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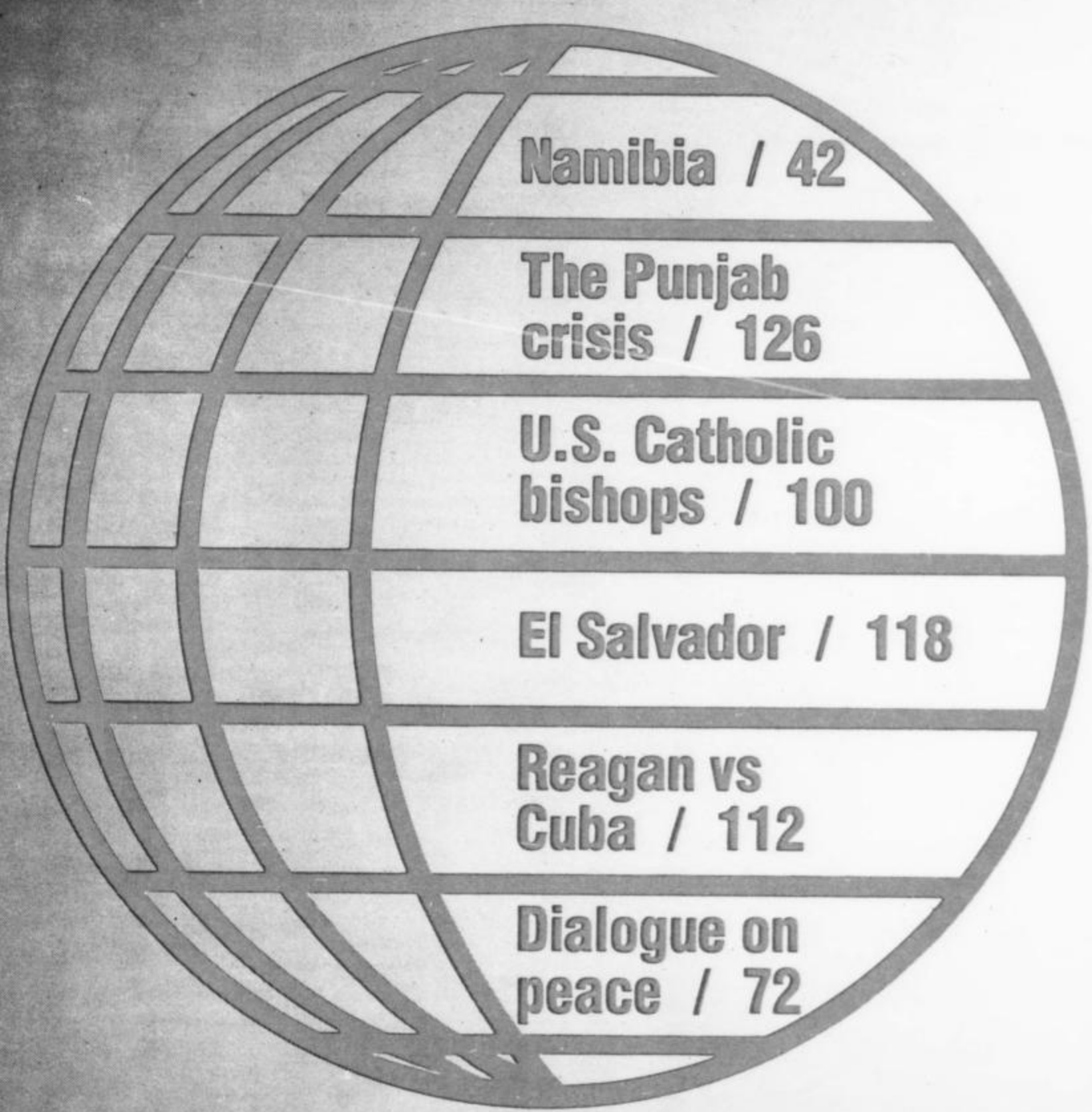
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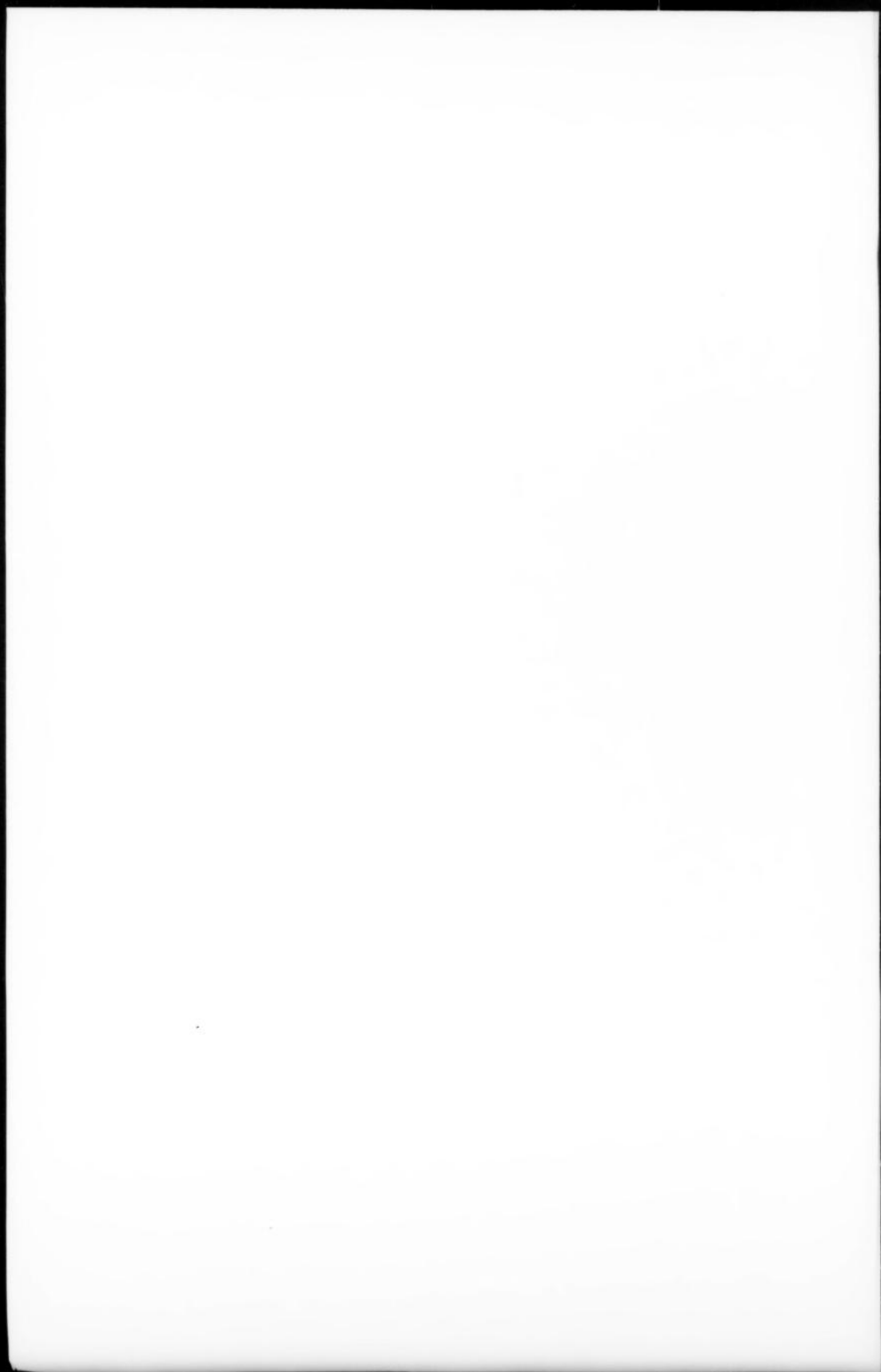
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ERRATUM

February 1987 edition: In the article "Canada: Independence Under Threat", p 26, seventh paragraph, the first sentence should have read "The upsurge of peace sentiment finds reflection in the camp of monopoly. Liberals representing the pro-Canadian wing of monopoly in Canada".

The typesetters of the English language edition of *World Marxist Review* would like to apologise for any confusion which this error may have caused.

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The 70th Anniversary of the October Revolution

Internationalism in Practice

Harilaos Florakis—CC General Secretary, Communist Party of Greece

OUR party is of the flesh and bone of the working class, of the people of Greece. There is no more important task for us than to work for our country's interests and welfare and to strengthen its sovereignty. At the same time we publicly declare that the CPG has been and is a party of internationalism devoted to the cause of the Great October Socialist Revolution, whose 70th anniversary is to be marked this year by all progressive people.

There is no contradiction here. We are devoted to the ideals of the October Revolution and the principles of proletarian solidarity not only by virtue of our class world view. These ideals and principles are inseparable from our patriotism, from the freedom-loving spirit of our people, from the national consciousness of the Greeks, to whom nationalistic bigotry is alien, and from their great culture, which has benefited all mankind. The internationalism of the Greek Communists springs from the mutual solidarity that has for centuries linked our country's struggles for independence with the liberation movements of other peoples, while from 1917 onward it has been linked with the world revolutionary process. We are internationalists also because we clearly realise that in the closely interrelated world of today it is impossible to uphold a nation's interests effectively without constantly taking into account its international relations, its place and role in world affairs, above all in the global

Harilaos Florakis (b. 1914) is a telegraph operator by trade. In the 1930s he was active in the youth and trade union movement of Greece. He joined the CPG in 1941. During the Resistance he was a fighter of the National Liberation Army. During the civil war of 1946-1949 he was in command of a division of the Democratic Army of Greece. He was arrested time and again, sentenced to life imprisonment, and held in prisons and concentration camps for a total of 18 years. A member of the CPG Central Committee since 1950, its First Secretary since 1972, and its General Secretary since 1978. He has been a member of parliament since 1974.

confrontation between the forces of peace, of progress and the forces of reaction, of militarism.

This has to be stressed over and over again for it concerns issues that remain acute and topical. As has been shown by, for instance, the preparations for the CPG's 12th Congress, to be held in May, the significance of these issues is growing for the party, and this means redefining attitudes and working out new decisions meeting the changing situation. Nor can we neglect the ideological struggle over these issues, the need to rebuff those who trade Greece's interests on the counters of the Common Market, staking its destiny on a card in the nuclear game being played by the USA and NATO while hypocritically charging the Communists with 'lacking patriotism'.

Interest in internationalism and the attitude to the legacy of the October Revolution is due not least to the ongoing debates on these matters in the international communist movement. Various opinions are aired. We cannot say that all are indisputable. Naturally, it would be hard to expect that the CPG's assessments are amenable to everybody. The main thing here is that one should state one's attitudes frankly and take an unbiased approach to other viewpoints.

The Great October Revolution was a landmark turn in human history — it breached the system of social exploitation and national oppression. Its impact on the world was seen in many directions, the principal of which were, unquestionably, the dramatic changes in the alignment of class forces on the international scene, the growth of socialism's influence on the course of social development, and the emergence of the international communist movement. With the appearance of the new social system the violence and wars generated by imperialism ceased to be absolute laws of world development. To the selfish interests of the exploiting classes — proponents of militarism and aggression — socialism counterposed a policy of peace serving the vital interests of all nations. While it is a profoundly class policy it harmonises with general democratic interests and, ultimately, those of all humanity.

For the Communists of Greece, as for those of other countries, the October Revolution has become an inexhaustible source of experience. It has demonstrated the huge wealth of the forms of class struggle — peaceful, violent, legal, and underground. Proletarian, peasants', national liberation, and other democratic actions have merged with it in a single torrent. With its ideals and example, the Great October Revolution has immeasurably enriched the international working class movement and the entire struggle for peace and social progress. In this context Lenin noted: "Our socialist Republic of Soviets will stand secure, as a torch of international socialism and as an example to all the working people."¹

The socialist revolution in Russia helped to widen the operation of the idea of solidarity among working people to worldwide proportions. Lenin's conception of internationalism, which stems from the need to work for "the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution *in all countries*"² was firmly established in the vanguard of the working class movement. This thoroughly revolutionary conception is closely linked to practice, to the actual requirements of the

liberation struggle. It calls for a comprehensive study and generalisation of the international experience of class struggle, for properly combining the general and the particular in the practical implementation of this experience.

In pinpointing the historic significance of the October Revolution, Lenin wrote that it "has charted the road to socialism for the whole world" and that on some essential issues "*all* countries will inevitably have to do what Russia has done".³ However, he warned against a one-sided perception of the Bolshevik experience, against simplified interpretations of the lessons to be drawn from the October Revolution. Moreover, he warned against repeating the errors of those who "confused certain specific features of Russian Soviet government, of the history of its development in Russia, with Soviet government as an international phenomenon",⁴ noting that other countries would contribute much that would be new, particular, and creative in the forms and ways of struggle for social progress.

Lenin's conception of internationalism is not, as is claimed by Leninism's adversaries, a guideline absolutising the 'Russian experience'. It calls for a quest for the most effective ways and means of struggle conforming to national conditions, for applying the international experience in such a manner that would permit particular aspects of the general principles of scientific socialism to be correctly modified, to be correctly adapted "to national and national-state distinctions".⁵

This is precisely how the experience of the Great October Revolution was assimilated in our country. It at once became part and parcel of the life and struggles of the Greek revolutionaries, embodying their most cherished aspirations and hopes. Within a few days after the socialist revolution in Russia the progressive newspaper *Rizospastis* (later the organ of the CPG Central Committee) called it the "saving remedy for humanity" bringing with it the "establishment of the most humane organisation of postwar society".

The beneficial effects of the October Revolution had a direct influence on our country. As early as June 1917 Lenin strongly denounced the 'civilised' imperialists for their gross pressure on Greece and demanded that they, the then Russian government among them, should cease interfering in its affairs.⁶ Brought to power by the October Revolution, the Soviet government abrogated all the unequal treaties signed by the tsars with Greece, relinquished the 'Russian share' of its external debt, and withdrew from the international economic control commission imposed upon Greece by the imperialist powers at the close of the 19th century.

The Greek people saw for themselves that the new great power that had appeared was building its international relations on entirely different principles — equality, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations, and non-interference in their internal affairs. The October Revolution stimulated the emergence of a new, anti-imperialist basis for our people's struggle for national independence. It laid the foundation for solidarity between the working people of Greece and the Soviet Union, its working class and Leninist party. This solidarity continues to acquire strength.

The impact of the October Revolution accelerated the revolutionary

process in Greece and intensified the interaction of the various trends in this process. This has had a profound impact, and it continues and will continue to be felt. It cleared the way for the rise of the Greek communist movement, which was initially represented by the Socialist Labour Party set up in November 1918. A genuinely revolutionary, patriotic party that took a position of proletarian internationalism appeared for the first time in Greece. Within a year this party declared its affiliation to the Communist International and thereby projected itself onto the broad arena of the international revolutionary working class movement. As an affiliate of the Comintern the Communist Party of Greece got the opportunity to make better use of the latter's international experience, work out an effective line of action, strengthen its position among the people, and form a cadre of professional revolutionaries. It became a consistently internationalist party, and this was vividly demonstrated by the heroism of the Greek Communists who fought for Republican Spain.

The internationalism of the Communists is inescapably refracted through the prism of national conditions. The international and the national are indivisible, closely intertwining at each stage of the struggle. Experience shows that any transgression of this unity may devitalise internationalism and turn it into an abstract doctrine secluded from the practice of class battles. We attach great significance to the international factor, but we feel that the party's paramount role is that it should be a factor on the home scene. While it is consistently internationalist, the CPG is a genuinely national party. The Greek Communists have proven in fact that they are championing and protecting the vital interests and rights of the nation's majority, i.e., the working people, that they are faithful to the people's patriotic traditions and are committed to strengthening their country's independence and sovereignty. They want all aspects of Greek society's life to flourish on a new social foundation, linking national development to the tasks confronting the working class. Their patriotism fuses with internationalism.

The Communists were in the front ranks of the National Resistance during which shoots of a revolutionary people's power appeared, ensuring the nation's unity in opposing the invaders. It was our party that led the people to act for democratic freedoms, for the abolition of the outdated monarchy and the military-fascist dictatorship. It was the CPG that organised the day-to-day struggle for economic and political independence from international imperialism. The Communists are, as they always have been, on the side of the workers, office employees, peasants, artisans, working intellectuals, women, and young people. They demanded justice for working people, freedom for the nation, and true sovereignty for the country, and for this they were imprisoned or sent into exile. They have suffered huge losses in their fight for these patriotic aims. Many thousands of our comrades laid down their lives for their country's freedom.

From unwavering patriotic positions the CPG is today countering the attempts of the ruling circles to reinforce the grip of big capital by means of a policy of 'economic austerity' and set the entire burden of the acute economic crisis squarely on the shoulders of the working people. These circles placed a freeze on wages, devalued the drachma, and cut back state

investments in the economy with soaring unemployment as the outcome. All this has given a powerful impetus to mass actions by the working people. Millions are involved in the protest movement. And there again, the Communists are in the front ranks, merging with the people. Their prestige and influence in society are growing. This was shown compellingly by the municipal and communal elections in the autumn of 1986.

Our party made the decisive contribution to forming coalitions within which, acting on a basis of equality, the left-wing and other progressive forces have put forward a common programme for local self-administration and nominated common candidates. The CPG has stressed the importance of such coalitions in a broader aspect as well — having in mind the demand for a law instituting a system of direct proportionate elections in order to put an end to the practice by which two parties take turns in power, strengthen the alliance of left-wing and other progressive forces, and thereby clear the way for a policy of change.

The left-wing bloc, shaped at the elections to local authority, represents a major achievement of the popular movement, its significance transcending any particular election campaign. Our proposal for coalitions taking the interests of its partners into account and based on equality had a positive response. It was preceded by successful cooperation in the trade unions and in the struggle for amending electoral legislation, and also by significant shifts and a demarcation of forces in the ruling Panhellenic Socialist Movement's (PASOK) sphere of influence. Despite ideological differences, left-wing and other progressive forces responded warmly to our proposal on the leadership level, on the level of the cadre personnel and the grassroots. The verdict of the voters was unequivocal: PASOK lost over 10 per cent of the vote compared with the 1985 elections. The right-wing dropped 1 per cent, while the CPG and the alliance of left forces advanced by more than 12 per cent.

The election campaign enhanced our party's political prestige. Its basic points — alliance of left-wing forces, and end to the constraining stereotype 'right — anti-right' mass thinking, and the need for changes — won new supporters. This was demonstrated, in particular, at the February rally in Athens that gave a start to discussions of the CPG Central Committee's theses for the party's 12th Congress. This rally was attended not only by the Communists and their allies but also by representatives of other socio-political schools. The animated public discussion of the theses showed that the CPG's policy was attracting the attention of growing sections of society and carrying increasing weight as an alternative to the government's policy.

But this assessment should not breed complacency. The confrontation at the elections was a test of the Communist Party's political potential and of its readiness and ability to conduct an effective struggle in a complex situation. This confrontation brought some weaknesses and shortcomings to light, clearly showing that the quality of the leadership had to be upgraded. Our ideological work has to be more profound in order to ensure a better understanding of our policy of alliances and its correct implementation without sectarian deviations. Moreover, it must be emphasised that the struggle against the bi-partisan system does not mean

overlooking the distinctions between PASOK and the conservative New Democracy Party. The supplanting of the 'struggle against the right syndrome' with the 'struggle against PASOK syndrome' is totally unacceptable to us, for it would undermine our ability to attract the working people who support the ruling party but do not approve all of its official positions, and restrict our possibilities for exercising a decisive influence on political development flexibly and independently.

The years that PASOK has been in power have made it perfectly clear that this party has no intention whatever of making good its promises to enforce reforms in Greece and defend the nation's sovereignty against international imperialism and NATO. It is playing the role of manager for the capitalists. In other words, there is more need for change than ever before. This is an objective need. And the banner of change is in the hands of the Communists.

The left-wing and other progressive forces are in a position to unite the people and steer the political situation towards the needed changes. This is the substance of the CPG's political experience. We shall continue to promote closer cooperation with the Left, with generally all progressive circles up to the formation of a large coalition that would have the ability, in the long run, to bring about reforms of a socialist nature in Greece. This is the main direction in which the Communists are working.

Experience shows that the change needed by the country has to be more profound than imagined earlier. We see this as being of strategic significance. To this end we are trying to develop a closer link-up of the anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist, and democratic struggle with the socialist prospective. This would not immediately settle the question of bringing the left, progressive forces to power. But in this way it would be possible to move towards the formation of a left government, which, with the support of the mass movements, would consolidate in the course of class battles its authority by fundamentally restructuring the state mechanism. This would be a qualitative advance in the struggle for the new society.

While acting in this direction the Communists are not letting themselves be insulated in the sphere of national interests. It is our policy to take international realities into account, to expand our party's international relations. The traditions of the CPG and of the revolutionary, democratic movement in Greece are not growing obsolete. On the contrary, they are increasingly influencing the struggles of the progressive forces on account of the deepening interaction of internal and external factors, of the party's national and international tasks.

Since October 1917 the confrontation between socialism and imperialism has been the principal knot holding all the strings of the class contradictions in the world. If this is not taken into account, Lenin pointed out, it would be impossible to formulate correctly, much less settle, a single problem of international life "even if it concerns a most outlying part of the world".⁷

The future of the world and the development of social progress are today linked closer than ever before to the acceleration of the socialist community's economic and political development. On the international scene this community is the principal anti-imperialist force and the

mainstay of the struggle of the peoples, including the people of Greece, for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. It is our firm belief that by virtue of the historical process rather than of any subjective will the *attitude towards the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has been and continues to be the criterion of proletarian internationalism.*

This gives rise to the question of the forms in which the socialist states support the revolutionary movement in the capitalist parts of the world. In many ways the content of this question differs from how it was seen immediately after the October Revolution. Nonetheless, the experience that was then put into it retains its significance. More, in some sense this experience is even more topical today than at the early stages of socialism's development. Let me explain. Unlike the past, any actions by the socialist countries on the international scene, including support for revolutionary movements, now involves great responsibility for the destiny and the survival of the whole of mankind.

What is the lesson of the October Revolution under these conditions? Let us look into Lenin's article 'Strange and Monstrous' in which he strongly rebuked those who were using the argument of defending the interests of the 'world revolution' to oppose peace with Germany and Austria. It was, Lenin wrote, unquestionably imperative to help a revolution but the *form* of this help had to be selected by the Soviet government in accordance with its potentialities, without 'pushing' the revolution, without risking war and its own defeat.⁸ This is a topical, significant precept today, in the nuclear age, when socialism is confronted with the tremendous problem of selecting forms of supporting revolutionary movements that would not perpetuate the risk of humanity's annihilation.

As regards the Communist Party of Greece, we see that the principal way in which socialism can support us is through its own development, its achievements, and the attractiveness of its example for the working people in capitalist countries. We are aware that the building of the new society is proceeding along untrodden paths and is not devoid of difficulties, flaws, and errors. But it has led to social gains of epoch-making significance. Basic human rights such as job security, education, participation in social decision-making, and equality of peoples, nations, and races have been established for the first time in history. The solution of fundamental social questions is precisely what demonstrates socialism's historical advantage, and that is exactly what accounts for its great influence on the whole of the modern world.

It should be remembered that the building of the new society is far from being completed. There is constant movement towards new, unexplored horizons, where problems are not resolved spontaneously, automatically but have to be addressed consciously and methodically, in the interests of the whole of society. All aspects of this experience have to be studied creatively so that we can work out our own socialist prospect entailing the adaptation of the general laws of socialism to the specifics of our country.

The Greek Communists are keenly watching the processes now taking place in the Soviet Union. An indelible impression was made on us by the 27th Congress of the CPSU, the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central

Committee of January 1987, and the speeches at these forums by Mikhail Gorbachov in which he outlined a programme of veritably revolutionary changes that creditably continue and develop the cause initiated by the October Revolution. As envisioned in this programme, the acceleration of Soviet society's socio-economic development and democratisation are bound to be of immense international significance. In one way or another what occurs in the Soviet Union invariably influences the communist and the entire revolutionary movement.

The CPSU's innovative evaluations enrich the theory and practice of the fraternal parties, give us a deeper understanding of the contradictions in the world, enlarge the prospects for the struggle for socialism in the conditions actually prevailing in each country, and help foster international cooperation among the Communists.

In the year of the Great October Revolution's 70th anniversary we can see that socialism is the only system that has the strength and ability to surmount internal difficulties and negative phenomena in order to clear the way for a faster advance to a qualitatively higher level and open up new vistas for the social progress and democratic development of all humanity. Under the beneficial impact of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union many people are again meditating upon the role of socialist countries. Old notions are crumbling and new positive assessments are being made. People are feeling that what is taking place in the USSR — from the radical peace initiatives to the dynamic economic and political changes — is of considerable significance for the whole world.

True to the banner of internationalism, the CPG maintains relations with practically all communist and workers' parties — those that are in power and those carrying on a struggle in capitalist countries. These relations are founded on comradeship, equality, independence, and mutual non-interference in internal affairs.

The differentiated conditions and local distinctions under which communist parties function and the diversity of their approaches to various problems sometimes lead to disagreements in the international communist movement. This springs from the new realities in the world and from the diverse trends in the revolutionary struggle that are variously assessed by the parties from the standpoint of their longevity and universal significance. Every effort must be made to resolve differences through comradely discussion, on the basis of proletarian internationalism, while the answer to unresolved problems will be given by life, by practice. We are certain that what unites Communists should prevail over whatever divides them.

The norms governing the relations between fraternal parties are determined by historical conditions. They change in parallel with our movement's development. After the October Revolution the international unity of the Communists was coordinated within the framework of a single international organisation, the Communist International, which was consistent with the movement's formative stage. At a higher stage of maturity there was an in-depth restructuring of the norms of inter-party relations, and the forms of international relations between them were brought into line with the situation.

But whatever changes are introduced into these forms they are underpinned by solidarity among parties that further a common cause while functioning under different conditions. We feel that in this context it is fundamentally important to reinforce interaction between parties in power and those carrying on a struggle in capitalist countries. The CPG takes pride in the fact that it has long-standing, close relations with the party of Lenin. These relations were given a fresh impetus by our meeting in Moscow with General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachov at the close of 1986. Among other things we discussed the role and responsibility of the international communist movement for the state and future of the world, and the possibilities for strengthening the movement's unity through live, comradely exchanges of views between equal and independent fraternal parties.

Lately a CPG delegation has had meetings with leaders of the ruling parties of Czechoslovakia, Cuba, and the GDR. These meetings were a large contribution towards expanding the relations between the CPG and the communist parties of socialist countries. The democratic character of such relations and the independence and equality of the fraternal parties accord with the diversity of the conditions under which they work, their experience of struggle, and their striving to win a bigger role in the life of their countries.

While working to enhance the influence of the Communists in Greece and in the world at large, we are interested in promoting dialogue and interaction with the broadest sections of society, including the Social Democrats, the ecologists, and members of the bourgeoisie standing up for peace and seeking to avert the nuclear threat to humanity.

The principles of internationalism are now being enriched on the basis of the present bigger potentialities and requirements for international cooperation among the forces of peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism. The content of the concept of proletarian solidarity is broadening, and the forms of expressing it are undergoing a change and becoming more diversified. The new phenomena in the class struggle linked to the processes taking place in socialist countries, to the enlistment of sections of working people in industrialised capitalist and developing countries, sections that had been politically inert, into energetic public activity, and the steady growth of the anti-war movements are giving a global dimension to the international cooperation among progressive forces the world over.

This cooperation is aimed principally at repulsing the attempts of imperialism, notably US imperialism, to unite international reaction in order to turn back the clock and compel the peoples to live under wartime laws, as hostages to nuclear-missile and space 'deterrents'. The fact that civilisation has come under a nuclear threat shows how tightly the national and international trends of world development are intertwined. The task of deepening international cooperation among fraternal parties acquires growing significance as the problems of the anti-war struggle and resistance to imperialism move to the forefront of the work of Communists.

For us these problems are especially significant because Greece is located in a volatile region. We couple our struggle for internal reforms

with the problem of national independence. The reforms wanted by the Communists would simultaneously hit the privileges of the local and foreign monopolies — they would thus have a bearing on Greece's economic development and sovereignty. Among other aims, the CPG seeks to deliver Greece from nuclear weapons and US military bases and get it out of NATO; turn the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone and the Mediterranean into a sea of peace free of nuclear weapons; make the whole world safer through a steady reduction of armaments and international tensions.

We side with the Cypriot people in their struggle against the USA's and NATO's plans, for a just settlement of Cyprus's problem through the United Nations, and for its independence, territorial integrity, and sovereignty.

As regards the Aegean Sea, it is our stand that Greece's national frontiers are inviolable and we denounce the chauvinistic statements being made in Greece and Turkey. The crisis in the Aegean must be settled in keeping with the interests of the two nations, respect for their independence and territorial integrity, without the use of threat or force. This is how this question stood at the talks in February 1987 between our party and the Communist Party of Turkey. These talks were held in a spirit of fraternal cooperation, which characterises the relations between our parties.

The CPG rejects the theory that socialism and imperialism are equally responsible for the arms race. We support any step that promotes peace. We think highly of the Soviet programme for eliminating nuclear weapons by the year 2000, and we welcome the Soviet Union's bold proposals for eliminating intermediate-range missiles in Europe. All these initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are compatible with our people's national interests.

The coming CPG congress will be held at a critical time for all humanity: the struggle for a better future for Greece is directly linked to the struggle for lasting and just peace. There no longer can be 'national walls of salvation'. Peace and security have become a universal problem that unites all peoples, all countries, big and small.

Hence, the great significance that the CPG attaches to the efforts to promote the peace movement in Greece. We want to see public opinion react more sensitively to the critical character of the international situation and the dangers generated by US adventurism. We strive to keep the public widely informed about the Soviet peace initiatives and the role being played by the other socialist countries in the struggle to prevent a nuclear catastrophe. As it gains strength the anti-war movement makes an invaluable contribution to world peace, puts a limit on the government's vacillations and on its concessions to imperialism, and renders political and ideological support for the struggle for Greece's independence.

The Communist Party of Greece has been adhering to internationalist traditions of the October Revolution for nearly 70 years. The experience we have accumulated in this time indicates that we have been pursuing a sound policy.

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 472.

² Ibid., Vol. 28, p. 292.

³ Ibid., p. 44; Vol. 31, p. 31.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. 29, p. 388.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. 31, p. 92.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. 24, pp. 573-574.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. 31, p. 241.

⁸ Ibid., Vol. 27, pp. 71-72.

The 70th Anniversary of the October Revolution

War in General Runs Counter to the Aims of the Communist Party

Professor Vadim Zagladin—
CPSU Central Committee member

THE heading is from words spoken by Lenin.¹ Succinctly, in fact aphoristically, they express the stand of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class movement on the question of war and peace. Lenin was the greatest statesman of our age. He devoted much of his life to the ideological and practical struggle against militarism and war, putting into this struggle the passion of the revolutionary, the exploring mind of the scholar, and the purposefulness of the statesman. To this day his anti-war thinking and work to ensure peace among nations are a dependable guide for all his followers, including, of course, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Many bourgeois, indeed not only bourgeois, pundits quite frequently assert that on the question of war and peace Lenin's views reflect exclusively the situation at the turn of the century and are hardly acceptable today. Naturally, in his works there are propositions that bear the stamp of that far-away epoch. This should hardly amaze anybody. What is amazing is how accurate Lenin was in his principal, basic conclusions and how colossally important they remain to this day, in our essentially new epoch.

Indeed, what did Lenin write and speak about?

He wrote and said that wars were a terrible scourge and horrible danger for working people, for the whole of humanity. He strongly believed that a cardinal task of the working class, of the Communists, of all revolutionaries was to stand up against unjust wars, against wars of conquest.

Lenin cautioned that the upgrading of armaments could undermine the very foundations of human society.² Is this not true today? In our age of nuclear missiles Lenin's words about vigilance against war are compelling, sounding like a tocsin.

He wrote that because of its nature imperialism is a generator of militarism, arms races, and wars. Is that not correct today? Who save imperialism, notably US imperialism, is brandishing the nuclear-space club and creating new, unprecedented threats to humanity, to its very existence?

Lenin said that only socialism, only its total triumph would put an end to wars and deliver people from having to die on battlefields. Of course, socialism is far from having triumphed worldwide. Nobody can say exactly when this triumph will come. But the socialist world of today, in which one-third of humanity lives, is in itself a powerful barrier to the threat of war. It generates a new international policy, fundamentally new ideas and notions. Their implementation can open a qualitatively new, peaceful chapter of human history.

In the years after the October Revolution Lenin wrote that the relations between the social forces opposing each other in the world could and should be founded on the principles of peaceful cohabitation, of peaceful coexistence. He cautioned that imperialism would ceaselessly try to abort peaceful cohabitation and use military strength to undermine or even destroy socialism. But, on the other hand, there is the durability of socialism and its growing ability to defend itself; the fact that it has strong and dependable allies in the person of the peace forces; the objective need of every state to participate in global economic exchanges; the existence of deep-going contradictions and diverse attitudes to relations with socialism in the bourgeois camp. Taken together, this opens up a realistic possibility for promoting peaceful coexistence. Is this conclusion not borne out by the events of the 70 post-October years, particularly by the past few decades?

The lasting significance of Lenin's conclusions on the question of war and peace is evidence of the great creative, heuristic strength of Marxist-Leninist theory.

I

"The question of imperialist wars," Lenin wrote, "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. In this question, too, our October Revolution marked the beginning of a new era in world history."³

Indeed, as soon as it took shape the socialist state not only proclaimed that it would pursue a policy of ensuring a democratic, just peace but by its determined actions contributed to ending the carnage started by imperialism. "The revolutionary withdrawal from the imperialist world war; the exposure and *halting* of the slaughter organised by the two world groups of capitalist predators — for our part we have done this in full," Lenin wrote.⁴ He was referring to the first victory of the working class over the forces of militarism and aggression, to the first victory of socialist policy over the imperialist policy of war.

The triumph of the socialist revolution in Russia inaugurated a series of inestimably profound and truly historic socio-economic and political changes that fundamentally remade the pattern of the world. Let me mention what matters most.

First. There has been a radical change in the alignment and correlation of

forces in the arena of state-to-state relations. In effect, the structure of the world community has undergone a fundamental change, particularly in the past few decades. It consists of, in the first place, a powerful socialist system that is acting to prevent a nuclear war and ensure lasting world peace. This structure includes tens of countries that have won liberation from colonial tyranny and are determined to achieve true independence and democratise international relations. Then there are the capitalist countries that have established themselves as neutral and non-aligned, and also some others that likewise reject the policy of aggression and adventurism.

Second. The present political panorama of international life is entirely unlike the panorama at the turn of the century from yet another standpoint. *World politics is now determined not only by the will and actions of governments. Diverse political and public forces are becoming more and more actively involved in policy-making.* These forces are the communist, revolutionary-democratic, socialist, and social democratic movements; the trade unions of different orientation; moreover, there is a wide spectrum of public forces and organisations that are, despite ideological, political or religious distinctions, acting to prevent war, to promote the normal, civilised development of world relations and all-sided peaceful cooperation among nations.

There are, consequently, new conditions for worldwide relations. Lenin neither knew nor could know of these conditions. This is natural. But the amazing thing is that he foresaw that world development would proceed along precisely such lines. Let us recall: he said that the formation of socialism was possible and necessary as the decisive force of a peace policy. He forecast that the colonies of the time he lived in would become a cardinal factor of the struggle against aggressive, hegemonistic policies and militarism. He wrote that anti-imperialist actions would inevitably spread and involve huge numbers of people. All of this was not merely an expression of desire. No, these were conclusions drawn from his scholarly analysis of the principal tendencies of social development, notably of tendencies that were brought to life, sharply intensified, or deepened by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Of course, the changes that have taken place in the world had to change the situation over the question of war and peace. Lenin believed that wars, that imperialist wars were inevitable, and he stated this in black and white. But the new, post-October epoch introduced amendments into this formulation of the question. Today we see clearly that *given the present alignment of forces, a nuclear world war can be averted.* It is no longer inevitable.

The communist movement drew this Marxist-Leninist conclusion in the 1950s-1960s. However, the vital need for, the *imperative* of resolving the problems pertaining to the preservation of peace, to the prevention of war has never been so obvious as today. This is due to yet another factor, which surfaced during the past few decades. It is the scientific and technological revolution.

As it gathered momentum, this revolution extended over the military sphere, promoting, regrettably, the manufacture of armaments in the first

place. As a consequence of the development of military hardware, Lenin noted, "war would become so devastating as to be generally impossible".⁵ Such a time has come now. "The human race lost its immortality with the stockpiling and upgrading of nuclear armaments," Mikhail Gorbachov said. "It can be recovered only with the elimination of nuclear weapons."⁶

This is the *categorical imperative of our day*, the paramount condition of humanity's survival.

In considering the possibility of and need for preventing a nuclear war, many researchers quote Lenin's words about Clausewitz's conclusion that war is the continuation of politics by other means. Lenin accepted this conclusion, considering it to be correct. But is this view valid today? The answer to this must be strictly dialectical.

First, let us take note of the preparations that US imperialism is making for a nuclear war. Are these preparations not the direct continuation of its anti-people, aggressive policy — its policy of hegemonism, neoglobalism, and 'crusade' against socialism? They are not only the *continuation* but a *direct component* of this policy. Were the imperialists, despite commonsense, to start such a war it would unquestionably be the continuation of their inhuman, insane policy.

Naturally, this does not mean that nothing has changed in the interaction between war and politics. Much has changed, and the changes are striking. The principal of these is that *no political aims can be achieved by a nuclear war*. In this sense it may and must be said that *nuclear war will not be a continuation of politics*. This circumstance reaffirms that it is vital and crucial to prevent and exclude nuclear war from the life of society.

II

The basic guidelines of socialism's foreign policy were, as everybody knows, formulated by Lenin. From this standpoint, the Decree on Peace, written by Lenin, is of fundamental significance and should in no way be underestimated. In this highly important *act of state* wars of aggrandisement were officially branded for the first time in human history as "the greatest of crimes against humanity".⁷ In our nuclear age this definition is topical indeed.

The Decree on Peace declares that the objective of socialism's foreign policy is to ensure a just and democratic peace "without annexations (i.e., without the seizure of foreign lands, without the forcible incorporations of foreign nations) and without indemnities",⁸ in other words, peace based on respect for the right of every nation to determine its own destiny without anybody's interference. Is this not topical today when US imperialism has cynically proclaimed that the suppression of the right of nations to self-determination is in fact central to its policy?

The Decree on Peace expressed socialism's readiness to establish relations with all countries without exception provided there was mutual respect for rights and interests. Actually, here one clearly sees the basic ideas, later enlarged upon and specified, that formed the core of the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

Lastly, the Decree on Peace was addressed not only to governments but also and simultaneously to the peoples. Putting forward the principles of democratic peace, Lenin appealed precisely to the peoples, to their ideals and notions. He addressed directly to the peoples calling upon them to help "conclude peace successfully",⁹ and noted that it was necessary to "help the peoples to intervene in questions of war and peace".¹⁰

Thus, Lenin's concept spelled out not war but a democratic peace based on respect for the rights of every nation; peace achievable by democratic means with reliance on a union of the foreign policy actions of the proletarian state with the actions of the masses. Actually, the present foreign policy platform of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states is a continuation, deepening, and development of this concept, which has stood the test of time.

Moreover, Lenin's ideas about the norms that should underlie international relations have been adopted by the communist, workers', and revolutionary-democratic parties. Many of these ideas (notably those saying that peace and peaceful coexistence are indispensable) have now been adopted by the social democratic movement as well. Their acceptance has become widespread also among the public and political forces that are in principle far removed from, if not hostile to, socialism and the Communists. As a result, since 1945, beginning with the UN Charter, the principles first proclaimed by the October Revolution have been increasingly woven into the fabric of international treaties. It may be said that in many respects these are now, in effect, universally recognised norms of present-day international relations.

Above all, this process reflects the mounting influence of socialism, the democratic forces, and the masses on world development. This influence acquires growing vitality as social progress becomes more marked on the world scene. However, there is today another point to this: huge sections of the people of all countries are increasingly realising the crucial need for peaceful coexistence and seeing that there is no alternative to the course in world affairs suggested to the nations by socialism and the Communists.

It may be said without any hint of exaggeration that very much of this is due to the ideas, proposals, and concrete initiatives advanced during the past two years by the CPSU and the other fraternal parties of socialist countries, by the Communists. The point here is, above all, the emergence of new political thinking consistent with the imperatives of the nuclear age.

Essentially, this new thinking is a creative enlargement, in the nuclear age and in the face of the challenge to humanity's survival, of the fundamental ideas on war and peace and the basic principles of socialist foreign policy that were first formulated by Lenin. Marxist-Leninist methodology — revolutionary dialectics — underlies the new thinking.

The point of departure of this new thinking is the recognition that in the nuclear age the contradiction between war and peace, between humanity's existence and non-being has begun to prevail over everything. Naturally, it did not remove the basic socio-political contradiction of our day — that between socialism and capitalism. This contradiction continues to mark out the highway for social progress (for which reason it is called basic). However, in the present situation humanity will be unable to develop, to

say nothing of its risking annihilation, if it does not resolve the contradiction between war and peace. The timely prevalence of a policy of peace has become the prerequisite of progress in every area of human activity.

Humankind's mutual dependence, which sprang gradually from the internationalisation of production, trade, and public life, has now acquired a new dimension. The danger of universal destruction in a nuclear war and the threat to everybody from the accumulation of global problems, such as economic backwardness and ecological decay, are what led the CPSU and other fraternal parties to the conclusion that there must be a clear understanding of mankind's objective unity as a human race, of the global relationship between the human being, the society, and nature. Naturally, this necessitates a realistic and responsible policy adequate to, one can say, the first-ever extreme situation.

I am speaking of a policy aimed at the consistent and full implementation of Lenin's idea of peaceful cohabitation of states and peoples, a policy founded on the principle of an equilibrium of common and particular interests and taking present-day imperatives into account, a policy that would save the future for one and all, a policy built on principles that would, as Marx wrote, "vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations".¹¹ It is necessary, Mikhail Gorbachov said at the Moscow Forum For a Nuclear-Free World, For the Survival of Humanity, "to end *the separation of politics from the universal norms of morality*".¹²

The predominant element of the new thinking is that the gap between political practice and universal human moral-ethical norms must be bridged.

The CPSU and the other fraternal parties of socialist countries are placing the new thinking on the level of practical policy, of concrete actions. All of their proposals incorporate a number of fundamental guidelines: security is a political problem that has to be settled by political means; the arms race and mutual nuclear deterrence have to give way to arms reductions, to the elimination of nuclear weapons in the first place; conflicts have to be settled politically, by negotiation; peace and security are a question affecting all nations and it has to be resolved by the concerted efforts of all countries; the present-day policy of security has to give every and unconditional consideration for the rights and legitimate interests of all nations; true security presupposes the development and deepening of international cooperation, including, of course, interaction with the view to settling global problems.

"The course of our party and state in world politics," says the Address of the CPSU Central Committee to the Soviet people on the occasion of the upcoming 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, "is consistently peaceful. Our approach to international problems is realistic, flexible, and in line with the new political thinking. Our unwavering policy is that nations should throw off their nuclear armour at the threshold of the third millenium, that weapons should be prevented from spreading to outer space, reduced, and ultimately eliminated in the world."¹³

The foreign policy programme of the socialist countries is the first-ever

in the history of diplomacy to contain *proposals on all the basic problems that have to be settled in order to bring lasting peace and create a system of developed, egalitarian, and mutually beneficial international cooperation*. I am referring to military, political, economic, and humanitarian problems. In other words, this is an all-embracing programme in the true sense of the word. Its implementation would not only avert the threat of a nuclear war but, most importantly, create the conditions preventing any recurrence of this threat.

III

Socialism's adversaries and friends alike often ask whether this is a realistic programme. In some cases it is asserted that our desire to see a nuclear-free world is pure wishful thinking, that humanity will never be free of weapons, including weapons of mass annihilation.

However, our programme is not a Utopia. It is a well-known truth that humanity only sets itself tasks it is capable of addressing. Today humanity is capable not only of formulating but implementing the task of creating a nuclear-free world, although, to be sure, the struggle to accomplish it will be extraordinarily difficult. Why? Where and in what lie the roots of this difficulty?

First, and this is the central point, the striving for wars emanates from the nature of imperialism. Militarism is not some fortuitous phenomenon. It is not merely a continuation of imperialism's inherent striving for domination through the use of force. In analysing the essence of imperialism as monopoly capitalism, Lenin distinguished four principal types of monopolies: monopolies arising from the monopolisation of production; monopolies arising from the seizure of sources of raw materials; monopolies arising from banks; and monopolies arising from colonialist policy. Present-day militarism, which has sunk deep roots in the life of the USA and, for that matter, of some other capitalist countries, is *essentially* a new, distinct form of imperialist monopoly.

The place held by the armaments business in the economic structure of capitalist society, the proportion of military expenditure and military property in the state-monopoly economy, and the role played by military contracts in ensuring the profits of monopoly capital indicate that modern militarism (its military-industrial section) has become a major component of the basis of present-day imperialism. The military-industrial complexes represent both a new stage of the monopolisation of production and a new stage of the evolution of militarism. Therefore, it is, of course, extremely difficult to wage a struggle against militarism.

