fisher of Harvard in which, in order to get hold of the capsule with the code for launching nuclear missiles, the President of the United States would have to open the chest of a living person with a meat cleaver.⁵ This is an allegorical allusion to the need for closing the gap between emotions and the realities of the nuclear age, the gap which the "sanitizing of the language" and other psychological techniques used by the advocates of war have increased dramatically.

John Mack makes an interesting observation about the way the chauvinism of US leaders influences their commitment to the idea of nuclear deterrence: "The roots of nationalism and the close link of nationalistic emotions with the dichotomizing tendencies of the mind make the citizenry especially vulnerable to psychological conscription by leaders who themselves adopt a polarizing world view and trumpet to the masses that the threat of danger and the evil emanate from some external source" (p. 312). The author speaks forthrightly about "the ideological extremism which characterizes the current American leadership", which is why "we lose sight of the distinctions between the real Russians and the mythic Russians of our own creation" (ibid). John Mack not only identifies the psychological aspects of the problem but also calls on his government to change its approach to relations with the USSR in order to avoid "global suicide".

Psychological Aspects of Nuclear War,⁶ a book prepared by Dr James Thompson of Great Britain at the request of the British Psychological Society, sums up many years of his colleagues' research in this field. Of the subjects raised in the book, the problem of political decision-making at moments of crisis, as well as observations concerning the role of the human factor in conditions when the use of nuclear weapons become probable are of particular interest.

"Stress and heightened time pressure," the book says, "not only affect individual skilled performance but also impair rational functioning in decision-making groups, for example, a 'war cabinet'. The psychology of group processes helps us to understand the way in which rigid and polarized positions can be maintained, misperceptions of others can be reinforced, and valid information can be ignored or distorted. In periods of heightened tensions, inappropriate reactions to ambiguous events may dangerously worsen the crisis" (p. vii).

Stress is what constantly accompanies those who service nuclear weapons. The book quotes an anonymous US missile operator: "A crew member tries not to think about his ultimate responsibility, which could lead to the killing of millions of people . . . He is not supposed to have a conscience . . . He learns to contrast his personal feeling and the role he is expected to play unquestioningly and automatically . . . He tends to see his personal life and official life as totally separate: the launch officer becomes schizoid" (p. 59).

Service in units armed with nuclear weapons imposes a dissonance between the morality

of "being a good person" and the untenable immorality of participation in mass killing. The effects of this psychological stress are clear from the results of medical surveys conducted among US servicemen assigned to land- and sea-based nuclear systems. These results, cited in the book, show a frightening percentage of obvious alcoholics, drug addicts and people with mental aberrations. Statistics show that out of the approximately 120,000 personnel servicing US nuclear weapons, some 5,000 people are removed annually from nuclear weapons duties due to alcoholism, drug abuse or obvious mental aberrations (see p. 57).

Therefore, Thompson says, special training techniques are used for US servicemen involved in nuclear weapons duties to diffuse personal responsibility and blunt emotional reactions. Officers and men are never told their fire targets: they do not "fire" missiles with nuclear warheads but merely "enable launch procedures".

The last book to be surveyed here is among the more recent studies in political psychology. It is *The Psychology of Nuclear Conflict*, a collection of contributions by British and US experts, published in London.⁷ It includes an article by Jim Dyer, consulting psychiatrist of the Royal Hospital in Edinburgh and a founding member of the Medical Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons. He examines the mechanics of "psychological self-defence" developed by the average person in the West — specifically, the practice of ignoring reality, as well as the habitual behaviour and thought patterns typical of the pre-nuclear era ("denying mechanism"). These are closely connected with the "sanitizing" or "technicalizing" of the language and of ethics and with the manipulation of social consciousness — techniques constantly used by the ruling quarters of imperialist powers. For example, weapons of mass destruction are given catchy and attractive names — "Poseidon", "Tomahawk" or even "Peacekeeper". "We have none called 'Genocide' or 'Mass Murderer'", Dyer writes. "Will our new Trident submarines, as instruments of genocide, be christened 'Auschwitz' or 'Dachau'? We are accustomed to expressions like 'limited nuclear exchange', suggesting the giving of Christmas presents". (p. 20).

