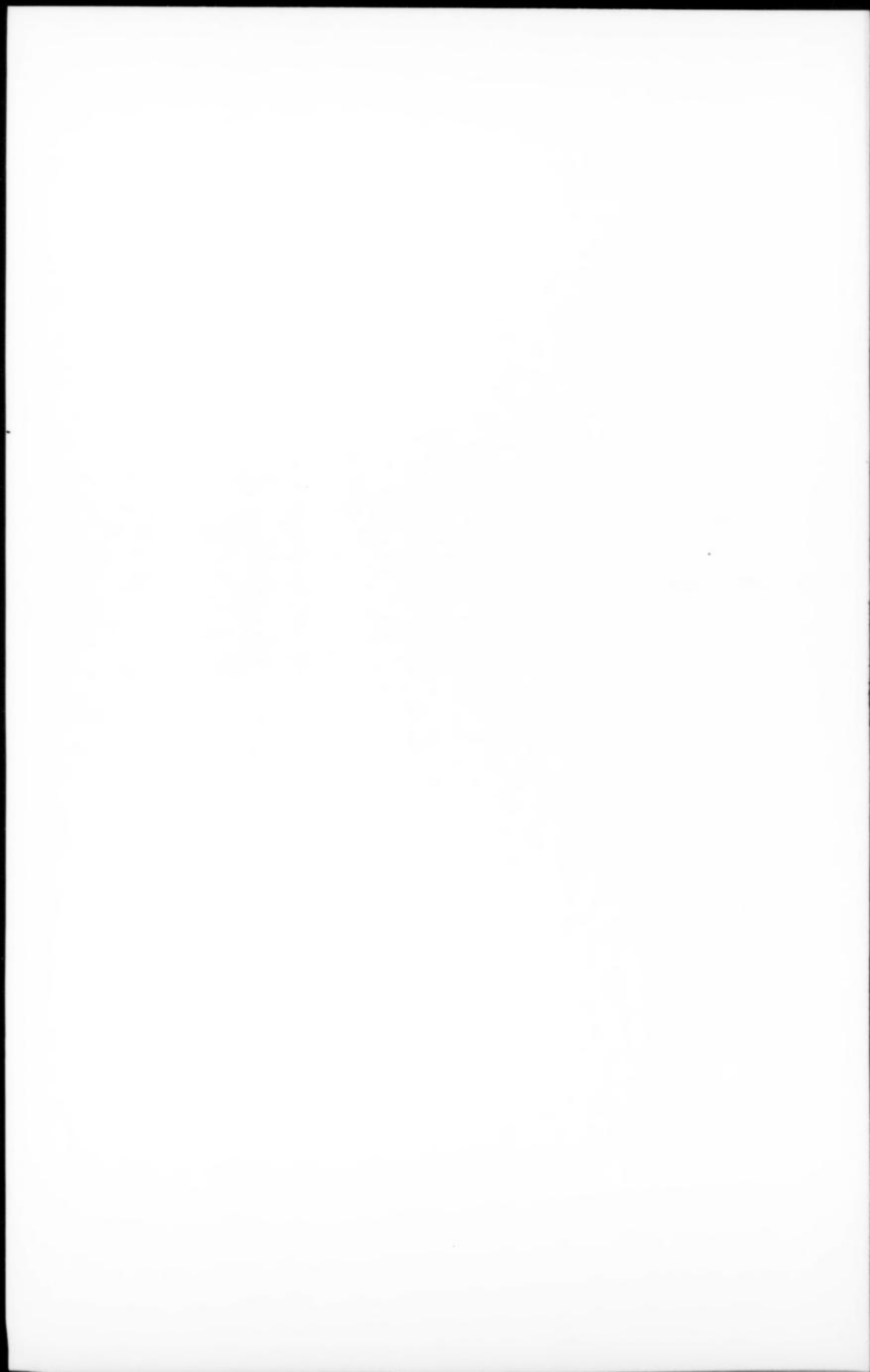


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contents

The Revolutionary Essence of Perestroika <i>Yegor Ligachov (USSR)</i>	5
How to Make a Technical Breakthrough <i>Lenard Pal (Hungary)</i>	17
Who We Regard as Allies <i>James Stewart (Ireland)</i>	24
Restore and Build the Strength of the Party <i>Jean Spielmann (Switzerland)</i>	32
Ray of Light and Hope in the Western Hemisphere <i>Hugo Campos (Paraguay), Antonio Ribeiro Granja (Brazil)</i>	41

for human survival

The Communist View of the Peace Movement. A Survey of a Discussion	49
Never Forget! <i>Moritz Mebel (GDR)</i>	64

the party

Meeting of CC Secretaries of Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries	69
An International Symposium in Prague	71
An Updated Strategy <i>K. P. Silva (Sri Lanka)</i>	73
Joining the Christian Democrats in a Ruling Coalition <i>Alberto Mino (San Marino)</i>	79
Against Bourgeois Liberalisation. A Survey of the CP China Press	84
INFORMATION	
The Communist Movement Today	90
WMR Introduces	93
Conference in Katmandu	93
In Brief	94

viewpoints

Unity of Arab Peoples — Guarantee of Independent Development <i>Rafic Samhoun (Lebanon)</i>	96
Prospects for Nationalisation in the US <i>Daniel Rubin (USA)</i>	103
Intellectuals in Present-Day French Society <i>Gerard Streiff (France)</i>	109
You Cannot Tame a Hyena <i>Volodia Teitelboim (Chile)</i>	115

surveys, letters and diary

Class Struggle in the Centres of Capital. 1985-1986 Strike Movement <i>Kurt Schumacher (GDR)</i>	125
PEACE INITIATIVE	
Jaruzelski Plan: Cut Arms in Central Europe <i>Jerzy Waszczuk (Poland)</i>	132
The Reader Wants to Know: The South Korea Regime Makes War on the People <i>Kim Jong Hyong (DPRK)</i>	135
The Power of the Crowns & Co <i>George Danlow</i>	141
WMR Ties	144
Facts Indict Capitalism. Beneath the 'Free World's' Open Sky	145

the book scene

Echo of History <i>Vitaly Startsev</i>	153
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The Revolutionary Essence of Perestroika

Yegor Ligachov — Political Bureau
member and Secretary, CPSU Central
Committee

THE changes in the Soviet Union have aroused interest all over the world. And that is as it should be. The deep going reorganisation in a country whose part in resolving international problems is so great, is bound to exercise a strong influence on the state and outlook of the contest between socialism and capitalism, and on the confrontation of the forces of progress and reaction, peace and war.

The unusually wide spectrum of assessments, judgements and opinions concerning processes that come under the head of *perestroika* (variously translated as reorganisation, restructuring, etc.) may be broken down into two major groups. The democratic and progressive public sees them as evidence of the dynamism and confidence of Soviet society, and of its capacity for drastic renewal and advancement. It wishes us success in our undertakings, to which it traces socialism's ever more distinct humanitarian essence and growing appeal. The right conservative imperialist quarters, on the other hand, are afraid of just this. They portray *perestroika*, the mistakes and faults we have exposed of late, as an admission of the defectiveness of the socialist system, as the beginning of its return to the capitalist fold or as a cosmetic operation that changes nothing of substance in the Soviet Union.

Since not all people abroad have a clear idea of what is going on in the

Yegor Ligachov (b. 1920), an engineer by training, joined the CPSU in 1944. He graduated from the Moscow Aviation Institute and the Higher Party School under the CPSU Central Committee and has held posts in party and Soviet bodies since 1949. He served as secretary of the Novosibirsk regional committee of the party in 1959-1961, as deputy department chief of the CPSU Central Committee in 1961-1965, as first secretary of the Tomsk regional party committee in 1965-1983, and as chief of the Organisational Party Work Department in the CPSU Central Committee in 1983-1985. Yegor Ligachov has been a CPSU Central Committee Secretary since December 1983. An alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee from 1966 to 1976, he became a full member in 1976 and was elected to the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee in 1985.

USSR, it will be useful to describe the main elements of the ongoing change in most general terms and in the light of some fundamental provisions of Marxist-Leninist theory.

We call the reorganisation that is underway in our country a turn of historic scale and revolutionary impact. That is no metaphor. It is farthest from my thoughts to put emotional thrust behind the importance of the ongoing changes. They are really *revolutionary in essence*. Cumulatively, they stand for Soviet society's passage from one quality to another. But they represent *a revolution of a special type*. It does not replace one mode of production by another and occurs within *one socio-economic system* or, more precisely, within the socialist phase of the communist system, which constitutes an entire stage of developing socialism. It does not, therefore, change state power, but deepens socialist popular rule and secures its fuller and more effective use in socialism's interests.

The ultimate purpose of *perestroika*, Mikhail Gorbachov said at the January 1987 plenary meeting of the CC CPSU, is to impart to socialism the most up-to-date forms of organising society, and to open up the humanistic nature of our system to the utmost in all the decisive areas — the economic, social, political, and ethical.

The Marxist-Leninist method of analysing the processes in society is the key to understanding the revolutionary nature of the ongoing change.

First. The economic impact of *perestroika* consists in aligning the relations of production with the new level of the productive forces. That is its revolutionary quality. This does not, of course, imply an antagonistic conflict between two sides in social production which is settled through social revolution. It stands for qualitative changes inside socialism, on socialism's own basis.

In practical terms, this means relieving the relations of production of everything that acts as a brake on the development of the productive forces and, conversely, it means giving them the sort of self-impulse that would open up socialism's constructive potential to the utmost. That, indeed, is the task which is now facing Soviet society.

The Soviet Union has attained truly historic success in building socialist society. Our achievements are immense and indisputable. They are the dependable foundation for our present and future plans. But at a certain point, the country began losing some of its innate dynamism, and processes foreign to socialism began to surface.

What were the most deep-lying causes of this? They were candidly identified at the 27th Congress of the CPSU and the January 1987 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. This took a lot of political courage.

The country's previous leadership proved no match for the problems at hand. All too often, it evaded pressing economic and political issues, and when it did take major decisions, they were not, in many cases, followed through to the end.

Theoretical thought lagged far behind. Over the past few decades our notions of socialism had in many ways remained in a solidified, immobile state. Sanctioned in an authoritarian manner, they became incontestable and 'absolute' verities subject to nothing more than commenting. Society's

socio-economic structure was held to be ideal. As a result, nothing was done to pinpoint its intrinsic contradictions and to eliminate them promptly. And if any pertinent theoretical studies did appear, they were not applied in practice on any large scale. Their verification did not involve other socio-economic areas, and failed to yield the due effect.

The consequence of this was that the economy was run by outdated methods, while some effective economic forms were groundlessly rejected. The prejudice concerning the role of commodity-money relations and the operation of the law of value generated a subjectivist approach to price-setting, departures from the socialist principle of paying for the work done, and a levelling in distribution. What caused the gravest consequences were the stiff restrictions on the financial autonomy of enterprises and amalgamations.

The relations of production thus ceased to stimulate scientific and technical progress, any rapid development and introduction of the latest technologies, enhancement of production efficiency, and output of high-quality goods. A peculiar socio-economic mechanism came into being that held back progressive change. This is why the party defines *perestroika* as resolute elimination of the elements of stagnation, as demolition of the deceleration mechanism, to be replaced by a dependable and effective mechanism that will accelerate Soviet society's socio-economic development through scientific and technical progress and vitalisation of the human factor.

It is an urgent task, as we see it, to shape production relations that would stimulate the advancement of up-to-date productive forces not by abstract slogans and instructions, but by pertinent methods of economic management, by democratising factory life and making it the natural effect of the conditions created for the functioning of the economy, its various branches, each work collective and every worker. This is something we have not simply apprehended and declared. We are tackling the matter in practice.

All industrial enterprises, building, the railways, and trade have this year gone over to new management methods that have acquitted themselves well in our large-scale economic experiment. The agro-industrial complex has been singled out for independent planning, financing, and management. Engineering, fuel and energy, building, the social sphere and foreign trade have been formed into complexes. Twenty-two inter-industrial technical research complexes have begun operating in the chief areas of technological progress.

The radical reform of economic management will integrate the entire renewed structure of production relations. It will be governed by the Law on State Enterprises, which has been subjected to a nationwide discussion. The key provisions of the Law are full operational economic autonomy, self-management, independent decision-making, and full responsibility for the results achieved.

The managerial reform will see a far-reaching reorganisation of the state system of planning, technical and other supply agencies, financial and credit mechanisms, and price-setting. This calls for improvements in the activity of ministries and central agencies. All this is to form a dependable

structure for the conversion to economic management methods and to a harmonious blend of consolidated centralised planned management and more democratically run production at shopfloor level.

