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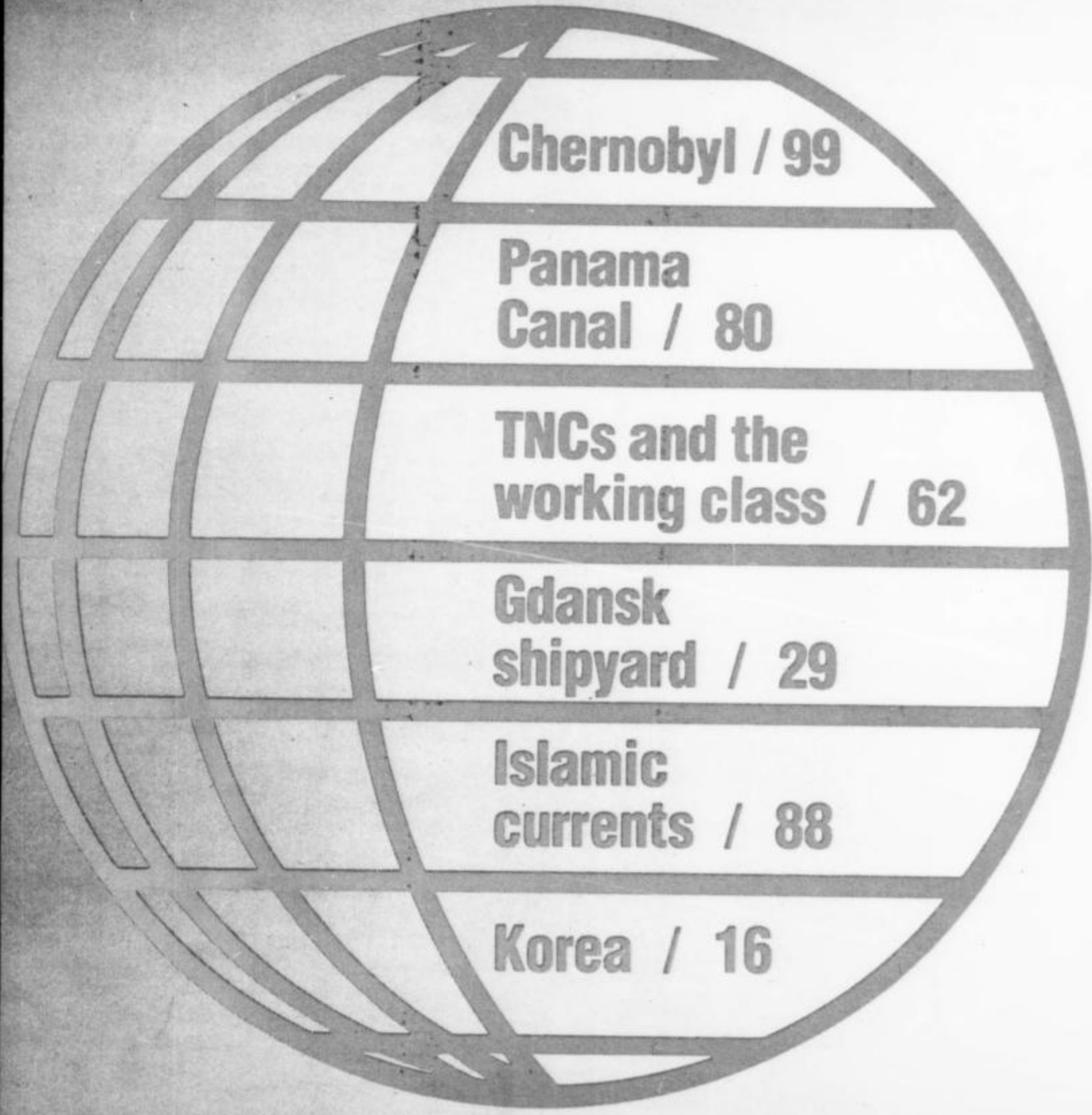
Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

April 1987, Vol. 30, No. 4
\$2.00 ISSN 0043-8642



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world marxist review

VOLUME 30 NUMBER 4 APRIL 1987

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

*Theoretical and Information Journal of Communist
& Workers Parties Throughout the World*

WORKERS OF ALL LANDS UNITE

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

is also published in Arabic, Bengali, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Gujarati, Hebrew, Hindi, Hungarian, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Malayalam, Mongolian, Norwegian, Oriya, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Punjabi, Romanian, Russian, Singhalese, Spanish, Swedish, Tagalog, Tamil, Telugu, Turkish and Vietnamese.

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ERRATUM

The typesetters of the English language edition of *WMR* would like to apologise for an error which appeared in the January 1987 issue of the journal. On page 11, the penultimate paragraph should have read, "Because of this now unavoidable comparison, there is a dramatic decrease in anti-Sovietism among the American people."

We apologise for any confusion our error may have caused.

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LENIN: "WE HAVE MADE A START"

From the Article "Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution"

IT is a tradition of the communist movement to turn, again and again, from the viewpoint of current realities, to the experience of the October Revolution, consolidating and following up on its accomplishments, ideas and revolutionary motives. In this experience, Marxist thought singles out primarily that which is necessary today for direct practical work. This is how different junctures of history keep up links that are alive, vibrant, extremely dynamic and dialectical and that constantly highlight their new facets.

Learning lessons from the past for the benefit of the present implies that the experience in question is taken in all its specific historical context, and that attention should be focused not only on the end result but also on the path that has been traversed, with all its difficulties, contradictions and efforts to correct mistakes and shortcomings. In other words, the Communists' feeling of pride in their history-making achievements is intertwined organically with self-critical assessment, the way Marxism-Leninism demands. This was exactly the approach Lenin displayed in analysing the significance of the first victorious socialist revolution, the experience of the Communists. This analysis is a model of the critical revolutionary method used to grasp the meaning of current realities in close connection with history.

On October 18, 1921 the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda* published Lenin's article 'Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution'. Marking Lenin's birthday this year, the year of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, *World Marxist Review* has decided to draw the attention of our readers to this article. The realities dealt with in it are those of the early 1920s and, of course, differ completely from the realities of the latter half of the 1980s. But the generations of Communists seek to exploit and advance in the new era the political approaches which correctly resolved the problems of that time. The moral and political atmosphere of those years is consonant with our age, promoting the development of powerful motives of the communist movement in the struggle for the ideals of the October Revolution.

By reprinting the main points of Lenin's article, *World Marxist Review* is opening a series of features devoted to the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution.

THE fourth anniversary of October 25 (November 7) is approaching.

The farther that great day recedes from us, the more clearly we see the significance of the proletarian revolution in Russia, and the more deeply we reflect upon the practical experience of our work as a whole.

Very briefly and, of course, in very incomplete and rough outline, this significance and experience may be summed up as follows.

The direct and immediate object of the revolution in Russia was a bourgeois-democratic one, namely, to destroy the survivals of medievalism and sweep them away completely, to purge Russia of this barbarism, of this shame, and to remove this immense obstacle to all culture and progress in our country.

And we can justifiably pride ourselves on having carried out that purge with greater determination and much more rapidly, boldly and successfully, and, from the point of view of its effect on the masses, much more widely and deeply, than the great French Revolution over one hundred and twenty-five years ago.

Both the anarchists and the petty-bourgeois democrats (i.e., the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, who are the Russian counterparts of that international social type) have talked and are still talking an incredible lot of nonsense about the relation between the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the socialist (*that is*, proletarian) revolution. The last four years have proved to the hilt that our interpretation of Marxism on this point, and our estimate of the experience of former revolutions were correct. We have *consummated* the bourgeois-democratic revolution as nobody had done before. We are *advancing* towards the socialist revolution consciously, firmly and unswervingly, knowing that it is not separated from the bourgeois-democratic revolution by a Chinese Wall, and knowing too that (in the last analysis) *struggle alone* will determine how far we shall advance, what part of this immense and lofty task we shall accomplish, and to what extent we shall succeed in consolidating our victories. Time will show. But we see even now that a tremendous amount — tremendous for this ruined, exhausted and backward country — has already been done towards the socialist transformation of society.

... In order to consolidate the achievements of the bourgeois-democratic revolution for the peoples of Russia, we were obliged to go farther; and we did go farther. We solved the problems of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in passing, as a 'by-product' of our main and genuinely *proletarian*-revolutionary, socialist activities. We have always said that reforms are a by-product of the revolutionary class struggle. We said — and proved it by deeds — that bourgeois-democratic reforms are a by-product of the proletarian, i.e., of the socialist revolution. Incidentally, the Kautskys, Hilferdings, Martovs, Chernovs, Hillquits, Longuets, MacDonalds, Turatis and other heroes of 'Two-and-a-Half' Marxism were incapable of understanding *this* relation between the bourgeois-democratic and the proletarian-socialist revolutions. The first develops into the second. The second, in passing, solves the problems of the first. The second consolidates the work of the first. Struggle, and struggle alone, decides how far the second succeeds in outgrowing the first.

The Soviet system is one of the most vivid proofs, or manifestations, of how the one revolution develops into the other. The soviet system provides the maximum of democracy for the workers and peasants; at the same time, it marks a break with *bourgeois* democracy and the rise of a *new*, epoch-making *type* of democracy, namely, proletarian democracy, or the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Let the curs and swine of the moribund bourgeoisie and of the petty-bourgeois democrats who trail behind them heap imprecations, abuse and derision upon our heads for our reverses and mistakes in the work of building up *our* Soviet system. We do not forget for a moment that we have committed and are committing

numerous mistakes and are suffering numerous reverses. How can reverses and mistakes be avoided in a matter so new in the history of the world as the building of an unprecedented *type* of state edifice! We shall work steadfastly to set our reverses and mistakes right and to improve our practical application of Soviet principles, which is still very, very far from being perfect. But we have a right to be and are proud that to us has fallen the good fortune to *begin* the building of a Soviet state, and thereby to *usher in* a new era in world history, the era of the rule of a *new* class, a class which is oppressed in every capitalist country, but which everywhere is marching forward towards a new life, towards victory over the bourgeoisie, towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, towards the emancipation of mankind from the yoke of capital and from imperialist wars.

The question of imperialist wars, of the international policy of finance capital which now dominates the whole world, a policy that must *inevitably* engender new imperialist wars, that must inevitably cause an extreme intensification of national oppression, pillage, brigandry and the strangulation of weak, backward and small nationalities by a handful of 'advanced' powers — that question has been the keystone of all policy in all the countries of the globe since 1914. It is a question of life and death for millions upon millions of people. It is a question of whether 20,000,000 people (as compared with the 10,000,000 who were killed in the war of 1914-1918 and in the supplementary 'minor' wars that are still going on) are to be slaughtered in the next imperialist war, which the bourgeoisie are preparing, and which is growing out of capitalism before our very eyes. It is a question of whether in that future war, which is inevitable (if capitalism continues to exist), 60,000,000 people are to be maimed (compared with the 30,000,000 maimed in 1914-1918). In this question, too, our October Revolution marked the beginning of a new era in world history. The lackeys of the bourgeoisie and its yes-men — the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, and the petty-bourgeois, allegedly 'socialist', democrats all over the world — derided our slogan 'convert the imperialist war into a civil war'. But that slogan proved to be the *truth* — it was the only truth, unpleasant, blunt, naked and brutal, but nevertheless the *truth*, as against the host of most refined jingoist and pacifist lies . . .

For the first time in hundreds and thousands of years that slogan has grown from a vague and helpless waiting into a clear and definite political programme, into an effective struggle waged by millions of oppressed people under the leadership of the proletariat; it has grown into the first victory of the proletariat, the first victory in the struggle to abolish war and to unite the workers of all countries against the united bourgeoisie of different nations, against the bourgeoisie that makes peace and war at the expense of the slaves of capital, the wage-workers, the peasants, the working people.

This first victory is *not yet the final victory*, and it was achieved by our October Revolution at the price of incredible difficulties and hardships, at the price of unprecedented suffering, accompanied by a series of serious reverses and mistakes on our part. How could a single backward people be expected to frustrate the imperialist wars of the most powerful and most developed countries of the world without sustaining reverses and without committing mistakes! We are not afraid to admit our mistakes and shall examine them dispassionately in order to learn how to correct them. But the fact remains that for the first time in hundreds and thousands of years the promise 'to reply' to war between the slave-owners by a revolution of the slaves directed *against* all the slave-owners *has been completely fulfilled* — and is being fulfilled despite all difficulties.

We have made the start. When, at what date and time, and the proletarians of which nation will complete this process is not important. The important thing is that the ice has been broken; the road is open, the way has been shown.

. . . *The first Bolshevik revolution* has wrested the first hundred million people of this earth from the clutches of imperialist war and the imperialist world. Subsequent revolutions will deliver the rest of mankind from such wars and from such a world.

Our last, but most important and most difficult task, the one we have done least about, is economic development, the laying of economic foundations for the new, socialist edifice on the site of the demolished feudal edifice and the semi-demolished capitalist edifice. It is in this most important and most difficult task that we have sustained the greatest number of reverses and have made most mistakes. How could anyone expect that a task so new to the world could be begun without reverses and without mistakes! But we have begun it. We shall continue it. At this very moment we are, by our New Economic Policy, correcting a number of our mistakes. We are learning how to continue erecting the socialist edifice in a small-peasant country without committing such mistakes.

The difficulties are immense. But we are accustomed to grappling with immense difficulties. Not for nothing do our enemies call us 'stone-hard' and exponents of a 'firm-line policy'. But we have also learned, at least to some extent, another art that is essential in revolution, namely, flexibility, the ability to effect swift and sudden changes of tactics if changes in objective conditions demand them, and to choose another path for the achievement of our goal if the former path proves to be inexpedient or impossible at the given moment.

Borne along on the crest of the wave of enthusiasm, rousing first the political enthusiasm and then the military enthusiasm of the people, we expected to accomplish economic tasks just as great as the political and military tasks we had accomplished by relying directly on this enthusiasm. We expected — or perhaps it would be truer to say that we presumed without having given it adequate consideration — to be able to organise the state production and the state distribution of products on communist lines in a small-peasant country directly as ordered by the proletarian state. Experience has proved that we were wrong. It appears that a number of transitional stages were necessary — state capitalism and socialism — in order to *prepare* — to prepare by many years of effort — for transition to communism. Not directly relying on enthusiasm, but aided by the enthusiasm engendered by the great revolution, and on the basis of personal interest, personal incentive and business principles, we must first set to work in this small-peasant country to build solid gangways to socialism by way of state capitalism. Otherwise we shall never get to communism, we shall never bring scores of millions of people to communism. That is what experience, the objective course of the development of the revolution, has taught us.

And we, who during these three or four years have learned a little to make abrupt changes of front (when abrupt changes of front are needed); have begun zealously, attentively and sedulously (although still not zealously, attentively and sedulously enough) to learn to make a new change of front, namely, the New Economic Policy. The proletarian state must become a cautious, assiduous and shrewd 'businessman', a punctilious *wholesale merchant* — otherwise it will never succeed in putting this small-peasant country economically on its feet. Under existing conditions, living as we are side by side with the capitalist (for the time being capitalist) West, there is no other way of progressing to communism. A wholesale merchant seems to be an economic type as remote from communism as heaven from earth. But that is one of the contradictions which, in actual life, lead from a small-peasant economy via state capitalism to socialism. Personal incentive will step up production; we must increase production first and foremost and at all costs . . . We have already started the necessary changes in our economic policy and already have some successes to our credit; true, they are small and partial, but

nonetheless they are successes. In this new field of 'tuition' we are already finishing our preparatory class. By persistent and assiduous study, by making practical experience the test of every step we take, by not fearing to alter over and over again what we have already begun, by correcting our mistakes and most carefully analysing their significance, we shall pass to the higher classes. We shall go through the whole 'course', although the present state of world economics and world politics has made that course much longer and much more difficult than we would have liked. No matter at what cost, no matter how severe the hardships of the transition period may be — despite disaster, famine and ruin — we shall not flinch; we shall triumphantly carry our cause to its goal.

With and For the People

Petr Dyulgerov — CC Political Bureau
alternate member, BCP Chairman, Central
Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions

ELECTIONS to production self-management bodies were held in Bulgaria at the close of last year. This was the first democratic action of its kind in the country and it covered the entire economy. The question of who was to be a director or a team leader, and who was to be a member of an enterprise's economic council or of a team council was decided by the people themselves. Failing to receive the required two-thirds majority vote, 117 directors and 1,134 team leaders nominated to their posts were not elected.

This is only one example characterising our changing reality. *The essence of the changes is to ensure further democratisation, the transition to self-management. In Bulgaria today we are comprehensively restructuring the social system and going over to a new stage of the socialist society.*

There has been a fundamental renewal of the whole of Bulgarian society during the years of socialist construction. A strong economy has been built up and its structure is consistent with the main directions of scientific and technological progress and allows participating in the international division of labour. The republic's basic production assets are valued at 74 billion leva, or 18,500 leva in terms of per working person.

Priority has been given to the development of heavy engineering, power engineering, the chemical industry, steelmaking, and electronics. A high level of concentration and specialisation has been reached in agriculture, which now has a modern material and technical basis and produces half as much again as needed for domestic consumption.

The following figures show the dynamics of our progress: compared with the prewar level the national income has increased 14-fold and the aggregate social product has risen 22-fold (89-fold in industry and three-fold in agriculture). Ninety per cent of the national income comes from export-oriented economic activity.

All of this is indicative of massive socio-economic and cultural progress in Bulgaria. Of course, we have also had problems and have made mistakes. But our successes are self-evident. They corroborate that the BCP's policies have been

Petr Dyulgerov (b. 1929) — from 1962 Secretary and then First Secretary of the Blagoevgrad District Committee of the BCP, from 1976 editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Rabotnichesko delo*, from 1977 head of the Organisation Department and the CC Secretary of the BCP, and from 1981 CC Political Bureau alternate member of the BCP and Chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions.

correct and are of historic significance. For that reason the current radical reform of the economy and the society on the whole by no means belittles what has been achieved.

The task today is to move towards the programme targets charted by the party and, for this purpose, to use the means consistent with the qualitatively new stage of development and the qualitatively new character of our society's perspectives. Such are the dialectics of progress. The objective need for changes was prompted also by emerging contradictions that could only be surmounted by a new strategy, by new attitudes and mechanisms creating the conditions and potentialities for accelerating socio-economic development.

The aim of this restructuring is to move from the principles of main centralised economic administration and management to the principles of democracy so as to enhance the economic autonomy of enterprises.

Our experience is that at previous stages of socialist construction such centralised approach was vital to ensure the reorganisation and industrialisation of the entire economy, the creation of an advanced economic structure, and the prompt fulfilment of crucial social tasks. But at the present stage when there is a single form of property and the productive forces have reached a relatively high level excessive centralisation has objectively become a constraint on progress. Contradictions and negative factors appeared such as the alienation of working people from public property, a decline of their interest in the effective use of the economic potential, a slackening of mass initiative and activity, and an inadequate account of some objective factors,

Our party has made a timely analysis of these contradictions and negative factors and of society's requirements, and on that basis it has mapped out an integral strategy for building a mature socialist society. Founded on objective laws, this strategy has been profoundly, all-sidedly interpreted in the works of Todor Zhikov, General Secretary of the BCP Central Committee. It envisions:

- a massive retooling of the material and technical basis with the use of the most effective achievements of the scientific and technological revolution;

- the creation of a coherent system of levers and mechanisms for transferring the relationship between the state and the enterprise facilities to an economic basis, and the formation of new links between personnel and the means of production, between work collectives, and between individual participants in the production process;

- the formation of a system of self-management bodies in work teams and at enterprises, combines, and associations.

This course is aimed at getting millions of working people, administration and management bodies, and each person to develop a committed, conscious attitude to socialist property, making effective use of this property, and introducing scientific and technological breakthroughs.

This restructuring has been going on in Bulgaria for several years. In accordance with the new concept, we had to compile normative documents and develop and use working mechanisms as the basis for planning, organising production, forming and distributing incomes, and constructing social policy and labour relations. We had to bring society's entire political organisation and the management system into line with the strategy of furthering scientific and technological revolution and of going over to self-management. The rights and functions of central state bodies and self-managing organisations had to be delineated and new forms of relations established between them. A key role is played in this by the Labour Code and the Instructions for Economic Activity,¹ which lay down norms regulating the character of the changes.

Until only recently every enterprise, every economic enterprise was handed

down its assignment from the relevant higher body for the output of a specified volume and range of goods. For all practical purposes there could be initiative from below only within the framework marked out in advance. *We are now going over to a model in which economic influence from the centre is combined with wider autonomy and enhanced initiative by work collectives in the entire cycle of the reproduction process — planning and organising production, distribution, marketing, and the introduction of scientific and technological innovations.* A transition from one model to another, it represents a qualitative change accompanied by objective and subjective difficulties, conflict situations, and even resistance from a section of cadres, who are incapable of readjustment.

Difficulties of a different type are also encountered. On the one hand, the creation of the economic and political conditions to facilitate scientific and technological progress and self-management is a long and contradictory process. It is important to develop the most effective levers and mechanisms for influencing social production by indirect economic methods rather than by directives, and to provide the political guarantees for the inviolability, application of and compliance with the new principles. *We regard delineating the functions of state and economic organs and striking a balance between their rights as the cornerstone of the democratisation of management.* This means establishing a new relationship between centralism and decentralisation; much of the authority of central departments linked to operational leadership of the economy is passing now to self-managing organisations and work collectives. But in practice some government agencies are trying to restore their former powers, nullify the rights granted to enterprises and collectives, and continue managing the latter's resources and funds.

On the other hand, it is not easy for self-managing organisations and work collectives to enter into a new role. To get rights is one thing, but to exercise them is another. It is important that there should be internal mechanisms of self-management so that executives and millions of working people could use them in their work, acquire new knowledge, work styles, and expertise. This, too, requires time and considerable effort.

However, the most important step has been taken — *we have a clear-cut strategy defining the tasks for building the material and technical basis of a developed socialist society, the ways and means of restructuring social relations, and the forms and methods of involving the working people in the scientific and technological revolution and in self-management.*

All this puts the Bulgarian trade unions in a new situation. It raises fundamental questions of their place and role in this renewal, of their functions and the content of their work, and of their relations with party, governmental, economic, and self-managing organisations.

The trade unions unquestionably remain a school of economic administration management. But the content of their work and of their role as a school for millions of people is undergoing a fundamental change. Formerly, their work was chiefly to mobilise the people for the attainment of planned targets defined by the centre. This left little scope for drawing the people into management and promoting their initiatives and activity, and for the performance by the trade unions of their protective and representative functions. Their possibilities are now objectively growing. This is linked to the bigger role accorded to the working people themselves in social development and to the dramatic changes in the sphere of labour where the trade unions are the largest public organisation of democratic action,

What, it may be asked, are the role and place of the trade unions under conditions of self-management? The work collective now has considerable rights and the economic resources for such management. It is precisely the collective,

uniting the entire personnel on the basis of common interests and purposes, that enters into economic relations with the state, participates in planning, autonomously organises production, allocates finances to meet economic and social requirements, and bears the responsibility for the end result. Thus, many of the activities that hitherto had been within the realm of the trade unions are now being taken over by the collective.

One may get the impression that as a consequence the boundaries of trade union influence are narrowing, but this is only a first impression. Actually they are widening, and the forms and methods used by the trade unions in their work are growing more diverse. *The essence and profundity of the changes are that the trade unions are moving from mobilising the people by exercising influence from without to organisational work in keeping with the people's interests and to the creation of the prerequisites and conditions for self-management by the collective,*

That such a radical change was necessary was seen some years ago when the party began charting a new strategy. In the keynote speech at the BTU Ninth Congress in 1982 Todor Zhivkov said, "How will the role and functions of the Bulgarian trade unions grow when the role of the work collective comes to the fore? . . . What then remains for the trade unions to do? It must be said at once explicitly and categorically: these are the conditions under which the role of the trade unions escalates immeasurably."² He enlarged upon the view of the trade unions being the organisers of the work of the collective and its self-management bodies.

This is a fundamentally important theoretical proposition. It reveals the new content of the work of the trade unions at a stage when the whole of society is moving to self-management and shows the prospects of this work, the widening boundaries of trade union influence, and the increasingly stronger position of trade unions in decision-making at all levels of administration and management. This renews our notions, for we are witnessing a renewal of the subject of trade union activity and a shift of the relationship between trade unions and the other elements of the political system to a broader foundation. The Labour Code states: "The trade unions shall organise general meetings of personnel, elections to and the activities of collective administration and management bodies, and the training of workers for participation in such bodies. They shall participate in drawing up and adopting decisions of collective management and administration bodies, explain these decisions and control compliance with them."³

Thus, *the organisational function of the trade unions acquires a distinct and rich content, becoming the basic factor training working people for and involving them in administration and management.* Currently, the trade unions have the task of ensuring the conditions for self-management and turning the work collectives into effective masters of socialist property committed to its efficient use and development.

It is incumbent upon the work collective, above all, to prepare for self-management, to acquire the requisite schooling that will give it new experience, proficiency, and self-awareness as the subject of administration and management. Without such schooling it will not be able to plan, organise, regulate, and control its own work. *Collectives will have to learn to handle the problems that arise and meet their own interests within the economic conditions that are mandatory for the entire economy.* These guidelines, incorporated notably in the economic mechanism and the Labour Code, activate the interests of collectives and direct their work, but the choice of the ultimate targets and the ways and means of attaining them are the affair of the working people themselves. This, let me re-emphasise, presumes effectual preparation.

It is important to ensure the implementation of the new principles and forms of

relations between the collective as manager and the state as owner, between the team and the enterprise. This means establishing the language and mechanism for a dialogue in defining and receiving production orders from the state, and in concluding and fulfilling economic contracts as the basic form of regulating production and marketing output, with the use of elements of contest in the investment process, and so on. It is necessary to learn to draw up plans and acquire expertise in cost accounting, self-financing, and forming and distributing the wages and social funds, and in defining the legal capacity of collective bodies. This is a wide field of activity for the trade unions.

Moreover, the trade union organisational functions include creating the conditions and guarantees for self-management by work collectives. The past few years have shown that this is a highly significant and complex task. As I have already pointed out, the conditions for self-management are formed in the centre through the economic mechanism, which defines the general 'rules of the game'. For their part the trade unions are not confined to their role of organiser. They share in working out the principles of self-management, delineation of rights and duties, and the relations between governmental agencies and self-managing organisations. These are, essentially, relations of interest, and the trade unions participate in regulating them by virtue of their functions of expressing simultaneously public, collective, and individual interests. The powers of the trade unions in this sphere are institutionalised in the Labour Code: *"Normative acts concerning labour, social insurance, and living conditions shall not be drawn up and adopted without the participation of the organs of the trade unions."*⁴

A conflict between the interests of the sides sometimes surfaces as early as at the stage of drawing up normative documents and, particularly, of forming the new economic mechanism. As a social factor, the trade unions of Bulgaria help to settle these conflicts, harmonise various interests, and ensure the conditions for self-management.

In ensuring conditions for self-management the work of the trade unions covers all levels — from the government down to the team. The Labour Code enables the trade unions to participate directly in drawing up 'internal rules' concerning wages, cost accounting, the use of social funds, and the work schedule.

The assertion of anything new in social practice is invariably accompanied by miscalculations and, now and then, transgressions. Established principles are not applied in their entirety or quite correctly; there are instances in which these principles are disregarded or even bent. This happens when state agencies impinge upon the rights of enterprises and collectives, while the latter do not undertake or do not fulfil commitments to the state. In such cases the trade unions protect the new principles of administration and management regardless of who is in violation of them.

Under socialism the principal function of the trade unions is to organise and promote the initiatives and activity of the masses in managing social production. While formerly use was made mainly of moral-political means, which presumed exercising an influence on the collective from without, today these are chiefly economic means directly linked to the interests of the working people.

The collective cannot dispense with a public organiser in carrying out its new role of both master and self-managing entity, and also in the functioning of self-management bodies. As for the trade union, its business is not to take decisions for the collective but to help it adopt decisions by itself, bear responsibility and act as the true master. Trade unions of Bulgaria organise the work of self-management bodies and ensure that they are democratic, that their rights are not violated and their will is not supplanted, and that there are public guarantees for the exercise of legal powers. For this purpose it was necessary to revamp the structure of the entire

trade union system. The trade unions have to act inside the collective, for the collective, and through the collective. This reorganisation has now been in the main completed.

The representative function of the trade unions is widening. This function is now acquiring growing significance because all relationships, horizontally and vertically, reflect explicit interests. Under the single and indivisible public property in the means of production, self-management cannot be isolated from state administration. From this emanates *the objective need for interaction between work collectives and the central and local authorities, and also between the self-managing organisations themselves in the course of which dialogue and the contractual element are realised, and the problems, demands, and viewpoints of collectives and working people are taken to a higher level.* The Labour Code says: "... The trade unions shall represent the interests of workers and work collectives before state agencies and public organs and organisations."⁵

This is more than a representative function. Opportunely and competently, the trade unions generalise the problems that have arisen, draw up concrete recommendations, projects, and forecasts and submit them to the relevant authority and, if necessary, bring pressure to bear on it. For this purpose there now are trade union partner-bodies throughout the economic structure and the organisational mechanism to pass on problems from bottom up, chiefly along the line of branch trade unions. Thus, *the trade unions are becoming a major conduit of reverse communication, a feedback and a factor of public interaction.*

The switch to intensive development requires, above all, a reorientation of the people's perception of scientific and technological progress. In a socialist society the trade unions see the scientific and technological revolution as a powerful ally in carrying out the central tasks of our social revolution in order to ensure the fullest satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements. Under conditions where work collectives have independent resources and the right to pass decisions related to the growth of production, the trade unions of Bulgaria bear a considerable responsibility in this area as well. They make sure there are economic incentives for the working people to join actively in the drive for scientific and technological progress and remove the bureaucratic obstacles inhibiting initiative and socialist resourcefulness. In this respect, too, the Labour Code gives the trade unions wide powers and defines the corresponding duties.

The scientific and technological revolution poses qualitatively new social problems. Advanced technologies are changing the character, content, and conditions of work, as well as the structure of employment. As a result, people are confronted with the necessity of re-training, changes take place in the relations between workers, and the moral climate in work collectives is affected. This has particularly great relevance today, for it concerns the social base of the trade unions and their basic function — concern for the working people and protection of their interests.

Socialism is a humane society, and concern for people is central and basic to it. Does this mean that socialism automatically safeguards itself against negative consequences of the scientific and technological revolution? Of course not. But our system's advantage over capitalism is that we can use the positive aspects of that revolution and neutralise its negative aspects. Naturally, this involves considerable work in prognostication and planning, and the simultaneous solution of technological and human problems.

On this matter the Bulgarian trade unions have a clear position: at the level of enterprises and on the scale of the entire country every technological project must be accompanied by a social project spelling out solutions to the problems generated by the use of innovations. That is why special attention is given to the questions of

re-training and employment. This matter is dealt with in the Labour Code, which delineates the tasks in protecting employment and affirms that all the concern and expenditures for these purposes are borne by the state.

The Bulgarian trade unions have wide possibilities and use diverse forms of influence for giving every working person a stake in scientific and technological progress. There is now a system for encouraging production innovators and inventors, participants in mass technical creative work, teams speeding up the introduction of scientific and technological achievements, and so on. The trade unions organise socialist emulation and help to spread advanced technology developed in our country and abroad.

A major aspect of the functions of trade unions is to draw the people into the scientific and technological revolution and work with new categories engaged mainly in intellectual activity.

Self-management and scientific and technological progress are reshaping the content of the social-protective function of the trade unions. First, the economic autonomy of enterprises is offering more possibilities for resolving social problems. The work collectives have their own social fund composed of deductions from the profits of enterprises. This fund is formed and used on the recommendations of the relevant trade union committee and collective management body. This allows satisfying many requirements, improving the people's dietary housing, and the conditions at the workplace, and organising rest and cultured leisure. In other words, the trade unions have the material resources for wide-ranging social programmes. For instance, they independently provide holiday accommodation for 2,500,000 persons annually, and in the immediate future such accommodation will be available to all who desire it. Housing construction is expanding as is the network of polyclinics, shops, and dressmaking and tailoring units located on the territory of enterprises, and more material resources are being placed at the disposal of pre-school establishments, cultural facilities, and sports and tourist centres.

Second, the character and dimensions of protection of the rights of working people are changing. The law gives the Bulgarian trade unions the authority to exercise comprehensive control everywhere in compliance with labour legislation, and protect individual, collective, and public interests. For instance, in ensuring labour safety in the process of the retooling of enterprises, the trade unions control designing and construction, as well as the installation and exploitation of production capacities. They are empowered to reject designs, forbid the installation of capacities, and halt the operation of enterprises and machines. With the relations between the state and the enterprises, between the enterprises and their individual units becoming relations of interest, the trade union's protective function is expanding, for otherwise it will not be able to discharge its duties. The trade unions uphold legality and, jointly with self-management bodies, settle any disputes that may arise. Thus, *the traditional trade union function of protecting the rights of the working people now spreads to cover the interests of collectives and society as a whole.*

I should like to note that the radical changes taking place in our life are making it necessary to upgrade and enrich the entire work of the trade unions. Of course, nothing comes ready-made and complete. We are doing everything to contribute effectively to scientific and technological progress and to firm-up socialist self-management.

¹ The new system of economic management and social administration, formalised in these documents, became effective in January 1987. Many of its elements had been tested in practice for a number of years and have already become widespread. — Ed.

² Todor Zhikov, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, Sofia, 1984, p. 155 (in Bulgarian).

³ *Labour Code*, Art. 43, Sofia, 1986, p.24 (in Bulgarian).

⁴ *Ibid.*, Art. 36, p. 22.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Art. 5, p. 8.

Three Revolutions

Yong Hyong Muk — Political Bureau member, Central Committee Secretary, Workers' Party of Korea (WPK)

THE struggle to build socialism and communism is a sacred cause. It is waged to free working people from exploitation and oppression and to ensure an independent and creative life for man as the master of nature and society. Creating a new social system, the working class party and the popular masses tackle one difficult task after another at different stages of the revolution.

The experience of the international communist movement shows that in each country, the conditions and course of the drive to establish the socialist system or to launch its construction display their distinctive social and historical features. In some countries, where an industrial revolution has already occurred, the stage of capitalist development is in the past. The position of others is that of extremely backward colonies and semi-colonies. All this demands that the parties and the peoples, the masters of revolution, display responsibility and a creative spirit.

Guided by the ideas of Juche¹ which emerged and developed in People's Korea as the ideological and theoretical wealth of Marxism-Leninism was defended and translated into reality, our party has worked to elaborate its strategy and tactics, has been leading the popular masses and carrying out the Korean revolution.

By the time it threw off, in 1945, the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism which had lasted for almost four decades, Korea was lagging far behind other countries in economic and technological development, as well as in ideological and cultural terms. The savage policy of imperialist pillage prevented our national industry from growing adequately, and even the handicrafts declined. Feudal relations of production persisted in rural areas, and the agricultural productive forces were in medieval shape. An absolute majority of Korea's population was non-proletarian. Illiteracy reigned supreme. There was virtually no trained indigenous personnel, particularly in the field of technology.

Aside from the revolutionary tasks of transforming the old social system, our people were to tackle other complex problems and decisively overcome the backwardness they inherited from the past in all fields — in politics, in the economy, in ideology and culture. *A social revolution ends class domination and the oppression of the popular masses. In order to throw off the shackles of the old ideology, technology and culture, three revolutions had to be started in these fields.*

After the country's liberation, the Workers' Party of Korea moved without delay to demolish the colonial rule apparatus of Japanese militarism, established popular government and, using it as a tool, carried out an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic revolution in the northern part of the country aimed at eliminating the remnants of Japanese imperialism, and consolidated a people's democratic system.

¹ Yong Hyong Muk (b. 1931), an engineer by training, served as deputy minister of mechanical engineering, deputy chief and chief of a department of the WPK Central Committee, and deputy premier of the DPRK Administrative Council (government). He has been a member of the People's Supreme Assembly (parliament) since 1967, and a member of the Central Committee since 1970. He is currently a member of the Political Bureau and a Secretary of the WPK Central Committee.

Subsequently, these accomplishments enabled the WPK to ensure the transformation of popular government into socialist government and to enter a period of transition to socialism.

With due regard for the salient features of the Korean situation, a distinctive course oriented on a socialist revolution was advanced: a change of the relations of production was to precede technological reconstruction. Unswerving pursuit of this course enabled the working people who rallied around the party to establish, within a short period of four to five years, the foundations of socialism. The exploiter class and the system it had devised to ruthlessly suppress the striving of the popular masses for independent development were swept from the scene of history. Having taken government and the means of production into their own hands, the working people became masters of society. This outstanding historic accomplishment marked a turning point in the Koreans' struggle for a new life, but it did not signify a complete victory of socialism.

This is what Kim John Il, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee Political Bureau and Secretary of the WPK Central Committee, wrote in this connection: "The revolution which began with the struggle to overthrow the old exploiter system and which is aimed at asserting the independence of the working class and the working popular masses, develops, in socialist society, into a struggle to eliminate the legacy of the old social order — ideological, technological and cultural backwardness — and reaches its completion in the course of this struggle."²

Socialism has radically changed the social position of the working people and asserted their role as vigorous masters of society. However, holdovers of the past persist long after this, impeding creative self-assertion of the masses and hampering progress. Rooted deep in human consciousness, obsolete notions curb revolutionary enthusiasm and may provide fertile soil for views that infiltrate the country from abroad and for the poison of reactionary bourgeois ideology. The backwardness of the productive forces in conditions of advanced social relations makes it impossible to do away with arduous manual labour and gives rise to inequities in production and in the social field. The cultural inertia of the past and ancient customs are the breeding ground of the old ideology and a factor that slows down education, restricts the people's creative abilities and hampers the realisation of their needs and of their striving for healthy life and cultural activities.

As a result, differences between urban and rural areas and between the working class and the peasants persist even after the socialist system takes root.

One cannot regard socialism as completely triumphant if there is continued operation of social factors that impede realisation of its vast advantages. Therefore, to secure the complete victory of socialism, it is important to keep up the struggle for overcoming the legacy of ideological, technological and cultural backwardness, for this legacy is the prime source of class and other differences and of social inequality.

Our country, which was asserting socialist relations of production in conditions of poorly developed productive forces and technology, faced the topical task of accelerating the technological revolution and of building the material and technical basis of socialism as soon as possible. The economic build-up is a cause for the masses to tackle. This also explains the need for vigorous action in the realm of the ideological and cultural revolutions. Having subjected the situation to a scientific analysis, Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the WPK Central Committee and President of the DPRK, formulated the task of three revolutions as the party's strategy in the building of socialism and communism. Kim Il Sung taught that "the three revolutions — the ideological, the technological and the cultural — are the prime content of the revolution to be carried out by the working class party after the establishment of the socialist system; they are the mission of the continuous revolution which will last until communism is built."³

Our experience shows that only by taking the path of the three revolutions will it be possible to overcome the bitter legacy of the past in Korea, ensure the complete sway of the working class in ideology, technology and culture and attain the definitive victory of socialism. The three revolutions are an important task which will be pursued in the course of the efforts to reach the higher stage in the building of communism.

We hold that *a society which has fully completed the transition from capitalism to socialism, entered the initial stage of communism and is gradually moving to its higher stage* can be regarded as a society where socialism has triumphed conclusively.

The complete victory of socialism is a momentous historic landmark in the struggle for self-assertion of the Korean working people. Naturally, this fact does not imply a direct transition to the higher stage of communism at which the self-assertion of the popular masses could be realised as fully as possible.

With the complete victory of socialism, cooperative property in the means of production turns into property of the whole people; this erases the class-based differences between industrial workers and peasants, and society becomes classless. However, labour has not yet become the foremost vital need. Differences between work by hand and by brain still remain, as do disparities in the supply of material and cultural benefits. The productive forces have not yet grown sufficiently to adopt the practice of distribution according to the actual requirements, while the people's general educational level is not yet up to the communist ideal. This is precisely why we believe it necessary to continue the three revolutions in order to gradually complete the building of communism through the consolidation and development of fully triumphant socialism.

The three revolutions are being carried out differently from the revolution which established the socialist system. The method of revolutionary force is applicable in overthrowing the exploiter class and eliminating the exploiter system. At the stage of socialist construction, the principal method is to *reason, enlighten, explain and educate without alienating or overbearing the individual*. Overcoming the holdovers of the past is an effort conducted in the midst of the masses, the masters of the state and of society, and this effort is conducted by the working people themselves.

The method of the three revolutions is fully consonant with the essence of socialism in which comradely cooperation and unity are salient features. In our new society, everything is done for the popular masses, and people help one another on a collectivist basis. The policy of the party is in harmony with their will and striving to assert socialist and communist ideals as soon as possible.

We regard successful accomplishment of the three revolutions as the decisive factor guaranteeing the elimination of holdovers in ideology, labour and culture, the principal spheres of social activity, and in the efforts to mould the communist man. This ensures the shaping of a classless society through its transformation after the model of the working class and through the comprehensive realisation of communist principles. The struggle to eliminate the negative legacy of the past lasts long and takes different forms at every stage in the development of socialism.

Guided by the party, the effort to carry out the three revolutions has been going on successfully for over forty years now. In the wake of the country's liberation, General Secretary Kim Il Sung of the WPK Central Committee drew on a scientific analysis of the laws governing the struggle of the working class and the historical conditions to define the objectives and the content of the three revolutions at different stages of social development; he also moved vigorously to organise and lead the struggle for their accomplishment.

In the period of the democratic and socialist revolution, when the transformation of the old social system was the priority task, the three revolutions were aimed at

eliminating the colonial and feudal exploiter relations which were based on private property and at the establishment of new, socialist relations. Now that the socialist system has taken root, the three revolutions are being carried out to secure the complete victory of socialism. As Kim Il Sung noted, "the elimination of class-based differences and the building of a classless society through man's re-education and through the transformation of social relations along the lines of the working class is the principal task that must be tackled to attain the complete victory of socialism".⁴

Essentially, socialism is a society of the working class which is active in the building and development of this society. A society built according to the model of the working class we regard as advanced, full-fledged socialism. This is why we believe that, in terms of class relations, the complete victory of the socialist system means the *transformation of the economy, culture, ideology and morals to coincide with the model of the working class*. When the historic stage of the complete victory of socialism is reached, the purpose of the three revolutions will be to ensure the consistent and successful transformation of all society according to this model, to remove differences between classes and to build a classless society.

With due regard for the decisive role of consciousness in human activity and for the decisive importance of the masses' self-awareness in the revolutionary struggle, the WPK has invariably accorded priority to ideological work.

Man is the master of everything, and he decides everything. The popular masses are the masters of socialist society and the motive force of the revolutionary constructive efforts. Along with building a solid material and technical basis of a new society, it is important to educate and re-educate people, to mobilise the creative intellect and the revolutionary enthusiasm of the nation.

The ideological revolution is aimed at securing the definitive victory of socialism and communism over capitalism in human consciousness, at freeing all working people from all forms of oppression, and at transforming them into communist revolutionaries armed with the world-view of the working class. We see communist education and re-education as the most important task of socialist and communist construction.

By educating the working people in the spirit of Juche and of loyalty to the cause of the party and to revolutionary traditions, the WPK promotes collectivism, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism among the masses. The struggle against the old ideology is an integral part of ideological education. The party has infused revolutionary organisations with vigorous activity so that the working people could receive a revolutionary education and be steeled ideologically. The ideological revolution is closely combined with the practice of socialist construction: the party wants the masses to become even more steeled in the implementation of their tasks and to be fully committed to the revolutionary cause.

We attach unflagging attention to the cultural revolution. Its speedy accomplishment will enable the working people to develop their abilities, acquire profound knowledge of nature and society, raise the level of technology and rid themselves of the backward legacy.