Dyer raises the issue of the psychological barriers that keep people in capitalist countries from acting vigorously against the nuclear threat and from joining the peace movement. He describes the thought patterns of the average American or West European hostile to peace activists. The motive is quite simple: previously, the "denying mechanism" enabled him to cope with his fears himself, while today the anti-nuclear movement is daily reminding him of a mortal danger and actualising his fears. Besides, he traditionally delegates responsibility for his security to the government; therefore, the peace activists' challenge to the policy of "nuclear deterrence" is also a challenge to his trust in the powers-that-be. That is an added source of hostility. Summing up this important observation Dyer concludes: "But in the face of the nuclear threat they (psychological barriers) are sick and highly dangerous: sick because they deny, they stem, they inhibit our basic instinct for survival" (p. 24).

"A Critique of Cliches" is another interesting contribution. In it, D. M. A. Legget, vice-president of Surrey University, and C. M. Waterlow, a British historian, focus on the clichés and stereotypes used by the US administration to justify the policy of nuclear deterrence. They quote the well-known phrase of US Vice-President George Bush about the salutary role of "effective deterrence" which has allegedly enabled the United States to maintain a powerful military capability while avoiding its use.⁸ The claim is that this is what has kept the peace in Europe since 1945 although more than 100 wars have been fought elsewhere. Legget and Waterlow expose Bush's fraudulent assertion which is based on imperial stereotypes. These wars, in which the United States did not fight directly but tried to secure its political objectives in one way or another, took a toll of more than ten million lives.⁹ And so these wars, fought "outside Europe, represent the price paid for forty years of peace in Europe" (p. 91).

The authors reveal the psychological motive behind another trite cliché — "it is essential for the United States to negotiate from positions of strength". This implies only one alternative — negotiations from positions of weakness — and automatically rules out the possibility of negotiations on an equal basis, that is, the only approach capable of producing

positive results.

The danger of clichés is that, invading everyday consciousness, they act as invisible means of pressure on the political behaviour of individuals. Frequently, people do not realise that they are being manipulated: they believe that they are acting in accordance with their own views and values.

"Communism is evil," "the USSR is an evil empire". These hackneyed stereotypes remain in the vocabulary of the Reagan administration. "The language of the cold war", Legget and Waterlow continue, "is permeated with punitive overtones, the scolding attitude of a parent to a child, a judge to an accused, or even an animal trainer to a savage beast. Western decision-makers talk of Moscow's 'behaviour' or 'conduct'. Frequently the Russians are said to be 'on probation' or 'in the dock'" (p. 94).

And finally, another cliché which exerts psychological pressure on the social consciousness of certain quarters in the West — "to have the bomb as a deterrent". That is a dangerous euphemism implying that the bomb is not supposed to be used. "The constant incantation of the word 'deterrent'," Legget and Waterlow write, "anaesthetizes people from considering whether they are prepared to allow the British and American governments to fire off megaton bombs which would kill millions of innocent people" (p. 99).

Ever more members of the academic community are coming to realise that the aggressive strategy of the US administration poses a deadly danger to mankind. Hence their increasing efforts to help in normalising international relations and to promote understanding among people and nations.

As it was said at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, "security cannot be built endlessly on fear of retaliation, in other words, on the doctrines of 'containment' or 'deterrence'. Apart from the absurdity and amorality of a situation in which the whole world becomes a nuclear hostage, these doctrines encourage an arms race that many sooner or later go out of control."¹⁰

The age we live in demands that a new way of political thinking, a new psychology in the approach to issues of war and peace be adopted.

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¹ *The Future of Conflict in the 1980s*, ed. by William J. Taylor, Jr., Steven A. Maaranen, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., 1984, 504 pp.

² Morris Schwartz, "The Social Psychological Dimensions of the Arms Race", in *Search for Sanity. The Politics of Nuclear Weapons and Disarmament*, ed. by Paul Joseph and Simon Rosenblum, South End Press, Boston, 1984, pp. 267-279.