Second. One of the main criteria of revolution is that it *invades property relations*. The October Revolution put an end to private ownership of the means of production and thereby also to the basis for exploitation of man by man. Socialised property became the economic foundation of the Soviet Union. And it stands to reason that this chief gain of the working class and all other working people in our country is untouchable. But that does not mean that the functioning of socialised property is not subject to any change. As we know, it functions in two main forms — as property of all the people and as cooperative property. Both have undergone a certain evolution.

The former, as socialist property owned by all the people, was therefore to be directed and managed by the state only, which acted in the name of society as a whole. This was conceived in theory, and carried into effect in practice. Planning of the items and volume of production, price-setting, and the technical and social policy of enterprises — all this was determined to the last detail by central, and partly also by republican, governmental agencies.

This was justified when we had to industrialise the country along socialist lines in a historically short time, to concentrate the economy on the business of crushing the enemy during the war, and then to make good the ravages of war. This entailed marshalling all the country's resources, focusing them, and centralising management to the utmost.

But at the present time, this 'super-centralisation' that evolved at special periods in the life of our society is not objectively necessary. Its advantages came to be outweighed by negative consequences. The chief fault is that the immediate producers, that is, the work collectives, are in effect barred from participation in management. Property of all the people is in substance identified with state property. Though it is property of all the people, it loses a real owner in each specific case, and becomes ownerless, as it were. Since this is so, no immediate economic interest spurs the producer to safeguard and expand it. What spurs him is chiefly the responsibility that he bears for it before the law.

The substance of *perestroika* is for work collectives to become the real masters of that part of the property of the whole people which they handle following the conversion of the economy to the principles of complete operational autonomy — profitability and self-financing. It means that each enterprise, its technical and social upgrading, the wages and salaries of its personnel, should depend on the end result, on the quantity and quality of what it produces or what services it affords or, in short, on what it earns. And that is the essence of the radical change in the country's economic life.

The instrument-making, chemical engineering, automobile, oil refining, petrochemical, and light industries have been converted to complete operational economic autonomy, and so have the merchant marine and commerce. Enterprises in agriculture, too, operate along similar lines.

And in 1988 and 1989 practically all industries will go over to operational economic autonomy.

The foreign trade of enterprises is being relieved of trammels. We might say that the stereotype of the state's foreign trade monopoly being identified with the monopoly of one ministry, that of foreign trade, has now been scrapped. A score of ministries, 72 major amalgamations, enterprises and agencies have been granted the right to export and import on their own. Nearly half the exports of the engineering industry are handled by the producers without any intermediaries.

Direct ties between work collectives and their customers abroad are growing, and the establishment of joint ventures, of international associations and organisations, is gaining pace. This means, in effect, that a new variety of socialised property is coming into being. These things need to be studied and apprehended. We require scientifically grounded approaches to evaluating the socio-economic role and efficiency of joint ventures, and to settling the questions of price-setting and profit-sharing, and certain others.

As for the cooperative form of property, we have for years considered it on the theoretical plane as no more than an underdeveloped form of socialist property. And it was treated accordingly in practice. This had serious consequences, creating armchair administering of collective farms. Besides, it led to the scrapping of craftsmen's cooperatives. The number of cooperatives shrank rapidly in the latter half of the 1950s and in the early 1960s, largely through their conversion into state farms — a process that continued in later years.

After the 27th Congress of the CPSU, cooperatives have been regaining lost ground. We expect, among other things, that collective farms will register better results once they are relieved of excessive control. Cooperatives are being formed for the procurement and processing of recyclable waste, in public catering, the service industry, and in consumer goods production. Cooperatives are also appearing in gardening and vegetable-growing. They are also making good headway in house-building. A USSR Law on Cooperatives is being drawn up.

Misconceptions and prejudices concerning the role and prospects of individual small holdings in agriculture and of self-employment in general, are being rectified. The measures taken by the party in recent years have made for the further development of collective and state farms, and encouraged individual small holdings. The latter account for nearly a quarter of total agricultural output in the country, and for a still greater percentage specifically in livestock breeding, potato growing and cultivation of vegetables. Recently, the USSR Supreme Soviet passed an act which lists the various fields in which citizens are permitted self-employment.

Third. Marx, Engels and Lenin defined *steep increase in the rate of social development* as a distinctive feature of revolution. The same applies entirely to *perestroika*. Its purpose is to secure a cardinal acceleration of social processes in all spheres of life without exception — the economic, social, political, cultural and intellectual.

Here are a few figures to illustrate the dynamics in the social sphere.

Capital investments for its development in the current five-year period are going up by 45 billion roubles or 26 per cent. The housing programme has been upgraded against the initial targets by 1.2 million flats and will amount to nearly 11 million new homes for the working people. The allocations to science, education, culture and health care will be 50 to 100 per cent greater than in the previous five years.

But let me stress once more that the acceleration strategy does not boil down to rapid progress in some separate social field. Such singling out would be a recurrence of subjectivism in politics, with all the harmful consequences this entails. A real reorganisation, a new quality of growth, is possible only if the change embraces all the mutually connected social processes. You cannot make the economy advance vigorously unless people's psychology changes, their sense of social responsibility grows stronger, and they shake off outdated dogmas and stereotypes. No sharp turn can be expected in the development of the social sphere unless the due economic basis is provided for it. None of all the other things can be accomplished either, without imparting a new dynamism to the political system of socialism, to the development of culture, and social ethics.

The imperatives to restructure the economic mechanism and other spheres did not drop from heaven, in April 1985, like an unexpected but welcome shower. They had been maturing for years; they were known to some extent, and were reflected in party decisions. The trouble was that words were not translated into deeds. This created a situation that could no longer be tolerated, that called for sharp action, for a far-reaching reorganisation, and for revolutionary change.

The time factor is highly significant. It is natural to want to attain palpable results that would be felt by all Soviet people as quickly as possible. We are perfectly well aware that the party has won trust — but on credit. And that credit is not everlasting. Owing to the mistakes and faults of the past, all of us — the party and the people — are now having to work against time. In the interests of our undertaking we cannot afford to relax, to lose pace, to rest on our laurels. That sort of danger is always in evidence at sharp turns of history.

For all that, however, speedy change is not a goal in itself for us. Setting the rate of *perestroika* is all-important politically and in practice. Yet Mikhail Gorbachov noted that while delay and hesitation are disastrous, haste, impatience and premature action, too, can do a lot of harm. The important thing is not to overlook the simple fact that any excessive increase in the number of contemplated tasks will prevent us from carrying them out in good time. The temptation to speed the reforms at all costs may cause us to bog down in what we have begun but have not completed and have not, as they say, brought up to the mark. Yet nothing discredits a policy more than a break between word and deed.

That is why now, when we have a clear long-term political platform, and when we have taken major and fundamental decisions, painstaking practical efforts are of prime importance to achieve everything we have planned and to carry the *perestroika* policy into effect. The party and its leadership are determined to act daringly, vigorously, and consistently. We cannot afford to treadmill somewhere halfway, and to confine ourselves to

half-measures. The half-baked decisions of the past had let us down before. But as we increase the rate, scale, and depth of the changes, we are laying the emphasis not on the process but on its result.

Fourth. Marx, Engels and Lenin had viewed the socialist revolution as the supreme act that asserts the interests of the working people. But not only that. As they saw it, revolution was an act of the *mass of the people*. The more fully the masses are involved in revolution, the deeper and the more irreversible become the revolutionary changes. The very first steps of *perestroika* have shown that most Soviet people welcome it as an expression of their own interests, and as a task that concerns each and everyone. They have pledged to participate in carrying out the party's plans. That is understandable. Because the ultimate purpose of *perestroika* is to secure a better material and spiritual life for Soviet people, and to really enlist every working person in the running of society.

The party sees greater democratisation of the entire social fabric as the lever making it possible to activate the decisive force of *perestroika*, that is, to involve the people in it. This means that we are not undertaking broad democratisation just to please someone, although it is true that we have always tried to enhance the appeal of socialism. But we view this appeal from clearly defined class-based positions and regard it as the best possible order of things which best serves the fundamental interests of the working people.

Further democratisation and broader popular control is an innate requirement of a developing socialist society. Only in conditions of openness, discussion and a free and unhindered comparison of different viewpoints can one avoid mistakes in decision-making on matters relating to the country's future. Only in conditions of democratisation, criticism and self-criticism which freely enable all to consciously assess what is happening can one avoid distortions of the principles of socialism. Finally, only in conditions of democracy and control 'from below' is the shaping of creativity possible in individuals: a favourable atmosphere arises for a fair competition of intellectual abilities, skills and human aptitudes, for an efficient personnel policy and for preventing abuse of official position.

The guessing games of the Sovietologists as to how close the reforms in the Soviet Union are bringing it to the standards of 'Western democracy' are therefore completely groundless. We are not steering toward Western-style liberalisation which masks the absolute sway of capital, but toward deepening socialist democracy, socialist self-government by the people. Step by step, reorganisation creates conditions for tangible and growing mass participation in government, in the management of all affairs of our society.

Today, the USSR attaches foremost attention to the development of democracy on the shopfloor, to the consistent promotion of self-management principles in the activities of work collectives. I refer to forms of economic organisation which enable every worker to feel and actually be in genuine and responsible control of his or her factory or enterprise.

The new forms of self-management born of the creative efforts of the masses will draw strength from the Law on State Enterprises I have mentioned earlier. We are switching to the practice of electing the

managers of amalgamations, enterprises and shops, as well as workteam leaders and foremen who are to report to those who elect them. There are provisions for granting the councils of work collectives the right to suspend implementation of decisions taken by the management. Necessary changes in the Model Charter of the Collective Farm are next on the agenda.

Democratisation is designed to enhance the initiative, rights and responsibility of local government bodies and civic organisations and to ensure that their activities be as open as possible.

More effective use of the great potential inherent in the Soviets of people's deputies, the political foundation of the Soviet Union, furthers acceleration. It is of prime importance to ensure strict observance of Lenin's concept of the Soviets as bodies that not only take decisions but also secure and monitor their implementation. An atmosphere is being created conducive to fuller use of the initiative and energy of our youth, of its commitment to innovation and practical work in attaining the *perestroika* objectives. The recent congress of the Soviet Young Communist League gave a powerful impetus to progress in this direction.

Legislation is being prepared to broaden the legal guarantees given to the public. Invariable participation of the working masses in the discussion of major economic and social issues is becoming a standard of political life. Our course of increased democracy in administration, in the shaping of the leading cadres and in the drawing up and adoption of decisions of nationwide importance is in stark contrast with the situation in capitalist countries where thousands of devious tricks are used to deprive working people of the opportunity to 'make politics', as they say in the West.

We attach fundamental significance to the perfection of the Soviet electoral system, to the enhancement of its democratic character and to more effective participation of the electorate in all stages of pre-election and election campaigns. Relevant work is already under way. Some new aspects of the electoral practice, specifically the nomination of several candidates for discussion and for voting, will be tested during the elections to the local Soviets of people's deputies as early as this year.

By promoting socialist democracy and developing its potential, the party is providing reliable guarantees that the past mistakes connected with breaches of the law and with violations of the collective principle of leadership do not recur.

Fifth. The revolutionary reorganisation of relations in the material sphere is being prepared, shaped and consolidated by *revolutionary changes in the intellectual and spiritual sphere.*

First and foremost this applies to social theory. When our party was being formed, Lenin put forward the famous precept that there can be no revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory. Now that Soviet society is tackling complex and large-scale tasks, it is particularly important to theoretically substantiate our approach to them and to define effective ways and means of their solution.

The entire strategy, the entire theory of *perestroika* is based on a truly Marxist-Leninist understanding of the way the objective laws of social development operate, and this understanding is steadily regaining its rightful status. It is proceeding from this principled basis that our party has

arrived at bold and essentially innovative theoretical and political conclusions which combat dogmatism and all sorts of pseudo-theoretical junk. Dull rehashing of copybook maxims, insipid thinking and uncritical acceptance of dogma are being increasingly barred from the latest publications and discussions dealing with the social sciences. Social thought is getting bolder and developing a taste for studying acute problems that arise in the development of the Soviet society and of socialism as a system.

We believe it absolutely necessary to make theoretical research a field of high intellectual effort, for only this can enable it to effectively tackle two topical tasks — first, to project the new vision of socialism, chart the routes of its advancement and specify this fundamental knowledge by incorporating it into the concept of *perestroika*; and second, to spread the climate of intellectual quest and dynamism to all society and encourage collective thinking. This can be ensured by promoting a high ethical level of creative debate incompatible with name-calling or with charges of alleged deviations from socialism.

For a philosopher, economist, sociologist or historian to take a stand consonant with the demands of the day does not mean that he should be able to adapt to the views that are current. This stand depends on one's ability to constantly search for answers to the difficult questions reality poses, to study the actual dialectics of social development, and to fill the gaps that have opened in important areas of theory and practice of scientific socialism.

Major changes are ripening and indeed already occurring not only in the social sciences but also in social consciousness, in the intellectual and cultural sphere.