In its efforts to raise the intellectual level of all society, the WPK works vigorously to promote the flourishing of literature, the arts, science, health care and physical culture. *Intellectualisation is a noble task of shaping all-round individuals of the communist type, with a broad range of interests at the level of a university graduate.*

Perfection of the education system is the principal course to be followed in the intellectualisation of all society. In the previous period, we launched a drive to implement the 'Theses on Socialist Education' elaborated by Kim Il Sung. The

theses explain the principles and methods to be used in promoting qualities such as self-assertion, creative activity, and commitment to social interests. Eleven years school education is compulsory in our republic. We have expanded the network of institutions of higher learning and the system of on-the-job training and evening courses.

Today, the republic boasts 230 colleges and universities and 260 higher technical schools. The country's cadre of experts comprises 1,200,000 researchers, engineers and experts armed with the ideas of Juche and with advanced knowledge. Relying on their talent and expertise, we are skilfully managing the economy and working to ensure intensive advancement of science and technology. Those who have not yet received a higher education keep up their studies which include on-the-job and evening courses. Having embraced the party's slogan of 'Studies for the Entire Party, the Entire People and the Entire Army', people are studying daily and hard and constantly improving their general educational level and their knowledge of culture and technology.

Tangible changes have occurred in literature and the arts. Many works of great ideological and artistic value have been created. They educate the people in the revolutionary spirit and mobilise them to build a new life. As a result of the efforts to implement the party's course of large-scale popular involvement in creative pursuits, modern cultural facilities have been built all over the republic, and the working people are true creators of literature and art.

The establishment of a new culture in everyday life and in production has helped the people to discard obsolete habits and to shape a socialist, collectivist way of life. The successes of the ideological and cultural revolutions have made holdovers of the old ideology and the no longer viable culture quite rare in our society. We are witnessing the rise of all-round people of the communist type who have mastered the advanced ideas of the working class and attained a high level of cultural and technological training.

Having rallied firmly around our party on the basis of a common ideology and will, the people of the DPRK are a powerful revolutionary force. The collectivist way of life has taken root in our society, people helping one another to cope with the tasks and to rise to a higher level. This demonstrates that our society is developing dynamically and that conditions for the complete victory of socialism are there.

Vigorous work to transform the environment and build up the socialist economy is a very important task of our advancement to the complete victory of socialism. Our country is tackling economic development tasks in the course of a fruitful struggle to subdue nature, free the masses from its yoke and ensure conditions for their creative self-assertion.

The party's correct economic development policy and orientation on a technological revolution has helped the country to complete socialist industrialisation within a short period and to lay a firm basis of an independent national economy. The economy is equipped with modern plant, and the structure of economic branches has been improved. The goals set by the party in this field are consonant with the actual tasks of securing the complete victory of socialism and accelerate their implementation.

The principal objective of the technological revolution at the present stage is to Jucheize⁵ the economy, modernise production and assert scientific methods of economic management and organisation. In implementing this course, the working people competently tackle the issues of supplying the country with raw materials and power from domestic natural resources and industrial capacities and consolidate the national economy by tapping latent reserves. Modern equipment is used everywhere, and the level of the productive forces is rising rapidly. Obsolete

plant is replaced with integrated mechanisation, automation and remote control systems. Modernisation is aimed above all at such key economic branches as mining, steel production, chemicals, construction, transport and communications.

Our party is waging the struggle to advance science and technology so as to put production and economic activity on a new footing. We are successfully solving scientific and technological problems by stepping up research and the introduction of its results into practical work. This enables us to vigorously promote the drive to Jucheize and reshape the economy.

Since the agrarian question plays an important role in the achievement of the complete victory of socialism and the creation of a classless society, the WPK has been attaching particular attention to the three revolutions in rural areas.

As noted earlier, the socialist revolution is a major turning point in the struggle of the working class for the abolition of classes. It removes the exploiters and thus overcomes the class-based antagonism which is the source of all social suffering. Two classes remain in socialist society — the working class and the cooperative farmers.

The abolition of class differences between workers and peasants arises as the foremost issue of social transformation in the period when the socialist system has become established. We hold that the creation of a classless society wholly depends on the way the agrarian question is solved.

With a view to its final solution, the party is working hard to implement the 'Theses on the Socialist Agrarian Question in Our Country', elaborated by Kim Il Sung. This document charts the way to the elimination of the ideological, technological and cultural backwardness of rural areas and to the transformation of cooperative property into property of all the people.

We have been actively conducting the ideological and the cultural revolutions in rural areas, striving to raise the peasants' ideological and cultural level and technological training to the higher, advanced mark of the working class. The rural technological revolution is also of great importance.

The country has long completed agricultural irrigation and electrification programmes, and the volume of agricultural produce has been growing steadily in spite of several years of abnormally adverse weather conditions. In consolidating the accomplishments of the technological revolution and transferring agricultural production to the industrial track, we strive to ensure its integrated mechanisation. Tractors, harvesters and other domestically produced agricultural machinery are supplied in great numbers. The introduction of chemicals into agriculture is developing at a high rate, and the deliveries of high-quality mineral fertiliser and pesticides geared to our soils and crops are growing. Progressive farming techniques and methods based on scientific findings are being applied vigorously.

As we advance, the party is steadily enhancing its leadership of the three revolutions. Taking the salient features of the current stage in the building of socialism into account, it has advanced the initiative of launching a movement of groups of the three revolutions. Such groups have been set up, comprising highly skilled party activists and young intellectuals. The party has sent them to various branches of the national economy.

Combining ideological and political leadership with scientific and technological guidance, the groups of the three revolutions are helping in the implementation of these revolutions at the local level. The record shows that this movement represents an effective method and a new form of directing the revolutionary creative efforts of the masses in the DPRK.

Expansion of the functions and enhancement of the role of the people's power⁶ are of particular importance in the efforts to carry out the three revolutions. Having profoundly analysed the place and role of representative bodies in socialist and

communist construction, the essence and the historically imperative nature of the three revolutions, and the interrelationship of the people's power and the three revolutions, Kim Il Sung advanced distinctive theses — 'Communism Equals the People's Power Plus the Three Revolutions' and 'The Banner of the People's Power and the Three Revolutions Is the Banner of Self-Assertion, the Banner of Socialism and Communism'. Guided by these theses and pursuing the party's course, the bodies of people's power conduct their activities effectively.

The people's power is a true champion of the working people's right to self-assertion, a political tool in the building of a new society. Only in conditions of such government can the masses become genuine masters of the state and of society, fully exercise their freedoms and rights, and work fruitfully for the benefit of the country. Consequently, it is important that the working class which has taken social management into its hands should consolidate state power and use it as a tool to promote the cause of the revolution and socialist construction.

As a drive belt, as the most comprehensive political organisation, the people's power can unite the masses in a single and close-knit whole and skilfully mobilise their creative potential for the accomplishment of the three revolutions. Our party strives to ensure that the bodies of people's power be invariably guided by this precept, that they improve administration, organisation and the availability of material and technical resources, that they uphold and promote the enthusiasm of the working people.

The successes scored in the moulding of the new man, in the transformation of society and of nature have consolidated and developed the socialist system in the DPRK. All our achievements prove that the party leads us the right way; it has singled out the three revolutions in its strategy. Members of the Workers' Party of Korea and the working people of our republic will continue to unswervingly pursue the three revolutions — the ideological, the technological and the cultural — as their foremost policy, and they will advance in firm and giant strides to the full victory of socialism and to the completion of communist construction.

The Korean Communists and our entire people have opened their hearts to the militant programme of further social development, advanced by Kim Il Sung in his speech at the first session of the Eighth DPRK People's Supreme Assembly (December 1986). Led by the WPK Central Committee, millions of working people are striving to accomplish the assignments of the first year in the current, third, seven-year period. Its goal is to achieve a decisive turn in the struggle for the complete victory of socialism. Nothing can defeat our society, armed with the ideas of Juche and monolithically united around the Workers' Party of Korea. Our people, who are fighting for socialism and communism have a bright future ahead of them.

The Korean revolution is an integral part of the world revolution, and the struggle of our people is developing in close connection with what is occurring on the international scene. The party and the people of our republic will continue to strengthen their solidarity with the peoples of the socialist countries and with the international working class; they will act in close unity with the communist and workers' parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and vigorously pursue the joint struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism, for peace, democracy, national independence and the victory of the cause of socialism.

¹ The following definition of this term is given in the DPRK: "The ideas of Juche mean that the popular masses are the masters of the revolution and construction and that they are the motive force of the revolution and construction." — *Ed.*

² Kim Jong Il, *Raise Higher the Banner of Marxism-Leninism and Ideas of Juche*, Pyongyang, 1984, p.13 (in Korean).

³ Kim Il Sung, *Works*, Vol. 30, Pyongyang, 1985, p. 537 (in Korean).

⁴ Kim Il Sung, *For the Complete Victory of Socialism*, Pyongyang, 1987, p. 8 (in Korean).

⁵ Make it as self-reliant as possible. — *Ed.*

⁶ Under the DPRK Constitution, the representative government bodies of the working people comprise the People's Supreme Assembly and the local people's assemblies at all levels. — *Ed.*

Anti-Communism in Neoglobalism

Rigoberto Padilla Rush — General Secretary, Communist Party of Honduras

The tendency to step up interference in the peoples' internal affairs and to revive 'first-law' in international relations has been clearly evident in imperialist policy since the early 1980s. The brazen interventions in Grenada and Lebanon, the piratical US air raids on Libyan cities, and the undeclared wars against the peoples of Nicaragua, Afghanistan and Angola are only a few signs of this tendency. Honduras offers another graphic example, for it is being used by the US militarists as a testing ground and bridgehead against the Nicaraguan people. The mounting aggressiveness of imperialism has its doctrinal expression in the concept of 'neoglobalism', now the basis of the US administration's foreign-policy strategy in the less developed countries. What are the ideological roots of this concept? What is its political substance? Which social forces does it serve?

THE first thing to note is the close continuity between neoglobalism and past imperialist policy. From this standpoint, it would be more aptly called 'retroglobalism' than 'neoglobalism', for it is a synthesis of the most reactionary foreign-policy concepts of US ruling circles, beginning with the Monroe Doctrine, which in the early part of the 19th century proclaimed Washington's 'right' to hegemony in the Western Hemisphere. It is, in effect, nothing but an attempt to revive and adapt to present-day conditions the long since obsolete forms of US imperialist ideology and policy, which originated when US ruling circles wedded their imperial ambitions to bellicose anti-communism.

The strategy which sprang from these components has been conducted, with various modifications, throughout the entire postwar period by the most diverse means, ranging from nuclear blackmail and hegemonistic intrigues in the United Nations, to the cobbling together of aggressive military blocs and the exercise of the functions of a 'world gendarme'. The potentialities for practising US imperial strategy were markedly reduced in the 1970s with the switch from the 'cold war' to détente against the background of such progressive changes as the consolidation of the positions of existing socialism, the growth of the national liberation movement, the final collapse of the imperialist colonial system, and the US defeat in Vietnam. The anti-imperialist process in Latin America unfolded in the same direction, with the mounting revolutionary upsurge and a marked weakening of the positions of pro-US reactionary regimes. A ramified system of inter-state cooperation emerged in the region without US participation, and it has largely operated independently of the United States, and often in defiance of it.

That is something the most reactionary, chauvinistic and militaristic circles of imperialism did not like, and an overtly aggressive hegemonistic foreign-policy programme was announced by their new man in the White House, who took the

presidential office in 1980. Its main purposes are to take revenge for the defeats suffered by imperialism, to weaken the positions of world socialism, to undermine the national liberation movement, and to erect barriers in the way of mankind's law-governed historical progress. For reaching these goals, militarisation, step-up of the nuclear danger, military-political confrontation with world socialism, and suppression of the forces of progress and democracy in the LDCs were chosen as the cardinal line.

Whereas the previous US administration, especially at the early stages of its term, relied above all on political methods, Reagan put his stake from the outset on armed forces as the main means for attaining superiority over the socialist world and bending the newly liberated countries to US imperialism. While announcing in early 1981 its campaign against 'international terrorism', Washington itself, in effect, switched to a policy of state terrorism. Ideologically, the campaign was to be a more aggressive form of anti-communism, as compared with Carter's 'defence of human rights' campaign.

But there was more to come. In 1983, the United States set in motion its 'Programme for Democracy and Public Democracy', which in practice amounted to direct intervention in the affairs of sovereign states. Appropriations for subversive special services went up high. A special group headed by the US Vice-President was set up to combat terrorism. The White House announced that it would go to any lengths in order to put the world 'in order', and that applied first of all to the 'backyard' of the United States: the Caribbean and Latin American countries. Cuba and Nicaragua topped the list of this policy's objectives. US 'aid' to the anti-popular regimes in Latin America and other regions was simultaneously stepped up. Finally, the President's State of the Nation address to the Congress in February 1985 announced the US intention to give overt support to thrusts by reaction everywhere, from Afghanistan to Nicaragua. In that way, the doctrine of neoglobalism was formalised as an officially sanctioned policy, staking out the grounds for interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states with the use of force, all the way to overthrowing the existing regimes.

The social meaning and political role of this doctrine come to light in the context of the contradictions which now determine the relations between imperialism and the LDCs. On the one hand, there is an intricate process of economic and social transformations in the life of the peoples which make up a majority of mankind, and the steadily growing influence of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America on world politics. On the other hand, the savage exploitation and plunder of the LDCs continue largely to keep the imperialist system going, and providing a source for financing its militarist preparations and for the social manoeuvring by monopolies. That is why the imperialists have tried so hard to block social progress in these countries. On his visit to India in late 1986, Mikhail Gorbachov said: "It is for this purpose that the concept of neoglobalism has been devised. In fact, it epitomises the policy of present-day colonialism and militarism."¹

In his speech Mikhail Gorbachov gave an apt description of neoglobalism, which we think, does much to help analyse the phenomenon. The transnational corporations (TNCs) are the material mainstay and strike force of neoglobalist policy, a mechanism through which the developed capitalist countries have been siphoning off the LDCs' national wealth and resources. There is hardly a mean trick that has not been used for the purpose: states have been incited against each other, and simmering conflicts inflamed; armed action and state terrorism have been mounted against unsuitable regimes; 'contras', separatists and terrorists of every stripe have been trained, armed and funded; economic blockades and debt bondage, from outside, and diverse political and ideological subversions and intrigues, interventions in internal political struggles and other attempts, from

inside, have been made to topple the progressive regimes.

All that is happening for every one to see in Central America, in South America, in the South of Africa, Southeast and South Asia and in small states. Such is neoglobalism in the raw. Everything else that is being said about neoglobalism is no more than ideological packaging. Having noted that, Gorbachov said: "Whether the younger states succeed in developing rapidly enough, in overcoming the difficulties inherited from the past and in tackling emerging challenges depends to a large extent on their ability to adequately resist neoglobalism, that principal evil standing in the way of global progress. On that will also depend the solution of the truly global problem of disarmament and development, with the related prospects for putting into practice the idea of a new world political and economic order."²

These evaluations and conclusions are fully borne out by the experience of our party, which works in a country that is one of the victims of neoglobalism. If Honduras, like other states in a similar situation, is to progress, it has to carry on a stiff fight against neoglobalism, aiming the main edge against anti-communism, with which the whole strategy of neoglobalism is shot through. There is every reason to call it a strategy of anti-communism framed in the context of the LDCs' problems. What then are the functions of anti-communism in this context?

First of all, it has the apologetic function of justifying and vindicating the essentially colonialist acts of neoglobalism. The current imperialist offensive against the LDCs' freedom and sovereignty is being carried on under the pretext of defence against some 'communist danger'. One can hardly find, for instance, an area of relations between the socialist and the Latin American countries in which the neoglobalists have not discovered signs of this 'danger'. They claim to see the 'insidious hand' of either Moscow or Havana everywhere, be it international trade, Soviet trawlers fishing for herring in the South Atlantic, or TV broadcasts of variety shows from the socialist countries. They discern 'interference' in any agreement on cooperation with Latin American countries, and in any act of socialist support for the fighting peoples of the region. Such fantastic inventions serve as an ideological screen for those who have trampled freedom in Grenada, and mounted a 'crusade' against the forces of progress in other Latin American countries.

Let us bear in mind that in order to back up their inventions, the anti-communists most frequently refer to the USSR's solidarity with the liberation movements. What could one say on this score? First, the CPSU and the Soviet government have always opposed any 'export of revolution', and have kept stressing that every revolution is each peoples' internal matter. Second, support of the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence is in complete accord with the modern norms of international law, which are written into official UN documents. Third, the USSR has never imposed any such support on anyone, and has always given it at the request of the legitimate representatives of the fighting peoples. Such is the CPSU's principled policy, which was reaffirmed by its 27th Congress. It is opposed to any attempts to interfere in the affairs of the LDCs, and helps to strengthen their independence and sovereignty, and promote their economic and social progress. That is, indeed, the main reason why anti-Sovietism has become the ideological spearhead of imperialism's neoglobalist strategy.

The 'hand of Moscow' inventions are designed to divert world public opinion from the real — imperialist — sources of intervention in the affairs of the LDCs. Political and military pressures on the revolutionary-democratic forces, in particular, implementation of the aggressive plans against Nicaragua, El Salvador, Libya, Angola and other countries, are being stepped up behind a screen of

anti-communism. Neoglobalism rests on a far-flung network of military bases and strongpoints: the United States has over 1,500 military installations in 32 countries, with over 500,000 officers and men stationed abroad.

Honduras is not the least important element of this system. There the United States has a number of military bases in key strategic areas, including Palmerola, where any combat aircraft can land; it has two radar stations and similar other installations. The logistics infrastructure for military operations is being enlarged. The virtually ceaseless exercises by the US army, navy and air force have become a new form of occupation. There are 1,000 US troops, and up to 1,700 officers and men in the most intense periods, at the Palmerola base alone. Since 1982, roughly 70,000 US troops have taken part in exercises on the territory of Honduras for the purposes of 'acclimatisation' in preparation for warfare in Central America. The Pentagon is effectively in control of our country. The commander of the US military base at Palmerola has more influence than the commander of the Honduran Armed Forces. The US embassy enjoys almost as much power as the government.

The thousands-strong bands of Somoza men concentrated in areas close to the borders of Nicaragua are also taking part in the country's occupation. Washington has created an additional instrument of pressure on Honduras ruling circles and the governments of other Central American states by increasing the numerical strength of the 'contras' contingents. The CIA has a special role, making use of terrorist methods, including the assassination of progressive leaders, incitement to ethnic, religious and communal conflicts, and organisation of economic sabotage in neighbouring countries.

Alongside the political and military instruments, ideological subversion, seen as a key means of propaganda back-up for imperialist strategy, is an important element of the neoglobalist arsenal. Washington seeks to tie in anti-communist propaganda with military and political action in the hope of restoring its moral prestige in the LDCs, turning public opinion in support of its aggressive line, and intensifying the brainwashing of the people in the spirit of anti-communism.

As the US tries hard to inflate international tensions generally, the LDCs are involved in regional conflicts, and have to pay the high price of a burdensome arms race which depletes their resources, makes them more dependent on Washington and so infringes their national sovereignty. Anti-communism simulates the militarisation of the LDCs, and that is yet another of its important functions in the strategy of neoglobalism.

These countries' total military expenditures have been growing even faster than those of the NATO bloc. Thus, Central America's stockpiles of military hardware has multiplied nearly 10-fold as the crisis situation is exacerbated. A total of nearly 6 per cent of the LDCs' gross national product is used for military purposes, only 1 per cent for public health, and 2.8 per cent for education. And here are the results: the average life expectancy in these countries is 17 years shorter than it is in the developed countries (30 years shorter in Central America); infant mortality is nearly 10 times higher; outlays on education per head are roughly 15 times lower.

Militarisation falls on the weak economies of the LDCs as a much heavier burden than it does on the economy of the industrialised countries. Military spending in the LDCs is a direct deduction from the already tiny share of their national income accumulation. Take my country: military spending absorbs nearly 10 per cent of its budget; since the late 1970s, the numerical strength of the armed forces has more than doubled. Against that background we find these appalling figures: one-third of Hondurans live in the most abject poverty; about 40 per cent of the able-bodied population are jobless; infant mortality is extremely high; 75 per cent of the children suffer from malnutrition; 54 per cent of the population is illiterate. That is

the price our people have to pay for the US interventionist games played under the pretext of 'fighting the communist threat'.

In the ideology of neoglobalism, anti-communism is given a messianic twist and is armed with the slogan of asserting 'freedom' all over the world, meaning, of course, freedom mostly for capital. The TNCs are the main vehicles of this mission. They have widely intruded into the economy of the LDCs, where they control some 50 per cent of manufacturing and foreign trade. Anti-communism is materialised in TNC activity; it seeks to increase its influence on these countries' policies, and has a direct impact on the social processes within them. Just how is that done?

The ideologists of imperialism lay emphasis on armed force, but they cannot but be aware that it is an uncertain stake socially. The record shows that the policy of violence, even when it helps reaction to triumph in some countries, is incapable of rooting out the social causes of revolutionary movements: following their temporary defeats they are inexorably restored and rise up again more powerfully. So, while resorting to violent methods, the strategists of neoglobalism simultaneously try to conduct a policy that would exert an influence on the conditions of social development among the peoples in a way that is favourable to imperialism, and to use 'peaceful' forms of struggle to suppress socialist tendencies in the LDCs. In that case, anti-communism is translated into what could be called 'positive programmes' designed to block the non-capitalist path of the peoples' development.

The monopolies, without any change in their exploitive nature, have been forced, for instance, to admit the need for some modernisation of the productive forces in the Third World, as otherwise it is impossible to entrench the capitalist sector. They have been trying to adapt to the peoples' urge to develop their national economy. Moreover, with the modern level of production, the TNCs' own interests require an improvement of the economic mechanism in the countries in which they operate. If capital is to be exported along government and private channels, definite conditions must be created for it to function in these countries. Those are some of the factors stimulating the extension of credit and technical aid. That is done in order to bolster capitalism where it has struck root, and to develop it where it is still weak. In this way the monopolies intend to pre-empt the progressive forces' initiative in putting through social reforms and to foist on them their own line of social development.

The TNCs have tried to formulate their own social policy in Latin America. They are so deeply embedded in the economic structures of the countries of our continent, and their interests are so intimately interwoven with those of the local oligarchy that they have now become an internal factor of social development in these countries that does something to tone down some contradictions between the foreign monopolies and the local bourgeoisie.

Neoglobalism allows support for various political forces representing it with the proviso that they must be inclined to anti-communism. Hence the cooperation between external and internal reaction, some mutual concessions from foreign and local capital, and compromises for the purposes of resisting the revolutionary movement. The ideologists of neoglobalism have stepped up their search for a common platform for a strategic alliance with the LDCs' privileged strata in order to stabilise capitalist relations and so also the relations of dependence. In Honduras, for example, these strata are represented by the most reactionary section of the National Party, which takes its orders from the US embassy.

That is the context in which we see the attempts of the USA to present itself as a

champion of 'democratisation' in the Caribbean and Central American countries, together with the demagogic campaign to convince Latin Americans that Washington had helped to overthrow the Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti, to install the civilian government in Guatemala, and carry out democratic changes in other countries of the region.

But whatever the trappings of imperialist policy, the record shows that it is always ultimately aimed against democracy and progress. The LDCs are economically dependent on international monopoly capital, and that is why their economy has functioned under the preponderant impact of the laws of capitalism, which keep reproducing the relations of exploitation and dependence. The TNCs' expansion merely serves to entrench these relations, because its main objective is to extract superprofit. Thus, the LDCs have been losing from \$50 billion to \$100 billion a year only as a result of TNC price manipulations. The US monopolies are the most savage exploiters: 8 of the 10 most gigantic TNCs in the world are US-based, and they have been taking away more than \$4.00 for every \$1.00 they invest in the less developed world, as compared with the \$2.40 monopoly average.

The LDCs have been sinking ever deeper into debt bondage: their external debt has reached the astronomical figure of \$1 trillion. Hardly anyone is now surprised at this paradox: from 1978 to 1984, Latin America made debt repayments equal to its entire debt at the end of that period, while the debt itself doubled, and by the end of that period, while the debt itself doubled, and by the end of 1985 had risen to nearly \$370 billion. Of that, Honduras has contracted about \$3 billion. That is a colossal debt holding more calamities in store for the four million people in a country with a budget of \$800 million.

Anti-communism, which feeds the neoglobalist policy of imperialism, has always been notorious for the use of brute force and demagogic scheming. This policy is being resisted by the progressive forces, with the socialist countries having an exceptionally important role. They invariably support the LDCs' legitimate struggle against imperialism's interventionist policy and TNC oppression, and for stronger national independence, and a restructuring of international relations on an equitable and democratic basis. The proposals put forward by the 27th Congress of the CPSU for a comprehensive international security system are most akin to the goals of this struggle, because they envisage measures to assert throughout the world each people's sovereign right to choose its own ways and forms of development, to provide effective guarantees against external attack, and to implement the principles of economic security. The non-aligned movement is an essential factor of resistance to the policy of neoglobalism, and that was made evident by last year's Eighth Non-Aligned Conference at Harare, which resolutely opposed the imperialist attempts to meddle in the affairs of the less developed countries.

The communist and workers' parties have an active role in fighting neoglobalism. We believe that the tasks in this struggle require the Communists to tie in more closely their efforts in defending national interests and beating back anti-communism, which has now been turned by imperialism into a global strategy. The Communist Party of Honduras, for its part, has been working to unite all democrats, patriots and revolutionaries in the country to win back our sovereignty and national dignity. The first thing, we believe, that needs to be done is to get the secret agreements with the United States abrogated, the US occupation troops withdrawn from Honduran soil, and the Somoza bands expelled. The Communists have consistently advocated respect for the letter and spirit of the Constitution of our Republic, the Hondurans' right to voice their will, take any action in defence of national sovereignty and democratic freedoms, and to advance the country along the way of progress.

In the spate of social disasters suffered by the peoples in the twentieth century, the calamities caused by anti-communism are among the most monstrous. The counter-revolutionary terrorism at the dawn of the Soviet power in Russia and then in other countries where revolutions had taken place; the predatory wars of the German fascists, and the Japanese militarists, the genocide in the suppression of national liberation movements by the colonialists in the postwar period — all of these are consequences of imperialist policy based on anti-communism. Neoglobalism is its extension in our day, a strand of the general line of imperialism in stepping up the nuclear-missile arms race, trying to rule the world, and exacting social clawback. That makes it all the more dangerous, and the struggle against it even more pressing.

¹ *Pravda*, November 28, 1986.

² *Ibid.*

the party

Gdansk Shipyard: Why The Workers Turned Away From 'Solidarity'

Wiktor Borcuch — First Secretary, PUWP
Committee, Lenin Shipyard at Gdansk

During the years of the political crisis in Poland the Gdansk Shipyard, one of the nation's largest industrial facilities, was the centre of ant-socialist forces. It was there that 'Solidarity', which provoked mass unrest, was most active. What is the situation at the shipyard like today and how are the Communists rebuilding the party's credibility among the workers? This is discussed by Wiktor Borcuch in an interview with a *WMR* staff member.

PEOPLE still ask me how it came about that the shipyard, long seen as symbolising the achievements of socialist Poland, became the location for the headquarters of enemies of our social system. Also, I am constantly asked about the present state of affairs at the shipyard and about its plans. For many people the situation at the shipyard is a gauge of the depth of the process of change in our country, and of whether we, the Communists, are coping with the tasks upon whose fulfilment the country's present and future depend.

At the Ninth Extraordinary and then at the Tenth Congress of the PUWP there was a principled discussion of the negative phenomena that in the 1970s gradually inflamed the political situation and aggravated the contradictions in society's life and in the economy. I shall not repeat all the assessments given in the documents of these congresses. But let me consider some of them, otherwise it will be difficult to

describe the problems our party organisation is encountering today.

The Polish Communists have substantively and self-critically analysed the mistakes that were made. Important lessons have been drawn from the past. Today, more than ever before, we understand the injury that may be caused to the party and the whole of society by misconceived strategic guidelines for the economy, in the first place, formulated without account for the actual level of economic development, the degree of maturity attained by socialist relations of production, and the consequences of miscalculations in foreign economic policy. It is now perfectly clear that we should not have closed our eyes to the contradictions that had been building up for years and spoken of a moral and political unity of the people before it had been actually achieved. As a result of our wishful thinking we drew farther away from our objective rather than moving closer to it.

When one thinks of what occurred in Poland, Lenin's words about Communists come to mind: nobody, he said, can discredit them if they do not discredit themselves. Enemies of the socialist system made a living off the errors that we made in the pre-crisis years on account of our digressions from the Leninist norms of party life. Formalism, bureaucratic practices, and window-dressing got pride of place in the work of the Communists. Party bodies and government authorities often side-stepped making decisions on actual problems. All of this played into the hands of our enemies. Communists did not always have the courage to face the truth, to see the reality of life. For that reason we were unable to be the first to identify the weak joints that were subsequently used by anti-socialist forces.

There were warning signals as early as 1970 that ferment had started among the Gdansk Shipyard workers, that there was discontent with the material, working, and living conditions. Matters reached the point of serious disorder, which spilled over into the city's streets. I had just come to the shipyard as a technologist and all of this took place before my eyes. The situation at the shipyard deteriorated again in 1976. It cannot be said that there was no response from the Communists. Moreover, the central party bodies and the government were kept informed. But they failed to find a solution that could defuse the tension.

Already then there was unmistakable evidence that elements hostile to socialism were becoming increasingly active, winning the support of workers, particularly young workers, and using the miscalculations in economic and social policy. But this was not given the necessary attention. It was wrongly believed at the time that in Poland the foundations of socialism were unshakable, that no more than transient difficulties had surfaced, and that the party was in control of the situation. We did not stop to think at the time of the reasons why Gdansk was becoming a centre of attraction for all sorts of political freebooters posing as champions of workers' interests.

By selecting the Gdansk Shipyard as the target of unrest, the adversary struck a psychologically accurate blow. At the beginning of the 1980s the shipyard had 17,000 workers and it was known nation-wide. The shipyard, as I have already noted, embodied the changes that were taking place in Poland. It was hard for people to imagine that it could generate anti-socialist impulses. It was felt that any actions started at the shipyard could only have the purpose of serving the workers, not of attacking the people's system.

All this was of no little importance for our adversary, especially in the beginning. Moreover, he counted on some other factors, which we failed to see for a long time. The leaders of the future 'Solidarity' calculated that at Gdansk's industrial enterprises, particularly the shipyard, they would find the most fertile soil for organising their actions. The modern Polish working class took shape mostly in the postwar years, and consisted chiefly of people from rural areas. As a result, the class socialist consciousness did not easily take root among the working people. On

top of this, in Gdansk there were some additional hindrances.

As an industry, shipbuilding emerged in Poland practically from scratch. It attracted people from all over the country. Not a single other city had such a large population increment consisting of new arrivals. This huge population increase gave rise to high economic growth but was accompanied by production and social problems. Because of the hard conditions in which shipbuilders worked, there was considerable personnel fluidity — a 20-25 per cent rate for many years. Of course, these people would have stayed at the shipyard if the working conditions had been improved, workers' families had been given housing and there was adequate accommodation at kindergartens and crèches. But the solution of these problems was dragged out from year to year. The social infrastructure developed very slowly.

Discontent grew, but the party organisation did not act with the determination needed to change the situation. Both the shipyard's party committee and management hoped largely for assistance from the central authorities and did very little themselves. It seemed as though the Communists were evading a discussion of the problems worrying people. The work collective seethed, but party meetings proceeded smoothly, along a set pattern in which everything was determined, regulated, and papered over in advance. Nobody criticised anybody, and there were no animated debates.

This was the situation not only in our party organisation. But at the shipyard, where year after year the work collective had to absorb a numerous replenishment consisting mostly of persons who had not settled down, did not easily adapt to new conditions, and were inclined to react sharply to any shortcomings, the enemy had a particularly large field for action. Here it was easier than elsewhere to mislead the workers, to direct their grievances into an anti-socialist channel.

Our enemies seized upon this opportunity. Under their influence the spontaneous actions that began at the shipyard on August 14, 1980, were gradually organised. The adversary quickly got a foothold among the workers. Persons wearing the armbands of strike organisers appeared on the territory of the shipyard on the very next day after the unrest erupted. On August 15 the workers were still demanding that unauthorised persons should leave the territory of the shipyard, saying that what they were doing was their own, internal affair. But these demands were silenced within a couple of days. The enemy's agitators had done their work well.

That was when Lech Walesa, whose name is associated with the formation of the 'Solidarity' union, appeared at the shipyard. He was accompanied by advisers who constantly whispered something to him, evidently prompting what he should say. In any case, that is what it looked like.

At first the strike initiators offered politically neutral slogans that were attractive in practical terms. One was: 'A 1,000-zloty pay rise for every worker'. But as soon as such slogans gathered support, they were replaced by others, this time politically targeted. At a later stage attempts were made to organise the baiting of Communists. There were cases of Communists being beaten up, insulted, or provoked into conflicts. The tense situation at the shipyard was not allowed to abate.

Our party organisation found itself face to face with a well-organised and energetic adversary. We did not look for assistance from without. I was secretary of a party group at the time. We endeavoured to work in the collective because we saw that most of those discontented were not enemies, that they had not lost their ability to reason, to weigh arguments. We spoke at the workplaces and this often had a good effect. But when many people who hardly knew each other gathered we found the going hard. Our adversaries preferred and skilfully manipulated such an audience.

The events of those years showed that the Polish Communists had lost the ability to address large audiences, especially when many among these audiences were unfriendly to them. The members of our party organisation lacked the quick wit and knowledge to conduct an open discussion, to sense the prevailing mood. Often we did not even know in what direction to act.

Today, a different situation prevails at the Gdansk Shipyard as in the country at large. It is still complex, but the crisis period has passed. In alliance with patriotic forces, our party changed the course of events, denying popular support to the anti-socialist opposition.

The Communists reconsidered, and very seriously at that, their ideological, political, and organisational work. The style and methods of leading bodies and primary organisations were modified. Today we say that "it is the same party but not like it was before". People are regaining their confidence in us for they can see that the Communists are looking for constructive solutions to economic and social problems, and taking steps to democratise all aspects of life, extend the rights of the working people, and give them a larger role to play in economic management and in the administration of public affairs.

There has been a striking change of mood at the shipyard. On the initiative of the 'Solidarity' leaders a monument in commemoration of the Gdansk events of 1970 was erected in 1980 at its gates near the control post. This was done with an obviously provocative purpose — to inflame the atmosphere and perpetuate the state of conflict that was lacerating Polish society. But the people are now seeing the monument in a different light, as a reminder that passions should not be allowed to prevail when the destiny of the nation is at stake. Let me relate the following episode.

One day in August 1982 Lech Walesa (he is still working at the shipyard, holding the job of electrician in the electric-car servicing department) demonstratively walked across the facility's entire territory with flowers to lay at the foot of the monument. He was joined by hundreds of people. In the next year there was only a sprinkling, in 1984 only a few individuals, while in 1985 he was left to his own lonesome self. So in 1986 he had to change his route and walk to the monument not from the shipyard but from the city in the company of a motley crew. Of shipyard workers, whose confidence Walesa boasts he has as he deals out interviews to Western correspondents, there was not a single one.

A few words about the 'underground Solidarity'. It is spreading rumours alleging that it has an influence among the workers. It is hard for the enemies of our system to reconcile themselves to total political bankruptcy. Instead of a ramified and close-knit structure, there are small groups of intrigue-spinners trying to enlist any riffraff that comes along. A shipyard worker availed himself of the amnesty announced last year by the government to break with the so-called underground. He later recounted that as well as distributing leaflets, he was given assignments such as injecting foul-smelling liquid into keyholes and setting alight foot-wipers at people's doors . . . In short, they are engaged in acts of hooliganism, and not in a political struggle.

The opposition's actions are being steadily blunted and its influence is waning. One of the questions we put to our adversaries was: What is the substance of your proposals? Let us weigh and discuss them, we said, and see what can be implemented. We could hardly believe what we heard in reply — they had nothing new to add to their demagoguery. There is no sense, they said, in offering to sell people a Mercedes when they cannot afford a Polish Fiat. In short, the opposition does not have a positive programme based on realities. Its provocative maximalist demands boil down to only one thing — to creating a roadblock again, to rekindling the conflict.

The workers had joined 'Solidarity' without distinguishing that organisation's political stripe. They were attracted by its slogans, which promised protection for their interests. But when put to the test these slogans proved to be phony. The people have learned from their own experience how close the link is between economics and politics. Formerly it was believed that anything could be achieved with nothing more than bringing pressure to bear on the government. There's no way out for the government, they argued, except to give us everything we want. If we demand a thousand zlotys wage rise, it will give us a thousand; if we demand two thousand, it will give those two thousand. Today Poles are not what they were five or seven years ago. Many of them now clearly know what their wages and purchasing power depend on. We have gone through a long and brutal schooling, which taught people to look soberly at life.

Of course, the situation at the shipyard did not return to normal at once or of itself. Indeed, we did not count on effecting a change overnight. Nor could we procrastinate in the hope that all would end well. The party's programme for removing the consequences of the crisis and consolidating Polish society gave us the necessary guidelines. We were aware that the situation at the shipyard would depend mainly on how quickly we would restore the party organisation's ability to function.

During the crisis years its numerical strength fell from 3,300 to 2,000 members. This was due to errors in admitting people to party membership. In many cases we were lax in assessing the suitability and, most importantly, the moral and political qualities of the applicants for membership. The formal, non-critical approach to the party's growth was one of the principal reasons for the decline of its prestige.

We had to remedy the situation. For this it was necessary to unite the Communists, to enable them to regain their self-confidence. It was also similarly important to show the workers that party members were the first to be prepared to remove shortcomings, that they indeed had the interests of the work collective at heart, and that they saw what the people needed and wanted. We sought to give every Communist this understanding of his or her role.

As a first step, we decided that all party members would report on their work regularly not only at meetings of the party committee and the party bureau but also to the work collective. Then we began to hold open party meetings, at which we consider production performance and the work of Communists. These meetings attract more and more non-party workers. People are finding that we are seriously reorganising our work, speaking candidly about the things that prevent the work collective from working productively and lead to conflicts.

Moreover, we are making sure that trustworthy information on all developments in the country comes as quickly as possible so that the workers would get it from us and not look to an alien source for information about the work of party and governmental bodies and about decisions on problems crucial to the shipyard. In this, too, the crisis years have taught the Communists much. The gossip and rumours spread by anti-socialist elements poisoned the atmosphere in our work collective and often we could not tell what the actual state of affairs was and had to evade direct answers. Today the initiative is in our hands. Every Monday we call a meeting of the secretaries of primary organisations and party groups at the shipyard party committee, inform them of the latest telexed news from the PUWP Central Committee and the voivodship party committee, and discuss whatever question is raised by workers. If we cannot answer the question ourselves we apply for an answer to other organisations or the relevant government department.

The number of Communists is growing gradually at the shipyard. Not a single person joined our shipyard party organisation in 1982-1983. But there has been progress since then. We admitted 24 workers to PUWP membership in 1984 and

nearly 100 in 1985-1986, the major requirement of the new members being their personal qualities.

The process of reviving trade unions and setting up workers' self-management bodies at the shipyard was a serious test for us. Our efforts at first encountered unyielding resistance. Leaflets urging a boycott of the new trade union were distributed, and anti-party slogans were chalked on the sides of ships under construction and on the walls of buildings. It was only on our third attempt that a constituent committee of the new trade union was formed. But then the workers saw that instead of trying to take over leadership of the trade union, the Communists wanted equal partnership with all who were prepared to act in the interests of the collective. We said that single-handedly, without the participation of the bulk of the workers, the party organisation would be unable to improve the situation. Gradually, things got off the ground. The new trade union had as many as 1,500 members in 1983, and now it has 6,500 members, which is nearly 55 per cent of the shipyard's workforce.

The workers' council now enjoys a very strong position. It was not at all easy to form this self-management body either. At first few workers were prepared to recognise it, and most of the council members were Communists. Today two-thirds of its members are non-party workers. This is a sign that civil activity is growing in our collective.

A big housing programme has been mapped out jointly by the party and trade union organisation and the workers' council. A neighbourhood of about 4,000 flats is to be built for shipyard workers. Within the next five years 3,000 families are to receive the keys of houses in the individual housing development zones. We are making more living space available to be occupied temporarily by families until they build a house of their own or get housing from the shipyard. Construction has been started on a new hostel for 1,000 persons. In short, there is now a real possibility for solving one of the most acute issues over which passions raged for a long time.

Of course, we still have many unresolved problems. The most important of these is how to organise rhythmical work at the shipyard, in other words, to ensure no interruptions in the supply of materials and equipment and thus put an end to rush work and idling, both of which cause production disruptions, lead to small earnings, and ignite tempers. Last August we discussed this question at a special meeting of the party committee. The point is that the shipyard depends on almost 1,500 suppliers. Any delay by them places the plan assignments under threat. For example, in the first half of 1986 this was the reason that one of the ships we were building was not launched on schedule. Of course, in a matter like this we need the assistance of central bodies. However, we do not sit idly with our hands on our laps. In the past few years much has been done at the shipyard to institute greater efficiency and upgrade the way the work is organised. We are now building contacts to the Communists of enterprises technologically linked to the shipyard.

The Communists working at the shipyard are aware of the responsibility devolving upon them. At the Tenth Congress of the PUWP it was said: "The party's strength lies in the strength of its primary organisations." The memory of errors is fresh in our minds, and it is now our stand that if anything goes wrong the Communists should be the first to draw attention to it. We will then not have explosive situations. We are now gearing our work to enable Gdansk to become, without any reservations, an example of Poland's socialist renewal, and instil in people the faith that nothing can compel a return to the old.

Deep Roots Among the People

Adonis Abatielos — CC Political Bureau member, Communist Party of Greece

IN Greece the Communists enjoy considerable influence among the working people. What are the mainsprings of this prestige? Upon whom does the Communist Party of Greece rely in its activities? These questions are central to understanding the place and role of the Communist Party in Greece.

The working class is our party's main social base. During the past twenty years there has been a sharp growth of the working class' numerical strength, and today it constitutes an absolute majority (50.5 per cent) of the nation's workforce. Of the 1,790,000 factory and office workers, the proletariat numbers some 950,000 (53 per cent); over 500,000 of them work at large factories. Over 700,000 are employed in the services industry. Work at home, paid for at a piece-rate, is widespread. The glorious traditions of the Greek proletariat include the experience of long years of struggle for immediate and long term aims, for an eight-hour working day, and for just labour legislation. The founding of the Communist Party and the General Confederation of Greek Labour in 1918 was evidence that the proletariat vanguard had become aware of its historic mission. Ten Communists were elected to the parliament as early as 1925.

The struggle against the exploiting classes (which, in protecting their selfish interests, have become agents of international capital) fostered the rapid growth of the Greek working peoples' political consciousness. During the Second World War, despite all the hardships suffered by our party under the fascist dictatorship of 1936-1941, the Communists were able to give shape to and head one of the largest Resistance movements in Europe. The landmarks of the road that led to the present level of the Greek proletariat's ideological maturity and militancy were the civil war that flared up in 1946, the resistance to British-US aggression, the battles for democracy, against the seven-year dictatorship of the colonels (1967-1974) and, lastly, the actions for real changes in the 1970s. Its slogans call for the country's independent economic development in the interests of the people, deliverance from imperialist interference, national independence, and peace in the Balkans, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the whole world.

The Communists have won strong positions among the most organised and staunchest proletarians. Of the 600,000 factory and office workers united in trade unions, 40 per cent belong to the ESAK-S,¹ which is supported by the CPG. The Communists are members of the leading organs of almost all federations of territorial and workers' unions, and constitute the majority in many of them.

By the beginning of the 1980s the trade union movement had split into two main currents: the left, inspired by our party, and the right, supported by the trade union bureaucracy and controlling the leadership of the General Confederation of Greek Labour.