³ Roy Menninger, "Living with the Unthinkable. Psychological Aspects of the Nuclear Arms Race", in *The Prevention of Nuclear War*, ed. by Thomas Perry, Jr., Friesen Printers, Altona, Manitoba, 1983, pp. 20-32.

⁴ John Mack, "Toward a Collective Psychopathology of the Nuclear Arms Competition", *Political Psychology*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1985, pp. 291-321.

⁵ See Roger Fischer, "Preventing Nuclear War", *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, No. 37, 1981, pp. 11-16.

⁶ James Thompson, *Psychological Aspects of Nuclear War*, British Psychological Society and John Wiley & Sons Ltd., Chichester, New York, Brisbane, Toronto, Singapore, 1985, ix + 127 pp.

⁷ *The Psychology of Nuclear Conflict*, ed. by Jan Fenton, Conventure Ltd., London, 1986, 187 pp.

⁸ See *The New York Times*, November 23, 1983.

⁹ Different figures are cited in the *South* magazine (August 1986): some 150 wars and armed conflicts of different scope have been fought since 1945; the total losses are estimated at 20 million lives. — *Ed.*

¹⁰ Mikhail Gorbachov, *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Moscow, 1986, p. 72.

Opposing the Nazis

Allan Merson, *Communist Resistance in Nazi Germany*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1985, 372pp.

IN the elections to the Reichstag held in Germany in November 1932, six million voted for the Communists, 7.2 million for the Social Democrats, and 11.7 million for the Nazis. In March 1933, with Hitler in power and despite the arrests of many Communist Party leaders and the Nazi reign of terror, the voting was still 4.9 million Communist and 7.9 million SPD. Historians have since tried to understand and explain why the German workers failed to stop the Nazis. In *Communist Resistance in Nazi Germany*, Allan Merson, a prominent British historian, deals with the aspect of this problem neglected in English academic literature — the role of the Communists in the anti-fascist struggle.

In discussing resistance to the Nazi regime, bourgeois historians usually mention only those involved in the attempt to assassinate Hitler on July 20, 1944. They knew, of course, the risks and paid dearly for their participation in the plot. It is certainly wrong, however, to ignore the heroism of thousands upon thousands of principled anti-fascists — Communists, Social Democrats and Christians who selflessly opposed the Nazis throughout.

Allan Merson notes that lack of common action by the two main political organisations of the working class — the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) and the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) — was the chief obstacle to effective opposition. The Communists believed, and with good reason, that SPD leaders had repeatedly betrayed the revolutionary movement. Unlike the Social Democratic leaders who underestimated the Nazi threat, the leadership of the KPD was convinced that to repel and destroy Nazism was a priority task of the working class movement. Right-wing SPD functionaries responded to the Communist appeal to defend common class interests by stepping up anti-communism and refusing categorically to launch a joint struggle against the Nazis. At the most critical moment — on January 30, 1933, the day Hitler came to power — the SPD Board rejected the proposal of the KPD Central Committee which suggested setting the differences aside, calling an immediate general strike and thus forcing the Nazi government to step down.

A mistaken attitude to the mass of SPD members as a whole which was current among the Communists was another obstacle to the unity of the two working class parties — first and foremost, charges of “social fascism”. This reflected the protest of revolutionary workers against the policy of the right-wing Social Democratic leaders which objectively served imperialist interests. These mistakes which developed under the influence of dogmatism and leftist sectarianism were discussed at the KPD “Brussels Conference”, convened in 1935 in accordance with the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. The conference was actually held near Moscow, the reference to Brussels was made for security reasons (see p. 163). The participants adopted new tactics which cleared the way for alliance with all anti-fascists.

But all this was achieved not without opposition, it must be noted. It proved difficult to get the new policy accepted by all underground militants. It was a long process, probably never completed. After the “Brussels Conference”, the KPD made new approaches to the leadership of the SPD in emigration. These were rebuffed. Mutual distrust was too deep, although at the grassroots level it proved possible for Communists to act jointly with individual Social Democrats and others who joined the anti-fascist struggle.