As a result, public opinion, an important factor of the acceleration drive, is playing an increasingly prominent role. Public opinion has encouraged government agencies to resolutely combat violations of socialist legality, bribery, abuse of official position for personal gain, drunkenness, drug addiction and other social ills. Public opinion helps to expose incompetence. It was in response to public opinion that the party and the government decided to reject the project for diverting part of the water carried by northern rivers into the Volga and approved measures to protect the environment of Lake Baikal. Most importantly, public opinion has prompted many people to take a hard look at actual facts and to see reality as it is — without bureaucratic cosmetics or departmental parochialism.

Truly Leninist principles of cultural policy, of party guidance in literature and art are taking root in the course of *perestroika*. The effort is aimed at stepping up the activity of writers', artists', composers', film-makers' and other similar unions and at preventing unwarranted interference into purely creative work. The rights and powers of these unions are expanding, and the life of creative workers' teams is becoming more democratic. At the same time, the level of party and government guidance of cultural development is rising.

A reform of secondary and higher education is under way in our country, and steps are being taken to improve political and economic instruction. Here, the important thing is to integrate education, science and economic production and to considerably upgrade the professional and political

expertise of personnel.

Much is being done to highlight the intellectual and spiritual heritage of our country's peoples and to encourage the masses to tap this important latent reserve of the acceleration drive. This is essential for instilling in the present generation a high level of intellectual endeavour, respect for everlasting human values, and an ability to think and assess things independently and vigorously. Spreading lofty moral, aesthetic, intellectual and ethical standards among the masses will thus prevent the infiltration of vulgarity and nihilistic and unprincipled attitudes into our intellectual and spiritual sphere and offer an additional guarantee against the recurrence of past mistakes.

Sixth. It is a salient feature of revolutionary *perestroika* in the Soviet Union that the masses have become aware of the need for change as an urgent social necessity *expressed, scientifically substantiated and launched into practical implementation by the Communist Party*. This is why, begun on the initiative 'from above', *perestroika* was extensively supported by a powerful movement 'from below'.

The party has found the strength and the courage to assess the situation soberly and to acknowledge the need for radically changing the political, economic, social and intellectual fields and for setting the country on the path of transformations. In this way the party reaffirmed and emphasised its revolutionary essence and its status as the leading force which is not content with the existing state of social relations, which can analyse and resolve the contradictions that these relations give rise to, and which is capable of criticising its own activities and bringing them into conformity with the changing situation.

Lenin regarded a party's attitude to its own mistakes as one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest it is. "Frankly acknowledging a mistake," he said, "ascertaining the reasons for it, analysing the conditions that have led up to it, and thrashing out the means of its rectification — that is the hallmark of a serious party; that is how it should perform its duties and how it should educate and train its *class*, and then the *masses*."¹

The January 1987 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee played a special part in the activities of our party. Following up on the decisions of the 27th Congress, this meeting made a major contribution to the ideological and theoretical substantiation of *perestroika*. Hardly any previous plenary meeting had been prepared as thoroughly as this one, and there had hardly been such firmness in banishing window-dressing, obsession with form and too much organisational routine.

The plenary meeting noted how important it was now for the Communists to resolutely overcome the consequences of past violations of party principles and deviations in the pursuit of personnel policy. The party is making greater demands upon itself and its cadres, enhancing their responsibility for the work assigned to them, ensuring an influx of fresh forces to leading posts, and supporting intellectually vigorous and energetic people of initiative.

The tasks for all cadres is to learn to work in conditions of growing democracy and of the people's increasing political and labour activity. This

calls for an ability to be guided by the democratic way of thinking and acting, a way that implies and encourages an open competition of ideas. It means respect for the opinions of people, their social experience and their dignity. It means an ability to work so as to naturally highlight the advantages of our principles, demands and ideals, so that these advantages could reach hearts and minds and not be treated as dogma.

Perestroika is already yielding results. This is clear, among other things, from the record of the previous year. National income grew by 4.1 per cent as against the average annual rate of 3.6 per cent in the previous five-year period. The 1986 industrial output growth rate was one-third higher than the average annual figure for the previous, eleventh five-year plan period and reached 4.9 per cent. The vast dimensions of our economy impart special weight to these percentages. Within a single day, our country produces 1.7 million tons of oil, including condensate; 1.9 billion cubic metres of natural gas; 2.1 million tons of coal and 440,000 tons of steel. The output of agricultural produce has grown noticeably, and the scope of housing construction has increased.

But the main thing is that a very important political and moral goal has been attained: the country now lives in an atmosphere dominated by the ideas of *perestroika* and the strategy of accelerating socio-economic development; these are the factors that direct social progress. There is now more democracy, more order and discipline, and a temperate way of life is gaining ground. The interests of socialism and of the people, the prestige of the new system, and the political authority of the party have been raised to a new height.

Having spread to all levels of the social edifice, *perestroika* creates guarantees of its irreversibility — the ever stronger unity of the will and action of the party and the people, the healthy development of the party itself. Positive processes are under way within the party: they are connected with the promotion of its internal democracy, the consolidation of its ties with the masses outside its membership, and the strengthening of the Communists' ideological and moral standards. The forthcoming All-Union Party Conference is sure to become an important landmark in our efforts to further democratise our party's life and enhance the Communists' activity.

The acceleration machinery is only just beginning to operate, and is yet to move into high gear. We freely admit that acceleration entails difficulties and strenuous effort, that things may even become more complicated for some until the measures we are taking begin to bring full-scale returns. The causes behind the problems that have accumulated in our society have proved to lie deeper than we previously thought. Conservative, outdated thinking and inertia are still strong. In many economic, government and even party bodies and in work collectives, not everyone is keeping pace with the demands of the day. There are many people who, while supporting change, take a long time to jettison the ballast of the past; others have adopted a wait-and-see policy.

There are also those who resist *perestroika* — those who see it as a threat to their well-being, who turn economic mismanagement into a source of personal gain, who have come to habitually regard the socialist state as a

wealthy philanthropist distributing largesse almost automatically, irrespective of one's performance at work. They are the bureaucrats who have grown used to relying on the force of administrative pressure and who justly fear for their official status and social standing. They are the dogmatists who are afraid of any change 'lest something go wrong'.

But the present situation differs radically from the past revolutionary turning points in the history of our society, such as the collectivisation drive among the peasants in the early 1930s. At that time there was a clash of classes, there were the kulaks, the enemy class. Today, there is absolutely no political opposition to the renovation effort, no political divisions in our society. Soviet society acts in *perestroika* as an integral whole, as a single fighting force.

The change that has been launched is clearly irreversible. Our workers, farmers and intellectuals are calling on the party not to be content with what has been accomplished, to act resolutely, to advance and follow the chosen course unswervingly. It is also important to us that the reforms in the Soviet Union have evoked sympathy and understanding in world public opinion, particularly among the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and in communist and workers' parties.

The Soviet Communists are fully aware that the changes under way in the USSR are of great international significance. *Perestroika* is showing everyone where our society channels its resources, what its programmes and intentions aim at, and how it spends its intellectual energy. No one stands to lose but the whole world stands to gain from the desire of the Soviet people to improve their country. In international terms, *perestroika* is an invitation to the other social system to compete on a strictly peaceful basis.

More than ever before our international policy is now shaped by our domestic policy, by the stake we have in durable peace and in predictable and constructive international relations. Our foreign policy is concentrating ever more on securing favourable conditions for our creative efforts to perfect socialism. In this work we see a realisation of our responsibility to the international working class, the working people of all nations, and our major contribution to the cause of social progress and peace.



One may say that socialism in the USSR has gained its second wind. The Soviet people are now more confident and look to the future with optimism. No wonder our friends who come to us from abroad tell us that our country has grown younger.

In its profound revolutionary essence, in the boldness of its plans and in its humanistic thrust the work we are now doing is a direct follow-up on the great accomplishments begun by Lenin's party in October 1917. After a span of many years, we still feel the fresh blood of the October Revolution pulsing in the veins of our dynamic times. On the eve of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, this reality helps us to better grasp

the strength, the class-based roots and the universal significance of the revolution, to take a fresh look at our objectives and tasks, and to understand the accomplishments and lessons of socialist history.

¹V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 57.

REALITIES OF SOCIALISM

How To Make A Technical Breakthrough

Academician *Lenard Pal* — CC
Secretary, Hungarian Socialist Workers'
Party

SCIENTIFIC and technical progress running right through the economy and society as a whole tends to transform the structure of social production and consumption, lead to more efficient use of resources and create new requirements which, for their part, have an influence on production and way of life. In this way it objectively helps to accelerate social development.

Such a view of scientific and technical progress means more than improving the means of production and modernising technologies, for it has a substantial influence on the relations of production, transforms them and brings about a radical change not only in the material, but also in the human elements of the productive forces. Its advance is determined by their constant and intensive interaction with the relations of production. *In premises, substance and effect, scientific and technical progress is substantially a social process, with the urge more fully to satisfy social requirements being its main motive force under socialism.*

The record shows that scientific and technical progress has multifaceted social and economic effects. It brings a reassessment of the requirements in labour inputs. New contradictions tend to arise in the traditional sectoral structure. Cooperation has a greater role to play. There is a change in the character of labour and a rise in its mechanisation. Labour is increasingly more than a function within production processes; it is their creator and regulator. Accordingly, the human factor becomes crucial. There is a sharper clash of interests, because scientific and technical development runs through renovation that tends to upset the old, habitual states of equilibrium. Nevertheless, *with due political leadership, the conflicts arising from scientific and technical progress on the whole serve to develop the economy and society.*

Lenard Pal was born in 1925; he is a solid-state physicist and a winner of the Kossuth Prize (1962); he is a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and a foreign member of the Academies of Sciences of the GDR, USSR and Czechoslovakia; member of the HSWP CC since 1975; at the 13th Congress of the HSWP in 1985, he was elected CC Secretary. He is the author of many works on social, scientific and technical problems.

The changes which got under way in the world economy in the early 1970s have led to marked alterations in the structure of production, increasingly determining the balance between its individual factors and the forms and character of the international and regional division of labour. Consciously guided technical development has the fundamental role to play in these changes. The record shows that the leading industrialised countries have managed markedly to reduce per-unit inputs of energy and materials, and to transform the producer structure mainly through the use of hardware and technology.

The spread of programmed electronic devices has been the most spectacular change over the past 10-15 years. The process is bound to go on over the next few decades and lead to rapid development of complex automation, robotisation, and electronisation of the traditional methods and processes of production. Computers, flexible production systems and technologies based on high-precision processing are bound to become widespread, because the improvement of microchips has sped the progress of computer techniques and led to the creation of data storage and processing systems. Qualitative changes have been taking place not only in production, but also in the services, commerce, medicine, education and, indeed, in every other walk of life. Communication systems transmitting information to any point on the globe have been developing ever faster.

Biotechnology for food production, health protection, the environment, and many other things is another main line of technical progress. Cultivated areas can hardly be expected to increase by the end of the century, but food output is expected to about double, and that can be effected in practice almost entirely by making food output more efficient.

These changes have given a decisive edge to the leading industrialised countries, because the value of products and technologies embodying knowledge and vast inputs of mental labour have markedly gone up. As a result, *the intensive use of human capabilities has become the main competitive factor, for it implies a readiness to constant renovation and flexible response to change.*

The industrialised capitalist countries, the United States in the first place, got down to realising a research programme to ensure economic and military superiority based on a monopoly of scientific and technological knowledge. These countries have concentrated principally on areas that would enable them to ensure economic and political influence in the world over the long term.

Acceleration of technical progress and economic development based on the most modern scientific achievements have recently become the major political and social task in the Soviet Union and the European socialist countries. One of the reasons is the growing significance of technology in the contest between the two world systems. But what is equally important is that intensive economic development in the socialist countries was, in effect, also necessitated by the depletion of resources for extensive growth. The 27th Congress of the CPSU gave a stimulating example of how *to combine, on the basis of objective analysis, the solution of political, social, economic and organisational problems with an acceleration of scientific and technical development.* Special attention, too, was given to these matters at

party congresses in other socialist countries.

That induced the CMEA countries to work out, on the USSR's initiative, a Comprehensive Programme for Scientific and Technological Progress up to the Year 2000. It is designed to carry these countries to the top of the world's technical league in industries helping to renovate the economy as a whole.

The socialist countries intend to make technical development central to their economic activity, and it can yield much greater benefits from a switch to new forms of international cooperation. Faster scientific and technical progress is inconceivable without an efficient and novel division of labour. In Hungary, too, such development largely depends on successful fulfilment of our joint programme and the growth of the Soviet scientific and technical potential.

Our party has always given special attention to scientific and technical progress, regarding it as the condition for the country's intensive development. The 13th Congress of the HSWP emphasised that faster scientific and technical progress can and must be promoted, in particular, by due incentives, improvement of cooperation between producer and research institutions and concentration of spiritual forces and material facilities in the key fields.