However, even from this point of view the task is by no means hopeless and impracticable. It will be recalled that the colonial monopoly was (in Lenin's day) likewise one of the principal economic elements of imperialism. However, colonial rule in its old form has now been completely swept away, and there are only tiny islets of it in the sea of nations that have won liberation. These islets of the shameful colonial past will be unquestionably extirpated. Naturally, imperialism is trying to reproduce colonial relations in a new form, in the form of neocolonialism. But this is a new phenomenon. It generates processes that unfold with

considerable difficulties for imperialism itself.

The fate of imperialism's colonial monopoly is striking evidence that the struggle against militarism, seen as a form of imperialist monopoly, can likewise be successful. From this standpoint considerable attention is attracted by projects of reconversion, projects of a peace economy, now being drawn up not only by leaders of the working class movement but also by leaders of a section of the business world. I feel that they merit much closer attention from the Marxists.

Militarism is a complex phenomenon. As well as being an element of imperialism's basis it is largely an element of its superstructure, of its policy. Struggle against superstructural phenomena is quite realistic. This is also proved by the practise of the working class and democratic movements throughout the period since the October Revolution. To ensure the success of the struggle (on the level of both the basis and the superstructure) it is necessary to muster forces on an unprecedented scale, to consolidate all the forces capable of standing up to militarism and war.

First and foremost, this requires the further promotion of, to use Lenin's words, the "special anti-war activity" of the Communists, of the working class movement in the broad sense of the word. Quite naturally, a question now under discussion in diverse circles of the working class movement is that of cooperation between the anti-war struggle (as a struggle for the loftiest human aim) and the class struggle of the proletariat, i.e., the struggle for social emancipation.

In principle, the answer to this was given by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. One can only wonder how deeply they penetrated into the essence and prospects of the historical process. It will be recalled that in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* Marx and Engels proceeded from the premise that by liberating itself the working class would liberate the whole of humankind. Later, in the foreword to the English edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* in 1888, Engels reworded this formula, giving it a sharper focus. He wrote that without liberating the whole of society the working class would be unable to liberate itself. In other words, the founders of our worldview regarded the liberation of humankind as the most noble long-term aim of the working class struggle. Although the attainment of this aim is seen as a result of the class struggle of the proletariat, it actually transcends the framework of this struggle. In this connection let me quote Engels: "Communism stands, in principle, above the breach between bourgeoisie and proletariat, recognises only its historic significance for the present, but not its justification for the future: wishes, indeed, to bridge over this chasm . . . Communism is a question of humanity and not of the workers alone."¹⁴

A key aspect of humanity's liberation has been and is its liberation from the evil of war. Quite understandably, for Marx and Engels, as for Lenin, an end to wars was part and parcel of the liberation class struggle of the proletariat.

The founders of our worldview believed that an end would be put to wars only as a result of the triumph of socialism. This proposition unquestionably remains valid to this day. However, in our time it was found that the prevention of nuclear war has become the absolute

condition not only for the future global triumph of socialism but for the further existence of mankind generally. On the other hand, socialism and the working class movement have become so strong that they are in fact in a position to raise the question of removing the nuclear threat and work effectively to that end.

Does this mean that under present-day conditions the objectives of the class, social struggle are losing their significance or moving into the background? By no means. In their activities the fraternal parties proceed from the double-track formula: the working class, which has been the principal fighter for the social emancipation of working people is now in the front ranks of the struggle to ensure the paramount right of people, the right to life. Both parts of this formula are closely interlocked. It is impossible in practice and wrong in theory to tear one away from the other.

The working class cannot achieve social emancipation without averting a world war. However, it cannot win the battle to prevent war without a determined struggle for its social rights that are being impinged by the arms race, and for its political rights which are being suppressed by the proponents of imperialism's aggressive militarist policies.

Thus, a distinctive feature of the present stage of our epoch is that perhaps for the first time the human, democratic, and social aims of the working class have come close together, while in many respects they have fused, above all in the question of preventing war. This is indeed a unique situation. Its political significance is that it opens up an unprecedented opportunity for creating a really worldwide coalition of the forces of realism and reason, of the forces pressing for the survival of the human race. The creation of such a coalition is the prerequisite for carrying out the primary human, democratic, and class task of preventing a nuclear catastrophe.

A circumstance distinguishing our day is that humanity, perhaps for the first time in its history, is beginning to see the actual relationship between its destiny and its being as a race. This is animating powerful forces of self-preservation. The growth and hardening of the awareness that self-preservation is possible and necessary and the acceptance of the new thinking by huge sections of public opinion globally were demonstrated strikingly by the Moscow Forum For a Nuclear-Free World, For the Survival of Humanity.

Lenin wrote much about pacifism. His attitude to it was, as everybody knows, ambivalent. He saw its positive, anti-war content. But he also saw something else: pacifist sentiments have often been used by, among others, militarist circles to dull the militant anti-war consciousness of the people, their striving to fight war by revolutionary means.

In our day, when the danger of a nuclear war has grown to overwhelming proportions, the positive content of pacifism has come to the fore. It is not accidental that the imperialist circles who formerly did not mind flirting with exponents of pacifist views, now usually reject such views in toto. Such is the case today, especially in the present situation, when on account of socialism's vigorous foreign policy the myths about the 'war threat from the East' and even of 'equal responsibility' have clearly lost much of their impact.

Present-day pacifism, despite the inconsistency of some of its exponents (for instance, some question the need and justification of resistance to imperialist attack on the part of the people subjected to aggression), is a force championing humanity's survival. It seems to me that while all shades of views and sentiments have to be taken into consideration, the Communists should adopt the appropriate attitude to pacifism.

Naturally, the diversity and breadth of the movement for the survival of humankind pose many questions for its participants. It is necessary not only to find but also to ensure a common view about the principal interest with each preserving his own identity. It is necessary to learn to act together for the sake of the supreme aim while continuing to compete in other issues of policy, especially in ideology. But the common lofty, truly universally human task compellingly calls for struggle, for action, for victory over the threat of a nuclear apocalypse.

"An end to wars," Lenin wrote, "peace among the nations, the cessation of pillaging and violence — such is our ideal . . .".¹⁵ The fraternal communist and workers' parties are committed to attaining that ideal.

¹ See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 492.

² *Ibid.*, p. 422.

³ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 55.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁵ N.K. Krupskaya, *On Lenin*, Moscow, 1960, pp. 40-41 (in Russian).

⁶ *Pravda*, February 17, 1987.

⁷ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p.250.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, p. 18.

¹² *Pravda*, February 17, 1987.

¹³ *Pravda*, March 14, 1987.

¹⁴ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 581-582.

¹⁵ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 293.

An Important Step in Renovation

Nguyen Van Linh — CC General Secretary, Communist Party of Vietnam

AFTER the victory over the US aggressors, and the liberation and unification of Vietnam, our people entered upon a new stage of the revolution under the leadership of its party, the stage of socialist construction and defence of the socialist country. The Sixth Congress of the CP Vietnam in December 1986 was a milestone in this great effort.

An emulation movement began in the country in honour of the congress. The draft CC Political Report was widely discussed by the Communists and all the other working people at mass meetings. They expressed more than a million ideas and constructive proposals, many of which were taken into account, thereby helping to enrich the report and subsequently to put the adopted decisions in greater accord with our revolution's present requirements.

The Sixth Congress analysed the situation in the country. The five years before that had been full of trials for the party and the people. The Vietnamese revolution developed in a favourable international and internal situation, but the gravest difficulties also arose on the way. The Vietnamese worked to implement the policy of the preceding CPV congress, courageously surmounting many obstacles, and scoring important successes in building socialism, great victories in defending the country and doing their international duty.

New prerequisites for advancing the Vietnamese revolution were created by fulfilment of the two strategic tasks,¹ strengthening relations of solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and other fraternal countries, and consolidating relations of friendship and cooperation with states that had risen to national independence, and with the progressive and peace-loving forces of the world.

If the situation that had taken shape in Vietnam was to be objectively presented, there was a need, the congress said, *to face the truth, to give an exact assessment of the situation, and honestly to tell the truth.* The congress noted what had been achieved, but also clearly showed the complexity of the economic and social situation in the country: the inadequate growth of output and investments; the poor functioning of the sphere of commodity-money circulation and distribution; the existence of noticeable disproportions in the economy which were being overcome too slowly and

Nguyen Van Linh (b. 1915) joined the revolutionary and national liberation movement in 1929, and was repeatedly arrested by the colonial authorities and sentenced to imprisonment. He joined the party in 1936. In 1956 he was acting secretary of the South Vietnam Bureau of the CPV CC, and in 1960, its deputy secretary. Following the liberation of South Vietnam in 1975, he worked as secretary of the CPV committee in Hochiminh City. From 1976 to 1980, he was chairman of the executive committee of the Vietnam Trade Union Federation. From 1981 to 1985 he was secretary of the CPV committee in Hochiminh City; in 1960, he became a member of the CPV CC; in 1976, a member of the CC Political Bureau, and in June 1985, CC Political Bureau member and CC Secretary. He was elected General Secretary of the CPV CC in December 1986.

which even increased in some areas; our dissatisfaction with the course of improvement of the socialist relations of production; the many great difficulties still faced by the people; and the emergence of negative phenomena, often very serious ones, in the society.

The congress frankly showed the substantial shortcomings and mistakes which had been made over a long period by the party and government. Among these were miscalculations in defining the key propositions of policy, in effecting the right strategy, and organising fulfilment of the set tasks. These mistakes, especially in economic policy, were mainly caused by subjectivism and voluntarism, simplistic thinking and action, and also haste, lax administration of economic and social development, and insufficient firmness in observing the objective laws in building the new society. That came from the influence of petty-bourgeois ideology, simultaneously of the 'leftist' and 'rightist' deviations. These mistakes and shortcomings ultimately resulted from miscalculations in the party's ideological, organisational and cadre policy. That is the root cause of all.

The congress drew a number of important lessons from the practice of the preceding period: *first*, in all its activity, the party must be guided by the idea that *'the people are the root of all'* and must assert and develop the working people's right to be collective master. *Second*, it is necessary always to start from the actual state of things, *to reckon with the objective laws and to act in accordance with them*. *Third*, it is necessary to learn how to *'combine the strength of the nation with that of the epoch'* in the new conditions. *Fourth*, party construction needs to be raised to the level of the ruling party's political tasks in leading the people and effecting the socialist revolution.

The congress analysed the internal and international situation and decided: the Vietnamese revolution *continues to fulfil two strategic tasks: successfully building socialism and reliably defending the country*. *The task of building socialism now comes to the fore, and at the initial stage of the transition period there is the task of stabilising the economic and social situation in every way, and further creating the necessary prerequisites for accelerating socialist industrialisation in the period ahead*. This means that production must meet the requirements of consumption and ensure the formation of accumulation funds; we must get down to shaping a rational economic structure promoting the growth of output; we must assert and improve the new relations of production in accordance with the character and development of the productive forces; we must take into account the requirements of greater defence capability and the country's security.

To do that we need first of all *to renovate our economic and social policy* so as to consolidate the working people's right to be collective master, to generate more enthusiasm, and start an active mass movement for simultaneously carrying out three revolutions: in the relations of production, in science and technology, and in ideology and culture.

The main idea of our plans and economic policy is to use all the available capacities and potentialities in the country and effective international assistance for the dynamic development of the productive forces, with a simultaneous assertion and consolidation of the socialist relations of production.

The congress defined the key economic and social tasks for the 1986-1990 period as follows:

1. To work out and implement *three target programmes: for food and foodstuffs, for consumer goods, and for export products*. These programmes are to set out in concrete terms the pace and content of the process of socialist industrialisation at the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism.

The primary role is assigned to agriculture as the basis for realising all these tasks. The heavy industry and the infrastructure are to be built up and developed above all from that angle.

We expect that by the time the initial stage of the transition period is completed, these programmes will yield the following results:

- help to provide the society with food, to build up food stocks and steadily to satisfy the basic wants of the population. The level of consumption will be adequate to the reproduction of labour power;

- meet the demand for everyday manufactured goods;

- make it possible to increase the output of the main types of export products so as to use the export earnings to meet many of our needs in import equipment, machinery, spare parts and other products.

The three target programmes are the key element of Vietnam's five-year plan for 1986-1990. About 60 per cent of state capital investments will be allocated to implement them. In 1990, we should produce 23 million tons of foodstuffs, and an average of 20-20.5 million tons a year over the five-year period, which means an average increase of 3.0-3.5 million tons a year as compared with the preceding five-year period. The output of consumer goods is to go up annually by 13-15 per cent on average. In accordance with the plan, Vietnamese exports of agricultural and aquacultural products, both raw and processed, and also of goods of the light and handicraft industry, are to go up by 70 per cent over the five years. These programmes must be balanced out in the light of the goals, means and measures taken to implement them. That, for its part, requires the simultaneous solution of problems in organising production, applying scientific and technical achievements and economic policy. That sets the course for reorganising the national economy and shaping its rational pattern. *The restructuring of production and a fundamental redeployment of capital investments* will help to make more efficient use of labour power, land, and material and technical facilities.

2. *To carry on steady socialist transformations* in such forms and at such a pace that the relations of production accord with the level of the productive forces. To consolidate the socialist sector, improve the forms of property and the mechanism of administration, management and distribution to enable the state sector to consolidate its leading positions and, together with the cooperative sector, have the crucial role in the national economy. With respect to the petty-commodity and private capitalist (small business) sectors in some industries and the services, the following principle is to be applied: they are to be 'used for transformation, and transformed for better use'. To encourage the development of family enterprises and to involve individual workers in collective labour; to enlarge the cooperation between the various sectors of the economy in accordance with the

principle of mutual interest, equality before the law and role in the society.

3. *To renovate the economic administration mechanism and to get rid of the system of centralised bureaucratic methods*, to set up and give shape to the comprehensive planning mechanism on the basis of socialist economic management, and economic calculus in strict accordance with the principle of democratic centralism. Planning, the central method of economic administration from the very start of the transition period, provides for the correct use of commodity-money relations. Administration rests mainly on economic methods in combination with management and educational methods. Powers in this area are shared in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism; the new mechanism provides for the establishment of order and discipline in every sphere of economic activity. The administration apparatus is to be strengthened and made more efficient, organisational and cadre work is to be improved, so as to appoint those who are well trained in the field, have high moral qualities and are capable of working in the new conditions of economic administration and management.

Our party believes that economic mechanisms should be fully and correctly used in economic planning and administration, with a harmonious blend of the interests of the whole society, the collectives, and the individual workers. The right of economic enterprises to independence in production and economic activity, self-financing, and also the right of the work collectives to be master of their enterprise are to be ensured. Furthermore, centralised and unified administration is to be made more efficient when dealing with matters of key significance for the whole country, while the powers of the local organs in tackling economic tasks are simultaneously to be extended.

4. *To enhance greatly the role of science and technology as the motive force of progress*. To combine the development of the social, natural and technical sciences more closely, and to tie them in with production and life for attaining economic and social goals and meeting the needs of national defence and security. To promote the creative capabilities of scientific and technical personnel and to give fresh impetus to the working people's mass movement to master science and technology.

5. *To make external economic activity more efficient*, so as to carry the Vietnamese economy along the way of the international division of labour, primarily and essentially expanding specialisation and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, Laos and Kampuchea, and the other countries of socialist community. To accelerate the shaping of economic relations with the Third World countries, with the industrialised countries, international organisations and private foreign companies on the basis of equality and mutual advantage.

We believe that boosting *exports* to meet the import requirements of Vietnam's national economy is the key element of our external economic activity.

Our party's congress clearly stated that economic policy must be closely bound up with *social* policy, promoting the all-round development of human capabilities, the supreme goal of the CP Vietnam. The party believes that the role of the human factor in building socialism and

defending the country needs to be enhanced.

Ensuring employment is one of the primary economic and social tasks in the years ahead. There is simultaneously to be demographic planning, so as to reduce population growth from the present 2.3 per cent to 1.7 per cent by 1990. It is important to assert social justice and to adhere more widely to the principle of distribution by labour. We shall work to introduce a style of life and work in accordance with socialist laws, ensure social security and tighten up order and discipline. With an economy still facing tremendous difficulties, the party has been steadily working to meet the people's educational, cultural and aesthetic needs, to perfect the system of public health care, and consistently to introduce socialist social protection and new cultural values on the family level. The CP Vietnam social policy is focused on the correct implementation of class and nationalities policy.

Development of the working people's right to being collective master, the party believe, is the main prerequisite for fulfilling the strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution in the new conditions.

Practice shows that revolutionary upsurge springs from the people's awareness of being the true master of its life. Enhancing the role of the working people in running the economy and the affairs of the society, the congress said, is a question that needs to be formulated and correctly realised at the stage when decisions are being formulated and taken. The people's right to be master must be legislatively enacted and organisationally backed up, and the extension of democracy combined with a tightening up of discipline. The citizens' rights and interests are inseparable from their sense of duty and responsibility. Experience suggests the following conclusion: *the people must be well informed, and must take part in discussing the key problems, in taking measures and controlling their fulfilment.* We want these principles to become part of the everyday fabric of the new society, and the essence of the system in which the people is the true master.

The working people of Vietnam exercise their right of being master of the society with the help of *the state*, which is their representative. Our state, set up by the people and for the people, is an instrument of socialist democracy. *The development of socialist democracy and the ever greater efficiency of state administration* naturally constitute an organic whole. We have to work out and apply everywhere in practice an administration mechanism that enables the working people to exercise their right of collective master. The elective organs of our republic — from the National Assembly and the State Council to the people's councils at every level — have the duty of always being in touch with the masses, and of strictly exercising the functions, tasks and rights written into the constitution. This means, in particular, strengthening socialist legality, controlling the activity of state bodies, restructuring and streamlining the state apparatus to enhance its efficiency, and also enacting the party's line in laws and legal rules when framing practical policies. We also believe it to be necessary to reduce the number of intermediate administrative units, and to prevent their excessive interference in the production and economic activity of enterprises.

The people also exercise their right to be master of the society through

their mass organisations. The Sixth Congress of the CPV came out for raising the role of the Patriotic Front and other bodies, primarily the trade unions, the Young Communist League, the Union of Women, and the General Association of Cooperative Peasants. The party believes that it is important to renovate the content and methods of their activity, and to centre their work on the broad masses. The idea is to reckon with the specifics of the various social groups, to mobilise them to participation in economic construction and the running of the economy and the society, to protect the citizens' legitimate rights, and to realise the principles of socialist justice.

Our congress devoted special attention to improving party building, since the CP Vietnam, the ruling party, bears responsibility for successfully fulfilling the two strategic tasks. The first thing it has to do is to renovate its thinking, mainly economic thinking, and to alter its style of leadership and the whole of its work. The congress stressed that the party has the duty to stand firmly on the revolutionary scientific basis of Marxism-Leninism, to develop the invaluable ideological and theoretical legacy of President Ho Chi Minh and other CPV leaders, to assimilate the theoretical advances and rich experience of the fraternal parties and to scale the heights of modern science. It is highly important to give a fresh impetus to theoretical research and systematically to generalise the experience acquired in the course of socialist construction and defence of the country, to draw useful lessons from it and to surmount erroneous or outdated conceptions.

The congress discussed the democratisation of cadre work. We attach much importance to regular evaluation, correct selection and deployment of cadres, their training and retraining at various courses and in practical activity. That is the only way to shape a high-quality contingent capable of providing skilful leadership and administration. Renewal of cadres implies their rejuvenation, with a common-sense balance between young people and veterans. It was said at the congress that there is a need strictly to proceed from the principles of democratic centralism and the rules of party life, to develop criticism and self-criticism, inner-party democracy, to tighten discipline in the party and state apparatus, move closer to the realities and be in touch with the people.

The congress stressed that the Communists have the duty to combat — by word and deed — any manifestations of opportunism, individualism, careerism, grasping, departmentalism, parochialism, corruption, abuse of power, and privileges. The party will expose and severely punish greed and egoism, and encroachments on the socialist property and the interests of the people.

Maintaining and consolidating the unity of the CPV *on the basis of the principle of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism*, we believe that the party unity must be cherished most of all.

The congress authorised the Central Committee to work out a coherent programme for the socialist revolution throughout the whole period of transition to socialism, and to put it before the Seventh Congress of the CPV.

The tasks of the party and the state in foreign policy are 'to combine the strength of the nation with that of the epoch', to serve the people for the

attainment of national goals and fulfilment of our international obligations. We shall work for peace in Indo-china and make a contribution to the cause of peace in Southeast Asia, the Asian-Pacific region and throughout the world, and against the imperialist circles' policy of the arms race and preparations for nuclear war. The congress stressed the need to use the favourable international conditions for invigorating socialist construction and strengthening the defence of the country.

The CPV and the whole Vietnamese people have always believed that solidarity and all-round cooperation with the USSR are the cornerstone of our international course. We fully support the Soviet Union's foreign and internal policy, as approved by the 27th Congress of the CPSU, seek to develop relations of friendship and cooperation with other fraternal socialist countries, and help to strengthen the might and growing influence of the socialist community.

The working meeting of the CMEA countries' fraternal parties in Moscow in 1986 marked a new step in the development and strengthening of our ties in every sphere, above all in the economy, and helped to accelerate the advance of socialism. We met with utmost satisfaction the fact that the participants in the meeting noted the need to work out a programme for making CMEA cooperation with and assistance to Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia more effective in the light of the specific conditions in each country.

The CPV and the entire Vietnamese people are deeply aware that the development and strengthening of special relations between the republics of Indo-china — Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea — and solidarity and respect for the independence and sovereignty of each country and their all-round cooperation and mutual assistance in building up and defending their countries are an objective law-governed uniformity for the survival and development of the three fraternal peoples.

Our party has been making an active contribution to strengthening the unity of the international communist and working class movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and has been developing the fraternal parties' cooperation in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

We have given consistent and complete support to the people's liberation movement for national independence and against imperialism, colonialism, and racism. We fully approve the noble aims of the non-aligned movement and have been doing our utmost to promote its further development.

The CPV has given vigorous support to the heroic struggle of the working class and the peoples of the industrialised capitalist countries against oppression and exploitation by monopoly capitalism, for peace, democracy, full employment and higher living standards.

The Vietnamese Communists stand for the policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different political and social systems, and support the Soviet Union's tireless efforts for eliminating nuclear weapons, and creating a comprehensive international security system ranging over the military, political, economic and social spheres.

We highly appreciate and fully back the Soviet peace programme for the

Asian-Pacific region, which Mikhail Gorbachov enunciated at Vladivostok, and also the programme for turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, as set forth in the joint Soviet-Indian statement in November 1986.

The people of Vietnam have worked tirelessly to develop friendship and cooperation with the states of Southeast Asia, and to establish relations of peaceful coexistence with them, so as to turn the region into a zone of peace, stability and cooperation.

The government and people of Vietnam are prepared to start negotiations with China, at any level, at any place and at any time, in a spirit of equality and mutual respect for each country's independence and sovereignty, so as to solve the problems of Vietnamese-Chinese relations, to normalise them and re-establish the friendship between the two countries for the benefit of our peoples, and for peace in Southeast Asia and throughout the world.

The CPV and the whole Vietnamese people remain true to Marxism-Leninism and are inspired by the revolutionary ideas and sentiments of our great President Ho Chi Minh, and continue to carry high the banner of peace, national independence and socialism. In so doing, we blend genuine patriotism with proletarian internationalism, working ever harder to do our national duty and fulfil our international obligations with respect to the peoples of the world. The Vietnamese Communists are fully resolved to be in the forefront of the efforts to fulfil this noble revolutionary task.

In the light of past experience in socialist construction and defence of our socialist country, and inspired by the spirit of renovation voiced by the Sixth Congress, the CPV and the whole Vietnamese people are working, in a mighty upsurge of revolutionary enthusiasm, to implement the tasks set forth by the party.

¹ The building of socialism and defence of the country. — *Ed.*

Unity of Theory and Practice: The Socialist Method

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THERE can be no revolutionary practice without revolutionary theory, says Lenin, an idea which is of especial significance for the successful construction of socialism. Solid analysis on a sound theoretical basis can

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alone help to direct the economy and the society consciously and in a balanced manner, to formulate the goals and tasks of each historical stage realistically, and to map the way forward. The development of socialism proceeds rapidly under the influence of external and internal factors, and its ever greater dynamism inevitably sets before us more and more diverse problems and tasks, including unpredictable ones, which require fundamental scientific study.

As the socialist society leaves the transition period behind it, there is a growth of such basic new problems to which the response can no longer be the old one. The ideas of the classics of Marxism-Leninism are the starting point for finding the answers, but one cannot expect their works to contain cut-and-dried prescriptions for every eventuality. Such expectations would be totally at odds with the revolutionary character and creative spirit of our theory, which naturally has to overcome one-sided, primitive or even utopian notions that fail to stand the test of time. There is good reason, therefore, why the 27th Congress of the CPSU and the congresses of other communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries, including the 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) in 1986, laid such emphasis on the great importance of creative approach to theory. *It is possible to reach new conclusions only by dialectically interconnecting theory and practice as the basis for generalisation in the light of the demands of life, an approach that springs from the very essence of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.* The social sciences are obviously faced with challenging tasks.

The 11th Congress gave a high appreciation of what GDR economists, philosophers, sociologists and historians have done for the creative development of theory and party policy, and they have been successful when their efforts were closely bound up with the SED's struggle to implement the line it had set.

The Communists of the GDR will continue to concentrate their efforts on the main line of our activity: observance of the unity of economic and social policy. Scientific and technical progress and the dynamic growth of material production are not an end in themselves, but merely a means for successfully tackling social tasks. But then party strategy on economic matters can, for its part, yield the desired results only if the required social prerequisites are created for it in the context of the changes in every sphere of social life. These processes develop on the foundation of revolutionary changes in the productive forces and the wide and economically efficient application of the achievements of the current scientific and technical revolution (STR).

Elaborating the Social Development Conception

Several main lines have now crystallised in the SED's theoretical work. There are, first of all, the conceptual questions of social development. The party's Programme, which was adopted by its Ninth Congress in 1976, formulated the following strategic goals: to go on shaping the developed socialist society, thereby creating vital prerequisites for the gradual advance towards communism. Since this conception has justified itself it

will continue to be the basis of SED policy in the future as well.

We are engaged in building a developed socialist society in accordance with the concrete historical conditions characteristic of the GDR, and in the spirit of the party Programme. At the February 1987 meeting of the SED CC Secretariat with the first secretaries of district committees, Erich Honecker, SED CC General Secretary, stressed that if stable and dynamic advance in the economic and social spheres on the basis of the latest STR achievements is to be attained, each country must reckon with its own level of development and its specific features. That naturally tends to produce different approaches to the problems. "The building of socialism is a sustained search for the best solutions meeting the national conditions and so carrying weight in the international arena as well."¹

The concept of shaping the developed socialist society was chosen deliberately, because it helps to express at least three key propositions. First, *developed socialism is not some static state with precisely established features and indicators that can be actually attained with the passage of time. We want to stress something else: if the advantages, motive forces, values and ideals of our society are to be fully brought out, it must keep progressing ceaselessly.* That is why, I think, there is no point in arguing about identifying more precisely some kind of universal stages of development. The whole point is that in the course of a historically long process more and more people are beginning to feel that socialism is a highly humanistic system carrying social good. And that, for its part, can be attained only with a rapid boosting of the productive forces and the use of all the potentialities of the STR. That is the origin of our approach to shaping developed socialism as dynamic advance.

It is the approach which induces the SED to regard the unity of economic and social policy as the central element of its social strategy. We take that to mean development in the course of which high economic growth rates and economic, scientific and technical progress are connected with rising material and cultural standards for the working people. That is the only way which makes it possible steadily to bring out the motive forces of the new society over a long period and to keep the party and the people united under any circumstances.

Second, *we regard the shaping of developed socialism as a process whose dynamism keeps growing and producing changes in every sphere of life.* The social, political, spiritual and cultural goals set by the party can be reached only if the corresponding social prerequisites are continuously created for fast and stable economic growth. It stands to reason, therefore, that our policy can be consistently conducted only on the basis of all-round dynamic growth, and the need for it is now being markedly increased by such elements as the STR, and the sharper contest between the two social systems, involving peaceful means alone.

The formation of the developed socialist society has now entered upon a new stage, as the 11th Congress of the SED declared. The party has kept its course of observing the unity of economic and social policy since the Eighth Congress (1971), and we have no intention of casting doubt on it. But it has already been said that if this course is to be consistently followed, there is a need to keep ensuring favourable economic and other social

conditions. Blending the STR and the advantages of socialism in a new way continues to be the main task for us.

Third, *the current revolutionary changes in productive forces are unparalleled in the history of mankind*. Take the rapid advance in microelectronics and its conjunction with mechanics in engineering. Automation techniques have developed to a new and higher stage, gradually going beyond the individual 'oases' within technological processes, to involve these processes as a whole, from start to finish. Production is permeated with microelectronics-based computer hardware and technology. Let us emphasise that in the GDR the key technologies are being applied throughout the national economy with great speed. The consequent deep changes have for the first time variously affected every sphere of our economy without exception and, indeed, social life as a whole.

Science and technology already make it possible in practice to create the material basis for fully bringing out all the advantages of socialism, its humanitarian nature in the first place. That is the way along which the crucial prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism will eventually be created.

The revolutionary transformation of the productive forces is inseparable from major changes in every sphere of the society's life. Among them is the steady development of the relations of production. Only in this case they can operate as a motive force and a form for expanding the productive forces, for making the links between science and production more effective, for changing the character of labour, and for shaping new conditions of social life. Considering that such transformations require the development of the working people's capabilities, consciousness and activity, the extension of socialist democracy becomes one of the key elements of progress.

None of these questions can be answered or practical action taken today outside the context of current technological processes; conversely, scientific and technical progress cannot proceed in isolation from the basic social conditions, for progress is not a technical, but a comprehensive social process.

Analysing Intensive Expanded Reproduction

Implementation of the SED's social development conception makes ever higher demands on the Marxist-Leninist theory. Social problems arising in our country with the advance of the STR have been the main object of sociological studies in the GDR for a fairly long time, and they are being studied as a complex by economists, sociologists, philosophers and specialists in culture. Scientists have, of course, to answer a great many totally new questions, to correct some outdated propositions, and to give up others altogether.

We believe that it is most important to have theoretical works concentrate on the requirements of the present so as to produce a theory of our society's dynamism. Political economy must certainly have at its disposal precise definitions of the character of socialist relations of production and of the key categories of socialism, and formulations of its

economic laws. But that is merely the elementary starting point and the basic set of instruments. What is much more important is to answer: How are the relations of production to be exactly shaped and continuously developed to ensure rapid progress of the productive forces, and especially the progress of modern science and technology? How are the economic laws of socialism to be used to impart a high dynamism to the country's economic processes? In other words, *practice, with its requirements and experience now tends to acquire a much greater weight for theoretical work than ever before in the past*. There is little chance now of reaching new conclusions if one remains on the sidelines of the party's political activity.

To the extent that the interconnection between the various spheres of social life is intensified, there is an ever greater need for joint studies by those who work in the various social fields. Let us say, for instance, that one cannot study the ways for further bettering relations of production in the country while ignoring fundamental STR processes, and the same applies to problems in the social-class structure, way of life, etc.

The SED's practical and theoretical work is focused on implementing its economic strategy. Here there are two basic premises. The first, which I mentioned above, is that the successful forming of a developed socialist society requires dynamic economic growth. It has been estimated that if the key, primarily social, tasks are to be fulfilled, the GDR needs to have a national-income growth averaging 4-5 per cent a year until the end of the 1980s. Over the past five-year period, it was 4.5 per cent, and we seek to keep it on that level until 1990. Second, intensification of production must be the exclusive source of our advance, since we have no other potentialities for economic growth. All-round and definitive transition to intensive expanded reproduction on the scale of the country is, therefore, the party's central task, and theoretical research an important aspect of its fulfilment.

The documents of the Eighth Congress of the SED contain well-argued proof that *a special type of reproduction — intensive expanded reproduction — is adequate to developed socialism. The material prerequisites for putting into practice the advantages of our system can be created only if the overall strength of the national economy and the volume of output keep growing faster than aggregate inputs (costs)*. That kind of effect can be produced only by the STR. Without its achievements it is impossible to keep intensifying production for any length of time; and it is also true, incidentally, that intensive expanded reproduction can alone help to capitalise on scientific and technical progress.

Producer consumption (i.e., inputs of materials, energy, depreciation, etc.) in the GDR from 1971 to 1975 still grew noticeably faster than the national income, and at the same rate in the five-year period that followed; the national income first grew faster from 1981 to 1985 (2.4-fold faster, i.e., by 4.5 per cent a year, while primary energy inputs increased by only 0.9 per cent). That is why the 11th Congress of the SED had good grounds to state: a switch to intensification has been effected in our national economy, and intensification has become the basic source of economic growth. The point now is to turn this process in our country into a constant and universal one. Here one cannot do without theoretical studies, because a

well-functioning system of administration, management, planning and economic calculus can be built only with a knowledge of the law-governed processes, requirements and dynamism of the new type of reproduction.

It goes without saying that some intensification factors did operate in the past as well, under predominantly extensive expanded reproduction, but intensification has now become all-embracing, and a basically new type of economic growth has emerged with its own law-governed processes and inner connections. Its main feature is that it is kept going through a reduction in *every* type of per-unit inputs, and not only of living labour. In the new conditions, rising labour productivity is tantamount to cutbacks in labour inputs in every form, whereas in the past that was achieved through a faster growth in materialised labour inputs. That suggests a number of vital economic interconnections and conditions: labour productivity must grow faster than commodity output and net product, and the national income — faster than the per-unit inputs of assets and capital investments.

The question of intensification sources, of the ways and forms in which these are used, and of the possibility of their long-term reproduction becomes crucial. There are many such sources: reduction of superfluous inputs, improvement of labour organisation and structure of production, raising of producer skills, and tightening up of discipline. However, utmost use of STR achievements comes first. If one is to make sure of a definitive switch to intensification, its sources must yield long-term returns and be capable of unlimited reproduction. And it is economical application of scientific and technological innovations that can yield such an effect. What else can ensure economic growth and a steady reduction in inputs over the long term except sustained and rapid renewal of technological and production processes? It is impossible, for instance, to fabricate one and the same type of copper cable for 10 or 20 years, while making 5 per cent economies in material every year and improving quality into the bargain. But by replacing copper with glass fibre one can make do with 1 kilogram of high-quality glass instead of 1,000 kilograms of copper, greatly expand output capacity and, besides, improve the quality of the product.

Three important conclusions follow from what has been said. First, *if the new type of economic growth is to be long-term, modern science and R and D projects must be solidly and reliably integrated within the aggregate reproduction process.* Its starting point is science, which has a decisive influence on every segment and phase of production. That is why the SED believes that effective links between science and production rank as the central problem of economic theory and economic practice. We believe that the most pressing tasks before the party and the Marxist-Leninist social sciences are to find ways and means for establishing such links, to discover their forms, to create economic levers and incentives, to orient the entire system of administration, management, planning and economic calculus accordingly, to ensure favourable social prerequisites (in the broad sense of the term) for such integration, and to give vent to its motive forces.

Second, *if the sources of intensive expanded reproduction are to be brought out, the product mix and producer methods need to be systematically renewed.* Such dynamism is an essential feature of this type

of economic growth. It will be shaped successfully only if the entire mechanism of administration and management, its economic links and conditions, including methods in assessing enterprise performance, and forms of material incentives are focused on that kind of dynamism.

Not only economic and technical processes, but also the producers' skill standards and their sustained improvement and renewal have, of course, a role to play. The working people's capacity and readiness to learn again and again is the vital condition for advance. It is most important that everyone involved in production should be aware of the significance of its dynamism. Some still assume that the stability of the socialist society means that nothing in it tends to change. But there can be no stability without dynamism, and that is why the SED's economic strategy is based on the following assumption: if we want to fulfil the set economic and social tasks, 30 per cent of all products, including 40 per cent of consumer goods, need to be renewed every year.

Third, *isolated 'oases' of high efficiency are not enough to turn intensive expanded reproduction into a fundamentally new type of growth for the whole national economy.* This process must become comprehensive and must range over every sector of the economy and every phase of reproduction.

Broad application of STR achievements and dynamic development, on the one hand, require utmost flexibility of the reproduction process, and on the other, make it possible. Computer-aided design and preparation and management of production, and introduction of flexible automated systems and other means of automation help sharply to reduce the lead time in developing new products, and in rapidly replacing them. Now more than one-half of all products in the machine-tool engineering in the GDR is already being fabricated in response to individual customer requests. Not more than one year passes between the first inquiry and delivery of the finished product and that, of course, is not the limit. Engineering can make full use of these possibilities only when the supplier industries (metallurgy, electronics and chemicals) likewise switch to expanded reproduction through application of STR novelties.

Different economic relations and interconnections have been taking shape between the various sectors of the national economy, and the socialisation of production is being raised to a higher level. The main task before economic administration and management now is to correctly identify, master and consciously shape these relations and interconnections.

Revolutionary Changes in the Productive Forces: the Conclusions

Our party and social science researchers under its guidance have made an in-depth analysis of the conditions, uniformities and requirements of intensive expanded reproduction. The theoretical conclusions and practical data enabled the 10th Congress of the SED in 1981 to formulate an integral conception of switching our national economy to the new type of reproduction. It was elaborated and specified by the 11th Congress in the light of new requirements and experience. The party's line is aimed to turn intensification into a stable process and to ensure a high dynamism in every

sector of social production and in every phase of the reproduction cycle. Here primary attention is being given to its close links with science.

An exceptionally important role is assigned to the shaping of the social conditions necessary for realising our economic strategy in the period until 2000, with the dialectics of the productive forces and the relations of production being the main element. We regard the relations of production in all their diversity as an aggregation and intertwining of economic and social relations taking shape in the course of social reproduction. *It goes without saying that the switch to the new type of reproduction can be successfully effected only if the socialist relations of production are ceaselessly improved and formed in accordance with the changing conditions.*

That conception has provided the basis for working out and applying in practice a new system of administration, management, planning and economic calculus. Rapid advance implies that this mechanism and the conception itself will be continuously developed.

The system we now have took shape in the late 1970s and meets the requirements of intensive expanded reproduction. While consolidating central administration, it simultaneously gives new forms of independence to economic units. When opting for that approach, the SED proceeded from the conviction that market mechanisms alone cannot help to accelerate scientific and technical progress, although the role of the market and market relations in the reproduction process certainly does intensify the dynamism and flexibility of modern production.

The record shows that it would have been impossible to develop microelectronics and to master the key technologies in such a brief period without consolidating central administration, but the main thing is that without it the unity of economic and social policy cannot be maintained. The growing role of the centre is shown to be a major advantage of socialism in this matter especially. In contrast to the capitalist countries, the GDR has succeeded in making planned and profound changes in the structure of the national economy, and in such way that none of its sectors or industries have suffered from crisis or from any social disruptions.

It is just as indisputable, however, that with production so explicitly dynamic, so rapidly renewed, and science and production integrated, only economic units vested with considerable independence and appropriate rights can operate in a truly flexible way. We believe that independence guarantees high economic efficiency only when it concerns powerful complexes which have every prerequisite for realising STR achievements in their field. Accordingly, we have set up 150 centrally-run and 90 regionally-run combines, which are entirely responsible for strictly delineated spheres of the reproduction process, and especially for establishing direct links between science and production. The combines have been given large research capacities and technological facilities helping rapidly and economically to apply in practice the results of the work of scientists, engineers and designers.

Under the present system of administration and management, the combines bear full responsibility not only for research, development and engineering, but also for the manufacture of the products and their

marketing, including sales through foreign-trade channels. We think that the task before us now is to turn the combines into the technological centres of the national economy and to give them even greater independence.

Producer cooperatives are the basic organisational form in our agriculture, and they are to continue to play this role in the future as well. They yield almost 90 per cent of the farm produce. SED policy is aimed to bring out more fully the advantages of cooperative labour, to use its potentialities and to maintain diverse ties between individual cooperatives, and also between them and the people's estates. In this way, wider and more favourable prospects for the use of scientific achievements are also being opened up in this sphere.

Systematic development of the educational potential is an important prerequisite of economic and social progress. Efficient use of science and technology for production requires timely training of personnel. In mid-1986, 85 per cent of those employed in our national economy had complete occupational training (including higher and secondary specialised education), while 62 per cent were certified skilled workers or foremen.

The growing significance of interconnections between the various spheres of life was noted at the 11th Congress of the SED. The STR and intensification not only bring about definite social consequences, but are, for their part, in need of social prerequisites. The national economy and the society as a whole should be capable and ready to accept new productive forces. From that angle the unity of economic and social policy means more than just the capacity to use the producer potential built up in the GDR to realise major social and political programmes (such as solution of the housing problem, support for young working people, or assistance to families with many children), however important these may be in themselves. We believe that, one of the vital advantages of socialism is that it makes possible and necessary an organic connection between scientific, technical and social progress — for all the working people. It is not easy to chart the right course in this field, because we are trail-blazers: here capitalism, with its contradictions, can offer no example.

The SED and social science researchers of our country have been making a close study of these interconnections and ways of exerting a practical influence on them. One has to face a wide range of problems which cannot be solved without a pooling of efforts by scientists in the various fields. This relates to the following problems: the changing character and forms of labour, the conditions and motive forces of mass social activity, the extension of socialist democracy, the ecological equilibrium, the work ethic, the ethical and moral aspects of the STR, the relations between economics and ideology, and so on. Each of these problems is, in one way or another, connected with the problems of the STR.

Take its impact on the character and forms of labour. Computer-aided design and preparation of production in many ways release man from monotonous mental and manual labour, and give wider scope for imaginative work. Flexible automation puts an end to the old division of labour connected with assembly-line and flow production. But while

manual labour is being reduced or eliminated altogether, mental and nervous strains tend to grow. That being so, the effect of the STR on the character of labour and on the workplace becomes an important field for research, and we have been giving it serious attention, especially to the kind of demands modern production makes on the personality of the worker, on the kind of skills he or she must have, and the kind of attitude they need to take if the achievements of the STR are to be fully used.

Wide application of key technologies makes economic sense only when it is done in specific forms in each concrete field with an eye to the differing conditions, and only when the technologies are continuously modernised. It can be done only if the working people are able and willing to look for new approaches all the time. Much more stringent technological discipline and active creativity are necessary at works and plants where the latest STR projects are being applied. On the one hand, they must have a sense of belonging to the combine and enterprise, and on the other, to be prepared for inevitable changes in the structure of production, concrete types of labour and workplace, and, at any rate, be prepared to learn again and again.

In that kind of situation, development of the working people's consciousness acquires great significance, and that is another problem on which large groups of our philosophers and sociologists have been researching. They have reaffirmed that in the GDR there are none of the barriers to scientific and technical progress, which are characteristic of capitalism. No one is afraid of unemployment, social degradation or the prospect of greater mind control from the installation of technical novelties. That does not mean, however, that under socialism there are altogether no STR-induced ideological or psychological problems. Technological progress is always a thrust into the unknown. It is, naturally, impossible to anticipate the kind of difficulties and problems this may produce. Not only enterprises but each individual has to face risks which far from everyone is prepared to run. One can well sympathise with a person who finds it hard to tackle totally new work after he has had years of experience in some old one. Realistic policy has to reckon with such contradictory effects of the STR under socialism and draw the relevant conclusions.

That is why it is especially important that the mastering of technological innovations should be paralleled by a further extension of socialist democracy. Only when everyone affected by the planned rationalisation of production is actively involved in tackling a new idea from the moment it originates will he or she be willing to accept real change and will put into it all their energies, ideas, knowledge and experience.

One of the objectives of socialism is to make the STR serve the society, and in such a way that man, with his interests, wants and capabilities, is at the centre of development, and not at the fringes. That is an advantage of the new system which is of major importance. We do not regard modern science and technology as a means of making labour-power redundant and pushing it out of the production process, but above all as something that

makes it possible to multiply the productivity of human labour. Ensuring full employment and social certitude is nowadays the vital condition for the STR under socialism.

¹ *Neues Deutschland*, February 7/8, 1987.

Racist Bayonets Can Do Nothing

Sam Nujoma — President, South-West African People's Organisation

IN southern Africa the situation remains critical, volatile. This is due to South Africa's and Namibia's continued rule by a colonial racist regime. Apartheid atrocities and practice are being imposed upon the Namibian people, and Namibia is still an occupied colony. Some repressive laws permeated with the spirit of racial discrimination and segregation are tested by the Pretoria regime in Namibia before they are enforced in South Africa.

The racists are increasing the terror as they encounter growing resistance. A more than 100,000-strong army of occupation is perpetrating gruesome acts of barbarity day after day. Hundreds of people are being victimised — detained, tortured, murdered, or shot at sight. Enemy troops are destroying peasant houses, crops, livestock, schools, churches, and whole villages, and in some cases they go so far as to resort to chemical weapons, while SWAPO is blamed for the death of their peaceful inhabitants.

At the same time the South African rulers are having recourse to all sorts of manoeuvres. In the summer of 1985 they made one of their many attempts to force the Namibian people to accept a puppet regime, this time in the shape of a provisional coalition government. Together with this puppet government Pretoria is busy working on a 'constitution' for Namibia without a mandate from the Namibian people. They are planning to confront the people with a *fait accompli*, to make them accept a neocolonialist settlement along the lines of the notorious policy that led to the creation of Bantustans and homelands. To give this settlement a semblance of legality they are counting on conducting a bogus referendum, which, needless to say, will be held in the shadow of the occupation army's guns and bayonets.