The Nazi reign of terror inflicted huge losses on the Communist Party. Within a few days of February 27, 1933, the day of the Reichstag Fire, the act of provocation used by the Nazis to furnish a pretext for an unprecedentedly brutal crusade against the democratic forces, some 1,500 Communists were arrested in Berlin and 10,000 in Germany as a whole (see p. 32).

At the initial stage the printed word was the principal weapon of the Communist Party. “The quantity and variety of the illegal literature . . . produced by the KPD in the years 1933-1935, is remarkable. *Rote Fahne*, after a few weeks of confusion and reorganisation

following the Nazi accession to power, reappeared illegally . . . with a print run, according to a press report, of 300,000 copies" (pp. 114-115). Leaflets were produced by the million. Most of this material was printed in Germany, under increasingly difficult and dangerous conditions.

The Communists conducted work in Nazi-sponsored mass organisations such as the German Labour Front, collected money for the families of imprisoned and executed comrades, and conducted verbal propaganda in factories. Fundamental was collection of party dues needed for continued work and for the scant wages of the functionaries.

Inside Germany the KPD never fully recovered from the reprisals of 1933-1935. Yet resistance to Nazism never ceased but merely took different forms. The Communists were striving above all to keep the party alive, to preserve its unity, ideological clarity and fighting spirit. The author shows how Politburo members of the KPD Central Committee John Schehr (until his arrest in November 1933) and then Wilhelm Pieck, Franz Dahlem and Walter Ulbricht succeeded from refuges abroad in directing a widespread local and regional party apparatus through the Central Operative Leadership in Berlin (see pp. 85-86). Particularly valuable became the work in prisons and concentration camps. If resistance in "freedom" was the way to moral and political self-preservation, in prisons and camps it was also a condition for physical survival. It was the discipline, mutual help and the maintenance of morale that enabled many of the political prisoners to survive.

While on the subject of this period in KPD history, one must pay tribute to the courage and steadfastness of those German Communists who fought to defend the Spanish Republic. The majority of almost 5,000 German anti-fascists who served in the International Brigades (more than 3,000 gave their lives) were Communists. "They included many prominent and experienced Party functionaries, such as Hans Beimler, who represented the Central Committee, and Artur Becker, a leading member of the Communist Youth League, both of whom, were killed. Among the survivors were Franz Dahlem, a member of the KPD's Politburo, and the military commanders Wilhem Zaisser ('General Gomez'), Heinrich Rau and Heinz Hoffmann, all of them destined later to play a leading part in the foundation and development of the German Democratic Republic" (pp. 197-198).

With the outbreak of World War II, the conditions in which militant anti-fascists had to operate became even more difficult. Efforts to unite isolated underground groups emerged as the priority task of the party. The work of a KPD cell led by the Berlin factory worker Robert Uhrig offers one of the numerous examples of communist heroism and courage. As early as 1936-1937 Uhrig began to build up a wide resistance network in Berlin factories. In time his organisation made contacts with the communist underground in other parts of Germany and with a group of anti-fascists in the Wehrmacht led by Captain Josef Romer. Uhrig and many of his comrades were arrested by the Gestapo in early 1942, but those who escaped arrest renewed the attempt to rally anti-fascist fighters together (see pp. 236-239).

In the latter half of 1943 an all-German operative leadership of the communist underground began to take shape; it included Anton Saefkow, Franz Jacob, Theodor Neubauer, Georg Schumann and Martin Schwantes (see pp. 281-282). But a new wave of Nazi terror soon followed: thousands of anti-fascists were arrested and executed, and this was a painful blow to the resistance movement. "In the autumn of 1944 remnants of Communist-led groups survived in a number of German cities, but they were widely scattered, politically comparatively isolated, and not coordinated by any central direction" (p. 289).

The Communists were the staunchest and most consistent fighters against fascism in Germany. Figures tell the story. Of the 300,000 party members of 1932, an estimated 150,000 were later arrested, and 25,000 to 30,000 perished in prisons and concentration camps (see p. 309). And so one is led to share Allan Merson's conclusion with which he closes his book: ". . .