The task at the present stage is not simply to set the concrete goals of technological development, but to shape the social and economic conditions for their attainment. *In the absence of an economic and social environment that transforms sustained renovation into an elementary condition for development, technical objectives which are in themselves correct and, for that matter, scientific and technological achievements as well, will have no effect.*

The shaping of such an environment is closely bound up with modernising economic administration and management, and advance in this area can help to accelerate technical development, while lag could retard it. The most important thing is to ensure competitiveness on the market and consistently to meet the demands of efficiency. If the centre takes away too many funds from well-working enterprises in order to keep the poorly-working ones going, it undermines the urge to do better and a readiness and capacity to take economic risks. Genuine incentives which are characteristic of the enterprise collectives that regard themselves as true masters of production are of basic importance, and it is up to the central administrative agencies to provide them. What is more, the incentives need to be long-term, for otherwise technical development is harmed.

The role of central planning in accelerating scientific and technical progress tends to increase at the present stage along with the growing influence of the market. This can best be done by coordinating economic development and research programmes. The measures now being taken in our country are designed to introduce organisational and other methods to ensure coordinated solution of interrelated problems in planning and performance. Bank funding and competition, along with the intermediary role of the state, tend to become more important in administering medium-term research programmes. Economic administration and a

system of incentives making for greater independence and the shaping of earnings relative to performance, consistently put through and subject to calculation (for a long and stable period for the enterprises), are important for ensuring technical development.

The Hungarian economy's technical level is not the same everywhere. In the basic branches of agriculture and in some industrial enterprises, production is conducted by modern methods with the use of the latest facilities and, in some cases, even on the highest international level. Still, non-modern technologies, obsolete and worn-out equipment are widely used in industry. Hungary's lag in the rapidly developing economic sectors which are paramount for our future is greater than average and has a tendency to grow. The producer infrastructure, especially of communications and metering facilities, is in a most backward state.

In many cases, there is a difference in the level of production not only between industrial sectors, but within one and the same enterprise. Compared with the basic technologies, there is delay in modernising the ancillary services, which often have a crucial influence on quality and productivity. In this respect Hungarian enterprises are generally in a less favourable position than their rivals. There is a shortage of specialised lines of production, turning out components that could be competitive on the external market. Parallel manufacture of final and intermediate products within one and the same enterprise can be maintained only at a relatively low technical level, with unsatisfactory labour productivity.

There is a widespread view that the technical renovation of the Hungarian economy in the past was slowed down due to the low rate of accumulation and the consequent inadequate scale of capital investments. There is much truth in that, but the realities are much more intricate. The reduction in the sources of capital investments from 1981 to 1985 (as compared with the 1970s) has undoubtedly hampered technical progress, but the facts and international experience show that an increase in the share of accumulation still falls short of raising technical standards. Investments head to a growth of technical standards only if they are based on a correct development strategy, and are combined with due modernisation of technology, organisation of production and the market. The impact of investments on technical development depends, in particular, on the efficiency of the technologies being introduced, the time-leads in building, and so on.

It is generally accepted that technical and economic organisation of the production process in Hungary is below the average. There is a marked lag in workmanship, technological discipline and management standards. Even in the sectors which have been developing faster than average, there are few technical novelties. There is a large proportion of obsolete products, although this is being slowly reduced. There is delay in adapting to the changing requirements of the market, which is why there is a steady decline in the share of the most modern, high quality products within convertible-currency exports.

Technical development in the country is carried on mainly by enterprises, cooperatives and other economic units to meet market demand and social requirements. Such an approach in fact implies, rather

than rules out, the need to reduce the direct influence of the market, on the one hand, and to use state instruments to influence it, on the other. However, *a large part of technical development by the enterprises must be guided by demand if they are to be more competitive and profitable.*

Many in Hungary suggest that with the present pattern of interests, enterprises are still incapable of handling technical development, so that there should be more reliance on direct central administration. Such an approach divests of responsibility those who are up to now wary of taking the economic risks involved in technical progress and seek to avoid the conflicts arising from renovation. Many Hungarian enterprises are already prepared to shape their own technical policy and take responsible decisions on reallocating funds to new fields where they are most necessary. There is, of course, a need to go on improving the pattern of interests and the socio-economic environment to help make profit-yielding technical development a truly natural part of operations at the enterprises.

The fact that the technical action takes place at the enterprise does not mean that central management should be relaxed. International experience shows that it has a greater role in deciding on the main priorities, working out strategic lines, and technical-progress programmes on the scale of the whole country and fulfilling these, in technically transforming the infrastructure and in shaping the social and economic conditions for all these purposes.

Therefore there should be *a change in the means and ends of central administration in accordance with the new situation, with emphasis on economic instruments and indirect methods. Attention is focused mainly on developing the capacity of the economic and social environment to stimulate innovation.* Central planning has a greater role in introducing high-standard producer techniques which make the economy competitive, and also in speeding up technological modernisation.

The record shows that the efficiency of an enterprise essentially depends on the extent to which the established technical, economic and commercial indicators come close to those which determine costs and inputs on the international market, and that is why it is so necessary to make multifaceted comparisons with leading enterprises in terms of technical parameters and economic climate.

But technical standards cannot be measured outside the context of economic conditions. Even the highest technical standards in production cannot be regarded as economically useful if the product cannot be sold, or has to be sold at a lower price, or if it can be sold only at a loss, or with state subsidy because the costs are so high. Whenever the sales potential is neglected, technical criteria alone result in 'green-house' development and in the conservation of the old and emergence of new industries and enterprises which the state has to keep bailing out.

The main line of technical development in Hungary is to apply modernised technologies which have been well scrutinised and which help to increase profit. It includes the development and use of technologies saving materials and energy; technologies for fabricating machinery; electronisation and information technology; and biotechnology. It also includes help in developing the producer infrastructure which is important

from the standpoint of technical progress. These priorities are in line both with international trends and national requirements. We believe that it is necessary to improve the slow, well-nigh faltering, organisational, administrative and control work, to break bureaucratic bottlenecks and tighten up performance discipline.

Improvement of the R and D infrastructure is to be one of the top priorities in the future. Over the past period, we have failed to give due attention to it — partly because of erroneous views and partly for material reasons. Meanwhile, the role of the infrastructure that has an effect on economic progress as a whole has grown rapidly. Nowadays the application of high technology is hampered mainly by shortcomings in this area.

If Hungary is to effect a crucial breakthrough in technical development, there is a need for long-term consistent political, economic and organisational effort.

The key task is to create an economic climate in which better use of resources and rising competitiveness is the main criterion for economic units to survive.

Our country relies mainly on the application and development of foreign achievements, because that is what it can do owing to its place in the world economy, its size and research potential. It does not follow, of course, that there is no need to carry on development with reliance on our own advances. Indeed, these should be the basis in individual and thoroughly selected fields, but new knowledge must yield economically and technically better and more competitive products in international terms. Experience shows that rapid progress can be achieved where borrowed foreign achievements are used and improved in close connection with national R and D advances. That is why when purchasing foreign innovations we believe that it is important to give more attention to consolidating our national research potential.

Scientific and technical progress brings about a radical change in working conditions and man's role in production and makes totally new demands on the working people. In contrast to some of the old views, the role of the working person becomes more responsible and imaginative. Fewer and fewer persons are directly engaged in manual work. Assembly, inspection, monitoring, control and repair increasingly come to the fore. The share of research, ancillary work by brain, and marketing has been growing. More and more persons are engaged in providing services to production. Hence, the society's new requirements in the training of specialists and skilled workers, higher education and extension courses. We believe that it is most important to give much attention to general education along with occupational training, for it helps to develop individual traits, such as intelligence, sense of duty, exactitude, reasonableness, a sense of responsibility, a readiness to cooperate and behave in a civilised manner. These are qualities required to shape the work ethic without which the high technology will not run.

The human factor is of key importance not only for the future, but also for the present. Knowledge, inventiveness and imagination can largely substitute for material resources. Up to now we in Hungary have not yet duly tapped our working people's capacities to the extent to which that can

be done. This is a matter not only of regulation or incentives. The marshalling of the vast latent resources in the human capacity for work is a mainly political task.

Executives at every level have a crucial role to play in setting in motion the human factor. The optimal approach to resources, the formulation of a thoroughly considered long-term strategy, skilful involvement in the international division of labour, flexible adaptation to the changing circumstances and so on — all of these depend on the quality of leadership. Many have been unable to become attuned to the new demands. Efficiency is the main criterion of high-standard management and administration. Here is good reason why individuals coping with the new requirements now run the good enterprises, and it is one of the most responsible tasks of party organisations to appoint the right personnel to fill executive posts.

But good management is only one of the conditions for economic upswing. Even the highest technology will not justify the hopes pinned on it unless utmost knowledge and capability are displayed by everyone developing and operating it in every post, from the director-general to the general worker. That again implies not only sound occupational training, but also the right work ethic, labour discipline and high-quality workmanship.

Commitment and ideological motivation now become most important — in contrast to the present generally held views — among the multifaceted tasks for improving the work ethic. It is our assumption that national awareness, Hungary's role in the world, high social aims which require a pooling of the nation's forces, and the tasks of socialist construction have a marked impact on individual and collective behaviour. Young people are most in need of the inspiring long-term perspective. They must know that it is worth while to work hard, to assimilate knowledge and culture, because these are necessary for their own future. There are stimulating potentialities at the enterprise level as well, such as its prestige, a greater sense of responsibility from being a member of the collective, etc. Individual behaviour is also influenced by non-material factors: doing a congenial job, enjoying imaginative work, striving for success and advancement, a sense of one's own responsibility, and — last but not least — political commitment.

Material incentives naturally have an important role in tapping the potentialities of the human factor. Over the past 10-15 years, we in Hungary have failed to give due attention to creating the political and economic conditions to prevent a decline in the moral and especially in the material value of imaginative work in the technical field and in work by brain generally. The central administration failed to create the conditions in which enterprises and institutions would have an elementary interest in paying high and differentiated material rewards for creative technical work — depending on performance. Still, some enterprises have worked out such an approach to raising wages, and it has resulted in duly merited recognition of creative effort even in unfavourable conditions. We back such practices and seek to spread them everywhere. We also want central administration to induce enterprises to consolidate this line by regulating incomes and earnings.

Raising the quality of the human environment is now very important for successful technical progress, and here the priority belongs to areas directly linked to the multifaceted development of human capabilities.

It goes without saying that high producer and technical standards can be expected to coexist only with a high level of exactitude and a developed overall culture. Acquisition, increase and successful application of knowledge become a social necessity only where a high value is placed on mental labour, while order, organisation, precision and reliability are the general conditions for work.

Improving the quality of the human environment crucially depends on the microclimate in economic units, and it is created by a system of informal social ties, by the unwritten rules at the workplace, the personality of executives, and a style of work displaying care and concern for human beings. The party has a big role to play in shaping such a microclimate. One could also put it this way: *it is of the utmost importance in this epoch of the rising value of human resources to improve the party's guiding role in shaping the collective's inner life at every workplace.*

The spread of new ideas and methods always involves conflict and clash of views. At every level of administration and management the party strives to support those who look to the future, who want to apply new methods, scientific achievements and technologies and who work creatively and efficiently. In order to speed technical progress, we also seek to tap the potentialities of the human factor by improving the style and methods of party work.

Who We Regard As Allies

James Stewart — General Secretary,
Communist Party of Ireland (CPI)

IT is clear to every Marxist that the working class can discharge its historical mission as the most consistent and advanced champion of national liberation, social emancipation and peace only if it succeeds in rallying around it all working sections of the population, all actual and potential allies. The creation of a broad anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist front remains one of the most important tasks for the working class party. Both past history and current developments prove that embodying the objective community of interests of the working class and the overwhelming majority of the people in concrete political agreements and alliances is a difficult but extremely promising undertaking. Its success is essential for the outcome of the struggle for the revolutionary

James Stewart (b. 1934), a school teacher by training, has worked on the governing bodies of the Communist Party (N.I.) since 1958. After the creation of the united Communist Party of Ireland (in March 1970) he became a member of its National Executive Committee and was elected Deputy General Secretary and Political Committee member of the National Executive Committee in 1971. General Secretary of the CPI since May 1984.

transformation of the exploitative society, i.e., for the attainment of the goals Marxist-Leninist parties have been established to reach.

The Communist Party of Ireland operates in a divided country, the Northern part remaining under British imperialist rule. Besides extreme religious and national intolerance, sectarianism and irreconcilable political rivalries that often lead to bloodshed are also traditional, first and foremost in the Northern counties.

These are the difficult conditions under which we are striving to ensure the *unity of all democratic progressive forces led by the working class*, overcome their fragmentation, and expose the 'divide-and-rule' policy of the exploiting classes.