While denying real independence to the Namibian people, the apartheid regime is seeking to protect and entrench its economic, geopolitical, and strategic interests in our country. Its economic interest is to continue to exploit Namibia's mineral resources — uranium, diamonds, copper, lead,

Sam Nujoma (born 1929) has been active in politics since the 1950s. He has been repeatedly imprisoned by the colonial authorities. He is a founder of the Ovamboland People's Organisation and then of the South-West African People's Organisation, which he has headed since it was formed in 1960.

zinc, tin, and many others. South African companies are active in all sectors of Namibia's economy, controlling the diamond industry at Orange Mouth, the copper mining at Tsumeb, and the fishing industry in Walvis and Luderitz bays. This is one of the main reasons Pretoria is trying so desperately to hold on to its unpopular and expensive colonial occupation of Namibia.

The apartheid regime is holding in reserve the option of imposing upon the Namibian people its local stooges, who would be prepared to safeguard the exploitative interests of their colonial masters. The stooges will certainly not be interested or able to improve the living standards of the oppressed masses, abolish the class privileges of the white élite, and wipe out poverty and unemployment among the black majority.

Geopolitically, the racists need Namibia as a buffer against external pressures. With international opinion stepping up its pressure for sanctions against South Africa, the Pretoria regime wants to keep our country under its domination, counting on turning it into a channel for breaching such sanctions and a vital relay station for South Africa's troubled foreign trade. Pretoria wants to continue using Namibian territory as a launching pad for its destabilisation campaign against independent African states, especially the People's Republic of Angola, whose party and government leadership and revolutionary people are staunchly committed to supporting the liberation of southern Africa, including Namibia, from the evil of racism.

All of this explains why South Africa is refusing to allow the implementation of the plan for the independence of Namibia endorsed in the UN Security Council Resolution No. 435.¹ The racists and their puppets are afraid of free, fair, and democratic elections under UN supervision and control because they know that the Namibian people will elect their own true representatives who would be ready to put an end to colonial privileges and to exploitation, unemployment, and poverty, and to open for the oppressed black population the doors of all schools, hospitals, residential areas, and other facilities and amenities from which they have been and still are excluded by racist laws and practices.

We contend that Resolution No. 435 remains valid to this day. It did not appear in a vacuum, out of nothing as it were. It appeared as an expression of the world community's support for our people's just cause and was the outcome of hard bargaining between SWAPO and the Front-Line states, on the one hand, and South Africa and its imperialist allies, on the other. The Reagan administration subverted the fulfilment of this resolution, artificially creating a 'linkage' problem, in other words, making Namibia's decolonisation dependent on the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist force from Angola. We cannot accept this condition. The cessation of our country's unlawful occupation has nothing to do with the purely internal affairs of a third, sovereign nation.

Relative to South Africa Washington has been pursuing a policy of 'constructive engagement'. This boils down to backing the neonazi apartheid regime, helping to enlarge its economic and military capabilities, and vetoing UN Security Council decisions on sanctions against this regime. This policy of the US imperialists is motivated by their selfish economic and strategic interests. They want unhindered access to southern

Africa's natural resources. They want to remain in control of the region's western coast and of the sea road around the Cape of Good Hope linking the Atlantic and the Indian oceans. That is why Pretoria has been getting the green light for aggressive actions against the Front-Line states, its unending incursions into Angola, and the acts of subversion against Angola and Mozambique by counter-revolutionaries from UNITA and the so-called Mozambican National Resistance, who are funded, trained, and armed by the South African army.

Last year did not bring our country its long-awaited liberation. But we can say with pride that *the Namibian people have had quite a few successes in their struggle for liberation*. In the first place, the broad majority of our people has remained firm in categorically rejecting Botha's puppet arrangement in Windhoek. Tens of thousands of people have come out into the streets in protests and demonstrations to demand immediate elections under UN supervision and control and the independence of Namibia. They declared their firm objection to Pretoria's continued manoeuvres aimed at giving a semblance of credibility to its isolated puppet show in Windhoek.

These mass political rallies and demonstrations were a response to SWAPO's call to make 1986 a year of general mobilisation and decisive action for final victory. In looking back over a long chain of anti-colonial events one can justifiably say that the people have been stirred into action and have carried out operations drawing nearer the triumph of our cause.

In this period fighters of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia conducted more military actions than ever before. The number of armed clashes and sabotage actions ran into the hundreds. Twelve enemy bases in Namibia were shelled. Most of these bases were severely damaged and high casualties were inflicted on the enemy. Four South African military transport planes and three helicopters were brought down by our anti-aircraft fire. Scores of South African military vehicles have been blown up either through direct attacks or landmine explosions.

The shelling of enemy bases, the ambushes, and the sabotage actions are making Pretoria pay a significantly higher price for its continued occupation. By displaying courage and a readiness for self-sacrifice, combatants of the People's Liberation Army are *contributing to a qualitative advance of the liberation struggle*.

It would not be superfluous to repeat the obvious truth that popular support for these fine sons and daughters of the Namibian people, who are daily risking their lives for our people's freedom, human dignity, and social justice, is a precondition for victory. They are getting this support. The Namibian people are aware that their struggle and the sacrifices they are making are the guarantee of our ultimate victory. *They can only win freedom by themselves*.

In the two decades of armed struggle for independence our organisation has won the esteem of the people, and has been able to unite and lead them. It has the support of traditional tribal chiefs, religious leaders and, above all, the workers, peasants, intellectuals, youth, and women. Namibians are not letting the apartheid regime and its local stooges divert them from the liberation struggle and reduce this struggle to colonial-style

reforms as though Namibia's burning socio-economic problems of poverty, racially segregated education, and lack of housing and health care can be resolved without the attainment of independence. People are refusing to accept the false idea that there is a third way between continued colonial oppression and the uncompromising struggle for liberation.

Labour organisations, such as the Namibian Mine Workers' Union, came into existence last year with a programme to fight for the interests and democratic rights of the working people. The Namibian youth are responding vigorously to SWAPO's calls. They are organising rallies, protest demonstrations, and boycotts. The patriotic militancy of our young people is a symbol of the rising sun of liberation in whose rays the cruel shadows of a century of colonial oppression will disappear. Women are joining the battles for freedom more and more actively. Many are in the ranks of SWAPO and PLAN, while others provide fighters of the National Liberation Army with food, information, and other assistance.

However, not all Namibians are making a worthy contribution to the struggle. Some are, in fact, sitting on the fence or have opted to beat a cowardly retreat. A few others have lost the courage of their conviction to stay the course. Such people are compromising our just cause. Such instances of retreat and betrayal are due to the fact that our struggle has been long and bitter.

We realise that the enemy's strategy is to prolong the struggle in order to break the Namibian people's patriotic determination to shake off the yoke of foreign domination. Against this background the SWAPO Central Committee has decided to *proclaim 1987 as the Year of Rededication to Liberation*. This requires further sacrifices on the part of those patriots who are already risking their lives at the different fronts of our struggle. Further endurance is called for to withstand the agony and the rigours of the armed struggle, imprisonment, torture, exile, and other forms of repression.

We must guard against the temptation to become complacent about what we have achieved. The battle for liberation must be deepened and broadened. *This entails combined actions by all the sections of our population — workers, peasants, women, intellectuals, youth and students, and church and community organisations. We call upon all fence-sitters to assume their full historical responsibility and contribute to the struggle.* Lost souls who, because of short-term material gains, have compromised the interests of the people are urged to redeem their betrayal and join the patriotic forces before it is too late.

Some of our white compatriots have decided to identify themselves with the aspirations of the oppressed black majority and are supporting the demand for Namibia's immediate independence. We welcome them into the ranks of the independence movement and call upon others to do the same. *We are fighting for a democratic, peace-loving, and justice-upholding nation, which will accommodate all who believe Namibia to be their home.*

The balance of power is shifting in favour of our struggle. The heroic armed liberation struggle, now the main expression of the antagonism between the oppressed people of Namibia and the colonial racist rulers, is being stepped up and is already now sapping the fighting capacity of the

army of occupation. SWAPO closely coordinates its military and political actions with its comrades in the African National Congress of South Africa to whom we are linked by bonds of unbreakable solidarity. We are fighting on two fronts of a single theatre of hostilities against a common enemy — the hated apartheid regime. In South Africa itself the politico-military situation has created serious divisions in the ruling white élite. The international pressure for sanctions against the apartheid state is beginning to undermine its economy. *We have the solidarity and support of the international community, in the first place, of all the socialist countries, the non-aligned movement, and fraternal African, particularly Front-Line, nations. This fuels our optimism and reinforces our certainty of final victory.*

¹ Adopted in 1978 — Ed.

the party

When a Communist is Elected Mayor

Georgios Christodoulidis —
Political Bureau member, CC Secretary,
Progressive Party of the Working People
of Cyprus (AKEL), Mayor of Larnaca

THE 32.5 per cent vote won by AKEL at last May's municipal elections gave it the broadest representation of any party on the local councils. Its representatives hold the office of mayor in nine of the country's 18 cities, including Larnaca, which is one of the largest. Of the 224 municipal councillors 74 are Communists. In Nicosia, the nation's capital, the AKEL vote added up to 25 per cent; in Limassol, the second most important city, the Communist candidate was only a few hundred votes short of victory; the present mayor of Pafos was elected with our support.

The positions won by AKEL are giving it broader opportunities for influencing domestic policy, protecting the interests of the working people, and reinforcing its links to large sections of the population. Work in municipal councils is a new area of our party's activities. We have not had local elections since 1953, i.e. when Cyprus was still a British colony. After

Georgios Christodoulidis (b. 1919) became a Communist in the late 1930s. He was elected mayor of Larnaca in 1953 and remained in that office until 1962. British colonial authorities sentenced him to a two-year prison term for his revolutionary activity. Georgios Christodoulidis is a member of AKEL Central Committee and Political Bureau. At the latest 16th AKEL Congress he was elected to the Central Secretariat as CC Secretary for Economic Affairs.

independence was proclaimed in 1960 the government set up by bourgeois parties passed a decision to abolish local elections, and in 1962 began appointing mayors and municipal councillors.

This practice had a very adverse effect on city development and the life of the population. The municipal authorities were totally dependent on and made no requirements of the government, and had no source of revenue of their own. The central authority paid little attention to their needs. In 1985, for instance, the municipal councils got only 100,000 of the 1,500,000 Cyprus pounds received by the state budget from local taxes. There was considerable dissatisfaction also over the denial to the population of a say in decision-making on matters crucial to it and of the possibility to influence the authorities and control their actions.

The spontaneous growth of cities led to the aggravation of old problems and the accumulation of new ones. The situation deteriorated sharply in the latter half of the 1970s when many thousands of refugees from the Turkish-occupied north-eastern part of Cyprus poured into Nicosia, Limassol, and Larnaca. The struggle that AKEL had long been waging to abolish the prevailing anti-democratic system of forming local authorities and turn them into effective instruments for safeguarding the interests of the people now got nationwide support.

A law expanding the powers of the municipal councils and increasing the subsidies allocated to them was passed by the parliament in 1985 on our party's initiative. The government had to agree to hold elections in which AKEL took part with a well-considered realistic programme for resolving the population's most acute problems.

Further, the party's election success, it was noted at AKEL's 16th Congress (November 1986), was due to the untiring efforts of its activists, rank-and-file members, and sympathisers. The party proved the tremendous importance of maintaining direct contact with the population. The congress called upon the Communists to remember that it was their duty to serve the people under all circumstances. It was pointed out that there was a lot of hard work ahead for the newly-elected mayors and municipal councillors.

The efforts of our mayors and municipal councillors and of our local party organisations are concentrated on the tasks involved: improving urban planning, modernising the entire infrastructure which is in a very neglected state (roads, the sewerage system, the water supply network, and so on), and creating new city utilities. We are trying to extend the municipal housing programme for low-income families, and build more kindergartens, crèches, and sports and cultural facilities. Much attention is being given to landscaping.

In their work the Communists rely on cooperation with the people, enlisting them into the administration process by forming special representative committees that help the local authorities. AKEL is pressing the government to provide the municipal councils with more funds. At the same time, to make these councils more independent we are suggesting that they be granted the right to spend the money received from the petrol and motor transport tax at their own discretion.

In Larnaca, for example, efforts are being focused chiefly on the most

acute problems, one of which is the state of sanitation in the city. The existence of many dilapidated houses and blocks is making this a difficult problem to solve. On top of that, Larnaca's population has almost doubled over the past ten years on account of refugees who now comprise more than half of the city's population. Six townships were built for them some time ago, but this was done with great haste and in total disregard of elementary sanitation norms. Until recently the streets there were not cleaned, there were no good roads, and some places did not even have electricity. Larnaca has many vacant lots, and in the past few years these have been turned into huge garbage dumps. So far we have only been able to clear half of them. The sewerage system is in a sorry state; it fell below requirements long ago.

Of course, in this respect Larnaca is not an exception. The same situation prevails in all cities of Cyprus and the Communists drew voters' attention to it in their election programme. Our municipal council has got experts to estimate the costs. On their basis we will request the government for a large subsidy for a new sewerage system and for a marsh draining programme. The project drawn up on the municipal council's initiative provides for the use of stagnant water for irrigation — this is very important in view of the arid climate on Cyprus.

The municipal council has begun to address the problems I have listed. We have mapped out measures to plant trees and shrubs and the Communist members of the council have called upon the party's youth organisation in Larnaca to give a hand. It did much to bring our programme to the people and mobilise them in support of AKEL during the elections, and today it is energetically helping to carry out some of our projects. In response to an appeal issued by it many young men and girls worked voluntarily throughout the summer of 1986 to create a new park in the city. We are planning one more park for Larnaca, and it will be the largest on Cyprus.

A priority task of the municipal council is to develop Larnaca's sea coast for the tourist industry for it is known to be one of the most beautiful spots in the Mediterranean. We have considered and approved a large project that will make the city's coastal area much more attractive. Central to this project is the clearing and rebuilding the old quarters while preserving buildings of architectural and historical value.

In the immediate future we intend to tackle the task of improving living conditions in workers' neighbourhoods, verdurising these neighbourhoods, and building children's playgrounds.

The Communists of Cyprus are of the view that efforts on the local level cannot bring about a radical improvement of the situation. AKEL has long been calling for an extension of the powers of municipal councils. Our party considers that although the 1985 law is positive, it is still restrictive. Municipal councils remain debarred from decision-making on many issues and have no control over the police and the education system. The central authority is unfoundedly fettering their initiatives in urban planning and development. It is our view that in all these matters the government's role should be reduced to a purely consultative one and that decision-making should be left to the local authorities.

People will judge the efficacy of our work in municipal councils by whether or not we have developed new sources of revenue. The projects of the Larnaca city council require large sums of money. However, AKEL is opposed to any increase in taxes. On the contrary, it is seeking a decrease in the taxes paid by low-income families. Accordingly, we intend to put pressure on the government and make it systematically increase its annual allocations for the municipal councils. This stand cannot be attributed to 'local egoism'; we are talking about rectifying the intolerable situation that results from many years of inaction on the part of self-governing bodies. Moreover, the importance of some of the above-mentioned projects, for instance, the development of the sea coast and the building of new sewerage systems, is national rather than local.

To enable the municipal councils to work effectively, it is important that from the outset there should be business-like relations with the representatives of all the other parties sitting on these councils. At the elections the Right leaders asserted that in the event AKEL won in this or that city the municipal council would be the private domain and instrument of the Communists. But we at once declared that the interests of large sections of the population are our basic criterion.

Thus, in Larnaca the mayor and nine of the 22 municipal councillors are Communists (the other seats are divided among three bourgeois parties). This opens up considerable possibilities for defining the municipal council's policies. Nevertheless, for the common good the Communists want cooperation and the adoption of common positions.

Of course, differences arise between the parties represented on the municipal council. For instance, there was a keen race for the post of deputy mayor. Every faction nominated its own candidate, but we won because we hold the strongest position. There was an argument also over the distribution of functions. It was settled by negotiations and a joint quest for the optimal options. Decisions are generally adopted by consensus and voting is held only in rare cases. AKEL members strive to have close contact with the leaders of the factions of the bourgeois parties and to be patient and flexible. When disputes arise, we suggest continuing discussing them until a decision acceptable to everybody is found, although we, of course, uphold our own stand or, in any case, its main aspects.

This policy has been yielding good results. As the mayor, I believe that the Larnaca municipal council is functioning quite effectively and I am satisfied with the atmosphere in the council. Our experience is that cooperation with representatives of other, even undisguisedly right-wing, parties is possible because it focuses on specific questions related to improving the life of the people rather than to the general political line, let alone ideology. Another thing that we take into account is that the people will judge AKEL's ability to govern society and resolve local and national questions by how successfully and effectively Communist-headed municipal councils function.

Attention Focuses on Workers and Youth

David Khenin — CC Political Bureau member, CC Secretary, Communist Party of Israel

What have been the numerical and qualitative changes in the CPI over the past few years? In what areas of party building has there been progress?

IN the first place, let me note the growth of the CPI's membership. Compared with 1981 it has gone up by 30 per cent, and the number of party locals has grown from 86 to 90. This is the outcome of a bigger effort by the Communists. With their allies they initiated the movement against the war in Lebanon, a movement that grew to massive proportions in 1982-1983 and played a major role in organising actions against racism and the ultra-right. The Communist Party has perceptibly stronger positions in the working class and in the Histadrut, a trade union federation.¹

The most significant achievement has been, I would say, the progress we have made in our work with young people, particularly students. Young people now constitute the majority of members of some local party organisations. Persons of up to 40 years comprised 58 per cent of the delegates to the party's 20th Congress (December 1985), while half of them were under 30.

A large role in replenishing our ranks is played by the Young Communist League. During the past six years 46 per cent of those who joined the party came from the league, whose numerical strength has grown by 12 per cent. Today it has 73 locals, and 70 per cent of its members are students.

There are now more intellectuals in the party. Of the delegates to our 20th Congress 32 per cent had a higher education and 31 per cent — a secondary-school education. The proportion of women is growing, albeit slowly. In Tel Aviv, for example, they constitute more than half of the city party organisation. Active participation in anti-war actions brought women into the political struggle and led some to the CPI. So far we have very few Arab women in our ranks, but even here there is a visible progress. In view of the mounting role played by women and young people in the party, the CC is increasingly drawing them into leadership posts.

Thus, there have been achievements. However, enormous obstacles

David Khenin (b. 1923) came to Palestine with his family in 1936 when it was a British mandated territory. He soon joined the Young Communist League, which, like the Communist Party, was functioning underground. He was continuously persecuted, serving terms of imprisonment (for the first time at the age of 16). At the close of the 1940s he headed the CPI's youth organisation. In 1949 he was elected a member of the CPI Central Committee, in 1952 an alternate member and, later in the same year, a full member of the CC Political Bureau, and a Secretary of the CPI Central Committee in 1965. He is a member of the Histadrut Central Council.

stand in the way of the CPI becoming a mass party. These are linked chiefly to the anti-communist, chauvinistic, anti-Soviet atmosphere in the country.

Your party is functioning in distinctive conditions, for in addition to 3,500,000 Jews there are nearly 650,000 Arabs in Israel. How are the Communists working with these two population groups and what problems do they encounter in each of them?

The position of the Communists is particularly strong among the Arab population. More than 40 per cent vote for our candidates, and an even larger proportion supports our policies.² It should be noted that in the 1950s the Arabs were quite strongly influenced by Arab reactionaries and their attitude to our party was negative despite the unmistakable discrimination practised against them by the Israeli ruling circles. Having experienced the consequences of the Zionist policy of aggression and occupation of Arab lands, the bulk of this oppressed ethnic minority now regards the Communists as the principal force championing its true interests and fighting discrimination.

Considerable influence is exercised among the Arab population by the Young Communist League, the Democratic Women's Movement, and other progressive organisations in which the Communists participate. Our party has a majority of seats in the Municipal Council of Nazareth, the largest Arab-populated city in Israel, while the city's mayor has been a member of the CPI leadership for many years.

It is harder to work among the Jewish working people, especially since the Israeli aggression of 1967, which sharply aggravated the situation in the region. We are seeking an end to the occupation and annexation of Arab lands, pressing for a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East crisis, and championing the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the creation of their own independent state alongside the state of Israel. Of course, anti-Arab chauvinism, kept very much alive by reaction, is affecting the Jewish population's attitude to the Communist Party. Chauvinist feeling, which has deep roots, is constantly fuelled by the ruling Zionist circles. For instance, in Jewish schools children begin, almost from the first class, to study the Palestinian Charter³ with emphasis on its anti-Israeli formulations. The attitude of some Arab circles to a settlement of the Middle East crisis with no guarantees for the existence and security of Israel is also very subtly used by Zionist propaganda.

Anti-Sovietism is one more ideological weapon of the reactionaries. They allege that the USSR is arming the Arab countries and movements described as willing to destroy Israel. This is nothing less than a play on Jewish national feelings and, moreover, an attempt to discredit the Communists who support the Soviet stand on a Middle East settlement. For this same purpose they are using the Knesset, the reactionary press, and television to stoke the 'question' of the condition of Jews in the USSR, misrepresenting facts and falsifying the actual situation.

In the past few decades a share of the Jewish population from socialist

countries has increased. Some of them are hostile to the system in these countries. This, too, is used by the Zionists.

Lastly, it must be acknowledged that we have not entirely recovered from the split that occurred in the CPI in the mid-1960s, when a large number of Jewish Communists succumbed to nationalistic feeling and resigned from the party.

What are your party's immediate tasks at its present stage of political work among the people?

Our principal task, spelled out at the CPI's 20th Congress, is to strengthen our links to the working class. Many objective difficulties stand in the way. The State of Israel has been in existence for less than 40 years. To this day there is a large proportion of immigrants among the population. These are workers, shopkeepers, office employees, artisans, and intellectuals. Hence the specific social composition and psychology of the working class. There is a strong trade union movement, but its leaders are guided by Zionist ideology and pursue a conciliatory policy. An inadequate class consciousness remains, as we see it, the Achilles heel of the Israeli working class movement.

Besides, in Israel there are very many small enterprises at which it is practically impossible to form party cells. The above-mentioned political and ideological factors impede the activities of Communists at large enterprises as well. For the Arabs some of these facilities are closed altogether, and this likewise narrows the possibilities for the spread of the party's influence among the workers.

We are trying to extend and consolidate the positions we have won. At some factories our comrades are regarded with esteem in the trade unions and in workers' committees. The Communists are sustaining among the working people a readiness to fight for their rights. This is particularly important today on account of the growth of unemployment, the decline of living standards, and the hardening attacks of the government and employers on social gains. The CPI slogan of unity of action by all workers — Jews and Arabs — is getting a response at factories.

The party continues to give priority attention to young people. As I have already noted, we have been most successful among students, including Jewish students, despite the fact that only some six to eight years ago their attitudes were extremely reactionary. Progressive organisations, set up with the participation of Communists, now function at many universities. These do not confine themselves to issues linked to the condition of students. They raise broader issues, such as opposition to racism, ultra-right tendencies, and the aggression in Lebanon, and conduct actions to demonstrate solidarity with the student movement on occupied Arab territories.

Of late, there have been cases of Jewish and Arab youth acting jointly, in particular, at elections to the leadership of the student unions at universities. It was emphasised at our congress that the winning of new positions would depend on whether the Communists, the Young Communist League in particular, would succeed in broadening their

ideological and cultural work at universities and factories and developing political action in forms attractive to young people.

Much has been done in the 18 months since the 20th CPI Congress. On the basis of its analysis and generalisation of its experience, the party is working out concrete programmes of actions and charting steps for the immediate future that will bring us closer to carrying out the decisions of our congress.

¹ For details, see Benjamin Gonen, 'Alignment of Strength Is the Crucial Factor', *WMR*, No. 1, 1987.

² A section of the Arab population votes for the Zionist 'labour' parties, which pose as the 'only realistic alternative' to the right-wing Likud bloc.

³ The Palestinian National Charter was adopted in 1964 by the Palestinian National Council and became the programme document of the PLO. — *Ed.*

INFORMATION

From the Press

L'Humanité

KEEP TELEVISION A PUBLIC SERVICE

CHARLES Fiterman, CC Political Bureau member and CC Secretary of the French Communist Party, attacks the government's intention to privatise television.

With the government providing the scenario, he writes, the vultures of finance capital are pouncing on French audiovisual mass media in order to divide them among several multinational groups that are out to play a dominating role in western Europe. The FCP is categorically opposed to this damaging and destructive programme that entirely ignores the interests of viewers, democracy, and French culture. It has condemned the privatisation of channel 1, just as it had opposed the creation of channel 5.¹ The party sees television neither as a commodity nor an instrument of government policy. It is a specific sphere of activity, whose product is occupying a growing place in the lives of people and the country. Television, the party insists, is a public service and it must be managed democratically. Only in that case will there be plurality of opinion, diversity, meaningful programmes, freedom of information and knowledge, freedom of expression, and a rise of the people's cultural level. Moreover, with the increasing variety of audio and visual programmes, private television companies have to measure up to these requirements.

The choice is a simple one: either subordination to and dependence upon capital or an immediate fightback to preserve French television as a public service. The Communists, naturally, choose the latter option and are prepared to cooperate with all people — and there are many such people — who are deeply disturbed about the present trend in this area.

There could be joint actions in many directions, Charles Fiterman

writes. Why, for instance, should television not produce programmes showing the diversity of present-day realities — programmes about industrial facilities, cities, and schools, programmes offering trustworthy information about actual events and giving time to actual participants in these events? Why should there not be contracts guaranteeing satisfactory conditions to producers, film directors, and technical and other personnel? The FCP is prepared to consider any interesting proposals and to act in order to help promote a movement aimed at creating an advanced television network consistent with society's interests, the article emphasises.

¹ This channel was opened under pressure from entrepreneurs and placed entirely at their disposal. — *Ed.*

The Communist Movement Today

The Lessons of Experience

A broad range of issues, including those concerning the international communist movement, was discussed at a meeting in Moscow between Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and a delegation of the Communist Party of Argentina led by its General Secretary Athos Fava.

It was stressed in the course of the talks that the leadership of every communist party bears a great responsibility for a correct theoretical assessment of the developments under way in this or that country and in the world, and for a prompt and correct choice of a political course and tactics. The exchange of views has shown that while the CPSU and the CPA work in different conditions, the experience of the past decades, during which new phenomena were not responded to in time and theoretical evaluation lagged behind practical tasks, points to the essentially identical causes behind the strong and weak points in the activities of communist parties. Adverse developments should not be blamed on Marxism-Leninism or socialism as a system, but on their incompetent use at different historical stages and in given national and international distinctive conditions.

Both parties are convinced that the international communist movement should overcome the stereotypes that arose at the previous stage in connection with the drawbacks and weaknesses of some of the units comprising the movement. At the alarming and responsible juncture the world has reached now that the twentieth century is drawing to a close, the communist movement can get second wind by elaborating up-to-date forms of cooperation, equitable relations and joint action. The international voice of the Communists should gain in volume.

The participants in the meeting came out in favour of relations among

communist parties that would rule out any monopoly on truth or any 'centre', promote a common search for answers to topical and long-term questions, encourage attitudes of trust and frankness, uphold respect for national experience and principles, and help draw lessons of value to each party from this many-sided experience.

A Theoretical Conference

The Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee hosted an international theoretical conference 'Socialism at the Threshold of the Twenty-First Century', devoted to the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. Taking part were leading party scholars from Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, the DPRK, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union and Vietnam, as well as a delegation of *World Marxist Review*. The speakers discussed the variegated experience gained by the fraternal parties in guiding social processes and searching for the more effective ways of combining the advantages of socialism with the scientific and technological revolution and for new forms of cooperation.

Furthering Cooperation

A delegation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia led by Milanko Renovica, Chairman of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, has visited Hungary on an invitation from the HSWP Central Committee. In the course of the talks with the HSWP delegation headed by Janos Kadar, HSWP General Secretary, the two sides discussed the development of relations between them, as well as topical international issues connected with universal security, all-European cooperation and curbing the arms race.

Overcoming a Legacy of the Past

Delegations of the CPSU and the Communist Party of Spain have held a meeting in Moscow. Both parties believe that today, favourable conditions are emerging for more vigorous action by the broadest possible political and social forces in favour of preventing nuclear catastrophe, eliminating nuclear weapons and simultaneously dissolving the existing military blocs. The CPSU and CPS representatives have welcomed the fact that a certain legacy of the past in their relations has now been overcome and expressed their mutual desire to develop and expand their fraternal ties.

Promoting Joint Action

Delegations of the Jordanian and Palestinian Communist parties have held a meeting at which they conducted an all-round examination of the Palestinian problem and the situation in the Arab world in the light of increased subversion by US imperialism and Israel in the region. The participants stressed the importance of further efforts to promote and enhance the ties connecting the two fraternal parties, peoples and their national patriotic movements. They also emphasised the particular

significance of a common stand and joint action of all anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist forces in the Arab countries.

Work Among the Moslem Masses

An international round table on 'The Experience of the October Revolution and Topical Issues of the Communists' Work Among the Moslem Masses' has been held in Nicosia, capital of Cyprus. It was jointly sponsored by the Central Committee of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), *World Marxist Review* and the journal *Al-Nahj*.

The meeting was attended by representatives of communist and workers' parties and by scholars from 14 countries with a predominantly or largely Moslem population. In his speech Ezekias Papaioannou, AKEL General Secretary, stressed the unswerving solidarity of the Cypriot Communists with the struggle of the peoples of the Middle East and other regions against aggressive imperialist forays and schemes. The participants exchanged their views on the role of the religious factor in their countries and discussed their specific experience of ideological and mass political work among believers.

Documents

SOLIDARITY: A WEAPON OF OUR STRUGGLE

May Day is an international holiday of the working people. The Communists have always been committed to the idea of international solidarity. They organise mass actions for peace, democracy and social progress, to defend the peoples against imperialist aggression and to uphold their right to choose their own development path and strengthen their sovereignty and genuine independence. Now that the task of safeguarding the world from the threat of nuclear war has become a particularly acute global problem, the fraternal parties are fully resolved to enhance their militant cooperation with all progressive forces. This is clear from the following selection of excerpts.

SOUTH AMERICA

The aggressive acts against Nicaragua organised and financed by the US administration may lead to an open invasion of the country of Sandino, an invasion in which Honduras, El Salvador and several other neighbouring countries may be involved. That may extend the armed conflict throughout Central America. This is why it is imperative to strengthen our solidarity with the government of Nicaragua, with the patriots of El Salvador, and with the peoples of Honduras, Costa Rica and Guatemala.

It is also essential to broaden the campaign of solidarity with the peoples

of Chile and Paraguay who are still oppressed by dictatorships, with the Haitian people who are fighting for a genuine democracy, and with the people of Colombia where the patriotic forces are subjected to attacks by the reactionary military in cahoots with imperialism.

The struggle for peace is linked closely with action to defend national sovereignty, to secure a new international economic order and peaceful uses of the vast resources currently spent on armaments, and to tackle the acute economic and social problems weighing heavily on the peoples — particularly the problem of the foreign debt.

If these tasks are to be accomplished, we must have an even closer unity of the communist parties and concerted action with other anti-imperialist forces and quarters with which the Communists differ on certain points but hold identical views on issues such as the struggle for universal peace, defence of Nicaragua, refusal to pay the foreign debt, and the right of peoples to self-determination and sovereignty.

From a press release of the Second Conference of the South American Communist Parties

ARGENTINA

We are waging a battle for universal peace and détente and support the struggle of all peoples fighting for liberation, especially those that encounter direct resistance on the part of international imperialism and domestic reaction, as is the case in El Salvador, Guatemala, South Africa, and the Middle East.

The US imperialist aggression against Nicaragua and interference in the affairs of El Salvador have turned Central America into one of the globe's flashpoints, into a scene of open confrontation between imperialism and the peoples of our continent. Nicaragua must and will survive. This calls for the heroic efforts of its people to be reinforced by vigorous solidarity of all people of goodwill.

From the report of the CPA Central Committee to the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Argentina

CANADA

Solidarity with the peoples striving for their freedom, and independence, with the peoples who have undertaken the path of building a new society as part of their advance to socialism, is an important part of the struggle for peace. Canadian solidarity movements not only provide concrete aid and political support for particular struggles but are increasingly successful in exposing the role of US imperialism abroad. The role of Canadian corporations and of the Canadian government in support of the US imperialism needs to be further exposed. Our Party will continue as before to help strengthen the solidarity movements. We will continue to help build links between the peace and solidarity movements . . .

Our Party rejects the false North-South theory, which denies

imperialism's responsibility for the economic crisis facing the developing countries. We will continue to support the demand for a restructuring of international economic relations on a more democratic basis, the establishment of a new international economic order which would strengthen the independence and sovereignty of the countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia and the cause of social progress . . . The Canadian working class and democratic movement must be won to support these objectives.

From *The Road Ahead*, Main Resolution of the 26th Convention of the Communist Party of Canada

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

We regard it as our duty to support any initiative aimed at strengthening class solidarity among the fraternal parties and equitable cooperation in the struggle for our common goals, for peace and socialism, with due regard for the differences in the objectives and conditions of individual parties. We do not regard different views of this or that matter as unnatural. They stem from the different conditions in which individual parties work and from different approaches to the problems at hand. We hold that in order to ensure joint action, both bilateral and multilateral forms of cooperation should be promoted at regional levels and on a broader scale.

Mankind's deliverance from the nuclear threat and the solution of other global problems, including environmental protection, demand a vigorous and concerted approach to them on the part of the working class and democratic forces. The CPCz will continue to work in this direction, developing and enhancing an active dialogue and cooperation with social democratic and socialist parties, with trade union movements, and with all democratic forces that advocate a policy of détente and peaceful cooperation among nations.

From the Political Report of the CPCz Central Committee to the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

In Brief

CHINA

An all-China conference in Peking to review discipline within the CPC urged party committees at all levels to maintain party discipline as one of their critical goals. Delegates emphasised that failure to instil a true party spirit in party members would enable extreme negative tendencies like the 'ideological current of bourgeois liberalisation', abuse of power for personal ends and entrenched red tape to subvert the prestige of the party and lead to its disintegration.

FINLAND

Taking part in the March 1987 parliamentary elections were 75.9 per cent of the electorate. Of the candidates nominated by the country's 12 political parties and organisations, 200 were elected. The Communists were represented in two electoral coalitions: the Communist Party of Finland in the Finnish People's Democratic League, which won 16 seats, and the Communist Party of Finland (United) in the Democratic Alternative, which won four seats.

FRANCE

The construction of a new *l'Humanité* office building is to be started soon in Paris. It is designed by Brazilian architect Oscar Niemeyer, who earlier helped design the building of the FCP CC.

ITALY

Italy's communist newspaper *l'Unità* will hold its annual nationwide festival on August 29-September 20 in Bologna. One of its major themes will be: 'The Legacy of Antonio Gramsci and Italian Culture'.

VENEZUELA

The CC Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Venezuela has made a statement in support of Brazil's refusal to pay interest on its external debt and Argentina's intention to follow suit. Venezuela, which will spend 34 per cent of its budget this year alone in debt payments, should join their stand to promote Latin American unity, the statement points out. The CC CPV Political Bureau further urged Venezuelan political parties, trade unions and other public organisations to make a common stand in defence of national interests.

PDRY

A conference of the Yemen Socialist Party will be held in June 1987 to consider various aspects of its revolutionary experience. It is expected to focus on the development of the PDRY society after an attempted military coup in January 1986.

for human survival

A Vision of the Future

Alexander King — President, Club of Rome

AN international non-governmental organisation, the Club of Rome, was formed in 1968 at a meeting of academics in the Italian capital. Its membership consists of 100 prominent scientists and cultural workers in 47 countries — industrialised capitalist, developing, and socialist. The Club's members profess various ideological persuasions, but they are united in their concern for humanity's future, in their desire to see global problems settled on the basis of peaceful cooperation among all states and peoples.

There has been a wide international response to some of the reports and forecasts drawn up by the Club of Rome. In a recent declaration issued by the Club's Executive Committee it is stated that "the threat of war and especially of nuclear war is the most dangerous and the most pressing of all the issues which face humanity. Future-oriented thinking must nevertheless be based on the assumption that there will be no nuclear holocaust . . . We have taken the position that war is a symptom of a deeper malaise and that the armaments race is a manifestation of that symptom . . . Our concern should be with analysis of the basic causes of this malaise of humanity."

The following are Alexander King's replies to questions asked by *WMR*.

More than two hundred years ago Jean Jacques Rousseau said that scientific and technological advances were not improving social morals, but rather the opposite. Today, on account of the threat created by the present arms race and the contradictory ecological effects of the scientific and technological revolution there are indications that moral standards are crumbling and that some political leaders, technocrats, and scientists are losing their sense of historical responsibility for their actions. Does this mean that the great French philosopher was right?

There are many signs in the contemporary world which would seem to indicate that Jean Jacques Rousseau was right. Nevertheless, I disagree with its inevitability. Science and increased knowledge have always, from the most primitive times, provided the basis both for greater understanding leading to an improvement of the human condition, but also for exploitation and destruction. It is for human individuals, their leaders and

Dr. Alexander King (b. 1909) is a British chemist residing in France known for his writings on ecology and the study of science and his work on the governing bodies of a number of international organisations. He has been President of the Club of Rome since 1984.

governments to decide whether to take the constructive or the destructive option. The only difference between early times and today is that power derived from science-based technology is so enormous that the cumulative effect of a series of negative decisions can lead to the final catastrophe.

I agree, of course, that there is a widespread sense of moral decline: drug-taking, a growing crime rate, alienation of individuals, refusal of minorities to accept the decision of the majority, sexual promiscuity, and the like. These are indeed disturbing signs; their origins are quite diverse and include the boredom in the lives of many living in faceless conurbations, loss of a sense of purpose and loss of faith — not only in religion, but also in politics and authority. Escape from the centuries when people were disciplined by the fear of hell and the hope of paradise has led to a period when many have not found an equivalent *raison d'être*. These are not necessarily permanent phenomena and can change or be changed.

On the other hand there has, especially in the last decade, been an extraordinary increase in the number of people in the world who are concerned, for example, by the trend towards nuclear disaster, the deterioration in the environment, and the need for world harmony and who may be able, in the end, to persuade their governments to face up to reality. Even if Jean Jacques Rousseau were right, it would be impossible to return to the type of society of which he dreamed. Our very numbers make this impossible: can we imagine a world population of six billion 'noble savages'?

The forecasts on environmental changes and the consequences of a nuclear conflict, published in various countries over the past few years, have generated considerable dismay. Would you say there are grounds for an optimistic view of the future?

There is certainly reason for hope. I believe that all the nations at present known to possess nuclear arms are now convinced, both at government and popular level, that the consequences of the use of such weapons would be so devastating that there could be no winner and that all would be hopeless losers, even if not completely annihilated. The frightful possibility of a 'nuclear winter' further deepens the conviction that it would be utter madness to trigger off such a war. The strength of the human spirit is too strong, the biological urge to survive so powerful, that deliberate mass suicide is unthinkable. I am convinced that neither of the two superpowers would bring their brinkmanship to the point of no return.

To my mind the greatest danger is nuclear war by accident — the malfunctioning of a computer or misinterpretation of signals. There is also the danger of a single nuclear explosion by a 'wild' smaller country leading to escalation of a generalised war. In the long run, also, the nuclear trigger might fall into the hands of an insane head of state of the Hitler type, whose mania would allow of no thought for the rest of humanity or of posterity.

This qualified optimism does not, of course, detract from the need to work urgently and sustainedly towards the early abolition of nuclear weapons and, beyond that, general disarmament in terms of conventional

weapons. The present stockpiling of nuclear weapons, which represents an enormous 'overkill' capacity, is itself utter madness, while the whole military build-up economically and otherwise inhibits harmonious world development. The existence of nuclear weapons and, should we succeed in abolishing them, the possibility of building them anew will remain a fear and necessitate global control and inspection for the rest of mankind's occupation of this planet.

Would you say that in addition to the existing apocalyptic models of war and ecological disaster it is possible to use modern scientific knowledge for constructing models of an ecologically healthy world economy and of a world without armaments?

Yes, I believe it is possible to construct models of a world without armaments and using technology in a constructive manner for the benefit of all the inhabitants of the world, in a manner which is both socially desirable and ecologically healthy. Such an apparently Utopian situation would, of course, be immensely difficult to achieve, because even if we do succeed to disarm there would remain a multitude of other problems to resolve. Transition of the economy after disarmament will itself not be easy in view of the extent to which defence production and the sale of arms dominates the economy of so many of the industrialised countries. However, it is possible as the experience of the end of World War II showed. The United Nations has already done useful and important studies of this problem. It would be wise if a number of countries began to make contingency plans for the economy should peace break out.

For many years scientists have been speaking of the benefits that the use of space could bring humanity. But today more and more of them fear that far from all space technology is conducive to peace, security, and the welfare of nations. Do you see the development of outer space as a global problem in the full sense of the word?

I fully share the fears of many scientists of the dangers which would arise from the use of space for military purposes. This adventure has already begun with the operation of spy satellites and probably many other devices of which the public is as yet unaware. Control of this problem is inseparable from that of disarmament in general, as the American 'star wars' plans all too clearly indicate, and must form part of the continuing negotiations.

Two fundamentally different socio-economic systems are in confrontation in the world. How, in the light of this reality, do you visualise the possibility of international cooperation in settling global problems?

Despite ideological differences and wide varieties of economic approach, it should be possible for the global problems to be tackled through international cooperation. Indeed no other approach is possible even by

the concerted efforts of regional groups such as that of the OECD or the Warsaw Treaty countries. We are beginning to see the emergence of more and more problems of global dimension which cannot be solved by individual countries in isolation. Changes in the biosphere do not recognise political boundaries. For example, the 'greenhouse effect', arising from the accumulation of carbon dioxide from the combustion of fossil fuels and the cutting down of tropical forests, is likely to give rise to an increase in the temperature of the earth's surface with a modification of the thermal currents of the planet and hence substantial changes in the pattern of precipitation. This may well lead to a drastic change in the world distribution of agricultural and other possibilities. To minimise this geo-trend and to buffer against its consequences demand total international intervention and all the ingenuity which our scientists and statesmen can muster. Our existing international arrangements, alas, are too clumsy, bureaucratised, and politicised to master such a problem.

The global problems are evolving towards the creation of situations dangerous to all humanity, second only to that of the nuclear threat, and require for their solution a harmonious world society and a common purpose among the nations which divide up this small planet. When we have resolved at least the most acutely perilous elements of the control of armaments, we can hope to enter a period of peaceful coexistence, but this must not be allowed to remain a static situation as in past lulls in the confrontation. It must be shaped into a dynamic phase of cooperation during which the global problems are realistically attacked. Indeed, the rise of global problems as common enemies of all our nations provides an opportunity to generate a degree of common purpose which has never been possible hitherto.

These questions and answers centre around East-West issues and the threats of war and ecological disaster. There are other difficult problems which weigh heavily on the world and will continue to do so even when those of war and peace are regulated. The North-South issue, for example, is at least of equal dimension. Widespread poverty, hunger, and disease persist. The situation in Africa is deteriorating rapidly. This continent, highly Balkanised,¹ with the advance of its deserts, its climatic difficulties, many wars and a population explosion, must be helped and encouraged if it is to be in a position to enter the new world of the next century in partnership with the other regions.

The worldwide consequences of demographic increase are receiving far too little attention. At the end of the century an extra million people will be added to the world's total about every four days. Some countries will be very crowded. Migration to the cities will have given rise to a number of urban centres of more than 20 million inhabitants. The production of food to support a world population of more than six billion is no doubt possible; its equitable distribution is much less certain. Demand for materials and energy will be great and the need for infrastructural capital to provide roads, housing, schools, etc., as well as the costs of education and health will be enormous. A major question, also, is whether the absorptive capacity of the biosphere will be able to cope with the waste products of the vast increase of human activity, which the population explosion will entail.

We must expect that population pressures will give rise to extensive migrations and consequent political and ethnic frictions.

On the other hand, technological developments should have given us new means to attack many of the global problems and to create conditions which could provide a life of dignity for all. The industrialised countries would have the automation making it possible to abolish heavy, dirty, and repetitive jobs. It will be possible for the products and services required by a country to be provided by a much smaller work force than is necessary today. Furthermore, international competition as well as the social and economic benefits, which can be expected from such developments, will force all countries to take advantage of the new technologies. However, while the new possibilities can offer a greater extent of leisure to the individual with opportunities of social and cultural development and individual fulfilment, they also pose many questions as to the nature and extent of work in the future, educational requirements, and employment risks.

These speculations, based on present trends, are mentioned not as prognostications but to indicate how great is the need to take a much longer-term view than is possible with most government thinking today. For example, with regard to the technological developments just cited, we must realise that social change and educational reform are much slower than technological innovations which initiate them and it becomes very difficult and controversial when attempts are made to rectify situations which have already reached crisis level. The fundamental question is whether governments, with the support of an informed public, will be capable of using the new opportunities offered by the new technologies, deliberately and consciously to shape a better society rather than passively to attempt mere adjustments, post factum, to their consequences.

This leads us to raise the question of the need for institutional innovation. It is questionable whether many of the institutions of government, evolved more than a century ago to meet the needs of earlier times, can be effective in the present situation of complexity. Their inadequacy for the consideration of long-term issues, often more fundamental than what appears immediately important, is a case in point. Not least of the many other problems is how to deal with the inhibiting and anti-innovative power of the huge bureaucracies with regard to the structures and functioning of international organisations.

What, do you feel, is the new political thinking needed to cope with the pressing problem of preserving civilisation and life in the world?