It was no epic of a few heroes and heroines, . . . but an unbroken, twelve-year struggle of many thousands of ordinary working people, in which the Party not only created a moral heritage (which even its enemies have come to recognise) but perseveringly grappled with

past errors and outdated conceptions and so acquired a theoretical and political heritage which was to make it possible to turn a catastrophe in one generation into a great constructive achievement in the next."

Len Crome

Head of Medical Services of the
International Brigades in Spain,
Lieutenant-colonel in the British
Army during World War II

A Cause of a Lifetime

Ruth Lubitz, *I Chose a Life of Struggle*, Shazar, Tel Aviv, 1985, 454 pp. (in Hebrew).

WHEN a person has a long life of trials and struggle behind her and when she thinks back to the events she was part of and which are historic landmarks for entire peoples — the reminiscences of this person invariably assume a social value. The author of the book, *I Chose a Life of Struggle*, is well known in our country and abroad. Over half a century ago Ruth Lubitz joined the Communist Party of Israel.¹ For over forty years she has been on the Central Committee of the CPI and for more than twenty years on its Political Bureau. She has been general secretary of the Movement of Democratic Women of Israel since its inception and a founding member of the League V,² which later came to be the Israel-USSR Friendship Society. Ruth Lubitz is a member of the World Peace Council and the Women's International Democratic Federation Council.

During British colonial rule in Palestine she went underground to struggle not only against foreign colonialists but against Zionism and extreme nationalist Jewish Social Democrats. She was convicted and served a prison term. Political persecution and psychological harassment of Ruth Lubitz continued after 1948, when the State of Israel came into being.

This is the first such book in Israel recounting the revolutionary work of the Communist Party for the period of more than fifty years. The wealth of ideas, images and historical facts, both new and little-known, gives her recollections a special quality.

"This is a unique, moving and instructive book," observes in the preface Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the CPI Central Committee. "Written by a person in the thick of a revolutionary struggle, it sheds light on very important pages of the nation's history" (p. 9).

This is an autobiographical book but not memoirs. It is rather a sequence of narratives, painful or angry, alternately funny and sombre, but consistently optimistic, drawn from Lubitz's eventful life. They profess a love of human beings, and a selfless quest for the only cause worth fighting for.

Hers was a hard lot after she came to Israel in 1929. She worked much, took a crack at various jobs, and yet could hardly make her living. She takes the reader along with her to the meetings and through the rough-and-tumble of political upheavals. "The country is paralysed and seething with excitement," she reminisces about a strike in 1931. "As many as 3,000 city bus drivers went on strike to protest against higher taxes, and were backed both by Jewish and Arab residents" (p. 89).

After joining the Communist Party, the young woman had to live and work in the underground. Lubitz gives us an idea of what things were like in the country at the time and narrates the often tragic stories of her comrades' lives. She was then married and had children, and her private life and revolutionary work became one single whole. Her rebellious spirit grew unfettered; her character of a Communist was steeled as she became more experienced and battle-hardened in party work.

"Comrades told me I was to address a meeting on behalf of the working women's

committee," she recalls one of her party assignments.

"... I chose the right moment, stood up, made several steps towards the platform and said loudly, 'I want to speak!' A raucous noise rose from the crowd and shouts, 'Let her speak!' These were drowned by, 'She is a Communist! Down with her!' Many jumped to their feet and hemmed me in threateningly... I glimpsed a hysterical face of a woman who made to clutch at my hair. I was shoved out into the street and on to the ground. A few minutes later a comrade came up, helped me to my feet and whispered, 'Get away quick, the police will be here any minute now...'" (pp. 82-83).

Lubitz was active in promoting the idea of democratic fronts and was unswerving in her support of the organisational basis of the Communist Party of Israel — the internationalist Jewish-Arab unity whose crises and splits she took close to heart. In the years prior to World War II she became deeply committed to the idea of proletarian internationalism.

The author gives a lot of space to the events of 1939-1945. A sincere person with deep-rooted convictions, she did her bit in the tremendous effort to beat fascism.

The defeat of Nazi Germany opened a new page in the history of the Communist Party of Israel and her own life. Lubitz was on the first CPI CC delegation to visit several new people's democratic republics. Her meeting with Georgi Dimitrov made an indelible impression on her, and she also met other distinguished figures of fraternal parties. In 1949 she visited the Soviet Union. There are moving recollections of Moscow, Red Square and the Soviet people she met. "I was happy to visit the USSR," she writes. "It was my life-long dream" (p. 293).