At this confederation's 22nd Congress in 1983 the ESAK-S delegates carried the greatest weight. But uniting with a section of the right and bribing conservative trade union bosses, representatives of the union controlled by the governing PASOK² party swung the balance in their favour, winning 26 of the 45 seats in the

Adonis Abatielos was a merchant marine seaman. On his initiative the Pan-Hellenic Seaman's Federation was set up prior to World War II and he was elected its secretary. He was active in struggle against fascism. In 1947, during the civil war he was arrested and sentenced to death. Under pressure from the people the authorities had to commute this sentence to life imprisonment. He was released in 1964. Ten years later he was re-arrested by the junta and tortured in prison. A member of the party's CC since 1969 and a member of its Political Bureau since 1972.

new leadership. When the government proclaimed an 'austerity regime' in October 1985, the reformists began to lose their influence, retaining only 19 of their 26 seats. The majority now consisted of ESAK-S proponents and other radical leaders. It was precisely then that the government took an unseemly step, instituting court proceedings. A subservient panel of judges invalidated the entire elected leadership of the confederation. A new organ was formed of persons willing to go along with the government and it was instructed to convene a new trade union forum. Thus, against the will of the other trade unions, a farce was played out under the name of the '23rd Congress' of the confederation at which these unions were not represented at all.

However, cadres, rank-and-file members, and supporters of the Communist Party retained their influence in the trade unions. Despite administrative pressure and other obstructions and difficulties, this enabled the working class to head the actions of the working people for their rights. Evidence of this was the spread of the strike movement in the first half of the 1980s.³

Year	Total number of strikers	Number of lost working hours	Number of factory workers involved in strikes
1981	1,252,500	14,395,000	155,000
1982	800,000	20,000,000	300,000
1983	1,737,505	21,165,000	527,505
1984	3,078,620	35,738,000	948,192
1985	3,922,000	40,174,300	1,407,424
1986*	5,000,000	60,000,000	no data

**These are preliminary estimates.*

In the initial months of 1987 there was a powerful upsurge of the strike movement. It grew to unheard-of proportions: in January and February the nation was shaken by general strikes involving millions of people protesting against the 'austerity policy' pursued by employers and the government.

Our party continues to look for ways of uniting all the working people in the struggle to protect their basic socio-economic interests. It is seeking cohesion among the progressive forces on the basis of the charter of demands adopted by the 22nd Congress of the General Confederation of Greek Labour. We are not alone in this struggle. The unity policy pursued by the Communist Party is winning the support of a growing number of trade union activists representing the governing party. The latter are realising that the government's current line is not taking the country out of the crisis and that this is benefiting nobody except big capital. This is seen clearly in the PASOK leadership's attempts to subordinate the trade unions to the government, to get them to accept the anti-people 'austerity regime' or to split them.

The Communist Party's alliance policy is gaining momentum. It is paving the way to the unity desired by progressive political circles.

The Greek *peasants*, who constitute 27 per cent of the population, are fighting

for their interests side by side with the workers. Many peasant associations and cooperatives are headed by Communists, who are prominent in the central leading bodies of these organisations. The CPG's prestige and its durably strong links to the working people of the countryside have deep roots. During the years of the great national anti-fascist Resistance the CPG had 400,000 members, while its largest organisation — the EAM⁴ — had over 1,500,000 members (Greece had a population of 7,300,000 at the time). The people's armed forces drew most of their recruits from the peasants — during the struggle against the fascist invaders and during the civil war of 1946-1949.

Our party has firm positions also in the associations of *artisans and small shopkeepers*. Communists hold leadership posts in these organisations, including the posts of general secretaries and chairmen, for example, in the Greek General Confederation of Artisans, and in large federations in Athens, Piraeus, Salonika, and other cities.

Moreover, the CPG enjoys the esteem of *scientific workers*, particularly of the young generation, and of *civil servants*. The unbridled anti-communist campaigns of the past 35 years have led to the expulsion of practically all Communists from government agencies but have been powerless to prevent the election of our comrades to the Presidium of the Higher Council of the Civil Servant's Trade Union.

It is nevertheless a fact that the considerable influence of the Communists among the people is not mirrored in elections — municipal and, in particular, parliamentary.

At the five general elections in the 1970s and 1980s we got from 10 to 12 per cent of the vote. But we get about 40 per cent of the vote at trade union elections (for instance, at the Congress of the General Confederation of Greek Labour in 1983), and up to 30 per cent of the vote in elections to peasants' organisations. The GCP wins 11-20 per cent of the vote of the middle strata and of scientific workers belonging to trade unions, and (significantly) up to 30 per cent of the votes of young people. The Communist Youth of Greece has the support of a considerable section of workers and of more than one-third of the students.

These data show that there is a *considerable disproportion between the influence enjoyed by the Communists among the people and the outcome of parliamentary elections*. How can this be explained? Alongside factors implicit in all capitalist countries, there are factors that are to be observed only in Greece.

One of them is that the working class of Greece is still relatively young: its numerical growth continued until the beginning of the 1980s. The nation does not have a large-scale machine industry. Factories employing between 500 and 1,000 workers are considered to be large. Firms employing from 100 to 500 persons play a notable role in the economy, while the most widespread are firms employing less than 100 persons. This dispersion influences the consciousness of the working people.

There is one more factor, namely, that a section of the working class is composed of so-called peasant-workers. Most of them are to be found where industrialisation is spreading to traditionally agrarian areas. They work both at factories and farms, getting some of their income from the land. Their illusion that they are independent economically makes it hard to draw them into the working class movement.

The rapid growth of unemployment creates objective obstacles to mobilising the proletariat, especially the factory workers. Apart from its other serious consequences, Greece's membership of the EEC has undermined our industrial potential: many factories are closing with the loss of thousands of jobs. According to surveys conducted by the country's statistical authority, the proportion of

unemployed in the able-bodied population is already nearing or has surpassed 12 per cent. The government, employers, and their yes-men in the trade unions are hoping that the threat of unemployment will deter workers from fighting back.

In an effort to solve the problem of unemployment in towns and the countryside the government opened the safety-valve of massive emigration. For instance, 830,000 persons left Greece in the 1960s to seek jobs in the FRG, Belgium, and Sweden. Overseas regions also attracted immigrants. These were the USA, Canada and Australia, where over 360,000 Greeks settled in the period from 1955 to 1970. The party had to take this circumstance into account in its work among the masses.

The Greek working class is now coming under greater pressure than ever before from the bourgeoisie, notably its propaganda apparatus. Use is no longer made of the crude methods of the past. Naturally, the ruling circles continue to resort to measures of compulsion, but these are now more subtle: the dismissal and blacklisting of militant workers and police and court repression are alternated with promises of promotion, lucrative appointments, and so on. Reformist ideology has become the principal weapon of the ruling class. This ideology underlies official state policy and is used to vindicate the anti-people actions of the government, the legislatures, and the courts, and to erode the unity and militancy of the working class movement.

In characterising this danger, our party's 11th Congress noted that the government was trying to split the working people and impose a reformist type of 'state syndicalism' upon them. *The CPG called for an intensification of the struggle against old, and especially, new variants of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism with the emphasis on exposing theories blocking changes and preaching a 'third way' to socialism.*

When we consider the place of the Communists in Greek society, we have to take into account some specifics of the influence of reformist ideology and policy on the people.

In Greece, social conflicts have always been extremely acute because the ruling classes have never been able to resolve economic, political, and ethnic problems, leaving them to each successive generation in an increasingly more pitiful state. Fear of losing their dominant positions has led the ruling classes to establish undisguised fascist dictatorships and abolish traditional bourgeois freedoms. A long period of modern Greek history has not known social democracy and reformism in the shape typical for many West European countries. Proponents of this line in the trade unions had no massive influence and came forward as a political force in the postwar period only in some small intellectual circles and in small contingents of the peasant movement.

Modern social democracy and reformism first appeared in the mid-1960s. By 1974 this had brought about the formation of the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement headed by Andreas Papandreou. A campaign of demagoguery under pseudo-socialist slogans brought it to power in 1981.

At their Tenth Congress in 1978 the Communists had noted this party's social-reformist character and all the negative aspects of its policy, while giving all the positive features their due. We explained that the PASOK leadership's aim was no more than to modernise capitalism, and we helped the people to understand this. The theses for the 12th Congress of the CPG, which is to be held in May 1987, note that PASOK "is a social-reformist party, whose practices are increasingly falling into line with the practices of West European social democracy . . . Bourgeois thinking prevails in the PASOK leadership . . . Its policy of compromises is largely consistent with the direct needs and strategy of a section of capital and with the needs of external forces."⁵

In its second period of office (i.e., since 1985) it has openly gone over to an

anti-people 'austerity policy', granting substantial benefits to the capitalists. The government does not hesitate to use suppressive methods against the people. It systematically resorts to unrealisable promises, bribery, and the spread of pseudo-socialist illusions to confuse and influence the working people. In the meantime, while the PASOK leadership pays lip-service to peace, AWACS intelligence-gathering systems are installed on Greek territory, nothing is done to dismantle the US military bases, and Greece remains a member of NATO.

A steadily growing number of people see PASOK as a social democratic party that peddles populist leftist verbiage and pursues a right-wing policy. Having had their masks torn off, the PASOK leaders are disappointing their own supporters, who, as was seen at the latest municipal elections in October 1986, are beginning to distance themselves. Many are dropping all public activity, while some are breaking with the movement, forming new groups, acting as independent political forces or adjusting to trade union activities. *Our party looks for contact and cooperation with them, for ways of uniting all elements prepared to work for economic development in the interests of the people and deliver the nation from dependence upon foreign countries.*

The first stage of this policy provided for more effective measures to clear the way for genuine changes, for a socialist restructuring of Greek society. The subjective and objective conditions are at hand. The working class now constitutes an absolute majority of the population, and it has the steeling and experience to take over the leadership. Its *vanguard* role is recognised by its allies, notably the poorest and middle sections of the peasantry. Further, it has quite strong links to the middle urban strata. Lastly, there is the CPG as its fighting headquarters. Whatever the trials it had to go through, our party has remained true to Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism. Although it has considerable experience, it continues to learn from its own achievements and errors and from the experience of the international communist movement, of which it is an inalienable part.

It cannot be said that progress in a politically correct direction is smooth for our movement. The anti-imperialist anti-monopoly forces, especially the forces demanding socialist transformations, are opposed by the ruling class, whose spokesmen are the New Democracy Party and the Democratic Renewal Party⁶ and their imperialist backers. The PASOK leadership, which uses leftist rhetoric, is helping to strengthen the capitalist system. It employs the state apparatus, the media and, like the ruling parties of other capitalist countries, the entire arsenal of political, ideological, and economic indoctrination built up in the course of decades. The struggle takes various forms and is going through various stages. But the Greek Communists are firmly *committed to seeking anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly unity not only among all left-wing forces but also the democrats demanding a new policy leading to a realistic way out of the crisis (which has affected Greece's entire present-day capitalist system).*

"The CPG," says the political resolution of the 11th Congress, "is our country's oldest and, at the same time, youngest party, and it is today addressing major tasks with confidence and optimism." Fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, the selflessness and intrepidity of young and veteran cadres, supporters, and friends, the party's dynamism, its thoughtful attitude to problems and to unity, its numerical and qualitative growth, and the rise of its influence and prestige among the people are creating the conditions enabling it to be equal to the tasks confronting it.

The Greek Communists are seeking to turn the popular movement into the principal lever of real change. We believe that it is important to reinforce the mass character of people's organisations and correctly combine actions for immediate and for long-term aims.

The numerical growth of the ranks of the CPG'S supporters depends largely on how correctly the form of struggle is chosen. The party formulates and poses the working people's demands opportunely, does all it can to ensure the satisfaction of these demands, promotes trade union and other democratic actions in the proper, militant direction, and neutralises reformism.

As it prepares for its 12th Congress the CPG is strengthening its links to the people, and in its policy it is more fully expressing their innermost aspirations and interests. The theses for the congress state that "since the 11th Congress the CPG has won more influence in the mass movement, playing the central role in developing its struggle and contributing to unity among and coordinated action by the working people."⁷ As the discussion of these theses gets under way we are urging the Communists to put every ounce of effort into their work, drawing into this discussion large sections of working people, of other left-wing and progressive forces with whom we are determined to act, and building up the experience and knowledge of all who seek changes in the interests of our people.

We optimistically assess the present and future stages of the people's movement. The CPG's rank-and-file and leadership, its friends and supporters, veterans and young people — all who have devoted themselves to the cause of the proletariat and the people — are determined to establish unity among the people in the struggle to effect change that will open the way to socialism.

¹ Since trade union movement and those cooperating with it. — *Ed.*

² Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement. — *Ed.*

³ *Communist Review*, No. 1, 1987 (in Greek).

⁴ National Liberation Front. — *Ed.*

⁵ *Rizospastis*, Special Supplement, February 8, 1987.

⁶ Set up in 1985 by a group of MPs who broke with the New Democracy Party. — *Ed.*

⁷ *Rizospastis*, Special Supplement, February 8, 1987.

Facing New Realities

Emerging from Underground

Francisco Toledo — Central Committee member, CP Uruguay (CPU); Chairman, National Union of Workers of Metal and Allied Industries

Now that the party has been legalised, what are its basic tasks?

IN March 1985, the dictatorship in Uruguay was replaced by a regime of limited democracy, which carried the country to a new stage. In the period of reaction, many Communists were imprisoned, while others were forced to leave the country. They had to work underground and suffered heavy losses. But even then, the CPU did not lose touch with the masses and mobilised the people to fight against the dictatorship and for the restoration of democracy. The party's authority has been markedly enhanced. The masses regard it as a truly patriotic force and an active participant in the Broad Front¹ working for its unity and greater strength. The 1984 elections showed the Broad Front is the second force in Montevideo, which has almost one-half of the country's electorate. Over 20 per cent of the voters backed

the left-wing coalition as a whole.

We and our allies now face the most challenging problems. We have worked out proposals for reviving the economy, and developing industry and agriculture. We urge the nationalisation of the banks and foreign trade, and the re-establishment of the state sector. The country is in the grip of a grave economic crisis, compounded by a large external debt, and that has affected the condition of the wide strata of the population. That is why the party has proposed and backed measures aimed to raise the living standards of workers, rural working people, urban middle strata, old-age pensioners, and others. The struggle of the working class for its rights and vital demands helps to strengthen democracy, for what is the worth of democracy where the working people suffer from unemployment and poverty.

If democratisation is to proceed, the legacy of the dictatorship must be rooted out. That is why the CPU is opposed to the government's decision to amnesty all the military.² Our attitude to the army is clear-cut: we want the military to be integrated in the democratic process; we believe, moreover, that the army's participation is necessary for it to run a normal course. It goes without saying that far from every army man is fascist. Some of them have made a contribution to the anti-dictatorship struggle. Suffice it to mention General Seregni, who heads the Broad Front. But those who killed and tortured patriots, suppressed popular action, and plundered the country for the benefit of foreign monopolies must be made to pay for their crimes.

What is new in party development? What is the social make-up of the new CPU members, and what kind of work is being carried on with them?

We have to re-establish our organisational structures and now strive to make the party massive. New members kept joining our ranks even under the dictatorship. The influx of new members increased in the run-up to the 1984 elections, and especially after them. In the first nine months of the democratic regime, CPU membership tripled, and the network of primary organisations across the country was markedly extended. Almost 1,000 new members joined the party every month in the autumn of 1986. Nearly one-half of the new members are workers.

There has been a noticeable increase in CPU influence among our sympathisers. We hope that the growth of party ranks will go on. The recruitment of new members calls for maximum effort and a well-considered and clear-cut policy at every level, from the Executive Committee down to the primary organisations. This doubt has now and again been expressed: will not the rapid growth of our ranks erode the party's ideological line? We believe that much here depends on how seriously the new members are educated and involved in active struggle.

Thousands of Communists have taken a course of political study since legalisation. Party veterans and seasoned cadres have been passing on their knowledge to the young people. On the eve of the military coup, the CPU had only four party schools, but within a month of legalisation, it had seven. In Montevideo and several other cities, there are evening courses for propagandists designed for those who have had some training. There are also primary schools of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism. Circles offering an elementary course of political education have been set up under district committees, and at grassroots organisations, at enterprises and in the neighbourhoods.

Printed party propaganda has been invigorated through our daily, *La Hora*, the weekly *El Popular*, and dozens of local publications. We also make use of other mass media, notably radio, television and the cinema. The level of ideological work is raised through the circulation of the party's theoretical journal, *Estudios*, of Marxist-Leninist literature, the material of party fora, and the CPU's policy

documents.

Personal experience and the ability to apply one's knowledge in practice are of great importance for the political seasoning of new members, and that can be done only through daily participation in party activity.

We now have almost 800 grassroots party organisations, one-half of them in Montevideo, where the bulk of the proletariat is concentrated. We have been working to consolidate the existing branches and to set up new ones at enterprises, in the neighbourhoods, at the educational establishments, in the rural areas, i.e., where the first line of the class struggle runs. We strive to inject a spirit of discussion into their activity and to make it imaginative and vigorous.

Very much depends on the cadres responsible for the conduct of party policy in the localities and for the ties between the higher party organs and the masses. Many young people who often lack experience have appeared among the leaders of primary organisations, and the CPU has formulated the task of the day as follows: seasoning these leaders, getting them to take courses in party studies, and training them to act on their own and to respond quickly to the changing situation and to new problems.

The cadre issue goes beyond the framework of the party primary organisations. Now, as never before, the party needs skilled cadres both at every level of its structure and in the leading posts of the people's mass organisations. Since the aim of the Broad Front and all the other progressive forces is to set up a regime of advanced democracy, the CPU strives to work hard in training cadres for the most diverse spheres of economic, social and political activity, the state apparatus, parliament and local organs of power.

Achieving advanced democracy calls for stronger positions and unity of the left-wing forces, the working class in the first place. What are the Communists doing along this line?

The working class was the most active fighter against the dictatorship. It is now the important participant in the process of democratisation. Consolidating its unity and working out a programme to mobilise the workers is the main task facing the proletariat party, and, in fact, a matter of its very existence. There is a need to win a majority of the working people for revolutionary theory and practice. The present stage is one in which the masses are being activated, with greater cohesion of all the democratic and anti-imperialist forces, primarily the working class.

The level of unionisation in the country is relatively high: the trade unions have almost 270,000 members — 25 per cent of the labour force. Many union functionaries and activists have experience in fighting the dictatorship. The trade unions independent of the bourgeois state and the employers stand for progressive, democratic demands.

The trade unions do not confine themselves to putting forward day-to-day slogans, such as that for higher wages, but set themselves long-term tasks whose fulfilment could eventually help to do away with the exploitive relations of production. There is evidence of the unions' further politicisation. But the Communists oppose their conversion into purely political organisations, for that would inevitably divide the working people and lead to sectarianism. The trade union movement should not cease to be the most massive association of the working class, something that is most important today as we fight for national liberation and the establishment of advanced democracy, for the prospect of a takeover by the people led by the Broad Front.

I am a member of one of the influential trade unions in Uruguay, the National Union of Workers of Metal and Allied Industries, which numbers 11,000 people.

We fought actively against the dictatorship and many of our trade-union leaders went through the torture-chambers. The Communists have traditionally been an influential force in the trade union, and the party's prestige has been reaffirmed by the fact that after the establishment of a democratic form of government, the Communists are once again on its leadership.

The Communists are now active in all of the union's 60 grassroots committees. The union takes a forward-looking class stand, and its policy task is a radical solution of the working people's problems, which can be effected only if the existing relations of production are changed. But the union has workers of differing ideological and political views, and they are not all prepared to fight for such far-reaching goals. It is highly important today to formulate and implement slogans helping to muster the greatest number of people and to ensure unity of action on the broadest basis.

The National Union of Workers of Metal and Allied Industries provides an example showing that the CP Uruguay, a party of staunch revolutionaries, has close ties with the masses, relies on them and acts in their interest. Communists now work in all the mass organisations. We are there where the working people are fighting for their rights. We understand that only support by a majority of the people will make it possible to fulfil the set tasks: to strengthen the Broad Front, and to be strong and united for the 1989 elections, on whose outcome largely depend the destinies of democracy in Uruguay.

¹ Broad Front, a unitary organisation founded in 1971; it brings together the CPU, the Christian Democratic Party, the Socialist Party of Uruguay and other left organisations. — *Ed.*

² In late December 1986, the Uruguayan Parliament enacted a law sponsored by the right-wing forces which exempted from prosecution members of the armed forces and the police who had violated human rights under the military regime, whereupon the law was approved by the President. That sharply aggravated the confrontation between the bourgeois parties and the left-wing forces within the Broad Front. Acts of protest were staged in front of the parliament building when the Chamber of Deputies debated the bill. Thousands took part in demonstrations in defence of democracy at the call of the National Convent of Workers. — *Ed.*

Upholding the Socialist Choice

Gisele Rabesahala — Secretary General, Congress Party of Madagascar Independence (AKFM/KDRSM), Minister of Culture, Democratic Republic of Madagascar (DRM)

Madagascar is one of world's largest islands, with an area of 595,800 square kilometres and a population of about 11 million. The Democratic Republic of Madagascar stands out among Africa's socialist-oriented countries in that it has seven political parties operating there which comprise the National Front for the Defence of the Revolution (FNDR). The AKFM/KDRSM is one of these parties. According to its Rules, it is guided by the ideas of scientific socialism and shapes its external ties on the basis of proletarian internationalism and solidarity with the forces of national liberation, social progress and peace. The life and the struggle of this seasoned African revolutionary party are covered in the interview that follows.

Gisele Rabesahala (b. 1929) became politically active in the Madagascar youth movement. She has been elected and re-elected Secretary General of the AKFM since 1959. Minister of Culture of the DRM since 1976. Serves on the governing bodies of many national and international non-governmental organisations.

AKFM Central Committee in 1982, when presidential elections for the second seven-year term were held.

All those elected to parliament and serving on the cabinet regularly report on their work to the party and to the electorate. Discussing draft legislation, our members of parliament propose amendments and additions reflecting the interests of working masses. Parliament meets in open sessions, and the public follows the debates. In this way our ideas and positions receive broad publicity.

Guided by the resolutions of the party congresses, the Central Committee and the Political Bureau, AKFM members of the National People's Assembly submit constructive critical remarks and specific proposals on ways to improve the situation in agriculture, trade and the state sector of industry, to stem widespread corruption and incompetence, and to enhance the role of decentralised administration at the local level. The foremost aim is to help the poorer sections of the people without overburdening the economy as a whole.

Cooperation with other parties is not always easy because, despite the common platform of principle (the Charter), their attitudes to some questions and problems differ. We maintain that it is particularly important to identify and emphasise all that makes for the unity of the partners in government and parliament, leaving aside differences on minor questions.

This is all the more important because the domestic reactionaries and their imperialist sponsors are working hard to derogate what the country has achieved over the past 12 years, deny the obvious accomplishments in the social and political spheres, and try to blame the current difficulties on the path of socialist orientation our people have chosen. They also attack the system of several parties cooperating within the FNDR — a major gain of our revolution. We rebuff these forays firmly.

How does the AKFM preserve its own identity as Madagascar's oldest party of scientific socialism while supporting the anti-imperialist course of President Ratsiraka and acting within the framework of a broad front?

We believe that the changes that have occurred since 1975 and the people's choice of socialist orientation which is generally upheld by President Ratsiraka and the government are consonant with the vital interests of Madagascar's working class and all working people. Supporting this course, our party remains loyal to its own policy guidelines and committed to our obligations before the nation. The most important thing is not to allow the country to be derailed from the chosen track.

In our view, the people are the foremost guarantor of preserving and developing progressive gains. I have already spoken about the need to encourage the political activity of party members, but this is also true in a broader sense, as far as the entire nation is concerned. The difficulties we encounter must not be allowed to force people to withdraw and deal only with their daily concerns, to weaken mass support of the revolutionary cause.

We pay close attention to the education and Marxist-Leninist training of our cadres. For years we have been sending our young people for training and political education in socialist countries, not only via party channels but also through other civic organisations. We are promoting internationalist ties with the world communist movement and with revolutionary organisations in Africa. For example, last year our delegations attended fraternal parties' congresses in several socialist countries, and in October the AKFM and the CPSU signed an agreement on future cooperation.

We attach great significance to the exchange of information and experience. This helps us to apply the general laws of Marxist-Leninist theory more effectively to the distinctive conditions of Madagascar and to the present stage in the development of

our revolution — for example, the fundamental conclusion that political independence cannot be complete without economic independence. This is precisely the thrust of our proposals.

In our Programme of Action for 1983-1988, adopted at the Tenth Congress of the party, we stress that what has been achieved and what is being done today is not yet socialism: the country is going through the stage of a national democratic revolution in which it is necessary to rally all popular and patriotic forces together for rebuffing imperialism, our common enemy. This stage allows the existence of an economic structure comprising different forces and social groups because the legacy of colonial and neocolonial rule cannot be eliminated as if by magic.

The AKFM urges its members to contribute as much as they can to the solution of the priority task set by the government and fully supported by our party — that of attaining self-sufficiency in food production and ending our dependence on food imports. In this way we work to make peasant party members into model farmers; we want them to unite, and to prompt others to unite, in producer cooperatives.

Our party advocates a foreign economic policy of orientation in all directions, stressing that socialist and non-aligned countries conduct trade with us on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and seek no political or strategic advantages. We support the President's proposals aimed at preserving peace, preventing militarisation of outer space, creating a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean and ensuring progress for the developing countries, specifically, by renegotiating their foreign debt.

For almost three decades since its establishment, the AKFM has based its activities on a principled basis permeated with concern for our country's national interests. Today, the international and domestic situation demands that we focus all our efforts on defending our independence and the gains we have achieved, on enhancing the course mapped out in the Malagasy Socialist Revolutionary Charter.

¹ Of the 137 seats in the parliament, 115 are controlled by President Ratsiraka's Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution (AREMA) party. Founded in 1976, it also holds most of the cabinet posts. — *Ed.*

² The administrative territorial structure of the country that replaced after 1975 the divisions inherited from the colonial period comprises four levels — collectives (rural and urban communities), unions of collectives (former cantons and urban districts), groups of unions of collectives (former subprefectures and prefectures), and associations of groups of unions of collectives (former provinces). All these decentralised units and their elected governing bodies have considerable powers in local matters. — *Ed.*

Artists in Struggle

'Forever Twenty'

Luis Vidales — Colombian poet

At 82 but full of energy, he remains an excellent conversationalist and a brilliant storyteller with firm convictions and a fine sense of humour. He does not dodge questions but deals with them easily, shares his recollections readily and discusses the future.

The poet was born in Calarca, in Colombia's central area which man wrested from the Andean selva, tropical rain forest. Asked about the most vivid impressions that

Luis Vidales (b. 1904) has won the National Prize for Poetry and is also a journalist, literary critic, professor, former director of the National Statistical Institute, and winner of the International Lenin Prize 'For Strengthening Peace Among Nations'. He is the author of collections of poetry, books on art and on statistics, and numerous articles in newspapers and periodicals.

influenced his poetry, he says without hesitation:

My first years in Calarca, so vivid that I'll never forget them. The selva's animals and trees I saw in early childhood live forever in my memory. In my poems, they are my flesh and blood, part of me. My father, a nineteenth-century radical in the spirit of the French Enlightenment, taught me that people are part of nature. All this is reflected in my work. When someone calls me a surrealist, nihilist or futurist, I always reply that I am a Calarcanist.

My father told me about Greek and Roman philosophers and poets and recited quotations from them. I wrote down what was particularly interesting on scraps of paper, rolled them up and stuffed my pockets with them. I still do this, and many of my poems have appeared from such rolled-up pieces of paper.

Vidales soon left Calarca. His family moved to Bogota, the capital, where the future poet frequented meetings of literary societies. At 18 he began writing poems that were later published; they truly shook the world of Colombia's literature and art. There, in Bogota, he came into contact with the ideas of scientific socialism.

What brought Vidales to poetry and communist views? How did these two passions combine his life?

They are a single whole. We were all swept up in the turbulent structural change which occurred in Colombia in the 1920s, brought on by the development of capitalism in conditions of dependence. And naturally, we felt the impact of the October Revolution in Russia. This dynamic period which I perceive today much more clearly than in the past led me to Marxism and shaped my artistic views.

Our generation threw up people such as Luis Tejada (1898-1924). He was an extraordinarily perceptive man. He brought us together in the country's first communist group, and he did a great deal to propagate scientific socialism in Colombia. Alas, he died quite young.

Paris, a city bustling with cultural and public life, was the scene of the next chapter in my biography. For me it was a period of reappraisal, internal transformation and profound crisis. I recall that I read avidly what the aesthetes who theorised about poetry produced. They all taught me how not to write but none taught how it should be done. I wrote no poetry for two years.

In Paris I attended rallies of the French Communist Party and learned about its activities. I studied at the Higher School of Social Studies where many teachers were Communists. There my commitment to Marxism became firm and definitive, and when I returned to Colombia I decided to help in the organisation of a communist party. But my friends told me, "You're a bit late. We do have a communist party already, and soon it will assert itself publicly." Together with other comrades I was at the rally in downtown Bogota on July 17, 1930, when the establishment of the party was announced. Ever since then I have been a Communist and a poet, my life equally devoted to our struggle and to my art. And I take pride in it.

Vidales is not exaggerating. He knows full well, from personal experience, all the concerns and difficulties the Communists encountered in setting up party cells, organising strikes and mobilising peasants to the struggle for land. And his poetry is linked indelibly with his ideology.

Life in the midst of the people, the work I performed together with my comrades, and my membership in the party have taught me that poetry should not be isolated from human emotions, joys, fears or struggle.

I have been arrested 40 times and imprisoned twice. The first time in Bucaramanga, in the northeast, where the Central Committee sent me to publish *Vox Populi*, the country's first communist newspaper. There we succeeded in our work among the masses, and there was a very real chance of us assuming control of the city council. But the reactionaries could not tolerate that, and I was arrested.

The second time it happened in San Eduardo, Department of Boyaca. We arrived there to help the peasants. Twenty families working on one of the big estates were threatened with eviction. At first they didn't trust us, but within three days the people were on our side. We began to organise communist cells, to explain what the Communist Party was and what goals it pursued. We managed to establish a democratic government body, a council of eight peasants. It lasted for only 22 days. Then 150 soldiers were sent against us, and they destroyed the nascent organisation.

The third time I was tried and sentenced to exile in the selva for defending the peasants of the village of Baraya in the Huila Mountains, but fortunately, the sentence was soon revoked.

I have had my share of critical moments. Once a detective pointed his gun at me. I said, "Don't be a fool, you won't shoot me". He lost his nerve and didn't pull the trigger. Because of such situations my comrades say that I always keep my head and stand firm. But a few days after this or that incident I say to myself, "Dammit, that was dangerous, really dangerous!" And I'm scared, after the fact. I realise that I've got to be more careful. But then a similar situation arises, and I behave exactly in the same manner. That must be the way I am.

As far as poetry is concerned, I haven't been coddled much either. After *The Bells Are Ringing* appeared, I was insulted in parliament, in bookshops, on the street. I was denounced as an 'abominable poet'. Today I am sometimes told that this is the best work of poetry ever published in Colombia. I think that neither claim is true. The same happened when *The Labouriad* was published more than 50 years later.

The themes of these books were prompted by life itself. The former reflects the problems of the 1920s and the latter, the contradictions of today's world. Perhaps this is why people do not treat these books indifferently.

In *The Labouriad* I name many names of our contemporaries, including those facing us across the front line. I am told, "Don't use proper names in poetry." And I reply, "Tell it to Dante not to fill his *Inferno* with medieval types."

Then I published *The Abominable Man of the Snow Quarter*. The title is clear I am an abominable poet, and I have lived in a district called the Snow Quarter. My latest is *The Book of Phantoms*, although it has nothing to do with ghosts but with phantoms of the real world.

Once an incensed critic told me, "There's something lacking in your poetry, it doesn't leave me satisfied." I hugged him and said. "At last I have met a man who thinks exactly as I do."

People often ask me why I, a poet, spent so many years working with statistics. I have never felt divorced from poetry, and the number, the figure is simply a modest intermediary between us and the world. Figures throb with life, they reflect reality and can be a source of inspiration. I think that there is a creative element in any job. To build a bridge, to cook a meal is as hard as it is to write a poem — if you approach your task creatively, that is. The only difference is how long it takes. In Poetry, it is sometimes years.

Aware of his standing as a literary critic, I asked Vidales to share his view of today's poetry.

My principle is that realism has always been dominant in art. Greek and Roman sculpture was realistic, and so is Leonardo's *Gioconda*. To separate the abstract from the representative is nonsense, fluff. Any true work of art is realistic from the point of view of the society to which it relates. Realism is a form of literature and art freely and consciously selected by the artist, not imposed by directives or official doctrine, as those who separate their life and work from the society and the times they live in would have us believe. I respect people whose art and personal example

helped to transform the world. Great personalities have always been connected with the great events of their times, that's why they achieved greatness. All the rest in art is perishable, and a good thing too.

A natural question to a Lenin Peace Prize winner: what is the role of the artist in efforts to deliver mankind from nuclear catastrophe?

Lenin's Decree on Peace was adopted as soon as the October Revolution triumphed, and its principles have since remained central to Soviet foreign policy. Today, the USSR is a champion and defender of mankind and of Earth, its cradle. This is why I set such great store by the Lenin Prize. It compels me to redouble my efforts to promote friendship among nations and to consolidate peace. I am confident that victory will be ours.

A poet who sings the world around him must, by force of his art and his civic duty, be on the side of the forces of peace — if only to remain true to himself. If a poet is not concerned over the threat to mankind and to our planet, then, frankly, I don't see who needs his poetry or why.

Luis Vidales is Vice-President of the Colombian-Soviet Institute of Cultural Exchanges and honorary chairman of the National Writers' Union and of the Colombia-GDR Society. He serves on the Governing Board of the House of International Solidarity and on the Colombian Peace Council. Besides preparing his own works for publication, he hosts weekly literary radio programmes in which he publicises young poets. He complains that 24 hours is not enough and that sometimes he has very little time to lie down. Lying down not to rest but to write — that's his habit which he jocularly justifies by saying that writing poetry is like giving birth to a child, and women don't do that standing or sitting, right?

My last question to Vidales: how does he explain his youthful energy?

It must be the longevity genes I inherited from my parents. Besides, working for the party and being in the midst of workers and peasants fills me with joy and enthusiasm. Revolutionary convictions and optimism — that's the recipe of my elixir of youth. When I turned 20 I wrote a poem in which I said, "There will be no more birthdays, I am twenty forever . . . And so I remain a 20-year-old."

Interview by **Alvaro Oviedo**,
representative of the Colombian
Communist Party on *WMR*.

INFORMATION

The Communist Movement Today A Meeting of Central Committee Secretaries

CENTRAL Committee secretaries for agriculture of the CMEA countries' fraternal parties met in Moscow on February 10 and 11. The participants, representing the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Communist Party of Cuba, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Romanian Communist Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Vietnam, conducted a comprehensive discussion of practical efforts to implement the decisions of the fraternal parties'

congresses and the agroindustrial aspects of the Comprehensive Programme for Scientific and Technological Progress.

An Academic Conference

'Socialism Today: the Dialectics of the Common and the Specific' was the theme of an international conference sponsored by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies under the CPSU Central Committee. Scholars from research centres maintained by the BCP, the CP Cuba, the CPCz, the SUPG, the HSWP, the WPK, the MPRP, the PUWP, the RCP, the CPSU and the CPV discussed issues connected with the socio-economic development of the fraternal countries, with the perfection of the political system and the social fabric, and with enhancing the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist parties. The participants spoke about the diversity of ways of building socialism. Each country has accumulated experience which is not only its own accomplishment but also a valuable contribution to the international process of consolidating the socialist system — a process that highlights the laws of development common to the entire socialist world.

On Revolutionary Responsibility

During the visit of an official party and government delegation of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen to the Soviet Union in February 1987, Ali Salem al-Beidh, CC General Secretary of the Yemen Socialist Party, met with Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. In the course of a frank talk, the two leaders touched upon a broad range of questions connected with the new stage in the development of Soviet society and with the efforts taken by the PDRY to cope with the aftermath of the dramatic events of January 1986. They discussed both negative and positive revolutionary experience and noted that the desire of the vanguard to leap forward and bypass inevitable stages of the revolution and to advance tasks that are impracticable at this or that juncture leads, in practical terms, to discrepancies between word and deed. Special attention was paid to the issue of a ruling party's unity and to the difficult and extremely responsible mission of the current leadership of Democratic Yemen.

For a Constructive Dialogue

Chairman Franz Muhri of the Communist Party of Austria met with General Secretary Todor Zhivkov of the BCP Central Committee in Sofia in January 1987. Discussing topical issues of the international communist and worker's movement, the two leaders stressed that today it is necessary more than ever to consolidate joint action by the communist parties of all countries and to conduct a constructive dialogue and maintain cooperation with all democratic and peace-loving forces. They reaffirmed the readiness of the Communist Party of Austria and the Bulgarian Communist Party to continue expanding and strengthening their ties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, for the good of peace and social progress.

Unanimity of Views

A visit to Greece in February this year by a delegation of the Communist Party of Turkey led by the party's CC General Secretary Hayadar Kutlu, for talks with the General Secretary of the CPG Harilaos Florakis and other party leaders, ended with a joint communique. It points out that among the issues, discussed in a spirit of fraternal cooperation, were the situation in the East Mediterranean, the peace campaign, national independence and democracy.

Views Exchanged

Zhao Ziyang, acting General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee and Premier of the PRC State Council, received Ferenc Havasi, Political Bureau member and Central Committee Secretary of the HSWP, in Beijing in January 1987. The two sides informed each other about the topical tasks and issues their parties were tackling and exchanged their views on efforts to further friendship and cooperation between China and Hungary and between the CPC and the HSWP.

From the Press

Zëri i Popullit

CRITICAL ANALYSIS NEEDED

AS the past year's agricultural performance is being assessed, the newspaper of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour has called for an end to instances where critical analysis of what has been done on the farms is superseded by a 'show' of percentage figures.

The party, the article notes, has censured the excessive powers of heads of agricultural cooperatives, which stifle the initiative of the rank and file. It is important that they have more opportunity to make decisions, in line with the economic laws of socialism, on matters of expanding production and raising its efficiency and speak out about the work of managers at all levels.

Organisational failings, a lack of day-to-day supervision, and ignorance of the real situation in the provinces are things to be particularly criticised in the assessment of the work done. Primary party organisations should stimulate personnel's initiative and look to the future instead of hiding behind the 'wall' of temporary difficulties and snags, the paper emphasises.

Qué pasa

ELECTION PLATFORM

In getting ready for the October-November 1987 parliamentary and local elections, the Communist Party of Argentina (CPA) has focused on building up the broadest possible alliance of left-wing anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchical forces, writes the CPA weekly. The Communists are primarily keen to consolidate the 'Popular Front' to make it the basis for a still broader alliance.

The Communists are looking to the left elements in the Justice Party and the Radical Civic Union, the weekly notes, hoping they will avoid being deluded by the power rotation tactic favoured by these parties' leadership. The CPA also approached the Intransigence Party, the Christians and other progressives outside the popular front.

The creation of a broad anti-imperialist alliance is made easier by a crisis among the big bourgeois parties and ideological divisions among those formerly completely under their influence.

The CPA CC has decided, the weekly stresses, to set up CPA and Popular Front election commissions as well as primary committees in the provinces to keep in touch with the people.

By the time of its 27th Congress in 1986, the CPSU had 19,037,946 members. It means that 9.7 per cent of the country's adult population are Communists, and they come from over a hundred nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union.

There are over 5.3 million party activists at all levels, 40.6 per cent of them workers and farmers, the CPSU CC journal points out. The proportion of women is steadily growing, having reached nearly 34 per cent in the district, city and regional party committees and respective auditing commissions.

As many as 64 per cent of secretaries of the primary organisations have a higher education, 2.8 per cent an incomplete higher education, and 32.5 per cent a secondary education. Over the past five years 18,800 people graduated from party schools. Political and economic instruction courses have an enrolment of 65 million CPSU, YCL and non-party members.

¹ This organisation includes the Communists, the Socialists, left elements in the Justice Party and several small progressive groupings. — *Ed.*

In Brief

ANGOLA

The first national conference of ideological workers of the MPLA — Party of Labour — has discussed questions connected with the education and moulding of conscious and vigorous builders of foundations of socialism in Angola and with the promotion of a Marxist-Leninist world-view among the country's citizens. The need to improve the methods and style of the party's political education work, to expand public openness and to develop criticism and self-criticism was pointed out.

GREECE

The eight-week fund-raising drive conducted by the Communist Party of Greece in preparation for its 12th Congress slated for May 1987 has been reviewed and appraised. In some areas of the country, the target has been met 150 per cent. In Athens alone, a sum of 196 million drachmas (about 1.5 million US dollars) has been raised. Besides contributions from party organisations, sizable sums were received from individual sympathisers.

LUXEMBOURG

The trial of journalists from *Zeitung vum Letzebuerger Vollek*, the newspaper of the Communist Party of Luxembourg (*WMR* reported on the case in the previous issue), has resulted in further disgrace for the anti-communist forces that brought the charges. Strictly documented evidence was submitted at the trial, highlighting the criminal profascist activities of the World Anti-Communist League which the CPL newspaper exposed. The court accepted the evidence and cleared the journalists on all counts.

MOZAMBIQUE

The Frelimo Party comprises some 130,000 members, 25 per cent of them women. These figures were cited in February 1987 to mark the tenth anniversary since the transformation of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique into a political party.

SPAIN

A Central Committee plenary meeting of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain (CPPS) held in January 1987 came out for unity of all Spanish Communists and for consolidation of the United Left coalition formed by seven political parties, including the Communist Party of Spain and the CPPS.

exchange of views, discussion

A Time of Hope

Peace and Security Problems in the Asian-Pacific Region

Almost one-half of mankind lives in this vast region, with the major world powers and dozens of smaller ones neighbouring on each other. Contacts within the region are being steadily intensified; it is often called the Ocean of the Future, and the twenty-first century, the Pacific Age.

Hopes for peace are being pinned on the future everywhere, including this region. *WMR* has repeatedly dealt with international security problems as seen through the prism of the situation in Asia and the Pacific.¹ States of the region have now come forward with several new initiatives of Asian and regional significance, with the Soviet Union's major proposals a prominent element.

WMR has asked political leaders from several countries for their views on the way to advance to stable peace in Asia and the Pacific region, and to analyse the intricate and multifaceted processes in the region, and the foreign-policy approaches by various social forces.

¹ See the views expressed by authors from Mongolia, Australia, India, Philippines, Bangladesh, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Pakistan and Nepal in *WMR* No. 3, and No. 10, 1985; also see articles 'Disperse the Clouds of Tension in Southeast Asia' by Tomas Sinuraya in *WMR*, No. 4, 1986, 'Make Asia a Continent of Peace' by Pieter Keuneman and 'A Nuclear-Free Status for the Pacific' by Marilyn Tucker both in *WMR*, No. 6, 1986. Our journal will continue its publications on these topics. — *Ed.*

Searching for Unity

Tserenpilyn Balhajav — CC Secretary,
Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

THERE are some fundamentally new aspects to the development of the situation in Asia and the adjacent areas. The new and non-standard view of international relations, with an urge for lasting peace, cooperation and good neighbourhood, is being asserted in this region as well, despite the obstacles and contesting trends. Mikhail Gorbachov's Vladivostok speech in July 1986 has met with the widest response in the Asian-Pacific region and has been seen by world opinion as one of the outstanding foreign-policy initiatives for some time. The programme for reliable security in the region has been further amplified with the adoption of the Delhi Declaration on Principles for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World, which was signed by the leaders of the USSR and India. This noble goal is invariably served by Soviet-Indian ties.