Einstein was right when he said that there is little evidence, despite the enormous accumulation of information and knowledge arising from the discoveries of science, that human wisdom has grown over the last 4,000 years. There is therefore an imperative need to review *in depth* and to change our attitudes and methods of thinking, our approach to defining the nature of present-day society and its basic aims and relationships. The

paramount need is to change our present attitudes of confrontation, which prevail both within and between countries, to those of cooperation and consensus.

¹ Implying the situation in the Balkans prior to World War I. — Ed.

Become a Citizen of the World

Dmitri Likhachev — member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; chairman of the board, Soviet Cultural Fund

The statement made at the international forum "For a Nuclear-Weapons-Free World, for the Survival of Humanity" (held in Moscow in February 1987) by Dmitri Likhachev, a prominent Soviet scholar and honorary member of various academies worldwide, was devoted to the role of culture in the defence of civilisation and attracted broad attention. This is his comment on the subject for *World Marxist Review*.

PROBLEMS that generate alarm and leave no one indifferent abound in our complex and interdependent world. Still, if you ask me which of them is the most essential, I would say *dehumanisation*, the change the twentieth century has wrought in the human psyche. The terrible wars and trials the nations have gone through have led to a crisis of humanism. Today, rationalist thinking predominates, many people are mostly preoccupied with their own personal concerns.

The fact that intellectuals have few children is a typical example. You will not find families with many children among the intelligentsia. Schools are being closed down in those areas and cities which used to be the primary breeding ground of the intelligentsia: there are not enough children. The problem is not that some nations are multiplying and others are not. The problem is that the reproduction of people with a heightened sense of responsibility is declining worldwide. Parents are obviously moved by fear for their children and prefer not to have them at all rather than expose them to the threat of possible nuclear annihilation. As a result, the drop in what may be described as the quantitative and qualitative parameters of the intelligentsia leads to an overall decline of culture throughout the world. Meanwhile, the ethical properties distinctive to the intelligentsia are not only a question of upbringing and education but also a question of genetic heredity.

At the same time, mankind is armed with new technologies of unprecedented and deadly yield, to use the lingo of the military. Unless

Dmitri Likhachev (b. 1906) is the author of fundamental studies in ancient Russian literature and culture. A full member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, he is twice winner of the USSR State Prize (1952 and 1969) and holds the Hero of Socialist Labour title.

controlled by responsible, conscientious and intellectually and morally developed people, technology may be highly dangerous. I am concerned over the fact that the very stockpiling of deadly weapons and the constant threat of war *are already destroying people* — by reducing the birth rate.

I do not believe that nuclear war is probable. I think and hope that a nuclear war cannot be started by simply pressing a button, as it is often said. After all, there are some built-in technological safeguards. Besides — or, to be more precise, above all — I pin my hopes on the sense of responsibility the people within reach of that button must have. I cannot conceive of any of them committing the enormity of destroying the human race, and I hope that mentally unbalanced people will be kept out of reach of nuclear weapons. Although it is true that the very stockpiling of such weapons is changing our mentality, and changing it for the worse.

To find a way out of this situation mankind must become aware of its integral unity in the sphere of culture. We must realise clearly that cultural values accumulated by the nations are not property of this or that city council, museum, government agency or even individual country. They belong to all mankind. I therefore believe that unity of all people of culture must be a first practical step. But they must not be united into some sort of closed community in which they would debate ways of preserving culture. This step is necessary to draw up a *legal code* for the protection of culture.

We should think about the culture of the Incas, about the culture of African peoples, about the Kizhi historic preservation project at Lake Onega, about Siberia's Tomsk, Turkey's Ankara and Kampuchea's Angkor Wat. Each of these monuments belongs *not* to Turkey as a country, or to the Soviet Union, or to Kampuchea; it belongs to all humanity. All human beings are responsible for it. And we must establish a *Cultural International*. That is my profound conviction.

Besides, there is another point I regard as essential. Man is responsible not only for his own survival; the task is to save life in all its diversity (and that includes fish, birds, insects and plants), for life is the supreme value. But man is the only living being on Earth who has the gift of speech. Man as a thinking and speaking creature is the only hope of *all life* on Earth.

This is why I have suggested a *legal code for the defence of animal's rights* because they depend on us and expect protection from us. And I am not referring only to the whales or the buffalo — that is, not only to those on the endangered species list because these lists in fact offer no protection. We must have a legal code to protect the rights of all that lives and breathes.

I do not think that preserving life on Earth is a Utopian dream. I trust that public opinion can effectively influence governments and prompt them to move in the right direction. I would only like to interpret 'public opinion' in somewhat broader terms. We need a restructuring of our thinking, and it is already under way. This restructuring will bring about a change in our behaviour.

I am positive that works such as *A History of Human Conscience* are a vital necessity, provided this history is really written by men of conscience. And one more thing. The task of writing such a work must under no circumstances be entrusted to any single organisation or team of authors. I

have no faith in brilliant results produced by teamwork. I refuse to believe that a team of artists could produce a Sistine Madonna. I have faith in the individuality of man's genius. A history of human conscience can only be valuable if it is written by talented individuals and if it reflects the conscience of the authors.

This is a project to be undertaken by outstanding social scientists and philosophers from different countries. A history of conscience must also be a history of mistakes committed by individual states and politicians, and a history of people of conscience and of statesmen of conscience. This is why I hold that there should be written numerous works on the history of human conscience. The history of literature is fine, and the history of the arts is excellent, but intellectual efforts should now focus on the history of human conscience.

I see this work not as a specialised scholarly study which no one will take the trouble to read but as a summary of all that is good in civilisation, not excepting religion, literature, art, science, as well as conscience as it is expressed in folklore and language, in the protection of small peoples. This I would like to emphasise with particular force. For among other things, mankind is also suffering from the fact that there are still areas where bigger nations with universally recognised languages swallow up this or that smaller ethnic group with its priceless heritage — its folklore, language, customs and tradition. This heritage often disappears without trace before our very eyes. There are many ethnic groups numbering 600 to 700 people. They say that somewhere in Eastern Siberia there is even an ethnic group of which only two people are left. Their language must be recorded, and the asset it represents must not be lost.

A study of the history of conscience should be accompanied by a struggle against all kinds of nationalism, a terrible danger of our age. It is time to think in terms of the social macro-entity. Each of us must mould himself into a citizen of the world, no matter in which hemisphere or country he lives or what his colour of skin or religious beliefs.

This will not be detrimental to the national, patriotic feelings and sentiments. Let me cite an example familiar to all. If love keeps a family together, other families reach out to it, and it is rich in friends. This is how I see international relations too. If the people of one country love and cherish all that is finest in their nation, they are sure to maintain amicable relations with other peoples too. They will admire and cherish that which others have created.

Kindliness within a nation means kindliness to other nations too. These things are interrelated. I regard any kind of nationalism as a mental aberration, even as a clinical case because it is sometimes rooted in an inferiority complex. If a people truly respects itself, it is safe from an inferiority complex and will never lose its identity among others. It is an absolute truth that contacts among nations promote the development of their own cultures. I have made this point repeatedly, and I will make it again and again because it remains topical.

With eighty years behind me, I must state with profound regret that even after the tragic experience of fascism, of Nazism, nationalism continues to grow. I cannot understand why. What is worse, those who themselves

suffered from nationalism in the past fail to learn these lessons, and they keep repeating the same mistakes with respect to other peoples. That is contrary to human reason and to common sense.

I do not think that I will live to see a breakthrough in our thinking, a common understanding of the global problems of survival, a realisation of the urgent need to give up a consumerist attitude to the world and to nature. This breakthrough will take decades to crystallise. It will be an uphill struggle, but there is no other rational way.

I believe in a supreme reason because, observing Nature and human activity and taking an interest in various sciences, I can see that the world is well-ordered. This is why I oppose thoughtless schemes to divert rivers from their course and other rash attempts to go one better than Nature.

In Nature, everything is arranged in a way proving beyond doubt that there exists an extraordinary intelligence which has been working for millions of years and which has granted Nature a freedom by no means synonymous with chaos because, on the whole, this freedom has produced very important and good results. I do not want these results to change.

I think that many people are concluding that such a reason exists. This does not mean that you should go to a church or any other place of worship. Those who interpret my words as idealistic, religious or mystical will misunderstand me completely. I mean nothing of the kind. My point is different: we should realise that Nature has a supreme reason which is difficult to change. And my appeal is not to change Nature but to seek harmony with it. To achieve it, we must first and foremost achieve harmony among ourselves, among the inhabitants of the planet Earth. In this I believe because I believe in man's Reason and Conscience.

Your Questions Answered

PALME COMMISSION — SECURITY FOR ALL

The media comments about the Reykjavik meeting are further evidence that everybody expects decisions exclusively from the two nuclear powers. Nor do I believe that anything effective can come from any third countries and forces, that anything practical in the way of assistance and advice can come from the side, even, for instance, from the Palme Commission, which is an independent body.

From a letter by **Roger Dufroid**, Belgium

The following reply is from Professor Mikhail Milstein, one of the Palme Commission's official scientific counsellors.

THE view stated in the Dufroid letter is shared to varying degrees by quite a few people. It is true that in the settlement of disarmament problems much depends upon the character of the relations between the two major

powers — the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Much, but not everything.

The continued life on our planet is the common concern of all countries and peoples, especially as the international situation is showing no sign of easing and nothing significant has yet been produced by the talks on ending the arms race and preventing the deployment of weapons in outer space. If other peoples and states do nothing but wait for, say, the Reagan administration to agree to ban nuclear tests or to adopt a constructive attitude in regard to the SDI, the world would keep moving closer to the threshold of peril from which there might be no way back.

It would thus be an unpardonable mistake to underrate the role and influence of countries, parties and civic forces troubled about the destiny of humankind and wishing to reinforce international security. It is unquestionable that they are widening and strengthening the peace coalition and can be a potent counterbalance to the aggressive confrontational policy. A major role is also played by the Palme Commission, whose work I am in a position to describe in some detail.

An Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues was set up in 1980 on the initiative of Olof Palme as an international non-governmental body. It consisted of some 20 prominent political and civic figures and experts on international relations and disarmament, who act in their personal capacity, i.e. do not follow any instructions from their governments.¹ They are representatives, so to speak, of capitalist, socialist and developing nations, military-political alliances and neutral and non-aligned countries, all the continents, and different political currents, in short, the diversity of our world.

Initially, the Independent Commission's purpose was to prepare a report for the 1982 special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament. This document, entitled *Common Security*, was brought to the attention of the above special session and of international opinion, while as a book it became a best-seller in many countries. In drawing up this report the aim was to identify desirable and feasible ways for achieving disarmament and limiting armaments within an all-embracing programme for ensuring national and international security.

The work of the Commission is characterised by a new approach to, a new view of the issues related to the cardinal changes on the international scene. For instance, in the report the concept 'security' is seen as the primary interest of countries determining the attitude to the problem of survival and coexistence in the nuclear age. Correspondingly, security was characterised as *universal, mutually-dependent, and unattainable by exclusively military means*. Hence the fundamental conclusions: *no country's security should or could be reinforced at the expense of that of another; there is a close link between national and international security; the role of political means to ensure security is growing; a more stable military-strategic balance should be created at steadily lower levels of confrontation.*

Mention may be made of yet another striking illustration of the new approach, with which, incidentally, the USSR and the USA concur. This is the Commission's opinion that a nuclear war cannot be won and must

never be fought.

The Commission's assessments and conclusions have drawn the attention of the world community. Their acceptance at negotiations have helped to inject new vigour into the attitudes to disarmament, to drawing divergent postures closer together. As well as working out concrete recommendations, the Commission seeks to keep world public opinion informed and draw the attention of people and governments to the possibilities for ensuring peace and security for all through armaments limitations and cooperation.

The Commission continued its work after 1982, with Olof Palme, the late Prime Minister of Sweden, as its unchanging chairman. Following the tragic death of this eminent statesman, political personality, tireless peace champion, and charming person, the Commission officially adopted his name.²

At its Budapest sitting in October 1986 the Palme Commission, with account of the Reykjavik outcome, produced recommendations on far-reaching disarmament agreements and advanced new proposals for ways and means of reinforcing peace and security in Europe. In the two documents adopted at that sitting it gave a carefully weighed assessment of the contradictory trends of world development that can accelerate the slide into a nuclear abyss or bring a more secure, nuclear-free world unprecedentedly nearer. In particular, it was noted that the American SDI programme had raised 'questions about the viability of the ABM Treaty and the strategic philosophy which underlies it'. Further, it was pointed out that real progress towards arms limitation and disarmament could be attained only with the cooperation of the USSR and the USA.

The Commission found that the main obstacles to agreements were the *development of strategic missile defence systems and the clashing interpretations of the ABM Treaty*. The way to their removal, in the Commission's opinion, is not to undermine but to reinforce the existing instrument — the 1972 ABM Treaty. It should not be rewritten or amended either to expand or to reduce its scope. Article V of this treaty says: "Each Party undertakes not to develop, test, or deploy ABM systems or components which are sea-based, air-based, space-based, or mobile land-based." The central problem is to specify what are permitted research and testing and define what sort of testing and development comes into conflict with the ABM Treaty.

To settle this issue the Commission suggested that the Soviet Union and the USA should inform each other of whatever programmes they had for ABM research and testing over the next decade. If one side found activities that it felt were in violation of the treaty there would still be time, before these activities materialise, to come to a mutual and precise understanding of the points at issue and settle differences. But even in the light of what the sides already have it is possible to reach a compromise, for example, regarding the functions and siting of some radar installations. Either they may be modified or their construction may be left unfinished.³

In other words, the Palme Commission has re-emphasised the *priority and efficacy of political means — negotiations, consultations, and joint quests for mutually-acceptable solutions to military-technical problems*. This

would allow removing imagined and actual, including bureaucratic, impediments to disarmament.

In effect, the *basic machinery* for settling key issues of disarmament and strengthening international security has now been defined. *It is: prompt negotiations; the cessation of military build-up while negotiations are in progress; mutual restraint; overall and regular inspection and verification, and so on.* The Commission has suggested this as the bedrock for preserving and putting into effect everything of positive value agreed upon at Reykjavik on strategic nuclear weapons and intermediate-range missiles. In Budapest the Commission reiterated its call for an end to all nuclear tests, noting that an interim measure would be permissible. This measure could be a one kiloton⁴ limit on the yield of tests. However, the Commission pointed out that the possibility for nuclear tests in outer space to develop an X-ray laser as a component of a new anti-ballistic missile system should be precluded.

The principle of common security remains a fundamental proposition of the two documents adopted in the Hungarian capital. In line with this principle, the Palme Commission has already made a tangible contribution to defining the ways of reinforcing security in Europe. For instance, it drew the attention of the peoples and governments of the world to the fact that mutual confidence and military-strategic stability are enhanced when the *threat of sudden attack diminishes*. A broad consensus on this point facilitated the success of the Stockholm Conference. The programme for troop and conventional weapons reductions advanced in Budapest in June 1986 by the Warsaw Treaty countries likewise provides for limiting chiefly the offensive components of military capabilities, making defence the overriding element of military doctrines, and so on. Incidentally, this programme ties in with the Palme Commission's thesis that *there is a close link between strategic and tactical nuclear weapons, on the one hand, and conventional armaments, on the other*. The view that tactical (or battlefield) nuclear weapons are a definable and important dimension for reducing the danger of a sudden attack brought the Commission round to the idea of a nuclear-free corridor in Central Europe. The concrete proposal for this was made on behalf of the government of Sweden as early as in 1983 by Olof Palme himself.

The relevant joint political initiative of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Social Democratic Party of Germany and subscribed to by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was announced at the close of 1986. This initiative calls for the creation of a 300-kilometre-wide corridor *free of all types of nuclear weapons*⁵ along the frontiers of the FRG, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia. This would help to achieve military stability at much lower levels and be a collective advance towards the elimination of nuclear weapons. The Palme Commission's proposal for a zone free of chemical weapons in Europe, a proposal that has already been developed, should likewise be considered from the same angle.

The participants in the Budapest sitting put on record their disappointment over the lack of progress at the Vienna talks on mutual troop and armaments reductions in Central Europe. The Commission suggested several variants for the search for the mechanism and form of the

future talks on cuts on conventional armaments: settling this issue at the negotiations in Vienna, putting it on the agenda for the follow-up Stockholm Conference, or convening a new forum, for instance, of representatives of the two military alliances. Special emphasis was laid upon the need to concentrate equally on both the quantitative and qualitative limitations on the military capabilities of the two sides in Europe. It called upon all responsible leaders to seek tangible progress towards disarmament, stability, and peace.

Thus — there are many other examples of this — the actions of individual groups of people, various forces, movements, and nations are making a constructive contribution to world politics, seeing it as an indivisible and concerted process, and demolishing the view about 'non-interference' in problems related to peace and disarmament. There can be no outsiders in the face of the threat to the existence of the human race.

¹ They include Shridath Ramphal (Guyana), Cyrus Vance (USA), Egon Bahr (FRG), Georgi Arbatov (USSR), Salim Salim (Tanzania), David Owen (Great Britain), Alfonso Garcia Robles (Mexico), and Gro Harlem Brundtland (Norway).

² In March 1986 it was renamed the Palme Commission on Disarmament and Security. — *Ed.*

³ The USSR has already taken some relevant steps. — *Ed.*

⁴ As a matter of fact, this was one of the recommendations of the US House of Representatives to President Reagan.

⁵ These would include nuclear warheads themselves and all delivery systems for them, as well as delivery systems for dual (nuclear and non-nuclear) use. — *Ed.*

exchange of views, discussion

Working Together to Build a European Edifice

Relations Between the Communists and the Social Democrats of Western Europe in the Struggle for Peace

Recent years have witnessed many signs of changes for the better in the attitude of socialist, labour and social democratic parties to topical issues of war and peace and to peace movements. What are the causes behind this evolution? What new opportunities does it

open for joint communist-social democratic action? Do the changes in the international stand of social democracy have an impact on its domestic policies? Do these changes promote closer relations between the two leading currents of the West European working class movement? These and other questions were tackled during an exchange of views organised in Prague by *WMR* and attended by representatives of several West European communist parties.

Taking part in the discussion were **Jan Debrouwere**, CC Political Bureau member of the Communist Party of Belgium; **Bert Ramelson**, representative of the Communist Party of Great Britain on *WMR*; **Gunnar Jorgensen**, Central Committee functionary of the Communist Party of Denmark; **Kurt Schacht**, staff member of the Board of the German Communist Party; and **Maud Sundquist**, secretary for international affairs of the Left Party — Communists of Sweden. Several comments were submitted in writing by **Aulis Leppanen** Communist Party of Finland representative on *WMR*.

Following is a survey of the discussion. The full record will be published in a book currently in preparation.

The Motives Behind an Obvious Evolution of Views

CHRONOLOGICALLY, the discussion focused on the period from 1979, the year NATO adopted its 'twin-track' decision which was supported by almost all parties affiliated in the Socialist International, to the end of 1986. An analysis of the foreign policy guidelines and activities of the Danish and West German Social Democrats and of the British Labour Party identified many similar views these parties held. The British and the West German Communists have described the changes in the Labour Party and SDPG attitude to issues of war and peace as a '*qualitative shift*', while the Communist Party of Denmark says that the current international stand of the SDPD '*differs considerably*' from its political course of the late 1970s.

The changes have affected the basic attitudes of the Social Democrats and of Britain's Labour Party members to the policy of security. The SDPG gave up the strategy of deterrence in favour of a concept of East-West 'security partnership'. The British Labour Party and the Danish Social Democrats now proclaim their desire to help reorient NATO strategy so as to make it non-nuclear. These parties oppose the Pentagon's schemes to attain military superiority, consolidate the first-strike capability and make the United States 'invulnerable' to nuclear retaliation.

As it was stated during the discussion, these changes in the attitudes of the Social Democrats and Britain's Labour are motivated by their awareness that the nuclear age offers only one alternative — *you either survive together or perish together*. It follows that security for all can be achieved only by concerted East-West action. Speakers in the discussion noted that at the same time, all these three social democratic parties assert their complete loyalty to NATO and speak about the need to strengthen the bloc and enhance its combat readiness by building up conventional armaments.

Furthermore, the parties in question have revised several of their

specific positions on military and political matters. Among other things, they have withdrawn their support for NATO's 'two-track' decision. They now demand that the stationing of Pershing and Tomahawk missiles be discontinued, that the missiles already deployed be dismantled and that the counter-measures the Soviet Union adopted in response be revoked. All three parties are against the plans to militarise outer space, and they uphold the idea of terminating nuclear tests.

These parties have also adopted a constructive attitude to issues of European security. They are calling for the establishment of chemical and nuclear weapon-free zones in Europe, for the conclusion of a treaty on the non-use of force between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, and for their own countries to pursue an independent European policy.¹ What is more, the Social Democrats and the British Labour Party do not confine themselves to mere declarations of their wishes, as was often the case in the past, but draw up and advance their own initiatives and proposals.

The British Labour Party demands (and this demand was voiced particularly clearly at the 85th Labour Party Conference in October 1986) a change in the nation's defence strategy with due regard for her international role and financial potential. This change should include: immediate elimination of British nuclear weapons and the country's transformation into a nuclear-free zone; cancellation of the programme for rearming the national submarine fleet with the US Trident nuclear missile system; dismantling of Polaris nuclear submarines; and immediate negotiations with the United States on the withdrawal of US nuclear weapons from British territory. The Labour Party intends to accomplish all these tasks within a year of its possible accession to power.

Experts of *the West German SDPG* have drawn up specific plans for restructuring the Bundeswehr and the NATO troops stationed in the Federal Republic in order to make them purely defensive. Acting jointly with the SUPG and the CPCz, the West German Social Democrats have put forward the well-known initiatives on the establishment of nuclear and chemical weapon-free zones in Central Europe.

Finally, the attitude of the three parties to the peace movement has also changed for the better, although to different degrees. As Bert Ramelson, Gunnar Jorgensen and Kurt Schacht noted, not too long ago the leaders of these parties claimed that the movement was communist-manipulated and advised their members to refrain from taking part in its actions. Today, many rank-and-file Social Democrats and even some of these parties' leaders support such actions and regard themselves as part of the peace movement. True, this course is not always pursued consistently. For example, the Danish Social Democrats refused to take part in the Peace Congress in Copenhagen.

Participants in the discussion were generally unanimous in the examination of the particularly important factors behind the major changes in the attitude of the Social Democrats to issues of peace and security. It was noted that the actions of the peace champions who rallied together into truly nationwide movements in the FRG, Denmark and Great Britain played a very important role. These movements broke down stereotyped

notions of peace, stimulated the emergence of a new way of thinking, and gave an impetus to the search for a way out of the vicious circle of the arms race and escalation of tensions.

The Soviet proposals on the creation of a nuclear weapon-free world were another important factor. These initiatives have made a profound impact on millions of people who used to keep aloof from the peace movement. The proposals exposed the role of the United States as the principal opponent of disarmament, thus dealing a blow to the 'superpowers' equal responsibility' concept still current in Western Europe.

Other factors determined by the distinctive situation in this or that country were also noted. **Gunnar Jorgensen** ascribed the changes in the stand of the SDPD, among other things, to tactical considerations, specifically to its new opposition status and desire to distance itself from the ruling bourgeois parties. In Great Britain, **Bert Ramelson** said, the Chernobyl accident caused great concern among the public, including the Labour Party, put the spotlight on the grim facts of life in the late twentieth century, and prompted people to think harder about many things.

The SDPG also had additional reasons for changing its stance, and they included changes in the composition of its leadership. **Kurt Schacht** pointed out that a new team of leaders was taking shape in the SDPG; they had gained their political experience during the time of détente and of clashes over NATO's 'twin-track' decision. The membership base of the party has also changed. Of its 900,000 members, three-quarters joined the SDPG after 1970, encouraged by détente and the policy then pursued by Willy Brandt. This makes it possible to acknowledge certain guarantees of the firmness and stability of the changes that have occurred in that party.

Nevertheless, the question of how consistently the Labour Party in Britain and the Social Democrats elsewhere will uphold their new stand remains open. The opinions of Bert Ramelson, Gunnar Jorgensen and Kurt Schacht on this score were identical as far as the main point was concerned: a return of these parties to the old policy with regard to international affairs and national security is virtually impossible because too much has changed in Great Britain, Denmark, the FRG and the world since 1979. Still, firm loyalty to the capitalist system, the West and NATO makes them susceptible to pressure from the right.

This is why the Communists of Great Britain, Denmark and the FRG believe that the democratic forces and the peace movements are to do their utmost to consolidate the positive shifts in question. A great deal will depend not only on the alignment of forces within each country but also on the development of international processes and on the way other social democratic parties will choose. The latter factor must not be discounted because the evolution of the Socialist International member parties is not only positive — witness the policies of the Socialists in France, Italy and Portugal.

As the participants in the discussion said, *an increasingly significant factor that exerts a positive influence on the Social Democrats is the dialogue conducted between them and the ruling communist parties. And this dialogue benefits both sides.*

In this connection **Jan Debrouwere** said that the CPB was in favour of the broadest possible contacts between the Communists of the socialist countries and the Social Democrats. Even contacts undertaken expressly for purposes of information are very useful. After a recent visit of a delegation of the French-speaking Socialists to the USSR and the GDR, the party² developed new ideas and proposals.

The speakers recalled that up to the mid-1970s the Socialist International had rejected the very idea of any contacts with the Communists, the SDPG being among those who blocked any such moves. Today, the situation has changed completely: Socialist International delegations are paying official visits to the Soviet Union, and the SDPG has been the first not only to negotiate but also to reach agreement with ruling communist parties.

In the opinion of **Kurt Schacht**, these accords — such as those on nuclear and chemical weapon-free zones in Central Europe — play an extremely significant part in the political tug-of-war in the Federal Republic. They enhance the SDPG's sense of responsibility for its current policy goals and make it incumbent on it to implement them upon assuming power. Today, such initiatives are already exerting pressure on the Kohl government. Besides, they are giving a powerful impetus to the peace movement, demonstrating that agreement with the Communists is possible on sensitive issues too. On the whole the GCP maintains that, despite the differences that are there, contacts, talks and accords between parties of the Socialist International and ruling communist parties have a beneficial effect on communist-social democratic relations in individual West European countries.

As speakers in the discussion noted however, some social democratic parties' evolution has been quite contradictory. Take the situation in Belgium whose two socialist parties, both members of the Socialist International, often stand wide apart on internal political matters and are involved in the controversies between the Flemish and French-speaking communities.

As **Jan Debrouwere** emphasised, this situation has an impact on international issues to which the two parties sometimes display substantially different attitudes. The current leadership of the French-speaking Socialist Party is little active on the European or world scene because of its orientation primarily on the French Socialist Party which is hardly a zealous advocate of peace and disarmament. Furthermore, the Walloon Socialists have not assumed an uncompromising stance with regard to the US Euromissiles and have failed to speak clearly against Belgium's participation in SDI — hoping to land contracts for some of the advanced Walloon industries.

Unlike the French-speaking Socialist Party, the Flemish Socialists maintain close ties with those Socialist International member parties which are particularly active on the international scene, such as the Dutch Labour Party and the SDPG. The Flemish Socialist Party had a substantial role in the establishment of Scandilux³ and, together with the Danish Social Democrats and the Dutch Socialists, it has been involved in the dialogue with the SUPG, HSWP and the BCP.

Significantly, the Flemish Socialists did not condemn NATO's 'double-track' decision at once and then, having repudiated it, joined the mass anti-missile action. The reason is that the Socialists — and that is a distinctive aspect of the political situation in Belgium — kept away from the anti-missile movement because it was dominated by the Catholics. Today, the grassroots organisations of the Flemish Socialist Party are more active than the Socialists not only of Wallonia, but, perhaps, also of many other West European countries.

At the same time, this party has no programme of action of its own. Instead of elaborating, promoting and publicising its own initiatives, the Flemish Socialists have adopted the ideas contributed to the peace movement by the Campaign for European Nuclear Disarmament and the Dutch Interdenominational Peace Council.⁴ The result was demoralising.

A distinctive situation has taken shape in Sweden. In our country, **Maud Sundquist** said, no major changes occurred in the attitude of the Social Democrats to issues of peace in the 1980s. On the contrary, Swedish foreign policy has long been based on a nationwide consensus, and the Social Democrats and our party cooperate on most international issues. The country's contemporary neutral status is not something that has been accomplished by magic but the result of a continuous political process in which the peace forces won many important victories. Each time, broad alliances were formed which, transcending class boundaries and the framework of communist-social democratic relations, relied for support on nationwide movements. This led to a consensus and made political decisions irreversible.

Question to Maud Sundquist. Is it true that Sweden's social democratic government officially supports the peace movement and provides it with various kinds of support, including financial assistance?

Answer: A government fund has been established under the Foreign Ministry aegis for financing all kinds of peace-making efforts. Besides, Parliament allocates money for these purposes. Government-run peace lotteries have been organised in recent years to replenish the fund.

Kurt Schacht's remark. We hold that it is right for the peace movement not to be limited to the working class movement and, if possible, to rise above the framework of a single class. We have adopted this position because the movement in the Federal Republic is no longer confined to a single class. As in the case of Sweden, Christian quarters are represented extensively in this movement, and the first signs of conservative participation are appearing. But there are differences too: we are dealing with a monopoly bourgeoisie and a military-industrial complex possessing great economic and political power. The core of the monopoly bourgeoisie is extremely reactionary, anti-communist and hostile to détente. This power must be combated, and there can be no national alliance with it.

I would also like to inquire about Ingvar Carlsson, the current Prime Minister of Sweden. My impression — perhaps superficial — is that unlike Olof Palme, he is not as passionately committed to the peace struggle. How do you explain this?

Maud Sundquist. First I'll comment on what you said about the military-industrial complex. We, too, are alarmed by its role. Take arms

exports, for example. Arms manufacturing companies are few, but they wield enormous influence, blackmail trade unions with threats of high unemployment and put pressure on parliament and the government. It was no accident that a former Defence Minister once described the military-industrial complex as military-trade union and military-communal: arms manufacturing factories are very influential locally, and they have an impact on the level of employment. Obviously, this adversely affects the class struggle and our activities.

And now about the new Prime Minister. You must remember that Sweden is a nation of organisations, not personalities. I am sure that the Social Democratic Party is ready to keep up its vigorous involvement in the struggle for peace irrespective of the personal qualities of the Prime Minister or any other functionary representing it. It is true that politicians of Palme's charisma are rare, but that is another matter.

A Contradictory Course Continues

Do the changes in the international stand of the Social Democrats affect their domestic policy precepts? The opinions of the participants in the discussion coincided in many things on this point. Citing their national experience, the representatives of the communist parties of Belgium, Great Britain, Denmark and the FRG noted that there was no direct or immediate connection. In the eyes of the Social Democrats, the evolution of their attitude to issues of war and peace fits into the framework of bourgeois politics — although this does nothing to detract from the positive impact of this evolution on social developments in this or that country. The speakers offered examples of inconsistent and contradictory social democratic policies.

In Belgium, some Socialists defend the militarisation of certain industries citing protection of jobs. Most of them are aware that as a rule, these are temporary jobs. But this awareness shows a degree of blindness because the Socialists do not see either the prime causes of the socio-economic crisis or any way of overcoming it.

In the FRG, the Social Democrats increasingly understand the interconnection between the arms build-up and social cutbacks. They demand reductions in military spending that would release funds for fighting mass unemployment, promoting social security and assisting Third World countries. But the party has failed to draw any in-depth socio-political conclusions from the changes in its attitudes. The West German Communists believe that this is largely due to the fact that the SDPG's positive reappraisal of its foreign policy stems from an analysis of the advances occurring in military technology and from an awareness of the threat to human survival, but not from an understanding of the nature of capitalist society. Nevertheless, the GCP holds that there is a very real chance of the processes which affect the Social Democrats' international stance gradually spreading to the party's domestic policy. There are indications of this both within the SDPG and, to a much greater extent, in the trade unions.

In Denmark, the Communists cooperate with the Social Democrats not only within the peace movement but also in other fields — in social

programmes, trade union activities and local reforms. Those Social Democrats whose convictions are generally progressive as far as the struggle for peace is concerned are far from always progressive on domestic issues. And so, depending on the question to be tackled, the Communists cooperate with different groups of Social Democrats.

On the whole, the British Labour Party and the Socialists and Social Democrats in other countries proclaim their respect for the 'rules of the game' of the bourgeois system and reject the prospect of radical social change. Their anti-crisis strategy does not envisage any curbs on the power of the monopolies but pins all hope on the modernisation of capitalism, on new technology and on greater competitiveness of the national economy. True, sometimes social-reformist parties do link this with proposals on overcoming mass unemployment and ensuring the social rights of the working people — proposals that are similar to the demands of the Communists. Generally, however, the programmes and policies of these parties are aimed at preserving the rule of capital.

Nevertheless, the speakers stressed, the Social Democrats are the principal force in the left movement in Western Europe, and it would therefore be wrong to confine oneself merely to an analysis of drawbacks, omissions and mistakes in the activities of social democracy.

While rejecting a sectarian approach, **Jan Debrouwere** said, the Communists should not only work out a certain code of rules for their relations with social democratic parties but also try to finally understand why, after suffering two historic defeats (the first was in Italy and Germany where it allowed the fascists to seize power, and the second was its failure to prevent World War II), social democracy nonetheless succeeded in retaining its political positions — unlike most West European communist parties. This would help us to find answers to other questions too — why social democracy is and will likely remain the principal current in the West European Left in the near future, how it forged such firm links with the working people, and how we can establish an alliance with it in which each side could retain its distinctive image and positions.

Old Problems and New Opportunities

How are new opportunities for joint action by the Communists and the Social Democrats realised in the peace movements? What stands in the way of using these opportunities? How could the Communists contribute to a more vigorous involvement of the Social Democrats in the struggle for peace? These questions were also discussed broadly. This is what the participants said.

As **Aulis Leppanen** says in his presentation, in Finland, as all over the world, the peace movement expanded considerably in the 1980s.

The movement reached its peak during the struggle against the Euromissiles. At that time, up to 240,000 people in 130 areas throughout the country took part in the UN-sponsored Disarmament Action Week. Some 180 civic committees, movements, and trade unions with the participation of Social Democrats and Communists acted as co-sponsors of the event. That was when we hit on an interesting form of working-class struggle — the Peace Stoppage, that is, five-minute midday industrial

stoppage for disarmament.

Despite pessimistic forecasts, the peace movement not only kept from 'disintegrating' after the failure of the campaign against the Euromissiles but also expanded its activities in some areas. It was joined by new trade unions of different industries. Over 100,000 people in more than 100 districts all over Finland took part in the 1986 Disarmament Action Week demonstrations. In other words, the movement has retained its mass character thanks to the contribution of the Communists, the Social Democrats and the trade unions.

The struggle against nuclear tests offered new scope for joint action. In the spring of 1986 several national organisations created a Committee to Ban Nuclear Tests which, among others, comprises Communists and Social Democrats. The committee has raised funds to buy advertising space in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* to urge an end to nuclear explosions. The Copenhagen Appeal on banning nuclear tests and preventing 'star wars' is being circulated quite vigorously in Finland.

The threat of militarisation of outer space has caused a new upsurge in the activity of peace champions. Different social forces and the trade unions firmly reject the 'star wars' plans, but sufficiently vigorous explanatory work on this issue is still lacking. Perhaps the problem is that the peace movement has not yet aroused profound popular concern over SDI which many still see in abstract terms.

Despite the contradictions that separate the Communists and the Social Democrats, they have formed a united front in the struggle for peace. Naturally, numerous problems do arise — specifically, because many people refuse to acknowledge the changes that are occurring and to understand that our age calls for a new way of thinking.

Bert Ramelson. I do not think that any radical change for the better has occurred in relations between the Communists and the Social Democrats, and I am not referring to Britain alone. It is true that the atmosphere has changed to a certain extent, and that in itself is important. This alone has enabled the Communists in different countries to establish contacts with large groups of Social Democrats at the grassroots level. Besides, the relations and the framework of discussion between the leaders of certain communist and social democratic parties have expanded considerably. Nonetheless, the latter still show a substantial degree of suspicion towards the Communists, and this mistrust remains a major obstacle to joint action.

In my country, cooperation between the Communists and the non-communists, including members of the Labour Party, is developing particularly fruitfully at the grassroots level of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Naturally, one cannot describe this cooperation as left unity. It is a distinctive feature of the Labour Party that it relies mostly on the trade unions. Cooperation between the Communists and the non-communists precisely within the trade unions is of particular value to the working class movement. But we are still very far from even theoretically conceiving of any joint initiatives with the Labour Party at the inter-party level.

Maud Sundquist. Today's social atmosphere is better for cooperation than it was not too long ago. Many peace initiatives are winning the

support of Sweden's principal political parties. As for our relations with the Social Democrats, I would not say that any new opportunities have arisen. As always, we seek to cooperate with them on such matters as the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Scandinavia or the conversion of the arms industry to peaceful uses. Such concerted action, particularly in the former case, is already developing locally and producing joint initiatives, although sometimes we run into the Social Democrats' desire to dominate the peace movement, something that would not be good for it.

And now a few words about the opportunities and prospects of the peace struggle in the West European countries. One cannot really deny that it lacks proper strategic attitudes. The peacemaking forces are trying to influence parties and parliaments to secure the desired political decisions. But one cannot confine one's work to peace issues only, no matter how important they are. After all, there are the movements of solidarity with Nicaragua, with the Chilean democrats, with the people of South Africa. Efforts undertaken along these lines objectively help the cause of peace. I think it is the mission of the Communists to link action against nuclear weapons with the struggle for democracy and for the advancement of the developing countries. In other words, there is a need for a universal coalition which would include the working-class movement, political parties and trade unions from the East and the West, as well as the national liberation movements and popular masses from Third World countries.

Gunnar Jorgensen's question. I don't think one can separate international and national issues in discussing cooperation with the Social Democrats. This is why I would like to know how the consensus of the parties on international questions affects Swedish domestic politics. Also, how would you describe the Communists' relations with the Social Democrats in Sweden at the inter-party level?

Maud Sundquist. The leaders of all party factions in parliament hold weekly or monthly consultations. Until the latest elections, our party was not invited to take part, but now we attend these meetings.

As far as your first question is concerned, I think it is clear that obviously, the Communists welcome the Swedish Social Democratic government's policy of peace, nuclear disarmament, and European security, or the fact that it earmarks 600 million kronor in aid to the African Frontline States. But we can take a different view of the government's course in the distribution of social benefits or with regard to taxes. In other words, the inconsistency of the policy pursued by the Social Democratic cabinet makes it necessary for us to decide on each separate case.

Jan Debrouwere. I would like to discuss not so much the new opportunities, which are few, as Belgium's old and new problems. The antimissile movement is slowly shaking itself free of the shock and confusion which spread through it after the deployment of the first 16 missiles. True, obvious shifts for the better have been occurring lately — specifically, under the impact of the Soviet proposals on disarmament. But many refuse to believe that any serious partners can be found among the major parties. Compounding the political confusion, the chairman of the Flemish Socialist Party announced that he personally was prepared to

accept the missiles already deployed if this could help his party regain power.

As for the attitude of both socialist parties to us Communists, I regret to say that no positive changes can be cited. In some socialist quarters, anti-communism is even on the rise. Despite all this, we try to maintain personal contacts with Socialists, but I confess that it is often easier to find common ground with some Catholic activists.

And now about the conclusions the Communists have drawn from this situation. First and foremost, we believe that the peace movement both in Flanders and in Wallonia remains a very important political factor. But it must formulate a clear stand with due regard for the current state of international affairs. And finally, despite the drawbacks I have listed, both socialist parties are major political entities in Belgium. Furthermore, there is a growing feeling at the grassroots level in both these parties, and especially in Flanders, that the proposals made by the Soviet Union, the SUPG, the CPCz and the SDPG open new political opportunities.

Now, to follow up on what the Swedish comrade has said, I would like to share my reflections on some general problems of the peace movement and on our attitude to them.

The first US medium-range missiles on Belgian soil were deployed in Florennes, a small town in Namur. Protest demonstrations have been held near the base many times. I have taken part in them myself, and I can share some of my impressions with you. You may be surprised to learn that the locals did not welcome our presence; there was even a degree of friction. The reason is that the area had been deep in crisis for several years. There was an economic slump, and unemployment affected virtually every family. A change for the better began, paradoxically enough, with the stationing of the missiles. A US army unit of some 1,000 men was billeted in Florennes, and this created hundreds of jobs — drivers, chefs, waiters and the like. The Socialist Party does not dare say anything against the missiles for fear of losing local votes. The situation is far from encouraging. Many of our illusions have been shattered, but facts are facts, and they should give us food for thought.

Other speakers have said, and quite rightly, that the struggle for peace must overcome class barriers: you can be a conservative and still oppose the missiles. Otherwise this struggle could not have assumed the dimensions it now has. But I would like to take one more step and ask whether the working class movement itself has joined the struggle for peace vigorously enough everywhere. Unfortunately, it has not.

This makes it incumbent on us Communists to grasp above all the connection which exists between actions for peace and against the crisis. We must promote the understanding that in the European context, peace is not only the removal of the missiles or the elimination of nuclear weapons, not only an absence of war, but also a radically new kind of cooperation between the two systems — for example, what we call the 'economy of peace'.⁵

There are other problems of interest to the working class movement. A search for their solution is likely to imply that class barriers should be overcome not only in the peace movement but also in our approach to the

socio-economic struggle. Moving along these lines, communist parties will be able to offer not only a choice between missiles or jobs to the working people, but also a tangible alternative to the crisis.

Kurt Schacht. We hold that the new opportunities stem from the widespread understanding that we are dealing with matters of human survival, with prevention of a nuclear war which would annihilate everything and all. Against this background, the ideological differences between the Communists and the Social Democrats are diminishing. I would even say that not only peaceful coexistence of different countries but also joint action by the working class is now an imperative. Never in West German history have the attitudes of the two parties to the issue of peace been closer. Both demand a new policy of security, and both have developed a similar assessment of the international activities of the Soviet Union and the United States.

True, a fundamental difference remains in our attitudes to NATO and its military and political role. But the record shows that this is no obstacle to cooperation. While opposing NATO, our party does not believe that withdrawal of the Federal Republic from NATO and dissolution of military blocs should be advanced as the order of the day, nor have we set it forth as a demand of the peace forces. We view this problem as a long-term process, although we clearly state the need to abolish military blocs and create a system of European and universal security. For all the differences between them, the Communists and the Social Democrats agree that the Federal Republic should give up its one-sided orientation on the United States in order to conduct a more independent policy in the national and European interest.

The West German peace movement has no comprehensive organisational framework. Aside from the central coordinating committee in which the principal political forces collaborate, there is also the well-known Krefeld Initiative which encouraged peace champions to rally into a truly nationwide movement. In both parts of the movement, there is good understanding between the Social Democrats and the Communists. Besides, there are action groups formed according to different occupations — natural scientists, physicians, teachers, lawyers, craftsmen and athletes. All these groups are independent, but they see themselves as part of the peace movement.

We set great store by the numerous factory groups for peace action in which social democratic, communist, Christian and politically unaffiliated workers cooperate. The task of these groups is to promote the ideas of peace among industrial workers and to draw them into concrete actions. At military factories, such groups strive to prevent workers from turning into supporters of the arms race and to ensure their participation in the struggle for peace. Certain progress has been achieved in this field: plans for conversion to civilian production have been drawn up at many factories. I must also say that in the Federal Republic, there is no such thing as a military-trade union complex one of the speakers mentioned, although I will not deny that many workers still see the arms industry as a reliable source of jobs.

Finally, there are many local and regional peace groups. Effective

cooperation between Communists and Social Democrats has developed at these levels too. It includes official contacts between the two parties' district committee leaders and in some areas, even joint actions. Our discussions generally display an attitude of mutual respect, and joint actions are prepared, as a rule, in a comradely spirit.

Of course, there are still 'blank spaces' in this cooperation, and there are many issues on which we disagree. But the important thing is that the 'platform of agreement' has become more stable — primarily thanks to more concerted action on the part of the Communists and the Social Democrats.

As far as the GCP's role in this cooperation is concerned, we see ourselves as a mobilising and unifying component of the peace movement, and we work to broaden the platform of agreement. Upholding frank discussions, the Communists emphasise that which unites all peace forces. We oppose any claims to hegemony or leadership, and we advocate genuine partnership.

And now about the objective and subjective factors which hamper a fuller use of the opportunities offered by joint action.

Among the objective factors I would mention the fact that for all the changes in its stand, the SDPG remains committed to capitalism and to NATO. I might also note the rise in the anti-communist efforts of the ruling big bourgeoisie to brainwash Social Democrats. This pressure is aimed against joint working class action, particularly against cooperation with the Communists. The Right maligns the SDPG, claiming that it cannot be relied on to protect national interests and that it toes the Soviet line on issues of security and peace. The charge of being a 'stooge of Moscow' which has always been levelled at our party is now being made against the Social Democrats too. The limited membership of the GCP is also an obstacle.

Finally, the subjective factors. On the SDPG side, cooperation is hampered by anti-communism which, however, has declined somewhat in recent years. This is furthered by the fact that a new generation of members and, in part, leaders is moving to the foreground in the Social Democratic Party. As a rule, these people do not have the bitter memory of their predecessors about the acute clashes between Communists and Social Democrats in 1929-1932 or during the Cold War years.