The entire book breathes forth a spirit of revolutionary romanticism and reveals the author's communist conviction; the sense of political realism does not fail her, too. "On reading this book, anyone who never lived a British protectorate or through World War II will learn more not only about the past of our country but her present, too," the preface emphasises. "The historical background places into sharper focus the ideas that guided the older generations of our comrades in their struggle... The Communists in Israel, both Jews and Arabs, have always stood up for national independence, democracy, the brotherhood of men, social progress and socialism."

Ruth Levin
Israeli journalist

¹ Before 1948 — the Communist Party of Palestine.

² "V" stands for "Victory". — *Ed.*

A Donkey's Tail for Pinochet

Gabriel García Márquez, *La aventura de Miguel Littin Clandestino en Chile* (The Adventures of Miguel Littin on a Secret Visit to Chile), Editorial La Oveja Negra, Bogota, 1986, 155 pp.

FILM-maker Miguel Littin, one of the thousands of Chileans banned from ever returning to Chile, paid a secret visit to his homeland — "he came, made a film, and vanished".

With a counterfeit passport in his pocket, accompanied by a fictitious wife, using a disguise, and changing his manner of speaking and style of clothes, Miguel Littin directed the work of three groups of cameramen, who arrived from Europe with an official cover, and six local youth film-making groups belonging to the Chilean resistance movement. This effort produced a four-part television film and a two-hour film for the cinema.

The noted progressive Colombian author and Nobel Prize laureate Gabriel Garcia Marquez, who has vast experience as a journalist and a keen literary sense, assumed that these two films about Chilean relaty after 12 years of rule by a military dictatorship covered far from everything Littin saw and went through. In fact there remained another film to be made — one about Littin himself, his associates, and what they accomplished in Chile.

Marquez decided to make that film following an exhaustive, weeklong interview with Littin with the knowledge that he would thereby "pin one more burro tail on Pinochet".

The story of the "burro tail" must be told. Just before Littin's plane was due to take off for Chile, his wife and children conspiratorially told him as they saw him off at the airport: "Don't forget to pin a long burro tail on Pinochet." They had in mind a game in which a blindfolded child has to pin a tail on a cardboard burro (donkey) exactly where this tail ought to be (see p. 19). The first such "tail" was thousands metres of film, some of it made inside the presidential La Moneda Palace. The second was Marques's book *The Adventures of Miguel Littin on a Secret Visit to Chile* as related by Miguel Littin himself. Issued by the Colombian Oveja Negra Publishers in a printing of 250,000 copies it was launched in Bogota at a ceremony attended by Miguel Littin and the then Colombia's Minister of Communications Nohemi Samin Posada.

"For its method of research and the nature of the material in it, this is a reporting job," Marquez writes about his book. "But at the same time it is an emotional account of a journey. Its outcome is much more significant and dramatic than even the splendidly fulfilled initial intention, which was to make a film in defiance of the risk of such an undertaking in a country ruled by a military regime. Speaking of this, Littin noted: 'It was not the most heroic act of my life, but it was the most distinguished one.' This puts it in a nutshell and, I would say, herein lies its splendour" (p.8).

To adorn Pinochet with a burro tail the rules of the game had to be carefully planned. To avoid being recognised Littin had to wear a bandage on his face, but his eyes and the lens of his camera were open, closely following everything, missing no significant detail of the reality in Chile.

Members of the Chilean underground helped the film-maker with his disguise, to establish the necessary contacts, and to move about the country. He was guarded by Helen, who posed as his wife, and by tens of other fighters, who alternated namelessly throughout the narration. The hero of the book had to accustom himself to his new identity, to prevent his own self from surfacing. He did not always succeed, and this created some anxiety for his bodyguards. The test for Littin was not easy: he was in his own homeland as an exile in disguise, and the thought of it kept drumming in his head.