The current stage of state-monopoly capitalism has produced an unprecedented aggravation of contradictions between the ruling élite and the overwhelming majority of the population. The objective base of the anti-monopoly movement is expanding, as is the number of the potential allies of the working class. However, this does nothing to diminish the historical mission and responsibility of the working class which, on the one hand, 'emancipates all society by emancipating itself' and, on the other, 'cannot emancipate itself without emancipating all society'.

As our 19th National Congress stressed in early 1986, the CPI advocates the creation of an *anti-imperialist movement based on working class unity and led by the working class*. It is the only class capable of leading the struggle against British imperialism to ultimate victory.

One must, however, admit that the necessary class unity and the leading role of the working class forces are yet to be achieved. This is what the wider unity of the people and the establishment of broad alliances will largely depend on.

Changes in the Army of Labour

In Ireland, and throughout Western Europe, application of scientific and technological advances is broadening the composition of the working class. The sections which we used to consider as the pure working class — those concentrated in heavy industry and engaged in manual work — have, in many ways, narrowed, swelling the numbers of the unemployed. But at the same time we find that the sections we formerly called the white-collar workers, even extending into the civil service, are now identifying themselves as part of the working class, and this is reflected in the militant stand of their trade unions, especially on issues of jobs, conditions and social positions. Finally, these sections are now becoming more politicised in that they are taking part in action on the questions of war and peace and they are fighting racism. This positive development within the working class movement shows that *rather than witnessing a weakening of its positions, the army of labour is gaining strength*.

But we also encounter adverse trends. The development of the transnationals poses serious problems. Previously, Communists usually worked at factories which manufactured the product from A to Z. Today, factories are producing components that may be assembled in another country. Objectively, this makes it more difficult for the working class to

organise on the international scale and fragments the forces of our class allies.

One should also remember that acting through its governments, the bourgeoisie both in Britain and in Ireland has launched unprecedented attacks on the labour movement, combining them with the operation of a ramified propaganda system. We cannot forget for one minute the role of the bourgeois mass media, particularly television, constantly attacking the trade unions. And it is interesting that a tendency has developed to try and test the strength of individual trade unions one by one and to isolate them from one another.

Unfortunately, such attempts have not been without success. You now see individual unions making an agreement with the management for negotiating rights within the factory, excluding the other unions from negotiating rights. That is a dangerous tendency because our experience shows that trade unions can serve as a potential base for efforts to create broad alliances. I refer to the union because it is the very first organisation which workers of different views and political sympathies join to defend their interests. The unions are a good school for unity, class solidarity and getting rid of sectarianism.

We appreciate the fact that despite its division, Ireland has no trade unions that are either wholly Northern-based or wholly Southern-based, either solely Catholic unions or solely Protestant unions. The workers have successfully preserved a nationwide movement led by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions. Of course, we have had constantly to defend this accomplishment; we have had to rebuff the attempts at setting up an Ulster Trade Union Congress. The existence of trade union branch organisations covering both Ireland and Britain is also important.

The problem of relations with the unemployed, particularly with unemployed youth, is a key issue for our working class movement. The unemployed are 22 per cent of the labour force in the North and 18 per cent in the South. Many unemployed young people have never worked at all and they do not identify themselves even as formal members of the working class. When there is no hope of employment, these young people become disillusioned, they become cynical, they become drop-outs in society, open to drugs and crime. Will they become a burden weighing down on the working class and progressive movement, or will they be a source of its growing influence? How can we keep them from falling under the sway of right-wing, reactionary parties and organisations? How can we reach youth who have never been trade unionists at all?

To answer these questions, we have established civic *unemployment centres* in Northern Ireland. These centres are directly linked with and funded by the trade unions. By conducting these forms of work, we help young people to develop into conscious workers rather than into a lumpen proletariat.

Community of Interests

Many mass movements in capitalist countries — those of peace activists, women, environmentalists, tenants and others — are described as new social forces. We are reluctant to agree with this description because they

had been there in the 1930s and even earlier. Mass movements and people's organisations develop under specific needs. Trade unions develop because workers need to defend their positions against the employers, and these unions have their own tasks. The specific issues of women's rights have produced the women's movement which has its own limitations. This is also true of youth and other organisations. Therefore, in defining our attitude to different forms of the masses' social activity, our 19th Congress made it quite clear that we saw the working class as the central and leading force in the struggle against imperialism, against capitalism. And questions of this struggle are obviously interrelated with the specific issues tackled by the broad democratic movements.

Take the women's movement. It is vital for the working class to participate in it in an organised manner; otherwise the movement will be left to the petty-bourgeois forces. They are our allies, of course, but if these forces alone lead and direct the struggle, women's organisations will never come to realise the actual contradictions of capitalist society, of imperialism.

The peace movement offers a similar example. If working class influence is strong within the peace forces, it can help them to move in the right direction. For several years there was a current within the peace forces in Western Europe and America claiming that the USSR and the United States had equal responsibility for the arms race. These concepts were advanced by petty-bourgeois activists, well-meaning but mistaken, who dominated many of these movements. But the very clear peace proposals of the Soviet Union are now destroying the last vestiges of misconceptions about the thrust of Soviet policy. These initiatives are in line with the *course pursued by the Irish working class*, and they evoke a response from those who previously argued about equal responsibility. *People come to realise that our position is right.*

Sometimes one hears it said that a stronger role of the working class means it wants to monopolise and dominate the leadership of mass organisations, that in this way we may scare away our possible allies among the democrats and the non-working class forces.

This contradiction can be resolved in practice. And the best practice is how the working class forces within the mass organisations operate. Our Communist Party recognises that these organisations are entities in their own right. Working in these movements, we do not conspire, manipulate or control. We strive to win people over to our side in debate, in joint struggle. It is by the practice of struggle that they can see that their interests coincide with the interests of the working class. This is also how we talk to farmers and small businessmen, explaining our critical attitude to the Common Market and to the Anglo-Irish Agreement.¹ "There should be no contradiction between the 'public' work of the CPI and the activity of its members in broad movements. This can only arise if, on the one hand, public work is seen as an abstraction unconnected with the work of winning people to Communist policies in broad movements, and, on the other hand, broad movement work is in fact limited to politics that do not go outside the broad movement itself. If Party groups in particular organisations amount simply to vaguely leftish groups, concerned only with

issues and positions within the organisation, they are not Communist formations at all, and the Comrades within them are NOT carrying out Party work." That was how our 19th Congress formulated the issue.²

Let Everyone Have a Say

The political consciousness of the forces that can join the common anti-imperialist struggle has not yet reached a sufficiently high level. Things are particularly difficult when the working class movement itself is unclear. The confusion arising from such a position always plays into the hands of imperialism.

However, if you have a clear position from the Left, a clear lead from the Left, then it is obvious that the entire democratic movement, from the trade unions to the labour movement in general, will strengthen its positions, and this will be reflected in the alignment of class and political forces within the country. *Unfortunately, in Ireland the divisions amongst the Left remain a very serious question, one we have not been able to overcome.*

Some parties are represented in the Dail (parliament in Dublin), while others, our party included, have so far failed to win seats there. There are differences in the attitude to the national question and to the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985. But the interests of the working class demand that *all the left forces participate in discussions aimed at ensuring the broadest possible unity*. What is needed is the mobilisation of all the forces — the trade unions, community and other civic groups and organisations, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties like the Communist Party of Ireland and, indeed, the progressive elements of the Provisionals.³ There will, of course, be elements that will refuse to play their part. So be it. But the effort to build unity should be open to all.

Success depends on the skilful choice of slogans and demands capable of attracting broad forces which, at first glance, appear at odds with one another. Obviously, even within the trade union movement it is still difficult to raise the question of the Anglo-Irish treaty or present an alternative policy to it because of the serious divisions rooted in sectarianism. But what the trade union movement can do is raise the issues of democracy, civil rights, the struggle against discrimination in jobs, and the right to work free from intimidation in any form. For example, recent events in Lisburn (Northern Ireland) attracted widespread public attention. There, the Provisional IRA and the Unionist extremists launched a campaign of mutual intimidation. But, responding to a call from the trade unions, Catholic and Protestant workers moved resolutely to stop this intimidation. And this was reflected also in Belfast in both the Protestant and the Catholic areas. That is a significant development showing that the establishment of alliances whose participants rise above their religious differences is no utopia.

In November 1986 the Northern Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions held a conference at which questions of overcoming religious sectarianism and ending the intimidation of the people were sharply emphasised. Our party held two seminars last year attended by representatives from trade unions and people's tenants', community and

unemployed organisations. At these seminars views were exchanged particularly on the question of how to unite the working class people and how to fight the spread of paramilitary organisations. The Communists are planning further steps in this direction.

There is much that irrevocably divides the Communists who advocate a united, free and independent Ireland and the Ulster Unionist Party which foments sectarianism and has long been an agent of British colonialism. But the confusion in this party after the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement has caused vacillation in its mass base.⁴ The CPI addressed an open appeal to Unionist supporters which said, in part: "There is now a great new division in Northern Ireland society: not the division between Nationalist and Unionist, or between Catholics and Protestants. It is the division between those who want to see a way forward by peaceful means, and the fanatics who would bring us all down to chaos, death and the destruction of our future . . . So we call on you to reject sectarianism and the sectarian leadership of the Unionists. There can be no successful opposition to Britain's plans while working class people are divided."

The Communists have their own vision of the future which is opposite to the Unionist view and which includes a distinctive concept of the future form of government for a united Ireland and of the ways in which it should be built. But we do not lay claim to a monopoly on truth, and we have therefore declared that the future form of government must be decided by the people: "It is not for us to lay down what that form should be, but everyone, including supporters of Unionism, must have a say in what develops . . . We urge workers — stand by your class, reject the fanatics who try to set worker against worker. We say to parents — don't let your children's future be a permanent battlefield. We say to all working people: Unionist, Nationalist, Socialist, Catholic and Protestant — unite!"⁵

The Catholic Church traditionally wields great influence in Ireland. Naturally, the Communist Party takes this factor into account in shaping its strategy of broad alliances. Over the past two decades the views of the masses of believers and of the clergy have moved closer to those of the left democratic forces. The experience of the Irish missionaries who have been to Nicaragua and other Latin American countries has promoted the growth of anti-American, anti-imperialist sentiments within the church. These winds of change could be felt during the 1982 massive peace demonstration which was held in Dublin in connection with Ronald Reagan's visit. Taking part were the broadest possible forces, including Communists and other left groups, but the demonstration was led by priests and nuns. The struggle for civil rights in the North also developed and strengthened the radical sections of the priests and brought many of them into contact with the Communists for the first time in their life. And that had an effect on their way of thinking and on their attitudes to us.

The Broadest Possible Spectrum of Forces

In its struggle for anti-imperialist unity the CPI always proceeds from reality, not from wishful thinking. And the reality of the day is that there is tremendous confusion and disagreement amongst the left forces. At the

moment there is no question of reaching agreement on all political issues, of us, as Communists, and all these other left forces sitting down together and working out an agreed programme of action on a national basis. This is why we are trying to find common ground with other forces on the Left *on specific issues*: elements of the Left of the Irish Labour Party,⁶ left labour forces in Northern Ireland, the Workers' Party,⁷ the Left in Sinn Fein and left orientated forces within the Unionist camp.

Of course, *in doing that, in being flexible in tactics, the Communists do not dispense with their principles*. For example, one of our problems with the Provisional Sinn Fein is the attitude to the armed struggle in Irish conditions. We are opposed to it not because we are pacifists but because it is counter-productive and plays directly into the hands of imperialism, helping it to maintain the divisions amongst the working class. We disagree with the Workers' Party on many issues, for example, on its support of Ireland's EEC membership and on the way it has moved away from the national question. We have disagreements with the people in the left wing of the Labour Party. *Nonetheless, we try to find common ground with them, whether it should be in the trade union movement, community organisations, or anti-war actions*. Many left forces have succeeded in organising effective cooperation within the Irish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Peace and Détente movement. Of course, difficulties arise here too, but we are determined to work to overcome them.

In its policy of alliances, the CPI draws on the rich historical experience of the communist movement. We have been recently recalling again the events of the 1930s and the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. That forum summed up the struggle of the Communists in different countries for influence with the masses and put forward the slogan of a broad popular front against war and reaction. Much of the ideological legacy of these years prompts new conclusions today, urging a reappraisal of the strategy of alliances in the light of the changes that have occurred on the international scene, and with due regard for the forms and methods of political work that are developing.

The record demonstrates that today, just as fifty years ago, the formula '*Those who are not with us are against us*' would be wrong. This attitude invariably rejects many allies who *could* be with us on certain issues. The fact that this approach is too narrow is particularly obvious now that we are dealing with the issue of human survival. The Seventh Congress showed that the Communists were resolved to be guided by the slogan '*Those who are not against us are with us*'. Today it is becoming increasingly clear that we should go further and look for common ground, sometimes even with those who *are* against us.