I should also mention that the 1970 decision of the SDPG leadership on banning contacts between Social Democrats and Communists is in fact no longer enforced. For the first time, a draft resolution calling for an official repeal of this hold-over was submitted at the SDPG congress held in Nuremberg in 1986. Nonetheless, anti-communist sentiments are still there.

The Social Democrats who purposefully and vigorously promote joint action remain an insignificant minority within their party. Joint action is usually proposed by the Communists, while the SDPG governing bodies are busy ensuring the hegemony of the Social Democrats in the working class, the trade unions and the new civic and democratic movements.

The Communist Party has not yet fully solved the problem of inculcating in all Communists a correct attitude to the Social Democrats. It often

proves difficult to prompt our comrades to approach them, open a dialogue and look for ways to undertake joint projects. So far we do not fully use the opportunities that present themselves on the shop floor and in communities. However, cooperation in the trade unions, colleges and universities is quite stable now.

The GCP numbers 58,000 members now. Most of them joined the party in the 1970s and 1980s, and their past is not encumbered with bitterness. They became politically active when relations between the Social Democrats and the Communists had acquired a businesslike and correct character. But the new generation of party members is not homogeneous either. Many joined us after an agonising disillusionment with the Social Democratic Party and its policy. It is not always easy for them to grasp the significance of the positive changes under way in the SDPG. Sometimes they tend to sweepingly condemn all Social Democrats, and the GCP cannot accept that. This is why we are working patiently to explain the need for joint action.

Bert Ramelson. I think that the previous speaker has set forth a number of contradictory views. I see the main objective obstacle to cooperation between the two currents of the working class movement in the inability of the Social Democrats to realise that the growing threat of war is rooted primarily in the essence of imperialism and not in this or that political concept or trend of technological development. All the rest is a consequence of an inability to grasp this fundamental precept.

Comrade Schacht spoke about anti-communism as a subjective phenomenon, but it is an objective factor in today's world. Anti-communist hysteria has been with us for four generations, and it would be idealistic to believe that anti-communism in the West has not struck deep roots in politics, ideology and consciousness.

The previous speaker also said that the participants in the peace movement were united in their desire to survive and that all other issues must be relegated to the background. I do not agree because I think it is a mistake to believe that one can draw a line between the struggle for peace and the struggle for broad social goals. In my view, the Communists should patiently explain that NATO and imperialism are the principal source of the war threat, that it is imperialism which is overwhelmingly responsible for neocolonialism and for the still unsolved regional conflicts. We must explain to the masses that in the final analysis you cannot rule out the threat of war without transforming society.

Gunnar Jorgensen. I do not think that the problem of a proper understanding of the role of imperialism and NATO is completely extraneous to our parties. For example, many new members of the Communist Party of Denmark have come to us from the peace movement in which they continue to be active. At first, some of them spoke about the 'two superpowers' too. This means that efforts to explain things should also be addressed to new party members.

Kurt Schacht. I am afraid that some points of my statement have been misunderstood, first and foremost our stand with regard to NATO. If I understand Comrade Ramelson correctly, he maintains that the struggle for peace cannot be divorced from the other objectives and tasks of the

Communists, including the dissolution of the aggressive NATO bloc, and that we should advance more far-reaching goals in the peace movement. Such is the stand of the GCP too — as is clear, for example, from the documents of our congress held in Hamburg in May 1986. But within the peace movement, we refuse to put forward the demand that the Federal Republic withdraw from NATO. Otherwise an acute and harsh confrontation with the Social Democrats would develop immediately, and we would be unable to reach agreement with them on many other issues. Besides, this would make it impossible to expand the base of the peace movement, specifically by drawing conservative forces into it.

I cannot agree that it is impossible to banish war as a phenomenon without radical social transformations. Today, mankind simply must prevent war because should a nuclear conflict break out, both socialism and capitalism will perish. If we discount the most aggressive imperialist circles, we can say that the bourgeoisie as a whole, including the big bourgeoisie, has a vital stake in preventing war. That is the cardinal difference between what we have today from what we had several decades ago, although the GCP still believes that imperialism is the prime source of the war threat.

Bert Ramelson. I do not maintain that imperialism will necessarily lead to war. But as long as imperialism is with us, so is the threat of world war. In our joint struggle we must therefore help the non-Marxists understand this extremely important point.

As far as NATO is concerned, the problem is more difficult. Virtually all communist parties — possibly with the exception of the Italian Communist Party — acknowledge that this is an aggressive alliance and advocate simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. Dissolution of blocs is what many Social Democrats urge too, at least verbally. But the problem is different: how do we avoid a sectarian mistake in demanding the abolition of NATO while many participants in the peace movement still regard this bloc as a necessary defensive mechanism? I think that the Communists are to make people see what NATO really is. But we speak little about it for fear of aggravating relations with our partners. There is a difference between discussing this subject and advancing a slogan. I agree that the proclamation of such a slogan today would not contribute to a better understanding between the Communists and the Social Democrats.



An Editorial Comment. It is clear from the exchange of views that the shift in the social democratic attitudes to international problems and to the peace movement is a positive development displaying different salient features, and deserving to be analysed carefully and in depth. We hope that this survey will prompt comrades from other fraternal parties to continue the examination and discussion of this subject in *World Marxist Review*.

¹ Social democratic parties in many West European countries have welcomed the new Soviet initiative on medium-range nuclear weapons. — *Ed.*

² The Belgian Socialist Party, founded in 1945 as a nationwide entity, broke up, in October 1978, into two separate organisations functioning under the same name — the Socialist Party. One operates in Flanders, the other in Wallonia, and both in Brussels. — *Ed.*

³ The Scandilux group comprises representatives of the social democratic and socialist parties of the smaller NATO member countries (Belgium, Denmark, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Norway). This association has repeatedly advocated the establishment of nuclear and chemical weapon-free zones, and an end to nuclear tests, as well as all-European cooperation. — *Ed.*

⁴ While opposing nuclear war and the NATO doctrine of deterrence, the leaders of both these organisations often equally blame the USSR and the United States for world tensions and deny any fundamental differences in the policies pursued by the two powers. — *Ed.*

⁵ For details, see Louis Van Geyt, 'Our Alternative to the War Economy', *WMR*, No. 9, 1986. — *Ed.*

viewpoints

The Standard Bearer of the Revolutionary Press

The 75th Anniversary of Lenin's *Pravda*

Zdenek Horeni — CC Secretariat
member, CPCz, Editor-in-Chief of *Rudé
Právo*

IT was highly symbolic that the first issue of *Pravda* as a legal mass newspaper of the Petersburg workers and effectively the printed organ of the Bolshevik Party, came out in 1912 on May 5, the anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx. It symbolised the carrying on of Marx's revolutionary ideas by Russia's revolutionary proletariat.

With the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, a relatively small newspaper, brutally hounded by the tsarist authorities, became one of the most powerful accelerators of social progress. Ten years later Lenin wrote an article entitled 'On the Tenth Anniversary of *Pravda*'.¹ The anniversary of the revolutionary newspaper which he so cherished gave Lenin an opportunity to ponder this phenomenon of the epoch: the vast acceleration of the worldwide revolutionary process, of which the Great October Socialist Revolution was the motor.

The voice of the first victorious proletarian revolution inexorably broke

Zdenek Horeni (b. 1930) began to work as an editor on *Rudé Právo* in 1954; from 1962 to 1968 he was the paper's correspondent in Moscow; from 1969 to 1983 he was deputy editor-in-chief, and has been editor-in-chief since June 1983. A member of the CPCz CC since 1983, and a member of the CPCz CC Secretariat since 1984.

through the borders of states, and, over the heads of bourgeois governments and colonial rulers, went deep into the midst of the working class and the working people of many countries. "The basic reason for this tremendous acceleration of world development," Lenin wrote, "is that new hundreds of millions of people have been drawn into it . . . That majority has now awakened and has begun a movement . . ."²

Lenin's reflection on the qualitative changes in the social map of the world led him to reflect on the role of the revolutionary press in these historical developments. He wrote: "In 1906-07, it seemed that the tsarist government had completely crushed the revolution. A few years later the Bolshevik Party was able — *in a different form, by a different method* — to penetrate into the very citadel of the enemy and daily, 'legally', proceed with its work of undermining the accursed tsarist and landowner autocracy from within."³

This daily revolutionary work in the 'citadel of the enemy' was carried on by Lenin's party with the aid of the press, notably *Pravda*, which appeared every day thanks to the great self-sacrifice of the workers. Consequently, it was the Bolshevik press, led by *Pravda*, which did much to turn the twentieth century into the century of the birth of socialism.

Lenin believed it to be most important for the international proletariat to become widely aware of *Pravda's* example. Wilhelm Koenen, a prominent leader of the German working class movement, later recalled that during his meetings with foreign Communists, Lenin stressed that "*Pravda's* example, taken from Russian life, needs to be tied in most closely with the totally different conditions of development in Western Europe, so as to enliven this example".⁴

Lenin thought about a newspaper that would be the backbone of an all-Russian political party when the revolutionary movement in the country was at its beginnings. He thought of a newspaper capable not only of becoming "a collective propagandist and a collective agitator", but also "a collective organiser . . . It may be likened to the scaffolding round a building under construction, which marks the contours of the structure and facilitates communication between the builders."⁵

We who are friends and comrades of *Pravda* abroad fully accept its being called Leninist: *Pravda* is truly the fruit of Lenin's ideological and organisational genius. I should like to recall that in January 1912, the Prague social-democratic workers, with their pronounced sense of proletarian solidarity, made available to the Russian revolutionaries their hospitable People's House for holding the well-known Sixth (Prague) All-Russia Conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP). Lenin later wrote: "We have managed at last to set up a daily *Pravda* — incidentally, thanks precisely to that (January) Conference."⁶ We Czechoslovak Communists highly appreciate the fact that that historic conference was held in our country. And it is highly symbolic that the circumstances took shape in such a way that the first issue of *Pravda's* Czechoslovak sister — *Rudé Právo* — came out in 1920 in the very same house in Prague where the Russian Bolsheviks had held their conference.

Lenin not only founded *Pravda*, but guided it, despite the fact that he was far away. When soon after the paper was founded he moved from Paris

to Krakow, so as to be closer to Russia, in answer to a question from a Polish police officer about his occupation, he replied: "I am a correspondent of the Russian democratic newspaper *Pravda*, which is published in Petersburg, and of the Russian newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat*, published in Paris."⁷ Lenin was, indeed, a regular contributor to *Pravda*: he wrote more than 280 articles and items for the 645 issues of the paper which came out from 1912 to 1914. Nor did he forget about *Pravda* later on, when he was head of the Soviet government, and was extremely busy.

Lenin's whole life and work set a striking example of understanding the role and use of the revolutionary press. *Pravda* justified his idea of it. It helped the Bolshevik Party to organise the working people of Russia for the struggle to overthrow the tsarist autocracy, and then the capitalist system after it. It helped the party to carry on socialist construction to transform a once-backward country into an advanced, industrialised and scientifically and technologically developed socialist power, which gave mankind its Columbus of space.

In many ways, Lenin's idea of acceleration of revolutionary processes in the world is valid for our own day. Mankind's development has been exceptionally accelerated and a true majority of it is now on the move. Cardinal social processes are under way on a global scale, and they are greatly influenced by the ideas of the October Revolution and by world socialism.

Many fraternal parties, the leading forces of the socialist countries, adopted programmes for accelerating economic and social progress at their recent congresses. By the end of the century, the Soviet Union, for instance, intends to double its production potential, with a radical improvement of quality, and to more than double labour productivity. The acceleration programme involves a restructuring not only of the economic mechanism, but also a raising of the quality of virtually every sphere of life in the society.

It is no exaggeration to say that the whole world is closely watching how the USSR copes with the tasks it has set itself. The mobilisation of the Soviet people and of all its material and spiritual forces is sure to be of far-reaching significance for the cause of socialism throughout the world. The January 1987 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU CC, which considered the course of the restructuring and the party's cadre policy, showed very well how consistently, fundamentally and imaginatively the Soviet Communists are working to realise their revolutionary programme. Mikhail Gorbachov left no doubt in anyone's mind on that score when he described the substance of the restructuring at the February meeting at the CPSU CC with leaders of the mass media as follows: "The movement is not away from socialism, but towards more socialism, not away from democracy, but towards more democracy, not away from socialist morality, but for socialist morality."⁸ That is how creative Leninism is now consistently carrying on the Bolshevik Party's great beginnings of October 1917.

We Communist journalists working in different national conditions make no secret of our satisfaction when we say that *Pravda* is our friend, comrade and teacher, that it is in the front ranks of the fighters for the restructuring, and has been actively and boldly stepping up the pace. The

newspaper puts a public mirror to those who fail to match their words with deeds. It is an inspiration to the party and the society for fresh achievements. It has been developing a collective dialogue. Nothing is out of bounds for criticism. *Pravda* is campaigning for a radical restructuring of every sphere of life, and is itself doing the same thing in its content, structure and make up. An imaginative effort is being made to give journalism a more effective edge.

The revolutionary press has always been concerned with the Soviet Union. Indeed, news from the Soviet Union has always been at the top of reports on world developments. That is especially true today. *Pravda* has been and continues to be a rich source of such information, experience, and inspiration, setting an example of principled, truthful, convincing and militant Marxist-Leninist journalism understandable to the people. It is a daily textbook for the scholar of Leninist journalism.

On the eve of 1987, one of *Pravda's* pages was devoted to an open and sincere conversation with its readers, carrying their views of the paper's work, their requests and wishes. For its part, the editorial board told of their plans for the coming year, the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, and said the following about its own role in the ongoing social changes in the Soviet Union: "Our time is one of renewal, of great hopes and plans, determined by the 27th Congress of the CPSU. Can the newspaper be a sideline observer in all that? Of course not. Here *Pravda* takes a clear stand: it is not going to register the events, but to give a lead, to be out in front, as it befits the militant organ of the party's Central Committee, to give a consistent account of the restructuring, above all in the party organisations, in the economy, in the social sphere, in spiritual life, to support innovation and the best experience, and to criticise attempts to drown the living effort in empty talk, bureaucratic practice and indifference."⁹

The stirring struggle for social change, the strategic line of which was mapped out by the 27th Congress of the CPSU, is being fought on the pages of *Pravda*, a struggle to have 'more socialism' which also means 'more democracy' everywhere, a struggle for high Communist morality, an effort to make every citizen feel that he is the true master of the socialist state, the master of the social wealth and of all the means of production, displaying concern for that wealth and striving to multiply it. It is a struggle to make what is 'ours' more cherished than what is 'mine'.

That is why the spread of living labour experience as exemplified by the heroes of our day has become *Pravda's* primary concern. It has always been foremost on the pages of the paper. This involves people who teach others and give them a lead most convincingly by their own deeds and behaviour, awakening a desire to stand for revolutionary change, a new style of work, and new creative thinking. That is the kind of journalism Lenin called for, with its ability to seek, cultivate and spread the beginnings of what is new and to protect it from the weeds.

Pravda takes a characteristically firm stand against everything that hampers the society's advance. It has fought without compromise against indifference, bureaucratic practices, inertia and various other anti-social phenomena. Truthfulness and solid arguments addressed to concrete

persons are a fundamental feature of its critical writings.

I recall especially over the past several months the case of the journalist from Voroshilovgrad Region in the Ukraine who was harassed for his principled stand and honesty by the local authorities and even arrested. *Pravda* has repeatedly returned to that case and has condemned it as being deeply at variance with the humanism of the Soviet society and its laws and morality. The newspaper not only succeeded in defending the journalist and getting the guilty persons punished, but also in carrying the fight against the breaches of law to a logical conclusion. The measures taken were reported on *Pravda's* pages by V. Chebrikov, Chairman of the USSR State Security Committee, and First Secretary of the CP Ukraine CC V. Shcherbitsky. They said that several senior officials in Voroshilovgrad Region involved in the gross violations of socialist legality had been called to strict account and dismissed from office. The First Secretary of the Party Regional Committee was also sacked in view of the fact that other major shortcomings had been countenanced by the regional leadership.

Pravda's pages today provide evidence of a purposeful urge to assert Lenin's principle of openness and publicity (*glasnost*), a term which has many strands of meaning and which has attracted close attention of journalists, readers and all other citizens. In an article entitled 'The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government', which *Pravda* carried on April 28, 1918, Lenin said that *glasnost* was a means for organising socialist emulation.¹⁰ But he saw *glasnost* as something wider, namely, as the principle on which masses of working people were truly involved in management, a method of policy, and the basis of democracy in the socialist society. He also saw it as one of the main features of the new type of press which serves as an instrument of socialist construction, "but which will submit the questions of everyday economic life to the people's judgement and assist in the serious study of these questions", which would give publicity to the successes of work collectives and would "put on the 'black list'" those of them which persist in maintaining the traditions of anarchy, idleness, disorder and profiteering.¹¹

The 27th Congress of the CPSU said that *glasnost* is the fundamental political issue without which there is no democracy, and can be none, no "political creativity by the citizenry and participation by the citizenry in administration and management".¹² The CPSU has taken the firm line that *glasnost* should become a system functioning without let-up everywhere — at the centre and at the localities. Such an approach is of truly fundamental significance, and not only for the Soviet society. *Pravda* is in the forefront of the advocates of openness and publicity, which it regards as an organic part of the further efforts to deepen democracy, the method of providing public information to the masses about work in every sector, and analysing and critically studying the potentialities of realising the people's socialist self-governance.

Glasnost is more than information; it is also a method of social dialogue opening up, as Lenin insisted, the way "to an extensive and properly organised exchange of opinion with the rank-and-file reader".¹³

Let us have another look at the pages of *Pravda*. The paper gives space to readers to enable them to voice their attitudes to the various political

and social issues, and publishes their views and recommendations. Very often letters from readers are written in strong terms, and now and again disagree with the views of the editors. The paper has organised discussions on some of the serious questions readers have raised.

Recently, for instance, *Pravda* published the letter of a worker from the town of Yeletz in Lipetsk Region, RSFSR, who has been repeatedly at odds with those around him because of his criticism of shortcomings. He says: "I have decided to write this letter after long and painful reflection. I am 37 years old, I am married and have two children. I have been a party member since 1972. You will see that my party record is a fairly long one, but I have somehow flinched from writing 'a Communist' and have written 'a party member'. All my doubts are focused on these concepts. I want to change something in life, but have so far failed to do so".¹⁴ This letter suggested to the editors a new rubric: 'Your Stand in the Restructuring Process'. What followed was an instructive conversation about how the Communists approach social problems whose solution is overdue, and how they should fight for what is new and create an atmosphere of intolerance of shortcomings.

Those of us who work on *Rudé Právo* have also been inspired by the efforts of the *Pravda* journalists to assert *glasnost* as a daily standard. There is, of course, no mechanical imitation of various journalistic approaches, but above all a creative application of this universal Leninist principle to the concrete conditions of our reality and traditions. I find journals and newspapers in other socialist countries taking a similar approach. It is bound to have an effect on the practice of democratic journalists throughout the world. *Glasnost* is a Russian word, but its substance is international.

Since the victory of the October Revolution, *Pravda* has exerted an active international influence. Its high authority, new functions and new role going well beyond the borders of its country were predetermined by its status of voicing the views of the party directing the first workers' and peasants' state in history. *Pravda* has helped to spread revolutionary ideas and genuine evidence of revolutionary practice and concrete experience in socialist construction. Anyone who wants to understand what is going on in the Soviet Union must turn to *Pravda*. It is now being translated into many languages, and is even being published commercially by several capitalist companies.

Pravda's voice is seen abroad by friends and foes alike as the voice of the Soviet Union. Those who work on *Pravda* are actively involved in realising the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. I should like to note above all the paper's steady news saturation, which is due not only to the fact that it has one of the most far-flung networks of foreign correspondents, but also that it has recently carried reports from various sources, not necessarily Soviet sources, and contributions from foreign leaders, including those who are not advocates of communism.

That, apart from everything else, shows the logic of the new political thinking, the logic of the realities of the nuclear and space age. People of goodwill, regardless of their class interests or political views (unless they are militaristic maniacs, of course) now believe that the main thing is to

prevent the annihilation of mankind and to rid the world of the threat of nuclear destruction.

At the same time, *Pravda* remains true to the traditions of international solidarity with the Communists of the whole world, with all those who are advancing along the way of social progress and who are fighting against imperialism and for lasting peace. *Pravda* often receives contributions from representatives of communist and workers' parties and offers a rostrum for an exchange of views on the development of our movement. It sheds a strong light on the building of socialism in the fraternal countries, on the struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries, and on the multi-faceted movement for peace.

Pravda remains true to its main lines in always exposing the aggressive policies of imperialism and in supporting the urge of the people of the less developed countries for full independence and a fair economic order. In this struggle, which is carried on along many lines, its voice merges with voices in numerous other languages of the communist, workers', progressive and democratic periodicals, among which *Pravda* enjoys respect and authority.

It is a matter of record that *Pravda's* first issue had a printing of 60,000 copies; today, 75 years later, it is printed in 11 million copies. The distance between these two figures is the great epoch of hard, often fierce battles, the epoch of the unquestionable successes of the cause of peace and socialism, the epoch of the vast acceleration of social progress.

¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, pp. 349-352.

² Ibid., pp. 349-350.

³ Ibid., p. 350.

⁴ *Lenin in 'Pravda'*, Moscow, 1970, p. 332 (in Russian).

⁵ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 22.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. 35, p. 51.

⁷ *Lenin Miscellany II*, p. 471 (in Russian).

⁸ *Pravda*, February 14, 1987.

⁹ *Pravda*, December 29, 1986.

¹⁰ See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 260.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 260-261.

¹² Mikhail Gorbachov, *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Moscow, 1986, p. 68.

¹³ V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 405.

¹⁴ *Pravda*, December 29, 1986.

Counteracting The Drift To The Right

Rolf Priemer — Presidium and Board Secretariat member, German Communist Party

ALTHOUGH the conservative CDU and CSU lost votes at last January's Bundestag elections, the right-wing government was returned to power and the further drift to the right was not halted. But does this mean that there is really nothing new in Bonn? A close analysis of the election results and of the post-election political situation will show quite significant changes in the alignment of political strength and new possibilities for an upswing of the extraparliamentary, particularly class struggle in our country.

Five parties are represented in the Bundestag: Christian Democratic Union, Christian Social Union, Free Democratic Party, Social Democratic Party, and the Greens. Since the CDU and the CSU are in alliance, the bourgeois press is speaking of the consolidation of a quadripartisan system, now incorporating the Greens. In the Bundestag the seats are distributed as follows: 186 Social Democrats, 174 Christian Democrats, 49 Christian Socialists, 46 Free Democrats, and 42 Greens.

The voting reflected a weakening of the right-wing conservative parties: they lost 2,200,000 votes and 21 mandates. Also significant is that fewer people (down by 1,100,000) went to the polls than in 1983. Nor had the SDP avoided losses: 800,000 votes and seven mandates. New ground was gained by the FDP (up by 700,000 votes and 12 mandates) and, particularly, by the Greens (up by 1,000,000 votes and 15 seats in the Bundestag).

The deepening crisis of the people's confidence in the powers that be, statesmen, the parliament, and political parties has obviously generated new tendencies in political life. There is a perceptible decline of traditional adherence to the so-called established parties, which are losing a section of their supporters. A growing number of people are inclined to vote for other parties or not to go to the polls at all. It is thus all the more important that we should make a political assessment of the voting results and the post-election situation.

The smallest number of people since the Federal Republic was proclaimed voted for the CDU/CSU alliance, which was then virulently attacking the second phase of the détente policy, the Soviet Union, and the GDR. We see this as indicative of the times. The Stahlhelm (Steel Helmet) faction in this alliance was sent packing; it had attempted to force a massive shift to the right in order to 'complete the turnabout' in foreign and domestic policy and also in the country's cultural life. There was a

Rolf Priemer (born 1940) comes from a worker's family. He has a secondary education, is a typesetter by trade, and has been active in the trade union movement. A member of the CPG and of the Socialist German Working Youth in 1960-1968. A member of the GCP since 1968, Federal Chairman of the SGWY and GCP Board member since 1971, GCP Board Presidium member since 1973, and a member of the Board Secretariat.

significant increase in the votes polled by the FDP, which committed itself to supporting the second phase of the détente policy and the attainment of bourgeois democratic freedoms. The SDP retained its majority in Bremen and Hamburg, won a majority in North Rhine-Westphalia and Saarland, and increased its voter base in Lower Saxony. However, its election campaign often lacked militancy and it had to reconcile itself to some losses. The Greens won a notable success on account of their alternative, chiefly on questions related to the struggle for peace and environmental protection.

For the first time since 1969 our party did not nominate candidates for the Bundestag. But more than a hundred Communists, men and women, were in the common lists of candidates of the democratic bloc and were thus active in the battle for a new policy and a new government. Moreover, the GCP conducted its own campaign to attract attention to its aims. Our political tactics at the elections proved to be entirely correct, for they helped to debilitate the right-wing parties. Moreover, they gave an uplift to the forces to the left of the CDU/CSU, stimulated positive changes in the SDP, reinforced the position of the Greens in the Bundestag, and raised our party's own prestige in the nation at large and particularly among the Social Democrats, the Greens, and activists of the peace movement and of the working class movement. All this provided an immense incentive for future joint or parallel actions in the common front and in the democratic alliances.

We had our candidates in the Peace List.¹ There were four main reasons for this. First, the concrete political situation around the problem of peace and war. Second, the concrete alignment of strength, namely, the actual possibility that, by getting our supporters to vote for the SDP and the Greens, we would strengthen the parliamentary position of those who could form a new government. Third, there were our strategic aims: to change the alignment of strength in favour of the working class and other democratic forces, enhance the prestige and influence of the Communists, and win a larger base of confidence. Fourth, the GCP followed the line set by its congresses towards participation in all elections, independently or in alliance with other parties.

By teaming up in the Peace List the Communists and their bloc partners put the maximum effort into the election campaign. We were tireless in making it clear that we were devoting all our energy and prestige to consolidating the forces to the left of the CDU/CSU. It was also this concentration of all democratic and left elements that could overwhelm the right-wing 'turnabout' government and pave the way for a new policy. The Communists stood in the elections together with other persons representing the working class movement, Church circles, academics, cultural workers, and athletes grouped around the Peace List, which focused on championing peace and disarmament.

Our tactics took into account the special voting procedure for elections to the Bundestag. Every voter in the FRG has two votes. The first is cast in the constituency of a candidate representing a party or a group of voters. The second is cast for a party and thereby largely determines the composition of the Bundestag and the size of each party in that legislature.

We urged our supporters to give their first vote to the Peace List candidates and thereby declare themselves in favour of a consistent peace policy, and their second vote to the Social Democrats or the Greens in order to counteract the swing to the right. Had their number of seats in the Bundestag grown sufficiently it would have been possible to replace the 'turnabout' government.

There was an animated response to this policy in the news media. The conservative coalition reacted turbulently, hoping to discredit the SDP and the Greens and thereby induce these parties to distance themselves publicly from the GCP. Addressing CDU functionaries, the alliance's general secretary H. Geissler said that a 'major factor' of the Bundestag election was the 'desire of the Communists to see the SDP and the Greens win'. At the closing phase of the election campaign the alliance advanced the slogan 'A Future Rather Than a Red-Green Coalition' in an effort to frighten voters away and torpedo cooperation among the forces left of the CDU/CSU. But this did not save the conservatives from losing votes.

Despite the ironical pronouncements of our adversaries about the GCP being 'inconsequential' and 'on its way to self-liquidation', it may be said that as a result of the elections the Communist Party's sphere of activity has on the whole widened. Its vigorous role in extraparliamentary movements and actions has impressed many people. In the Peace List framework we consistently and effectively raised questions related to defending peace. Some of our ideas and demands are distinctly reflected in the platforms of the Social Democrats and the Greens. Of great significance, especially for the future, is the fact that there has been an improvement of the atmosphere in the democratic bloc. The moral and political prestige of the GCP has risen. Since at the elections the GCP championed the line aimed at defeating the extreme right, it is now seen more clearly as the most uncompromising adversary of the Right. With dramatic developments unfolding in the world we have measured up to the high requirements dictated by concern for peace and disarmament. The GCP has made a more profound mark in and outside the country as a party consistently championing peace.

On the whole, the election base of the left and progressive forces has broadened since the elections. Although the CDU/CSU coalition continues to rule the country, its base is now weaker. This is creating new opportunities for successfully countering the 'Keep on Course' line. The Communists will orient themselves on these opportunities without losing sight of the danger stemming for the working class movement and all democrats from the continuation of the government's policy and the reanimation of neofascism.²

The ideas of peace and democracy have spread and become rooted among large sections of the people, and much of the credit for this is due to the Communists for we are very active in the struggle for peace and in the working class, anti-fascist, and democratic movements.

Essentially speaking, the new right-wing conservative-liberal government does not differ from the previous cabinet. It is a government of the big capitalists. The latter are united in pursuing a reactionary course towards 'completing the turnabout' in order to harness economic and social

policy entirely to their interests and establish 'social discipline'. However, among them there are very substantial opinion differences — much sharper than in 1983 — on questions such as peaceful coexistence or confrontation, a 'social peace' or 'social conflicts', and so on. The crisis in the capitalist world, the deteriorating economic situation is felt tangibly in our country, and the piling up of unresolved problems is depriving the government of stability more than ever before.

The mounting conflicts within the ruling coalition were to be seen distinctly in the run-up to the elections, and they have remained in full view since the elections. The CSU is not a facsimile of the CDU. Not only capitalist but also Christian Democratic elements of the working class are represented in both parties. The stand of the FDP is more moderate in foreign policy and more liberal in domestic policy than that of the CDU/CSU. But in economic and social policies it is also on the right wing. Consequently, the present government is less homogeneous than the previous one. It would be wrong to speak of unity in the right-wing bloc and fail to see the possibility that in future there may be a different majority than today on this or that issue, or that there may be temporary allies. We are not indifferent to whether this government adheres to an ultra-conservative course or pursues a 'policy closer to the centre', to which it may be forced by an extraparliamentary struggle and a consistent opposition in the Bundestag. We are not indifferent to whether the tune is called by extremists from the Stahlhelm or other firebrands. For that reason our policy, actions, and quest for allies will continue to be aimed at bridling the ultra-reactionary forces and cutting back the influence of the military-industrial complex and US imperialism.

The situation in the FRG may be characterised as witnessing the spread of the struggle for peace and for social and democratic rights and an aggravation of class clashes. In the economic and social spheres big capital is bent upon furthering the 'turnabout policy', in other words, upon 'completing the swing' to the right. For that reason it is extremely important to define what forces and ways can effectively influence the government: the Stahlhelm or the opposition in the Bundestag, the proponents of social dismantling or the extraparliamentary movement, the associations of industrialists or the trade unions?

Proceeding from the diversity of pressing demands and the experience accumulated in the joint actions of the working class movement and all the democratic forces, the GCP Board is advancing a series of immediate challenges for the extraparliamentary struggle. These are to ban nuclear tests, to continue the policy of détente, to reject participation in the SDI programme, and to implement the zero-zero option for intermediate-range missiles. In response to the deteriorating economic situation we are demanding a 35-hour working week without pay cuts and a job-creation programme. We are demanding higher real wages at the wage-tariff negotiations and the adoption of measures to save the steel and shipbuilding industries, protect the right of participation in the management of mining and steelmaking facilities, and prevent the emasculation of the law on the rights and duties of employers and factory workers. The enlargement of the plutonium industry must be halted, there

must be a gradual phasing out of the nuclear power industry, and steps must be taken to protect the Rhine and the environment against contamination. We are calling for a democratic tax system, a halt to further social dismantling, opposition to a census and computer registration of the population, and the abrogation of *Berufsverbot* (ban on professions).

At a plenary meeting of the GCP Board in January 1987 it was noted that there is growing support, to which we have contributed from the outset, for cooperation between the SDP and the Greens in one form or another. Such cooperation and the further growth of joint parliamentary and extraparliamentary actions against the 'completion of the swing' to the right, for a new policy are an imperative of the times. We consider it important to raise key political issues that can rally a majority against the government of Helmut Kohl and to reinforce this tactic with vigorous extraparliamentary actions. It would then be possible to prevent or enervate negative decisions and push towards success even under the present government. We aim to build up and reinforce the potential of the peace and working class movements, the struggle to extend democracy and reforms, and the potential of the new thinking and the new approach to the requirements of the day. This potential can be augmented also by those who today support the coalition parties; this is served by the disagreements in their camp.

The political situation in the FRG clearly shows that the right-wing parties can be defeated only through unity of actions. This is now being achieved in the democratic camp, acquiring strength, and objectively prodding towards broader cooperation and alliances. More and more people are seeing its significance, and this has led to discussions of coalition agreements between the Social Democrats and the Greens. We regard this as an achievement of recent times and an outcome of our own contribution to extraparliamentary activities and the election struggle.

It was noted at the January plenary meeting of the GCP Board that the further course of events in the Federal Republic would depend largely on the participation of the working class movement in the political struggle over the formulation of key issues. Would the trade unions be able to influence political developments and act in the interests of the working class or would they find themselves in the 'moderate', 'toothless' role of social partners confined to professional boundaries? Would the SDP continue its policy in the spirit of its Nuremberg congress decisions and promote the movement for peace, democracy, and social progress, or would control be taken over by those abiding by the meaningless 'Solidarity of Democrats' slogan and inclined to build bridges to the CDU? In order to be in a position to play a mobilising and guiding role in the workers' actions it is unquestionably vital to increase the GCP's involvement in the struggle of the working class, strengthen the party organisations at industrial enterprises, and enhance the political prestige of these organisations. With the *Unzere Zeit* festival coming up in September the Board has called upon party members to join in a large campaign to strengthen the party ranks.

We are looking for ways of effectively using the experience gained at the elections to build the party's influence, deepen unity of action by the

working class, ensure closer cooperation between Social Democrats and Communists, develop democratic alliances, and promote extraparlimentary activities.

The election strategy triggered a broad debate within the party. It was initiated by the GCP leadership in its assessment of the election results. What are we trying to achieve in this debate? Introduce clarity regarding the methods of struggle outside parliament and of winning representation in it, and reinforce the focus on work among the people; acquaint all party members with the lessons and conclusions drawn from the election campaign, and critically and self-critically examine omissions and errors; and, naturally, discuss the ideological and political problems that surfaced during the election struggle and draw the party's rank-and-file into working out election policy for the future.

This is not the first debate of its kind, but never before has enthusiasm been running so high. This is shown by the well-attended meetings of activists at commune and district level and in primary party organisations, and by the considerable space being devoted to the debate in *Unzere Zeit*. This activity mirrors our striving to cement our extraparlimentary successes with successes at elections. This is where the potential lies for further invigorating the work of the Communists, stepping up the extraparlimentary struggle, conducting election campaigns in the future, and involving all party members in framing policy. Already now it is clear how much depends on our policy of election alliances, on how much is done to develop the GCP as a party of the working class and socialism. It is important to understand why we fail to win more worker support at elections. We are studying and discussing all these questions.

In the *Theses* the Eighth GCP Congress (May 1986, Hamburg) stated its attitude to the new aspects of the struggle for peace and jobs, for a turn towards democracy. They noted: "The form of participation in elections depends on the concrete conditions for the struggle. The formation of alliances at elections and the nomination of our own candidates are part of our political strategy for changing the alignment of strength in favour of the working class and other democratic forces. Regardless of the forms of participation at elections, it should always be our concern to strengthen the GCP."³

In the ongoing debate we intend to consider the election experience of fraternal parties. Our study of how the extraparlimentary struggle is conducted in other countries inspires us to develop our own initiatives. We see the present changes in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the growing attractiveness of existing socialism as giving a powerful impetus for propagating socialism in our country. This will help to enlarge the GCP's ranks in the year of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

¹ This List polled 188,000 votes at the elections.

² At the elections the neonazi National Democratic Party polled 227,000 votes (0.6 per cent) compared with the 91,000 votes (0.2 per cent) four years earlier.

³ *Thesen des 8. Parteitages der DKP*, Neuss, 1986, p.93.

Capitalism USA As Catholic Bishops See It

John Pittman — Politburo member,
Central Committee, Communist Party
USA

ANALYZING the political crisis in the USA and the ultra-right's plans to capture state power, Gus Hall, the CPUSA General Secretary, asserted recently that "exposés (Irangate — J.P.), the new political and ideological atmosphere, and the electoral victories,¹ together with the masses of people in motion, can bring about . . . progressive changes."²

Prominent among the US 'forces in motion' have recently been the majority of the bishops, or episcopate, of the US Roman Catholic Church which numbers 52 million believers. The pastoral Letter on Peace which was approved at the 1983 National Conference of Catholic Bishops has been publicized, and drawn the attention of believers and non-believers. Its message constituted a confrontation with the Reagan administration's policy and its fusion, in the military-industrial-banking complex, with the country's death merchants. The letter boldly asserted that the only true defence for the world's peoples is the rejection of nuclear war and conventional wars that could escalate into a nuclear war. Although flawed by the affirmation of 'equal responsibility' of the United States and the Soviet Union for the arms build-up, the bishops' principled stand against the nuclear maniacs in Washington was hailed by sectors of the peace movement in the USA and abroad.

In November 1986 the bishops issued another pastoral letter entitled 'Economic Justice for All: Catholic Social Teaching and the US Economy'.³ This letter has stirred much current discussion.

The bishops begin with an explanation of why they became interested in this specific subject. They say that the nature of their work enabled them to 'feel the pain' of the people who are unemployed, homeless and 'living on the edge' (Introduction to the Pastoral Message). The bishops were deeply concerned by what they saw on their doorsteps and in their parishes. "We see too much hunger and injustice, too much suffering and despair," they wrote. "The precarious economic situation of so many people and so many families calls for examination of US economic arrangements." (Paragraphs 11, 19.)

The bishops believe it necessary not only to focus on a limited number of the economy's features but also to examine the entire system. "Does our economic system place more emphasis on maximizing profits than on meeting human needs and fostering human dignity? Does our economy distribute its benefits equitably or does it concentrate power and resources in the hands of a few?" The authors of the letter hold that "the way society responds to the needs of the poor through its public policies is the litmus test of its justice or injustice." (Paragraph 123.)

The existing system, they say, stifles and diminishes the dignity and human worth of individuals, families and entire groups by undermining

and weakening their community (solidarity) with others and excluding them from participation in the economic, political and cultural life of society. Discussing this 'marginalization' of human beings, the bishops stress that "the ultimate injustice is for a person to be actively treated or passively abandoned as if they were non-members of the human race." "Hard-working men and women," they say in Paragraph 3, "wonder if the system of enterprise that helped them yesterday might destroy their jobs and their communities tomorrow." While expressing disapproval of what they term 'extremist' solutions, the bishops acknowledge that "wherever our economic arrangements fail to conform to the demands of human dignity lived in community, they must be questioned and transformed." (Paragraph 28.)

The letter launches into a factual portrayal of major aspects of US capitalism's impact on human beings. Its starting point is employment and unemployment. "Employment is a basic right," the bishops declare, "a right which protects the freedom of all to participate in the economic life of society." It follows, therefore, that unemployment is the denial of such freedom. The message cites chilling figures: there are about eight million people in the United States looking for work who cannot find it. Official statistics do not include those who have given up looking for work and those having to work part-time. When these categories are added to the official number, it will be clear that about one-eighth of the workforce is directly affected by unemployment. Particularly hard hit are Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans (Indians), young adults, female heads of households and those who are inadequately educated. The unemployment rate among minorities is almost twice as high as it is among whites.

The bishops cite racism and sexism as prime causes of high rates of unemployment among racial minorities and women. They say that in addition to the normal problems of finding a job, members of these groups bear the burden of discrimination. And discrimination against women is compounded by the lack of adequate child care services and by the unwillingness of many employers to hire and to extend fringe benefits to part-time workers. There is a direct link between the rate of joblessness and the frequency of homicides, robberies, larcenies, narcotic arrests and youth crimes.

The bishops assert that "in recent years there has been a steady trend toward higher and higher levels of unemployment, even in good times." (Paragraph 139.) The causal factors they cite in explanation of this phenomenon include demographic changes, technological innovations and increased competition in world markets. They attach much weight to the arms build-up as a factor increasing unemployment. "The hundreds of billions of dollars spent by our nation each year on the arms race create a massive drain on the US economy as well as a very serious 'brain drain'. Such spending on the arms race means a net loss in the number of jobs created in the economy, because defense industries are less labour-intensive than other major sectors of the economy." (Paragraph 148.)

Nearly half of the American scientific and engineering force works in defence-related programmes, and over 60 per cent of the entire federal research and development budget goes to the military. "We must ask," the

bishops conclude, "whether our nation will ever be able to modernize our economy and achieve full employment if we continue to devote so much of our financial and human resources to defense-related activities." (Paragraph 148.) Expressing their concern over the "investment of human creativity and material resources in the production of the weapons war," (Paragraph 20) the bishops call for the redirection of spending priorities to more pressing social needs.

The pastoral letter turns next to the issue of poverty. "Harsh poverty plagues our country despite its great wealth. More than 33 million Americans are poor; by any reasonable standard another 20 million to 30 million are needy. Poverty is increasing in the United States, not decreasing." (Paragraph 16.) The rate of officially defined poverty has risen by nearly a third since 1973. The bishops report what they see daily: homeless people roaming the streets in tattered clothing and sleeping in doorways or on subway grates at night; thousands standing in line at soup kitchens because they have no other way of feeding themselves; millions of children who are so poorly nourished that their physical and mental development is seriously harmed.

The letter rejects the idea that poverty is an isolated problem existing only among certain groups in the inner cities or among persons in an 'underclass'. The lack of sufficient material resources required for a decent life "is a condition experienced at some time by many people in different walks of life and in different circumstances." (Paragraph 174.) Today, one in every four children in the United States is poor, and among Afro-Americans the ratio of poor children under the age of six is one out of every two. Many poor families with children receive no government aid, do not have any health insurance and cannot afford care from doctors.

During the past 20 years there has been a dramatic increase of the number of women in poverty. Discrimination is a major cause of this high rate. Women employed outside their homes and working full time receive only 61 per cent of what men receive for the same work. Most divorced or separated women do not get child support. Many older women are left in poverty after a life-time of home-making and child-rearing.

The rates of poverty are highest among those who have been targets of racial discrimination and oppression. For example, the family income of Afro-American families is only 55 per cent of the income of white families. This income gap is wider now than at any time in the last 15 years. (Paragraph 181.) The bishops' letter says that "while one out of every nine white Americans is poor, one of every three blacks and native Americans and more than one of every four Hispanics are poor." Discriminatory practices in labour markets, education and electoral politics create major obstacles for racial minorities in their struggles to improve their economic status. Racism excludes them from participation in economic, political and cultural activities.

Defending the dispossessed in American society, the bishops essentially denounce the entire social order which robs the masses of elementary human rights, humiliates them and makes social outcasts of them. "The dignity of the human person, realized in community with others," they say in the letter, "is the criterion against which all aspects of economic life must

be measured." This dignity is trampled underfoot by the powers-that-be. The various kinds of discrimination current in the United States "can be described as varieties of marginalization or exclusion from social life." (Paragraph 28.)

The plight of the outcasts is not their fault. It is the fault of the circumstances they cannot control and of the conditions in which they are forced to exist. "Within the United States," the bishops note, "individuals, families and local communities fall victim to a downward cycle of poverty generated by economic forces they are powerless to influence. The poor, the disabled and the unemployed too often are simply left behind." (Paragraph 28.)

What, then, are the 'economic forces' which exert such a pernicious influence on the lives of thousands and even millions?

The bishops reply to this question indirectly, with reservations and in their own distinctive language. They state that "meeting fundamental human needs must come before the fulfilment of desires for luxury consumer goods, for profits not conducive to the common good and for unnecessary military hardware." (Paragraph 90.) Their reflections on the very essence of a 'free-market economy' are of particular interest in this connection: "The way power is distributed in a free-market economy frequently gives employers greater bargaining power than employees in the negotiation of labor contracts. Such unequal power may press workers into a choice between an inadequate wage and no wage at all." (Paragraph 103.) The bishops argue that basic justice "challenges privileged economic power in favor of the well-being of all." (Paragraph 91.)

Capping the evidence of US imperialism's failure and inability to cope with and solve the problems of unemployment, poverty and exclusion from society's mainstream because of the race or sex of individuals, families and entire groups, the bishops report on the US economy's creation and acceleration of social inequality. They cite reports that 28 per cent of the total net wealth is owned by the richest two per cent of US families, and that 10 per cent holds 57 per cent of the net wealth. In 1983, two per cent of all US families, those with annual incomes over 125,000 dollars, owned 54 per cent of total net financial assets, and the top 10 per cent of US families owned 86 per cent of such assets. (Paragraph 183.)

There are striking inequalities in income distribution. In 1984 the bottom 20 per cent of US families received only 4.7 per cent of the total national income, and the bottom 40 per cent of US families received only 15.7 per cent, the lowest share on record in US history. In contrast, the top one-fifth of US families received 42.9 per cent of the total US income, the highest share since 1948. The bishops stress that these figures are only a partial and imperfect measure of the inequality in US society.

The inequality existing outside the United States, and particularly the widening gap between conditions of peoples of the industrially developed countries and those of the less developed countries where two-thirds of humanity live, also came under the bishops' scrutiny. In order to maximize profits and decrease the costs of resources and labour, US transnational corporations pursue policies that increase inequality and decrease the stability of the international order. (Paragraph 116.) The bishops cite the

contradiction between arms spending and development. In 1985 the US alone budgeted more than 20 times more for arms than for assistance to foreign countries, two-thirds of such assistance being in military aid.