Yet he had to remain the film-maker Miguel Littin, attentively follow what was being done, direct groups of cameramen, visit various parts of the country, and pick out the necessary foreshortening scenes and locations. This inner conflict that threatened to erupt at any moment is shown skilfully by Marquez.

Anguish was Littin's first sensation after he went through the formalities upon entering the country: Santiago "with its venerable illuminated monuments, exemplary order, and clean streets gave the impression of being a delightful city. Custodians of law and order were not so much in evidence as in Paris or New York. The interminable poplar-lined Bernardo O'Higgins Avenue was seen as a torrent of light beginning at the historical Central Railway Station designed by none other than Gustave Eiffel, who built the famous tower in Paris. But this," Littin relates, "is not all that shook me. What the people felt could be seen on their faces, tanned by wind and cold. Nobody spoke, nobody peered in any particular direction; nobody gesticulated or laughed; nobody made even the slightest movement that could betray the feelings hidden by a dark coat — it seemed that all were lonely strangers in a strange city. Their immobile faces betrayed nothing. Not even fear" (pp. 28-29). Littin soon realised that the "flourishing" city look was created for tourists, while the residents were in fact exiles as he was, and he soon learned to come into contact with them with compassionate smiles.

The journey allowed Littin to draw the conclusion that Salvador Allende's name is not forgotten. The memory of him has evolved into a cult of colossal dimensions. In the towns and villages Littin and his friends were interested in how people lived, the level of their consciousness, their attitude to the dictatorship, and how they were fighting it. Everywhere the people answered questions eagerly and sincerely, especially when the conversation was about Allende. In his long journey in Chile there was no place where the assassinated

President had not left a lasting trace. Everywhere there were people who had met him. With one he had shaken hands; another had asked him to be the godfather of a son; still another he had cured of a hacking cough with a mixture made of herbs, others he had set up with a job or had beaten at chess. Anything touched by him at any time is revered as a relic. Asked whether she was a supporter of Allende, the mistress of a house corrected: "Not was, but still am" (p. 84). She then took down a picture of St Carmen from the wall. On the wall was a portrait of Allende.

Pablo Neruda is also alive in people's memories. This is felt most keenly in his pine-ringed house on the seashore. On four sides there is an almost metre-high fence built by the poet himself. There are flowers everywhere. A notice warns that the house had been sealed by the police and that nobody is allowed to enter or photograph it. A passing policeman looked closely at us and made things even clearer: "Everything is forbidden here" (see p. 87). At the fence where visitors stop there are hundreds of inscriptions. Put together these would make whole poems about Neruda. "Most of them are variations of one and the same theme: **Juan and Rosa love each other because of Pablo. Thank you, Pablo, for teaching us the meaning of love. We want a love as big as yours.** But there are others that the police are unable to forbid or erase: **Love never dies, generals! Allende and Neruda are alive! A moment of obscurity does not make us blind**" (p. 90).

The police net, however, grew tighter, and when Littin was getting ready to interview a general who was "willing to relate everything", an urgent message came from the leadership of the Chilean underground ordering him to leave the country or go underground immediately. By that time the team of cameramen from Europe had already left Chile, taking much of the film with them, but the work of the local groups of cameramen consisting of young people was unfinished. So Littin stayed.

At the ceremony held in a Bogota cinema Littin declared: "I was profoundly stirred by what I saw and I hope the viewer will be similarly stirred. Our people's recollection of what the traitors tried to destroy forever now lives in the new generation. At the time of the coup these young people were only three, four, five, or ten years old, but today they stand at the front barricades of the battle against the dictatorship.

"It was sheer joy to see with my own eyes that everywhere in Chile, through a broad mobilisation of political and social forces, the people are fighting to put into effect a prediction made by President Allende before he was martyred. 'Sooner or later there will be a wide road along which the free man will move in order to build a better society.'"¹

Jose Miro

¹ *Voz*, June 5, 1986.

New Books

Václav Cada, Hana Kráćmarová, *Klement Gottwald: Révolutionnaire et Internationaliste* (Klement Gottwald: Revolutionary and Internationalist), Orbis Press Agency, Prague, 1986, 144 pp.