The innovative approach of the CPSU and the Soviet state to the problems in building up peace in our vast and populous region has drawn attention everywhere. These problems are dealt with as a package, because the USSR looks to the long-term prospects for the intensive development of economic, political and other ties in this region, while viewing the solution of regional problems as a part of the world-wide process in arranging a comprehensive security system and building a non-nuclear world. The Soviet Union's Asian-Pacific policy is aimed to create conditions in which reliable security is ensured not only for the socialist and non-aligned states, but equally for countries belonging to the opposite social system: the United States, Japan and other countries lying along the shores of the Pacific.

Imperialism, fed by the greed and egoism of international monopoly capital, has demonstrated a totally different, bloc approach, with a stake on 'spheres of influence' and close anti-Soviet and anti-socialist alignments.

Consideration of Asian-Pacific security problems as a package implies a reckoning not only with their *general regional* context, but also with the specific situation in each part of the continent, the state of relations between neighbouring countries, and many other things. The Soviet Union has urged a *complex* approach to these problems, signifying joint efforts in searching — through bilateral contacts, and multilateral consultations — for ways to arrange new and peaceful inter-state relations, to unravel controversial issues, settle conflicts, and check the rapid build-up of armaments, including nuclear armaments, in East and South Asia. The USSR has invited the countries concerned to work together in a collective effort to advance towards the convocation of a Helsinki-type Pacific conference as a promising long-term goal.

The idea of a *joint search* by Asian and Pacific states for ways to lasting peace and cooperation has already struck deep roots on the continent, and the socialist states of Asia have demonstrated their adherence to it by their practical acts, of which there is a growing number of examples. There is the return home of a part of the Soviet military contingent from Afghanistan, and also the fresh efforts for a settlement of the situation through the Afghan government's policy of national reconciliation. By agreement between the USSR and Mongolia, one mechanised infantry division with its entire complement, and several units of the Soviet troops temporarily stationed on our territory are to be withdrawn from Mongolia from April to June of this year. These and other similar acts are regarded by the governments of Mongolia and the Soviet Union as effective steps in consolidating the foundations of peace and stability on the continent.

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and our state have stood for a

peaceful perspective for the Asian-Pacific region and have always closely cooperated with the fraternal socialist countries. We fully back their ideas and practical steps aimed to relax tensions. For its part, Mongolia has proposed the creation of a mechanism ruling out the use of force in relations between states in the region, the holding of an Asia-wide forum for peace and cooperation, with the participation of representatives of the public at large, and a meeting of the continent's members of parliament. These initiatives could help to set up a comprehensive security system whose establishment was urged on mankind by the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

Our people support the efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to turn the Korean Peninsula into a peaceful, nuclear-free zone, to hold a wide-ranging dialogue between the North and the South of Korea, and to achieve the country's peaceful democratic unification without external interference. We approve of the peaceful course pursued in Southeast Asia by socialist Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, and have consistently striven to normalise relations with our neighbour, the People's Republic of China.

Mongolia's foreign policy is guided by this fundamental proposition: *a lasting and secure peace can be ensured on our continent only through mutual understanding, greater cooperation and goodneighbourhood, on the basis of a broad political dialogue, peaceful solution of controversial problems and elimination of hotbeds of tension.*

The importance of coordinating efforts to the socialist countries of Asia acquires greater significance in the light of these goals. Their bilateral and multilateral contacts have been invigorated in the recent period, as will be seen, in particular, from the meeting of the deputy foreign ministers of Vietnam, Kampuchea, the Korean Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Laos, Mongolia and the Soviet Union held in Moscow early this year. Their interparliamentary ties have also been developing.

Following last May's 19th Congress of the MPRP, there has been an extensive bilateral exchange of views with the fraternal parties of the Asian-Pacific region. Working groups for preparing a Consultative Meeting of representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the region have agreed that it should be held in Ulan Bator this year. It will be open to all the communist parties of the region committed to the defence of its security and peaceful future. The MPRP is to act as coordinator in preparing the Consultative Meeting, and we are ready to do our utmost to make it a success.

Peaceful plans now have powerful and influential supporters: the socialist world, the non-aligned states and the realistically-minded forces in other countries. Broad public circles on our continent are being ever more active in support of a complex approach to the region's problems, but one cannot fail to see either that these plans are being stubbornly resisted by US imperialism and its closest allies. Developments in West and Southeast Asia, in Oceania and the Far East give hardly any ground for self-complacency. *The danger of further militarisation of Asia and the Indian and Pacific Ocean areas can be prevented only by joint efforts of the peoples, governments, political parties, public movements and organisations.*

Against the Policy of Expansion

Abdul Wali Khan — President, Awami National Party (Pakistan)

AS the author of books on the penetration of our region by British and then by US imperialism,² I came across some documents shedding light on the US actions with respect to Pakistan in the post-independence days.

It was in the late 1950s that the US government referred the case to its National Security Council to identify the countries whose 'friendship' or 'support' it would need in the Cold War. That was the origin of the confidential report which made it clear that Washington regarded the Soviet Union as 'enemy number one', and that in the event of a 'hot' war, West Pakistan (as the country is called in the document) was the bridgehead where US air bases could be set up to reach 'sensitive areas of the Soviet Union'. What is more, Pakistan was regarded simply as a 'decoy' on which Russian military force would be wasted. From there the United States intended to establish control over the whole of West Asia to guarantee the 'free world' a steady supply of oil from the Middle East and the Persian Gulf.

The confidential documents say that under no circumstances could the US government allow any political party which did not guarantee to safeguard US interests to take full power in Pakistan.

Long before the overthrow of the Shah of Iran and the revolution in Afghanistan, the United States recognised only one alternative for Pakistan: rule by the armed forces, which it is believed could alone best guarantee its interests. The report says that the Pakistani army is the most trusted ally of the United States.

Pakistan and India became independent on the same day, but while our neighbour is about to hold its ninth general election, our country, on orders from the US imperialists, has been 'closed' to democracy. Many of its sons and daughters have given their lives for the triumph of the ideals of democracy, and thousands protesting against the anti-democratic order have been imprisoned. We have only had a succession of military dictatorships and one martial law after another. In short, the United States needs a Pakistan that is ruled by the army. After the overthrow of the Shah of Iran and the Afghan revolution, US imperialism put its stakes in the region on our country. However, the authorities have failed to put down resistance to their anti-people's pro-imperialist policy. A broad multi-party coalition, including the Awami National Party, demands the restoration of democracy.

That was a short retrospect of the history of the region to show why the threat of war is looming over Pakistan. It is still assigned the role of a US base for hostile activity against our Afghan and Indian neighbours. The Afghans whom the United States calls the mujahedin³ have been getting half a billion of US dollars a year from the United States via Pakistan to carry on their undeclared war. Bandits who destabilise the neighbouring countries are being given sanctuary, training and arms on our territory. A subversive line is being conducted with respect to India as Sikh terrorists are infiltrated from Pakistan to spread death and violence.

The United States has also assigned a wider role to its Pakistan bridgehead. There are the military preparations in the province of Baluchistan, where a network of US army, naval and air bases is being created. According to some reports, there are now over 30 military air strips built there in the recent period. This feverish militaristic activity can be clearly understood in the light of the fact that the area comes within the ambit of CENTCOM, the US Central Command, which has within its sights close to twenty countries, including some in East Africa.

The Pentagon decided that it would need the additional airfields for use by its Rapid Deployment Force. Washington regards this interventionist force as a strike weapon for its neoglobalist policy, and plans to increase its numerical strength to more than half a million over the next few years.

With the consent of the Pakistani regime, these bases are used by US reconnaissance planes flying over the Indian Ocean to track the movement of ships. The supply of AWACS planes to Pakistan is being discussed. The Pentagon is prepared to get them over there as soon as possible so as to step up spying against the states whose policies Washington does not like. Over the past five years, Pakistan has received US military aid worth \$3.2 billion, and it is to go up to \$4.2 billion over the next few years. Since 1979, the regime's military expenditures have increased by 60 per cent, and the militaristic atmosphere is being constantly intensified.

Against the background of these provocative military preparations, public opinion saw the visit to India by CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachov as a symbol of peace and hope. Even before that, Moscow's firm voice in defence of a peaceful future for the Asian continent and the rest of the world rang out from Vladivostok. By his visit to India, the Soviet leader highlighted for everyone in the countries of our region the drastic distinction between the USSR's peaceful course and the expansionist and aggressive course of the United States. The Delhi Declaration stressed the dangers for mankind and called on the peoples to unite and work without delay for the triumph of peace.

When the Soviet Union speaks of peace, it backs up its words with actual steps, such as the nuclear test moratorium, the withdrawal of a part of the Soviet military contingent from Afghanistan, and so on. These acts are regarded by the peoples as even more convincing because they are taken by a power with a mighty military potential, but one which rejects diktat and the use of force. Hence the special moral significance of the Soviet stand on the key issues of Asian security.

Anti-war and anti-imperialist attitudes have been steadily growing in Pakistan as well, although the regime has pursued a policy of stepping up the war hysteria by means of the bogeys of a 'Soviet', 'Afghan' and 'Indian' threat. A few months back, when a bomb blast resulting from an act of terrorism took place in Peshawar, the authorities immediately declared that it had been caused by someone from Afghanistan. The people did not believe that, however, and vented their fury on US imperialism, which has swamped the country with weapons.

Let me stress in conclusion that the problems of our region, including those connected with a settlement over Afghanistan can be rapidly solved, but only if the genuine interests of our country, of its people and of common security are the guiding light. Pursuing the old course, with Pakistan acting as a conduit for the aggressive plans of the United States, would be making a regional settlement dependent on Reagan, the Pentagon and US imperialism.

² Abdul Wali Khan is a prominent political and public leader in Pakistan, and the author of several historical books, among them *Facts Are Sacred*, which was serialised in the periodical press and describes the British government's plans to partition colonial India into India and Pakistan. — *Ed.*

³ 'Fighters for the Faith' who actually are the dushman bandits. — *Ed.*

Against Japanese Militarism

Satiadjaya Sudiman — member of the leadership, CP Indonesia

THERE is an ever more pronounced trend in Southeast Asia, in the ASEAN countries towards the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. There is no alternative, because the policy of confrontation has proved to be quite futile. Hence the efforts to arrange a multilateral dialogue, and this will be seen, in particular, from the present mood in some ASEAN capitals to establish normal business relations with socialist Vietnam.

The search for collective ways to peace has also been more active in our region. Even reactionary governments, including that of Indonesia, my own country, can no longer shield themselves from the winds of change that are blowing with ever greater strength in the Asian-Pacific region. Let us recall that only recently the anti-communist ruling circles tried to explain the tensions in the region in the US way: they put the blame on a Soviet or Vietnamese 'threat'. The vital and timely Vladivostok initiatives of the Soviet Union and those of states of Indochina have clearly left less room for such propaganda exercises. Hanoi, Vientiane, and Phnompenh have, for instance, addressed this fruitful idea to their neighbouring countries: the conclusion of an agreement to set up a zone of peace and stability in Southeast Asia, while simultaneously normalising the situation that has taken shape round Kampuchea.

The USSR's programme for including Asia and the Pacific in a general security system, and the plan for building a nuclear-free world have met with a wide response in the ASEAN countries, while the repeated prolongation of the unilateral Soviet nuclear test moratorium has been very popular. Throughout the same period and very close to us there was an event of great political importance: the Rarotonga Treaty, declaring the South of the Pacific a nuclear-free zone, came into effect.

The treaty prohibits the development, use and testing of nuclear weapons, and the dumping of radioactive waste in the region. The Soviet Union was the first of the nuclear powers to sign the annexed protocols, while France abruptly rejected the treaty, and the United States confined itself to a more cautious formulation of its refusal to sign it. This major peace initiative by more than ten countries in the South Pacific has been met all over the world with hope and understanding. The Rarotonga Treaty documents were recently signed by the People's Republic of China.

The urge to take more resolute action to resist the danger of war has recently also prevailed among the ASEAN countries. The establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia is now also on the agenda, and a decision is to be taken at a summit meeting of the ASEAN Six this year.

However, the peace process in the region is not yet stable or progressive. One should not forget about the weakness of the mass anti-war movement in some countries, as in Indonesia, where the peace fighters are being subjected to repression. There is evidence of inconsistency among the ruling circles when it comes to regional and global security, and there is even an overt readiness to join in the geopolitical plans of imperialism. The territory of neighbouring Thailand is once again used by Washington for military-strategic purposes. The United States is returning to the air bases at Korat, Takli, Udon and Ubon, which it had used earlier. It intends to stockpile in Thailand large quantities of combat equipment for its Rapid Deployment Force. The Pentagon has not given up its long-cherished idea

of integrating some of the ASEAN countries, if not all of them, within a new military-political structure in East Asia and the Pacific.

US strategists have assigned to Japan the key role in knocking together, under US sponsorship, of an anti-Soviet and anti-socialist bloc in the Asian-Pacific region. Under a recent decision of the Nakasone government, the barrier limiting Japanese military spending to one per cent of the gross national product has been lifted, so paving the way to the unrestrained growth of appropriations for militaristic purposes, a fact that must alarm the countries which had earlier fallen victim to Japanese imperialist aggression. There are some additional weighty reasons for this in Indonesia.

Over the past two decades, Japan's monopoly capital has struck deep root in the Indonesian economy and has come to play the role of an internal factor. As of September 1986, Japanese capital investments stood at \$5.2 billion, and Japanese business men are working on 221 projects, apart from oil extraction. In industries like cars, electronics, chemicals, extraction and processing of raw materials, fisheries, banking and insurance, Japanese companies and financial groups have been ever more actively enlarging their positions, so not only pushing out their foreign rivals, but also ruining national entrepreneurs. A large part of the Indonesian bourgeoisie with the mass petty proprietors linked to it, wants the authorities to bar Japan's economic expansion; otherwise our economy could soon be under even greater control by the Japanese monopolies.

Needless to say that the Japanese government has given utmost support to this expansion, but the diplomatic and political pressures on other countries, including Indonesia, do not always work. Could that be the cause of the nostalgia for the military strength which the Japanese ruling circles have been building up on an ever greater scale?

The lifting of the military spending limit is a sinister symptom, and it cannot be obscured by any kind of assurances of peaceableness. From the political standpoint, Japan's decision had much more serious consequences in store for Asia, than the ruling circles in Tokyo present. Nor can this step be separated from the series of other similarly-oriented acts. Let me list some of the more important ones. First, Japan's inclusion in NATO's military strategy; second, the extension of its sphere of military activity to a thousand miles with closer interaction with US forward-based forces; and third, Japan's consent to take part in putting through the US 'Star wars' programme.

Tokyo's actions directly undermine the efforts to normalise the situation in the Asian-Pacific region, for the purpose of freezing or scaling down military rivalry in the area, and to seek ways to truly peaceful relations. ASEAN opinion has sounded the alarm over these dangerous developments. The Thai newspaper *Nation* says that any rapid increase in Japan's defence expenditures in the future is bound to cause alarm in Asia. The lessons of the Second World War have been paid with too high a price in human lives for the Asian peoples, which were victims of the Japanese occupation, to forget them.

Avert the Threat of Self-Annihilation

Abdul Aziz — Vice President, Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Association (AAPSO), Secretary-General, Afro-Asian Solidarity Association of Sri Lanka

ASIAN public opinion has been voicing mounting concern both over the situation taking shape in our region, and the dangerous developments in the world at large. It is above all concern for the future of the human race. The dramatism of the present moment in history is expressed in the Declaration of the Delhi Six (1985), which calls for action: "Every day we remain alive is a day of grace, as if mankind as a whole were a prisoner in the death cell awaiting the uncertain moment of execution."

One needs merely look at the vast Indian Ocean to sense the reality of the threat hanging over the peoples. More than 15 years ago the United Nations formulated the noble goal of creating a situation of lasting peace and security in the region. But it has not become a zone of peace, it is a zone of growing tensions, rivalry and conflict. The imperialist circles, those of the United States in the first place, are intent on building up a network of foreign bases in the area, including bases equipped with nuclear weapons.

However, imperialism has failed to intimidate the peace forces and the governments. There are ever louder calls in the region for the holding, under UN auspices, of an Indian Ocean conference, which has been repeatedly put off, but which is now slated for 1988 under a decision of the latest session of the UN General Assembly.

The search for ways to peace has been markedly activated following the Soviet leadership's Vladivostok initiatives, and the Soviet-Indian summit, which has met with a wide response in our region. The Reykjavik proposals by the Soviet Union were not only concrete but also gave humanity a hope to avoid a nuclear holocaust. It is important, therefore, to continue rallying international public opinion in support of them, and to prevent the concrete fruits of Reykjavik from being nullified.

The AAPSO is to mark its 30th anniversary at the end of this year and early the next. Through its national committees, it has done much in the past period in defence of the ideals of national liberation and social emancipation of the peoples and in defence of freedom and human dignity. AAPSO's programme for the immediate period ahead is designed to make these efforts even more active. AAPSO has focused on the problems of global and regional security, elimination of the seats of colonialism, neocolonialism and racism, solution of the developing world's challenging economic and social problems, and resistance to imperialist schemes. War and peace, the issue which is vital to mankind's future, is naturally central to the multifaceted activity of our movement.

An unprecedentedly intense contest between the two opposite conceptions of world development is under way in the international arena. The forces of imperialist reaction and militarism are trying to step up the missile confrontation, whipping up the arms race and plan to deploy nuclear weapons in space. This reckless, adventurist course is being resolutely resisted by the policy of the forces of socialism and peace, which want an end to the arms race, nuclear disarmament and the use of outer space solely for peaceful purposes.

Millions of participants in the Afro-Asian solidarity movement met with great interest the document of new political thinking, the Delhi Declaration on Principles for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World. It is addressed to all the

peoples and governments, and simultaneously to each of them. It is noteworthy that the basic propositions of this outstanding document either echo or coincide with the views and approaches to the problems of mankind's future in the non-aligned movement, the Delhi Six and our Afro-Asian solidarity movement. Delegates from more than 40 countries recently met for the AAPSO's 13th Presidium meeting in the capital of Mongolia, and adopted the Ulan Bator Appeal, which urges active and resolute efforts to save mankind from the threat of self-annihilation and to build a world free from wars, weapons and fear of the future. History has not left us too much time to realise the noble ideals of security, good neighbourhood and cooperation.

TNCs and the Working Class

Collective Interview with Representatives of the Working Class Movement

Transnational capital that monopolises production within individual countries and throughout the world economy has rapidly gained in strength over the past several years. Transnational corporations (TNCs) are empires with a scale of economic activity comparable to gross national products of entire states. They have long since become a constituent element of the system of neocolonial exploitation of the less developed countries (LDCs). Now they have also turned into a real force undermining the sovereignty of industrialised capitalist countries and threatening a serious decline in the working people's living standards, growing unemployment and curtailment of democratic rights.

Here are a few pertinent facts. In the early 1980s, TNC's assets abroad totalled more than \$500 billion, and in the mid-1980s they reached \$800 billion. The total number of TNC subsidiaries abroad exceeds 100,000 with over 70,000 — the bulk — being located in the industrialised capitalist countries. Over one-half of the profits appropriated by TNCs comes from enterprises outside the home-base country. TNCs control over one-third of the industrial output, more than one-half of international trade, and almost 80 per cent of new high technology patents in the capitalist world. Operations by these monopolies have led to the shutdown of many enterprises and the dismissal of hundreds of thousands of workers. The violation of laws by TNCs in the host countries and their meddling in the internal affairs of independent states were discussed at the United Nations, where work is under way to frame a code of conduct for TNCs. The World Federation of Trade Unions and other international trade union centres have adopted many resolutions calling for a curb on the arbitrary behaviour of TNCs.

WMR asked representatives of the working class movement in various industrialised capitalist countries to comment on the problems facing the working class with the growth of TNCs. Answers were given by General Council member of the British Trades Union Congress (TUC) **Ken Gill**; Senator **Silvano Andriani**, President of the Centre for Economic and Political Studies and member of the Italian CP CC; **Aime Halbehur**, Editor-in-Chief of the journal *Economie et Politique*, and member of the French CP CC; **Jan Berghuis**, member of the production council at Hoogovens, and member of the CP Netherlands CC Political Bureau; Professor **Jacques Nagels** of

Brussels University and member of the CP Belgium CC Political Bureau; **George Hewison**, National Industrial Secretary of the CP Canada; **Setsuo Yoshihara**, Editor-in-Chief of the Japanese journal *International Labour Movement*; Professor **Jorg Huffschnid** of Bremen University and Board member of the German Communist Party; **Andre Leisewitz**, deputy director of the Institute for Marxist Studies (IMSF) in the FRG.

Below are their abridged replies

What positions do TNCs have in your country, and what are their peculiarities from the working class standpoint, as compared with national capital? What effect are they having on the overall economic situation?

Ken Gill. There are multinationals that have been in Britain for many years, for instance, General Motors and Ford. They have learned to live with our country's traditional arrangements between labour and capital, i.e. recognition of trade unions and negotiations with them. But the newer invasion of the multinationals in the last 10 or 15 years has been of a very different type. They are determined anti-union, they bring the tradition of antagonism to working class organisations from the United States and have tried to impose it on our working class in the anti-union atmosphere created by the Thatcher government.¹

Silvano Andriani. The US enterprises which appeared in Italy in the 1960s accepted the terms of collective bargaining characteristic of our country. Nevertheless, they are getting higher profits, because wages here are lower than in the United States. But the main thing for them is to penetrate into the key strategic industries, to establish control over them, and to get hold of the market. These are primarily high technology industries, such as chemicals, pharmaceuticals and sophisticated electronics. Over the past few years, the TNCs have preferred not to set up new enterprises, but to buy up existing ones, including some leading companies.

TNCs outwardly operate like local capital, but markedly reduce the capacity of the state to influence enterprises and to conduct a policy for national economic development. This problem can be observed in all the countries where there are TNCs, but it mostly affects the states with weaker economies which find it hard to resist this pressure, especially since the US government supports the expansion of US TNCs. Over the past few years, the Japanese government, too, has also given much help to its TNCs.

Jacques Nagels. The transnational invasion of Belgium began before the First World War, but was significantly stepped up in the 1960s. Legislation was enacted in 1969 to give big privileges to foreign capital on taxes, infrastructure and government subsidies. Belgium's central position in the Common Market, the availability of modern ports and transit facilities, and a high-skilled labour force have all favoured TNC penetration into manufacturing, banking and services. In manufacturing, TNCs make over one-half of current capital investment. The decisions taken within TNCs are beyond the control of the national state, and are in the interests of the TNC head office, which could be located anywhere, except Belgium. That enables TNCs and the state behind them to use vast monetary resources against our country's interests. Whenever they want to attack the Belgian franc, for example, they can do it very easily.

The TNCs, as a rule, rise over and above the national economy and have relatively tenuous ties with it. Thus, the products of the plant belonging to the Swedish car-maker Volvo in our country are all exported and do not come to the Belgian market. Ford cars assembled in our country are filled with engines all of

which are imported from abroad. That is also far from being national production: it is supranational production.

Setsuo Yoshihara. The TNC issue began to worry the working class in Japan not very long ago. The liberalisation of foreign trade and capital movement which began in 1964 opened the doors to foreign corporations. At the same time Japanese capital started its expansion abroad. The news media of the countries infiltrated by Japanese capital often report on the ruthless exploitation of the local population, but our press and television ignore these facts, and the Japanese people are, for all practical purposes, unaware of what Japanese TNCs are doing abroad.

Andre Leisewitz. There are large differences between enterprises controlled by local and by US capital, for example in the automobile industry. One of these is known as the 'fragmented market'. Exports from the FRG to the United States by Volkswagen, for instance, are determined by its own decisions, but for the US subsidiaries Opel and Ford the American market is not very open if there is overproduction.

Jorg Huffscheid. When TNCs buy up rival foreign companies they often close down some of the purchased plants after a relatively short time so as to enforce their share of the market. That leads to cutbacks in production in the host countries. But resources are often switched to the countries where the new plants have been taken over. FRG chemical companies, for instance, have acquired lots of smaller companies in the United States with highly developed technical and scientific know-how and are now transferring there a large part of their own resources, thereby cutting back production in the FRG and reducing the country's scientific and technical potential.

So, it comes out that TNCs undermine the possibility of conducting an independent economic policy and do much harm to the host country by curtailing production, weakening the industrial, scientific and technical potential, foreign exchange machinations, and so on. It is the working class and its right to work that are the prime victims of such policies. What are the effects on employment and jobs?

Aime Halbehur. Austerity policies lead to a reduction of employment, a worsening of working conditions, and a decline in wages wherever TNCs have gained a foothold. In France, they try to reduce producer capacities and transfer their capital to countries with cheap labour power and lower taxes. That tends to provoke what we call de-industrialisation and so aggravates unemployment. The most obvious cases are steel, cars and ships, where tens of thousands of jobs have been lost.

Jan Berghuis. The Hoogovens steel concern, where I am a member of the production council, owns mines in less developed countries, and that makes it a TNC in that sense.² Five years ago, Hoogovens employed 24,000 workers at its plants; there are only 17,000 today. In the past, most workers had solid labour contracts. Now the management tries to reduce their number to a minimum, while on-call workers are brought in to perform manual and low-mechanised operations. These workers have much worse working conditions, their working hours are longer and wages lower. That deprives them of any sense of security. The new generation which is coming to replace pension age people has casual work in store for it from the very outset.

Jacques Nagels. Since the second half of the 1970s, employment at TNCs' plants in Belgium began to decline as shops and entire plants were closed down one after another, and thousands of wage and salaried workers lost their jobs. That is what happened at the French Citroen and Michelin concerns, and the US Bell Telephone, Ford and General Motors. Dutch Philips and West German Siemens transferred enterprises to South Korea, Hongkong and some Latin American countries where wages are 10-15 per cent of those of Belgian workers.

Jorg Huffschnid. The number of jobs at steel plants in the FRG bought up by the Luxembourg company ARBED was almost halved within a few years. That could not have been possible, many believe, had the enterprises stayed nationally owned.

The TNCs have markedly complicated the problem of employment. But mass unemployment, for its part, creates a situation facilitating the drive by the reactionary forces against the working people's living standards, working conditions and trade union rights. What is the situation in your country?

Ken Gill. The multinationals have set up international assembly lines, with flexibility in manipulating their workforce and production facilities. That is being used against the working class. Take Ford for example: in order to put down the trade unions at its enterprises in Western Europe, it has re-allocated production in such a way as to continue turning out its products at parallel plants in other countries in the event of a strike in one country. Reserve capacities have been set up for that purpose.

George Hewison. The present high level of unemployment can be illustrated by the following incident. Not long ago, the Canadian joint-venture of the French Renault and the American Motors, advertised for 3,000 job vacancies. That call was picked up by more than 50,000 jobless. They waited overnight and all day in the pouring rain for the chance to get one job out of 16.

Attempts are being made to blackmail and extort the working class. The management at one of our major GM auto factories with many militant workers has threatened, for instance, to lay off one-half of the workforce. The data on growing exploitation are also indicative. The Canadian automobile worker used to produce on average about 20 automobiles per year in 1960, and 41 automobiles in 1980, while the new Suzuki-GM joint-venture is trying to raise the figure to over 100 cars, a fivefold increase. Meanwhile, wages have been lagging badly. TNCs have exported to our country new management techniques, such as the 'productivity circle' and the 'quality circle', which are known as 'Japanese-style management'. These 'circles' are inimical to the workers' interests, because they help to step up the rate of exploitation and create the impression of a harmony of interests between labour and capital. The trade unions have launched a campaign against them.

Setsuo Yoshihara. While TNCs pay the minimal mandatory social benefits, they refuse to allow any additional benefits which are common in Japanese companies, and disrupt the traditional labour-organisation systems. Thus, the Coca Cola corporation made its workers combine delivery and handling operations, which made labour immensely more arduous and intense. The working class in Japan concludes collective contracts at about the same time of the year, in the course of the spring offensive. But bargaining with TNCs is often delayed to take the workers out of the united front of struggle. TNCs ignore the principles of bargaining equality of the parties and take a calm attitude towards strikes. Thus, the West German pharmaceutical concern Schering, with subsidiaries in Japan and

Southeast Asia, brings into the country, during strikes, products from its Taiwan subsidiary, without actually suffering any losses. The trade union fought the West German company in the courts for ten years over its unfair labour practices. The union finally got a ruling in its favour, but the management simply ignored it.

Andre Leisewitz. In 1984, General Motors bought the US EDS corporation, which dealt with all forms of electronic data processing. It was announced in the FRG in 1986 that all those working for Opel (a GM subsidiary) and having to do with electronic data operations would have to transfer to the EDS concern. In this way, workers are being removed from their traditional form of trade union organisation and deprived of support of the existing broad solidarity with their comrades in the struggle.

The drive of TNCs, together with other forces of reaction, against the working class is being opposed by its growing militancy and better organisation. This struggle is assuming diverse forms. Please describe them.

Jan Berghuis. The struggle of the Hoogovens workers is now focused on shortening the working week, and they have had some success. The working week has been reduced from 42.5 to 37 hours, so providing 600 new jobs. That took a number of strikes. There is now ever-wider demand for the working week to be reduced to 32 hours by 1988.

There is also a struggle for the right to control management decisions. The company has 26 plants from which workers are elected to a central production council, a consultative body, on questions like the introduction of new technology, changes in working hours and work schedules. Before the management takes a decision it must obtain the council's consent, without which the decision is put off for two months and only then becomes effective.

But the workers often have to go beyond these procedures. It was decided some time ago, for example, to close down the steel foundry. Although the production board objected, the management still went ahead. The workers, led by the Communists, put up stiff resistance, went on strike and forced the management to give up the idea.

Jacques Nagels. There is a long-standing tradition in Belgium of the workers taking over enterprises whenever their owners unilaterally decide to close down a shop or plant, and Michelin is a typical example. In July 1986, the management announced, virtually without any notice, that the plant was to be closed down. The workers' response was short and swift: they occupied the plant at once. Trade unions across the country displayed solidarity, the press supported what the Michelin workers had done, and they had managed to put their case on radio and television. The company found itself in isolation and was denied subsidies from the government. The workers failed to have the plant opened, but the management had to give them three-years' severance pay.

TNCs are an international force, and closer cooperation between working people in various countries, especially those employed at plants of one and the same TNC, is on the agenda. Have there been any cases of such cooperation?

Ken Gill. It was easy to divide workers of various countries in the past by laying emphasis on competition between them, but the TNCs straddle all the national boundaries and consequently the workers are forced to consider their relations with foreign workers working for the same employer. Constant contacts between shop

stewards at Ford plants in Britain and the FRG were established in the late 1960s. Their joint action helped to win one of the major strikes in the early 1970s. A meeting of workers' representatives from Vauxhall plants in Britain and several other GM subsidiaries in various countries was held in Liverpool in 1986. But there is still not enough of such collaboration.

Aime Halbehur. We encourage contacts between workers of one and the same TNC located in different countries. Such are the meetings between those employed by Renault in the United States, Mexico, Spain and FRG. Meetings of chemical workers from France and Belgium, and of miners and railwaymen have been held. We are trying to extend ties with workers in LDCs to carry on a joint struggle in the spirit of a new solidarity and to confront the TNCs and the capitalist states which coordinate their policies.

Jacques Nagels. A few more words about the Michelin case. Trade unionists at the closed Belgian plant at once got in touch with workers in France, who came over to discuss the situation and to voice their protest against the management's arbitrary acts. That helped to gain a partial success, at any rate, as I have already said. I could also cite the example of ferrous metallurgy, where very frequent, if not constant, contacts have been maintained with workers from Luxembourg and France since 1969-1970.

The Michelin case is also interesting from another angle. The proposal once put before the European Parliament to establish general rules for TNCs was shelved, but after the Michelin case, Belgian deputies again demanded concrete action to limit arbitrary acts. I feel that that is highly important because the working class fighting the TNCs has to deal not only with private companies but also with various supranational superstructures in shipbuilding, textiles and ferrous metallurgy.³

George Hewison. Canadian trade unions are in touch with workers in various countries: US, Japan, France and many others. They make a thorough study of each other's experience. Despite the separation of our unions from those in the United States, we must maintain the closest fraternal relationships with US workers. At the last convention of the Canadian Labour Congress a rather important new resolution was adopted calling for the re-establishment of ties with the USSR All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and with international trade union bodies, specifically for the purpose of gathering information on the role of TNCs and to discuss strategies of how effectively to take them on.

What then is the obstacle to closer cooperation between workers, including those employed by the same TNCs?

Ken Gill. First, there is the national barrier: there obviously is not quite as much understanding of one national's case by another national. Then there are artificial divisions in the world trade union movement, although it has to be said that the refusal to collaborate has not come from the WFTU. On the shop-stewards level, we have had plenty of examples of bilateral arrangements, say, between British unions and CGT unions in France.

Silvano Andriani. National wage differentials are an obstacle to collectively bargained contracts with TNCs. Thus, if wages at Ford plants in Italy were to be fixed on the FRG level, i.e., if they were roughly doubled, then there would be a differential between Italian workers employed by Ford and those at other enterprises.

George Hewison. There are other difficulties as well. US workers in the auto industry have accepted 'profit-sharing' proposed by corporations, whereas Canadian workers have rejected it, insisting that wages should be right up front in the contract. That has become a major point of disagreement.

Setsuo Yoshihara. The same collective contracts cannot be bargained within the framework of one TNC unless all the workers employed by it are represented by the international branch union, which could stage concerted strike action.

Workers in Japan's chemical industry are affiliated with the international branch union, which has drawn up a standard form of collective contract for unions in each country to try, through their own efforts, to win roughly similar working conditions. That is possibly the most realistic way.

TNCs themselves impede cooperation between their workers. In industries where Japanese companies have grown into TNCs, they have set up their own organisations for spreading to TNC subsidiaries abroad the relations of collaboration with capital which are characteristic of these companies at home.

Jorg Huffschnid. Because of the crisis, it is very hard to arrange international solidarity and resistance against nationally conducted plant closedowns and layoffs. There is, for example, the French company Thomson-Brandt, which within a very short time acquired several West German plants turning out electronics, and radio and TV-recorders, and soon closed them down. The workers began a struggle and occupied one of the factories. But in that case there was almost no solidarity coming from working people at other plants of the same company in our country, or from French and Belgian workers employed at Thomson-Brandt enterprises. Fear of losing one's job is a formidable barrier to international solidarity.⁴

Alongside stronger solidarity the struggle to establish national control over the TNCs and for a corresponding state policy has a big part to play, and here we find a number of fundamental questions, above all: can such control be effective under capitalism?

Ken Gill. We believe the trade union movement and the political organisations of the Left have got to start putting forward a set of rules to limit the power of the TNCs' right to shift their production facilities, like pawns on an international chessboard, from one country to another, their ability to manipulate governments, their taxing arrangements, their power to override democratic processes of countries, and damage their economy without recourse to law. All those things could be done, if there was a disposition on the part of the governments to respond to the needs of workers. But most of the capitalist states, particularly in Europe, for instance, are more inclined to compete with one another and to try to get investment by the multinationals in their own countries by offering them various subsidies and privileges.

Silvano Andriani. It is impossible simply to say 'no' to the internationalisation of production, but it is quite possible to arrange control over the superconcerns in each country and within the framework of the European Community. The main thing is to make TNCs take part in national economic development programmes and to prevent capital from escaping abroad. The state and the EC agencies, we believe, must be vested with the right to interfere in the affairs of TNCs and to force them to take part in development programmes. That can be done by the working class both by direct action on the plant level and by getting the state to introduce the necessary forms of control.

The internationalisation of banks and of the financial structure has become a major problem. It is the movement of capital that is now hardest to control. Banks in Italy are nominally state institutions, but in practice they hardly differ from private ones, and are under growing pressure from US bank capital.

Aime Halbehur. The French CP is campaigning for more active intervention by the workers in company and financial management, and for control over enterprise investments, state funding and the capitals of banks and savings institutions. The whole aggregate of financial resources must serve to develop production, greater employment, higher skills and technological research.

The policy of reprivatisation⁵ poses a serious threat. The authorities in capitalist countries, including that of France, have been selling off state enterprises, with the wealthiest families and the TNCs buying up on the easiest terms and at low prices companies like Saint Gobain, Schneider, and Michelin, among others, which are being denationalised. Reprivatisation makes it harder to resist the TNCs.

Jan Berghuis. We believe that, in fighting TNCs, it is important, first, to enact legislation to enlarge the powers of production councils so that they could exert a greater influence on company management. There is a need, furthermore, to establish control over the export of capital, and third, although it is hard to do this legislatively, production councils should be made international bodies, so that they could carry on the struggle against TNCs together with workers in other countries on legal grounds.

Jacques Nagels. The left-wing forces in Belgium are demanding that the state should resist the TNCs, decide on all key investments, insist on TNCs' profits being reinvested in the economy, so as to promote the growth of employment, instead of wrecking it. It should completely prohibit the sudden closure of enterprises, and specify that their fate should be decided as a part of medium-term national planning, say, over the period of one or two years.

Some TNCs have mixed enterprises in a number of socialist countries. There they have to abide by internal legislation and adapt to working within the planning system. In the capitalist world that cannot be done because of the symbiosis of the state with national and transnational capital. But in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, when power is in the hands of a left-wing progressive government acting in the interests of the working class and its allies, such government could well impose effective curbs on arbitrary acts by the TNCs. Even under capitalism it is now necessary to work for legislation the TNCs will have to observe.

Jorg Huffscheid. While transnational monopolies are concentrations of great power, there still are means of controlling their activity, mainly via the national state policy. The first thing that needs to be changed is the political situation, to have the state give hard time to TNCs, especially when they try to close down their factories. There are real political forces capable of compelling the state to conduct such a policy.

Many TNCs are linked to the arms business and the militaristic forces. The internationalisation of capital has gone hand in hand with attempts to bolster imperialist military blocs and to whip up the arms race. How is the movement for peace interwoven with the fight against the dominance of the TNCs?

Aime Halbehur. French TNCs regard participation in the policy of arms build-up

and the US space militarisation programme as an important source of additional profits. That is why they look to agreements and alliances with US corporations, export capital to the United States, and switch to that country some of their R and D to the detriment of industrial production and employment in France. Thus the movement for peace and disarmament is most directly linked to our struggle for full employment and the development of the French economy.

Jan Berghuis. Since the TNCs have a prominent role in the arms race, resistance to them is closely bound up with the peace movement. Trade unions in the Netherlands are directly involved in it. A nation-wide strike was staged, for instance, against the deployment of US cruise missiles on our soil.

Jacques Nagels. Reagan's ultra-militaristic policy fully accords with the arms monopoly interests. Belgian companies are getting their share of TNC arms contracts. All of that goes to bolster the military-industrial complex on an international level. Our working class is fighting against any step-up in the arms race and against the waste of money on military preparations.

George Hewison. The working class movement is a many-sided process. It cannot be successful only through an economic struggle. The trade unions have also to take up the battle against the neoconservative reaction and TNCs, in defence of the economic, political and military sovereignty. Our military-industrial complex is not as extended as in the United States or Britain, but stubborn attempts have been made to integrate Canada and the United States, to involve Canada in the 'star wars' programme, which is a threat to the existence of our country and the rest of mankind.

Editorial Note. The exchange of views shows the great diversity of conditions in various countries and at the same time the similarity of the consequences of TNC domination for the economy and the condition of the working class. Despite the objective difficulties and barriers erected by the forces of reaction there is growing international solidarity among the working people in the struggle for their economic interests, for effective control over TNCs, for genuine national independence, and for peace.

¹ In January 1987, Caterpillar Corporation unilaterally shut down its plant in Scotland in total defiance of the trade union and the local authorities. Hyster has refused to recognise or bargain with the trade union of which its workers are members in Britain. Unisys bought a computer plant and instantly closed it down, dismissing 360 workers. The whole world has followed the arbitrary treatment given to British print workers by Murdoch's transnational newspaper empire. — *Ed.*

² As are Royal Dutch, Unilever, Philips and some other Dutch corporations. — *Ed.*

³ Following these events in the autumn of 1986, a meeting was held at the CP Belgium CC of communist parties' representatives from several West European countries where Michelin has its enterprises: the French CP, the Italian CP, the CP Spain, the German CP and a group of Communist members of the European Parliament. They discussed the need for public, democratic control over the activity of the TNCs. — *Ed.*

⁴ International cooperation between workers of West German TNCs has, nevertheless, been growing. Thus, the metal workers' union recently held a meeting with the representatives of workers from Volkswagen plants in the FRG, United States, Spain, Belgium, Argentina, Brazil and South Africa to discuss their common interests, contacts and cooperation. — *Ed.*

⁵ The extensive sale by conservative governments of state companies into private ownership. — *Ed.*

viewpoints

How Vulnerable are the British Tories?

Reflections on the Eve of Possible Elections

Gerry Pocock — EC Political Committee
member, Communist Party of Great Britain

ALTHOUGH the date for it has not been set the forthcoming general election in Britain is already the subject of intense comment and speculation. This election¹ will be a major political event for the British people. Moreover, given Britain's still strong international position and influence, and particularly the Thatcher government's stance on such world issues as nuclear weapons, South Africa, and backing for Reagan's aggressions, the outcome of the polling will have a significant international impact. This impact will be all the more marked because of the policies of the main opposition Labour Party on nuclear weapons.

For the first time since the end of World War II the British people have the possibility of electing a parliament (and, consequently, a government) committed not only to ending Britain's independent nuclear weaponry, but also the total removal of US nuclear weapons and bases. It is this commitment that has made the Labour Party the target of a frenzy of near-hysterical attacks from the US administration, NATO leaders and, of course, the Tory Party of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Labour's adoption of a non-nuclear defence policy has been a fresh impetus to questioning some of the assumptions on which Britain's postwar defence policy has been based. This development was brought about by a number of factors. One is the crisis in military policy. The Tories intend to begin the modernisation of Britain's nuclear deterrent in the early 1990s, the chosen replacement being the US Trident system, which is a destructive power many times greater than the present Polaris system. The enormous cost will be at the expense of conventional weapons. Hence the unease in the Establishment. Hence, too, Labour's opposition to this intention. Labour's policy document 'The Power to Defend Our Country' puts the emphasis on using the money saved by cancelling Trident to boost conventional defence spending and modernisation. A significant section of the Liberal Party is close to the Labour position on nuclear weapons.

One more factor behind this development is the increasing scepticism about the myth of Soviet aggression. Opinion in Britain has been greatly impressed by the Soviet peace initiatives and proposals, particularly by the Soviet unilateral nuclear test moratorium.

Already in 1984 the visit by Labour leaders Neil Kinnock and Denis Healey to Moscow resulted in agreement on mutual disarmament measures. It is a serious omission that nothing has been said of this in Labour's latest statements.

Labour's stand is visibly influenced also by the changes in the world, by the

Gerry Pocock (b.1932) joined the Communist Party of Great Britain in 1954. He was Organisation Secretary of the Young Communist League of Great Britain in 1953-1963. He held office in the World Federation of Trade Unions in the 1970s, and in the Industry Department of the party's Executive Committee in 1978-1980. He became head of the EC's International Department in 1980 and was elected to the Executive Committee in 1981 and to the Political Committee in 1982.

anxiety caused by the US policy on disarmament and the SDI, and by NATO strategy. Attention is merited by Labour's total support for the SDPG-SUPG agreement on the suggested nuclear-free corridor in Central Europe. This support is no mere formality: the creation of a corridor will have a bearing also on a section of the British forces in West Germany.

The Labour Party's defence policy is influenced perceptibly by the massive British movement for peace, against nuclear weapons. Though this movement has grown dramatically since 1979 — and is arguably the biggest and most stable peace movement in Western Europe — it has been in continuous existence for 25 years, arguing and campaigning for unilateral disarmament in Britain. Its main demands are shared by the TUC — the single centre that groups the overwhelming majority of Britain's trade unions — the Labour Party, the Communist Party, a large section of the Liberal Party, much Christian opinion, and wider.

In recent years the main focus of the movement has been on preventing the deployment of Cruise and Trident missiles in Britain, but now it has begun campaigning to draw public attention to the impermissibility of using nuclear weapons as an instrument of policy. One result has been a significant shift of opinion in favour of Britain unilaterally renouncing nuclear weapons. There is no doubt either that the US use of its British bases for the raid on Libya in 1986 had a profound effect on opinion, and gave a boost to the peace movement's campaign for their closure.