Examining the position of the developing countries, the authors of the letter note their huge external debt which now approaches one trillion dollars, more than one-third of their combined gross national product. This total doubled between 1979 and 1984, and continues to rise. In some developing countries, debt servicing swallows up nearly 100 per cent of their export earnings. The growing external debt has become the overarching economic problem of the Third World.

As for the role of the United States in tightening this noose in which the developing nations are suffocating, more than one-third of this debt, the bishops say, is owed to US banks.

The foregoing excerpts are only a small portion of the letter. In the space allotted this article it is not possible to give a comprehensive statement of the letter's contents or to mention other testimony and evidence accumulated by the bishops from their experiences. They adhere to many traditional concepts of the Roman Catholic Church which are at variance with the Marxist-Leninist understanding of reality. For instance, the bishops consider the difference between workers and owners as a natural one, and therefore acceptable. The entire letter is oriented toward establishing *just* relations between workers and owners. In other words, the realities of the class struggle are more or less removed from the bishops' thinking. They also seem to be unaware of the most important aspect of the US economy today — the extent and consequences of its monopolization, militarization and internationalization. However, the bishops do spell out the rights of workers and defend them, and vehemently oppose all attempts to destroy or violate them, as is today a tendency in every country of developed capitalism, especially in the United States.

The bishops declare that "workers have a right to wages and other benefits sufficient to sustain a life in dignity." This implies adequate health care, security for old age or disability, unemployment compensation, weekly rest, periodic holidays, and reasonable security against arbitrary dismissal. The letter supports the workers' right to form labour unions and other associations and states that unions may legitimately strike when necessary to defend their rights. "Therefore," the bishops say, "we firmly oppose organized efforts, such as those regrettably now seen in this country, to break existing unions and prevent workers from organizing." (Paragraph 104.)

The approval of this pastoral letter by a vote of 225 to 9 and its issuance have an importance not easy to measure at this time. Clearly, the ideas set forth objectively coincide with those of the majority of activists in the struggle to prevent a nuclear holocaust and to repulse monopoly capital in collaboration with the capitalist state in their offensive on the rights and standards of the working masses.

By the very fact of its issuance the pastoral letter establishes the US Roman Catholic episcopate as a part of the mass upsurge of democratic movements which are a characteristic feature of the non-socialist world

today. Objectively, the issuance strengthens the movements favoring peace and social progress. It supports the Catholic bishops of Latin America who have pioneered in the formulation of a liberation theology, which may be said to have influenced the US bishops.

The evidence and testimony in the letter is another convincing expose and refutation of the rationale of Reaganism and the US ultra-right forces. Moreover, it is an indictment of US state-monopoly capitalism and its inefficiency, inhumanity and criminality.

There is a third aspect, perhaps more important over the long term, which we can call a reaffirmation of the importance of moral values and ethical standards in the world of today and tomorrow. The timing of this emphasis on the importance of humanistic values is particularly significant: it comes at a moment when the communication and indoctrination apparatus of state-monopoly capitalism are engaged in disseminating stupefying misinformation and drenching the masses with the ruling élite's petty, mean and self-centred ideas of chauvinism, jingoism, racism, anti-Sovietism and anti-socialism, and 'dog-eat-dog', might-makes-right ideology.

Why such a relatively advanced and positive statement should be made in the country which is considered to be the main bastion of reaction in the world may puzzle some readers. It should be kept in mind, first, that the US Roman Catholic bishops are close to the masses and are consequently sensitive to the needs and desires of the masses which are actively in motion in the interest of self-preservation from nuclear incineration and regaining their economic and social rights. Besides, the bishops have inherited a legacy of independent support of progressive causes. Until the mid-1950s the US Catholic Church was preponderantly a church of immigrants and the working class. The Catholics supported the formation of trade unions when the much larger Protestant denominations opposed them. The Roman Catholic Church has been a consistent defender of the farm workers. All this is reflected in the letter.

Democratic Catholic priests suffer from persecution even today. The FBI has been subjecting members of the episcopate to surveillance and harassment, especially those members identified as liberals. According to the *People's Daily World*, the *National Catholic Reporter* said the FBI kept files on Seattle Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen and Detroit Auxiliary Bishop Thomas Gumbleton. Gumbleton is president of Pax Cristi USA, and was the target of an investigation by the 'Red Squad' of the Michigan State Police. Hunthausen has attended protest demonstrations of US peace organizations. Commenting on this, Cardinal Joseph Bernardine, Archbishop of Chicago, who headed the bishops' committee that drew up the 1983 pastoral letter on peace, called the disclosures "very frightening" and "of great concern" to him.

What of the effect of the US Catholics on the Roman Catholic Church's future? This question is an invitation to speculation: to predict the outcome of the present struggle in the Roman Catholic Church between those opposed to change and the progressive forces would be a rash thing at this time. The split and struggle is now more than two decades old, dating from the papacy of John XXIII (1958-1963) and the Second Vatican Council

(1962-1965). Since then there has been a growing tilt to facing up to the issues raised by imperialism's nuclear war threat and capitalism's crisis and decline. The US bishops' letter is an indication of the acute and painful nature of these problems.

¹ The Republicans, including several reactionary figures, were defeated by the Democrats in the November 1986 congressional elections. — *Ed.*

² *People's Daily World*, December 18, 1986.

³ 'Economic Justice for All: Catholic Social Teaching and the US Economy. US Bishops' Pastoral Message and Letter', *Origins. NC Documentary Service*, November 27, 1986, Vol. 16, No. 24.

The 'Quiet War' in Colombia

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MY country is going through a period of intense trial. A wide popular movement is under way in the country, as millions of people demand defence of the right to life, democratisation and a radical solution of painful problems. A stiff fight is being fought against the military. Pro-fascist elements have mounted bloody repression, vying in brutality with the most reactionary terroristic dictatorships. They want to hurl Colombia into the past and force on it a way out of political impasse for the benefit of reaction.

The crisis has been brewing for years under the rule of the two leading parties of the Colombian bourgeoisie, a rule legislatively enacted in amendments to the century-old constitution and expressed in the parity representation¹ of liberals and conservatives on elective and judicial bodies, government agencies and even the National Coffee Producers' Federation.

The present system of government is a caricature of bourgeois representative democracy, but it helps the oligarchy to create the impression of normal state institutions operating 'in the interests of the people'.

Judge for yourself. The state of siege has become the norm; it is being reimposed again and again. Under it, civil liberties are suspended, the president is empowered to decree laws, and some cases (such as inquiry into breaches of public law and order and any other crimes) are handled by military tribunals, a practice which leads to ever greater militarisation of every aspect of life in the society. What kind of democracy can there be in such conditions?

The constitutions of virtually all the bourgeois states provide for the imposition of state of siege, emergency or martial law, but these are applied only in extreme circumstances. In my country, the lifting of the

state of siege has been an exception rather than the rule over the past four decades. *The military have crushed all expression of popular discontent, even the most modest social or political demand of the masses.* The reactionary military élite has, in effect, borrowed the methods of US imperialism, notably those of the Reagan administration.

The extreme rightists also intend to take over the government. Under the pretext of defending the state system, they have tried to eject civilians from power and to subordinate them even in breach of Colombia's limited bourgeois legality. The senior officers, trained at US military academies in the spirit of the notorious 'national security' doctrine, have a most important role in these plans. Under this doctrine, the armed forces behave like invaders of their own country, regarding the people fighting for their rights as the 'internal enemy'.

The Military Run Riot

Reaction has no hesitation in resorting to 'dirty war' tactics: political assassination (there is no death penalty in Colombia), illegal arrests, abductions and tortures.

According to the Ministry of the Interior, some 50 civilians were killed by hired thugs every year under the administration of Lopez Michelsen (1974-1978). Under Turbay Ayala (1978-1982), the average went up to 300. Tortures under interrogation, earlier practised mainly in the rural areas, became the rule. The country's democratic forces exposed these brutalities, and that is reflected in various reports by UN human rights agencies, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and even Amnesty International and American Watch, the two latter being private bodies which can hardly be suspected of having any sympathy for the Left.

Even the judicial authorities and Colombia's State Council have been officially forced to admit the use of torture in some cases. Thus, a decree of the State Council of June 27, 1985, said, among other things, that ex-president Turbay Ayala, General Camacho Leyva, the then minister of defence, and General Vega Uribe, one-time commander of a special brigade who later became the minister of defence, and many civilian and military leaders of various ranks were directly and indirectly guilty of the torture inflicted on Olga Lopez. Legal proceedings were started against them in the Supreme Court, the office of the prosecutor and a special commission of the House of Representatives, but these trials were stymied by various legal tricks and dodges and pressure from the military, and have not been completed to this day. Nevertheless, they helped to expose the sinister role of the militaristic circles entrenched in the government apparatus. According to the Standing Committee on Human Rights, 594 people were killed in 1983, 542 in 1984, and 630 in 1985; respectively, 109, 122 and 82 'disappeared', and 300, 360 and 544 were subjected to torture.

There is no sign of any improvement in the situation under the present cabinet. Indeed, more and more facts of anti-people terrorism have come to light. It is highly indicative that in connection with the tragedy of the 'disappeared' over the past several years (now totalling 850) the government was forced to investigate these crimes and involvement of government officials in them. A special unit was set up by decision of the

National Security Council and the Ministry of the Interior to inquire into the involvement of officials in the 'disappearance' of our compatriots. The general prosecutor's office has also begun an inquiry, but it is generally recognised that it has yielded very little. The courts are also looking into the cases of the 'disappeared', but these are mostly at the very initial stages.

Undermining the Cease-fire

Under the Betancur administration (1982-1986), there were some signs of change with mainly two aspects: the government's course in the international arena, and the government's attitude to the guerrilla movement.²

In foreign policy, that administration took Colombia into the non-aligned movement, played a highly important role in the Contadora Group, and began to strengthen relations with Nicaragua and Cuba. Such steps on the whole signified a departure from the previous president's pro-imperialist line.

Betancur advocated a dialogue with representatives of the guerrilla movement, and that led to a cease-fire and armistice agreement between the authorities and the insurgent organisations. It provided for political changes to do away with the bipartisan scheme of government and to put through vital social reforms, such as the agrarian and urban reform, a review of labour legislation, and so on.

However, *imperialism does not want any issues in Latin America settled peacefully*. It has acted through the élite of the Colombian Army and the most reactionary financial and land-owning circles round it to start a campaign of persecution and killing of the leaders of the armed organisations which joined in putting through the political measures in accordance with the cease-fire agreement. In response, the April 19 Movement and the People's Liberation Army broke the armistice, just what the military had wanted them to do. But the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, which has most of the guerrillas, the workers' defence and the two fronts of the National Liberation Army remained true to their commitments despite the provocations. But the armistice was steeped in blood.

The ultra-right conspiracy had very grave consequences. On November 6 and 7, 1985, commandos of the April 19 Movement occupied the Palace of Justice in Bogota. The Colombian Communists believe that the leaders of that organisation made a fatal mistake. The military lost no time in showing what they are capable of. The Palace was taken by storm with the use of tanks and heavy weapons. Among those who died were not only the guerrillas, but also their hostages: members of the Supreme Court and State Council, officials and visitors who just happened to be there — a total of 110 persons. The few who survived have 'disappeared'. There is enough telling evidence to say that the storm troopers savagely killed some wounded and prisoners. General Samudio Molina, now the minister of defence, declared on a visit to Chile, that the storming of the Palace of Justice was an object lesson in fighting terrorism.

'Condor Plan'

Despite the stronger positions of the military and their terrorism, the mass struggle has continued to mount under the armistice and democratic organisations have grown stronger and scored considerable successes on the way to unity.

Our party's 14th Congress in 1984 said that the armistice has not signified any surrender on the part of the insurgent units. The armistice has given recognition to the political role of the guerrilla movement and of its status as a belligerent party. The agreement has acted as a catalyst for action by the Colombian working people and has helped generally to radicalise the political struggle in the country.³

As many working people were involved in strikes in 1986 as over the past decade. The working class has taken an important step in unifying its ranks with the establishment of the Unitary Trade Union Centre, which takes a militant class stand and includes representatives of various political circles.

The peasants gave support to the National Coordination Centre of Agriculture Organisations, which demanded a truly democratic agrarian reform. Peasant marches, which became widespread, need to be specially mentioned: the hundreds of thousands of peasants taking part in these marches have exposed the authorities' repressions in the rural areas, and have demanded guarantees of work in peace and solution of problems in health care, transport, school education, the extension of credits, and many other problems without delay.

There is evidence of positive change in the activity of various public bodies in the working people's neighbourhoods. At a nationwide meeting they set up a coordinating body. The same is true of the youth and cooperative movements.

The establishment of the Patriotic Union, a coalition open to all those who want democratic change, was a most important event in Colombia's life. Its left-wing forces increased their parliamentary representation at the latest elections from 2 to 14 seats; and 320 municipal councillors were elected from the Patriotic Union's electoral rolls. All of that was done despite the anti-democratic character of the electoral mechanism, which is controlled by the two traditional parties, and in an atmosphere of repression and violence in the areas where the Union has influence.⁴

In an effort to prevent the development of the popular movement, the military have framed a 'Condor Plan', which is designed to kill those who stand for the armistice and democratisation, and leaders of political, trade union and mass organisations, and to bomb their premises. This criminal plan is already being implemented. Among those who have been killed by the terrorists are members of our party's CC Ruben Castano, Leonardo Posada, and Octavio Vargas, member of parliament Pedro Nel Jimenez, and about 20 municipal councillors. CC Executive Committee members Hernando Hurtado, Jaime Caycedo and Alvaro Vasquez, and CC member and member of parliament Eusebio Prada have been wounded, and have escaped with their life accidentally. The buildings of the CCP Central Committee and the Young Communist League have been bombed. Youth leader Jesus Garcia lost his life at the YCL headquarters. Similar terroristic

acts have been staged against some trade unions.

The army high command has admitted that 342 Patriotic Union activists were killed last year. On more than 135 occasions, the army and the police clashed with various guerrilla units, most of which, the high command document admits, are regarded as armistice signatories. In other words, reaction does not even deny that the main blow is being directed against those who want a peaceful way out of the crisis.

Government's Deal with the Military

In the latest presidential elections, the right-wingers put their stake on A. Gomez Hurtado, but he was rejected by the masses, and the post went to Virgilio Barco. His victory and the success of the left-wing forces deepened the crisis of the bipartisan system, notably the legalised 'shared responsibility' scheme. The new president and his closest advisers have put forward their own formula: 'government — opposition', the idea being to highlight some kind of differences between the liberals and the conservatives and to inject at least some semblance of rivalry into the political struggle.

A debate is under way in the top spheres on changing the existing scheme, but there is no sign of desire to take drastic measures and eliminate it. It is highly noteworthy that both the liberals and the conservatives have stopped talking about abolishing Article 120 of the Constitution, which provides for the present 'shared responsibility' formula. There is silence on evidence of bipartisanship in other areas of political life in the country.

Following the defeat of its candidate, the reactionaries decided to confront the government with a *de facto* war, by stepping up their terrorism against the CCP and the Patriotic Union.

President Barco has displayed weakness and inconsistency. During his meetings with representatives of the Patriotic Union he agreed that the senior officers' conspiracy is a part of a wide operation to destabilise his government, but he has taken no practical counter-measures. He condemned the acts of violence and described them as 'criminal and wounding democratic sensibilities'. His cabinet, the House of Representatives was told, 'has taken and is working on even more effective solutions', nothing about which, however, is known up to now. *The Plenary Meeting of the CCP CC in January emphasised that the government's passiveness testifies to the big bourgeoisie's inclination to make a deal with the military.*⁵

Indeed, Barco's policy of 'pacification, economic improvement and national accord' is a step back as compared with Betancur's policy. The incumbent president wants to isolate the guerrilla movement from the masses, and US funds made available ostensibly for rehabilitation in some areas are being used for the purpose. Barco has made it impossible for organisations to operate if they so much as speak out against the military. That has been the lot of a commission monitoring observance of the armistice terms. The state of siege has been toughened up. The authorities have begun to apply Article 28 of the Constitution, which provides for the arrest of citizens without legal warrant.

Self-Defence and Struggle for Democratic Peace

In response to the terrorism, our party's CC has set the task of organising a mass self-defence system. We believe that it is necessary to put through a wide set of measures in cities and towns to enhance vigilance and collective security. These can be effected through neighbourhood committees, trade unions and women's organisations for close cooperation with liberals and conservatives opposing the military. The rural localities already have wide experience and traditions in this respect which merely need to be revived. *Mass self-defence*, the latest CC Plenary Meeting stressed, *is a policy open to one and all, and is aimed to safeguard the citizens' right to life, and against the gangs of hired thugs.*⁶ In other words, the party has linked the task of self-defence to the course of moving closer to the anti-militaristic circles. Mass action and protest by the working people make it more difficult to effect the criminal plans, but they can be totally thwarted only by effective democratisation of the society and deep and genuine political change.

Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of our party's Central Committee, has emphasised: "We are irrevocably for a democratic peace guaranteeing to Colombians the most essential of human rights: the right to life. Not in order to bear oppression, but to fight freely for a better Colombia, which the Communists visualise as a great democratic and sovereign country. That is why we support the continuation of the armistice and the government's dialogue with those who are still fighting arms in hand for political solutions, because we are firmly convinced that any 'fire and sword' policy in our country can merely enlarge and deepen the armed conflicts."⁷ Let me add merely that the democratisation process has not run out of steam in any sense. The mayoral elections which are scheduled for next year will show that it is still going strong.

But peace will, of 'course, never be lasting and solid unless the government puts a check on the paramilitary groups and the fascist-minded army élite.

The CCP CC has declared: "We have raised high the banner of democratic peace, and will continue to carry it even if the military manage to frustrate the armistice. In that case the full burden of responsibility for such a serious step will fall exclusively on them. And that is something our people must be clearly aware of."⁸

Such a turn of events is bound to exact a high price from the country. A change in the political situation in Colombia is sure to have an effect on the whole Latin American situation, for it would create another hotbed of tension in a strategically-situated country. *We have stood and will continue to stand for a political way out of the present situation. We are sure that the struggle for democratic peace in Colombia is closely bound up with the struggle for peace throughout the world.*

What we need most now is the solidarity of all the democratic forces. International public opinion must be widely informed of the events in Colombia. Now and again, reaction has managed to keep a tight lid on what is going on here and to put through its plans step by step. When fascism was rearing its head in Chile, Pablo Neruda once said that his country was a 'quiet Vietnam'. The same can now be said about Colombia.

¹ For details, see Gilberto Vieira, 'On the Agenda: Democratisation', *WMR*, No. 5, 1986. — *Ed.*

² The guerrilla movement in Colombia has long-standing militant traditions. The armed struggle has waxed and waned throughout the whole of our modern history since 1948. Its latest stage is connected with the events of mid-1964 when the Pentagon advised the ruling circles to crush the peasant self-defence zones. The revolutionary-minded peasantry was faced with this choice: either submissively to watch what was being done, or take up arms in response to the violence. That was the origin of the organised guerrilla movement.

³ *Punto de vista*, No. 15, 1984, p. 16.

⁴ See Alvaro Vasquez, 'The Patriotic Union Scores a Success', *WMR*, No. 7, 1986. — *Ed.*

⁵ *Voz*, January 15, 1987, pp. 12-13.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Voz*, February 26, 1987, p. 5.

⁸ *Voz*, January 15, 1987, pp. 12-13.

Reagan versus Cuba

Antonio Diaz Ruiz — representative of the Communist Party of Cuba on the *WMR* Editorial Council

IMPERIALISM committed an act of aggression against my country, Cuba, 26 years ago. It might have seemed that this was merely another act of its kind in the turbulent history of Latin America. However, this time it left a deep imprint in the minds and hearts of the people. A small, poor, but courageous nation had inflicted the first major defeat on Yankee imperialism in the Western Hemisphere. The Cuban people won an epoch-making victory at Playa Giron.

This invasion, on which Washington had set so much hope, was only another piece of evidence of the largest imperialist power's aggressiveness. Its undisguised hostility for Cuba dates from January 1959 when our revolution triumphed and turned a small Caribbean nation into a beacon of freedom in Latin America.

When one analyses the White House's policy towards Cuba one sees the historical truth of the characteristic that Lenin gave the USA in 1918. This 'idealised democratic republic', he wrote, "*proved to be a form of the most rabid imperialism, of the most shameless oppression and suppression of weak and small peoples.*"¹ Lenin's words are being borne out every day, every hour of the existence of a nation that in the Western Hemisphere was the last to shake off the tyranny of the Spanish crown and the first to rid itself of the tyranny of neocolonialism and establish a socialist system.

In the Shadow of the 'Big Stick'

Our confrontation with the Northern colossus has deep roots. The United States regarded Cuba as much-desired prey as far back as the 19th century. It went to all lengths to take it from Spain and intervened in our people's war of liberation when, in effect, the colonialists had been defeated. It was only on account of the enormous international prestige of the Cuban

insurgents and the tireless efforts of the outstanding patriots Jose Marti and Antonio Maceo that my country did not become another star in the flag of the neighbouring empire that was gathering strength. But Cuba did not win genuine independence. After a struggle of more than 30 years, it became an 'independent' nation bound hand and foot by the Platt Amendment and the Treaty of Reciprocal Commerce,² which made it an economic appendage of the USA.

Poverty, illiteracy, disease, unemployment, prostitution, gambling and other vices were rife on the island. Imperialism brought a sweat system of labour, political reaction, backwardness, and its own way of thinking, egoism, mass 'subculture', and tastes in order to stamp out everything Cuban. But the people would have none of this. Despite everything, national awareness grew strong, developed, and became a factor of the victory in 1959.

"Between the imperialist enemy and the Cuban revolution," said Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, "a struggle is going on, as it has gone on for a long time, in the sphere of revolutionary and political ideas and in the sphere of national and patriotic sentiment."³

The assumption of power by the people on Cuba evoked fierce resistance from the Yankee government that sought to abort, as speedily as possible, the process that could be an example for other Latin American nations. Seven US administrations (three Democratic and four Republican) failed to understand that our revolutionary changes were irreversible and had recourse to every possible means for forcing the Cuban people to their knees. But all of this was futile, "in Washington they underestimated the Cuban people, their determination to resist, and their militant willingness to fight".⁴

Given all the distinctions in the policy pursued by White House incumbents, from Eisenhower to Carter, hostility for Cuba was constant. But Reagan pushed this hostility to extremes, and this prompted the corresponding response from the Cuban people.

During the run-up to the elections that brought the present administration to power, Fidel Castro warned that difficult times would come for the whole world, particularly for Latin America and the Caribbean, if the Republican candidate was elected. From the outset Reagan intended to implement a thoroughly reactionary foreign policy based on chauvinism, militarism, mind-manipulation, and rabid anti-communism and anti-Sovietism designed to ensure military superiority and the defence of US infamous strategic interests.

Yankee Latin American and Caribbean policy has until now been determined by a document drawn up in May 1980 by the ultra-conservative Santa Fe Committee, which recommended continuing with a hard line on the continent, alleging that Cuban assistance to the 'left movements' in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala would turn Central America into a region of instability that might be used by Moscow and Havana to seize Mexican oil and the Panama Canal.

Anti-Cuban policy was only part of the Santa Fe scenario. It provided for an all-out propaganda campaign over Cuba's 'aggressive designs' in other Latin American states and its 'evil' alliance with the USSR. If this

failed, the document said, it would be necessary to begin a 'national liberation' war against Castro. An alternative option was offered: to compel Havana, by means of hypocritical promises, to redefine its foreign policy radically. It should be signalled to Cuba, the document said, that if it tore up its alliance with the Soviet Union, the USA would show generosity and help it to restore its 'crumbling' economy.

In his election campaign Reagan sharply attacked Cuba time and again, spoke against any normalisation of relations with it, and declared that a tighter blockade of Cuba should be the USA's response to the 'Soviet invasion' of Afghanistan. His advisers counselled a 'power' dialogue with Havana as an enemy of the USA.

At the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, held in 1980 just before Reagan became president, it was reaffirmed that Cuba would abide by respect for the sovereignty of all countries and non-interference in their internal affairs. In this context, normalisation of relations with the USA was and is seen by the Cuban leadership as the condition for improving the political climate in Latin America and the Caribbean and for promoting the détente process worldwide. However, as Fidel Castro noted, "Cuba does not refuse to settle its historical dispute with the United States, but nobody should try to compel Cuba to change its stand or surrender its principles. Cuba is and will be a friend of the Soviet Union and all the other socialist states. Cuba abides and will abide by internationalism."⁵

Imperialism Shows Its Teeth

As soon as Reagan assumed power in January 1981 he began putting his aggressive anti-Cuban plans into effect. Acting on the myth of 'Cuban subversive activities' and the bourgeois propaganda invention about Cuba's complicity in a 'Soviet sponsored international conspiracy', Washington unleashed a smear campaign. The hawks again spoke of a military invasion of Cuba. The then Secretary of State Alexander Haig declared that he had 'proof' of Cuban interference in El Salvador. The relevant 'evidence' was published in a White Book. With pressure from the administration the US Senate passed an amendment permitting the White House to use 'all available' means, including the sending of troops, to repulse the 'Cuban threat' on the continent.

This shameless onslaught against a small sovereign nation that was in no way a threat to the huge imperialist power was evidence that Washington had returned to the 'big stick' policy proclaimed almost a hundred years ago by President Theodore Roosevelt.

The Reagan administration made it known that the CIA was not excluding the use of counter-revolutionary dregs in its operations against Cuba and reaffirmed that in the USA there were camps training Cuban and Nicaraguan mercenaries. Yet another White Book was issued (1982), this one accusing Cuba of interfering in the affairs of Central American republics. The culmination of all this was that Washington included Cuba in its list of 'terrorist regimes'. In violation of all international norms, spy planes intruded into Cuban air space again and again.

Moreover, Washington is making wide use of economic sanctions. With the White House breathing down its neck, the US Senate halted federal funds for the promotion of trade with Cuba. Pressure was brought to bear on other capitalist countries with the purpose of restricting their commercial transactions with Cuba and cutting short the negotiations on rescheduling Cuba's external debt payments. The US-Cuban fishing agreement of 1977 was abrogated.

Reagan wants Latin American governments to scale down or even break off all relations with Cuba. The world first learned of this from the Panamanian leader General Omar Torrijos, who flatly rejected these imperialist solicitations. Washington tried to abort the sixth session of UNCTAD in Havana and objected to the presence of Cuba (which was Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement at the time) at the North-South summit dialogue in the Mexican city of Cancun. Mention may be made of other hostile acts: the expulsion of our representatives to the United Nations, the denial of entry visas, and the restrictions on the number of Cuban diplomatic personnel permitted into the USA.

The most brutal and odious form of aggression is the deliberate spread of disease and epidemics on Cuban territory. "We share the people's belief," Fidel Castro said, "and have strong suspicions that the epidemics we have suffered in our country, particularly the epidemic of dengue, was the handiwork of the CIA."⁶

There has been a sharp increase of anti-Cuban propaganda under the Reagan administration. In recent years they have been concentrating on psychological warfare, but this does not mean that they have abandoned their plans for armed aggression. The purpose of this smear campaign is to mislead opinion in the USA, create internal difficulties in our country, and give the world, particularly Latin America and the Caribbean, a distorted image of the Cuban revolution. Cuba is being portrayed as a centre of subversion and as responsible for the crisis in Central America. Charges of narcotics trafficking have been made against Cuba and strident allegations have been trumpeted that "trade union leaders are harassed". The strengthening of our armed forces is portrayed as preparations for an invasion of neighbouring states. Developments have refuted all these absurdities.

At the Third CPC Congress (1986) Fidel Castro declared: "It is hardly necessary to explain — since this is the natural outcome of North American policy in all parts of the world — that as soon as the present American administration came to power it took an extremely aggressive stand towards Cuba, and this led to an intensification of its economic blockade . . . to harsher steps hindering our normal trade and financial activities. Without a twinge of conscience it was simultaneously declared that new plans were being broached for military aggression and subversion against our country."⁷

One of the latest acts of aggression is the establishment of a subversive anti-Cuban radio station. In Washington they have given this CIA mouthpiece the name of our national hero Jose Marti. In response Cuba cancelled the agreement with the USA on immigration, which it had conscientiously observed, abiding by a policy of reasonable compromises

and mutual respect.

The unscrupulousness of the present US government, whose hostility we have seen on many occasions, and our determination to repulse any attack were the factors prompting Cuba to respond with measures of its own. A new defensive people's war strategy was charted. Briefly, this is a strategy for repulsing any form of aggression, so that even if there is an invasion every Cuban will know in advance how to act. War-time plans have been specified in all units of the armed forces and in the entire state apparatus. Combat units have been formed and almost a million and a half men and women have been trained and armed within a period of five years. By the end of 1985 nearly 80 per cent of the citizens capable of bearing arms had been enlisted into the people's militia, which became part of our Territorial Troops. Their formation and the training of party and government cadres at special courses went forward rapidly and on a high level.

Born in the battles for freedom, the call for struggle to the last bullet and the last drop of blood and the heroic traditions of the participants in the *Granma*⁸ expedition, continued by our internationalists in Angola and Ethiopia, are to this day inspiring the Cuban people who will not tolerate a return to the past.

Universal military training was accompanied by significant political, economic, and social successes despite the deep economic crisis that hit the developing world and affected our country. Also, the serious natural disasters that cost Cuba dearly must be taken into account. Nevertheless, during the last five-year period the annual growth rate of our gnp averaged 7.3 per cent, instead of the 5 per cent envisaged by the plan. Industrial output grew annually by 8.8 per cent and labour productivity by 5.2 per cent, accounting for 74 per cent of our output increment. Wages have risen by 26.4 per cent. Education and public health continued to be upgraded rapidly and reached the highest levels in Latin America.

The combat readiness of the people and their advances in the face of all difficulties have become a major obstacle for the imperialists hoping to crush the Cuban revolution.

Washington's Frauds

Reactionary propaganda is looking feverishly for arguments to vindicate the anti-Cuban policy. It is being alleged that the Soviet Union is using Cuba to threaten the southern flank of the United States. The people in the USA are being told that military measures are the only way to ensure national security.

The striving of the peoples for liberation, the triumph of the Sandinist revolution, and the struggle waged by the patriots of El Salvador and Guatemala are portrayed as the outcome of the activities of subversive groups funded and armed by Cuba. This was the keynote of the speech delivered by US Secretary of State George Shultz at the 16th session of the OAS General Assembly (November 1986).⁹ And yet in all the long years of its unbridled smear campaign Washington has been unable to produce any concrete evidence to back up its charges against Cuba. Such evidence is simply non-existent.

In exposing the imperialist lie, Cuba has repeatedly declared that revolution is not for export, that it breaks out as a result of specific socio-economic conditions. Latin America had been fighting for national independence before the overthrow of Batista and even before the Great October Revolution of 1917. Let us recall the Mexican revolution of 1910-1917.

The struggle of the Nicaraguans, which commenced more than half a century ago under the leadership of Sandino, started as resistance to an invasion by Yankee marines. The present developments in Nicaragua are not the result of 'Cuba's communist subversion', but the people's victory over the Somoza dynasty that came to power on the bayonets of the 'great Northern neighbour's' marines. The administration in Washington intractably declares that "the USA can no longer accept Cuba's status of a nation dependent on the USSR". We reply that the Soviet Union owns neither banks, nor mines, nor factories in Cuba. Havana does not remit to Moscow profits from Soviet ventures because there simply aren't any. Cooperation between two socialist states is based on justice and mutual benefit, and it exemplifies the equal relations being demanded by Third World countries that want a new international economic order.

Conversely, our relations with the United States brought military occupation, impingements of Cuban sovereignty, and domination by Yankee capital, which hindered economic growth and served as the bulwark of the Machado and Batista dictatorships. These relations were used for attempts to suppress reform processes and restore imperialist exploitation that generated the poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, and the other ulcers uprooted by the Cuban revolution.

Time and again the administration in Washington sought to blame Cuba for the tension between the two countries. Negotiations were made contingent upon a change in Cuban policy. What link is there, one may ask, between the Cuban-US differences, the blockade, and the fact that as a sovereign nation Cuba is pursuing an independent policy on the world scene? Is Cuba demanding that the USA should shed its imperialist nature?

Ever since our revolution triumphed, even when it was at its pre-socialist stage, Washington unalterably refused to conduct a dialogue with Cuba or made the precondition that Cuba revert to the neocolonialist status forced upon it at the turn of the century. Is this not what Reagan has in mind when he suggests that we rejoin the 'family of nations' of the Western Hemisphere?

Cuba did not proclaim a blockade of the USA, it has no military bases on Yankee territory, and it is not holding the threat of invasion over anybody. In Cuban legislation there are no provisions hostile to the USA. The ball is in the Yankee court. Respect for our territorial integrity and sovereignty must be the basis for normalising bilateral relations.

An Adventurist Policy Cannot Hold On

The militancy of the Cuban people and the international solidarity with Cuba have not permitted the US administration to put into effect its plans

for invading our country. Nor has the international situation been agreeable to the Yankee hawks. The correlation of forces in the world is increasingly inclining in favour of socialism: the might, prestige, and influence of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are growing steadily.

A new situation has taken shape in Latin America as well. Imperialism can no longer impose its will by means of its own choice. Evidence of this is to be seen in the victorious revolutions in Cuba and Nicaragua, the struggle being waged by the patriots in El Salvador, the fall of military dictatorships allied to the USA, the formation of the Contadora Group and the Support Group for settling crises in Central America without Yankee interference, and the broad solidarity with Argentina on the issue of the Malvinas.

Reagan has about two more years in power. The recent sensational failures may prompt him to undertake new adventures, for instance, to escalate the war against the Sandinist revolution in order to win the longed-for 'victory' that in the view of the White House could take the taint off the President's reputation. However, he has to reckon with the opposition in the Congress and take into account public opinion and his Western allies' objections to the most adventurist actions planned by the USA on the world political scene. But the peoples must be prepared for the worst.

Cuba is following developments vigilantly. If the enemy, embittered by setbacks and blinded by imperial arrogance, ventures to attack our country he will encounter crushing resistance, with the intelligence, mettle, and patriotism of several generations of Cubans at its heart.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 189.

² The Platt Amendment was incorporated into the Cuban Constitution in 1901. It limited Cuba's sovereignty in foreign policy, giving the USA the 'prerogative' of intervention. The 1903 Treaty of Reciprocal Commerce gave US capital unrestricted access to Cuba's economy. — Ed.

³ *II Congreso del Partido Comunista de Cuba. Documentos y discursos*, Havana, 1981, p. 120.

⁴ *Premier Congreso del Partido Comunista de Cuba. Informe Central*, Havana, 1975, p. 42.

⁵ *II Congreso del Partido Comunista de Cuba*, p. 167.

⁶ *Discursos pronunciados por el Comandante en Jefe Fidel Castro Ruz. Trimestre julio-agosto-septiembre 1981*, Havana, 1981, p. 58.

⁷ *Informe Central. Tercer Congreso del Partido Comunista de Cuba*, Havana, 1986, p. 130.

⁸ On December 2, 1956, Fidel Castro and his comrades landed from the schooner *Granma* and began an armed struggle against the Batista dictatorship. — Ed.

⁹ *Time*, November 24, 1986, p. 18.

Is a Peaceful Settlement in El Salvador Possible?

Jamie Barrios — CC member,
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FOR over six years, El Salvador has been in the throes of a civil war that has inflicted immense suffering and distress on our people. On the most

modest estimates, more than 60,000 people, including children, women and old people, have lost their lives as a result of punitive operations by the government troops. Civilians are the main victims of the regime's barbarous artillery barrages and air raids in the area of military operations. Almost 20 per cent of my compatriots have lost their homes; the economic crisis has sharply deepened. What is the way out of this situation?

The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMNLF) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (RDF)¹ have long since worked out and purposefully pursued a course of ending the bloodshed and establishing peace as an expression of the aspirations of the majority of the population: workers, peasants and other strata of the society rallied round them. The patriots' approach does not spring from weakness but from a high sense of responsibility for our country's destiny; it is an approach of principle and high purpose. One of their recent documents says: "The organisations within the FMNLF-RDF have been fighting for a way out of the crisis for many years . . . We have consistently stood for a political settlement of the conflict and have demonstrated that the FMNLF cannot be defeated militarily, despite the widening US armed intervention in El Salvador."²

What are the basic ideas by which the fronts are guided?

The FMNLF-RDF regard peace as a strategic objective, and believe that negotiations are the only acceptable way of solving it. But the authorities regard dialogue as no more than a tactical move and seek to use it to damp down the mounting discontent with the war and to enhance the regime's badly tattered reputation in the eyes of world opinion. The efforts of the White House and Napoleon Duarte, its man in El Salvador, are aimed at routing the FMNLF, an approach based on Washington's intention to 'teach a lesson' to the national liberation movements of Latin America and the rest of the Third World. However, this strategy is proving to be a fiasco.

Indeed, in the course of the civil war, the puppet army has not scored any significant victories, as even Pentagon experts have had to admit, while the revolutionary forces have inflicted a number of important defeats on the enemy, such as the operations in annihilating élite troops, capturing some of the strongholds which had been considered impregnable, sabotage at war-economy installations, and in paralysing road transport. Seven such operations were carried out in 1986 alone. The past six years have been marked by the FMNLF's sustained attacks and successive thwarting of the plans of the military regime framed with the participation of US advisers. The White House has accordingly had to escalate its intervention in El Salvador, and has taken virtually total control over the government and its armed forces.

One need merely imagine the international consequences of a FMNLF defeat to realise the significance of the people's revolutionary war in our country. The Sandinist Revolution in Nicaragua would be confronted with even greater difficulties, because it would have to face a modernised, full-complement and seasoned army in El Salvador doing the will of imperialism, and a rich and extremely reactionary local oligarchy. Meanwhile, the US hawks and the whole of Latin American reaction would be given an additional incentive for fierce attacks on democratic and

revolutionary movements. The 'golden dream' (in the spirit of Hitler) of invading Cuba — something the United States has never quite abandoned — would be more tantalising, and peace on the globe even more fragile than it is today.

The view that the war in El Salvador is in a dead end has been criticised by Joaquin Villalobos, member of the FMNLF General Command. Here are some of his arguments:

One could, in theoretical terms, speak of a period of 'strategic equilibrium' in a people's war, but it is wrong to say that it is in a blind alley. The 'strategic equilibrium' concept has the following meaning: *the revolutionaries have completed the stage of defence and are preparing for a counter-offensive. Success depends on the right line and a favourable conjunction of military, political, social and international conditions. So we have every right to assert that the FMNLF is now building up its forces, which will enable it to score a victory even in the event of direct intervention by the United States.*

Some documents of the government's army high command lay emphasis on the numerical growth of the army, the number of its helicopters, artillery pieces, and troop mobility, the existence of several training camps, a special psychological warfare department with its own radio station and press service, factories turning out uniforms, a catering centre, a large hospital and even a funeral agency. All of that appears to be superficial and one-sided, because it underestimates political and social factors, and comes down to such simplistic abstractions as: "We have a powerful army, the United States is giving us much help. Consequently, the FMNLF cannot win the war."

Let us turn to some examples from recent history. Somoza failed to stay in power in Nicaragua even after he had increased his guard from 7,000 to 15,000 men. The same happened earlier to Batista in Cuba, although his army increased from 30,000 to 70,000. The United States started its aggression in Vietnam by sending in 3,000 instructors to help out the 125,000 puppet troops. At the closing stage of the war, the Saigon regime already had 1.2 million under arms and had the support of a 500,000-strong US expeditionary corps and powerful US air support. Well, every one knows how the imperialist gamble in Vietnam ended.

Joaquin Villalobos has drawn these lessons from the past: "*In none of these cases was the patriotic victory determined by their quantitative or material superiority over the enemy. What decided the war in favour of the revolutionaries was their skilful and correct combination of armed and political struggle and the rallying of the people to their side. With such a strategy, the role of material means is relative. The important thing is to reckon with the experience, basic military capacity and involvement of the whole people as the crucial factor in the war.*"³

In the light of this concept of the whole people's war, the revolutionaries have succeeded in driving imperialism and the army of the regime to the brink of defeat, and to wear them down. The Pentagon's anti-insurgency strategy is bursting at the seams as a result of the effective FMNLF plans, together with the heroism and inventiveness of its fighters and the Salvadoran people's support. Earlier on, the patriots used to fight on the

level of brigades, but now, in accordance with the new structure, their contingents are operating throughout the national territory. The enemy took that to be a victory, because from its standpoint small guerrilla groups dispersed across the country are able to carry on no more than defensive battles and to put up resistance solely to survive. But things are different in life. The new deployment is aimed to extend the war and go over to a higher stage of struggle: the whole people's war everywhere, instead of some areas only. The bonds with the population are being consolidated, and additional militia and guerrilla contingents are being formed.

In response to the FMNLF's tenacious and victorious resistance, the United States has stepped up its intervention, now one of its major counter-insurgency campaigns. Schafik Jorge Handal, CPS CC General Secretary and member of the FMNLF General Command says: "The US administration has included our country in its geopolitical schemes as a part of a zone 'vital' for the United States. Indeed, to impede the victory of the Salvadoran revolution and to crush it has been a 'matter of honour' for Ronald Reagan ever since his inauguration as President on January 20, 1981. He has repeatedly to stake his prestige in order to get the Congress to authorise growing military and economic appropriations for the genocidal Salvadoran dictatorship."⁴ *The conflict in El Salvador is now the most cruel, destructive and costly counter-revolutionary war of imperialism throughout the history of its domination of the Latin American continent.*

The FMNLF leadership believes that there are only two prospects for the immediate development of events: either to achieve a settlement providing for the elimination of the economic, political and social causes of the conflict, and leading to peace, genuine independence, justice and freedom, or to continue the war which may result in direct US aggression. A prolongation of the war is bound to make the puppet regime even more subservient to the United States. It will mean the loss of more human lives, repression and torture. It will lead to a spread of unemployment, hunger and poverty. The country's meagre material resources will continue to be squandered, so leading to the ruin of small, medium and even large enterprises. In other words, the full brunt of the consequences will fall on the working masses.

The FMNLF-RDF are prepared to do their utmost to prevent any widening of the imperialist intervention, to restore the national sovereignty, and to end the bloodshed and the ruin of our country. The FMNLF says: "Our constant search for a political settlement is not in any sense based on the conclusion that a military victory cannot be won, if we are forced to continue the war. It should not be imagined that our will can be broken by blackmail and the threat of foreign intervention. We do not wish it, but we are preparing to beat it back. Our conviction is objective, and our will is firm."⁵

The patriots came forward with the initiative for a political settlement back in 1980. On the strength of their wealth of experience, and without abandoning their revolutionary programme, they have worked out a coherent conception of the whole range of issues for a dialogue.⁶

The front's Political-Diplomatic Commission adopted a document on January 31, 1986, entitled 'FMNLF-RDF Contribution to Latin American

Efforts to Establish Peace in Central America'.⁷ The first part of this document deals with respect for the people's right to self-determination, inadmissibility of external intervention and use of force in international relations. It stresses that the Salvadoran conflict is an internal one; this conclusion is of fundamental significance for two reasons. First, the Reagan administration has insisted that the Salvadoran conflict is a part of the global East-West confrontation in an effort to justify its intervention in our country's affairs. Second, since it has no external motivations, the conflict cannot be settled by means of agreements or treaties between the Central American republics.

Let us note that the FMNLF-RDF's position is determined by the concrete circumstances. The 'General Proposal for a Negotiated Political Settlement and Peace' earlier said: "The causes which have induced our fronts to fight with the use of political and military means have yet to be eradicated. The 'death squads' are still there, the unlawful arrests have not ceased, and the tortures have become more sophisticated. The majority of the population is deprived of access to the national wealth, and the poverty of our country is the outcome of the scandalous behaviour of a minority group wallowing in opulence and plunging the majority into poverty. *The Salvadorans' urge for peace can be realised only by rooting out the causes of the war, i.e., the injustice and lack of democracy. Peace is inseparable from justice and freedom. That is the basis and sole condition for a political settlement.*"⁸

The second part of the document deals with the most important statements by foreign governments and international organisations,⁹ and their practical initiatives over the Salvadoran conflict. These show the broad political support throughout the world for the FMNLF-RDF's constructive efforts for a settlement. The approach by most governments, international bodies and the most influential forces of the globe to the situation in our country is based on a number of general points. Both politically and juridically, the war in El Salvador is defined as an internal armed conflict and not an international one. The Geneva Conventions¹⁰ fully apply to it, and the FMNLF-RDF are regarded as a subject of international law. The opposing sides must respect human rights. There is a need to end the foreign intervention in Salvadoran affairs, including the supply of arms and military aid. The world community supports a dialogue between the fronts and the government for a complete political solution.

FMNLF-RDF are well aware of the importance of diplomatic activity and the winning of political support in the international arena. That is why the FMNLF-RDF have worked hard to establish relations with heads of state and foreign ministers in more than 40 countries in various continents. The Salvadoran patriots have established solid contacts with 70 permanent representatives at the United Nations and with many diplomats accredited in the capitals of Mexico, Costa Rica and Panama, and have taken part in all the meetings of the non-aligned movement since 1981. The revolutionaries have also reckoned with the fact that the Contadora Group, the Contadora Support Group, and public opinion throughout the world have closely watched events in El Salvador, on which the situation in the region directly depends. *The coincidence, compatibility or identity of*

the fronts' external policy and the propositions of the international community, depending on the case, provide a solid basis for mutual understanding and a pooling of efforts for peace in El Salvador and in Central America.