"Klement Gottwald," Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CPCz Central Committee and President of Czechoslovakia, writes in the foreword to this book, "made a lasting significant imprint on the history of our party and nations . . . The shaping of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in Leninist principles, the struggle against the bourgeoisie and fascism, and the creation of our people's democratic state are all inseparably linked with his activities. With him is linked the victorious February of 1948, the unification of the working class, the programme and beginning of the building of socialism in our homeland. His credo, 'With the Soviet Union Forever', is for us an enduring legacy." This book, printed also in the

Spanish, German, Russian and French languages, traces the formative years and all the stages of the party and state activity of this distinguished revolutionary of our time and outstanding personality of the international communist and working class movement.

Geschichte der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung in Daten (A History of the International Working Class Movement: Data and Facts), Dietz, Berlin, 1986, 868 pp.

Published by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the SUPG Central Committee, this reference book contains over 5,000 entries on the history of the international working class movement, from its origins to our day. Arranged chronologically, these entries offer data on the formation and activities of workers' organisations and parties in different countries, major actions of the class struggle of the proletariat, and the history of the international communist movement. Considerable information is to be found here on the main motive forces of social development and the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the struggle of the working class for peace, democracy and socialism. The book has a large index.

G. G. Diligensky, *V poiskakh smysla i tseli. Problemy soznaniya sovremennogo kapitalisticheskogo obshchestva* (In Search of Sense and Purpose. The Mass Consciousness of Modern Capitalist Society), Politisdat, Moscow, 1986, 256 pp.

For the fraternal parties and the democratic public it is becoming increasingly important to study the development trends of the consciousness and political behaviour patterns of the masses in conditions of the exacerbating general crisis of capitalism. The dynamics of the social process and, today, owing to the steadily growing threat of a thermonuclear war, the very existence of humanity depend on which direction the masses will take, who they will follow, and what ideals and views will determine their actions. These issues are being substantively researched by Soviet scientists. This book is an addition to the series "A Critique of Bourgeois Ideology and Revisionism" being brought out jointly by publishing houses of socialist countries.

Luís Sá, *Introdução à teoria do estado* (An Introduction to the Theory of State), Caminho, Lisbon, 1986, 240 pp.

Luís Sa, CC alternate member of the Portuguese Communist Party and editor-in-chief of the journal *Poder local*, reviews the emergence, development, and functions of the state as the basic institution of class society. He shows the distinctions of its socio-class specifics and role under socialism and capitalism, and analyses the forms of administration and state organisation existing in the world. The changes that have taken place in Portugal after the democratic revolution of 1974 and the characteristics of that country's present political system are closely examined.

Anti-Zionist League in Iraq in 1945-1946. Documents and Research, Nicosia, 1986, 242 pp. (in Arabic)

The Palestinian problem, which is at the root of the Arab-Israeli conflict, is a particularly sensitive issue for Arab public opinion. Taking advantage of this, bourgeois right-nationalistic propaganda is putting itself out to misrepresent the stand of the region's progressive forces, the Communists in the first place, charging that they have taken a nihilistic or even hostile attitude to the national aspirations of the Arab peoples. The untenability of these charges is exposed in this book, which is about the vigorous, many-sided activities conducted in 1945-1946 by the Anti-Zionist League in Iraq that was set up on the initiative and with the decisive participation of the Communists. Compelled to function in secrecy, the Communist Party continued its struggle against Zionism, using the League as its legal rostrum.

Gabriel García Sepulveda, *Augusta clamide roja. Cancionero republicano* (The Great Red Banner. Republican Songs), Agil Offset, S. A., Barcelona, 1986, 98 pp.

The author joined the movement for democratic changes in Spain as early as in the 1920s. During the Civil War of 1936-1939 he commanded the Republican Army Intelligence Service in Catalonia. In this book, which he published on his own modest means, he addresses the Spanish people's heroic struggle against fascism, conveying the thoughts, feelings, and hopes of those who fought, dreamed of the future, despaired, and then again found the strength to continue the struggle. He writes also of the distinguished contribution of the International Brigades and the significance of international solidarity, whose banner drew volunteers from more than 50 countries.

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