We find many people who are anti-socialist but who sincerely want to see this world exist, they want to see the planet without the nuclear weapons. They are against us on the class questions, but they can be with us in the peace movement. People who reject the question of the emancipation of the working class and the construction of socialism can cooperate with the Communists in many specific social and economic spheres. All this is borne out in the course of our day-to-day struggle.

For example, there are people who are with us on issues of democratic rights in the North of Ireland but who would not necessarily want a united Ireland. Do we reject those people? Of course not. Our concept of alliances calls for the broadest possible spectrum of forces to participate in the civil rights movement. Or take the efforts to combat unemployment. Of course, the Communists recognise that this problem can be effectively solved only by the building of socialism in this country and by getting rid of imperialist domination. But we are ready to join all who will fight for the right to jobs, for even a limited programme which can improve the employment situation, for immediate demands. You do not have only Communists engaged in the fight to maintain the shipyards in Belfast: you also have Unionists from the Ulster Defence Association and you have the Orange Order — political groups which are our opponents on other issues.

Or take the attitude to the EEC. Today its policies run counter to the interests of different social strata. And so it is important for the Communists not only to organise joint action by the working class but also to win support from farmers and small businessmen.

In other words, *the development of an anti-monopoly alliance around issues of democracy, jobs, economic development and prevention of war should not be restricted just to those forces who want to see society transformed.* Forces which could not be mobilised around the slogan of struggle for socialism can be mobilised on issues of defending peace, securing the right to jobs and upholding democratic freedoms.

Preserving Our Identity

It is important to remember that while working vigorously together with various social forces, winning their confidence and leading them, the Communists should be true to their fundamental approach even on limited issues, be it the unity of the country, defence of civil rights, attitude to the EEC, or preservation of peace. We cannot adapt to our partners in the Biblical spirit of being 'all things to all men' and lose our identity in the process. We cannot turn into political acrobats doing somersaults. We present our position without dictating to people, and we make it clear that we will work with them whenever we can.

Unity is born of struggle. Struggle is what produces firm anti-imperialist alliances of the working class with other sections of the working people. Flexibility in building these alliances does not mean that the party becomes dissolved in broad movements. On the contrary, the emphasis is on *strengthening our ideology and our distinctive identity as a united communist party.* A communist party must not be allowed to turn into a conglomerate of ideologically divided groups jawing each other. And the CPI at its 19th Congress laid specific emphasis on the principle of democratic centralism, on explaining to our members that there cannot be centralism without democracy, just as democracy is impossible without centralism. The unity of a communist party with other anti-imperialist forces calls for the unity of its own ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

¹ Under this Agreement, signed by the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and the Irish Republic at Hillsborough in November 1985, London for the first time secured Dublin's recognition of the British 'right' to maintain a presence in and to govern the Northern part of the country.

² *Documents of the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of Ireland*, 1986, p. 12.

³ The Provisionals broke off from Sinn Fein (Sinn Fein is a republican organisation founded in 1905) and are the political superstructure of the paramilitary Irish Republican Army.

⁴ For more details about the attitude of different political forces to the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement, see *WMR*, No. 5, 1986, pp. 47-52. — *Ed.*

⁵ 'An Appeal to Unionist Supporters from the C.P.I.' in *Unity*, April 5, 1986.

⁶ Founded in 1912, the Labour Party is affiliated to the Socialist International and was Fine Gael's partner in the coalition government of the Irish Republic in 1982-1987.

⁷ Established as a result of Sinn Fein's evolution towards socialist slogans, the Workers' Party operates both in the Republic of Ireland and in the North and is represented in Ireland's Parliament. From 1977 to 1982 it was known as 'Official' Sinn Fein to distinguish it from 'Provisional' Sinn Fein.

Restore And Build To The Strength Of The Party

Jean Spielmann — General
Secretary, Swiss Party of Labour (SPL)

WE live in an age of contradictions. There is a vast gap between the opportunities opened by scientific and technological progress and what the world is like in actual fact. On the eve of the twenty-first century, more than 500 million people suffer from hunger, three out of every ten adults can neither read nor write, and epidemics kill thousands of people. In an age of electronics, space exploration, informatics and robots, capitalism still produces poverty and unemployment. Pollution and the depletion of natural resources are eroding the most elementary basis of human existence. Mankind desperately needs peace to tackle the extremely acute problems it is facing — but the threat of nuclear catastrophe has never been greater.

Progressive forces must adopt a clear stand with regard to the international developments which are fraught with grave consequences for our civilisation. The stand of the Swiss Party of Labour is reflected in the *concept of a peace economy*. We hold that it provides the only framework within which the more acute and dangerous contradictions can be solved. This concept underlies the updated policy of the SPL approved at its 13th Congress (February 27-March 1, 1987).

We believe that *conversion to a peace economy implies:*

— an end to the arms race and the economy's reorientation on improvements in health care, culture, education, housing, etc. — that is, on meeting basic human needs;

— economic development and all human activity consonant with environmental protection and a more rational use of natural resources;

— a restructuring of the economic relations between the industrialised

nations and the Third World countries so that the latter could themselves determine the avenues and rates of their advancement;

— broader ties among all nations and peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

We regard preservation of universal peace as the prime and essential condition of progress in all other spheres.

Reflecting the overall attitude of the Swiss Communists to the tackling of global problems, the peace economy concept also determines the principal aspects in the activities of the SPL.

The struggle against the nuclear war threat and for a more vigorous contribution of Switzerland to disarmament is a priority task. Our country's government has adopted a wait-and-see policy in these matters, which we regard as inadmissible given the dimensions of the war threat. The government not only refrains from submitting its own proposals but also refuses to support the initiatives of other countries, such as those that advocate a nuclear-free zone in Europe. The Swiss ruling quarters still cannot bring themselves to come out clearly and unequivocally for the termination of nuclear tests. Their position could be summed up as follows: we are in favour, but since Reagan says 'no', we cannot say 'yes'.

Switzerland's arms spending accounts for over 22 per cent of the budget and annually swallows up 4.1 billion Swiss francs,¹ almost three-quarters of this amount being spent on actual war preparations, including arms purchases in the United States and other NATO countries (the Swiss army receives 45 per cent of all military hardware from abroad). Very often these are offensive weapons of little use for the defence of our mountainous country — for example, the 500 Leopard-2 heavy tanks our government intends to purchase from the FRG over the next ten years.

Officially, Switzerland is a neutral country. In most international issues, however, it follows the lead of the United States. There have been cases of the Swiss army cooperating with the armed forces of NATO countries. That is a dangerous policy. Our party protests, both through its press and in parliament, each time violations of the constitutionally proclaimed policy of neutrality occur.

We believe that as a nation unaffiliated in any military blocs and as the cradle of the Red Cross and humanitarian aid, Switzerland should be much more active in the tackling of major international issues. It should advance its own peace initiatives and take part in relevant negotiations. The SPL had been canvassing vigorously in favour of our country joining the United Nations. However, the overwhelming majority of the population voted against this in a nationwide referendum conducted last year. The small man still sees Switzerland as a "tiny island of prosperity in a crisis-ridden world" and fears anything that may conceivably upset this prosperity.

One should not underestimate the essentially conservative striving for self-isolation in the face of the many problems of our age, or the deep-rooted national egoism. But we are no pessimists. The peace movement which developed in Switzerland in the first half of the 1980s — the most powerful in the nation's history — has strongly influenced the thinking of our people. The ranks of those who are committed to the ideas of international cooperation, solidarity with the Third World, disarmament

and détente have grown considerably. The SPL holds that its task is to *rally these people together and involve them in specific actions, thus helping to form a coalition of reason* capable of resisting militarism and Reaganism and assuring mankind's survival.

Of singular importance in this connection are Mikhail Gorbachov's disarmament proposals, particularly on medium and shorter-range missiles in Europe, and the Warsaw Treaty initiatives on nuclear and conventional arms reductions. Swiss public opinion was impressed with the 18 month-long unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions. In our view, all these steps proceed from the fact that the level of the military capabilities which the world's two leading powers possess is very high, and neither can achieve superiority over the other.

The Reagan administration refuses to respond to the Soviet initiatives and, in the eyes of international public opinion and of many governments, it is the side which is really responsible for the lack of progress at the talks. The Swiss, too, are increasingly puzzled by US policy. Many people realise that if accepted, the bold, serious and concrete proposals of the USSR would make it possible to stop the arms race and channel the resources thus saved into efforts to solve the most pressing problems of our age.

The concept of a peace economy calls for a radical restructuring of relations with the developing countries, and is aimed directly against the policies of Swiss finance capital which is to blame for much of these nations' plight and for their huge foreign debt.²

The banks of Zurich, Geneva, Lausanne and Basel are accomplices not only in the exploitation of African, Asian and Latin American natural and manpower resources but also in the outright plunder of these countries' national wealth. Switzerland is a major — if not the major — centre which attracts great sums of money criminally amassed by various dictators such as Duvalier, Marcos or the former Emperor of Ethiopia. This money is deposited in secret bank accounts and is very difficult to recover for the peoples who have freed themselves from tyranny.³

The course pursued by Swiss finance and industrial capital in relation to the Third World is an integral part of the overall imperialist policy aimed at perpetuating the newly liberated countries' dependence through the debilitating foreign debt, technological neocolonialism, activities of the TNCs and the strategy of regaining the social ground lost. This is clear from our country's place in the International Monetary Fund and, to a still greater degree, from the recently exposed role of a middleman the Swiss banks played in the secret US arms deliveries to Iran and the financing of the Nicaraguan contras.

Our party and the progressive forces as a whole therefore regard *the demand for an in-depth restructuring of our economic relations with the Third World as an important element of the struggle against the sway of the banks and against their reactionary role on the world scene and in Switzerland proper.*

Besides, we are convinced that only a restructuring along these lines will make it possible to solve the problem of growing emigration from the developing countries to the industrialised nations. This problem has become quite acute for Switzerland in recent years, as it has for all Western

Europe. It springs above all from the huge gap in the levels of economic development and in living standards between the 'North' and the 'South' — but not from that alone. Many people leave their countries to flee brutal dictatorship, political reprisals, or religious or ethnic strife.

The Right and the extreme Right have for several years been playing successfully on the problem of refugees (as the immigrants are called in Switzerland), trying to make political capital by mounting a racist campaign against Asians and Africans. Chauvinistic sentiments are noticeably on the rise in our country. In every canton where elections were held in 1985-1986, there was a marked rise in the number of votes cast for the extreme Right, and its supporters included many working people. This is explained, on the one hand, by the impact of the economic crisis (many ascribe the shortage of affordable housing and the deterioration in the sphere of employment to growing immigration) and, on the other, by the atmosphere of international confrontation which helps to foment xenophobia.

The political platform of the SPL adopted at its 13th Congress reflects a need we have felt for some time — to update our course and gear it to the far-reaching social shifts under way in our country.

These shifts stem mainly from two simultaneous processes — the increasing orientation of the Swiss economy on the development of the tertiary sector (commerce, banking, and various services) and the scientific and technological revolution with its powerful impact on all types of human activity. In terms of social structure, the category of office workers, engineers, managerial and administrative personnel is growing rapidly, while the share of the traditional working class is diminishing.

The non-productive sector now accounts for 55 per cent of the nation's work force (against 39 per cent in 1960 and 50.1 per cent in 1975). Over the past decade, employment has been rising in informatics and various advisory services (43.3 per cent), insurance (42.4 per cent) and banking (38.8 per cent).

Conversely, employment in industry, construction and the handicrafts has dropped from 46.5 per cent in 1960 to 39.9 per cent. In these branches, too, high technology and automation are steadily enlarging the mass of office workers, engineers and managerial personnel at the expense of the working class itself. The fact that it is contracting is also rooted in the crisis-related industrial closures and in the policy of the leading industrial concerns which are transferring their plant abroad. During the past 10 to 12 years, more than half the jobs (45,000) have been closed in the watchmaking industry, one-third in the garment industry, and more than one-quarter in textiles.

Coupled with the rise in the general level of prosperity, the changes in the structure of Swiss society lead to *major shifts in the thinking, self-image and priorities of the working people*. Their attention is switching from a struggle for largely material demands to issues such as the quality of life, the development of the cities and transport, and conservation of the environment; people are beginning to think about the dangers involved in the development of nuclear power.

The crisis of capitalist society is affecting not only the economy but also,

and increasingly, culture, ethics and moral values. In turn, the changes in the nature of labour, which are connected with the growing role of electronics, informatics and the introduction of devices that successfully discharge some of the functions of the human brain, face people with radically new problems — for example, the questions of ergonomics, that is, the quality of the workplace and the relations between man and machine. There is also the issue of ensuring democratic control over the use of data banks — control that would rule out invasion of privacy.