It has to be said that Labour's policy is a mixture of courage and weakness. Courage in asserting a non-nuclear defence policy, weakness in its arguments and failure to recognise the role of the mass peace campaigning. Its arguments have caused some dismay and confusion among Labour supporters and peace activists. It emphasises increased spending on conventional weapons, makes no commitment to reduce the arms spending programmes, and refuses to challenge the underlying assumptions of defence policy. It makes no reference to the need for continued mass campaigning on the vital issues of disarmament and fails to appreciate the significance of the peace movement. *Yet it is clear that active support for a non-nuclear defence policy is going to be vital in countering Tory election campaigning. The Communist Party welcomes Labour's commitment to rid Britain of nuclear weapons, but emphasises that much still remains to be done to get support from the electorate.*

Labour's defence policy is not yet an 'election winner'. Indeed, one leading Tory, John Biffen, says he wants defence to be the main issue at the election so that Labour can be defeated. Not all of his fellow Tories are so confident. Opinion is changing, and it is also the case that international developments, particularly on disarmament negotiations, can play a very important role in public attitudes.

Thatcher's policy towards the racist South African regime is arousing growing concern in Britain and opposition in the Commonwealth and the EEC. The anti-apartheid movement has itself grown enormously and its 'People's sanctions' campaign has persuaded some companies to stop or restrict their sales of South African goods. Britain's involvement in South Africa is shown in the level of investment — some 40 per cent of the total foreign investments. British companies employ some 370,000 workers in South Africa. The British market is the third largest for South African exports. There is also the historical association between Britain and South Africa. All this means that the stance adopted by the British government can be of decisive importance in determining the level and effectiveness of international sanctions.

The Labour Party is committed to a policy of sanctions — a significant advance compared to Tory Policy and to the practice of previous Labour governments, which had opposed sanctions. The Communist Party has emphasised in this regard

the crucial importance of continued mass pressure. In the latter half of 1986, it made support for the African National Congress the focus of one of the most imaginative campaigns seen for many years. Through our 'Roads to Freedom' initiative events in support of the ANC were held throughout the country, winning wide involvement. This campaign culminated in the Christmas Appeal for aid to dependants of apartheid victims in South Africa. A total of 18,000 pounds has been handed over to the ANC office in London.

A factor behind the decline of Tory influence is that in this period Britain has become further embroiled in the EEC, although Thatcher herself is regarded as a sceptic about the degree of integration sought by other members. The Labour Party is not putting withdrawal from the EEC in the forefront for the next general election, and on the whole tends to ignore the issue. A majority Labour government which sought to implement its economic strategy would, however, rapidly come face to face with EEC restrictions.

While international factors may play a more than usually important part in the election, they are unlikely to alter one of the long-standing truths of British politics: the electorate in the last analysis make their decision on domestic issues. Unemployment is still regarded — according to opinion polls — as the most important issue, and this has been the case since the beginning of the 1980s. It was displaced in 1982 by the Falklands war, the impact of which played a large part in establishing Margaret Thatcher's 'strong leader' image and helped her win the election of 1983. But the situation is now different. Unemployment, according to official statistics, is over three million. Any reduction of this total has been due to a series of changes in the government's method of calculation.

Margaret Thatcher's period in office has been marked by a worsening of the crisis, which Britain shares with most of the developed capitalist countries, and a devastating further deterioration of Britain's own position relative to these countries. A decline is to be observed in manufacturing. January figures published by the Department of Employment show that in this industry jobs have fallen by almost two million since 1979: from 7,067,000 to 5,126,000. This is a 28 per cent fall compared with an increase in Japan of 4.9 per cent and drops of only 2 per cent in the USA and 8.6 per cent in West Germany. Capital investment in manufacturing is 17 per cent below 1979.

The 5.5 billion pound surplus for 1980 in trade in manufactures is likely to have been reversed for 1986 at an estimated 8 billion pounds worth. British overseas investment reached 15.3 billion pounds in 1985, and is likely to have been equalled last year. One of the Thatcher government's first steps in taking office was to remove all existing exchange controls. The transnational banks and companies operating within the internationalised financial system have grown much stronger. The dominant role of the City of London as a world finance centre is a long-standing, main cause of Britain's relative industrial backwardness.² Neither the government nor private business have done anything to tackle deep-seated weaknesses in the British economy such as the continued use of inadequate, out-of-date plant and technology, the relatively low levels of modern skill attainment, and wholly insufficient support for civilian research, development, and innovation. The privatisation of significant sections of British industry has removed important elements of social control while contributing to the process of a greater concentration of wealth and power being appropriated by a minority.

An almost decade of monetarist policies has combined with structural changes in the economy to produce a very difficult political and economic situation for the working class and its allies. The Tory government has made skilful use of the changing pattern of work and the shortcomings in public services and industries to promote social divisions. Nationally, unemployment is at 13.1 per cent (four

million persons) though in some areas, including parts of Northern Ireland, it is over 20 per cent. Poverty is spreading, the most affected people being the long-term unemployed and part-time workers. However, for a significant section of those with jobs, material living standards in cash terms have not gone down, while in some instances have been ahead of inflation. This is an important potential of Tory support. (Let me note in parenthesis that wages and salaries lag far behind profits and dividends: since 1983 the latter have grown by more than 50 per cent, while earnings rose only by 16 per cent. This is further evidence that the Thatcher government is a government for big business.)

To the extent that in its election campaign the Labour Party is able to push the economic situation to the fore, the more vulnerable the Tories will become. The Labour Party has produced a strategy for the creation of a million jobs in two years, accompanied by longer-term measures to reindustrialise the economy. However, there is little sign of willingness to challenge the domination of the economy by the multinational companies and by finance capital with their ramified international links.

There is no doubting Margaret Thatcher's determination to win a third term of office. Equally, there is no doubting that Labour has made a substantial recovery, both in support and self-confidence, since the 1983 election. This is to be the second general election in which the Liberal-SDP Alliance will take part and it is uncertain about whether it will get its support at the expense of Labour or Tory. Given the nature of the electoral system, essentially designed for a two-party contest, this factor is quite significant. What is certain is that no party can count on winning a majority of votes.

In order to make an assessment it would be useful to consider the exceptional outcome of the 1983 election. The Tory victory was in reality due to the split opposition vote. They won 43.5 per cent of the vote, which was a slight decrease on 1979. They were supported by only 31 per cent of the electorate (the lowest proportion since 1923) but gained 398 seats (an increase of 58). The Labour vote dropped from 36.9 per cent in 1979 to 28 per cent, losing 60 seats (they now have a total of 209). The Alliance vote jumped from 13.9 to 26 per cent, but this brought them only 23 seats. It was thus the Alliance vote that produced a massive Tory majority of seats.

An analysis of the vote in *Marxism Today* showed that it was only among tenants of municipal housing that Labour got a majority of votes — 57 per cent. Of trade unionists, only 39 per cent voted for Labour. This causes concern, for it was the trade unions who created the Labour Party, and most trade unions are affiliated to it. The Tories got 32 per cent of the trade unionist vote, the Alliance 20 per cent. Even amongst the unemployed, only 45 per cent of those voting chose Labour.

It would not be correct to attribute this setback entirely to the right-wing domination of the Labour Party or to the failure of successive Labour governments to fulfil their pledges, although these are very important factors. Labour, as a whole, failed to recognise and come to terms with the changed aspirations and expectations of people, and their deep concern and grievances on such issues as housing, the bureaucracy and lack of democracy in public institutions, and the inadequacies in the nationalised industries. Labour, to many, seemed a party rooted in the past. This feeling extended to the trade unions, which were portrayed as undemocratic and out of touch with their members. While the Labour movement often had progressive policies, far too little was done to win mass understanding and support. The Social Democratic Party, which arose from the defection from the Labour Party of certain right-wing personalities, won over many who, though not prepared to support the Thatcher government, were not attracted to what they considered an old-fashioned Labour Party.

But the Thatcher victories were not only the consequences of Labour failings. Thatcherism conducted a populist assault, exploiting genuine discontents, and projected its own ideology: promising 'freedom of choice' and lauding self-reliance posed against the postwar development of social welfare. Unemployment was portrayed as due to 'international factors' and to too-powerful trade unions, and in any case as a lesser evil than inflation. It cannot be denied that large sections of the people are still inclined to favour privatisation of state-owned industries, the sale of municipal housing, and restrictions on trade unions.

But *there have been important changes since 1983. Labour is now much more united and confident and has increased its support.* While opinion polls show considerable fluctuation, there seems little doubt that Labour has regained a lot of the support it lost in 1983. In a speech last October commenting on the Labour Party conference, Gordon McLennan, Communist Party General Secretary, said: "There is a mountain still to climb" to defeat the Tories, marginalise the Alliance, and win a majority Labour government. The conference did not call for mass campaigning or "a leadership in developing the action of tens of thousands for Labour's positive policies".

On the eve of this election the Thatcher government is in a very different position compared with the months before the 1983 election. Then Thatcher was not only riding high after the Falklands war, she also had an aura of invulnerability. This is not the case now. While privatisation of some state-owned companies has been popular with an important section of the population, the full-blooded privatisation of crucial services is not so popular. There is strong support for the maintenance of health, education, and welfare services. The visible growth of poverty and homelessness, concern about the continuing high level of unemployment, and the crisis state of the economy have shaken faith in Thatcher. She is unlikely to regain the ascendancy she enjoyed five years ago; even the most optimistic of her supporters expects no more than a victory with a reduced majority.

Labour can win, but even less than in the past can it rely on automatic support or an inevitable 'swing of the pendulum' to give it victory. Votes will have to be fought for. A defeat for Thatcher will be an opening to new opportunities on tackling Britain's economic crisis and unemployment, on defence of essential social services, on peace and disarmament, and on the struggle against apartheid.

The Communist Party will be putting forward its own candidates in a limited number of constituencies. In all parts of the country we shall be acting in support of the labour and peace movement and showing the important role that these movements are playing in Britain.

¹ The House of Commons is elected for a term of five years. The next election is to be held not later than in June 1988. However, the ruling party may schedule it for any date it finds suitable to itself. In British political circles it is believed that this election will be held either in the spring or the autumn of 1987. — *Ed.*

² Finance capitals' traditional involvement in currency operations in the stock exchange diverts enormous sums of money that might have been used for industrial investment. — *Ed.*

Why We Reject Atlanticism

Simon Sanchez Montero — CC
Executive Committee and Secretariat member,
Communist Party of Spain

AMONG the problems of political life in Spain, membership of NATO¹ is particularly disturbing. The following two examples suffice to illustrate this. A rally of nearly 300,000 people took place in Madrid last September in solidarity with the Chilean democrats. When leaders of the governing Spanish Socialist Workers' Party appeared on the podium they were met with chants of "NATO — No! Out with the Military Bases!". The other example is what occurred on October 19, 1986 when the 50th anniversary of the Civil War was marked in Madrid. One of the highlights was the honouring of veterans of the International Brigades. There, too, the Socialists were met with the same slogans. This is not surprising, for in recent years it is the demand most frequently articulated in Spain.

Revelations From a Secret Memorandum

When a referendum was held last year on the question of Spain's membership of NATO the Socialist government backed away from its former stand by urging the people to vote for continued NATO membership. It promised to abide by three basic conditions: first, the nation's membership of NATO would not entail membership of its military structure; second, the ban on the deployment of nuclear weapons on Spanish territory would not be lifted; and, third, the US military presence in Spain would be pared down gradually.

But none of these conditions was observed. Moreover, the first — that of not joining the NATO military structure — proved to be a hoax. A Madrid weekly published the text of a secret memorandum that the Spanish government sent to the NATO Secretariat last May. It stated, in effect, that Spain would participate in all of the NATO bodies, including the Defence Planning Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group. Spain was thus brought into the NATO military machine.

In the Cortes there were special hearings that had wide repercussions throughout the country. The government was unable to refute the document's authenticity and confined itself to stating that it was classified. By refusing to let the deputies have the text of the memorandum, the government made a laughing stock of itself because the text had already been published and all the deputies had a copy.

All this drew unprecedented indignation and sharp criticism from various political circles. Our party's leadership denounced the memorandum, qualifying it as a step dragging the nation into the NATO military structure and calling our national security in question.

It is quite evident that the government is dependent on the USA militarily. Despite angry protests by the people it docilely follows instructions from Washington. One can see why it is hard for the Socialists to honour the promise to prevent the deployment of nuclear weapons on our territory. Our governmental agencies are not even notified whether the aircraft and naval units using the US bases in Spain as transit points carry nuclear weapons. The government is not free to demand information from the Reagan administration about what is actually

Simon Sanchez Montero (b. 1915) joined the Communist Party in 1931. In the Civil War (1936-1939) he was the political commissar of a Republican battalion. During the Franco regime he worked underground and was subjected to repression, spending a total of 16 years in prison. He was elected a CC member in 1954 and a CC Executive Committee member in 1956. He was elected a deputy of the Cortes in 1977 and 1979.

stored at these bases.

Nor are things any better with the SSWP leadership's promise gradually to pare down the US forces and bases on Spanish soil. This concerns the 12,000 troops at three air bases (at Torrejon, 20 kilometres away from Madrid, and at Zaragoza and Moron) and the Rota naval base as well as the radar tracking stations. The strategic significance of all these installations was shown clearly by the fact that the airstrip of the Zaragoza base was where aircraft took off to refuel the F-111 bombers that dropped their lethal cargo on Tripoli and Benghazi. The Torrejon base has the single largest airstrip (4,200 metres) in Western Europe, and it is equipped to receive 150 combat aircraft.

Spain is being given an ever bigger role to play in the USA's strategic plans. This was shown, for instance, by last November's joint US-Spanish land, air, and naval exercises in the Western Mediterranean and the air space over the Iberian Peninsula. Our party has informed the people about the NATO document, which leaves no doubt that steps are being taken to modernise the US bases in Spain in the event of their use by the Pentagon in critical situations. By agreement with Madrid the conditions are being created for making these military installations more effective.

"Find Yourself Another Government"

Opinion polls, including one authorised by the government itself a week before last year's referendum about the nation's membership of NATO, made it obvious that the people were less than thrilled about the country's integration into the NATO structure. The voting returns were that about seven million people took a negative stand, but the majority nonetheless bore with the Socialists. The answer to why this happened is important in showing the prospects for the further political struggle in Spain.

A role was certainly played by the governing party's promises to abide by 'three conditions', i.e., promises it now clearly has no intention to keep. Nor should it be believed that the Spanish people had been convinced about the wisdom of NATO membership and had seen it as a good thing for the country. It was simply that they were unable to remain impervious to the overwhelming propaganda pressure brought to bear by the government and personally by Felipe Gonzalez through the media. The Prime Minister made dexterous use of his popularity to impress what amounted to an admonition: "If you say 'no' to NATO you will have to find yourself another government that will agree with you, for I will not." Voters were put before the dilemma of either voting for NATO membership or generating a deluge in which Spanish democracy would perish. In the case of pensioners, for example, they were apprehensive about what might happen to their pensions if Gonzalez was defeated.

The true meaning of 'Atlantic cooperation' was soon demonstrated by the aggression against Libya. After that attack practically everybody I spoke to assured me that in the referendum they had voted against membership of the bloc. Having realised that the votes given for 'Atlanticism' had landed the country in a crisis or, in any case, contributed to it, many tried in this way to dodge their responsibility for what had happened.

A nation-wide campaign is now going on against extending the bilateral US-Spanish treaty on friendship, defence, and cooperation that is to expire in 1988. Under the terms of that treaty withdrawal from it has to be announced six months before the date of expiry, otherwise it automatically remains effective for another five years. The ongoing campaign is aimed at getting the US military presence out of the country. The government is aware of the people's anti-war sentiment, feels the strong pressure from below, and is trying to vindicate its own inconsistency. It

wants people to believe that relative to Washington it has taken a firm stand, and that this applies to the negotiations on reducing the American military presence. These talks have been going on for several months, with four rounds producing no progress at all. The government is declaring that an agreement on the dismantling of the military bases is a *sine qua non* for beginning talks on renewing the bilateral treaty. But in Washington they are counting on taking up the question of bases later, at the negotiations on the accord itself. The press writes of a 'dialogue between the deaf'.

Our party sees all this as no more than a burlesque. The government is giving out that it is complying with the requirements that the Socialists had themselves made relative to membership of NATO. Meanwhile, pressure from the people is so strong that the government, despite its own will, has to put the question of ending the US military presence to the Washington administration. But there is the likelihood that despite the mounting pressure from the people, the only outcome of the talks will be that instead of every four US soldiers withdrawn from Spanish soil six others will appear, while the capability of the bases will be increased. This, of course, is what Washington wants.

A Genuinely European Approach

As well as impinging on our independence and sovereignty, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation is a threat to Spain's security. Membership of NATO is an anachronism that comes into conflict with the need for a new system of international relations. The alliance is based on a twisted vision of the world. In opposing Spain's membership of NATO, the CPS makes the point, among others, that this alliance is preventing the consolidation of Spanish democracy because by harnessing Spain's policy to US interests it is helping to reinvigorate the most reactionary forces in the Iberian Peninsula, such as were implicated in the events of February 23, 1981.² Very many Spaniards firmly believe that the CIA had a hand in these events. It is thus imperative to put an end to dependence on the USA with the firm stand that Spanish affairs should be decided by the Spanish people and the nation's government and that we would no longer tolerate outside interference.

It should be recognised that anti-American feeling runs deep in Spain. However this feeling is directed not against the American people but against the policies of that nation's ruling classes.

The Spanish people remember that during the anti-fascist war of 1936-1939 the government in Washington did not take their side. While two thousand Americans fought in the Abraham Lincoln International Brigade the US government ordered the ships carrying oil to Spain to change course and deliver it to the Franco forces. After World War II, when the Franco regime found itself in total isolation in the world, the Washington administration was the first to breach this boycott and in 1953 it signed a bilateral treaty with that regime. For the dictator this agreement was an oxygen pillow that allowed him to rule the nation for many long years. The Spanish people have not forgotten that either.

The Spanish Communists are not enemies of any nation, including the American people. But we condemn the policy that the US government has been pursuing toward our country for many years.

It is often alleged that the Communist Party of Spain and other anti-NATO forces are acting against European interests that coincide with those of our country. The Communists reject these allegations and expose the real sense of the calls for 'progressive Europeism', based on fidelity to NATO, believing that a *genuinely European approach* should be *Anti-Atlantic*. We are Europeans, not Atlantists. We do not see these two concepts as compatible. They are not synonyms; they are antonyms.

Fidelity to NATO signifies Western Europe's subservience to US interests and aggressive militarist policy. As well as being a military instrument, the North Atlantic alliance is a technological, economic, and political means ensuring American supremacy in Western Europe.

We understand the defence of Europe as getting rid of, on the one hand, US domination and of, on the other, rule by right-wing reactionary forces such as the Christian Democrats in the FRG, the Tories in Britain, and the present French government. It is necessary to fight for a Europe that will be free, independent of US imperialism, peaceful, and democratic, for a Europe of free peoples.

Our continent has an important role to play in the struggle for peace, neutrality, and the dismantling of military blocs. It should become a community of genuinely free nations delivered from domination by US imperialism and by internal reaction, which is the former's principal ally.

Proponents and Opponents of Disarmament

The servitude of West European nations to the NATO course is now growing particularly dangerous on account of the 'star wars' plans. Leaks to the press indicate that there is the intention to commit Spain to these perilous Pentagon plans in one way or another. Of course, considering Spain's level of technological development it is ludicrous to assert that it can play an important role. For that reason, to justify its possible participation in the SDI the government is putting special emphasis on the claim that such participation would allow our country to benefit from scientific and technological progress. But this is hypocrisy pure and simple. It would have no access at all to the most significant technological achievements; further, it would only find itself more dependent upon the USA than ever before.

The Communist Party of Spain has made its stand perfectly clear: we are categorically against involvement in the 'star wars' programme. In economic terms this project will signify further and larger outlays of financial and other resources than are being made today. These resources must be used for the benefit of the people but not for manufacturing weapons of mass destruction. In terms of security, the SDI will increase not reduce the danger of war and of humanity's extermination, because it will leave just a few seconds in which to adopt decisions in a crisis situation. It may happen that such decisions will be made by computers, even against the will of the people.

It is preposterous to declare, as Ronald Reagan is doing, that nuclear weapons can be abolished only by steadily increasing their stockpiles. An ever growing number of people throughout the world are now realising that the best way to do away with such weapons is to begin scaling existing stockpiles down to zero. This is the sense of the proposals made by Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on January 15, 1986 for the controlled total phasing out of armaments by the end of this century. These proposals have the unequivocal support of the Communist Party of Spain. The policy charted at the 27th Congress of the CPSU unmistakably shows that the Soviet Union needs peace. The implementation of this policy convinces the working people of the West European countries and the USA that precisely socialism ensures the peaceful utilisation of the huge potentials of modern science and technology without creating the enormous problems implicit in the capitalist system.

The attitude of Spanish public opinion to the outcome of Reykjavik is also extremely indicative. This time neither the daily press nor even television could conceal the truth about what took place at Reykjavik. Millions of Spaniards began to appreciate what they had earlier been unable to understand. Of course, much is being said that Reykjavik was a failure since no agreement was signed. But in our

view it is important to assess the great merit of the negotiations in Iceland's capital: they have shown the world who is in fact opposed to starting an effective process of disarmament and the abolition of nuclear weapons, who is in fact responsible for the obstacles being raised on this road.

Had the USA not striven to go on with its 'star wars' plans at all costs, peace would have been more dependable today for it would have rested on important, realistic agreements that were virtually within reach. Who is to blame? Needless to say, not the American people. Official opinion polls are testimony that the majority of Americans want a reduction of military spending, which is inconceivable in a situation in which these plans are being put into effect. Many leading US academics are likewise objecting to the SDI. The blame devolves squarely on the barons of the military-industrial complex who speak through the lips of the US President: they had put him in power and intend to make fortunes out of the 'star wars' programme. They are the principal enemy of peace and the principal source of danger.

Spain's membership of NATO compels it to participate in the arms race, to step up the militarisation of its economy to suit the Pentagon while ignoring the nation's real needs. National interests demand Spain's withdrawal from that bloc.

At a plenary meeting in December 1986 the CPS Central Committee called upon "all party organisations, allies in the United Left bloc, pacifist organisations and other public movements, upon all citizens to be tireless in exposing the government's policy, bringing pressure to bear on it, and actively promoting the campaign for the dismantling of the US bases". It was stressed that the dismantling of these bases and the withdrawal of US troops from Spain can be ensured only by mobilising the entire people: "This is the only way we can end the shameful and humiliating subordination to the Reagan administration and cut short the resigned submissiveness of the Gonzalez government."³

We are talking about the defence of our independence, the pursuance of an independent foreign policy, the attainment of security, and the contribution we should make to the struggle for peace, disarmament, and détente. In addressing the conscience of all Spaniards, regardless of their ideological commitment, we call upon them to unite their efforts in order to achieve these aims.

¹ Spain became a member of NATO in 1982. — *Ed.*

² This is a reference to the coup attempt led by Colonel A. Tejero Molina.

³ *Mundo Obrero*, December 18-24, 1986, p. 21.

Preying on Panama

Carlos Francisco Changmarin — CC
Political Bureau member, People's Party of
Panama

THE Panama Canal is the soft underbelly and nerve centre of not only my own country but the whole of Latin America. This is stikingly borne out by the events of the past decades and by the present situation.

Under the terms of the Torrijos-Carter accords¹ Panama is to be free on December 31, 1999 of the last soldier of the US military force that has been in occupation of the canal zone since 1903 and performing police functions in the

Carlos Francisco Changmarin (b. 1922) is a well-known Panamanian author who has won the National Literary Prize several times. He was elected a member of the CC in 1951 and a member of the CC Political Bureau of the People's Party of Panama in 1956.

region. The Panama Canal will then finally go over to the Panamanian people as their undivided property. However, all the signs are that the most reactionary circles in the United States have no intention of complying with these accords. Any suggestion of relinquishing positions on a frontier always regarded as the boundary of the State of Florida is totally alien to their neoglobalist plans. The USA is intimating clearly to Panama that it is not about to give up its beachhead in the former canal zone, where it has quite a few military installations,² including a satellite tracking station at Colon.

It may be said without exaggeration that *imperialism began its invasion of my country when blasting was started to build the canal*. There were two objectives: to link the eastern and western banks of the isthmus and, upon gaining superiority, notably in the Pacific, to hold Latin America in a vice.

Simon Bolivar saw the aggressive nature of the then nascent North American empire³ and categorically objected to inviting the USA to the 1826 congress in Panama on Latin American Unity. The former canal zone's bleak history eloquently bears out the Liberator's foresight.

For the Washington exchequer the canal has always been more than a source of revenue from ocean-to-ocean transportation. Its territory has been turned into a springboard, which North American imperialism has already used to assassinate or bring down, among others, the general of the free people of Nicaragua as Augusto Cesar Sandino is known, the democratic President of Guatemala Jacobo Arbenz, the popularly elected President of Chile Salvador Allende, and the reformer of Peru General Juan Velasco Alvarado. And all this under the pretext that a Soviet threat overhangs the continent. Imperialist propaganda would have people believe that the Soviet Union is using Cuba and Nicaragua to achieve objectives that this propaganda leaves unnamed, and that it had earlier acted with the support of the Panamanian leader General Omar Torrijos.

The USA vindicates its actions with the argument that a large proportion of its raw materials, exports and, lately, its imports from Japan pass through the Panama Canal. This explains why the White House used strong pressure to incorporate in the Torrijos-Carter accords an article on the formation of a trilateral commission (Panama, the USA, and Japan) to coordinate surveys with the objective of building a new canal, possibly at sea level. This commission is now functioning.

The growing Japanese presence in Panama and the region as a whole is a new disturbing element. Panamanians are quite rightly asking whether they will not find that they are getting out of the Washington frying pan only to land in the Tokyo fire?

The Torrijos-Carter Accords and the Santa Fe Document

A product of Reagan's inner circle of advisers, the notorious Santa Fe Document⁴ states that if the accords now in operation were to be invalidated (Washington has already violated them with its special amendment)⁵ the canal should become 'inter-American property'. Moreover, this document declares that in that case the headquarters of the Organisation of American States and the Inter-American Defence Council would be moved to Panama.

A military pact that would annul the Torrijos-Carter accords is being considered. True, nothing is being said about it for the moment either by General John Galvin,⁶ chief of the Panama-based US Southern Command (recently renamed the Southern Army) or the Secretary of State George Shultz. However, steps are being taken in that direction.

First, efforts are being made to persuade Panamanian, North American, and world opinion that Panama is incapable of managing the canal independently much

less defending it against the 'external threat' or keeping it operational. The 'arguments' to back up these claims are being constructed. For instance, let us recall the US transfer to Panamanian management of the dilapidated railway running parallel with the canal. A few months ago General Galvin publicly announced that his troops had been forbidden to use the railway for reasons of 'safety'. The same gimmick is being planned for the canal with the calculation that the Panamanians would 'implore the Americans to remain' on any grounds, one of which would be the above-mentioned military pact now being drafted in secret.

Second, because Panama is a non-aligned nation and its defence forces and people are not succumbing to pressure and have no wish to participate in crushing the heroic Sandinist revolution (more, Panama inaugurated the formation of the Contadora Group), the entire spectrum of US political actions in Central America and the Caribbean is aimed at destabilising the situation in our country. Washington has its eye on removing Torrijos supporters from the leadership of the Panamanian armed forces and imposing upon us a puppet government that would obediently follow instructions from the US Embassy and the Southern Army Command.

Regrettably, this objective has been partially achieved. General Torrijos was assassinated in 1981. Acting through the International Monetary Fund imperialism has infiltrated its 'Trojan horses' into the government — rabble from the oligarchy's parties whom Torrijos had swept out of political office. They have now formed their own coalition, and it has been from this administration, in which the Revolutionary Democratic Party⁷ has little say, that the IMF has in recent years wrested the most significant concessions. These have compounded the already dismaying situation in Panama.

The four-billion dollar external debt, which Panama is unable to repay, is a noose around the nation's neck. Actually, Panama owes nothing to the USA; it is the USA that is in perpetual and unrepayable debt to my country.

Let me make the reminder that the canal's self-styled 'masters' are gratuitously using the waters of the Chagres River to carry 31 ships through the canal daily, that since 1914, owing to the low dues for the use of the waterway, Panama has, in effect, been subsidising the US merchant marine, while the Yankees are in effect robbing our country — the rent they paid for the use of the entire canal zone in the initial years did not amount to more than the rent paid for the land on which the branch railway line was built. The canal rent was later increased.⁸ Taking into account the losses that we suffer from the unequal trade, one will see that the USA's debt to Panama is well in excess of the sum it now wants to exact from us.

Of course, the USA will not go bankrupt if it does not get these four billion. But the Reagan administration is intent on pillaging Panama's already depleted resources as part of its programme for continuing the arms race. Those members of government and military leaders who still feel a political responsibility for what is taking place in the country are being literally driven into a corner. Efforts are being made to counterpose the military to the workers, students, clerical workers, and small businessmen, in other words, to provoke a clash between forces that were the mainstay of the Torrijos government. They want to isolate the army from the people. On orders from President Eric del Valle troops are being used to suppress popular actions. Naturally, this is eroding the prestige of the military and diminishes the effect even of such important statements as the declaration of the 'group of lieutenants', who vowed to make compliance with the Torrijos-Carter accords inviolable.

If tomorrow Washington administration installs a totally servile government in Panama or if a mountebank (there are more than enough of these in the oligarchy's preserves) again sells our territory for a new canal — this time to be built under the

auspices of the USA and Japan — there is little doubt that harsher terms will be stipulated for the repayment of the external debt.

For Peace, Not for War

For many in Panama, particularly for the bourgeoisie, the years of the Second World War were a kind of golden age, for the USA spent millions to renew the canal's system of sluices and build military bases. To a certain extent this shower of dollars twisted some people's thinking.

After fascism was defeated the most advanced sections of the population insisted that the canal should serve peace, not war. The Panamanian people's strong sense of national identity must be taken into account. Our country, Torrijos declared, has never been eager to be another star on the US flag.

My people mistrust the Yankees, having seen all they want to of arrogance and discrimination from their northern neighbour. An apartheid system in its 'classical' forms has been practised in the former canal zone since 1903: separate residential areas for whites and blacks; high pay on the 'gold roll' for US citizens and miserably small rates for the same work for Panamanians. All this led to the unprecedented anti-US actions in 1947. It was then that the USA sought a 99-year stranglehold on Panamanian territory, which had been leased for only the period of the war. The people were able to uphold national interests and compel the invaders to pull out.

Past events are deeply imbedded in the memory of the Panamanian people. Nor are they forgotten in the headquarters of the US Southern Army where speculation is high about what the last day of 1999 portends for it.

'Who will protect the canal in 2000 and how will they do it?' is the hypocritical question now being asked in Washington. But let us recall: the USA kept impressing upon the Panamanian people that our country had no need for an army and it appropriated to itself the role of 'protector of Panama'.

Even before the Mallarino-Bidlack Treaty of 1846⁹ was signed, US troops could appear in the isthmus at any time, and this was formalised in the 1903 Convention as well. The USA wanted Panama to have solely a National Guard (such as Somoza had in Nicaragua) to suppress the movement for genuine independence, instead of armed forces with 'close ties to the people', such as were being created by Torrijos. The national leader stressed that the Panama Canal was a defenceless child and that Panama needed armed forces to protect its sovereignty and its people's gains.

The stand of the People's Party of Panama is that *the best form of protection for the canal is that it should be neutral, as Panama is as a whole. The right of unhampered passage along this ocean-to-ocean waterway should be exercised by ships flying not only the US flag but also the flag of any other nation.*

The nuclear disarmament proposals made at Reykjavik by Mikhail Gorbachov, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, are particularly close to the hearts and minds of the people of Panama. As the people in my country say, they were the 'ring that fitted the finger'. And here is why. Should the Soviet initiatives be put into effect within the proposed limits, what excuse would the bellicose circles in North America have to invent during the early days of the twenty-first century to prolong their presence in Panama? Would there be a need for a Southern Army to defend the canal against the 'Soviet threat'?

The whole world is well aware of what in fact troubles the Washington administration: the likelihood of another Cuba or another Nicaragua appearing in Latin America. There are some in North America who agonise over the rapid development of once-backward peoples and, in particular, over the emergence of potentially powerful nations such as Brazil on the international scene.

An important point here, noted by Ruben Dario Souza, General Secretary of the

PPP Central Committee, is that the Sandinist revolution had not only put an end to a murderous tyranny but broken imperialism's monopoly over the link between two oceans. One can ask the non-rhetorical question: Are the Nicaraguans unable, with the support of the world's progressive forces, to build, at a much lower cost than the Panama Canal, a waterway across their territory to join the Pacific to the Atlantic? Are these apprehensions not among the many motivations behind the aggressive designs of Reagan and his retinue against the young revolutionary republic?

The Canal Problem Today

The significance of the Panama Canal to the world community is in itself a factor internationalising our people's struggle. General Torrijos succeeded in persuading President Carter and his entourage that in the period of détente, i.e., after the Helsinki Conference, the operating agreements had to be renegotiated. This had not been easy to do. There were times when the smugness and arrogance of the North Americans exasperated the Panamanian leader. Eyewitness accounts say that on several occasions he was on the point of terminating the negotiations and starting a war of national liberation. Besides, the accords that were signed did not entirely meet either the aspirations of the Panamanians or Torrijos' objectives. However, in assessing them objectively, it may be said that in the dialogue the tiny 'David' bested the powerful 'Goliath'. This was a major advance by our republic in the struggle for its own freedom and that of the whole of Latin America. Panama had at no time confined the issues exclusively to the canal's 'inter-Americanisation'. However, when it passes to the hands of my people — and precisely for that reason — that ocean-to-ocean waterway will become truly Latin American.

Of course, Panama would not have achieved that dramatic success had international development not had a very specific distinction, namely, the evolution, before our very eyes, of the socialist world system into the determining force of our time. Further, growing influence is enjoyed by nations that have shaken off colonial rule and are moving along the path of non-capitalist development; the struggle for national liberation is mounting; working class battles are raging in industrialised capitalist countries; and spectacularly large sections of the population are joining the anti-war movement.

Owing to these factors anti-capitalist socio-economic reforms are being enforced in countries where national liberation revolutions have taken place, although in some countries these reforms still lack an adequate base. Small Panama and its leader, General Torrijos, had not been able, of course, to wring concessions from Uncle Sam, but as our people say it is a victory if even one tooth is pulled from the preying crocodile.

To understand how deep the changes have been one has only to compare two historical facts. One is the comic opera 'signing' of the Onerous 1903 Treaty in Washington. 'On behalf of Panama', this document, which condemned the nation to semi-colonial existence,¹⁰ was signed by a French adventurer named Bunau-Varilla. The authorised Panamanian representatives were not admitted to the 'ceremony' even by the back door. The other, which occurred 70 years later, was the special UN Security Council session in Panama City. With the exception of the USA, of course, the absolute majority of the members of this key agency of the world community voted to give our people sovereignty over the canal. While the Security Council was in session we heard powerful solidarity from the Soviet Union and from some industrialised and developing nations.

General Torrijos saw the significance of our epoch and it was therefore no accident that he spoke of an 'international fatherland'. He resumed relations with socialist Cuba, understanding that the Cuban revolution had inaugurated a new phase in the history of Latin America. For the same reason he sent Panamanian volunteers — forming a brigade named after our national hero Victoriano Lorenzo (executed in 1903 on orders from the US invaders) — to Nicaragua to aid the Sandinist revolution.

Will imperialism be able to sustain its might under the qualitatively new conditions of the twenty-first century? Are not the bosses of the US military-industrial complex having sleepless nights on account of the decision, adopted at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, to double the Soviet industrial potential within 15 years as compared with the potential created in the course of the entire preceding period of socialist construction? The fact that Soviet science is today successfully putting into effect the most ingenious space projects begs the question whether President Reagan can count on victory in his 'star wars', which are a threat to humanity's existence?

In the course of the 1920s through to the close of the 1960s chiefly workers, students, intellectuals, and landless peasants were involved in the anti-imperialist actions in Latin America. But today, as a result of the strengthening of the socialist system and the objective decline of imperialism's influence, protests are being heard more and more distinctly from the Latin American bourgeoisie, which resents the pressures being brought to bear by international finance capital.

There are many indications of this, and, as Ruben Dario Souza noted, they mirror the steady backslide of the USA's political, economic, and diplomatic prestige in the region. One sees this in various forms. Repugnance at the methods used to 'extract' an unmanageable external debt led to many of Washington's recent allies taking steps that clash with its policies. In the case of others their unquestioning subordination to the IMF's dictation had damaging consequences. Recall the political demise of the former Peruvian President Belaunde Terry. A similar fate evidently lies in wait for Edward Seaga in Jamaica.¹¹ In the meantime, international banks opened the road to power for Joaquin Balaguer in the Dominican Republic.¹² The series of meetings called by Fidel Castro in Havana to consider the acute problem of external debts caused the dollar barons substantial concern and showed that there was considerable coincidence of the interests of the most diverse classes and social groups of the population of our region. In the final analysis, this reflects the weakening of the USA's positions.

The process I am talking about is due, of course, to the growth of the anti-imperialist forces and the new level of political thinking. For example, the OAS can no longer be called the 'US Department for Colonies'. The fact of the existence of the Contadora group and of the groups backing it is evidence that there is broad opposition to imperialism's interventionist designs. No single nation intends to accept Washington's recipes docilely, and this concerns the form of its government.

However, the flagging imperialist vulture is still in a position to cause much distress and injury in Latin America. Look closely at what is being planned against Nicaragua. Generally speaking, we are witnessing a rise of the military's influence in all areas of the USA's international policies. This is a very ominous symptom. In fact, I would say that this militarisation is acquiring the hallmarks of a new kind of fascism, which may be called *nuclear fascism*. The USA had flattered itself that the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki would give it unchallenged nuclear domination and cut short the era of progress initiated by the October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia. Within only a few years the USSR broke Washington's nuclear monopoly. There is now a nuclear equilibrium and the

question today, as Mikhail Gorbachov has stressed repeatedly, is to clear the way to a non-nuclear epoch.

Objectives of the Southern Army

In the context of Washington's policy of neoglobalism greater significance than ever is attached to the special-purpose force stationed in Panama. There has been a visible extension of the sphere of the military's activities. General Galvin has gone so far as, in fact, to officiate over the US ambassadors in the region.

The Southern Command provided Britain with unconcealed backing in the war for the Malvinas. The upshot proved to be quite unexpected. The general staffs of the Latin American armies saw what dependence on the USA might cost them in the event of an emergency: they could not count on getting fresh supplies of weapons, ammunition, or spare parts. Moreover, the Southern Command was involved in the invasion of Grenada. It went all out to prevent the armistice between the Colombian government and the revolutionary armed forces of Colombia.¹³ This headquarters of North American militarism had a hand in the criminal acts against members of the Patriotic Union in that country.¹⁴ Weapons are being moved to Honduras and El Salvador from the Howard base in the Pacific sector of Panama. On instructions from the Pentagon, the Southern Army Command is infiltrating its agents into 'allied' Latin American armies. More, the US Panama-based military intelligence is organising and arming various pseudo-guerrilla movements in order to prevent social progress in Latin America.

When officials of the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation and the Revolutionary Democratic Front met with representatives of the Napoleon Duarte regime of El Salvador in Panama City it was the Southern Command that blocked every possibility for achieving positive results. Everybody in Central America knows that the direction of the war against the insurgents in El Salvador is in the hands of General Galvin rather than of President Duarte. When the situation in Chile deteriorates General Galvin goes there. On the pretext of fighting the drug traffic in Bolivia, he is transferring combat aircraft and helicopters to the 'battlefield' and planning to set up new military bases in that Latin American republic. For their part, the Bolivians have seen through the intentions of the uninvited guests and shown them the door.

Using the cover of the notorious myth about 'the USSR seeking to dominate Central America', Washington has aborted all the initiatives of the Contadora group, is in virtual occupation of Honduras, running El Salvador, and establishing itself and building up armed forces in Costa Rica. It has taken over Grenada, and, jointly with Britain, has built a military base on the Malvinas. The purpose of all this is, first, to remain in control of the isthmus route between the Atlantic and the Pacific even if the Panama Canal is closed and, second, to set up nuclear launching pads in the region, notably on Easter Island, which belongs to Chile, and on the Colombian San Andres Islands off the shores of Nicaragua.

The Struggle Continues

Of course, in the USA's militarist schemes Panama figures only as a component of its strategy for ruling Central America and preparing for a global war. It should be remembered that the above-mentioned Santa Fé Document states bluntly: "War, not peace, is the norm in international affairs."¹⁵

In my country imperialism is trying to drive the 'spirit of Torrijos' out of the government and the armed forces. For this purpose the USA is in the midst of a

smear campaign to discredit Panama's government and military leaders. The people are responding with angry resentment. At a mass rally in August 1946 General Manuel A. Noriega, Commander-in-Chief of the National Defence Forces (and the main target of US 'criticism'), declared that the Panamanian military were prepared to fight for the nation's sovereignty and independence and for unswerving compliance with the canal accords. He noted that this was uniting the people with the National Defence Forces. President Eric del Valle and his closest associates are of an entirely different mind. They are inclined to accede to Washington and make anti-people concessions. Naturally, they do not talk of this openly, but del Valle's stand is in fact coincidental with the ambitions of right-wing business circles, who are prepared to expatriate the Torrijos heritage for the sake of their own interests.

The so-called political opposition forces (notably the Christian Democrats, who have no base worthy of mention but are the most closely linked to Washington) are seeking to use the situation in order to fish in troubled waters. To be sure, they do not oppose interference in our country's affairs by the IMF and the Southern Army Command, but they censure 'corruption' in the government, attack the 'military élite', and pose as champions of 'human rights'.

The masses are steadfastly demanding compliance with the Torrijos-Carter accords. Factory and office workers and the peasants are staging strikes and demonstrations, calling for curbs on the IMF and the US militarists. To avoid pouring grist on somebody else's mill, the patriotic forces united in the National Council of Organised Working People are directing their actions simultaneously against the government of the sugar magnate del Valle and against the oligarchy and the right-wing opposition.

At its Eighth Congress (1986) the People's Party of Panama, while acknowledging that the situation had deteriorated, lauded the significant reforms that were won in the struggle for national liberation in the days of Torrijos. *We are urging the formation of a broad anti-imperialist democratic front. If it takes the interests of the alliance between workers and peasants (this alliance is presently being joined by people from the middle classes) as its guide such a front would make it possible to continue implementing the Torrijos policy.* It could be joined also by non-monopoly industrialists and by the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie.

We have the task of upholding national and class interests. Without belittling the latter, we consider that it is vital, depending on the situation, to unite broadest sections of the population, including the various religious currents, the Indian communities, and, unquestionably, the patriotic military in order to carry out the national and revolutionary programmes. This is the only way we can achieve real national independence because the Torrijos-Carter accords do not abolish the US colonialist presence in our country.

Built up in the days of Torrijos, the mixed economy based on various forms of property has enabled the working class and peasantry to acquire considerable experience of managing important sectors of production. In some cases, this has even allowed transcending the capitalist framework in the process of democratic reforms and the struggle against imperialism. *The canal is the backbone of the national economy, and its transition to a new, representative and genuine people's democracy will ensure the success of our revolution.*

The Panamanian flag waves proudly over the Ancon Mountain.¹⁶ It can be seen for many miles around by all who pass through the canal. This flag symbolises our sovereignty and peace in Latin America at the exit to the vast Pacific Ocean.

The slogan, "We have moved forward . . . The struggle continues!", advanced by the Communists in the days of Torrijos, remains valid today.