The final part of the document sets forth the FMNLF-RDF's approach to the peoples' right to insurrection, a right universally hallowed in history, philosophy, jurisprudence and even in the social doctrine of the Catholic Church, and written into all the constitutions of El Salvador since 1886.¹¹ The patriots are unflinching in their resolve to stand up for the legitimacy of the people's revolutionary war, the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation, because the self-determination of the peoples has a concrete content and includes the right to revolution as an historical necessity. Revolution is not only a desire on the part of patriots, but also a realistic prospect.

Both fronts believe that the country's constitution cannot and must not be an obstacle to peace. That is of fundamental importance because the Duarte government, the army high command, the diehard reactionaries and the US administration claim that our proposals are anti-constitutional: they have used the constitution as a shield in an effort to block the way to a dialogue.

Schafik Jorge Handal has analysed every aspect of the problem and has noted the following points. First, the present constitution, as both fronts have said in the past, is unlawful because it was framed at the height of the war, following elections to the Constituent Assembly, which were held in a state of siege and with the participation of far from all the citizens. It does not in any way reflect the internal situation and the actual balance of political forces. Second, those who now insist on respect for the constitution are the same kind of people who have always trampled on all the earlier constitutions. Third, a settlement is quite attainable even within this constitution. From the strictly juridical standpoint, it contains no provisions prohibiting the government reorganisation we have proposed, something that is practised in all democratic states. Fourth, the whole people wants peace, and the opponents of a political settlement have admitted as much. We believe that the will of the masses, voiced loud and clear, supersedes any constitution. It is time to expose the rightists' latest fraud, to invalidate it with convincing evidence, and to help the masses understand that "the constitution is not an obstacle, and, indeed, can never be one. It is merely a subterfuge, a pretext for the enemies of peace and a political settlement in the country."¹²

When assessing our strategy, there is a need to reckon with the peculiarities of the present situation. The revolutionary situation which took shape in the country in the 1970s has developed into a nationwide crisis. That being so, El Salvador's further evolution along the course of dependent capitalism cannot, of course, be ruled out, but that will not help secure a comprehensive solution to the problems of our society. Only a revolution can realise the people's aspirations. That is why there is such a bitter struggle between its proponents and opponents, among whom are reformism, populism, fascism and other trends seeking to push our country off the way of truly independent development. *The situation is no longer*

determined solely by military factors; political, social and international issues closely connected with them have been acquiring ever greater significance.

El Salvador stands on the threshold of important developments. Despite the bloody repression, there has been a mighty upsurge in the mass struggle over the past three years, which is evidence of a new and higher quality of that struggle. Strikers ever more often demand an end to the bloodshed through negotiations between the government and the FMNLF-RDF, and with other representative forces of the Salvadoran society. That shows the working people's higher consciousness and militancy. The restoration of peace has become one of the main political demands of other groups of the population, including private entrepreneurs, the middle strata, all the parties and even the armed forces. It is worth while to mention here that, despite the pressure and persecution, the regime has failed to force any of the popular organisations to come out against the FMNLF-RDF, let alone condemning its military operations.

It is now safe to say that there is a prospect for unity of all advanced contingents of the popular movement, and that would be of great importance for the revolution.

In defiance of the permanent stage of the siege, a National Assembly for the Survival of the Working People was held in a public square in San Salvador on February 8, 1986. It was the people's response to President Duarte's so-called Programme for Economic Stabilisation and Revival. The package of measures worked out by the government to the dictates of the International Monetary Fund was rejected for various reasons by all the social classes, while the working people saw it as a "means for obtaining funds to finance the war at the cost of more hunger, more poverty, and more destruction of the country".¹³

The Assembly, with the attendance of 1,500 delegates from trade unions and cooperatives, adopted a number of decisions, including one on the formation of a National Union of Salvadoran Working People, which included virtually all the unionised workers in the private and state sectors, municipal officials and working people in town and country. *It now has over half a million members, and its formation is among the working masses' most important achievements not only over the past several years, but throughout the whole history of El Salvador.*

Important prerequisites have been rapidly maturing in the country for the establishment of a broad patriotic front. That is precisely what was suggested in the FMNLF-RDF proposals of July 10, 1986. These enjoy popular support and have the close attention of those from among the various classes who favour a dialogue. There is a regrouping of forces, with the distinctive feature of a general urge to overcome the national crisis, without which no comprehensive normalisation of the situation is possible. Various strata of the population are striving to make a contribution to the country's revival. In this context, the FMNLF-RDF declare: "We are conscious of the impulse in the Salvadoran society towards a national consensus, as a basis for peace with justice and dignity for all Salvadorans. We are also conscious of a growing desire on the part of Salvadorans to

secure a settlement of the national crisis through their own efforts and to become the real masters of their country."¹⁴

The FMNLF-RDF are prepared to join in a dialogue with all those who want a political settlement of the conflict, and undertake to carry on the dialogue without drawing any ideological or social distinctions between civilian and military circles.

The terrible earthquake on October 10, 1986, devastated San Salvador. A statement issued by the two fronts on November 5, stressed that it has led to a drastic aggravation of the national crisis, and especially worsened the living conditions in the capital and its environs. The tragedy has compounded the problems produced by political, social and economic factors.

For decades, the élite has denied the population the satisfaction of the most elementary wants. The popular masses have been forced to stand up for their rights by resorting to the most radical forms of struggle. The statement denounced the incapacity, treachery and anti-people substance of the government, which had refused to touch any of the war-budget funds to ease the lot of the victims. Indeed, the authorities virtually impeded the Catholic Church and Church and public bodies from directly distributing the aid received from abroad. The government did nothing to organise rescue operations and, in fact, delegated its duties to big business.

The FMNLF-RDF have not confined themselves to criticising the regime and have put before their compatriots a broad programme of struggle and action to do away with the aftermath of the earthquake. Its objectives are: defence of the people's livelihood, people's participation in solving the most acute problems, reconstruction of the ruined houses and basic services, and establishment of civil liberties.

"The unity of social and political forces is becoming an urgent task," the two fronts stressed. "It will prevent the Duarte government and the Reagan administration from laying waste our country, plunging it into poverty, and depriving it of its national sovereignty. It is necessary for the organised forces to reach a broad and democratic national consensus, to put an end to this state of things and to get down to genuine reconstruction both of our society and of our capital."¹⁵

What has been said suggests the following conclusions:

- the FMNLF-RDF regard the settlement of the Salvadoran crisis through a dialogue as a necessary condition for averting armed aggression against our country by the United States, for re-establishing the national independence, which has been trampled by US imperialism, and for attaining peace with justice and dignity;

- a political solution of the problem would be an inestimable contribution to relaxing tensions in Central America, but one should not forget that the incumbent government is a pawn of imperialism. Together with the authorities of some other republics in the region, it has torpedoed the initiatives for restoring peace in this part of the globe.

The FMNLF-RDF enjoy the sympathies and support of the masses. Strata which for various reasons — a sense of patriotism and class and economic interests — oppose any invasion of our territory by foreign troops take a stand of benevolent neutrality with respect to the

FMNLF-RDF. The revolutionaries' constructive proposals have met with a positive response in the international community. *All of that presents a real possibility for pursuing a policy of alliances aimed to set up the broadest anti-interventionist front in the country's history.*

¹ The FMNLF was set up in 1980 as a military and political alliance of five left-wing insurgent organisations, including combat formations of the CPS. The RDF emerged as a political association in 1980 with a much broader membership and includes over 100 political, trade union, public and other mass organisations opposing the puppet regime. — *Ed.*

² "Oferta política del FDR-FMLN a los distintos sectores sociales para buscar solución al conflicto", *Venceremos*, No. 36, 1986 (Supplement).

³ J. Villalobos, "El estado actual de la guerra y sus perspectivas", *Estudios Centroamericanos*, San Salvador, April 1986, p. 184.

⁴ Schafik Jorge Handal, "Offensive: The Substance of Revolution", *WMR*, No. 4, 1985, p. 34.

⁵ *Posición del FMLN en el proceso de diálogo-negociación*, November 1985, p. 2.

⁶ The patriots' stand is clearly expressed in such documents as "Proposal for Integration and Platform of a Broad Participation Provisional Government" (January 1984); "General Proposal for a Negotiated Political Settlement and Peace" (November 1984); "FMNLF-RDF Position in the Dialogue and Negotiation Process" (November 1985); "Political Proposals to Various Social Sectors for Seeking a Solution to the Conflict" (July 1986); and "The Earthquake and the Government's Policy Aggravate the National Crisis" (November 1986).

⁷ *Contribucion del FMLN-FDR a los esfuerzos latinoamericanos de paz en Centroamérica*, El Salvador, January 31, 1986.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁹ United Nations, World Peace Council, International Association of Democratic Lawyers, European Parliament, Permanent Conference of Latin American Political Parties, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Social International, and the Non-Aligned Movement.

¹⁰ The 1949 Geneva Conventions and the protocols annexed to them in 1977 are the most important international multilateral agreements on the laws and customs of war. — *Ed.*

¹¹ Even the present constitution says: "The right of the people to insurrection . . . against gross violations of the right established in this Constitution shall be recognised" (Art. 87).

¹² *Entrevista de Radio Venceremos con Schafik Jorge Hándal*, July 27, 1986, pp. 19-20.

¹³ *UNTS (órgano informativo de la Unidad Nacional de los Trabajadores Salvadoreños)*, Special Edition, p. 2.

¹⁴ *Venceremos*, No. 36, 1986 (Supplement), p. 1.

¹⁵ *El terremoto y la política del gobierno agravan la crisis nacional*, p. 2.

The Punjab Crisis: Rebuffing The Separatists

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Council, Communist Party of India (CPI)

ON September 25, 1986, a group of Khalistani terrorists¹ waylaid Darshan Singh Canadian, veteran Communist leader of Punjab, former member of the Legislative Assembly and former member of the CPI National Council,

Avtar Singh Malhotra was the leader of the CPI organisation in Punjab for many years and served as CPI committee secretary in that state. He is the author of pamphlets and articles on the socio-political problems of Punjab.

and shot him dead in broad daylight. The police did not reach the spot for over two hours, enabling the killers to make good their escape.

Darshan Singh was the sixteenth member of the CPI to fall victim to the bullets of the terrorists. He had been ill for several years but was now better and was taking an active part in the struggle against the separatists aided and abetted by the imperialists and their stooge, the military dictatorship in Pakistan. As several Punjab newspapers have editorially commented, this and other assassinations are an indication of the furious hatred with which the communalist reactionaries regard the Communists who have been particularly staunch in exposing their anti-national designs and in defending communal peace and amity. The terrorist killings are not confined to the Communists alone. Foremost among their targets have been ordinary unarmed members of the Hindu community who are a minority in the state of Punjab where Sikhs form the majority.²

The Claims of the Separatists

Operating in Punjab are several clandestine terrorist groups formed by some Sikh fundamentalist and revivalist organisations such as Dal Khalsa, Damdami Taksal, the All-India Sikh Students' Federation, etc.

They have been preaching their gospel of religious fanaticism, intolerance and hatred and raising, directly or indirectly, the demand for 'Khalistan, an independent sovereign state of the Sikhs' for the last six years. Dr Jagjit Singh Chauhan, a notorious turncoat in Punjab politics, now residing in the United Kingdom and enjoying the benevolent patronage of the Thatcher government, is the self-styled 'President of the Republic of Khalistan'.

"We want a sovereign independent country called Khalistan," he says. "Khalistan is to me, in fact, a kind of stepping stone to some sort of eventual confederation or constitutional rearrangement of independent states in the subcontinent — perhaps a United States of South Asia." He holds that every state should secede from the Indian Union and form a confederation of Indian states and perhaps even a broader 'confederation' which would include Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Nepal. At any rate, he banks on the expected disintegration of India.

Chauhan is being backed by Ganga Singh Dhillon and Didar Singh Bains, two Punjab multimillionaires who have now become American citizens with properties and assets worth tens of millions and having links with anti-Indian subversive organisations. Dhillon has long cultivated a personal friendship with General Zia ul-Haq, the Pakistani military dictator. Dhillon visited India four years ago and addressed the Sikh Educational Conference in Chandigarh³ where he exhorted the Sikhs to approach the United Nations and claim the right of observer status in it akin to that of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Separatists' designs are based on the divisive 'Sikhs — a nation'⁴ theory which makes out the Sikhs, a Punjabi-speaking religious community, as nationally distinct from the Punjabi-speaking Hindus and Moslems sharing a common language, territory, economic life, history, etc., but differing

only in their religious faith. Those raising the demand for Khalistan want a 'homeland for the Sikh nation'.

Despite all the antics of Dr Chauhan and others who conduct subversion from abroad and who train terrorist gangs and send them into India, the Khalistan movement did not make any headway within Punjab until Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, a Sikh religious preacher, took it up. This man suddenly shot into prominence during 1982-1983 and was further boosted by a competitive rage between the two major political parties in the state, the Akali Dal and the Congress (I)⁵ to appease and woo him. But Bhindranwale, preaching a crude religious fundamentalism, was adamant. He demanded that all members of the community strictly observe all rules and bans of the faith and denounced other Sikh sects.

Bhindranwale's supporters persecuted Sikh sects (the Nirankaris and others) and then began preaching a cult of violence against Hindus. Terrorists from the religious preachers' organisation he headed and the All-India Sikh Students' Federation (AISSF)⁶ began a spree of killings. In early 1984 the AISSF held a convention wherein was proclaimed its objective of a theocratic state in Punjab of which the constitution was to be drawn up by the Sikhs. AISSF General Secretary Sandhu announced that the Sikhs had four 'enemies' — "Hindu imperialism that is ruling the country; the Communists and the KGB; insidious Sikh sects; and enemies within the true Sikh movement". Terrorist brutality was stepped up and the campaign for 'Khalistan' intensified with this convention.

The holiest of Sikh shrines in Punjab, the Golden Temple in the city of Amritsar, was turned into a stronghold and fortress of the separatists-terrorists. The unprovoked killings of persons belonging to the Hindu minority created a fear psychosis and endangered law and order. The police seldom interfered with these violent actions and often sided and connived with their organisers. The killings of political opponents also went on, and these included personalities of different views. Policemen who took action in the murder cases or interrogated those in police custody were also a target. More and more central paramilitary forces had to be inducted into Punjab to maintain law and order and to curb terrorism.

This is not the place to go in detail into all the subsequent events — tripartite and bipartite meetings to find a solution,⁷ the army action against the terrorists in the Golden Temple, or the assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi which was accompanied by anti-Sikh riots in many parts of India. These developments were followed by the Punjab Agreement⁸ signed by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and the Akali Dal President Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, the Punjab elections and the installation in the state of the Akali Dal Ministry led by Surjit Singh Barnala. But the protracted delay and procrastination in implementing the main items of the Rajiv-Longowal agreement led to a deterioration of the political situation in the state. Akali dissident leaders revolted and assumed extremist positions. There was growing disillusionment and dissatisfaction of the masses with the continued violent actions. Let us now examine the policy of the external forces hostile to India in the context of the subject under discussion.

Sinister Imperialist Game

Developments in Punjab must not be seen in isolation from the imperialist manoeuvres in our region. The full gravity of the crisis in Punjab can be understood only in the context of the sinister game of US imperialism to destabilise and balkanise India. Whether it is the assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi, or the brutal killings of Hindus in Punjab and, as 'retaliation', of Sikhs in other states aimed at provoking intercommunal strife, one must not merely see the instruments but also the forces masterminding the whole subversive plan.

How various imperialist circles, especially in the US and the UK, were encouraging and egging on the campaign for the assassination of Mrs Gandhi is no secret now. As soon as the central government sent the army into the Golden Temple, Chauhan began calling for an assassination, and his calls were publicised by some Western media. In the summer of 1984 the Indian government protested publicly against the BBC's complicity in this incitement to violence, but with no result.

Significant also is the offer made by Dr Carlos Arosemena, a former President of Ecuador, to Chauhan in mid-1985. "Come to Ecuador," he called. "It's a good land for the Sikh nation. We can take 20 million people." This naturally raised hopes not merely of a 'colony for Sikh political refugees' but also of a place for the headquarters of the 'Khalistan government-in-exile'. There were reasons behind this offer: Ecuador is also a headquarters of the Israeli Mossad, and the Khalistan movement has links with Mossad and various terrorist organisations of a disruptive pro-imperialist character.

Of course, Pakistan's military dictatorship is assigned a special role in the anti-Indian imperialist plans and is playing it with gusto. Infiltration of terrorists from Pakistan into Punjab and into Jammu and Kashmir is a daily occurrence. Any literate person in Punjab can enumerate the training camps in Pakistan for these terrorists. The confessions of those captured by the security forces in Punjab and the US and Pakistani markings on their weapons tell the same story.

Towards Joint Action

From the very beginning the Communists have been in the vanguard of the forces opposing the divisive elements. The Communist Party of India pointed out that those perpetrating communal violence in Punjab were not ordinary criminals or religious fanatics, but terrorists with a sinister political design. Their aim was to provoke communal disturbances, riots and clashes in Sikh-minority urban and Hindu-minority rural areas in the state itself, and then retaliation in the form of anti-Sikh riots and pogroms which would uproot the Sikh minority and compel it to migrate to Punjab. These migrant victims would be used by the separatists to touch off new disturbances, thereby clearing the way for the creation of Khalistan.

Communists warned the people within the Punjab and in other states against this nefarious plan. They set it as one of their principal tasks to defend and strengthen communal peace and amity in the struggle to foil the whole imperialist game. They promoted the idea of all-parties *committees*

for communal amity at all levels, which could intervene in case of a disturbance and combat provocations and incitement. When such an official committee was formed at the state level, the CPI came forward to cooperate in its work and also urged the other parties to do so. It also pressed for such committees to be formed at district levels, which by now has become the practice in several districts, although at local and town levels this has been carried out very partially.

Simultaneously, the party took the initiative at many places to organise *non-official* all-parties committees because in some districts the local officials were chary of promoting joint action for communal amity. Such non-official peace committees were (and are) quite effective in organising campaigns at the grassroots level. Communists have also organised peace rallies and marches on their own and sometimes together with other peace-loving and patriotic forces at different levels. This line of broadest unity against separatism and terrorism has helped to mobilise public opinion and isolate anti-national forces politically.

The brutal killings have justifiably evoked public resentment which some Hindu religious-chauvinist organisations have sought to exploit for their disruptive aims. The Communists have intervened, often successfully, to give this resentment a united form and foil the game of fostering communal division and tensions. Joint condolence meetings have been held. In most cases where trade union activists have been killed, the trade unions where both Sikhs and Hindus work jointly have not only held condolence and protest meetings but also collected aid funds for the dependents of the victim, the bread-winner.

When Sant Bhindranwale, the terrorist leader, was alive,⁹ his lieutenants would threaten anyone who dared criticise him and his line of action and also seek to break up meetings where this was done. Many were silenced, but the CPI met this challenge, and today the Communists are working courageously to rebuff the separatist reactionaries. The CPI organised well-planned and disciplined rallies and marches, guarded by its own armed volunteers in dozens of towns, foiling several attempts to break up these mass meetings. There were youth jathas (marches) to the martyrdom memorials in Punjab revered throughout the nation, including the memorial to Bhagat Singh and his companions, heroes of the national liberation struggle who were executed by the British. The jathas were attacked by the extremists on their way but stood their ground. In fact, this was the time when several top CPI leaders were first included in the 'hit lists' of the terrorists.

For Communal Amity

One important mode of our action is timely intervention locally where killings or a local conflict threaten the peace of a town or area. Many times at great risk Communists have successfully mobilised all healthy peace-loving forces and, cooperating with the secular elements in the administration, prevented a spread of violence. One instance in point may be cited: when Bhisham Parkash, a veteran Congressman of Khanna (district Ludhiana) was shot dead by the extremists, a serious situation

arose and a Hindu-Sikh clash was imminent. But the vigorous intervention by his brother, a member of the CPI State Executive Committee, averted it. In Amritsar, the role of the CPI unit and cadres and of the trade unions led by them has such an impact that the district-level all-parties peace committee printed an appeal for mass distribution which included such CPI slogans as 'Neither Hindu State nor Khalistan, Long Live Hindustan!', 'He who makes Hindus and Sikhs clash is an enemy of the country!', etc.

The CPI organised a massive rally and peace march in Chandigarh in September 1986. Besides workers and peasants, women and students also participated in large numbers. The rally called for more vigorous action to curb terrorism and initiative to implement the Rajiv Gandhi-S.H.S Longowal Punjab Agreement. It also called upon the state government to discard all communal discrimination and adopt a secular approach. The march was the culmination of many mass meetings and local rallies and helped to step up the campaign against communalism.

Our party strives to promote greater activity on the part of the trade unions which play a prominent role in the context of the Punjab events. Working consistently to safeguard the unity of the workers and of the white-collar employees in the day-to-day struggle for their immediate interests and rights and for mobilising them to preserve communal peace and amity, the trade unions have successfully expanded unity of action. The Left-led trade unions organise gate meetings, public meetings, conventions and rallies. May Day every year has been observed as a day not only of working class solidarity but also of communal unity and national integrity, and against separatism, terrorism and imperialist conspiracies. Last year the CPI and the CPI (Marxist) agreed to celebrate May Day jointly, and the centres covered in Punjab numbered ninety. The trade union campaign has also taken the form of one-day strike actions by electricity, transport, bank and railway workers and by government teachers. They went on strike to protest against terrorism and for security, communal amity and national unity.

The organised workers have preserved their unity and have been active. The CPI-led mass organisations of peasants, agricultural workers, youth, students and women have also contributed tangibly to the joint struggle. The teachers' and writers' organisations led by the Left have also not lagged behind.

In its campaign for a political solution of the Punjab tangle our party holds a consistent principled stand on all major issues, such as the future of Chandigarh and other territorial and river questions. All bourgeois parties stand divided on these matters, with their state units taking opposing and chauvinist positions. The CPI is working for the practical implementation of the Punjab Agreement, for curbing the wave of violence and terrorism and for ensuring communal unity. The CPI has also waged a consistent ideological struggle against the 'Sikhs — a nation' theory, the mixing of religion with the state politics, and the misuse of religious places. On CPI initiative a number of meetings of representatives of the state's main political parties have been held to consider urgent issues of joint action.

The Communists have the satisfaction to note that what they have been asserting and propagating for many years — that the US imperialists are

aiding and abetting the Khalistan extremists and that the Pakistani military regime is their tool and main agent — is now part of the common consciousness in Punjab. Few people now have any doubts on this score, though some pro-West elements in our country may not like the mention of the subversive role played by Washington in all this.

The natural human revulsion to the brutal violent acts of the terrorists is thus being reinforced by anti-imperialist patriotic mass consciousness. Unity of all peace-loving patriotic forces is the guarantee that separatism and terrorism will not win.¹⁰ The Communist Party of India is pledged to do everything to strengthen such unity.

¹ Advocates of 'Khalistan', a separatist state they want to establish in Punjab. — *Ed.*

² In Punjab, according to the latest census figures, there are more than ten million Sikhs (followers of one of India's religions), over six million Hindus, almost 185,000 Christians and 168,000 Moslems. In the country as a whole, Sikhs form two per cent and Hindus 82.7 per cent of the total population. — *Ed.*

³ The joint capital of the states of Punjab and Haryana. — *Ed.*

⁴ For more details, see Avtar Singh Malhotra, 'In the Name of the Brotherhood of Ordinary People', *WMR*, No. 2, 1984. — *Ed.*

⁵ The ruling Indian National Congress party. — *Ed.*

⁶ The youth wing of Akali Dal, the AISSF has been captured by Bhindranwale's followers.

⁷ These were talks the Indira Gandhi government held with the main political forces of Punjab. — *Ed.*

⁸ The agreement stipulates that Punjab will control the city of Chandigarh. In compensation, Haryana will assume control of several Hindu populated areas of Punjab. Besides, the issue involving the distribution of the water of the local rivers is to be resolved. The agreement also has provisions on several other socio-economic and political questions. — *Ed.*

⁹ He was killed during the operation conducted by government troops to clear terrorists from the Golden Temple. — *Ed.*

¹⁰ When this article was being prepared for publication a new aggravation of the Punjab crisis occurred, caused by the extremism of the higher clergy in the Golden Temple. Under the pretext of ensuring the 'unity' of the various Akali factions, they demanded that all Sikhs holding government posts resign, including Punjab's chief minister Barnala. The latter refused and sponsored a 300,000-strong peasant demonstration which condemned the moves of the top clergy. Left, democratic, national patriotic and regional parties backed the chief minister and opposed the clergy's interference in politics. The CPI, the CPI(M), the Akali Party and the Congress (I) Party launched a major joint campaign seeking, with the support of the masses in the Sikh and other communities, to isolate the extremists and their backers in the religious quarters. — *Ed.*

A Class Battle at Wapping

Bill Freeman — National Executive member, SOGAT* (Great Britain)

Each May Day, working people look for current examples of workers' solidarity. The class battle at Wapping was no doubt a remarkable development of last year.

Wapping, a place in the eastern part of London close to the Tower, the old royal prison, was where the territory of one of the world's

*SOGAT (Society of Graphical and Allied Trades) is a major British trade union. — *Ed.*

biggest seaports began several decades ago. The port has now been moved to the mouth of the Thames. The piers and warehouses within city limits have been demolished to give way to residential areas. Standing somewhat aside is a new printing factory of the newspaper tycoon Rupert Murdoch. For many months, the printing shops looked like either a military fort or a concentration camp: the perimeter was lined with barbed wire, and there were guards at the entrance gate.

Wapping became the scene of a pitched class battle in January 1986. Sacked printing workers picketed the area and staged mass demonstrations in which workers from many British industrial centres took part. Solidarity enabled the printing workers to keep up their struggle for more than a year. The new factory started to operate with specially recruited strikebreakers protected by police who provoked violent clashes. During one of those clashes, Michael Hicks, a member of the SOGAT Executive, was arrested on trumped-up charges and imprisoned for several months. This gross violation of human rights gave rise to a wave of protest both in Britain and in many other countries. Hicks and his comrades received a veritable flood of telegrams and letters of solidarity from their brothers in class all over the world. International support helped to bring about Hicks' release.

In February 1987, after more than a year of struggle, the SOGAT National Executive decided by a majority of votes to end the picketing on the grounds that legal action by Murdoch would destroy the trade union financially. The class battle at Wapping will not doubt go down in the history of the British working class movement as a vivid and heroic page of mass resistance to the all-out attack launched by capital against the rights of workers.

This is what Bill Freeman, Michael Hicks' co-worker, told *World Marxist Review*:

MIKE'S particular reason for being in prison, as far as we are concerned, is very clear. Some say he was charged under normal criminal law, but the case is in fact political. In real terms this assessment should be put to a common test, the sort of test one would employ in South Africa, or Chile, or other countries where there's repression. Is the victim of the imprisonment someone who has been in the forefront, leading workers in struggles for their rights and conditions, and basic freedoms? If the answer to that is 'yes', then it's clear that it is a political imprisonment, whichever laws or excuses they dress it up with.

Mike's particular role as an organiser in the dispute was his ability to lead massive marches and demonstrations, and despite all sorts of provocations and brutality by the police, to keep people's spirits up. Mike had an ability, like a boxer in a ring, to just lean back and take a punch, in a manner of speaking, and keep up spirits and morale; and as such he was clearly a threat to the police, and Murdoch, and hence the state's intention to try and demoralise the workers.

And so the reprisals are not against Michael Hicks alone?

The Tory government has in fact introduced legislation that outlaws solidarity, the workers' major practical weapon. The capitalist system cannot defeat the workers if they are organised, and solid, and united. After their defeats in the 1970s, the companies have sought to come back in power. When workers have mass demonstrations of solidarity in support of their brothers, the police are brought in.

Within the factory Murdoch has his private security people, while in the streets there are thousands of policemen constantly on duty for him. Their role is to smash up demonstrations of solidarity, to use agents-provocateurs to instigate violence and paint the workers as being violent. If the police weren't there, our members in sufficient numbers would block the lorries from getting in and Rupert Murdoch would be forced to negotiate with the unions. Without the government's preparedness to use all its weapons, riot gear and even CS gas, Murdoch would never have dared to have sacked his workforce in the first place.

The police have always been used in an oppressive role against working class organisations. What's important now is the degree to which the government is prepared to go. During strikes in the 1970's, the police themselves took the decision to close several plants so as to avoid direct clashes because at that stage the establishment was not prepared to go to the extent of using storm-trooper fascist-type methods.

Now, it's a general attack on the working class. The government's legislation and its overall policy are designed to completely undermine our fabric of trade union organisation and solidarity action. If the police had failed, then the army would have been brought in, a state of emergency declared, thus opening a way to further repression.

We also see the class enemy retrenching internationally. Transnationals are retrenching in an attempt to regain lost ground and to exploit even more their own workers. Note that Murdoch has built a major world media empire the like of which has never been seen before, and it's not just into newspapers. It's into the satellites, television, film studios and every aspect of media and communications. He's got the ability to help the conservative forces through his propaganda machine. And his support played a major role in getting the Tory government re-elected in Britain.

Note how the dispute began. Murdoch started his offensive by making impossible demands on the unions — no strikes, no industrial action and a condition that if any representatives of the unions in the factory were subject to any disciplinary action by the company, they would immediately cease to represent the workers. No self-respecting trade union could accept that, and therefore it was a provocation. Murdoch tried to bribe the workers with offers of handouts. But the ballots were overwhelmingly against accepting such offers, and this majority got stronger thanks to leaders such as Mike Hicks,

The dispute is not about new technology despite the image that's sometimes put across, because the machinery and equipment Murdoch is using in his new factory is in fact less advanced than in other plants where trade union rights are still recognised. The dispute is about our members

having their right of work, the rights of proper and effective trade union recognition, and the workers' right to negotiate and bargain for their future, including their children's future. The introduction of new technology should mean a shorter working week, longer holidays and earlier retirements. People are not opposed to new technology, it's a question of the benefits of that technology and the use it's put to.

Apparently, financial pressure is also applied against trade unions?

They use new legislation. They call it sequestration. What it means is that the court orders the funds and assets of the union to be taken over by a firm of accountants who act as agents for the government. They can take over the buildings, stop paying the wages of the full-time officers and staff — in other words, stop the union from being able to function. They did this to the miners and to the National Graphical Association.

What is alarming the government and the capitalists is that despite all this pressure workers keep up their struggle. Demonstrations at Wapping have continued for over a year. We saw the British Telecom workers taking industrial action. We've seen the teachers in struggle for more than a year, and other sections of the working class coming to action. We could organise demonstrations up to 100,000 strong which would be something almost without precedent in London. So the task is to mobilise the masses, link up their movement with other struggles that are taking place, and make workers understand that they must rebuff this major offensive against the trade unions. The degree of success will depend entirely on the degree of solidarity action we're able to mobilise.

Towards an Independent Role in International Affairs

Stewart McCaffley — Senior Vice President, New Zealand Labour Party

Not very long ago, New Zealand appeared to be lost in the sea of world politics, but after the Labour Party, led by David Lange, was elected to govern the country in July 1984, it hit the headlines: New Zealand dared to challenge the United States by closing its ports to all nuclear-powered and nuclear-weapon carrying craft. The Labour government proclaimed the country's nuclear-free status and took an active part in formulating the treaty setting up a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific.¹ How is one to explain that New Zealand has become a 'trouble-maker' in a region the United States regarded as perfectly reliable from the standpoint of its global strategic interests? How has the Labour Party advanced to its present positions, and what is it doing to turn the Pacific into a region of peace and security? Below is Stewart McCaffley's answers to these questions.

OVER its 70-year history, the New Zealand Labour Party's thinking on defence and security issues has had a number of constant themes:

- a desire for greater independence in New Zealand's policy;
- a commitment to disarmament and to a peaceful resolution of international disputes;
- a recognition that New Zealand's security must be guaranteed by economic and social development in the Asian-Pacific region.

The Labour Party's thinking has never been isolationist. Its early identification was with worker internationalism, and the idea of broad cooperation within the British Commonwealth of Nations. It has always wanted New Zealand to play an active role in international affairs. Since 1945 we have looked to the United Nations to develop its potential as a guarantor of security of its members, including the small states.

In the mid-1960s and early 1970s, our party recognised that New Zealand's security is not guaranteed by its allies² and that greater self-reliance in defence was inevitable. At about that time, our party began to conduct a policy aimed against nuclear weapons. The impetus was provided by French nuclear tests in the Pacific.³

The development of our party's thinking on nuclear issues has also had a dramatic impact on its attitudes towards New Zealand's alliance with the United States. It became clear to New Zealand Labour Party members that consistency required a condemnation of nuclear weapons in the Pacific, regardless of the state to which they belonged. Pressure was on the third Labour government (1972-1975) to break off the most immediate link New Zealand could have with nuclear weaponry — the visits of foreign warships bearing nuclear arms. Accordingly that government made it known that such vessels were not welcome in New Zealand ports and it is commonly understood that none came to New Zealand during the reign of the third Labour government.

Norman Kirk, who then headed the government, emerged as a powerful voice for an independent New Zealand role in international affairs. The call for greater self-reliance and independence of judgement and action by New Zealand was a constant theme in Kirk's speeches throughout his term as Labour leader. His successor as Labour leader, Wallace Rowling, endorsed these ideas and developed them somewhat further.

From 1978 on, specific mention was made in Labour's election manifestos of its intention, when re-elected, to close New Zealand's sea and air ports to all nuclear-powered and nuclear-weapon-carrying craft. This policy has had the full and enthusiastic support of successive Labour Party conferences.

By the beginning of the 1980s, however, the nuclear-free policy on its own was no longer enough for the party conference. Détente between the superpowers was at an end and the international situation was perceived to be deteriorating rapidly. There was a heightened desire among our people and within the Labour Party to see that New Zealand played no part in support of the nuclear strategies of any power. The New Zealand Labour Party's conference adopted a resolution which was incorporated in toto in the 1984 manifesto. It put the duty on the next Labour government to renegotiate the terms of our association with Australia and the United

States for the purpose of ensuring stability in the Southeast Asian and Pacific regions, accepting as the basic requirement of such an updated agreement:

- our unconditional anti-nuclear stance;
- the active promotion of a nuclear-weapon-free South Pacific;
- the acceptance of absolutely equal partnership on all issues handled within the terms of the agreement and all decisions taken under those terms are required to be unanimous;
- an absolute guarantee of the complete integrity of New Zealand's sovereignty.

These principles became the basis of the policy of the fourth Labour government headed by David Lange, which was formed in 1984. It voiced our determination to maintain our absolute independence and to conduct a policy which tells the world that our decisions will be made in Wellington — not in Washington, nor London, nor Canberra. The kind of independence which we will maintain under a Labour government will not be negotiable. Neither will our non-nuclear stance, which will be an important element of that policy. By voting for our party in the elections, a majority of the electorate supported its firm determination to maintain the country's firm resolve to conduct a foreign policy for a non-nuclear Pacific. But our government's very first steps made it clear that New Zealand has been put into a David and Goliath situation vis-a-vis the United States.

We were at once confronted with an extremely negative response from the United States to our stand with respect to the ANZUS treaty, which the Labour Party formulated in 1984. The core of our position is that New Zealand remains a member of the alliance, but will have nothing to do with nuclear weapons. The US administration, for its part, has claimed that we are destroying ANZUS. Our national dignity is being offended because we are being dictated to by the United States. We are objecting to the dictates of the superpower that is trying to make us abide by its terms in international affairs. The dictates of the United States are very, very strong, and it antagonises the New Zealand population, which has responded with even stronger support for the government's anti-nuclear policy. Public opinion polls show that 82 per cent of New Zealanders oppose nuclear weapons and want no part in any wars. The government has been supported by the trade unions, the growing anti-war movement, and peace groups of differing political persuasion.

Nuclear war is the greatest threat to New Zealand's and the world's existence. That is why the Labour Party wants New Zealand to play a positive role in the struggle for disarmament. We are very concerned with what is happening in other parts of the world. Of course, a small country like New Zealand, situated in a very isolated area, has a tendency to stick to its own problems. However, war doesn't recognise any boundaries and its repercussions are frightening, eventually for New Zealand as well.

The world is becoming a smaller place. Whatever happens in Europe or America has a direct effect on the situation in the Pacific region. On the other hand, we cannot but be concerned with the plans to take war to outer space.

The party's firm stand for a nuclear-free New Zealand provides a firm

basis for promoting regional and international disarmament. The Labour government has signalled its intention to join the United Nations Conference on Disarmament at the first opportunity. We believe that the non-nuclear weapon states have both a right and a duty to advocate separately and jointly nuclear disarmament. Nuclear weapons may be in the control of a few countries, but they threaten all of us.

The peoples of the Pacific have already paid too high a price for the development of nuclear weaponry. In French Polynesia, in the US Trust Territories, in the Northwest Pacific, in the South Australian desert, nuclear testing has been carried out at enormous cost to the local population. No amount of compensation can make up for the deaths and damage to human health caused by exposure to radiation from nuclear weapons testing. Yet while the suffering of the Pacific peoples has been immense, it would pale into insignificance alongside the effects of an outbreak of nuclear war.

Many people will wonder how a small state like New Zealand can make its voice heard on the major issue of international disarmament. The answer to that was provided by Norman Kirk years ago. He believed that small states acting together could come to exercise considerable influence in world affairs.

Our primary goal is to turn the Pacific region into a non-nuclear zone, and the first step here has been the Rarotonga Treaty, which provides for a renunciation by all the signatories of the manufacture, acquisition and deployment on their territory of any nuclear explosive devices, and bans all nuclear explosions, and the dumping of radioactive waste and other radioactive substances within the area covered by the Treaty.

The New Zealand Labour Party would like to see this Treaty strengthened and the nuclear-free zone extended to ensure a Pacific free of nuclear weapons, nuclear-powered warships, nuclear tests, the dumping of nuclear waste, in short, a peaceful Pacific free of nuclear-power intervention. We must push the nuclear powers to accept and respect the wish of the peoples of the Pacific that their region should not be a zone of conflict in the future.

Meanwhile, US warships with nuclear weapons on board still ply the waters of the region, and French nuclear tests are still being held. We intend to carry on a resolute struggle against these. In the early 1970s, the Labour government took its case against France to the International Court at the Hague, and the Court handed down a ruling in favour of New Zealand. But France has refused to halt its tests on Mururoa Atoll, and has merely changed the form by switching to underground blasts. We have been assured that these are 'perfectly safe'. Why then doesn't France stage them on its own territory? The government and population of New Zealand have resolutely demanded an end to using Mururoa as a nuclear testing-ground. There was a storm of indignation in the country when about two years ago French secret services decided to blow up in Auckland Harbour the *Rainbow Warrior* belonging to the international ecological organisation Greenpeace, which opposes nuclear testing in the Pacific.

Our party regards as useful any steps aimed to strengthen security in the Pacific, and that is why we support Mikhail Gorbachov's proposals which

he made at Vladivostok in the summer of 1986, notably the calling of a Helsinki-type conference for the Pacific region. Such a conference would be especially important for the small countries, whose voice is not being adequately heard in the world. If there is a war, these countries would be involved against their will; indeed, they would not even be consulted. The conference could give them an opportunity to voice their views on the struggle for peace and disarmament.

New Zealand's Labour now seeks to take a more active part in this struggle. As my party's representative, I attended in May 1986 the International Forum for a Nuclear-Free Pacific which was arranged in Tokyo on the initiative of the Anti-Nuclear Committee of One Thousand. This committee financially backed primarily by the Sohyo trade union movement, was formed in 1984 to create opposition to the seemingly rapid remilitarisation of Japan.

The conference left a strong impression. It was attended by almost 500 people. The panel had representatives from the socialist parties of Australia, the Philippines, South Korea, Guam, the United States, New Zealand and, of course, Japan. The audience was comprised of members from many different walks of life, factory workers, scholars, unionists, activists in nuclear disarmament, world peace groups, teachers, and women's groups.

Along with many other issues, the conference focused on how to stop French nuclear testing on Mururoa, how to ban ocean dumping of nuclear waste, how to reject cooperation with the 'star wars' project, and how to establish a Pacific network of denuclearisation. I had an opportunity to set forth the Labour government's views on foreign policy, and these aroused much interest. Our party believes that measures like the Tokyo forum are highly important from the standpoint of exchanging information between the peace-loving forces.

When in Japan, I visited the city of Hiroshima. I have read a great deal about it, of course. It had a dramatic effect on me to see the destruction caused by the early atom bomb, knowing that hydrogen bombs today are hundreds of times more destructive. My visit to Hiroshima more than brought home how right New Zealand is in its consistent anti-nuclear stand.

I have visited many countries over the past several years, and I want to say that most people there think as we do in New Zealand. Our party's approach to disarmament has ever greater support within the Socialist International. Let me note in this context that cooperation between us Socialists and the ruling communist parties in the USSR and the East European countries is improving considerably. One must recognise that in the past we had a great deal of propaganda in each country and I know about the new media propaganda we have had in New Zealand against the CPSU, but when we get to the Soviet Union and see the people, we find that all the peoples of the Earth yearn for peace.

Editorial Note. These answers were received before the Soviet government signed Protocols 2 and 3 to the Rarotonga Treaty for a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific. On the annex to the Treaty are three protocols opened

for signature by the nuclear powers. Protocol 1 provides for a commitment by the United States, Great Britain and France to apply the relevant provisions of the Treaty with respect to territories they control in the zone. Protocol 2 contains a commitment not to use nuclear weapons and not to threaten their use against the Treaty signatories, and Protocol 3, a commitment not to test any nuclear explosive devices in the Treaty zone.

The USSR was the first nuclear power to join the Rarotonga Treaty and to commit itself to abiding by the nuclear-free status of the Treaty zone. The Soviet government statement at the signing of the protocols, said: "It is the Soviet Union's assumption that the establishment of such a zone in the South Pacific will be an important contribution to forming a reliable security system in the Asian-Pacific region, that it will strengthen the international regime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and will help to realise the tasks of putting an end to nuclear weapons on the Earth once and for all. The Soviet Union has voiced its readiness to be a guarantor of the nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific in the hope that all the other nuclear powers will approach the initiative of the countries of the region with due responsibility, and will, for their part, do everything to reliably ensure and guarantee the truly nuclear-free status of the declared zone".

The New Zealand Labour Party delegation which visited Moscow in early 1987 thanked the Soviet Union for being the first of the nuclear powers to sign Protocols 2 and 3 to the Rarotonga Treaty, and gave a positive appreciation of the Soviet programme for eliminating nuclear weapons by the beginning of the twenty-first century and other initiatives aimed to strengthen peace. In the course of a friendly conversation at the CPSU CC, both parties reaffirmed their desire to continue and to deepen inter-party contacts for the earliest elimination of nuclear weapons and conversion of the Pacific Ocean into a zone of peace, good neighbourhood and equitable cooperation.

In February 1987, the People's Republic of China signed Protocols 2 and 3 to the Rarotonga Treaty and expressed the confidence that its implementation would favour peace and security in Asia and the Pacific region. Meanwhile, the United States, France, and Great Britain have refused to join in the Treaty.

¹ The Rarotonga Treaty on a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific was approved at the 16th session of the South Pacific Forum (SPF), which was held in Rarotonga (Cook Islands) in August 1985. It entered into force on December 11, 1986, upon being signed by ten and ratified by eight of the 13 SPF countries. SPF includes: Australia, New Zealand, Cook Islands, Papua-New Guinea, Niue, Nauru, Kiribati, Tuvalu, Tonga, Vanuatu, Fiji, Western Samoa, and the Solomon Islands. — *Ed.*

² The states which, together with New Zealand, are members of ANZUS (Australia, United States) and ANZUK (Australia, United Kingdom). — *Ed.*

³ France began its nuclear tests on Mururoa Atoll in 1966. — *Ed.*

surveys, letters, and diary

The 'Ecoforum for Peace'

Georgi Petkov — Central Committee member, Bulgarian Communist Party. National Council Secretary, Fatherland Front.

THE Ecoforum for Peace movement was born at an international conference on protection of the environment and defence of world peace, held in the Bulgarian city of Varna in August 1986. Eighty-eight natural and social scientists from 32 countries came to Bulgaria. Also attending were delegates of 12 international organisations — UNESCO, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, the World Future Studies Federation, etc. As for the reasons prompting academics representing such different political, ideological, religious and social currents to form this united front, these can be summed up as the general desire to save life on Earth.

In his welcoming address to the conference Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the BCP Central Committee and Chairman of the PRB State Council, wrote: "Peace and nature are two prime conditions essential to life on Earth. Nature is the cradle of humanity. A thermonuclear war and an environmental catastrophe would each lead to the same result — to the destruction of life. The problem to be discussed can be justifiably described as the issue of our destiny. Whether our planet, man's only home in the Universe, survives, whether our future will be bright or an eternal night will set in, depends on all of us."¹

The discussion focused on 'The Ecological Imperatives of Peace', a report prepared by eight scientists from Bulgaria, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, the USSR and the United States. Other topics included the scientists' responsibility and struggle for nature conservation and the defence of peace, nuclear-free zones for optimum solution of environmental problems, issues of international cooperation in this field, and the like.

I shall deal with this forum in detail because it did not receive adequate international press coverage. The scientists noted that their most important task was to defend peace, stop the arms race, and secure universal nuclear disarmament and détente. Military technology has advanced so far that its use will destroy the human race. Participants in the forum denounced

attempts to disprove the conclusions of science about the totally destructive nature of a nuclear conflict.