Another important point is that the traditional working class culture we were familiar with until the late 1960s no longer exists in Switzerland. This culture used to take the form of numerous athletic and cultural societies and associations and of intensive interpersonal contacts on the shop floor and elsewhere, based on an awareness of one's class identity. Things have changed since then. The growth of leisure opportunities, the emergence of the so-called entertainment industry, television in every home and the spread of video have perceptibly weakened the collectivist values of the working people. Now it is no longer working class culture but *a common approach to the problems of the way of life, morals and ethics which becomes the principal unifying factor for large sections of the population.*

One must admit that our party did not adjust to these changes in time. As a result, the SPL lost much of its social base and failed to offset this loss because it lost too much time in turning to the new categories of the working people.⁴ While concentrating our efforts on the traditional aspects of the struggle waged by the working class movement, we did not grasp the full significance of the new demands pertaining to environmental protection, the quality of life and the consequences of the scientific and technological revolution. One cannot say that we ignored these demands completely, but the party did not give them due attention. All this contributed a great deal to the SPL's failures at cantonal and national elections, in recent years, reduced its influence with the working people, its appeal to the younger generation and dealt a severe blow to its prestige among the public.

Reappraising our experience, we have concluded that *today the struggle over issues of the way of life, culture and morals is as important to the Communists as the fight they are waging in the socio-economic and political spheres.* The party's success will depend overwhelmingly on how well it will elaborate and offer to the working people a way of life and culture which would be an alternative to the one advanced by big capital and the Right.

The scientific and technological revolution poses several new issues before the Communists. Since it imparts a powerful impetus to the development of the productive forces, it can become an important tool of a new socio-economic policy promoting greater democracy and man's emancipation. But it can also be used for diametrically opposite purposes — to enhance authoritarian and technocratic trends which lead to greater alienation. Therefore, the very introduction of the latest technologies is now a matter over which a struggle is fought; it demands that the working class movement and the working people as a whole devise a definite political strategy.

In particular, we insist on *automation and economic streamlining*

accompanied by cuts in working hours. This slogan should be central to the drive for full and guaranteed employment and for effective recreation opportunities because given today's intensive pace of life and work, recreation is a foremost human need. This approach to the issue is particularly topical for Switzerland where the working week still averages 43 hours and, in some categories of workers, is as high as 50 hours. The SPL advocates its gradual reduction to 40 and then to 35 hours — with full pay.

The issue of *democracy on the shop floor* is now much more acute than before. Today, workers, technicians, engineers and administrative personnel merely carry out instructions, while the real decisions are taken by a handful of people in the higher echelons of the management structure. The ruling class uses high technology to preserve and consolidate its monopoly on decision-making, and it may succeed unless workers and employees take part in the elaboration of decisions at every stage and unless they secure the right to monitor the management's moves. The SPL regards democratisation at the factory level as the first step to a transformation of decision-making within the economy and society as a whole which would enable the working people and their organisations to ensure that technological advancement produces no adverse social effects.

Another major goal for us is to *prevent a situation in which machinery would control production, and exchanges between information systems would replace human contact.* A job confined to the operation of a computer threatens to dehumanise man, to turn him into an appendage of machinery, into a creature devoid of emotions or independent thinking and easy to manipulate. This is why we believe we should be thinking even now about ways and means of preserving man as the decisive element of economic production and interpersonal relations as its key factor.

The ideas and conclusions our party reached during preparations for the 13th Congress formed the basis of the SPL programme of action and election platform approved by the congress for the parliamentary elections scheduled for this coming October. Of course, the programme has been developed not only for the pre-election period but also for longer-term objectives. The aim is to offer ideas and proposals that will attract the working people, above all youth, and encourage them to join the struggle for the renovation of society and for a democratic alternative to its present state, an alternative consonant with a peace economy.

At the same time, the SPL intends to continue *fighting resolutely in the traditional spheres of class battles — for improving the position of the working people and for defending their gains against the offensive from the Right* which, under the slogan of 'reducing the role of the state', seeks to cut social spending and lift all restrictions on the activities of the monopolies.⁵ This onslaught is backed first and foremost by banking capital which is quickly merging with industrial and commercial capital. It dictates to the government and the Federal Assembly, shapes the course of the country's economic development and has cornered decision-making on all issues of importance to the nation. The sway of the banks gravely threatens even those forms of democracy which exist in Switzerland and with which we are far from satisfied to begin with.

The SPL is convinced that the power of finance capital can be restricted only by ensuring *broad popular unity* in opposition to it.

The 13th Congress oriented the party on expanding cooperation and concluding alliances with all political organisations and trade unions that represent the working class and the working people as a whole, including the Social Democrats, other left parties and progressive groups of environmentalists. At the same time, we plan to promote contacts not only with organisations but also at the grassroots level, with individuals ready to cooperate on this or that specific issue, be it housing policy, a freeze on consumer prices or solidarity with the Third World. Our immediate task is to draw up and specify programmes that can serve as a basis for unitary movements and for enhancing our ties with all forces capable of getting involved in the struggle for a democratic alternative. This will allow our party to present its ideas and proposals to large sections of the population.

We call our present course an *open policy*, meaning that the SPL is open to contacts and joint action with various democratic forces and to debate and discussion of fundamental and current issues concerning the development of our society. Naturally, this stance makes certain demands on the party itself and on its grassroots organisations.

Let me cite an example to make this clearer. In recent years there has been virtually no influx of young people into the bigger grassroots organisations — in contrast to the smaller ones. The most likely reason is that these bigger organisations were not prepared to accept young members who thought 'differently', sometimes acted contrary to our traditions and touched on our 'sore spots'. The Communists should learn to encourage debate and discussion and to respond properly to the young people who join the party even if they do not think and approach many issues the way those who have long been activists do. Otherwise we will be unable to benefit from the existing sympathies with the causes promoted by the SPL.

Contrary to the claims of the big press, our party is not headed towards extinction. People aged 20 to 40 made up 39 per cent of the delegates at the 13th Congress. Almost 20 per cent of them joined the party during the most difficult period in its history — after 1981. Since the previous congress, the proportion of women has grown noticeably (more than 30 per cent of the delegates compared to 25 per cent in 1983). This means that part of the country's young people and women are turning towards us, and we will work to reinforce this trend.

While on the subject of the situation within the party, one must note that prior to the latest congress there was a lot of debate over the party's future policy. In September 1986 several comrades from the Italian-speaking canton of Ticino even dropped out of the Central Committee in disagreement with the majority of the SPL leadership. However, the broad and at times extremely sharp discussion *made it possible to devise a platform unanimously approved by the delegates*. We did not attain this by glossing over controversies, the way it had sometimes been done at earlier congresses, to reach a compromise accepted by all. The drawback was that our policy at that time generated no enthusiasm. The political resolution of the 13th Congress reflects the complex problems which the SPL faces and

which give rise to debate. Differences on certain problems remain, of course, but we see this as proof that the SPL is an organisation which is alive and searching. Most importantly, the delegates acknowledged that the resolution contained a realistic and penetrating analysis of the party's tasks, that it did not play down the difficulties, but provided clear guidelines and created a firm basis for future work.

We pin great hopes on the implementation of our new policy endorsed by the congress, although we realise that it may take some time before results appear. The ideology of neoliberalism has swayed large sections of the Swiss, including working people. Many accepted the argument that the repeal of some laws and standards relating to the economy and, in the words of the neoliberals, hampering its dynamic and free development, would secure a better outlook for the country. The right-wing offensive is accompanied by a dramatic rise in individualistic attitudes, aggressive competition and run-away consumerism. Switzerland is also affected by the ideological warfare the forces of Reaganism are waging against socialism. All this has been recently making it particularly difficult for the SPL to conduct its work.

Nevertheless, we believe that new prospects are now opening before the Communists. Having themselves suffered from the effects of the 'reduce-the-role-of-the-state' policy, more people are coming to realise that it is like an attractively packaged but bitter pill. The purchasing power of some categories of the working people has been falling in recent years; the position of those receiving old age pensions is deteriorating; medical insurance subsidies have diminished, and there are cutbacks in the government subsidies for housing that low-income families can afford, for vocational training and higher education; and the adoption of important social programmes has been blocked. As many as 400,000 people in our country, including 150,000 pensioners, live below the poverty line; 20 per cent of the population barely make the subsistence level or do not make it at all.⁶ The present policy of the ruling quarters can only compound the difficulties. The unprecedented unemployment in the countries neighbouring on Switzerland and the abrupt decline in the industrial growth rates in the United States also prove that neoliberal recipes lead to social and economic retrogression, not prosperity. Some actions recently taken by Swiss wage and salary earners demonstrate that some of them are showing signs of readiness to resist the offensive from the Right.

International developments, too, are helping to improve the conditions for the Communists' activities. The growing strength of the peace forces and the important initiatives of the USSR and other socialist countries have broadened the opportunities for a return to détente and peaceful coexistence.

The far-reaching change under way in the Soviet Union is creating a new image of socialism, and this is of tremendous importance to us too. The scope and the swiftness of this change have caught the enemies of socialism off balance and confirmed what the SPL has always insisted on — that democracy and socialism are indivisible.

The two ideas central to our party's thinking — *a peace economy and a democratic socialist society* as the only alternative to capitalism — are very

closely interconnected. We expect them to evoke a broader response among the Swiss working people now, while the renovation of the party's political course and of the language it uses in addressing the masses, will open new vistas before the SPL, and enable it to win new supporters and enhance its influence with the people.

¹ According to the May 1987 exchange rate, this is equivalent to more than 2.7 billion US dollars. — *Ed.*

² Swiss assets in five Latin American countries — Panama, Brazil, Mexico, Argentina and Venezuela — total almost 18 billion Swiss francs and in African countries (aside from South Africa), some four billion. Most of this money is in the form of credits.

³ In 1985 the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland proposed legislation to abolish the secrecy of bank accounts, and the initiative was supported by all left forces. However, the banks and the Right launched a massive campaign against it and frustrated the adoption of the bill.

⁴ The share of immigrants is very high among the working people, including industrial workers. Immigrants total 800,000 to 850,000 or more than 25 per cent of the work force. For several reasons — most of these people are deprived of political or social rights, their range of interests is narrow, and they come to Switzerland for short periods (many merely want to build a nest egg and return home) — they take virtually no part in social activities and are extremely hard to draw into the class struggle.

⁵ For more details, see Armand Magnin, "Can the Conservative Tide Be Stemmed?", *WMR*, No. 4, 1986. — *Ed.*

⁶ Switzerland has a population of 6.5 million. — *Ed.*

The 70th Anniversary of the October Revolution

Ray Of Light And Hope In The Western Hemisphere

Hugo Campos — CC Political
Commission member, Paraguayan
Communist Party

Antonio Ribeiro Granja — National
Leadership member, Brazilian
Communist Party

SEVEN decades now separate us from the events of October 1917 in Russia that constituted a major landmark in human history. Much has been said and written about the universal significance of these events, about their objective inevitability, progressive nature, and irreversibility. Nonetheless we keep on drawing upon the October Revolution's experience, which we see as a dependable and tested compass, in order to specify our policies in a complex and volatile situation and develop new arguments in the ideological struggle being waged by our parties. This is natural. In Latin America the communist movement took shape under the impact of the October Revolution. Having built up considerable experience of class struggle the movement has become an influential political force and an important factor of social development.



The socialist revolution in Russia came as a ray of light and hope for millions of oppressed and exploited people in all the countries of the Western Hemisphere. This metaphor, coined by William Z. Foster, who was prominent in the world communist movement, mirrors the irrefutable fact that the rising in Petrograd and the conquest of power by the

Hugo Campos (b. 1916). A member of the PCP since 1935. In the same year he organised the first party cell at the Zeballos Cue meat-packing plant. He was arrested in 1936 for his part in an armed action by workers. Upon his release he formed a party cell at the National College. In 1943 he took charge of the PCP newspaper *Adelante*. In 1945 he was elected a CC member, and in 1947, during the armed uprising in Concepcion, he was acting General Secretary of the PCP Central Committee. He has been a member of the CC Political Commission since 1953 and his party's representative on *WMR* since 1986. He is a prolific writer, his books including *The Paraguayan Panorama*, *Where Life Flourishes*, and *Georgi Dimitrov, 1882-1982*.

Antonio Ribeiro Granja (b. 1913) was a worker and joined the party in 1934. He helped to form large trade unions: the Confederation of Working People of Brazil (1946) and the General Confederation of Working People of Brazil (1986). Between 1946 and 1952 he was a member of the Assembly of the State of Espirito Santo, headed the party newspaper, *Folha de Capiraba*, in that state, and contributed to other periodicals. He was persecuted and imprisoned for political motives. He was amnestied in 1979. He has been a member of the BCP National Leadership since 1954 and his party's representative on *WMR* since 1986.

proletariat were acclaimed in the Western Hemisphere and gave people the confidence that an end could be put to feudal, capitalist, and imperialist oppression. Although the big press ignored or misreported the revolutionary events in Russia, the falsehoods were refuted by the workers' newspapers, that were being published in many countries of our continent. Using the scant objective information reaching them, they tried to show the real significance of the October Revolution and called for support for the cause of the national liberation and social emancipation of the working people initiated by that revolution.