¹ Signed in September 1977, they void all previous agreements, define how the canal is to be used and defended in the period up to December 31, 1999, and guarantee the permanent neutrality of this ocean-to-ocean waterway. — *Ed.*

² The USA has 77 military bases and installations there. In violation of all treaties Washington administration has deployed nuclear weapons in the zone, where there is an Inter-American Air Force Academy (annually training between 600 and 800 officers from 12 Latin-American states), a school training 8,000 'experts' in tropical forest operations, a school for special-purpose troops (of the 'green berets' type), and other military training facilities. — *Ed.*

³ For details, see Felipe Rodriguez et al, "In Whose Hands Is Bolivar's Legacy?" *WMR*, No. 7, 1983. — *Ed.*

⁴ For details, see Rodney Arismendi, "Global Madness Once More", *WMR*, No. 7, 1981 — *Ed.*

⁵ When the Torrijos-Carter accords came up for ratification, the US Senate made some amendments in order to extend the US military presence in the former canal zone. In particular, the USA has reserved the prerogative to conduct military operations after December 31, 1999 to ensure the canal's neutrality in the event 'it is threatened', while US naval vessels have priority passage in the event of an 'emergency'. — *Ed.*

⁶ Press reports indicate that General Galvin will assume the post of NATO's Supreme Allied Commander in Europe in June 1987. — *Ed.*

⁷ Founded in 1978 on the initiative of Torrijos supporters. It calls for reinforcing national sovereignty and continuing the process of progressive reforms. — *Ed.*

⁸ Under the US-Panamanian Treaty of 1936 the annual rent for the canal was raised from 250,000 to 430,000 dollars. In 1955 the rent was increased to 1.9 million dollars. The Torrijos-Carter accords raised it to ten million dollars. — *Ed.*

⁹ Panama was, at the time, a department of New Granada (renamed Colombia in 1886). — *Ed.*

¹⁰ Under this treaty the USA gained possession in perpetuity of a strip of Panamanian territory 16.1 kilometres wide (total area 1,474 square kilometres) for a canal that it would operate, and also all the islands within that zone. The USA could build fortifications, use its armed forces to protect the canal, exercise sovereign authority in this territory, and bring in and deploy troops in any part of Panama at its own discretion. The treaty contained some other clauses violating Panama's sovereignty. — *Ed.*

¹¹ See Trevor Munro, "Jamaica: The WPJ in the Struggle for Democracy", *WMR*, No. 2, 1987.

¹² See Narciso Isa Conde, "For a New Approach, for New Actions", *WMR*, No. 11, 1986.

¹³ See Gilberto Vieira, "On the Agenda: Democratisation", *WMR*, No. 5, 1986.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Quoted from *Estudios*, Uruguay, No. 78, 1981, p. 20.

¹⁶ The Panamanian flag in front of the Panama Canal administration building was raised on October 1, 1979. — *Ed.*

A Study of Islamic Organisations

Hussein Mroue

ALTHOUGH the aim of this article is to assess the positions of the Islamic tendencies and organisations now active in Lebanon and to define the attitude of the democratic patriotic forces of them, we also find it necessary to trace the history of the subject and to view it in what may be described as an all-Islamic context. Without it, one cannot grasp the present-day motives of each of these tendencies,

When this issue was about to be sent to the printers, a tragic news report came in. On February 17 Hussein Mroue was assassinated. The forces of imperialism and Zionism committed another inhuman crime.

Hussein Mroue was born into the family of a major Shi'ite religious figure in 1909. He received an education in theology in Nejef, Iraq, worked as a journalist and founded and edited several publications. His literary work gained widespread recognition. He won the Lotus Prize of the Asian and African Writers' Association. In tribute to his courageous and staunch position during the 1982 Israeli aggression against Lebanon the Arab Writers' Union presented him with the Beirut Award. Holder of a Ph.D, Hussein Mroue was the author of many studies, including his fundamental *Materialist Trends in Arab-Moslem Philosophy*. A vigorous civic activist, he was a member of the World Peace Council. In 1950 he became a Communist and, since 1964, served invariably on the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party.

The international team of *World Marxist Review* expresses its profound grief over this heavy loss for the Communists and all progressive and patriotic forces of Lebanon and the Arab world.

identify the roots of their positions, or understand how we should shape our relations with them amid the increasingly acute struggle for national liberation and democratic socio-economic transformations in Lebanon.

In the Arab-Islamic civilisation the sixth century of the Hegira corresponds to the twelfth century in the European calendar. That was when a religious movement advocating a return to the foundations and sources of Islam emerged in the Maghreb and in Moslem Spain. It was based on the reformative ideas of the ibn Tumart who proclaimed himself *mahdi* (messiah) but in fact stemmed from the acute dissatisfaction of the Maghreb popular masses with the rule of the Almoravids¹ and the *fuqaha*² and enjoyed broad popular support. The Mahdist uprising of 1121 transformed this dissatisfaction into a material force which destroyed the Almoravid state. It was replaced by a new and essentially revolutionary system of government — the Almohad³ empire which contained seeds of democracy. An educational reform was carried out, constraints on freedoms of thought and academic quest were removed, and the bans on the works of previously persecuted scholars and philosophers were lifted. The fundamentalist religious movement of the Almohads effected historic transformations in the social, political and ideological spheres.

Then, for a period of almost six centuries, the Arab-Islamic world was bypassed by the mainstream of the development of civilisation. It was set in motion again by a new religious movement born on the Arabian peninsula. Wahhabism — named after Mohammed ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab who began preaching in 1730 — was the first Moslem reformation movement of the modern age. It is now regarded as the forerunner of the traditionalist trend in today's Arab-Islamic thought. The Wahhabis rejected any interpretation of the Koran and the Sunna⁴ and took most of them literally. They also rejected various types of prejudice introduced into Islam, such as veneration of tombs, seeking intercession from the dead, or belief in them as saints and miracle workers.

However, having developed a connection with the clan of the Saudis in the person of Muhammed ibn Saud, the then emir of Nejd, Wahhabism acquired a political slant. Reactionary rulers used it as a weapon to settle scores with political rivals and to oppress the popular masses. Viewed in terms of its social, not religious content, Wahhabism degenerated from a reformation-oriented into a reactionary movement and became synonymous with obscurantism.

The onslaught of colonialism which began in the nineteenth century was aimed at subjugating Asian and African peoples and keeping them weak, backward and dependent. This gave rise to and promoted the anti-colonial struggle. People began to understand what a blow would be dealt to their existence, dignity and pursuit of a better future if they bowed before the threat instead of rebuffing it. However, social consciousness could not at that time acquire a secular, patriotic, nationalist or class character and inevitably assumed the dominant religious form. This was particularly true both of the Arabs and other predominantly Moslem Oriental peoples. Hence the upsurge of Islamic movements which began in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The social consciousness of the Arab peoples kept developing, and outgrew the purely religious form. Among the intellectuals who were in the midst of the anti-colonial struggle and acted as the first and particularly prominent champions of the nascent bourgeoisie, nationalist views began to take shape. At that time, these views were not sufficiently advanced for social consciousness to completely abandon its religious form; they served as an important link in which the nationalist and the religious elements merged. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the programmes of progressive reformation-oriented Islamic currents and movements began to feature, together with theological problems, specific issues of the Arab

peoples and showed the first signs of Arab nationalist influence.

This was neither accidental nor subjective but determined by the logic of history. In our region, the social content of this process objectively combined Arab and Moslem aspects, irrespective of the religious facet of Islam.

The example of Algeria is representative in this context. A close look at the popular movement which kept fighting against the French colonial rulers until they were driven out shows clearly that its Islamic and Arab aspects were so intertwined as to become inseparable. The religious thrust of the movement was essentially patriotic in nature. In it, the Moslem faith expressed the Algerians' national identity, and its profession was in fact an assertion of love of one's language, nation, its history and tradition, and one's native land.

By the outbreak of World War I, the Arabs' national awareness came to show a degree of independence from religion. First, a national bourgeoisie had emerged in several Arab countries. The interests, objectives and ideology of this class prompted it to seek autonomy from the Osmanli military feudal rulers (in Syria and Lebanon) or stronger economic positions in a state which did enjoy a degree of autonomy within the Ottoman Empire and asserted its own nationalist aspirations (in Egypt). Second, the increased national oppression and the direct antagonistic clash between the striving of the Arab masses and the intentions of the foreign rulers to Turkize them transformed the Arabs' struggle for reform within the Ottoman Caliphate into a struggle for secession from it. Third, the nascent Arab bourgeoisie and intellectuals felt the impact of progressive European ideas, particularly of the French Revolution and of the utopian socialists.

The combined influence of all these factors gave rise to an Arab national self-awareness which had a secular content of liberation. But it was also promoted by many enlightened religious figures. Some of them contributed tangibly to the organisation of the first militant patriotic actions which laid the basis for what is now known as the Arab national liberation movement. Significantly, participation of religious leaders (or those connected with them) in these actions did not assume the form of an Islamic movement but was purely patriotic. Joining the national liberation struggle, these people did not advance religious slogans, but their faith still guided their ideology.

So far we have been discussing those Islamic tendencies and movements which, preaching a return to the fundamental values of the Moslem religion, acted mostly from progressive reformation-oriented positions. Opposing them were reactionary or obscurantist fundamentalist interests which sometimes went as far as betraying the people and the principles of the Moslem faith.

Let us go back again to the times of the Almoravids and recall the *fuqaha* who, in order to preserve their economic privileges, concluded an alliance with the oppressors of the people. They strangled free thinking, persecuted intellectuals and terrorised scholars and philosophers. In this the *fuqaha* proceeded from religious dogma which also motivated their politically biased *fatwa*^s designed to support the powers-that-be.

Let us again take up the example of the Wahhabi movement which began as a force for reformation but then got entangled with dictatorial government, with a reactionary monarchy that ruled and oppressed the people in the name of the faith. In Algeria, the French invaders relied on the support of reactionary religious leaders, including members of Sufi⁶ brotherhoods who disseminated fatalistic and defeatist attitudes among the masses in a bid to prevent the imminent revolutionary explosion.

What springs to mind first is the well-known Moslem Brothers organisation. Founded in Ismailia, Egypt, in 1928, it soon covered the whole of Egypt and established branches in many other Arab and Moslem countries. It immediately

asserted a hostile attitude to Arab nationalism and patriotism. As its founder Sheik Hassan al Bannha wrote, "national borders are determined in accordance with the spread of the faith and not with territorial or geographical boundaries".⁷

At the initial stage the Moslem Brothers advanced demagogic social demands. Initially, they also supported the Egyptian revolution of July 23, 1952. But as soon as the revolutionary leadership under Nasser adopted an anti-imperialist course and drew up a programme of social transformation, the organisation abandoned its original demagoguery and opposed progressive social change, nationalisation and agrarian reform. Later the Moslem Brothers took up terrorism to fight against Nasser's progressive course within the country and on the international scene.

One should also point to the clandestine subversive activities this organisation is now engaged in in Syria where it is used by the Arab reactionaries and US intelligence to thwart the Syrian's resistance to the schemes of Zionism and imperialism in the Arab world.

Similar reactionary Islamic movements and organisations in Arab and other Oriental countries (India, Pakistan, etc.) have a long and odious history which does not deserve to be treated in detail here. But a question arises: if both these and progressive currents of reformation advocate a return to the basic sources of the Moslem faith, does this mean that there are 'two Islams', each with its own foundations? We believe that it is now more important than ever to formulate a substantiated answer to this question.

We are convinced that in the more general terms, the answer should be as follows: there are no two different Islams but there are different ideological positions, and their diversity is rooted in differences in social status, interests and class affiliation of their adherents. This makes it possible to understand how two opposite wings developed among Islamic currents and movements — one fought for reform and political emancipation, the other, reactionary and obscurantist, was connected with despotic rulers and collaborated with foreign colonialists.

The international situation after World War II contributed to the further advancement of the Arab national liberation movement, to its realignment in search for genuine freedom. The creation of a Zionist state on Palestinian soil was a profound shock not only to those expounding a nationalist ideology but also to the Arab popular masses in general. Conditions for a new upsurge of the liberation struggle took shape. This time the movement was led by the petty bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, despite certain socio-political achievements, it failed to accomplish the tasks of a national democratic revolution, tasks that were on the agenda.

This was explained by several reasons. First, the class position and the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie prevented it from discerning the long-term prospect, anticipating anything beyond the attainment of political independence, or grasping the objective dialectical interconnection of national liberation and social emancipation. Second, at the stage in question the petty bourgeoisie had a monopoly in the movement's leadership after ousting the other progressive patriotic forces, particularly working class parties. Third, these parties themselves were not strong enough to become partners in the leadership, let alone to pose an alternative to it. Fourth, imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction stepped up their conspiracies against the national liberation movement, attacking the frontiers it reached in the 1950s and 1960s. Fifth, the social and class heterogeneity of the petty bourgeoisie produced contradictions among its various strata and groups; this acutely aggravated the situation in the Arab world as a whole, playing into the hands of imperialism, Zionism and reactionary Arab regimes. Sixth, the petty-bourgeois leadership failed to win the confidence of the popular masses because it viewed them with suspicion. Moreover, this leadership maintained an attitude to the progressive patriotic forces that was based on reprisals and a

categoric rejection of democracy.

The historical failure of the petty bourgeoisie was manifested in the defeat of June 1967⁸ which confirmed both the debacle of the leadership and the absence of an alternative to it. Simultaneously, and acting in cahoots with imperialism and Zionism, the Arab reactionaries launched a frantic drive to seize the initiative at the new stage, striving above all to undermine and destroy the Arab national liberation movement.

A difficult situation ensued, with a vacuum in the struggle for a revolutionary alternative to the petty-bourgeois leadership and for restoring the role of the Arab national liberation movement. Against this background various religious tendencies and movements began to emerge, seeking to fill the vacuum with ideological and political concepts whose content was determined primarily by the class affiliation of their proponents. These were mostly with a petty-bourgeois or parasitic rural background, in the latter case usually connected with the feudal rulers.

These tendencies and movements were not homogeneous. In practical terms, they could be divided into the following groups.

1. Reactionary and obscurantist ones which have put themselves, their ideology and activities at the service of reactionary Arab regimes or which maintain direct ties with imperialist intelligence services.

2. Traditionalist ones which confine their activities exclusively to the ideological sphere and regard the traditions of 'righteous forefathers' as the prime source of solutions to present-day problems. Their thinking is oriented on the past which they see as static, impervious to change or development and projected into today's world from the remote age of 'righteous forefathers'. Although these groups do not engage in open political activities, their ideology is retrograde and hostile to any change or transformation in the socio-political and spiritual spheres. It exerts a pernicious influence and, willy-nilly, draws the traditionalists into politics.

3. Those that proceed from directly political positions and present themselves to the Arab and Moslem masses as an alternative both to the petty-bourgeois leadership which failed to cope with the tasks of the previous period and to the radical revolutionary forces which are to replace this leadership.

It is typical for the groups of this third type to offer a 'revolutionary Islamic' alternative — an integral political plan containing anti-imperialist objectives of liberation. Viewed from this angle, they do not differ from the nineteenth-century Islamic movements. But today's groups differ radically from their forerunners in their approach to other problems. Their programmes follow the example of the Moslem Brothers in contrasting national unity with Moslem unity and Arabism with Islam.

The re-emergence of Islamic tendencies of this type deserves to be studied closely, all the more so because they arose after the development of the liberation struggle in the Arab countries separated national awareness from religious consciousness. Significantly, these currents sprang up in Lebanon precisely at the present stage of the crisis — that is, after the Israeli aggression, at the height of the battle fought by the national patriotic forces against the invaders, their Phalangist allies and their US imperialist sponsors. One should note that the aggression assumed a confessional and communal slant as a result of Israel allying itself with the circles backing the fascist-Phalangist project.⁹ The project itself was highly confessionalist to begin with, designed to consolidate the sway of 'political Maronism'¹⁰ at the expense above all of the Moslem and non-Maronite Christian communities, of rank-and-file Maronites and the popular masses as a whole.

An acute question arises. Why have Islamic groupings and movements reappeared in this new guise precisely in the present situation in the Arab world?

Specifically, why have they emerged and become quite active in today's Lebanon?

The answer to the first part of the question lies in our reference to the vacuum which developed in the Arab world after the defeat of 1967 and to the absence of a revolutionary alternative to the petty-bourgeois leadership of the national liberation movement. This was what contributed to the advent of religious trends and movements claiming to offer such an alternative. In other words, the crisis of the Arab national liberation movement and of nationalist ideology as such was an important factor in their rise.

There are two reasons why these movements began to work vigorously in conditions of the Lebanese crisis. First, there are the backward social structures of the milieu in which they operate. Second, there is the mystified consciousness of the poorer strata and the lumpens whose absolute and relative numbers grew in both urban and rural areas due to the war. These strata are involved in social relations which are maintained at different but coexistent levels and which strengthen the traditional forms of social organisation (communal or kinship systems) that palliate the differentiation and division of classes. Lack of progress in the implementation of the patriotic democratic plan for settling the Lebanese crisis on the basis of an unconditional end to the destructive civil war is an added factor.

As a political force, religious trends and movements have a role in the crisis that has struck Lebanon. Their blueprint for transformations is inherently dangerous in that it is conditional on the establishment of an Islamic state — something that, in our multiconfessional country, will objectively lead to its break-up and will split the popular masses, including Moslems. Aimed at undermining the unity of the national patriotic forces and at mystifying mass consciousness, the ideological precepts, policy and practical action of these movements ignore the laws of social development and obstruct revolutionary democratic transformation of society.

We do not deny that the project advanced by these religious movements also features anti-imperialist objectives of liberation. It is also true that they contribute to the collapse of the existing bourgeois system. That is a positive aspect deserving of support. But one must be able to see the other side of the coin too. First, these movements are trying to erode the revolutionary alternative and the alliance of anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist forces, thus objectively preparing the ground for the re-establishment of a capitalist system (albeit in a new form) dependent on imperialism. Second, the political plan they propose as a 'revolutionary Islamic' alternative equates socialism with imperialism and claims to offer a 'third road'. The obvious impracticability of this plan does not make it less dangerous to the struggle of the patriotic, progressive democratic forces for the national democratic programme of a radical and revolutionary transformation of the existing socio-political system.

In its approach to these tendencies and movements, our party cannot fail to distinguish between, on the one hand, their anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist commitment to liberation and their action against the Israeli occupation (and in this we agree and assert our solidarity with them) and, on the other, their communal political slogans and ideological tenets. The latter are expressly hostile to Arab nationalism, socialism and democracy. This we reject firmly.

And finally, the general conclusions which, we hope, follows from the above. *The Lebanese Communists proceed from class-based and national patriotic positions and are guided by the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism in defining their positive or negative approach to today's religious tendencies, movements and organisations. Questions of religious dogma do not enter into it at all. The points on which we agree or disagree with these currents and movements are confined to socio-political problems, specifically to issues of national liberation and revolutionary social transformation. And we are working sincerely and vigorously*

for our relations with them, as well as with non-religious movements and organisations to be invariably based on democratic principles in the broadest sense of the term.

¹ From the Arabic *al-Murabitun* (Spanish *almoravides*) — 'the people of the ribat'. warrior monks who displayed religious intolerance and were to lead a rigorous life and master martial arts for combating 'enemies of the faith'. — *Ed.*

² Experts in *fiqh*, Moslem canon law. — *Ed.*

³ From the Arabic *al-Muwahhidun* (Spanish *almohades*) — 'the Unitarians'. — *Ed.*

⁴ The Sunna — the Way of the Prophet as recorded in the Tradition. — *Ed.*

⁵ *Fatwa* are official judgements on a legal or religious question passed by a *mufti* or another religious authority. — *Ed.*

⁶ Sufism is Moslem mysticism. — *Ed.*

⁷ Quoted from E. Touma, *A Revolutionary Process in Islam*, Beirut, 1981, p. 39 (in Arabic).

⁸ The defeat of Arab states in the war Israel launched against them. — *Ed.*

⁹ For details, see George Hawi, 'To Find a Way out of the Crisis', *WMR*, No. 11, 1985. — *Ed.*

¹⁰ The Maronites are a community which arose in Northwest Syria during the split of the Eastern Christian Church in the fifth-seventh centuries. Under the national pact of 1943, a verbal agreement formalising the confessional system of government in Lebanon, the Maronites secured a privileged position. — *Ed.*

Pages of History

Antonio Gramsci's Internationalism

Renzo Martinelli — University of Florence,
Italy

THE life of Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), a prominent personality of the international working class movement, founding member and leader of the Italian Communist Party, and an acknowledged Marxist theorist, was cut short half a century ago after long incarceration in a fascist prison. Alessandro Natta, General Secretary of the ICP, noted: "Gramsci saw and clearly showed that development was proceeding in the direction of internationalism, of that ever closer interdependence when the whole world will increasingly become the dramatis personae of history ... His profound understanding of this enabled him to express distinctly the spirit of the historical process, of which the October Revolution was one of the impulses."¹

This article is about an essential aspect of Gramsci's theoretical thinking, of his study of the problem of the balance between the national and the international in the strategy of the working class.



Gramsci's ideological heritage came down to us in an unusual form. His *Prison Notebooks* consist of notes and comments written during his years of imprisonment. The environment in which they were written predetermined the certain fragmentation and incompleteness of these documents (Gramsci intended to do work on them later). In works written before he was arrested Gramsci stands out primarily as a political leader, revolutionary, and a secretary of the party. These were militant writings in the party press: editorials, reports, and commentaries.

Unquestionably, the fact that what Gramsci wrote in prison and earlier is sketchy and incomplete was due to the circumstances in which he lived and worked. But it is equally important to see and emphasise the point that in one sense this form was inherent in this Italian Communist's thinking and intellect. In this original manner he gave expression to his repudiation of closed patterns, of dogmatism, and his striving to adapt 'plastically' (a term preferred by Gramsci. — *R.M.*) to prevailing conditions and the course of events.

To understand Gramsci's message correctly one has to take into consideration this characteristic of his writings and of his world-view as a whole. Also, one should appreciate that it is chancy, hard and, ultimately, senseless to attempt to disengage any single proposition from his dialectically interconnected, integral ideas: every element of the Gramsci heritage must be considered in the context of his entire world-view.

It should not be assumed that prior to his arrest he was a strictly political fighter, a revolutionary party member, and that he became a thinker, a theorist only during his imprisonment. This would be a one-sided assumption. On the contrary, in each of these periods Gramsci's thinking was a solid alloy of theory and practice: writings published before his arrest are distinguished by their bold manner of posing questions, by intuition, and by elements of theoretical analysis, all of which could be seen in even a short newspaper article devoted to a current event. This approach developed organically during the period of imprisonment, when Gramsci's thinking grew more profound, penetrating new spheres. But even in prison he remained a political leader seeking to understand reality in order to remake it. The ideas enlarged upon by him were rooted in his previous experience and elevated to the level of theoretical propositions of universal significance. His analysis is aimed at revolutionary transformations. The notions, the general categories elaborated by Gramsci were destined to become the foundation not only for carrying out current tasks but also for defining the prospects of the struggle on the scale of an entire historical epoch.

An historical approach must be taken to the problem of internationalism in Gramsci's works even more than to his analysis of questions of 'hegemony', in other words, the stages of the formation of his views must be defined and demarcated.

The point of departure is, unquestionably, the revolution of 1917 in Russia. Gramsci was already then a member of the Italian Socialist Party and an experienced journalist, who in that year headed the newspaper *Il Grido del Popolo* and was a contributor to the Turin edition of *L'Avanti!*, the official organ of the Socialists. He was perhaps the only member of the ISP who from the outset appreciated the vast historical significance of the October Revolution.

As I have already noted, the striving to build up artificial systems was alien to Gramsci's thinking, which was anti-dogmatic. For example, his famous article with the paradoxical heading 'Revolution Against *Capital*' has in view nothing less than Marx's celebrated work. In this article Gramsci affirmed that the October Revolution did not harmonise with the postulates of 'Marxism' and that the Bolsheviks were not 'Marxists'.

This is an uncommon affirmation. But we will not understand the author's thinking correctly if we fail to see one fact: he meant the 'Marxism' of the Second International and hence the inverted commas. From the standpoint of the Second International the Bolsheviks could not be regarded as 'Marxists' for they did not share its views, which were permeated with blind positivism and evolutionism — these views did not reflect reality and were contrary to the essence of Marx's ideas. Gramsci's polemic with the Italian Socialists, accustomed to the spirit of the 'Marxism' espoused by the Second International, was conducted in an analogous

key.

A little later, in the article 'Our Marx' these positions (earlier sketched only briefly) were formulated with more clarity. "Marx did not write a catechism, he was not a Messiah who left a host of commandments composed of categorical imperatives and indisputable, absolute norms . . . For us Karl Marx is an intellectual and moral example, not a shepherd brandishing a scourge."²

Thus, the then young Gramsci's attitude to the Russian revolution exemplified his repudiation of schematic, dogmatic interpretations of Marxism, his striving to understand Marx's works creatively. In subsequent years this attitude and the readiness to act in accordance with it allowed Gramsci to get a profound grasp of the essence of Lenin's doctrine, perceive its spirit and, at the same time, show the versatility of his own personality, and devote himself entirely to the work of the Communist Party.

The revolution in Russia was the paramount beacon for Gramsci, as for all revolutionaries of the time. The further formation of his views proceeded in solidarity with it, and this solidarity became one of the central premises for the formation of the Italian Communist Party.

A powerful wave of protests against the existing system arose in West European countries at the same time, and there were signs of revolution. It seemed that it was possible to repeat in Italy everything that had been accomplished by the Bolsheviks or, as was said at the time, to 'follow the example of Russia'. For many Italian comrades the impact and attractive force of the October Revolution and the recognition of its immense historical role were taken to signify that they could emulate practically all the forms and methods of that revolution. The factory councils that sprang up in Turin in 1919-1920 around the journal *L'Ordine nuovo*,³ appeared to Gramsci as a kind of translation of the experience of the Soviets in Russia into the Italian language. This subject merits closer study, but in any case it is obvious that Gramsci's internationalism was inseparable from solidarity with the cause of the October Revolution. At the same time, this internationalism proceeded from a striving to take Italy's distinctive features into account.

The revolutionary tide that rose after 1917 did not lead to the results expected by the revolutionaries. When the Italian Communist Party was founded in 1921 this tide was losing its strength and beginning to ebb. Fascism was sinking roots in Italian society and it came to power in October 1922. The first steps of the Communist Party were taken in years of extreme tension. It was compelled to engage in bitter, often decimating clashes with fascist shock forces. It did not at once gain strength and influence. Amadeo Bordiga, the Communist Party's Secretary at the time, directed its work in a spirit of undisguised sectarianism, making no distinction between fascism and the other forms of bourgeois rule and preventing a correct understanding of the situation and of the tasks in that situation.

In those years Gramsci was occupied with in-depth meaningful analytical work. His point of departure was that the Italian socialist movement of 1919-1920 had suffered a setback and he noted that under Bordiga's leadership the party was incapable of enlarging its ranks and broadening its political influence. Comprehension of these lessons, which was important for the future development of Gramsci's theoretical thinking, was acquired on an internationalist basis: a concrete example of internationalism was furnished by his stay in Moscow from mid-1922 to the close of 1923.

The experience acquired there was of immense importance, for it gave Gramsci an insight into the difficult conditions under which socialism would have to be built in the Soviet Union and a clear picture of its greater significance. He had the opportunity of personally meeting with Bolsheviks, with those who were

pioneering the path of revolution. A decisive step was his study of the works of Lenin. Gramsci made a penetrating analysis of the situation in Italy, and it proved to be accurate and correct. He began to form a new conception of the relation between the revolution in Russia and the prospects for revolution in other countries, ceasing to absolutise their similarity. This was the period when he stressed that the party had to work out its political line independently, which, being profoundly national, Italian, would make it possible to address the tasks confronting the ICP by drawing upon the results of a minute "reconnaissance of the state of the nation", as he put it himself.

Gramsci attended the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, hearing the report delivered by Lenin, who compellingly showed the need for closely studying the national distinctions of each country: "I think," Lenin said in this report, "that after five years of the Russian revolution the most important thing for all of us, Russian and foreign comrades alike, is to sit down and study. We have only now detained the opportunity to do so . . . But we must take advantage of every moment of respite from fighting, from war, to study and to study from scratch . . . Our foreign comrades, too, must study . . . They must assimilate part of the Russian experience. Just how that will be done, I do not know. The fascists in Italy may, for example, render us a great service by showing the Italians that they are not yet sufficiently enlightened and that their country is not yet ensured against the Black Hundreds . . . They, however, must study in the special sense, in order that they may really understand the organisation, structure, method, and content of revolutionary work."⁴

Gramsci was inspired by these words of Lenin. In his reflections the assimilation of the Russian experience, of Leninism, fuses organically with a precise and detailed knowledge of Italian reality.

Events developed as Lenin predicted: paradoxically, the emergence of fascism 'aided' the Italian Communist Party, which precisely on the basis of its analysis of this phenomenon was able, under Gramsci's leadership, to get down to working out its political line and strategy consonant with the national context. Gramsci wrote: "Why were the Italian proletarian parties always inadequately revolutionary? Why have they been inconsistent every time it was vital to move from words to action? They did not understand the situation in which they had to act and did not know the battlefield where they had to fight. Just think: in the more than 30 years of its existence the Socialist Party did not produce a single book analysing Italy's socio-economic structure, not a single book researching the class foundations and role of political parties in the country . . . We do not know Italy . . . It seems that the Italian working class has never had its own notion of the life, history, and further evolution of human society. Nevertheless, the workers have their own world-view-historical materialism — and they have great teachers, Marx and Engels, who showed how to study facts and the situation and draw conclusions from this for practical actions.

"Our weakness, the major cause of the setbacks of revolutionary parties in Italy is that they had no ideology which they could carry to the masses, while the consciousness of fighters was not reinforced with moral and psychological confidence in their own strength."⁵

Upon his return to his homeland in 1924 Gramsci set about analysing the socio-political realities in the country. The beginning of this analysis is a famous letter written in that year. In this letter he wrote that the method by which power was won by the working class in Russia could not be applied mechanically in the more developed West European countries, where the structure and activities of the state required a different revolutionary tactic — more sophisticated and of a longer duration. He built the foundation that enabled the party to occupy its place in

Italian society and win a strong position in its various sectors. It may be said with certainty that thanks to Gramsci's work the ICP has become an inseparable element of political life and was able to hold its own and continue the struggle under clandestine conditions and in the face of the fascist terror following the enactment of emergency laws in 1926.

The party's transformation, the modifications in its strategy, and the struggle against Bordiga created the prerequisites for the further development also of the concepts of internationalism. With increasing clarity Gramsci defined it as the merging and union of national components with international cooperation and solidarity. To facilitate an understanding of this fundamental principle it is worth citing a letter to Togliatti and Terracini (1924). Examining Bordiga's factional activity in the party and in the Comintern, Gramsci wrote: "Amadeo Bordiga is lining up with the positions of an international minority. For our part we should represent the positions of the national majority." In these words we can quite clearly discern a concept (even if it was only in its incipient stage) representing an alloy of the national and the international. This concept was subsequently enlarged upon in the theses for the Third ICP Congress (1926) and, particularly, in the *Prison Notebooks*.

"The international situation should be considered in its national aspect," Gramsci writes in the *Notebooks*. "Indeed, the concept 'national' stems from a 'distinctive' unique (in some sense) combination . . . Certainly, development leads in the direction of internationalism, but the 'national' is the point of departure, and it is from this point of departure that we should proceed. However, the perspective is international and it can be nothing else. We should therefore closely study the combination of national forces which the international class should head and which it has to promote in accordance with international perspectives and the requirements of international development. A leading class merits that name only if it accurately interprets this combination, of which it is itself a component."⁶

In Italian traditions Gramsci identified an aspect with whose help he felt it was possible to develop internationalist ideas. Italy's distinctive historical destinies, the dispersal of its intellectuals in different countries of Europe, and the activities of the Catholic Church have turned Italian cosmopolitanism into a characteristic trait of our people, into a profoundly Italian tradition. Leader of a revolutionary party, Gramsci advanced the task of giving this tradition a new content. Under new conditions cosmopolitanism could evolve into internationalism, into relations of cooperation and solidarity with other countries. Gramsci's stand was that after Russia socialism would triumph in other countries. "Joint participation in the world's unitary economic transformation is in the tradition of the Italian people and of Italian history. The Italians need such cooperation not in order to win domination and appropriate the fruits of the labour of others, but in order to exist and develop as a people."

I should like to emphasise the significance of Gramsci's ideas for the ICP, for its consolidation on national soil, and for the formation of its concept of internationalist solidarity, which highlights the national aspects and in equal measures stresses the importance of the international mission of the working class. The significance that Gramsci attributed to the national role of the Italian working class is seen in the words he threw in the face of the fascists before his verdict was announced: "You are taking Italy into catastrophe, and it will depend upon us, the Communists, to save the nation." These were prophetic words. Subsequent events — the collapse of fascism, the struggle for the country's liberation, the Resistance movement, and the role played in it by the ICP — convincingly show the attitude of the Communists to the Gramsci theoretical heritage, an attitude that is not

mechanical and simplistic, but animated by a desire to get to the bottom of his thinking.

¹ *L'Unità*, January 18, 1987.

² Antonio Gramsci, *Scritti giovanili*, Vol. 8, Turin, 1958, pp. 217, 220.

³ *L'Ordine nuovo*, a weekly that Antonio Gramsci and Palmiro Togliatti began to publish in 1919. The revolutionaries who largely cleared the way for the formation of the Communist Party were grouped around this publication. — *Ed.*

⁴ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, pp. 431-432.

⁵ Antonio Gramsci, *Per la verità. Scritti, 1913-1926*, Rome, 1974, pp. 268-269.

⁶ Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, Vol. V, Turin, 1952, p.114.

THE CHERNOBYL TRAGEDY: A WARNING OF THE NUCLEAR AGE

Peaceful uses of nuclear energy are a major accomplishment of our civilisation. The atom is a source of considerable benefits in medicine, agriculture, food and power production; it opens new vistas before science and enables us to save natural resources which are being depleted. In early 1987, 394 nuclear reactors operated in 26 countries, producing 16 per cent of the world's electric power.

Unfortunately, however, the application of the latest and extremely sophisticated technologies often leads to accidents and even to loss of life. That, too, is a reality. The tragedy that struck the Chernobyl nuclear power plant on April 26, 1986 is a bitter confirmation of this fact. Chernobyl and the earlier accidents at US, British and other nuclear power plants have brought mankind face to face with many fundamental problems that must be tackled promptly and competently.

What is the message of the Chernobyl tragedy? What lessons should be drawn from it in terms of more stringent demands on nuclear power safety and on the human factor amid the world-wide scientific and technological revolution? Finally, what is the situation at Chernobyl today, how has it changed over the past twelve months? These and other questions concerning the peaceful uses of nuclear energy are covered in an interview Hans Blix granted us in Vienna and in an article by a Soviet scientist, both published below.

An Unbiased View of Nuclear Power Production

Hans Blix — Director General, International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

The IAEA will turn 30 in July 1987. Anticipating a little, we would appreciate your appraisal of the results achieved by the Agency over these past 30 years. In what spheres has the IAEA been particularly successful and in what fields have its accomplishments been more modest?

LET me begin by recalling that the IAEA was set up to promote the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and to assist in the efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to further countries. And I think one can say that we have, during these 30 years, developed a very extensive activity to transfer nuclear power technologies and know-how to the developing countries, which use them in agriculture, medicine and industry. Our Technical Assistance Programme has a very good reputation.

In the nuclear power field, I think the many committees which we have set up have also helped the member states — there are now 113 of them — to exchange information and to learn from one another. We are now the single biggest publisher of books on nuclear energy. And we are running one of the world's most prominent computerised libraries. Our member states participate in the so-called INIS (International Nuclear Information System) to which titles and summaries of research works are contributed, and any participant can use the computer to obtain articles and references. The Agency is also a clearing house for information in the field of nuclear fusion.

Safety, safe nuclear power is another factor essential for the promotion of nuclear energy. The safety activities of the Agency have expanded considerably over these years, especially after the Three Mile Island accident (United States, March 1979) and the Chernobyl accident (Soviet Union, April 1986). You may say Chernobyl opened a 'window of opportunity' for the IAEA. Governments are sensitive to public opinion in their countries, and the public wants international safety guarantees. And so governments turn to us, seeing the Agency as a mechanism for implementing such guarantees. It is also true that when public pressure lets up, there is a certain slackening in the activity of governments.

And now about preventing further proliferation of nuclear weapons. We are running the world's first on-site inspection system with some 200 inspectors who travel around the world to countries which report on fissionable materials in their possession. It is very important that the nuclear-weapon states, too, have opened some of their peaceful installations to our inspection. At the same time, some countries have not submitted all their nuclear installations to the IAEA safeguards. Nevertheless, such as it is, the system operates reliably and has a great confidence-building capacity.

I think one can say that the Agency has a reputation for being quite efficient, and this certainly was demonstrated in the post-accident, post-Chernobyl case. I ascribe this efficiency, first of all, to the willingness and the habit of member states to

Hans Blix (b.1928), Ph. D. and Doctor of Law, was head of a department in the Swedish Foreign Ministry from 1963 to 1976, Foreign Minister from October 1978 to September 1979, and member of the Swedish delegation to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva from 1962 to 1978. In September 1981 he was appointed Director General of the IAEA. Hans Blix is the author of several books on international and constitutional law.

cooperate here in a businesslike manner, and to the fact that the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, have always had a rather good, cooperative relationship in the Agency.

It is not surprising that governments in several countries which have large nuclear power programmes are treading cautiously in the face of public concern. On the other hand, governments are fully aware how valuable the nuclear programmes are. For example, just a few days after the Chernobyl accident the leaders of the seven industrially most advanced countries in the world, at the Tokyo summit, reaffirmed their view that 'properly managed' nuclear power will continue to produce an increasing share of the world's electricity. And Mr. Gorbachov has said that it was unthinkable to envisage a world economy without nuclear power. At the special session and the 30th regular session of the IAEA's General Conference, the governments participating continued to attribute an important role to nuclear power. My conclusion is that the policies of relying on nuclear power will remain — first for economic reasons but also for environmental reasons.

Everything the Agency is working on attracts increasing public attention. That is natural because from 1971 to 1985 alone, 151 accidents of varying gravity occurred in 14 countries. Some of these accidents have resulted in considerable economic losses and in psychological damage to the very idea of nuclear energy serving peaceful purposes. How do you assess the future of nuclear power production in the light of Chernobyl and other accidents?

In any power production industry you will have accidents. It is almost meaningless to examine the record of only one form of electric power production. If one only based one's judgement on the newspapers, one would believe that nuclear power stations are standing still very often. West European statistics show, however, that the availability of nuclear power plants, that is, the time when they are available for power production, is higher than the corresponding rate at power stations using oil or coal. And so I don't think one can say that accidents are more common at nuclear installations than at plants running on coal, or oil, or natural gas.

We should also proceed from the premise that we will need more electricity. In the industrialised countries, the major choices are coal and nuclear power. Oil and gas are expensive, and hydro is almost finished. The calculations show that nuclear power is cheaper per kwh in most areas of the world than coal. It also offers the great advantage of not placing a great burden on transportation, although it is expensive in terms of capital investment.

And another point. Today, nuclear energy provides 16 per cent of the world's electric power. If you were to produce the same amount of electricity from oil, you would need an additional capacity the size of Saudi Arabia at the 1982 oil production level. That means, if you don't have nuclear energy, the demand for oil is sure to rise considerably. But competition on the oil market does not necessarily imply an increase in production. Rather, oil prices would go up very sharply, benefiting some oil-producing countries but resulting in disastrous consequences for the other, mostly developing nations.

In discussing safety, all types of electric power production should be considered. With coal, you'll have accidents in mines and during transportation. And you have very serious environmental problems, with dead forests, acid lakes and polluted air. Add to that the possible 'greenhouse effect' in the atmosphere, caused by the carbon dioxide released when you burn fossil fuel. And this will happen under quite normal operating circumstances at non-nuclear power stations, while a nuclear power plant will adversely affect man and the environment only as a result of an accident.

All forms of power production have their risks. Until Chernobyl, we could boast that we had had a total of 4,000 years of reactor operation at nuclear power plants without a single lethal casualty due to radiation. Of course, Chernobyl has changed this picture. The operators of the power station committed grave blunders and were guilty of gross negligence which had a tragic outcome. This made many people sceptical of and even hostile to nuclear power. But that was not the greatest industrial accident in history. For instance, the Bhopal accident in India certainly had worse consequences for the local population. It caused more than 2,500 deaths but did not stop the development of the chemical industry. Nor did the Challenger tragedy stop the US shuttle programme, whether people need this programme or not. Nuclear power has generally proved to be quite safe, it responds to very real needs and will not be stopped either.

It is true, of course, that the public has a much more nervous attitude to nuclear power, but that has often been the case with new technologies. It took time for steam locomotives, electricity, and airplanes to gain acceptance. If we were to have, say, several jumbo jet accidents in one year, some people would surely stop flying. But that doesn't mean that mankind will give up air travel.

I think that the Greens and other environmentalists — with whom I sympathise because I think the world really faces an environmental danger — are going completely wrong about nuclear energy. I have always supported nuclear power plants as particularly safe. I believe that in the long run, a rational approach to nuclear power production will prevail and at least guide our actions, if not feelings.

How do you evaluate the Soviet efforts to combat the consequences of the Chernobyl accident and to inform the international community on its causes, and what do you think about the Soviet proposals on an international regime of safe nuclear power production?

The measures taken to bring the reactor under control and the situation back to normal were both intelligent and highly resourceful. There was enormous concentration of effort, and there was heroism.

As to the information made available to the world community, I think that the post-accident review held in Vienna and the Soviet report of 380 pages were a unique experience. It was the first time that there was such an extensive and frank international discussion of an industrial accident.

The Soviet Union and Mr. Gorbachov himself advanced a number of proposals on an international regime for safe nuclear power production. Two conventions have been drafted, one on early warning and the other on assistance. Some proposals still remain to be tackled, specifically a convention on liability.

My conclusion is that the openness demonstrated by the Soviet Union, first, enabled the world to learn from this tragic experience and, second, neutralised the criticism levelled at the USSR right after the accident. This openness did a service both to the international community and to the Soviet Union itself.

What was the IAEA role in eliminating the consequences of the accident?

The Agency served as a channel of information from the Soviet Union to the world. We also reported on the radiation level at Chernobyl and in other areas along the Western frontier of the Soviet Union to the radiation protection authorities in the IAEA member countries. Besides, we transmitted suggestions from foreign experts to the Soviet Union, but, of course, basically the USSR used its own resources to cope with the accident. The role of the Agency could be much greater if a similar accident occurred in a country with fewer economic and technological resources.

Sometimes an eyewitness account gives the reader much more than columns of figures or even logical reasoning. In May 1986, while in the USSR at the invitation of the Soviet government, you circled the Chernobyl power plant in a helicopter. Could you relate the dose of radiation you received then with anything that is readily familiar to a layman?

When I returned from the Soviet Union, many people asked me how I could bring myself to go to Chernobyl. My answer was simply that I had confidence in the Soviet authorities. I knew they would not take me there if I were to be exposed to any risk. Throughout that visit I carried with me a dosimeter of the Agency which was read when I returned to Vienna. It turned out that during the whole of my Soviet trip I received the same quantity of radiation as I would have had from a single X-ray examination of a tooth in a dentist's office.

What are your impressions from your second visit to Chernobyl in January 1987?

During my first visit Soviet technicians and scientists had just managed to bring the situation under control. Eight months later the situation was beginning to get back to normal. Two of the three undamaged plants are in operation, and the third one will also go into operation soon. The decontamination is such that you can move around these plants and in their neighbourhood. The damaged plant is encased in a big concrete building, and only an insignificant amount of radiation is coming through. The fallout level in the 30-km area around the station will gradually diminish with rainfall and as the snow melts. Some 24 villages in the Ukraine have already been decontaminated. People are expected to return there this year and practice agriculture again — perhaps with some change in the crops. Although within the 10-km zone it will take longer for the radioactivity to diminish sufficiently to allow farming. It is important to have new data as the dimensions of the accident become known.