The Varna Conference considered the scenarios of nuclear war modelled by the Max Planck Institute (FRG), Cornell University (USA) and the USSR Academy of Sciences. Science has drawn a chillingly precise picture of a 'nuclear night' or 'nuclear winter'. "The understanding is spreading in Eastern and Western Europe, the United States and the world that nuclear war and even nuclear arms must be rejected as an extreme case of human madness," stressed an American Professor.

Most scientists believe that the world is a complex, contradictory but integral whole. We need a comprehensive system of international security which would enable all nations to work creatively and constructively and to prosper. The currently dominant policy from positions of strength which is the source of wars must give way to an era of universal security and all-round international cooperation.

But even if civilisation develops peacefully, factors of an environmental catastrophe keep accumulating and a great deal of effort is required to save the environment.

Remarkable facts were cited at our forum. Over the past 80 years, more ores, non-metallic minerals, oil, natural gas and other resources have been extracted than from the Paleolithic times to the beginning of the twentieth century. Economic production is growing fast, but the balance of the biosphere is being disrupted still faster. According to Dr Mostafa Tolba (UNEP), the world is annually losing some six million hectares of arable land to the encroachment of deserts. Particularly hard hit are those who live in the Sahel² and the Horn of Africa. Unable to cope with soil erosion, people are uprooted from their traditional habitat. Drought has recently forced about 10 million Africans to move and resettle in other areas.

The scientists displayed great concern in examining other global problems too — the energy, raw materials, food and population problems. It was stressed that aggravation of contradictions between society and nature was typical of the present-day socio-environmental situation and that this conflict was acquiring global scope.

Channelling the potential of science and technology into the tackling of global problems will be possible only when an end is put to the militarisation of science. As a French participant pointed out, the United States spent 64 per cent of all science allocations on military programmes in 1985 and 72 per cent in 1986. In this connection a professor from Bulgaria suggested that the ecological approach be made mandatory for all scientists. He holds that research conducted from this angle would create conditions for an appropriate reorientation of education and culture, to be followed by an ecological approach to economic production. The general conclusion was that it was necessary to elaborate an international strategy of environmental protection through the year 2000 and for the subsequent period as an essential condition for the tackling of global problems in the historical perspective.

This was the platform on which the Ecoforum for Peace movement was organised. Its participants elected a governing board comprising representatives of Bulgaria, France, Great Britain, Japan, the

Netherlands, the USSR and the United States. New members, mostly from developing countries, will join the board later.

The documents adopted at the conference offered a precise formulation of the movement's basic stand. The declaration on the establishment of the Ecoforum for Peace movement stresses that nuclear war would bring devastation to the ecological systems of the planet; that even without war the development, testing, production and deployment of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction is accelerating ecological disasters for humanity; that, because of their global dimensions, our ecological problems demand new dimensions of cooperation among all peoples and states, and that this free collaboration is not compatible with war preparations; that human intrusions into the environment through various aspects of modern technology pose grave threats if not undertaken from an ecological perspective; and that true international security depends upon the achievement of harmony between humankind and nature.

Hence the goals pursued by the Ecoforum for Peace:

- to rally the efforts of the global scientific community and all those committed towards assuring the co-development or co-evolution of humankind and nature as a necessary condition for life and social progress;

- to support the world ecological and related movements in their efforts to mobilise the peoples and oblige the governments of all nations to achieve and safeguard peace in the world and to promote appropriate development on a socially and ecologically sound basis;

- to mobilise researchers throughout the world to help create the trust among nations necessary to achieve these aims.

Those are the main directions in which the Ecoforum for Peace is working. It has already won broad support, and it cooperates with scores of international organisations and hundreds of scientists. The world's ecologists are rallying around our movement to work for durable peace and clear skies over all parts of our planet.

¹ *Rabotnichesko delo*, August 26, 1986.

² The West African savanna south of the Sahara. — *Ed.*

The Reader Wants to Know...

THE ABM TREATY IN PERIL

'An Irresponsible Step', an article in your March issue, dealt with the Soviet and US positions on the SALT II Treaty. I would welcome a similar article on the ABM Treaty which is now in the focus of world public attention in connection with the so-called broad interpretation of some of its articles.

Jan Doroszewicz, Poland.

LET us begin with anti-ballistic missile (ABM) systems. They are intended to intercept strategic ballistic missiles or their components in flight. An ABM system consists of ABM missiles, launchers and radars.

The Soviet-US Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems (the ABM Treaty), to be effective in perpetuity, was signed in Moscow on May 26, 1972 and entered into force on October 3 of the same year. Under the treaty, each signatory nation pledged "not to deploy ABM systems for a defence of the territory of its country and not to provide a base for such a defence". Each side was permitted to deploy ABM systems in two areas only: (a) within a radius of 150 kilometres around the nation's capital and (b) within a radius of 150 kilometres in one ABM area around ICBM silos.

Summit talks held in Moscow in 1974 culminated in the signing of a Soviet-US protocol to the ABM Treaty. The sides agreed to have only one — not two — ABM area each (Moscow in the USSR and the Grand Forks ICBM base in the United States). Within these designated areas, no more than 100 ABM missiles can be deployed for launching, as well as a limited number of ABM radars. A Soviet-US standing consultative commission was formed to consider all issues connected with the observance of the treaty's provisions.

For a long time, the treaty remained, and still remains, the most important international legal instrument underlying all strategic arms control restrictions currently in force. The provisions of the treaty are based on the realisation of an objective interconnection between defensive and offensive strategic armaments. The preamble to the treaty stresses that "effective measures to limit anti-ballistic missile systems would be a substantial factor in curbing the race in strategic offensive arms and would lead to a decrease in the risk of outbreak of war involving nuclear weapons".

Naturally, since the treaty entered into force, various difficulties have arisen, including those that required special consultations and negotiations, but the commission has almost always managed to devise compromises acceptable to both sides. This situation continued until Ronald Reagan's accession to the presidency; to be more precise, until his past two years in office.

On November 28, 1986 the United States withdrew from the SALT II Treaty putting on operational status the 131st heavy bomber equipped with long-range cruise missiles. It was simultaneously reported that the US administration would either revise its interpretation of the ABM Treaty or withdraw from it altogether.

This generated worldwide public alarm, and concern was also expressed by many Western political figures, including American politicians. This is what *The New York Times* wrote in this connection: "The Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972 is in peril. Almost alone among arms control agreements, it has helped prevent nuclear war, sharply curtailing the development of a dangerous mix of defensive and offensive forces."¹

Why did the US side decide to revise its stand on the ABM Treaty? The principal argument marshalled by the Reagan administration is that the USSR has allegedly violated its basic principles. The United States usually

cites the fact that a radar station is being built near Krasnoyarsk whose technical specifications are said to go beyond the framework laid down in the treaty.

These and other arguments are dismissed as totally groundless by experts not only in the Soviet Union but also in the United States itself. For example, Professor Tsipis of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and M.I.T. President Emeritus Jerome Wiesner have published an article in *The Washington Post* proving that the charges made by the US administration about Soviet 'violations' of the treaty were wholly untenable.

Referring to the Krasnoyarsk project, the scientists emphasised that it included neither electrical nor electronic components of a phased-array ABM radar station.² The authors of the article are indignant over the fact that the United States ignored the standing consultative commission operating within the ABM Treaty framework — in other words, that the US has refused even to try and solve the problems connected with the Krasnoyarsk project on the one hand and, on the other, with those US radars in Greenland and Great Britain to which the Soviet Union objects.

As one may recall, the Soviet Union has repeatedly stated that the Krasnoyarsk radar's exclusive mission is to track and monitor the movements of space objects. That is by no means the case with the phased-array radar station the United States is about to finish in Greenland. Its construction violates two provisions — Article 6 of the Treaty which states that neither side may deploy radars for early warning of strategic ballistic missile attack "except at locations along the periphery of its national territory", and Agreed Statement F which prohibits the deployment of large-scale phased-array radars except within strict limits of mutual restrictions.

Soviet arms control experts regard as frivolous all attempts at presenting the Greenland case as mere modernisation of an old radar and not as the construction of a new station. One cannot seriously describe the replacement of five earlier non-phased-array radars with one big phased-array radar station as modernisation — although Washington pretends that this 'modernisation' is perfectly legitimate.

This US attitude to the ABM accords has led a group of prominent US arms control experts — Brent Scowcroft, William Perry and George Nigh — to conclude that the US administration is going to great lengths to prove Soviet 'violations', while at the same time doing all it can to emasculate the ABM Treaty so as to secure the greatest possible opportunities for SDI.

The Strategic Defence Initiative is the principal goal of President Reagan's administration, and the ABM Treaty is the main obstacle on the way towards that goal. Hardly anyone doubts any longer that Washington moved deliberately to undermine the treaty by abandoning the mechanism for settling disputes in the standing consultative commission, a mechanism that had, until then, been used. Apparently, the President was ready to decide definitively on withdrawing from the treaty. It was only a sudden shift in the national political situation that prompted him to tread with greater caution. With the Senate and the House of Representatives controlled by the Democrats and with Reagan's prestige compromised by

Irangate, a decision like that could produce an extremely negative effect. Hence a change in tactics and a vigorous campaign to promote the so-called broad interpretation of the ABM Treaty.

The treaty states that each side pledges not to develop, test or deploy ABM systems or components which are sea-based, air-based, space-based or mobile land-based. But Caspar Weinberger *et al* insist that Agreed Statement D³ allegedly does not apply to 'ABM systems based on other physical principles' such as lasers or particle beams. They argue that the treaty applies only to conventional technology, like a missile fired at another missile.

"This," *The New York Times* wrote, "contradicts the very name and purpose of the treaty. It contradicts 15 years of precedent by Moscow and Washington and testimony given by American negotiators to Congress. It ignores the very language of Agreed Statement D which begins: 'In order to ensure fulfilment of the obligation not to deploy ABM systems.' To insist on a looser reading now would destroy any chance for a new arms treaty."⁴

Arms control experts within the Reagan administration are no doubt aware that 'broad interpretation' has no proper legal basis. This is why they seek to 'reinforce' their inventions by citing some points in the negotiations that allegedly allow some of the treaty's provisions to be interpreted differently from what they actually mean. But those who took part in the negotiations both on the Soviet and on the US side firmly reject all casuistry that distorts the meaning of the accords. Suffice it to say that Gerald Smith, the chief US delegate who took part in the drafting of the treaty, has said resolutely that a 'broad interpretation' is inadmissible because it would turn the ABM Treaty into a dead letter.

However, 'broad interpretation' is at the heart of the arms control policy pursued by the US administration. This was made clear once again in Reykjavik. There, the stumbling block was the US desire to secure (in exchange for keeping to the ABM Treaty for another ten years) a *carte blanche* for the development of SDI systems and components and for their deployment as soon as that decade were over. The President claimed that this approach was consonant with the treaty. In this, he obviously proceeded from the 'broad interpretation' invented by his closest aides. Meanwhile, the Soviet side has noted repeatedly that the ABM Treaty cannot be interpreted either 'broadly' or 'narrowly', that it consists of obligations which are perfectly clear and which must be honoured. As General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachov of the CPSU Central Committee said, "one cannot ensure either an order in international affairs or elementary stability without strict compliance with treaties, let alone with such a basic one. Otherwise the world will be plunged into arbitrary practices and chaos."⁵

The next few months or possibly even weeks will show whether the Reagan administration adopts the 'broad interpretation' of the ABM Treaty (and thus destroys it).

The haste with which the legal experts hired by the White House are preparing their verdict gives pause to many sober-minded Americans. Why be hasty in a matter of such great importance? To give the go-ahead to SDI

testing, Tom Wicker, a well-known US expert on arms control, believes. It does not matter to SDI advocates that these tests will hardly be completed within the time left of Reagan's presidency. What matters to them is to saddle the nation with this programme while Ronald Reagan is still in the White House and to make it as difficult as possible for his successors to cancel or delay SDI.

All this is additional proof that the present Washington administration puts the interests of the US military-industrial complex and other militarist quarters above the security of the world's peoples, including the American people, and above the task of delivering mankind from the threat of a nuclear conflict.

Serge Hoffman

¹ Quoted from *International Herald Tribune*, February 7-8, 1987.

² A phased antenna array, the latest development in radar technology, offers an advantage in range and precision.

³ Part of the ABM accords.

⁴ Quoted from *International Herald Tribune*, February 7-8, 1987.

⁵ *Pravda*, October 23, 1986.

WMR Ties

WMR delegations attended the 16th Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), the Fifth Congress of the Lebanese Communist Party and the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka.

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WMR Editor-in-Chief met in Geneva with Jean Spielman, General Secretary of the Swiss Party of Labour to discuss the development of cooperation between the SPL and the journal.

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Nadim Abdel Samad, Deputy General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party visited the WMR offices in Prague. Addressing an extended meeting of the Commission on National Liberation Movements in Asia and Africa, he spoke of the developments in Lebanon and of the efforts of the Communists to implement a national democratic plan for ending the Lebanese crisis as part of a just and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East.

Facts Indict Capitalism

PEACE CAMPAIGNERS UNDER FIRE

CAPITALISM originally emerged in the world as a herald of peace, freedom, equality and fraternity, with promises to fulfil humanity's age-old dreams. US President Ronald Reagan would like us to believe that today, too, capitalist society sees as its foremost duty the need to defend and promote democracy, freedom and human rights all over the world. That is what he says. But instead of a cherished peace, capitalism brought with it a succession of most bloody and devastating wars to date, and its more pugnacious elements have now pushed mankind to the brink of a fatal nuclear disaster. Instead of the promised freedom the peoples have got only its surrogate, which advances the interests of the rich and the powers that be; instead of equality, a system of harrowing exploitation and oppression; and instead of fraternity, bitter class clashes, racial conflicts and national strife. The exploiter system hypocritically posing as a 'free world' has shown its true worth.

This issue starts a new column, 'Facts Indict Capitalism', with materials denouncing the man-hating nature of the capitalist system, its inhumane home and foreign policy, and the crimes of imperialism. We invite our readers to contribute their views.

This issue is running reports of attempts by the more reactionary quarters to clamp down on the massive peace campaign in many Western countries with police violence and legal penalties.

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From the Press

REPRISALS IN HIGH GEAR

Reports about police and court reprisals against US peace activists are coming in ever more often. Here are some of the latest cases. Dr Benjamin Spock has been arrested again for his anti-war activities. Rev. D. Lanktot, Rev. T. MacGann, H. Bourget, a former army officer, and L. Romano, member of the Help the Needy and Homeless Movement, have appeared before a court for participation in an anti-militarist protest action at the Willow Grove military base. Each defendant may be sentenced to 30 years in prison. Pitched battles are being fought near the Pentagon's test ranges in Nevada and Cape Canaveral between security forces and demonstrators demanding an end to nuclear testing. Hundreds of people were arrested there this February alone. News reports confirm that the current administration in Washington is escalating not only the arms race but also reprisals against participants in the peace movement.

Intensified persecution of peace champions brings to mind President Reagan's 1984 directive about setting up ten concentration camps in the United States — to be used for detention of anti-war protesters 'in case of emergency'.

Time will tell whether the US administration will go through with this plan. But civic organisations defending those convicted for anti-war activities report that scores of people are already in jail. Over the past two years, trials of peace champions have been held in San Francisco, Syracuse, Providence, Burlington and other cities.

Summarised from the *People's Daily World*,
a US Communist newspaper

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A Personal Impression

A RAID ON FLORENNADE

I was talking with Jan Vandierendonck in a small two-storey house in the village of Rosee. As we were earlier driving in I saw the sign Café de la Paix Florennade painted right across its windows. Actually, the house is a kind of headquarters for a Jan-led group which campaigns for removal of the US cruise missiles from Belgium. The base with the deadly weapons is close by. Talking about himself and his comrades, Jan sounded bitter:

"We've had our share of troubles with this café. There is nothing illegal in what we are doing and yet the authorities would not leave us alone. Our phone is tapped. Throughout last year the policemen posted across the street kept photographing anyone who approached the house and checking his or her documents. Soon after the Americans had arrived with their missiles we became keenly aware that along came a threat not just to the peaceful skies over our heads but to the very democratic traditions of our people. The district is now being run not by the citizens and their elected authorities but by the army and the police. I fear that continued militarisation will give all the Belgians the same hard deal," he noted.

Engrossed in our talk we were not at once aware of the rumble of running engines outside. Jan looked out the window and said tersely: "Get your recorder out of sight. It's the police again."

Within a minute they were inside the house, searching the rooms and the attic, checking everyone's documents and making notes. A plain-clothes man the policemen referred to as 'Captain' ordered them to search our car. Despite protests by my companion, an activist in the Communist Party of Belgium, whose card identified him as a municipal councillor, the order was readily executed. We were then told to get away quick while the rest were driven away in a police van. Café de la Paix Florennade was left empty. It seems the man I was talking to was right when he said that the US missiles on Belgian soil were not only a threat to peace but a challenge to democracy.

Vladimir Shelepin
WMR staff member
Florennes-Brussels-Prague

Le Drapeau Rouge has written with bitter irony that the police-to-the-population ratio in Belgium is higher than in other West European countries, while the anti-riot police units trained to break up peace

demonstrations are always in full combat readiness. But the public is in no mood to live either with militarism or democracy violations. There are plans for a massive demonstration this autumn to oppose deployment of new US missiles and for removal of those already there. The initiative came from major national peace organisations and the Communist Party of Belgium.

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A Letter From Prison

'NO SURRENDER'

Last July a military court in Istanbul passed yet another infamous sentence on a large group of activists in the Turkish Peace Society, among them Communists. One of them, held in the Bairampasha prison, sent a message to the outside world, which read: "The authorities are trying to browbeat us and break our courage and the hope that the forces of reaction and war could be defeated. But here in prison we feel we are not alone and will therefore never back down and surrender. The truth is on our side."

A broad international solidarity campaign and demands by the country's democratic public forced the authorities recently to release twelve most influential Peace Society leaders, among them its chairman Mahmud Dikerdem, who spent many months behind bars. But this only prompted those who have been passing atrocious sentences in the past five years to toughen their stand.

Ozygit, a military prosecutor and pathological anti-communist, cynically claimed he was not bothered by the 'repulsive effect his views had on many people'. This stooge of the authorities is pushing for laws raising prison terms for peace campaigners, especially our party members, to fifteen years. Several such inhumane sentences have already been handed down. Those convicted were accused that by their opposition to the government's militarist policy and more US and NATO military bases in Turkey they were ostensibly 'doing Moscow's bidding, throwing the doors wide open to the Soviet military threat'. What a sham!

Like all Turkish patriots, the Communists are safeguarding peace at their conscience's bidding and guided by the real interests of the people. At its recent National Conference our party emphasised that the terror and repression will not break the Communists' resolve to fight the nuclear war threat or force them to abandon their campaign for a peaceful and democratic Turkey they are promoting with other progressive quarters.

Ali Ileri

representative of the Communist Party
of Turkey on *WMR*

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Between 1983-1986, as many as 6,000-plus FRG peace activists were judicially penalised in contravention of the national constitution. Their convictions breached Article 5 (everyone has the right to a free expression

of his views) and Article 8 (the freedom of assembly). In Baden-Wurttemberg legal action was taken against 2,100 members of symbolic 'peace blockades' opposed to moves to turn the country into a nuclear beachhead of the US and NATO. The same happened to still another 2,000 who formed a human chain to block the routes to US military bases at Mutlangen, Heilbronn, Neu-Ulm, Grossengestingen and Bitburg.

(From GCP documents)

SHAMEFUL TRIALS

The data *WMR* has obtained from the 'Solidarity Aid' public organisation adds another 1,000 people to the total indicted by March 1987 in the FRG for their part in the peace campaign. In most cases the sentences arise under Article 240 of the criminal code, which describes actions by opponents of deployment of nuclear missiles as 'acts of violence'. This carries prison terms of between 10 to 90 days. Among those convicted already this year are Communist Gisela Sprenger-Schoch from Stuttgart and SDPG member Martha Kuder from Heilbronn, aged 65.

Police used the CS gas to break up last year's Easter Peace March at Wackersdorf, Oberpfalz. Hundreds of people, among them women and children, suffered severe respiratory injuries and one man died of a gas-induced asthma attack.

In cracking down on peace campaigners, FRG authorities are practising occupation ban. Gerhard Bitterwolf and Ulrich Foltz, teachers involved with the German Peace Alliance, were sacked for attending a protest action alongside the Communists.

From Our Mailbag

Human Rights From Different Angles

The letters coming to our offices show the diversity of problems that concern our readers. Many of them focus on the subject of human rights viewed at various angles.

A recent letter from Saudi Arabia tells of the release of many patriotic political prisoners there. The letter says: "The efforts, both in Saudi Arabia and abroad, have produced the desired results. We are sure that your journal also had a part in their release. We would therefore like to express our sincere gratitude on behalf of our entire people and especially the newly freed.

"It is a fact, though, that there are still quite a few political prisoners in Saudi Arabia. The health of many of those released is impaired, which testifies to the appalling prison conditions.

"We urge you to keep up your efforts, which may be vital to the release of the rest of political prisoners in Saudi Arabia." The letter was sent by three human rights organisations, *the Committee for Defence of Human Rights — Saudi Arabia*, *the Committee for Defence of Political Prisoners in Saudi Arabia*, and *the Committee for Defence of Liberties in the Arabian Peninsula*.

Alberto Martinez Gomez from Spain, **Peter Usierason** from Nigeria, **P. Arthiabah** from Ghana and others also praise our coverage of human rights. But there are people who differ with them. **Giulio Rivera** from Italy argues: "You would like us to believe that Eastern bloc countries do observe human rights but you say nothing about those wishing to leave the Soviet Union. We in Italy are, however, well informed of the persecution of people wanting to leave the USSR. In my view they are real champions of human rights."

To answer Giulio Rivera's criticism, we would like to quote Victor Afanasyev, *Pravda* newspaper editor-in-chief, who gave his opinion on matters of emigration and immigration in the USSR:

"One cannot say that we have fully resolved this problem. Red tape has made itself felt here, too, and questions are not always solved quickly and efficiently. It takes too much time to take a decision on an application to leave submitted by some dissident, as such people are known in the West. The press there is often making a big anti-Soviet campaign of it, presenting such person as only a little less than a hero, with non-existent academic and other degrees and distinctions. A drop-out from the first years in university for reasons of academic inaptitude, laziness or amoral behaviour, such a person is paraded as being almost a great mathematician or historian. On occasion, we are taking long, even too long a time, letting this 'great' go to the West, and this gives ground for yet another anti-Soviet campaign."¹

Daniel Fernandez Taladrid from Spain keeps up this subject, stressing Western media bias on it. It is enough to mention, he says, cases of dissidents in socialist countries, especially emigrants from the USSR, which are blown up out of all proportion. Months-long campaigns are mounted to publicise their cause. By contrast, the West keeps silent when in most such instances 'refugees' become aware they were tricked by imperialist propaganda and decide to go back home, he points out.

There are letters highlighting other aspects of the human rights issue. Writing on the crises in capitalist society, **Carlos Linares Galvez** from Peru notes that it will never rid itself of unemployment, crime and child trade, i.e. vices totally alien to the very idea of 'human rights'. **Darcy Aranha** of Brazil keynotes the need to fight for a real rather than imaginary equality for women. Many letters deal with racial discrimination. **Edward Joseph McRae** of the US writes about a case of racist violence against black youths in New York. He notes that some fairly influential quarters in his country would very much like to see more white people's hatred towards black citizens and vice versa. Racial hostility is fuelled, among other things, by a whole range of emotional levers, sometimes even by the comments of a

disc jockey or radio announcer.

His views are echoed by **Daniel Olsson** of Denmark who says that racial hatred has swamped America. This is felt both in its home and foreign policy. While bravely talking about human rights, the Reagan administration is all the while supportive of the regime in South Africa. A regime which, submissive to the prejudice of racial hatred, can take the life of any African, he writes.

Ivan Broulik, a physician from the town of Nova Vespod Plesi, Czechoslovakia, also censures apartheid in South Africa. He looks at the human rights campaign at a somewhat different angle: "Can one justify violence as protection from terror? I feel that if we were opposed to violence in self-defence we would be letting our enemies commit atrocities, as now happens in South Africa, where they kill even minors and get away with it, too," he emphasises.

We are looking forward to further contributions on this subject.

¹ *Pravda*, January 19, 1987.

the book scene

The Evolution of a Political System

Goran Goranov, *Political Relations at the Stage of Building Developed Socialism*, Partizdat, Sofia, 1986, 158 pp. (in Bulgarian).

THE building of socialism enhances the role and significance of the political factor. This is a sustained trend prompted by our generally enhanced knowledge and the use of objective socio-economic laws of development in the fraternal countries. Naturally enough, the social sciences are showing more interest in the essence of the political superstructure of the socialist state and in the ways it evolves. These questions are taken up by a Bulgarian scholar in the book under review.

Socialist reality, Goran Goranov notes, is a broad spectrum of political relations, ideas and views reflective of social changes. The building of socialism inevitably raises novel, yet untackled problems. The communist parties use the Marxist-Leninist method of studying and explaining social

processes, while steadily building up experience, to formulate the strategy and tactics of social development, including the evolution of the political system. But practical execution of policy, even if aided by theory, requires, rather than not, a systematic examination and theoretical evaluation of the role of the political institutions. Regrettably we, too, are falling behind the practical needs in this critical area of academic quest. The book under review serves, in some measure, to fill the gap.

The author assumes that progress in the building of socialism directly relates to the ability of policy to help reproduce its social relations. The book endeavours to show the basic political changes as developed socialist society evolves. Inevitably, the author looks at fundamental problems like the nature of policy, socialist state power and democracy, the structure of political relations, policy interaction with other, chiefly socio-economic, areas of public life, and the role of policy as a strategy and guide to action. The book offers a diversity, or more precisely, an organic intertwining of mutually supplementary research aspects to put its subject into broader perspective.

While probing relations between political and socio-economic relations, the book considers realities like forms of the acquisition and distribution of products, the unity and divergence of interests of different classes and groups under socialism, and the complexities of concrete historical use of social equality principles. Its analysis avoids both arbitrary criticism of the difficulties and a superficial idealising and apology of the achievements.

The evolution of socialism follows the general laws of materialist dialectics, like the unity and conflict of opposites, quantitative and qualitative changes, and negation of negation. The political strategy of a communist party and its leadership of society are only effective if they use for methodology the Marxist-Leninist approach to reality, stimulating the social phenomena most conducive to progress.

For the socialist society to advance, political democracy is uppermost, with democratic centralism at the core of it, the author stresses. At each stage this crucial leadership principle has a concrete meaning. It is singularly important now, as the fraternal countries are entering a qualitatively new period in developing the socio-economic basis of socialism and graduating to a higher level of social relations.

The book's politological thrust is far from abstract theorising. It uses for its conclusions the experience gained by the Bulgarian Communist Party in politically leading the building of socialism. The author offers extensive insights into the nation's political life and the problems the party is facing to perfect the political social system. The book has a part in rationalising and explaining important policies the party has formulated in its recent forums and documents. This primarily refers to the state being the owner of socialist property and the working collective being its manager, the role of the scientific and technical revolution under socialism, improvements in social management, and a new economic mechanism. All these things combine to assure the book a wide readership.

Zlatko Stoyanov
Cand. Sc.(Philosophy)

A DEADEND PROGRAMME

Felix Calvo, alternate CC member of the Dominican Communist Party (DCP), and Haroldo Dilla, a well-known Cuban scientist, have written a book about the crisis of desarrollism and the rise of monetarism.¹ *Felix Calvo* was interviewed by Sully Saneaux, the DCP representative on *WMR*.

The title of the book juxtaposes two concepts which are well known in Latin America, but which may not be as well known to a wider audience. What do they mean?

THESE are two lines of bourgeois economic policy. Desarrollism (from the Spanish 'desarrollo', meaning development) came on the scene after World War II with the growing role of the national industrial bourgeoisie in the region. Its advocates want the Latin American countries' development accelerated and their economic independence ensured mainly through a boosting of industries that help to make a country less dependent on imports, to develop the services, including banking, tourism, etc. All of that, they say, should stimulate investments, give greater volume to the internal market, help to put through the agrarian reform and attract foreign capital, while limiting dependence on it.

Monetarism, or the quantitative theory of money, initially appeared in the big industrialised capitalist countries.² In the LDCs, monetarist policy is designed to arrange a mechanism for internal monetary accumulation and to make it serve international monopoly capital and the big bourgeoisie. It is a policy conducted through the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Club of Paris, and so on. Relations between the local monopoly bourgeoisie and the TNCs are regulated through the financial system, which restricts the mediating role of the state in favour of 'free enterprise'. Once monetarism takes over from desarrollism, it inevitably erodes the producer infrastructure erected through the efforts of the desarrollists.

Could one say that the Dominican Republic deserves special attention in the light of these problems?

Regrettably, most of scientific writings on the so-called Third World contain a generalised analysis, giving preference to countries with a leading role in the various regions, from whose angle the problems of the other countries in the region are examined, without any concrete analysis of the state of each. Our book is about the Dominican Republic, whose economic situation has not yet been duly examined in expert writings. But the fact is that many economic, social and political problems have been exacerbated in the country and mass popular actions are on the rise. This process has run against the background of domination by various groups of the

oligarchy, which has gradually moved from the desarrollist policy of bourgeois reformism to the policy of monetarism, which meets the interests of big capital and the transnational monopolies.

An analysis of the economic policies conducted by variously oriented governments helps to understand the specific formation of the national bourgeoisie. Only an insignificant part of it was initially capable of bringing about desarrollism in practice, and local capital mainly relied on cooperation with foreign partners. But as the national bourgeoisie grew in stature, the situation underwent a change, so that we now already speak of the policy of monetarism.

You point to the Dominican Republic's dependent development and draw a distinction within the framework of the period you examine between President Balaguer's policy and that of subsequent governments, although they all stood on guard of the interests of big capital.

The distinctions we make have no bearing on the aspects of our economy's dependence on the United States, and in that sense the difference between Balaguer's government (1966-1978) and that of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (DRP), which takes a social democratic approach, is not all that essential. When saying that Balaguer was a 'Bonapartist' type of ruler, we have in mind above all his urge to conduct an economic policy for the benefit of the 'whole bourgeoisie'. He strove to ensure the country's economic independence on the basis of industrialisation, agrarian reform and limited use of foreign capital. That was, in fact, the policy of desarrollism. Balaguer's allies were the right-wing forces which helped him to stifle the revolutionary protest of the masses.

The financial basis for Balaguer's policy of social manoeuvring was provided by the favourable market outlook, the high world prices of the country's main export products — sugar, coffee, cacao and nickel — and a significant influx of foreign investments. His regime created the illusion of 'an oasis of calm in a zone of upheaval'.

However, the subsequent changes on the raw materials market cast doubt not only on the possibility of implementing the various plans, but also on the model of desarrollism itself.

By the mid-1970s, the country's economy had been tightly lashed to the interests of international finance capital, that of the United States in the first place, and they had no intention of letting the Dominican Republic escape from their sphere of influence. The DRP won the 1978 election, and the governments it formed acted in accordance with the requirements of the largest section of the national bourgeoisie, instead of the 'whole bourgeoisie'; by then that part of the national bourgeoisie had matured and was actively collaborating with the transnational corporations and willingly used the support of the IMF. The hundreds of millions of dollars granted to the country on very tough terms in the form of credits and loans went to build up a huge external debt and bound its economy to the interests of the TNCs.

That was how the monetarist system was finally formed, and its rise is

marked by an ever more obvious subordination of the nation's economic and internal political life to international capital. The Dominican currency has been devalued, the exchange rate has been unified, import tariffs have been lowered, stringent controls have been instituted over the granting of credits to state-owned companies, etc. The prices of the staple foodstuffs, petrol, electricity and consumer goods have gone up. All of that has caused social tension. The working people took spontaneous action in April 1984 and in February 1985, and the country was shocked by the brutality with which they were put down.

The worsening economic condition of the people and the repressions were the main cause of the DRP's defeat in the May 1986 elections. Joaquin Balaguer returned to the presidential palace. Does that imply a return to the old development model?

I do not think so. While the 80-year-old leader of the Reformist Party has returned to power in the structural and political crisis by speculating on the 'successes' of his earlier presidency, he cannot return to desarrollist policies. That would mean setting himself at odds with Washington, the IMF, the international banks and the big Dominican bourgeoisie. The regime is bound to serve only one — and the strongest — group of the bourgeoisie, and that is made obvious by an analysis of the situation in the country. Balaguer's economic and social programme does not differ, for all practical purposes, from the programme of the previous government, and can change very little in the economic structure of the Dominican Republic.

The switch from desarrollism to monetarism became a reality and resulted from the operation of objective forces. In the opinion of the working class and the Dominican Communist Party to oppose monetarism means to struggle against every form of state-monopoly capitalism.

¹ Felix Calvo, Haroldo Dilla. *Crisis del desarrollismo, auge del monetarismo*. Ediciones de Taller, Santo Domingo, 1986, 140 pp.

² The advocates of this theory, which first appeared in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, assume a direct relation between commodity prices and the growth of the money supply. Milton Friedman, the head of the Chicago school in the United States, is the leading proponent of the theory. Present-day monetarism is a strand of neoconservative economic policy — Reaganomics and Thatcherism — in the industrialised capitalist countries. — *Ed.*

When the Fanfare has Died Down

Anthony Coughlan, *Fooled Again? The Anglo-Irish Agreement and After*, Mercier Press, Cork & Dublin, 1986, 88 pp.

THE author, Anthony Coughlan, is chairman of the anti-imperialist Irish Sovereignty Movement. This organisation has consistently campaigned against the erosion of Irish neutrality and Irish independence through our

country's partitioning and its membership of the EEC. The book is an important analysis of the Anglo-Irish Agreement which was signed in November 1985 at Hillsborough, Northern Ireland. The Agreement has been heralded as the solution to Ireland's problems. At the time, *The Irish Times* described the event as being "the day everything started to fall into place" (p. 11). But Coughlan much more accurately pinpoints the real significance of the Agreement.

Its political essence, he says, is that "the unionists are being ditched as the main pillar of British rule in Ireland and Garret FitzGerald¹ and his colleagues have agreed to take their place, promising that they will not seek to embarrass Britain internationally henceforth by raising the partition issue, and indeed accepting the full validity of partition and British sovereignty over the North as long as the unionists should wish to maintain it" (pp. 33-34).

The author also places the Agreement in its overall international context and suggests that there were other forces involved outside of the two signatories at Hillsborough: "The United States was one of the invisible presences at Hillsborough and America's pressure contributed to bringing it about" (p. 38). Because of its geographical position, Ireland is of considerable strategic importance for Britain and its NATO allies, in particular the US. The most recent statement of the British view which reflects the opinion of NATO came from Michael Mates MP, and a leading member of the Conservative Party's defence committee: "To have a neutral Ireland if we were to have another conflict would be nothing like the same value to Western defence as having an Ireland totally committed to the West . . . The strategic importance of the island cannot be overestimated" (p. 42). The Anglo-Irish Agreement is all part of getting 'Ireland totally committed to the West'.

Coughlan highlights the fact that the London-based Institute for Strategic Studies produced a report in 1984 that "advocated developments which were very much on the lines of what was agreed at Hillsborough one year later" (p. 70). The report was entitled 'Britain's Undefended Frontier, a Policy for Ulster'. This Institute has close ties with the US Heritage Foundation, "whose thinking underpins much of the work of the Reagan administration and the New Right in America" (ibid.).

One of the main protagonists behind the scene at the signing of the Hillsborough Agreement was John Hume, the leader of the Social Democratic Labour Party. In 1979 he wrote in the US journal *Foreign Affairs* about the Irish situation and how it was "politically ripe for subversion if political neglect continues". He went on to argue for "a process leading to an agreed Ireland with positive roles for all" (p. 68).

The Hillsborough Agreement immediately won the approval of President Reagan and House Speaker Tip O'Neill. This was followed by the promise of financial aid, what Coughlan describes as 'mini-Marshall Plan' (ibid.). Commenting on this supposed show of warm-hearted sentiment by the Irish-Americans (O'Neill and Reagan) for the little Emerald Isle, the author reminds the readers that "when the American government, the leader state of NATO, contributes large sums to a fund established by its principal European ally Britain on the one hand and by

an Irish government on the other hand . . . alarm bells should ring in the ears of people concerned about Irish neutrality and foreign policy independence. This is particularly important in view of . . . the desire of the American State Department for greater political support from Dublin . . . as the new Cold War grows colder and the arms race accelerates" (ibid.).

But will the Anglo-Irish Agreement work? Certainly with the regular secret meetings of British and Irish civil servants there are dangerous implications for Irish neutrality. But the change in government which occurred after the mid-term parliamentary elections in February 1987 may make a difference. So far it is difficult to say how Fianna Fail,² which has articulated a pro-neutrality stance and has been against Hillsborough, will react now that it is in power.

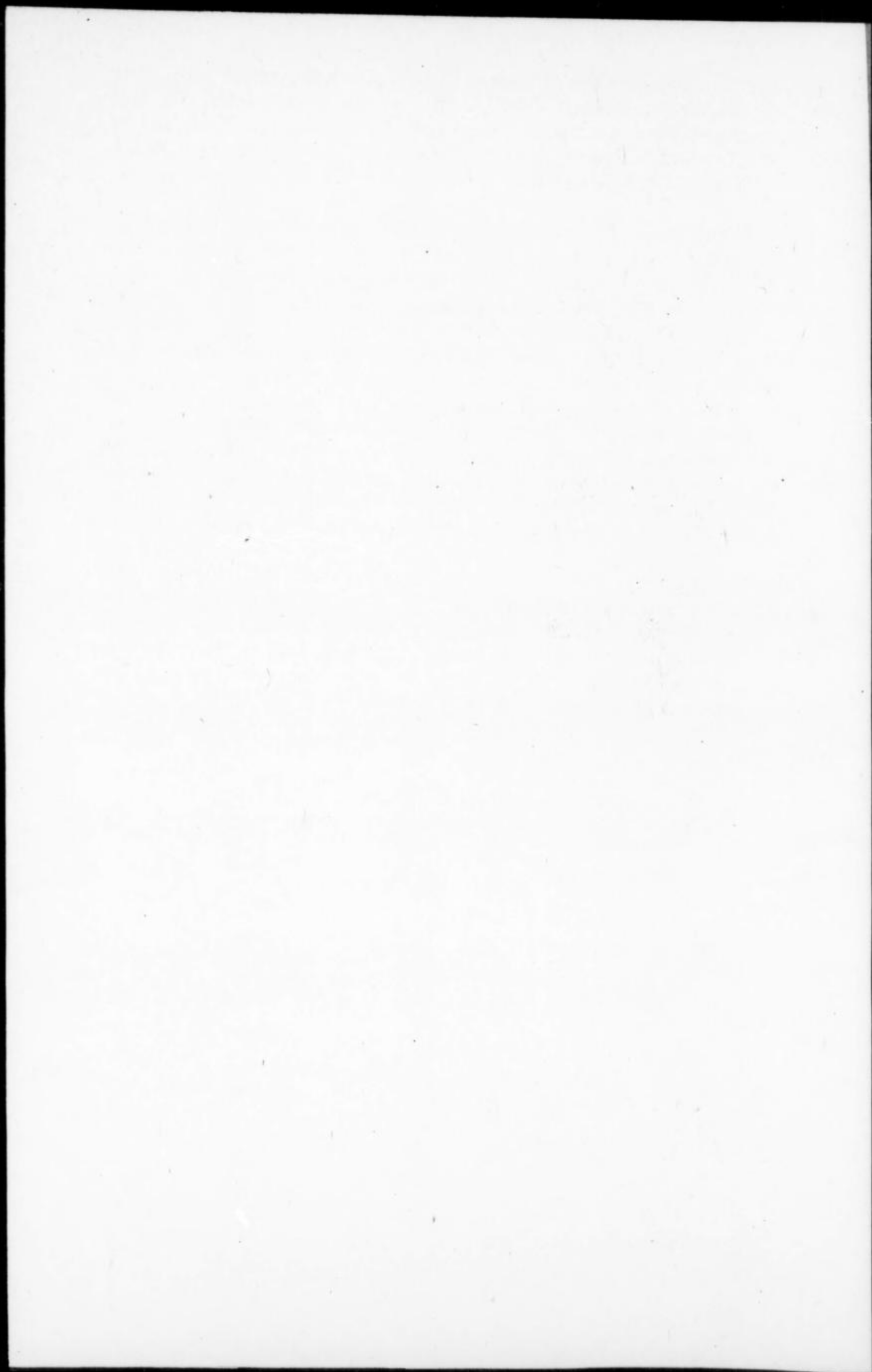
This question is of importance for internal developments too. "Britain could well find . . . that Dublin was a less reliable partner than the unionists, and having humiliated them, she might well find it impossible to get their support back again . . . This may yet prove to be the crowning stupidity of Margaret Thatcher" (p. 34).

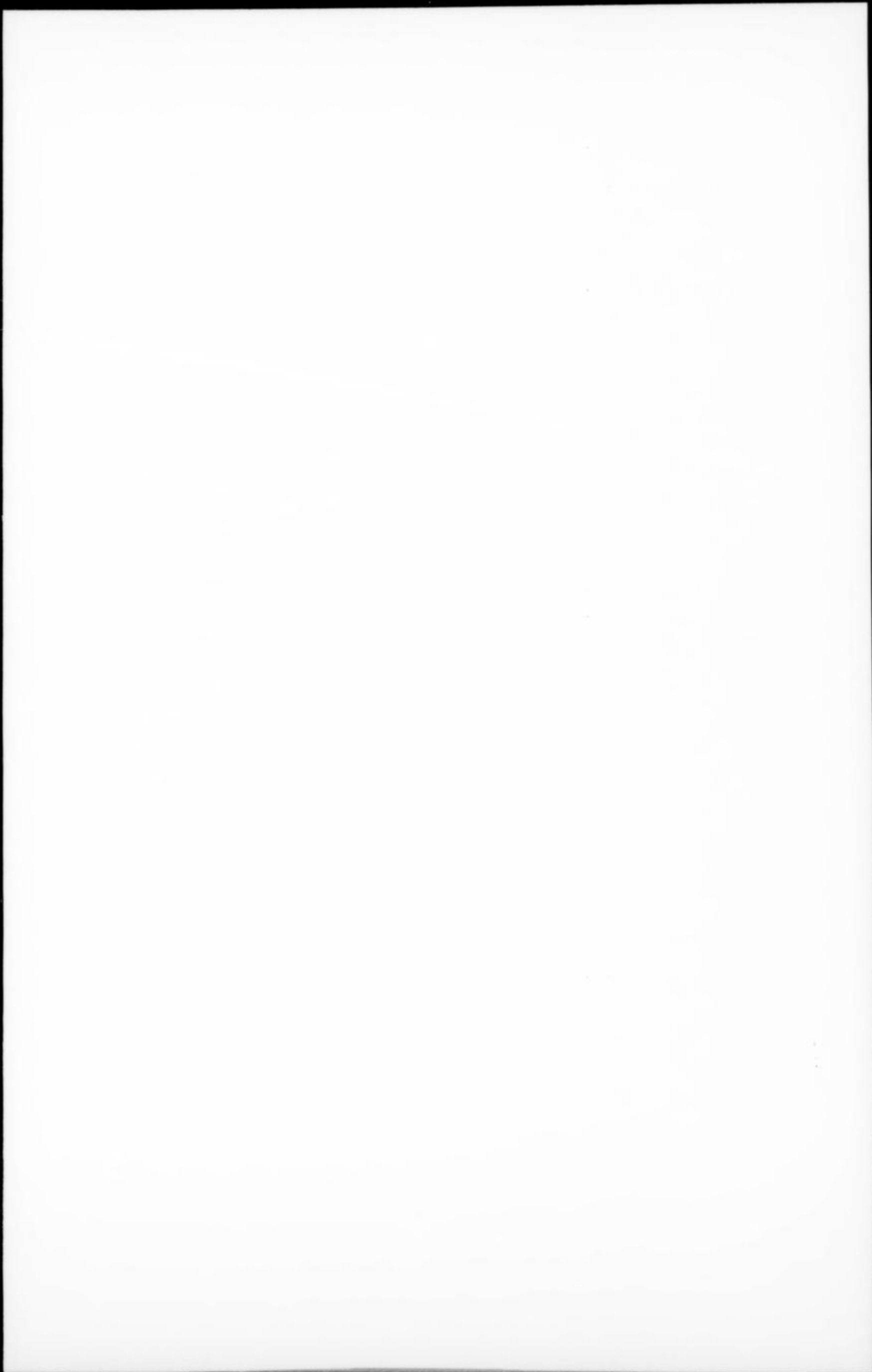
Anthony Coughlan concludes that the Anglo-Irish Agreement "could just as well blow the Six Counties apart as stabilise them. One can be absolutely certain that it will not end the struggle of the Irish people for full national unity and self-determination . . . it could have the effect of making more people aware of the necessity of adopting the only solution which goes to the root of the Northern problem, namely that Britain should embrace a policy of working towards complete constructive disengagement from Ireland."

Niall Farrell

¹ Until the mid-term parliamentary elections in February 1987 Garret FitzGerald led the Fine Gael — Labour Party coalition government of the Republic of Ireland. — *Ed.*

² Fianna Fail (Soldiers of Destiny) is the country's biggest political party. It split off in 1926 from Sinn Féin (Ourselves Alone), the then oldest political organisation founded in 1905. — *Ed.*





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