The Agency attaches particular importance to last year's first ever special session of the IAEA General Conference at which two conventions were adopted. Could you give us a brief outline of their content and relevance?

It was a unique case of an international organisation being able to work out two new multilateral conventions within four weeks at a conference which had no rules of procedure and at which no voting took place. Governments displayed flexibility and political wisdom. It was a demonstration of the will of the international community to stand together and do something. We need such will for tackling other projects too — and preferably, before an accident occurs.

The convention on early notification of accidents gives guarantees of prompt information. The Agency will be the focal point which will receive this information and notify the member states. Something entirely new has also developed, although there is no express provision in the convention on this point: the nuclear weapons states have expressed their readiness to report on accidents at military installations and on accidents connected with nuclear weapons and their testing. The USSR has already informed the Agency about a nuclear submarine accident.

The other convention, the one on emergency assistance, provides for all sorts of channels for assistance. It may be of particular importance to states which do not have substantial resources of their own.

Of course, it would be best if these two conventions never have to be applied because safety measures will be such that there will be no accidents involving

transfrontier nuclear pollution — that is our hope. But reasonable precautions are there, just in case.

The IAEA General Conference had adopted an expanded safety programme for the future, but it has not been implemented yet. All states want to be assured that all other states will maintain a high level of nuclear safety. But there is one special point here. The safety standards introduced by the Agency are not binding, they are recommendations only. It has been suggested that the more fundamental of these standards be made obligatory. I don't think they will be transformed into conventions. But it is possible that one can build a system under which states would commit themselves more strongly to the implementations of these standards.

There have been frequent articles in the world press recently predicting the advent of nuclear terrorism. How well-grounded are these fears?

There have been some cases of attacks by terrorist groups on nuclear power stations. The attacks were ineffective: nuclear power stations are well protected, and it's not easy to do something to them with the means at the disposal of terrorists. However, there is a convention on physical security of nuclear installations which will soon enter into force. There is fairly broad interest in exchanging ideas and in discussing how best to take precautions against the risk of terrorism — although, of course, governments are always reticent about publishing the way protection of nuclear power plants is organised.

Surely you agree that safety of peaceful nuclear power production is connected closely with efforts to deliver mankind from nuclear weapons. How could the experience of the Agency be useful in this regard?

As the example of individual states shows, one can have nuclear power without nuclear weapons. On the other hand, one can have nuclear weapons without nuclear power. I think we should have a world without nuclear weapons but not without nuclear power.

The existence of nuclear weapons raises the question of mutual confidence. If we succeed with getting rid of nuclear weapons, states must be absolutely sure that other states have really done away with all such weapons. Hence the fundamental significance of the question of verification.

The IAEA is not a disarmament committee. However, it has a safeguard system which includes on-site inspection. Today it is limited to peaceful installations, but if you were to have nuclear disarmament, I think you would also need inspection of all peaceful nuclear installations in the nuclear weapon states — to make sure that there is no diversion of nuclear materials and facilities to military uses.

As concerns safeguards, the Agency has accumulated considerable experience, but I would like to stress that the existing system is not an international police measure. The inspectors cannot interfere if they see a case of diversion. They can only report on it.

I think that this approach will be relevant for any verification of nuclear disarmament. I would say that the safeguard system is one of the most advanced and interesting achievements of the international community, and we are ready to share our experience so as to attain universal peace.

FACE TO FACE WITH DISASTER

Soviet Public Opinion and the Chernobyl Catastrophe

Alexander Volkov — Doctor of History
(USSR), Professor of the Academy of Social
Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee

'THE Tomb' is the title of a play Moscow's Znamya magazine published four months after the Chernobyl disaster. It reads like an eyewitness account, although the stage is set in a medical centre, a fictitious Radiation Safety Institute. The radiation sickness patients are trying to sort out what has happened, realising that they may have only hours left to live. The author, the journalist Vladimir Gubarev, freely admits that the play is a blend of fiction and fact. When he left for Chernobyl, his plan was to "write about everything, with complete frankness". Harsh reality suggested the genre of the tragedy for the play.

'The Tomb' is on at theatres in Tambov, Tiraspol, Krasnodar and other Soviet cities, at Stockholm's Dramaten Theatre and at the Royal Shakespeare Company in London. It has been translated in Japan, India and socialist countries. The reason for this widespread interest is that it attempts to assess Chernobyl from the angle of a dedicated civic position — something people all over the world, first and foremost (and for obvious reasons) in the Soviet Union, regard as a vital and urgent need.

In the USSR, the first response of the public to news of the disaster was natural and straightforward: compassion for those who were at the epicentre of the accident, a desire to help shoulder the burden, admiration and respect for the heroism of those who risked their lives to stop the accident from spreading, and offers to join them. These were matter-of-fact, calm and usually low-key (I have read many such letters) — "I, an expert (driver, construction worker or whatever other specialist), could take part in the work . . ."

Support took different forms. People opened their hearts and homes to the evacuees from the danger zone. Contributions poured into Special Account 904 of the USSR State Bank, opened for financial assistance to those affected by the accident. Within a short time, it swelled to more than 500 million roubles. Teams of student volunteers manned construction sites in Kiev and Gomel regions. Medical personnel who often worked around the clock to preserve human health and save lives said the way donors unhesitatingly gave their bone marrow to the radiation victims, knowing not who the recipient would be — a hero or perhaps one of the culprits — was a convincing manifestation of moral commitment and humanism.

It was a spontaneous, common and natural human response. Despite the great degree of courage and solidarity, this reaction did not really surprise us because that was typical of our people. At the same time, many were thinking painful and bitter thoughts, asking how on earth this could happen and why thousands had to display selfless heroism "in the trenches dug by negligence and irresponsibility" as someone put it. How this crass negligence of a few reverberated throughout Europe and the world and alarmed people in Tambov and Stockholm and elsewhere was, to us, a source of guilt and shame. Yes, we felt guilty and ashamed that the accident occurred in our country (we know that similar things had happened in other nations, but that did nothing to alleviate our feelings).

The year that has elapsed since the Chernobyl accident has been a year of intense reappraisal and reflection progressing from the immediate and spontaneous

reaction on to an increasingly profound understanding of the causes behind the tragedy, to a comparison with other negative development and, most importantly, to conclusions for the future. Naturally, a special technical investigation was carried out to prevent similar disasters from recurring. Even though the probability of an unbroken chain of six gross blunders again occurring in the way it happened at Chernobyl, is infinitesimal, the entire system of nuclear power generation was subjected to a rigorous review. But public opinion was engaged in a broader reappraisal, focusing its attention on the social, psychological, moral and, in the final analysis, political issues raised by Chernobyl and on their heretofore unknown nature.

The misfortune struck after the 27th Congress of the CPSU and, in a way, reaffirmed the urgent need of the social transformations charted by the party because the accident fit into the series of negative phenomena exposed by the party forum, although Chernobyl called attention to itself and to its causes with particular force and brutality. The new atmosphere which was taking root throughout the country after the congress frustrated all attempts at glossing over the tragedy or palliating the danger of the breach of trust committed by officials. A frank and honest discussion began in the media and at press conferences almost immediately after the accident. I say 'almost' because we are still learning how to handle genuine openness; besides, the subject of the analysis is not among the particularly open fields. This level of truth is hard to master, and it does not become a routine norm overnight.

People abroad, too, may have seen at least some of the televised press conferences which were held one after another in our country. Taking part were highly prominent experts and important government officials. Every mass market newspaper and periodical in the Soviet Union wrote about Chernobyl. Today, the name crops up in an article by an economist reflecting on the human factor in the field of production, in a sociologist's analysis of the interaction of man and machinery, and even in a literary critic's essay on topical artistic questions.

The party congress which displayed a revolutionary spirit has already taken place, and journalists have been called on to 'write about everything with complete frankness'. This is why a play urging analysis of the social roots of the disaster appeared so soon, an angry play, if you like. But an angry and impassioned condemnation of individuals and of common grave errors would not have been enough in this case. The analysis undertaken by the public, by various experts, journalists, writers and political activists revealed very serious problems: problems which had arisen *inevitably* and therefore required to be solved by integrated research, democratic public discussion and joint action.

This brings to mind an interview with Valery Legasov, a member of the USSR Academy of Sciences who was active in efforts to combat the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster. He said that several years before he had been put in charge of a general industrial safety study group. Among other things, the group examined the potential dangers of various types of power production, reviewing the entire technological cycle and identifying the more vulnerable points. It concluded that major industrial accidents were soon to occur world-wide. The reason was that a qualitatively new situation was taking shape characterised by a drastic increase in the concentration of production capacities at a single plant often controlled by a single operator. Events in our country and abroad have shown that such fears were well-founded.¹

Does this mean that the Chernobyl disaster was objectively imminent and preordained? Legasov's answer is that the accident was improbable at a nuclear power plant because it would require an unbroken sequence of many wrong steps. Yet it did occur, and where it was least expected.

At once it became clear that we were living in a world quite different from what we had yesterday. It is now clear that *after* Chernobyl we can no longer live the way we did *before* it, that we must learn all its lessons. Having armed himself with powerful tools of technology, Legasov says, man has only just begun to think about how he can make them safe. "Today, we don't have to fight againsts what has already blown up or may suddenly blow up tomorrow . . . We've got to fight for the development of safety techniques that are equal to the powers man now commands. That is a problem common to the entire world."²

That is the opinion of a physicist. Meanwhile, social scientists believe that the problem is not only technological but also social, and that the safeguards against accidents should therefore be both technological and social, and sufficient for the powers harnessed by man. Although, to be precise, this view is shared by physicists, engineers, medical experts, journalists and many other people who took part in the discussion of Chernobyl's lessons. Perhaps the social scientists were the ones who gave a professional appraisal of the inevitable nature of developments which presented themselves in an unbroken succession of 'many wrong steps'.

The economist and sociologist Tatiana Zaslavskaya, also a member of the Academy of Sciences, analyses the importance of the human factor in industrial production and cites the example of Chernobyl to emphasise that as labour becomes better equipped technologically, society pays an increasingly high price for the imperfect skills, flippant confidence and crude irresponsibility of individuals and consequently, for the underlying inadequacies of the system of economic and social relations. "This tragic event," she writes about the Chernobyl accident, "throws into particularly bold relief the importance of the human factor — both its positive and, unfortunately, negative importance — in conditions of the scientific and technological revolution."³

The sinister flames of Chernobyl highlighted a completely new dimension of the human factor in industrial production — its global aspect. We now know that nuclear pollution recognises no national borders. But it is not only nuclear pollution. The effects of an accident at a Swiss pharmaceutical factory have also transcended borders and poisoned all of the Rhine. Acid rain and other environmental dangers do not recognise national sovereignty either. It follows that today, each person entrusted with controlling power often of awesome might or any industrial capacities capable of generating accidents if managed negligently must be aware of his or her responsibility. This responsibility has assumed a new global dimension. It is a responsibility to all mankind.

This sense of responsibility is evident in many letters sent to editorial offices. People who write them express a simple and commonsense idea: the important thing is to have an atmosphere of self-discipline and self-regulation. This atmosphere must be common and universal. A situation where workmanship is shoddy in vacuum cleaners and television sets but fine in reactors or spaceships cannot last long. Social safeguards against accidents must work across the board. But should it be protection only from slipshod, irresponsible individuals?

Portraying the nuclear power plant manager, the author of 'The Tomb' poses a highly topical question — how dangerous is a dull, meek and easily manipulated individual? He owed his promotions not to his talent but to his convenience. According to the play, the previous manager had been dismissed for challenging the decisions of the higher-ups when the latter were determined to send in, at any cost, a 'mission accomplished' report to their superiors. The former manager turned down unreliable, flammable roofing and refused to beat a deadline if this meant loss of quality. He was considered difficult and quarrelsome. The man who replaced him, pliant, accommodating and convenient for bureaucrats, let the accident happen. I asked the author of the play if he copied this character from someone. "The character

is fictitious", he replied, "there is no such post at the power plant: there's the director and the chief engineer. Rather, 'The Tomb' shows a certain composite figure of an executive which, regrettably, is nonetheless a very real one."

One cannot dispute that. And it need not necessarily be a manager. Today, the role of each individual participating in production is incomparably more important than before; therefore, the range of requirements to him or her is widening. True, man has always been the principal force of production, and Marx called the "developed productive power of all individuals" the "real wealth" of society.⁴ There was a time when production could function even if man was, "to use a striking expression of the ancients, distinguishable only as instrumentum vocale from an animal as instrumentum semi-vocale and from an implement as instrumentum mutum".⁵ Conveyor-belt production turned man into an appendage, a 'cog' of the machine. A different law is making itself felt to an ever greater degree today: the higher the overall level the productive forces reach in their development, the more man and his distinctive abilities as part of the forces of production stand out among them, and the more he is objectively required to assert and manifest his human — intellectual, moral and creative — abilities. If this is not true of an individual, if he still feels like a 'cog' of this or that mechanism, and if his moral qualities are inadequate to the capacities, power and forces of nature or machinery, this individual may become a menace to society.

Then what do we do about the human factor of accidents and disasters? Impose strict controls, constant monitoring and harsh penalties for negligence? All that is only partly right — if at all — but it is not enough. Often, excessive monitoring and rigorous control 'from above' work precisely to make people passive and irresponsible and prompt them to unthinkingly 'obey orders'.

Having launched a policy of accelerating social development and reorganising society along revolutionary lines, our party has definitively selected a different and much more promising course — granting maximum autonomy to those engaged in production, clearly outlining the rights and duties of each and thereby promoting initiative and responsibility, all this coupled with control by the public, based on efforts to effectively implement the ideas of autonomous management, socialist democracy and openness. Speaking at the January 1987 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachov said: "We have decisively taken the course of supporting enterprising, thinking and energetic people."⁶ The Plenary Meeting mapped out specific steps to considerably expand the scope of democracy in the field of production. Election of administrators and managers, their accountability to the workers as a collective, and broad participation of workers in decision-making are all aimed at making any and all technological and economic decisions at any enterprise as consonant as possible with — and not contradictory to — the interests of our working people, our social goals. This course we regard as offering an opportunity for the fullest and most consistent realisation of the advantages of socialism — that is, overcoming the practice of hired labour, man's alienation in the process of production. As Lenin said with his usual forthright clarity, this is an opportunity "to work for oneself", not for exploiters.⁷

Some may say that this bears little relation to what happened at Chernobyl. True, the reorganisation that is under way in the Soviet Union was prompted by an overall analysis of the situation in the USSR and began before the tragedy struck. But it would have been impossible to find answers to the harsh questions posed by Chernobyl without this reorganisation effort. It provides the principal social safeguards guaranteeing scientific and technological progress in the interests of man, environmental protection and industrial safety.

Chernobyl has also put the spotlight on a different problem of safety and security.

When I asked the author of the play why he set it in a medical centre, Gubarev answered by recalling how a group of journalists came to tour the Chernobyl area and went on a hydrofoil trip on the Pripiat River. It was a fine spring day, the river sparkling with sunlight, the gardens on the banks in full bloom, and the birds singing. You simply refused to believe that there was deadly radiation all around. You cannot see, hear or smell it. It is a silent killer.

"I couldn't get over this feeling" Gubarev says. "My colleagues asked me why I did not take notes. But I did not understand how this could be conveyed at all."

Many of those who visited the zone of the accident were struck by the invisibility of this terrible danger, by man's inability to feel its presence, by the silence of the senses. It had similarity to the war danger, a danger equally covert and almost imperceptible. It is present in the stockpiles of nuclear weapons, in missile silos and in decisions taken by certain governments, but it is hidden from sight. It can be perceived intellectually, but not everyone is aware of it, not even a majority.

While on an environmental protection lecture circuit in Finland, I was asked an unexpected question, one that even sounded strange at first: what is more dangerous — the possibility of a nuclear war breaking out or the already actual destruction of the environment, specifically, its radiological contamination? Well, after all, you can't be sure if a war will really start, but you know polluted air is now a fact. My first impulse was to say that "both were worse", that both were problems of human survival. But the question was asked for a reason: the audience was thinking about the order of priorities to be adopted in a document addressed to the public. And so we pooled our efforts.

First, we reasoned, the radiation released in the explosion of the smallest nuclear warhead would equal three Chernobyls. If only one per cent of the currently available stockpiles is used in a nuclear attack, a nuclear winter is inevitable. And nuclear winter will destroy man — not a man, nor hundreds or even thousands of people but all men — the entire human race. Forests killed by acid rain can be replanted; we have managed to clean up many rivers; but the destruction of humanity is irreversible. What could be compared to the magnitude of this danger?

Second, there is still time to avert an environmental disaster. This time is limited, it must not be wasted, but it would still take longer than a decade to make the environment unfit for human habitation. But SDI nuclear warheads are to be deployed in the sky above us within this decade. Experts have proven that the risk of a nuclear war breaking out instantaneously and perhaps even independently of a human decision will then become much more real than it is now. It looks like the time factor is particularly relevant in the assessment of the dangers mankind is facing.

Third, the most obvious argument: if the political climate could be 'decontaminated', if trust and cooperation among nations could be restored and strengthened and disarmament negotiated on that basis, then we could earmark huge resources for environmental protection. Essentially, insufficient funds are the main obstacle to the solution of all other global problems as well.

The Chernobyl disaster stimulated work to develop collective international assistance to accident victims. This kind of solidarity is quite tangible. People from different countries sent money, clothes and even fruit to the special Chernobyl relief fund, in an effort to help. That was a bit naive but very moving and noble impulse by which our nation sets great store. The names of Robert Gale and Armand Hammer, an American surgeon and an American businessman who offered their help in the treatment of victims, are familiar to everyone in the Soviet Union, even to schoolchildren. We also remember what Robert Gale said at a press conference in Moscow: one cannot hope that physicians will similarly help people after nuclear explosions in a war. It is entirely possible that there will be no one to

treat or to be treated.

Soviet and international public opinion has already reached a conclusion: solidarity must be displayed before, not after a nuclear catastrophe — solidarity in the struggle to prevent it. Otherwise, the tomb, as one of the main characters in the play tells another, Professor Cale, an American (the similarity of the names is no coincidence, of course), will be a 'collective planetary tomb'.

This image and the title of the play come from the word used to denote the structure in which a radiating reactor is encased. According to the play, it also refers to the concrete vault into which the sealed lead coffin with the body of someone who died of radiation is lowered, because the body 'still emits radiation two or three roentgens an hour . . . And it will remain radioactive for decades.'

All this is said and written not to scare people but to prompt them to act.

We are witnessing a leap forward in the shaping of mankind as a single, integral entity, although in many respects still fragmented. We also note the emergence of a universal concern over the preservation of civilisation and the survival of the human race. Unfortunately, the biblical 'end of the world' may indeed come — not through divine interference but as a result of human action. Nothing can forestall or prevent this most terrible of catastrophes except man's determination, responsibility and will. This is why a system of social safeguards is necessary at the international level too, a system based on the same principles of openness, democracy and participation.

Issues of war and peace must be decided not only by politicians but by millions of people. For this reason Soviet statements, proposals and peace initiatives are always addressed not only to politicians but also to the world's peoples. We have faith in the people's sagacity in their social activity. We believe that Spaceship Earth carries no passengers — we are all its crew.

¹ See *Izvestiya*, January 23, 1987.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Kommunist*, No. 13, 1986, p. 61.

⁴ Karl Marx, *Grundrisse. Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy (Rough Draft)*, Harmondsworth, 1973, p. 708.

⁵ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1956, p. 196.

⁶ Mikhail Gorbachov, *Reorganisation and the Party's Personnel Policy*, Moscow, 1987, p. 52.

⁷ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 407.

surveys, letters, and diary

The Reader Wants to Know The Worker in the Modern World

The working class has a big part in developing modern society. Could you show how its structure, its percentage of the population of the world, regions and countries has changed over the past 30-40 years, and also the impact of scientific and technical progress on the working person's condition?

M. Stoyanov (Bulgaria)

A working group of the WMR Commission for Scientific Information and Documentation has prepared in answer a set of statistics on the basis of international and national sources.

THE world's labour resources (economically active population) have grown with the growth of its total population and generally at the same pace, since they constitute a part of the total population (41-43 per cent in mid-century, apart from Latin America). The developing countries, i.e. less developed countries (LDCs), of Asia and Africa subsequently joined Latin America in this respect: the demographic explosion and decline in child mortality had reduced by the mid-1980s the share of the economically active population for the Third World as a whole to 37 per cent, as compared with the 44-45 per cent in socialist and industrialised capitalist countries.

(See Table 1)

The changes in the overall structure of the economically active population have been more dynamic: the share of wage and salaried workers has grown. The pace of this process differed in the various groups of countries and regions (the highest being in the socialist countries and the lowest in the LDCs), but everywhere it has proceeded in the way shown in Table 2.

(See Table 2)

Let us look at the growth of the working class and various other related matters in greater detail.

Socialist Countries

The faster growth in the socialist countries as compared with other groups of countries in the numbers and share of wage and salaried workers is, of course, connected with the corresponding changes in the sectoral structure of the national economy. Viewed through the prism of the labour employment of the population, these changes appear as follows.¹

(See Table 3)

The table shows that the share of non-farm sectors in employment has been growing more slowly in the countries with a relatively high level of economic development at the start of the period (GDR, USSR, Czechoslovakia) than that in the less developed countries, and vice versa, with all or almost all the increases in employment occurring everywhere in the socialised sectors of the economy, possibly with the exception of China.

(See Table 4)

The accelerating scientific and technical progress makes for corresponding shifts in the occupational and skill characteristics of the working class. Let us note here one important fact. The installation of new equipment and technology in the capitalist countries leads to a loss of jobs and a growth of unemployment, as it will be shown below. In the socialist countries, jobs are also made redundant by the growth of labour productivity, but that does not jeopardise full employment, which is, of course, not taken to mean work for the benefit of the society by *all* able-bodied persons, but satisfaction of the people's socially and economically *optimal job requirements*. (Such an approach implies, among other things, a marked reduction, if not elimination — through distributive policy — of the excessive employment of some categories of the population, such as young people who work and study, women in families with many children, and some old-age pensioners.

Balanced economic development in the socialist countries makes it possible to work out and consistently apply a set of measures to solve the problems of employment which spring from scientific and technical progress, such as staffing the services, in which employment is bound to grow steadily, improving the state mechanism by means of which redundant workers are reassigned to other jobs, improving the job-advice centres, retraining for other skills, etc.

Industrialised Capitalist Countries

Table 5 shows the growth of the wage-labour army and of its core, the working class, in the industrialised part of the non-socialist world (24 countries within the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development — OECD), and in the major capitalist countries over the past three decades.

(See Table 5)

The number of wage and salaried workers in this period increased by more than 73 per cent, coming to over 80 per cent of the economically active population, as compared with less than 70 per cent in the early 1950s. The numbers of the working class went up by almost 76 per cent: from 58 to about 71 per cent of the economically active population, or from 84 to just short of 85.2 per cent of those working for a wage. Thus, within the wage-labour army, the share of the working class remained almost unchanged, while it increased markedly within the economically active population. Table 6 shows how the proportion between its main contingents changed, and that substantially. The industrialised proletariat, once virtually everywhere the largest part of the working class, is now numerically smaller as compared with commercial office workers in some countries.

(See Table 6)

The sectoral, occupational and skill structures of the economically active population inevitably tends to change with scientific and technical progress, and the ever more extensive switch by industry and other sectors of the economy to a new technological basis. The employment crisis is simultaneously exacerbated.

"'Technological progress'," says a publication of the General Confederation of Labour (CGT), France's largest trade union centre, "in most cases and in a fundamental manner stands for 'social regression'" (in the capitalist countries. — *Ed.*) It goes on to explain: "The operation of technical updating/is fraught with/ . . . continual deterioration of employment, with growing unemployment (both in terms of the number of workers affected and the duration of unemployment), with the excrescence of debased forms of work, with drops in real wages, with an intensification of work, with attacks upon social protection and other social achievements, with a reduction of workers' rights . . ."²

Table 7 shows the unemployment dynamic in the whole group of industrialised capitalist countries and in the largest of them. Here, the United States looks best, as the loss of jobs in the US industry was mainly made good by a growth of jobs in other spheres of economy, often at lower pay. The army of 'unwanted' people increased in Japan by more than 50 per cent; in the FRG, Italy and Canada, roughly 100 per cent; in France, almost 200 per cent, and in Britain — more than 200 per cent.

The state of the labour market in the 1970s and 1980s was marked by a growing proportion of long-term (over one year) unemployment, and a high level of unemployment among young people. By the mid-1980s, there were many more long-term unemployed, as compared with the 1970s, in all the major capitalist countries, except Japan. The duration of unemployment also increased. In France, for instance, according to the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies, "workers unemployed for over two years were rare before 1975, but in 1981 they numbered over 200,000, and in March 1986 — 518,000"³, i.e. over 20 per cent of all the unemployed.

Young people are hardest hit by the scourge of unemployment. In 1985, young people made up 39 per cent of the registered unemployed in seven major capitalist countries, although they made up no more than 20 per cent of the economically active population. The situation is most tragic in France, where one in four, and in Italy, one in three school-leavers are unable to find jobs. Here Spain holds a sad record, for almost every other young person between 16 and 24 years is in a similar plight.

(See Table 7)

(See Table 8)

Less Developed Countries

The LDCs have vast human and natural resources, but turn out less than 20 per cent of the non-capitalist world's GDP. Their glaring economic lag behind the industrialised capitalist countries has not narrowed down; indeed, it has been widened by the neocolonialist plunder. In the early 1980s, the Third World had a GDP per head that was, on average, 11 times lower than that in the centres of capitalism.

(See Table 9)

The low level of economic and social development will be seen from the narrow scale of wage-labour. Those working for a wage make up no more than 40 per cent of the economically active population in the Third World as a whole. Industry (including construction) and transport also have a small share of wage-labour activity; just over 25 per cent in Asia, and about 40 per cent in Latin America.

(See Table 10)

The employment problem is most acute. Over 40 per cent of the able-bodied people either have no job at all, or work less than a full working day. The unemployed and partially employed total at least 480 million, of whom roughly two-thirds are in the countries of Asia, and about one-fifth, in Africa.

(See Table 11)

With all the diversity of economic, social and political conditions in which the various contingents of the working class find themselves, and for all the changes in its make-up owing to scientific and technical progress and other factors, the working class remains the chief revolutionary class of our day.

Why?

First, there is the objective fact that the working class is closely bound up with the most advanced forms of social production.

Second, there is its organic and growing link to collective forms of labour, which enables the working class to organise and fight collectively, to subordinate individual interests to the common interest, and to act as a unifying mass force.

Third, the place of the working class in production and in the society makes it the most consistent champion of the ideals of social justice, equality, and humane relations.

These ideals are diversely reflected in the priority goals and demands of the various contingents of the working class. The working people in the socialist countries have a stake above all in developing and perfecting the social system, which assures them of even fuller satisfaction of their material and cultural and intellectual needs on a massive scale. The working people in the capitalist countries oppose exploitation and social oppression, and want to have changes aimed to reduce or eliminate the power of the monopolies. In the Third World countries, the young working class has a vital stake in consistent measures for solving the challenging problems produced by colonialism and neocolonialism.

But all these interests have a common basis: struggle for social progress and urge for genuine democracy. There is also the resolve to halt the arms race and to work for lasting peace and international security, without which the class goals cannot be attained.

¹ The Commission had, regrettably, no data on Albania, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and Yugoslavia.

² *Eleventh World Trade Union Congress. Commission on Social and Economic Issues*, Berlin, 1986, pp. 11-12; for details, see 'The Double Face of Capitalist Modernisation. A Survey of an International Symposium', *WMR*, No. 3, 1987.

³ Quoted from *l'Humanité*, December 20, 1986.

Table 1. The World's Labour Resources

	Total population (mln)		Economically active population			
			Total (mln)		% of total population	
	Early 1950s	Mid-1980s ¹	Early 1950s	Mid-1980s	Early 1950s	Mid-1980s
World	2,501	over 5,000	1,069	2,025	43	41
Socialist countries	943	1,620	389 ²	715 ²	41	44
Industrialised capitalist countries	560	780	236	350	42	45
LDCs	1,091	over 2,600	445	960	41	37
including:						
Latin America	164	430	56	140	34	34
Asia	720	1,800	306	660	42	37
Africa (without South Africa)	207	470	89	160	43	35

¹ Estimate.

² Employed population, which is not identical with but, for all practical purposes, very close to the economically active population.

Source: Institute of the International Working Class Movement, USSR Academy of Sciences.

Table 2. Wage and Salaried Workers (groups of countries)

	Total (mln)		% of economically active population	
	Early 1950s	Early 1980s	Early 1950s	Early 1980s
World	367	858	34	46
Socialist countries	96	285	25	42
Industrialised capitalist countries	163	283	69	82
LDCs	108	290	24	37
including:				
Latin America	29	72	52	55
Asia	68	190	22	34
Africa (without South Africa)	11	28	6	19

Source: Institute of the International Working Class Movement, USSR Academy of Sciences.

Table 3. Employment by Material Production Sectors
(percentage of total employment in the economy, annual average)

	Years	Industry (including construction)	Agriculture and forestry	Transport communications, trade
Bulgaria	1950	11.4	79.5	4.1
	1985	45.6	21.1	15.2
Hungary	1950	23.3	50.6 ¹	9.7
	1985	38.5	22.7 ¹	18.5
Vietnam	1985	13.9	72.9	6.2
GDR	1950	43.7	27.3	14.3
	1985	50.3	10.6	17.8
China	1984	17.2	68.4 ²	7.2
Cuba ³	1985	32.3	18.3	18.4
Mongolia	1950	6.1	82.1	4.0
	1985	24.7	33.5	15.3
Poland	1950	26.2	54.0	9.7
	1985	37.7	29.1	14.2
Romania ⁴	1950	14.2	74.3	4.9
	1985	44.5	28.9	12.9
USSR	1950	27.5	47.6	10.3
	1985	38.3	19.4	17.2
Czechoslovakia	1950	36.7	38.8	13.5
	1985	47.0	13.6	17.4

¹ Agriculture, forestry and water management.

² Including non-farm industries in the countryside.

³ State sector.

⁴ End of year.

Source: *Statistical Yearbook of the CMEA Countries*, 1985, pp. 395-398; 1986, pp. 369-372; *Chinese Statistical Yearbook*, 1985, p. 214.

Table 4. Percentage of Wage and Salaried Workers in the Population

Year	Bulgaria ¹	Hungary ²	Vietnam ³	GDR	China ⁴	Cuba ⁵	Mon-golia	Pol-and	Roma-nia	USSR	Czechos-lovakia
1950	11.1	28.7	—	28.7	7.5	24.0	8.2	20.2	12.9	22.3	27.8
1984	44.7	36.1	6.0	47.5	11.5	31.0	20.2	33.6	33.4	42.3	45.2

¹ State and cooperative sectors.

² 1960, 1984.

³ State sector.

⁴ 1970, 1984.

⁵ 1970, 1984, state sector.

Source: *Statistical Yearbook of the CMEA Countries*, 1985, pp. 15, 399; *Chinese Statistical Yearbook*, 1985, p. 213.

Table 5. Wage-Labour Army Dynamics

	Wage and salaried workers				Working class			
	million		% of economically active population		million		% of economically active population	
	Early 1950s	Early 1980s	Early 1950s	Early 1980s	Early 1950s	Early 1980s	Early 1950s	Early 1980s
All industrialised capitalist countries	163	283	69.1	81.8	137	241	58.0	70.8
including:								
United States	49	101	81.9	90.1	43	86	72.3	77.0
Japan	15	42	50.3	72.4	13	35	34.2	61.0
FRG	16	24	70.8	86.9	14	20	63.8	74.8
France	13	18	65.4	77.0	11	15	58.6	67.8
Britain	22	24	92.2	91.1	18	21	79.4	79.6
Italy	13	16	61.3	72.2	10	14	53.3	64.0
Canada	4	11	77.0	89.8	3	9	67.1	76.3

Source: National census takings and national and international statistics. Wage and salaried workers and the working class include registered unemployed.

Table 8. Unemployment Among the Young¹
(percentage)

	1981	1983	1985
United States	14.3	16.4	13.0
Japan	4.0	4.5	4.8
FRG	6.5	10.7	9.5
France	17.0	19.7	25.6
Britain	18.1	23.2	21.7
Italy	27.4	32.0	33.7
Canada	13.3	19.9	16.5
Total for 7 countries	13.7	16.6	15.3
Australia	10.8	17.9	14.3
Finland	9.7	11.3	9.1
Norway	5.8	9.7	6.8
Spain	33.7	38.9	44.1
Sweden	6.3	8.0	5.8
Total for 12 countries ²	14.5	17.7	16.6
Young unemployed (million):			
for 7 countries	7.7	9.2	8.4
for 12 countries	9.1	10.9	10.2

¹ For the 15-24 age group, except Italy (14-24) and USA, Britain, Norway, Spain and Sweden (16-24).

² These countries have 85 per cent of the workforce in this age group in the industrialised capitalist countries.

Source: OECD

Table 9. Economically Active Population: Numbers and Structure

	Year	Total population (1,000)	% of total	By sectors					
				(1,000)			(%)		
				Agriculture	Industry	Services	Agriculture	Industry	Services
All LDCs	1950	445,135	42.0	337,559	40,789	66,787	75.8	9.2	15.0
	1970	629,023	37.1	410,150	86,240	132,633	65.2	13.7	21.1
	1985	885,700	—	481,821	132,855	271,024	54.4	15.0	30.6
including:									
Latin America and Caribbean	1950	54,510	35.1	29,268	10,239	15,003	53.7	18.8	27.5
	1970	84,834	31.5	34,866	18,406	31,562	41.1	21.7	37.2
	1985	117,600	—	35,280	27,754	54,566	30.0	23.6	46.4
Middle East and South West Asia	1950	22,977	39.9	17,257	2,645	3,075	75.1	11.5	13.4
	1970	33,444	33.8	19,446	6,052	7,946	58.1	18.1	23.8
	1985	46,812	—	18,444	11,000	17,368	39.4	23.5	37.1
South, South-East and East Asia	1950	276,983	43.4	215,462	22,464	39,057	77.8	8.1	14.1
	1970	378,487	38.2	257,749	48,469	72,269	68.1	12.8	19.1
	1985	514,932	—	302,781	89,083	123,068	58.8	17.3	23.9
Africa (without South Africa)	1950	89,658	43.2	74,676	5,394	9,588	83.3	6.0	10.7
	1970	130,849	39.2	96,936	13,212	20,701	74.1	10.1	15.8
	1985	186,000	—	114,576	29,388	42,036	61.6	15.8	22.6

Source: B. M. Bolotin, V. L. Sheinis, *LDC's Economy in Figures. 1950-1985*, Moscow, 1986, p. 298 (in Russian).

Table 10. The Economy and Wage-Labour

	LDCs percentage of capitalist world				Population		Wage and salaried workers			
	Year	GDP	Industrial production	Export	Total (mln)	% of all LDCs	Total (mln)	% of all wage and salaried workers		% of economically active population
								Capitalist world	LDCs	
All LDCs	1975	17.4	14.8	26.6	1,824	—	250	51.0	100.0	—
	1985 ¹	18.3	15.7	28.1	2,285	—	348	54.5	100.0	39.3
Asia	1975	7.5	6.2	16.4	1,187	65.1	167	34.1	66.8	
	1985 ¹	8.2	6.0	17.0	1,386	60.7	245	38.4	70.4	
Africa (without South Africa)	1975	2.5	1.3	4.6	327	17.9	28	5.7	11.2	36.6 ²
	1985 ¹	2.2	1.1	4.9	508	22.2	29	4.4	8.3	
Latin America	1975	7.4	7.3	5.6	311	17.0	55	11.2	22.0	—
	1985 ¹	7.9	8.6	6.2	391	17.1	74	11.6	21.3	62.9

¹ Estimate.

² 1985 Estimate.

Source: UN data.

Table 11. Unemployment in LDCs: Scope and Dynamics¹

	Year	Full and partial unemployment (million)	% of total unemployed by regions	Growth of unemployment (1975 = 100%)
All LDCs	1975	282	100	100.0
	1980	331	100	117.4
	1985	480	100	170.2
Asia	1975	186	66.0	100.0
	1980	209	63.1	112.4
	1985	335	62.9	162.4
Africa (without South Africa)	1975	63	22.3	100.0
	1980	75	22.7	119.0
	1985	89	20.6	157.1
Latin America	1975	33	11.7	100.0
	1980	47	14.2	142.4
	1985	56	16.5	166.7

¹ Rough estimates of full and partial unemployment (data for some countries are not complete or unavailable).

Source: *Year Book of Labour Statistics*, 1985, Geneva, 1985, pp. 483-490, 494.

THE LOCOMOTIVE OF MILITARISM

A Survey of New Data on the US Military-Industrial Complex

REFERRING to the main obstacle that blocked an historic accord on nuclear disarmament in Reykjavik, Mikhail Gorbachov stressed that the US administration "thinks the way the US military-industrial complex thinks. The administration is hostage to that complex and the President is not free to take such a decision."

Some in the West believed that this was an exaggeration. But subsequent events bore out this assessment completely. Washington went back on its Reykjavik stand and took new action dangerous to peace. Working hard to strengthen its first-strike strategic triad,² the United States decided to undermine the SALT II Treaty. Simultaneously, reckless plans to militarise outer space are being translated into reality, and the 'star wars' arsenal is beginning to acquire a definite outline.

This should be viewed against the background of completely different moves. In December 1986 Moscow notified Washington about the fifth extension of the unilateral moratorium imposed in August 1985 — until the first US nuclear explosion in 1987. But the White House turned a deaf ear to the voice of reason. Disdaining international public opinion, the United States continued the testing in Nevada in February, forcing the Soviet Union to announce that it considered the moratorium as no longer binding on it for reasons of security.

This makes it particularly important to grasp the role and place of the US military-industrial complex. What sort of phenomenon is it? What is its present-day image and what trends does it display in its development? Has its sway become irreversible or can it be curbed?

The military-industrial complex is *a state-monopoly alliance of the arms manufacturers with the top military and politicians; this alliance imposes on society and on the entire world a policy of building up armaments and escalating international tensions to secure maximum profits and achieve other self-serving goals. An ideological apparatus and militarised science are now an organic component of this complex.*

In an attempt to exonerate contemporary capitalism from responsibility for the emergence and activities of the military-industrial complex, Western ideologists deliberately broaden its social and historical framework. Some try to present it as a natural appendage of any 'highly industrial society'. Others maintain that it is as old as military production and that it appeared in the United States together with the first Colt revolver.

Indeed, it has long been possible to profit from military contracts. But during the 'classical' era of free-enterprise capitalism, arms manufacturers were not powerful enough to be able to dictate their terms to the market or to the state. Things are different under imperialism. The rise of the monopoly enabled militarism to develop rapidly. The alliance linking artillery, shipbuilding and other trusts and concerns with high-level military and political leaders became extremely aggressive. In 1913, prior to World War I, Lenin wrote that "a shower of gold is pouring straight into the pockets of bourgeois politicians, who have got together in an exclusive international gang engaged in instigating an armaments race among the peoples".³

The soil became particularly fertile for the flourishing military-industrial complex after World War II, when the US imperialist quarters laid claim to world leadership from positions of strength. The Cold War was a shot in the arm for the military-industrial complex which gained enormous weight; the advent of the age of nuclear missiles enabled its militarist activities to threaten the very existence of

mankind. Anti-communism and the 'Soviet military threat' myth serve as the ideological basis.

Many perceptive minds, including those within the US ruling élite, were aware of the danger inherent in a growing role of the military-industrial complex. Particularly well known is the warning Dwight Eisenhower made as he stepped down from presidency in 1961: "In the councils of Government we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influences, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous use of misplaced power exists and will persist."

'Misplaced power' has been growing ever stronger. The current Republican administration is connected closer than any of its predecessors with the military-industrial complex and follows its ideological and political guidelines.

Suffice it to recall some facts from Ronald Reagan's personal history. For several years beginning in 1954 he produced and hosted television programmes financed by General Electric, one of the five biggest contractors of the Pentagon. Later, vying for governorship of California, he acted in cahoots with the biggest arms manufacturers of California, the mainstay of the US military-industrial complex. Reagan's financial and executive committees during the election campaign were chaired by Henry Salvatori, a multimillionaire notorious for his reactionary views, a co-owner and director of Litton Industries, a powerful arms concern.

The President's aides are birds of a feather. State Secretary George Schultz used to be president of the San Francisco based Bechtel Corporation, a military construction transnational trust. Caspar Weinberger left a Bechtel vice-presidency to become US Secretary of Defence. Washington's 'corridors of power' are now chock-full of people representing various lobbies and think tanks of the military-industrial complex, first and foremost the Committee on the Present Danger.⁴

The United States owes its record-breaking programme of war preparations in peacetime precisely to the Reagan administration. During its six years in office, it allocated 1.6 trillion dollars to the Pentagon — more than over the previous 20 years.

The increase in the role the military-industrial complex plays in the United States is no accident. The militarist functions it discharges make it the foremost strike force of imperialist reaction and reserve a special place for it in the social system. Its influence is compounded by the fact that war preparations are in line with the overall strategic interests of high finance: it is backed by the giant banks of the Rockefellers and the Morgans, by the Bank of America and others. Today, one would be justified to speak of military-industrial financial complex, with the third element gaining steadily in importance. Militarism is built into the class-based exploitative nature of the capitalist system, while the increased aggressiveness of imperialism reflects the 'needs' of the monopoly bourgeoisie which regards armed force as a means of preserving its social status and privilege and as a tool for attaining its goals of global hegemony. The aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism and the objective deterioration of its international positions increasingly prompt the ruling quarters of the bourgeoisie to rely on armed force or on the threat of its use. Naturally, this makes it easier for the military-industrial complex to escalate the arms race and to present its self-serving interests as those of the entire ruling class or even the whole nation.

Representatives and ideologues of the military-industrial complex wax positively poetic about the 'beneficent' role of militarist ventures, describing them as a motive force of scientific and technological progress, an incentive to economic growth and a factor of social stability. But these claims do not hold water. The rapid build-up of arms production in the United States has led to opposite results — a steep rise of

unemployment, social cutbacks, a general slowdown of economic growth and an acute monetary crisis. Nor has the administration kept its promises of eliminating the huge federal deficit.

Many economic studies show that curtailment of the arms industry and its conversion to civilian production open the way to a healthy economy and to improvements in the position of the working people. A group of Michigan economists has estimated that every billion dollars invested in the arms race creates only 35,000 jobs. But the same amount invested in the civilian sector will create 76,000 jobs in urban communications or 50,000 jobs in the construction of schools. Edmund Muskie, a former senator from Maine, has called the Pentagon's budget an enemy capable of destroying the economy.

The development of the military-industrial complex also reflects a number of new phenomena, trends and contradictions of capitalism. The drastic increase in the influence of the military-industrial complex imparts an important and radically new quality to contemporary militarism: it becomes *self-sufficient*. The principal components of the imperialist war machine — the arms manufacturers and the cream of the so-called defence agencies — have gone far beyond the limits of the part they were supposed to play earlier as tools of the policy pursued by the bourgeois state. They have gained such great power that they now subordinate this policy to their own interests.

In Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein or the Modern Prometheus*, the monster created from dead tissues by a hapless doctor tells him "You are my creator, but I am your master. Submit to me!" Bourgeois society has produced a militarist monster and is becoming its slave.

The makers of Tridents, Tomahawks and space weapons are also the makers of 'big politics' in the United States and throughout the capitalist world. Today, the military-industrial complex holds pride of place in the planning and development of major military programmes. Examples of this abound, and here are only a few. In 1977 the Carter administration gave up its programme of manufacturing the B-1 strategic bomber. However, Rockwell International, the chief contractor, did not stop working on the project. Simultaneously, aided by its allies and stooges in the Pentagon and among politicians, the company screamed bloody murder about a 'window of vulnerability' which was allegedly bound to open in the 1980s, with the strategic balance tipped in favour of the Soviet Union. The scaremongering and the pressure from the lobby paid off. In October 1981 President Reagan announced the decision to begin production of 100 missile-carrying bombers offered by Rockwell International.

Similarly, when the Carter administration refused to finance the development of the Strike Eagle, the latest make of the F-15 fighter-bomber, McDonnell Douglas and its six main subcontractors went ahead and produced it. Then, under Reagan, McDonnell Douglas and its team persuaded the Pentagon to accept the Strike Eagle and had the US Air Force sign a contract for the delivery of a whole batch of these planes. While the MX missile programme was still hanging in the balance, Martin Marietta and its subcontractors were already working against time to develop it. Long before Ronald Reagan's arrival at the White House, Boeing, Hughes Aircraft, Lockheed and TRW were busy creating 'star wars' weapons.

The Defence Game, a book recently published in the United States, offers a detailed examination of the way the country's leading monopolies keep modernising armaments and expanding their production for the sake of 'company growth'.⁵ In this connection *Le Monde diplomatique* has said that talk about an outside threat to the United States usually increases when a government contract with this or that company is about to expire. This threat makes it absolutely imperative to produce a new weapon which, as if quite by accident, has already

been developed by the company in question.⁶

In other words, the imperialist war machine is developing according to its own 'logic'. Constant reproduction of weapons on an extended basis, as well as large-scale and long-term military programmes guaranteeing sustained prosperity are the 'needs' of the contemporary military-industrial complex which make the race in nuclear missiles a self-perpetuating process.

The military-industrial complex of today is also a distinctive form of militarism, a form of its self-perpetuation and self-advancement in the contemporary capitalist system.

This 'dialectics of militarism' is reflected in documents of communist and workers' parties. The new edition of the CPSU Programme stresses that the military-industrial complex has turned into a 'constant and growing source of war danger'.⁷ The 27th Congress of the CPSU described the US military-industrial complex as the main source of reckless and aggressive policies, as the 'locomotive of militarism'.⁸

More than 30,000 big companies are now involved in the US arms business, and this alone is enough to indicate its scope. But the most important thing is that a lion's share of military production is controlled by a handful of companies. In terms of value, some 70 per cent of the Pentagon's contracts are awarded to only 100 firms (thirty of them get half the 'gravy', and ten, about one-third). The composition of the top group of military contractors is stable enough. Over the past 25 years, Lockheed, McDonnell Douglas, United Technologies, General Dynamics and General Electric have remained among the top ten recipients of military contracts.

Aerospace concerns continue to consolidate their positions within the structure of the US military-industrial complex. Their policy underlies what is now the costliest, long-term and most dangerous military programme — the 'star wars' project. The US press notes that most of the pressure to go ahead with the testing comes from the aerospace industry based chiefly in Southern California. The 'star wars' concept promises it a rosy future for years to come.

The US military-industrial élite is in the grip of a 'star wars' fever. Pitched battles are being fought over the more lucrative SDI contracts. The ten biggest contractors of this programme control 60 per cent of all funds the Pentagon has allocated for it. So far they are worth several billion dollars, but the prospective deployment of space-based systems may cost two to three trillion dollars. To get entrenched in the unprecedented arms business more firmly, many companies add their own investment to government appropriations. For example, in 1985 alone Martin Marietta invested 30 million dollars into 'star wars' research.

Full implementation of SDI is the foremost objective of the aerospace companies. They realise full well that the bulk of the profits is ahead. Their interests are safely protected by General Abrahamson who was put in charge of the SDI programme in 1984. The general does have the necessary expertise: he supervised programmes for the manufacture of the F-16 fighter and of the Space Shuttle.

The desire to get richer at the expense of the treasury is assuming epidemic proportions. Many companies that, previously, had nothing to do with the aerospace business, have decided to get a piece of the action too. General Motors, an auto manufacturer, has invested more than 7.5 billion dollars into aerospace since 1983 and acquired full control of such military-industrial giants as Hughes Aircraft and Electronic Data Systems. In November 1986 GM closed down 11 auto plants and put the capital thus released into the 'star wars' programme. Today, General Motors is not only one of the world's biggest corporations in terms of capital but also a leading SDI contractor.

Table 1: Top 'Star Wars' Contractors

Company	Contracts in 1983-1986 (mln. dollars)
1. General Motors	620
2. Lockheed	524
3. TRW	367
4. Boeing	349
5. McDonnell Douglas	319
6. Rockwell International	200
7. Teledyne	180
8. Gencorp	146
9. EG & G	140
10. LTV	105
11. Textron	93
12. Flow General	92
13. Raytheon	92
14. Martin Marietta	72
15. Honeywell	71

Source: Fortune, June 23, 1986, p. 90.

Aerospace and other arms production is beginning to play an ever growing part in the operations of other monopoly giants too, such as American Telephone and Telegraph, IBM, Goodyear Tyre, Motorola and Westinghouse Electric. In the case of Singer, this share was 15 per cent in 1975 and nearly 80 per cent in 1985. Singer now produces components for Trident and Pershing missiles and B-52 strategic bombers.

As a result of this reorientation the military-industrial complex strengthens its hand by projecting its interests to increasingly broad sections of US monopoly capital. Even companies with a small share of arms production are doing everything they can to expand it because, as a rule, this is where assured profits are particularly high.

Huge returns are guaranteed not only by the continued militarist boom but also by the mechanism used to finance military contracts. In 1978 the US military budget exceeded the 100 billion dollar mark for the first time. In current fiscal 1987 it is close to 300 billion dollars. Significantly, the part of this budget earmarked for

weapons procurement has been growing fastest, increasing from 20 billion to 150 billion dollars over the past decade. Besides, the Pentagon has, in secret from the public, considerable funds for the so-called black or highly classified projects. Available information indicates that the covert funds of the Defence Department have grown 300 per cent since Ronald Reagan took office to reach 22 billion dollars in 1987.

An analysis of the 146 biggest military contracts conducted by the US General Accounting Office in the past decade put the return on equity capital invested by the contractors at 56 per cent. Over the same period, this figure never exceeded 14 per cent for the 500 biggest industrial corporations in the United States — a fourfold difference.

The present-day scale of profits derived from the arms race can also be glimpsed from the rise of the stock of America's eight biggest arms manufacturing concerns.

Table 2 Growth of Stock Rates
(by the mid-1980s compared to the lowest rate in the 1970s)

Lockheed	an increase of 39 times
Northrop	20 times
General Dynamics	19 times
Boeing	18 times
McDonnell Douglas	10 times
United Technologies	9 times
Grumman	9 times
Rockwell International	8 times

Source: Compiled from *Moody's Industrial Manual*, 1976-1986.

Expanding rapidly, corporate arms manufacturers invest heavily into politics. This explains the abrupt rise in the activities of the RAND Corporation, the Heritage Foundation and other think tanks of the military-industrial complex; the role of its research, ideological and propaganda machine is also growing. Compared to the early 1980s, the contributions made by the Pentagon's top 20 contractors to 'political action committees' (lobbies maintained by military-industrial concerns) have gone up 225 per cent. According to official sources, these committees spent 3.6 million dollars on the 1984 election campaign alone. Besides, 440,000 dollars went from them to members of the Senate Armed Services Committee on whom the size of the outlays for this or that programme depended.

To curry favour with the military-industrial complex, the Reagan administration has jettisoned even the token restrictions on arms exports which existed under President Carter. Obsolete or defective military hardware is often sold to other countries. But the extremely high rate of profit in this business is of particular importance. Some US sources estimate that arms sales abroad are generally 15 per cent more profitable than at home.

Transnationalisation of the military-industrial complex is a recent development

of great significance. Despite the aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions and the competition among the monopolies of different countries, integration in military production is intensifying. This process is occurring under the aegis of Washington which tries to promote the pooling of its NATO partners' and Japan's efforts to attain military superiority over the socialist countries.

Highlighting this trend is the SDI programme, the new monster produced by US militarism. From the very outset, the US military-industrial complex did all it could to make 'star wars' international. Without relaxing its control of the programme, it intends, on the one hand, to exploit the latest advances of Western military technology and, on the other, to impart such great momentum to SDI that would make it irreversible and invulnerable to the influence of those who arrive at the White House in the 'post-Reagan' era.

The transnationalisation of the military-industrial complex bolsters those forces in the West which want the arms race to continue and which oppose any relaxation of tensions. Powerful international arms manufacturing monopolies are extremely active in politics, seeking to resist positive change. We are dealing with a completely new phenomenon — the transfer not only of the items themselves but also of the very system of relations associated today with the term 'military-industrial complex'. Entering into association with foreign companies to produce armaments, big arms manufacturers inevitably reproduce abroad the same pattern of political, military and economic collusion which has become a salient feature of American society.

The US military-industrial complex is now much more influential than ever before. It has seized power in the nation and refuses to give up any of its privileges. The fact that American society today includes interests that openly profit from and spur on the arms race and consequently push the world closer to nuclear catastrophe is the most blatant extreme the capitalist system has reached.

However, these interests are not all-powerful. Resistance to their policy is mounting throughout the world, and that means in the United States too. The public is adopting an increasingly critical attitude to the socio-economic consequences of bloated militarism and to the political strategy the military-industrial complex has forced on the nation. Support is growing for nationalisation of the privately owned arms industry: this demand can become a general democratic slogan rallying together the peace-loving sections of American society.

A pitched, acute, open and covert struggle is on between the forces of militarism and the forces of peace, détente and disarmament. And the outcome of this struggle does not concern the United States alone, for the stake is common — it is mankind's survival.

Georgi Tsagolov

Doctor of Economics, Professor of the
Social Sciences Institute under the
CPSU Central Committee

¹ *Pravda*, October 14, 1986.

² The triad comprises land and sea-based intercontinental ballistic missiles and long-range strategic bombers. — *Ed.*

³ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 106

⁴ This committee was set up in November 1976, when those bent on burying détente and the US-Soviet treaties of the 1970s began to gain the upper hand in Washington. The committee was sponsored by representatives of giant military-industrial corporations and politicians of the far right (William Casey, Paul Nitze and others) and has included Ronald Reagan, George Schultz, Secretary of the Navy John Lehman, Undersecretary of Defence Fred Ikle and Assistant Secretary of Defence Richard Perle. The activities and the influence of the committee were summed up by Cyrus Vance, Secretary of State under Jimmy Carter: "There is no doubt that the SALT Treaty was torpedoed by the Committee on the Present Danger."

⁵ R.A. Stubbing, *The Defence Game*, New York, 1986, pp. 186-187.

⁶ *Le Monde diplomatique*, April 1982, p. 18.

⁷ *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, New Edition, Moscow, 1986, p. 18.

⁸ Mikhail Gorbachov, *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Moscow, 1986, p. 73.

From Our Mailbag

Listening to the Voice of Reason

ONE of the principal concerns in the letters that come daily to our offices is that of averting war. In writing of the problems involved in protecting peace, readers offer their opinion of WMR publications.

Here, for instance, is what **Cesar Pantoja** of Peru writes:

"You are doing an excellent job of informing people around the world about the peace initiatives of the socialist countries. You are telling us of the struggle for peace, against the arms race, and the mounting aggressive provocations of the imperialists headed by the Reagan administration."

This is also the opinion of **E. Zenteno Beltran** (Bolivia), **P. Udawatta** (Sri Lanka), and **Ruben Cambon** (Argentina), to mention a few.

But there are letters with a different message. For instance, **Douglas N. Everingham**, a former member of the Australian parliament, remarks that the journal does not give an entirely objective view of the problems of war and peace, that, in his opinion, it is becoming more and more a source of one-sided propaganda.

Without going into a long polemic, we should like to remind this esteemed reader only of some of our latest articles on crucial issues such as the moratorium on nuclear tests ('The Explosions Conducted and the "Arguments" Marshalled', No. 1, 1987); compliance with SALT II ('An Irresponsible Step', No. 3, 1987). These articles exhaustively consider the arguments presented by both the US and the USSR on this matter.

As well as censuring the USA's rulers for their attitude to the Soviet moratorium, some readers question the expediency of a dialogue with the present American leadership.

"The Soviet unilateral moratorium has evidently not produced the desired results. This is no surprise: there can be no question of arms reductions as long as the Reagan administration is in the White House. Moscow responds with new peace initiatives to every aggressive assault against the Soviet Union, to every spiral of the arms race. While the Russians are calling upon the world to 'heed the voice of reason' there are some who are continuing preparations for war against the USSR," writes **Bruno Shwartz** (Austria).

One can appreciate Shwartz's concern, but it is hard to agree with him that the Soviet moratorium of over 18 months did not produce positive results. The long silence at the Soviet testing grounds has demonstrated how far-fetched and helpless the American arguments are. The moratorium gave an added impetus to the anti-war and anti-nuclear movement and activated the stand of the non-aligned nations.

Some letters underscore the need for an in-depth understanding of the most pressing issues of the current stage of the peace struggle. For example, **A. Bougai** (Kiev, USSR) writes:

"To avert the threat of a nuclear conflict it is important to understand the differing views about the genesis and nature of war, about its social character in the age of nuclear missiles. Moreover, a close study must be made of the various tendencies in the anti-war movement. The point is that lately we have been finding fewer and fewer analytical articles about the pacifists."

Many letters name articles that their authors feel give the clearest insights into the anti-war theme. In this context a permanent reader in Bolivia, **J.A. Ovando Sanz**, names the article 'The Concept of Peace in the Nuclear Age' (No. 9, 1986), which, in his opinion, could be useful to the widest auditorium.

In the letters we can see various attitudes to the problem of preserving peace. **Yazouani Mustafa** (Morocco), for instance, levels the following criticism at *World Marxist Review*: "Why is the role of Islam, which steadfastly calls for peace, ignored in the journal?" He believes that Islam is the only force that can resolve all the conflicts rending humanity. Then, here is the opinion of **Abdus Rahman** (Bangladesh): "You give too much attention to the question of preventing a nuclear conflict, forgetting that it is totally alien to Third World countries, where people do not know how to vanquish hunger, epidemics, and poverty."

We do not think all readers will agree with the last two comments. If responses to them are sent to us we are ready to publish them in the next survey of our mail.

And here is a letter that will undoubtedly arouse readers' interest. It is from **Jose Gonzalez**, a Chilean resident of Paris: "The preservation of peace is now moving to centre stage, but will we be consistent to the end if we regard this as the top priority? Will we not have to sacrifice the interests of the revolution to a certain extent, to abandon the idea of an armed struggle? Is this attitude realistic in the present situation in Latin America, particularly in countries like El Salvador and Chile?"

This is not a simple question. It provides much food for thought and discussion. We call upon our readers to respond.

WMR Ties

General Secretary of the South African Communist Party Joe Slovo and the party's Chairman Dan Tloome have visited the *WMR* offices. Addressing a meeting of the Editorial Council, Joe Slovo spoke of the upsurge in the struggle by the oppressed South Africans for freedom and democracy and of the Communists efforts to rally the people in the drive against the criminal apartheid system. More cooperation between the SACP and *WMR* was discussed.

the book scene

Realism and Commitment to Principle

Zhambyn Batmunh, *Reports, Articles, Speeches*, Ulsyn hevlelyin gazar, Ulan Bator, 1986, 709pp (in Mongolian).

OUR people are now focusing on carrying out the decisions of the 19th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. Calling for society's dynamic development, these decisions make it incumbent upon the Communists to adopt a new attitude to their work, to show creativity and tireless effort. In the light of these requirements considerable importance is attached to the publication of this book by Zhambyn Batmunh, General Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic.

It covers the period from 1974 through 1986, which was crucial in the life of our party and country, for it witnessed a turn in many sectors of public life.

During these years the Mongolian people made significant progress in socialist construction charted by the MPRP's Fourth Programme. In 1985, compared with 1970, the gross social product rose by 170 per cent, the national income by 150 per cent, and the population's real incomes by 120 per cent. Considerably more specialists with a higher and specialised secondary education and skilled workers were trained than during the preceding 15 years.

This growth of the republic's economic and intellectual potential opened up wide possibilities for resolving pressing problems. In order to use these possibilities it was necessary, in the first place, to assess the state of affairs and specify current and long-term objectives soberly, without self-delusion. In a report at the celebrations of the 90th birth anniversary of Damdiny Suhe-Bator in 1983, Zhambyn Batmunh said: "The fact that we have achieved successes does not signify that we have no unresolved problems and no difficulties. Much has to be done in order to increase the nation's economic potential further. It is important to upgrade socialist social relations and steadfastly promote the people's living standard and cultural level" (p. 291).

This approach was defined as the party's line at the eighth extraordinary (1984) and subsequent plenary meetings of the MPRP Central Committee. It was further deepened and substantiated at the 19th Congress of the MPRP.

The CC report delivered at the congress by the party's General Secretary noted: "Our approach to the pressing problems of society's development has to be exclusively constructive, and we should bring shortcomings and omissions to light candidly, exactly, with commitment to principle, in the party spirit, and break entirely with everything that is obsolete and hinders progress. In this experience of our friends, the Soviet Communists, is an inspiring example" (p. 628).

The new, realistic approach extends to all aspects of the party's work. In the economic sphere it is manifested in the concentrated efforts to achieve the central objectives defined in the MPRP Programme — consummating the building of socialism's material and technical basis and shaping the most effective branch and territorial structure for the economy. In order to implement the party's programme guidelines, the book says, the creative energy of the working people has to be

managed efficiently, all of the economy's latent potentialities have to be mobilised, and the country has to be active in the international socialist division of labour.

The party's economic strategy is directed towards upgrading the efficiency and quality of social production, making rational use of available production potentials and of material labour resources, improving all forms of work, and widely introducing scientific and technological achievements.

The target programme for agricultural development and ensuring larger supplies of foodstuffs to the population is an inalienable component of the MPRP's economic and social policy. "The substance of the party's agrarian policy is to end, in the immediate future, the negative tendency of agricultural production lagging behind the fairly high population increment rate, prevent imbalances between the output of food products and the demand for them, and provide the people with larger supplies of such products" (pp. 653-654).

Efficiency in production is linked closely to improving the management system. The book accentuates the importance of adopting cost-effective management methods at all levels of the national economy, the need for better substantiation and balancing of plans, combining centralised planning with the independence of enterprises, enhancing the role of branch and local management bodies and of work collectives, and giving the latter incentives for working out upward alternative plans.

Much of the focus in the book is on perfecting society's political system, particularly the work of state organs of authority. This matter has been placed on the agenda by tangible factors: the growth of the socialist state's creative function, the need for deepening democracy as a vital condition for the fulfilment of socio-economic tasks and, lastly, the fact that democracy develops not haphazardly but as a result of the people's conscious activity under the party's guidance. Zhambyn Batmunkh notes that the party insists upon "strict compliance with socialist legality, combining conscious discipline and the sense of responsibility of personnel with creative initiatives, a tactful and attentive attitude to the people's opinion and needs, eradicating red tape and other bureaucratic practices, and organising expert, objective, and unprejudiced control with the broad participation of the working people. In this lies the essence of the present requirement for more democracy in the work of state and public organisations" (p. 445).

The present landmark stage of the country's development is making it necessary to restructure the work style and methods of the MPRP, which is the leading force of Mongolian society's political system. The book shows the basic directions and content of this restructuring. In inner-party relations it is aimed at removing stereotype methods of leadership, formalism, and vulgar simplification in the work of each party organisation and allowing it to perform its organisational activity independently and constructively. In the sphere of party guidance of economic development, restructuring means renouncing the counter-productive practice of supplanting and duplicating state and managerial bodies, promoting the latter's initiatives and giving them a larger responsibility for the fulfilment of plans and the party's decisions. Restructuring is aimed at ensuring strict compliance with the Leninist principles for selecting, placing, and educating personnel, at forging closer links to the people, at uprooting manifestations of unprincipled, narrow-departmental, parochial, and chummy approach to them, at promoting criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from below.

Mongolia's political and economic relations with other countries are discussed at length. This gives an understanding of the importance of the fraternal relations between the MPRP and the CPSU and between Mongolia and the Soviet Union as the key factor that enabled Mongolia to do without capitalist development in its revolutionary transition to socialism and to build the new society successfully. The

utmost strengthening of friendship and cooperation with the great Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the expansion of fraternal relations with communist and workers' parties, and solidarity with all revolutionary forces are a manifestation of proletarian, socialist internationalism in practice and the cornerstone of our party's foreign policy.

For People's Mongolia productive cooperation with the other member-states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is a powerful factor accelerating its economic and social progress. Participation in socialist economic integration allows us to build the optimal economic complex, promote production that is most consistent with the country's natural and economic conditions, introduce scientific and technological achievements, and train our own cadres.

Resting on the solid foundation of long-term programmes, Mongolia's cooperation with the other CMEA member-states is growing increasingly more diversified and being enriched with new effective forms such as joint construction and direct factory-to-factory links. The task that our party has set the republic and all the working people is to make the most effective use of assistance from fraternal countries and fulfil commitments in an exemplary manner.

An immutable aim of the foreign policy of the MPRP and our people's state is to strengthen world peace and security and ensure favourable international conditions for building the new life in our country. There is much in this book, of course, that shows our work in this direction. Our party, people, and government unequivocally subscribe to the substantive Soviet programme for ensuring universal security, to its peace initiatives and practical steps aimed at defusing international tension, reducing and abolishing nuclear weapons, preventing the projection of such weapons to outer space, and delivering mankind from the threat of a thermonuclear catastrophe.

A major direction of the foreign policy of our party and government is to ensure security in Asia. This is what motivated Mongolia to propose the creation of an instrument that would preclude the use of force in the relations between Asian states. "The road to a durable and lasting peace in Asia lies through strengthening mutual understanding, good-neighbourly relations, and cooperation, promoting a broad political dialogue, and settling outstanding problems by peaceful means" (p. 641).

In this book Mongolia's domestic and foreign policy issues are considered in keeping with the imperatives of the new thinking. Permeated with the creative spirit of Marxism-Leninism, realism, and commitment to party principles, it deals with the regularities and features of our progress in building our socialist society and thereby contributes to making the people's creative efforts more purposeful and effective.

Badamyn Lhamsuren
CC member, MPRP

An Ambassador stands Indicted

Nathaniel Davis, *The Last Two Years of Salvador Allende*, I. B. Tauris and Co. Ltd., London, 1985, XV+480 pp.

THE charge against him was that of complicity in the murder of a young United States citizen Charles E. Horman, who died at the hands of hired Pinochet thugs

only days after the military-fascist coup of September 11, 1973 in Chile. This came out in a sensational trial in the USA that swelled to the proportions of a public scandal. Those involved in the case were not gangsters or destitutes reduced to desperation. It certainly is not the outcome of morbid curiosity excited by electrifying crime reporting in the media. The central figure in the dock was the author of this book, a former US ambassador to Santiago Nathaniel Davis. The suit against him and some of his embassy aides was filed by Horman's family in 1977. Strictly speaking, in the dock was the entire government of the USA beginning with President Richard Nixon and his National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger.

A book on the Horman tragedy was written earlier by Thomas Hauser¹ and it has been used by the French producer Costa-Gavras for the film 'Missing', starring the American actor Jack Lemmon. The film, released in 1982, was a bombshell for the public in the USA and Europe, for it fingered the White House as having been implicated in the tragedy.

The former ambassador decided to counter attack. Charging that he was defamed, he poured calumny upon the film-maker, not forgetting to file a libel suit for a substantial sum of money for 'moral damages'.

I knew Davis in Santiago, where he tried to pump information out of us. He impressed me as being a man committed to the establishment he served and having no great liking and respect for facts. In his own country nobody was tempted to make a film at a time when 'Missing' was a hit, probably because to counter it would have been a useless exercise. It was then that the accused broke his silence and took action. He set out to refute Hauser's book and the film based upon it, letting it be known that he regarded them insulting, as making him out to be an accomplice of murderers. In order to whitewash himself and vindicate state interests, the former ambassador, possibly not without the assistance of venal hack-writers, produced a voluminous *The Last Two Years of Salvador Allende* that does not stand the test of truth. "We hope," he writes, "that this action will show conclusively that we were innocent of complicity in Charles Horman's death, and that it will help defend the integrity of US public service" (p. 379). Self-justification is the keynote and *raison d'être* of this book.

This opus, which might have been penned by Moliere's Tartuffe, runs for nearly 500 pages. From the foreword to the concluding reflections and comments it is hypocritical and full of vague insinuations. Davis adopts the pose of an impartial observer in the hope that his version, which is far removed from incontrovertible facts, is taken to be authentic and convincing. While being outwardly calm, but in a venomously sarcastic manner — bearing out the saying that 'a bad man is worse when he pretends to be a saint' — he relates the period of the 1970 election campaign when Salvador Allende promised his fellow-countrymen that he would lead them to socialism in a peaceful 'Chilean way'. Davis wants people to believe that Salvador Allende, who "was hailed as the first Marxist anywhere on the globe to be so selected through democratic balloting", had overestimated his role and, on top of that, believed that "Chile's contribution to world socialism would be unique and lasting" (p. IX). Davis responds with a Mephistophelean sneer and his habitual derision to words of this kind.

For the imperialists a peaceful revolution is as, or even more, hateful and deadly as an armed revolution: whatever its form and however it moves to victory, they see revolution as their everlasting enemy. Preventing a revolution is precisely what a US ambassador is supposed to do. He endeavours to refute the widespread view that the forcible overthrow of the Allende government was caused not so much by internal factors as by an external determining force — the United States of America. At a time when opinion in the USA was still in the grip of the 'Vietnam syndrome' it was hit by the incontestable truth that the US administration was

criminally involved in the Chilean tragedy. Davis himself admits that many Americans were afflicted with a Freudian 'guilt complex'. Davis explains the appearance of the book and the film (as well as the suit brought against him) accusing him of complicity in the crime with talk about collective psychoanalysis and a national catharsis.

He was appointed US ambassador to Chile in October 1971 and remained in that post for seven weeks after the coup. In other words, as his country's representative he was implicated in events of the most critical nature for the Allende government, remaining active in Santiago as head of the US embassy throughout the most terrible phase of the bloodbath.

When US Secretary of State William Rogers and his assistant for inter-American affairs Charles Meyer recommended Davis to President Nixon for the ambassadorial job in Chile they unquestionably had in mind his previous record overseas, proneness for covert machinations, ability to keep in the shade, and secret diplomacy skills. Regarded as an expert on areas hostile to the USA, Davis, by his own admission, specialised on issues related to the communist states of Eastern Europe and Latin American countries. He carried out missions in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria and had a hand in affairs concerning other European socialist countries within not only the State Department but also the National Security Council. As a senior officer of the Peace Corps, an organisation that was not averse to covert actions and political subversion, Davis was in Chile in 1962 and was then posted to Guatemala.

His appointment as ambassador to Chile coincided with two events that kept him awake: one irking, but the other delighting him. The first was Fidel Castro's visit to Chile, and the second was a protest demonstration, called the 'march of the empty pots', arranged by ladies from wealthy neighbourhoods.

The English author Graham Greene, who was in Santiago at the time, characterised Davis's appointment as a "hardly-veiled menace" (p. 34). The description that Davis gives Castro's visit was so hollow, malignant, and acrimonious that there can be no question about this appointment having been not so much a threat as flagrant interference. Davis continued weaving the web of a conspiracy that had been started by his predecessor.

The new ambassador was clearly overjoyed by the 'march of the empty pots'. He applauded the chaos provoked by the 'esteemed ladies', his delight from contemplating it knowing no bounds. He saw it not merely as a demonstration but as a rising of the big bourgeoisie. "The women of the more prosperous suburbs had spent hour after hour on the telephone spreading the call. It should be added that the march was less a hunger protest than a political act" (p. 48).

Davis was pleased, for his mission was to ignite a fire and get others to keep it burning day after day. He sought to keep abreast of everything, to know every move in that silent war waged by the North American monopoly International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT), which was one of the principal orchestrators of the conspiracy.

Davis acted strictly in line with his President's aggressive intentions. Among the marginalia of a memorandum brought to his attention by the Treasury Secretary John Connally, Nixon wrote the following instructions to the US delegation in the Paris Club: "Any suggestion, expressed or implied, that I favour US support of an agreement to renegotiate the Chilean loan is in total contradiction to the views I have expressed" (p. 74).

Nixon ordered Allende toppled within a matter of months and, as a prelude to the coup, the Chilean economy made to 'scream'. Moreover, he ordered action within direct proximity of the White House. On May 13-15, 1972 the Chilean embassy in Washington became a stage for a rehearsal of Watergate. A group of

secret agents, evidently the same group that paid a visit to the Democratic Party's headquarters at the Watergate Hotel which was to result in a government crisis and Nixon's retirement, penetrated the embassy in the guise of plumbers. The Church Committee, which inquired into the activities of intelligence agencies, was later to find that the US government had been tapping the embassy telephones, and that since April 1971 there had been an electronic eavesdropping operation directed at the Chilean embassy, involving both the CIA and the FBI (see p. 94).

The portrait that Davis gives of Salvador Allende in a pseudo-impartial narration is evidence of his boundless hypocrisy. He finds nothing better than to cite the odious ultra-rightist Pedro Ibanez, a member of the Pinochet State Council. Together with the latter Davis calumnies Allende but, to create an appearance of impartiality, uses epithets that are both barbed and venomous while seeming to be inoffensive. He writes, for instance, that Allende was a 'romantic', that he was 'the First Dreamer of the Republic', in other words, a visionary (see pp. 52-53). He knew that the 'dreamer' had been condemned to death by the US government. It was the reason for his appointment: his job was to arrange the execution. Davis recalls that in the same month that he took charge of the embassy, a senior White House official Herbert G. Klein said in an interview with the reporters that Salvador Allende "would not last long" (see p. 61).

Ambassador Davis was no mere onlooker of the secret war that was being fought by the copper companies, which had vowed vengeance on the Popular Unity government for having nationalised the copper mines. Speaking at the 27th UN General Assembly in December 1972, Chile's President produced proof that the North American ITT and Kennecott were manoeuvring and that an evil conspiracy was afoot with the connivance of the TNCs and governments subservient to them, saying: "The power of corporations is so great that it transcends all borders . . . We are facing a . . . collision between the great . . . corporations and sovereign states . . . We find ourselves facing forces operating in the twilight, without a flag, with powerful weapons . . . We are the victims of almost imperceptible actions, generally disguised in phrases and declarations that extol respect for the sovereignty and dignity of our country" (pp. 124-125). Davis tries to blunt this irrefutable accusation with the banal phrase: ". . . The whole truth was, as usual, more complicated" (p. 125).

It was indeed much more complicated, but not in the sense that it refuted the US government's complicity in the plot. Quite the contrary. The twilight world of the imperialist conspiracy, mentioned by Allende at the UN, went into action. The economic war was compounded by political and psychological subversion. Secret funds were drawn upon to pay out millions in bribes to contras, politicians, the military, and the media, to hire murderers, and recruit support for the conspiracy. In Chile the Washington administration gave final shape to its model for unprincipled, ruthless interference now called 'destabilisation'. It had acquired the form of a consummate plan for overthrowing a lawful, anti-imperialist government and replacing it with an undisguised fascist dictatorship, totally subservient to the White House. The strangulation of the economy was the prelude to political and military strangulation. In this plot Davis had a concrete role to play, but throughout this lengthy book he unsuccessfully denies his complicity or tries to justify his actions, posing as a person of integrity.

On October 2, 1973 a State Department spokesman John King declared that the US government was guaranteeing the new Pinochet regime's compliance with "all Chile's obligations in the field of human rights" (p. 377). It did not disturb him that 25 US citizens were listed among the many thousands of victims of the coup, or that some of them had been held at the National Stadium, which had been turned into a detention centre.

"Two Americans were not found alive: Charles E. Horman and Frank Teruggi," Davis notes (p. 378). At this point he made a futile attempt to shake off his responsibility for the lives of these two young men, who were seized and murdered on orders from his protégé and faithful friend Pinochet.

The dictator brought to power by Washington celebrated the 163rd anniversary of Chile's liberation from the Spanish crown with an orgy of bloodletting. The two Americans were among his victims. A post-mortem showed that Horman was killed on September 18, i.e., on Independence Day. After a long search (and futile requests for assistance to Davis) Horman's wife and father found his body in a Santiago morgue among thousands of other mutilated, bullet-riddled, naked bodies. This is eloquent evidence indicating that the ambassador and his aides had done nothing to protect the lives of US citizens in Chile, but they had certainly not been remiss about protecting the interests of the North American transnationals.

The ambassador was irritated by the presence of "a few hundred North Americans who admired Allende's political experiment and wanted to have some part in it" (p. 166). He writes with growing anger as he recalls the Catholic missionaries who spoke with indignation about "the current presence and activities of the CIA in Chile and expressed concern over the 'unjust' influence big business had over the US government" (p. 168). Nor did his heart go out to those American journalists who wrote about the covert threads of a conspiracy against the democratic Allende government, while after the coup — about the riot of repressions and mass crimes.

On the other hand, Davis writes warmly of Michael Townley, the killer of Orlando Letelier.² He alleges that although he knew the cut-throat, he had no close contacts with him, and that Townley's covert activities in Chile had nothing to do with the US embassy. Is it in poor taste that in one and the same chapter Davis writes of the honourable behaviour of the US citizens sympathetic to Chile's constitutional government and of the murderers of their fellow citizens, of murderers who had clearly not acted on their own initiative?

A week before the coup Davis went to Washington for important consultations. Was this a coincidence? Not at all. His purpose was to report that the conspiracy was progressing and that Allende's days were numbered. He returned to Santiago on September 9, on the very eve of the coup, to occupy a command position in Chile as soon as the conspirators went into action. He knew from reliable sources that the date for the start of the operation had been moved forward in order to prevent the plebiscite planned by the Popular Unity government.

The chapter headed 'The Covert US Role, 1971-1973' touches slippery ground for the former ambassador. Frantically clutching at straws, he declares that the accusations against the USA had never been proven (see p. 316). This is a bare-faced lie.

He is eager to vindicate and shield his government. But this is patently beyond him. He notes irritably and helplessly that "US culpability in the undermining and ultimate destruction of the Chilean Way by no means of covert financing and direct action is widely believed, and the facts established by the Church Committee have provided fertile ground for an ever more luxuriant undergrowth of speculation" (p. 307).

With the naivete of a choir-boy he asks: Can US covert actions against the Allende government be justified? He declares with shamefaced modesty that he personally has no authority to speak of this, although during his consultations in Washington in September 1971 he had been informed about the programmes that were being implemented in Chile. He admits that at the time he had the option of resigning but he did not take that option.

"So," he writes, "I shared the responsibility for US covert actions from that time

forward." Here he adds: "Americans have a great ambivalence about covert action" (pp. 334-335).

Can it be said definitively, Davis asks rhetorically (and absurdly), that the USA had nothing to do with the conspiracy against Chile? In reply there is nothing but the silence of an accomplice. Even the former CIA chief William Colby, whose opinion is cited in the book, is more open than Davis. Evidently believing that the CIA has some relation to poetry, Colby unabashedly borrows from Shakespeare. In the tragedy *Julius Caesar* Mark Anthony speaks at Caesar's funeral, hurling caustic words at his murderers: "They are all honourable men." Without the least hesitation Colby entitles his memoirs: *Honourable Men*. "I am not trying to whitewash CIA's activities in Chile," he writes. "Certainly in Track II" . . . it sought a military coup . . . Certainly having launched such an attempt, CIA was responsible to some degree for the final outcome" (p. 346).

To refute this admission Davis refers to what he believes is a more authoritative pronouncement. He cites none other than Pinochet, according to whom the United States did not have "anything to do with it" (p. 347). Davis accepts this 'informed' statement as indisputable.

Goethe wrote of "kindred souls". For my part I shall only rephrase an ancient proverb: "Tell me who you believe, and I'll tell you who you are."

Volodia Teitelboim

CC Political Commission member,
Communist Party of Chile, writer.

¹ Thomas Hauser, *The Execution of Charles Horman: An American Sacrifice*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, 1978.

² A minister in the Popular Unity government, he was assassinated in Washington in September 1976 by Pinochet secret agents. — *Ed.*

³ The code name for one of the covert operations against the Allende government. — *Ed.*

India's Trade Unions Accept a Challenge

G. Ramanujam, *Indian Labour Movement*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1986, 423 pp.

"THE trade union movement in India has a long tradition, extending over years, of common united struggles over-riding considerations of caste or community and rallying under its banner all sections of the working class during the freedom struggle and after." This is a quotation from a document adopted, on May 11, 1986, at a joint conference of delegates from all of India's national trade union organisations of different political orientation. For the first time in the country's post-independence period, they all came together on a common platform. Among them were the All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC)¹ and the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC).²

As per the decision of the joint meeting, a National Solidarity Day was observed jointly by all trade union centres on August 9, 1986. These events, which coincided with the observance of the May Day centenary, emphasised the need for stronger trade union unity and solidarity.

Many of the new challenges facing the working people of India are touched upon in the book under review, written by the President of the INTUC. "It is

unfortunate," concludes the author, surveying the current Indian trade union scene, "that in our country, we have multiple trade unions operating in most plants. Trade unions are a symbol of unity, but that symbol itself is utilised to disunite them. Workers must, therefore, first learn their elementary lesson of unity" (p. 388).

Still, one can hardly say that the book is permeated with a spirit of workers' solidarity. It has enormous documentation which is useful, but it presents facts with a good deal of prejudice when the author traces the evolution of the trade union movement in India. What is worse, he underestimates and even ignores the important contributions made by the left-wing forces to the growth of the Indian trade union movement in all industrial centres and regions of India. Repeating the usual anti-communist slanders, he challenges the sincerity and devotion of those pioneers of our trade union movement (such as S.A. Dange, Singaravelu Chettiyar, S.V. Ghate and others) who belonged to the left wing of the national liberation movement and to the Communist Party. But it was their sustained efforts which, in the late 1920s, helped establish the first militant mass trade unions in textiles, jute and railways in Bombay, Calcutta and some other cities, towns and regions.

No doubt, in the formative stages of the Indian trade union movement there was acute controversies over strategy and tactics and even over the concept of the movement itself. In a broad national liberation movement like the popular movement for national independence in India, which brought together all classes and strata of the Indian people in a patriotic struggle, it was only natural that there were diverse groups and political trends. There were people in the Indian National Congress Party (INC) who were opposed to separate and independent organisations of workers and peasants because of their misapprehension that such efforts would disturb their particular concept of all-in unity in the liberation movement. But the very need of widening the popular base of the anti-colonial struggle convinced the far-sighted leaders of the INC of the need to go and work among the workers and peasants, and the Congress Party eventually was led to take a position of promoting the establishment of trade unions and peasants' organisations.

However, on the forms of trade union action, basic differences remained as between, on the one hand, those who called for unrestrained collective bargaining, complete freedom of action of trade unions and the use of the strike weapon when necessary and on the other, those who insisted on the 'Ahmedabad model'³ (and INTUC President Ramanujam was himself trained by the 'Ahmedabad school').

India's national liberation movement threw up many specific forms of struggle such as civil disobedience, *hartal* (complete stoppage of normal activities, including city transport, trading, etc.), *Satyagraha* (sustained peaceful mass protest action braving even severe police repression), boycotts, hunger strikes and so on. Several of these forms of struggle found their way into the trade union movement alongside the traditional working class weapon of strikes.

The author has not tried to grasp the evolution of these divergent strategies and tactics of struggle and has chosen to solve the problem by denouncing all those who disagreed with the 'Ahmedabad school'. He makes wild assertions such as the following: "The Communists never believed a trade union being an instrument for raising the standard of living of the workers within the legal framework" (p. 66).

As President of the INTUC, G. Ramanujam has to justify the creation of this organisation and, in this manner, the first major split in the Indian trade union movement in May 1947, only three months before India's independence. An historian might perhaps have assessed the split differently as an attempt by a political party on the eve of its assumption of political power to have trade union structures which it could readily influence. In any case, that split was the beginning

of a process of almost all political parties deciding to create separate national trade union centres. This process has had the most negative repercussions for the Indian labour movement.

Twenty-four years after the first split, another one occurred: leading elements of the 'Ahmedabad school' left the INTUC and formed another national trade union centre, the National Labour Organisation (NLO). The book quotes an NLO resolution: "After the split in the Indian National Congress, it appears that the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) thinks politically about matters pertaining to labour and industry. Some workers in the Indian National Trade Union Congress seem to have a Communist leaning and seem to be striving to achieve their political purpose by using unfair means. It has also been divided in two factions in the wake of the split in the Congress" (p. 302). Thus the debts were paid in the same coin. The real loser in the bargain was the Indian working class and the cause of their unity and solidarity.

Less than a million workers were organised at the time of independence forty years ago. Now the trade unions claim nearly 15 million members. According to the book, 35,750 registered trade unions existed in 1980 (see p. 399). Because most trade unions do not bother to submit annual returns on their membership to the registration authorities, statistics can be quite misleading. There is therefore a great gap between the membership shown in official records and the actual 'striking power' of the unions. This 'striking power' would, of course, be greater and more decisive if only the organisational disunity were overcome.

The threats and dangers to the unity and integrity of the country posed by disruptive separatist forces have thrown a new challenge to the labour movement in India. As the joint observance of Solidarity Day on August 9, 1986 showed, there is a new awakening. There are growing instances of cooperation among national trade union centres. Their meeting of May 11, 1986 has taken this process forward and reaffirmed, in its final statement, "the role of the trade union movement as the most effective instrument of socio-economic transformation, for which the unity of the country and solidarity of the working class are imperative".

Madhavan Atchuthan
member, General Council,
All-India Trade Union Congress

¹ Founded in 1920, the AITUC is the country's oldest trade union centre. With its membership of over three million, it is an affiliate of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

² The INTUC was founded by the leaders of the Indian National Congress Party in 1947, has a membership of 3.6 million and is affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

³ The rise of this trend in the Indian trade union movement is connected with the action taken by Ahmedabad textile workers in February and March, 1918. They were led by Mahatma Gandhi who went on hunger strike in solidarity with them. Gandhi persuaded them to refrain from resolute action and agree to arbitration. The principles of class conciliation and rejection of revolutionary struggle and of strikes were the platform on which the Textile Labour Association of Ahmedabad was set up in 1920. This association subsequently formed the nucleus of the INTUC.

Nameth Karoly, *Párt, Társadalom, Politika* (Party, Society, Politics), Kossuth, Budapest, 1986, 326 pp.

A collection of articles and speeches by deputy General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party deals with important issues of the HSWP's policy and the life of the country, and the building of socialism in Hungary. The author examines such fundamental factors in the life of the Hungarian society as the leading role of the HSWP, its close ties with the masses, socialist democracy, and the people's unity, and draws attention to the most characteristic features of daily party activity, as well as to the need for thorough consideration and substantiation of the decisions adopted, for responsibility in implementing them, and binding discipline in all matters.

Andrés Vilariño Ruiz, Silvia M. Domenech Nieves, *El sistema de dirección y planificación de la economía en Cuba: historia, actualidad y perspectiva* (Cuba's System of Economic Administration and Planning: Past, Present and Perspectives), Editorial Pueblo y Educacion, La Habana, 1986, 246 pp.

This is a complex study by Cuban researchers, who take for their epigraph the following words of Ernesto Che Guevara, the first minister of planning in the Island of Freedom: "Our system of administration is becoming ever more complicated. That is why we must deepen our knowledge so as always to be up to the solution of the problems which arise and to understand the new requirements in production." The book shows the substance of the science of administration and its practical application in Cuba's concrete conditions. The authors analyse the shaping of the planning system in the national economy, and the formation and development of the national economy in the face of the imperialist blockade, and summarise the experience of democratic transformations in rural areas. They emphasise the need to go on studying the questions of administration in the light of the tasks set by the Third Congress of the CP Cuba.

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World Marxist Review is published by Progress Books,
71 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5V 2P6.
Second class mail registration number 2352.
Printed in Canada.
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