A pamphlet entitled *The Russian Revolution and the Press*¹ and signed by Alex Pavel, was published in Rio de Janeiro in 1918. It exposed the anti-Soviet inventions of the big press. This purpose was also served by documents and articles taken from progressive European and North American publications. For instance, in 1919 the weekly paper *Spartacus*, brought out by a Marxist group of the same name in the Brazilian capital, published Lenin's letter to the American workers and the speech delivered by the leader of the world proletariat at the First Congress of the Communist International.² These and many other publications were the precursors of the wide dissemination of Marxism-Leninism in Latin America. But almost half a century passed between the sowing and the harvest, between the October Revolution and the first socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere. Why then do we say that the Russian example had a direct impact on social development in our hemisphere?

First, the proletariat's numerical growth and the capitalist system's deepening general crisis have brought about a perceptible upturn of the strike movement in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Chile and other countries. Under the influence of the October Revolution this movement acquired a political edge more and more often, crystallising into mass actions of solidarity with the Soviet Republic and, in some cases, into clashes on the barricades. The struggle of the peasants for land and the actions of intellectuals and students merged with the actions of the workers.³

Second, directly or indirectly, the Russian revolution stimulated the liberation movements: of these note must be made of the armed struggle of the Brazilian revolutionary democrats, including progressive officers, against the reactionary regime of Arthur Bernardes, in 1924-1927, and of the anti-imperialist Sandinist movement that began in 1927 and culminated in the expulsion of the Yankee invaders from Nicaragua in 1933.

Third, under the direct influence of the October Revolution the most conscious section of the proletariat, the intelligentsia, and the petty bourgeoisie broke with anarcho-syndicalist and reformist ideology, seeing the historical validity of Marxism-Leninism. This greatly contributed to the birth of the communist movement in Latin America. In January 1918, only three months after the Russian revolution, the constituent congress of the International Socialist Party of Argentina, soon renamed the Communist Party of Argentina,⁴ was held in Buenos Aires. This was followed by the formation of Marxist-Leninist parties in Mexico, Uruguay, and Chile. The constituent Congress of the Brazilian Communist Party was held in March 1922. To quote Astrojildo Pereira, this congress was "the spiritual, if not

organisational, expression of the Brazilian workers' great aspiration to join the vanguard of the world proletariat".⁵ A Marxist-Leninist party was founded in Cuba three years later, and then communist parties appeared in Colombia, Paraguay, Peru and other countries.

In Latin America the communist movement's formative process lasted several decades. This was due to the different levels of social development and of the maturity of the working class in the countries of the continent, the tenacity of sectarianism and dogmatism, and other reasons. *However, it would be fair to say that even in the pre-war period the communist movement had become a new and powerful political force in Latin America.* Imperialism and the local oligarchy saw it as a serious challenge to their undivided domination and responded with the most brutal repressions and persecution.

Ever since their emergence, the Latin American communist parties had been seeking unity of action. Many of them were active in the work of the Comintern. On the initiative of the latter's Latin American section the first regional conference was held in Buenos Aires in 1929. This conference characterised the revolution in Latin America as anti-imperialist, democratic, agrarian, and as having a socialist prospect. The conference attached considerable importance to internationalist solidarity, to the unity of the proletariat and, in particular, to strengthening the Latin American Confederation of Trade Unions, which had been formed by that time. Lastly, a beginning was laid for the tradition of regional and zonal meetings of fraternal parties for the purpose of sharing experience and coordinating actions.⁶

The history of the period following the October Revolution compellingly shows that the birth of the communist movement was accompanied by a rise of social consciousness to a new level, by the enlistment of large numbers of people into revolutionary creativity. Let us note the proclamation of a 'socialist republic' in Chile, even though it was short-lived, the insurgent actions of peasants and workers under the leadership of the Communist Party of El Salvador in 1932, the overthrow of the Machado dictatorship in Cuba in 1933, the armed uprising in Brazil in 1935, the creation of wide fronts in many countries, and the massive manifestations of solidarity with the Spanish Republic and then with the Soviet Union, which bore most of the burden of the war against German fascism and Japanese militarism. *The anti-imperialist movement has been growing on an unparalleled scale in the post-war period. We see the democratic revolutions in Guatemala (1944-1954) and Bolivia (1952) not as individual episodes in the struggles of the Latin American peoples but as part of the unbroken process of in-depth social changes that are creating the prerequisites for future liberation.*

The victory of the Cuban revolution and its relatively rapid transition from anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic reforms to the socialist stage in keeping with national and Latin American distinctions are a direct continuation of the ideas and cause of the October Revolution. It opened a new chapter of the continent's history and its example was the force propelling the further extension and deepening of revolutionary actions and the eradication of the last seats of colonialism in the region.

At the close of the 1960s revolutionary democrats in army uniforms came to power in Panama, Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador, challenging imperialism and the oligarchy. In 1970 the general election in Chile was won by Popular Unity headed by the Socialist Salvador Allende, who became the nation's President. The unique experience of these revolutionary processes is of unfading significance.

The struggle went on in a situation in which reaction launched a counter-offensive and staged fascist coups. But however difficult the conditions, nobody should forget Lenin's words that even if the reactionaries may succeed in holding up the movement for a time, they cannot stop it altogether: it is invincible.⁷

Under pressure from the Sandinist National Liberation Front, one of the most ruthless dictatorships fell in 1979 and the Nicaraguan revolution triumphed. In the first half of the 1980s we witnessed the collapse of several tyrannical regimes in, among other countries, Brazil, and the beginning of positive changes in the alignment of forces between reaction and progress in individual countries and on a regional scale. This allows us to speak of a new stage of the struggles of our peoples for democracy, peace, national liberation, and social emancipation.

What are the distinctive features of this stage and what prospects does it open for us? Before answering these questions let us recall one of the paramount lessons of the October Revolution: *given all the distinctions in the concrete respective situations in the Latin American states a common denominator on the historical level is the socialist prospect, which is preceded by the stage of revolutionary-democratic changes. The prerequisites for such changes now exist. The key question remains: that of the forces capable of carrying them out.*

Society's democratisation is the objective imperative, the outcome of the changes in the Latin American societies. But this does not come of itself. 'Strong' regimes disappear from the political scene on account of their inability to cope with the avalanche of socio-economic problems, the growth of revolutionary-democratic movements, and the profound changes in the class structures and in the consciousness of the various social classes and groups.

Large social forces are now involved in the struggle for democracy. There has been a considerable numerical growth of the working class and of its role in political life. In the early 1980s it constituted nearly half of the region's able-bodied population. The proletariat's social base is expanding as it is being joined by technical personnel, white-collar workers, and the numerically large rural proletariat. Despite its 'mosaic' character on account of capitalism's uneven development, the proletariat has been and is the principal revolutionary class. Powerful impulses to the growth of its political consciousness were given by the dynamics of the class struggle and the revolutionary-liberative processes in our region and throughout the world. The scale of the economic and political strikes is growing steadily.

One of the working class' historical allies, the peasants, who are oppressed by the monopoly bourgeoisie and the landowners, are joining this struggle more and more actively. The problem of a radical agrarian reform is, as it has previously been, on the agenda of most Latin American

states, and this is the basic factor motivating mass peasant actions against domination by the big landowners and the monopolies.

The third major revolutionary-democratic component (potential and active) consists of the urban middle classes and large numbers of intellectuals, white-collar workers, students, and women. Their internal differentiation and conversion into one of the locomotives of revolution are gathering speed. A growing role is played by patriotic military and also by democratic clergymen closely linked to the 'lower classes' of Latin American societies, to local parishes, particularly in the provinces. Nor should we discount the perceptible growth of anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchal sentiments among the petty and middle bourgeoisie. Failing to weather the competition with big capital and in the absence of aid from the state, a considerable section of the latter is becoming declassed and joining the ranks of the proletariat or the marginal strata. This is likewise contributing to the growth of the revolutionary-democratic forces.

The existence of local financial-industrial oligarchies is common to the countries of the region. Together with the big landowners and the reactionary military-bureaucratic élite they have close links to imperialism, are subordinate to it and called 'entreguistas'.⁸ However, after the Malvinas and Grenada, and on account of the Yankee armed interference in Central America and other parts of the world there is vacillation even in these circles about the USA, the bulwark of 'Western democracy'. Motivated by their class interests, they are in many cases not obstructing, or go so far as to facilitate, society's reformist democratisation and an improvement of the situation in the region.

Of late there have been signs of positive changes in the political thinking of many Latin American statesmen, who are seeking to settle the armed conflict in Central America by negotiation, join the non-aligned movement, ensure an equitable settlement of the foreign debt problem, establish a new international economic order, and turn the region into a nuclear-free zone. In our view, this has motivated some of the anti-imperialist statements by the President of Peru and the positive posture adopted on some international issues by the presidents of Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico. The new political realities are reflected in the flight from Haiti of the last scion of the Duvalier clan and the upswing of the people's struggles against the regimes in Paraguay and Chile.

It goes without saying that the Latin American big bourgeoisie, especially its monopoly section, is eager to maintain a 'class peace', having recourse to social manoeuvring or crushing popular resistance directly while showing an inclination to compromise with imperialism in foreign policy. However, some factors objectively tend to foster the bourgeoisie's conflict with it. These are, in the first place, the inter-capitalist antagonisms implicit in the system as a whole and the tutelage on the part of the transnational corporations and banks. Then there is the influence of existing socialism, which offers mutually beneficial cooperation regardless of differences in ideology and the social structure and supports the efforts of the developing states to achieve full independence and socio-economic progress. The contradictions we are speaking of are compounded by the unpredictability and adventurism of the actions of the Washington

administration, which refuses to reckon with the new political realities.

Thus, the distinctive features of the new stage of the anti-imperialist, revolutionary-democratic struggle are the expanding spectrum of the forces participating in this struggle, the politicisation of the masses, and the further growth of the proletariat's class consciousness and socio-political role. The conditions are maturing for the creation of broad alliances, national coalitions, and a regional anti-imperialist front of states and peoples. The creation of these conditions is being facilitated by the objective process of world development, particularly the changing balance of strength on the international scene in favour of peace, democracy, and social progress and the policy of alliances bequeathed by the Great October Revolution and pursued consistently and flexibly by the fraternal parties.

But we are opposed by a strong adversary — US imperialism and its clients. They have a colossal financial-economic and military potential and extensive experience of socio-political demagoguery and manipulation of public opinion, and dexterously use a weapon such as anti-communist ideology. In Latin America, for instance in Paraguay, anti-communism takes the shape not only of reactionary doctrines and dogmas but also of day-to-day repression of dissent by what amounts to terrorism. The whole history of our movement is an unbroken record of persecution and interdictions on the activity of communist parties, of the baiting, imprisonment, torture, and assassination of Communists.

A specific of anti-communism today, as 70 years ago, is also that its proponents tag the label of 'subversive elements' and 'Reds' indiscriminately to all who come out against imperialist domination and the local oligarchy, for socio-economic reforms and the sovereign rights of nations. Adopted as state policy by the Washington administration, anti-communism has become a weapon for suppressing the liberation struggle. Terror is aimed not only at progressive, revolutionary-democratic, patriotic movements and organisations but also at entire nations. Bellicose anti-communism is spearheaded at socialist Cuba, Sandinist Nicaragua, and the Salvadoran, Chilean, Paraguayan, and other embattled peoples.

Since the October Revolution anti-communism and anti-Sovietism have been the foundation of the ideology and practices of reactionary regimes. On the pretext of fighting the 'Red menace' and preserving 'internal peace', the Stroessners, Pinochets, and latter-day Somozas of all hues are perpetrating heinous crimes, arresting large numbers of people, and resorting to torture, kidnapping, and murder. In order to curry favour and get further handouts and indulgences for arbitrary actions, the hirelings of US imperialism sometimes outdo their masters. Take, for example, the readiness declared by the Paraguayan dictator to participate in imperialism's Vietnam gamble, his support for the US invasion of the Dominican Republic and Grenada, and his present advocacy of summary treatment for the Sandinist government and the insurgents in El Salvador, and of aggression against Cuba.

The fact that anti-communism is historically bankrupt does not mean that it is ineffective. Anti-communist propaganda continues to be active, sowing harmful syndromes in public consciousness. Its poisonous seeds are

finding fertile soil among reactionaries, the entreguistas, the bourgeoisie and big landowners, the conservative clergy, a section of the intelligentsia, and the politically most backward sections of the population. For more than a century the world has been intimidated with the 'communist threat' bogey, and since the October Revolution — with the 'Soviet menace' myth. Currently, one of the most widespread anti-communist stereotypes in Latin America is the myth about Cuban and Nicaraguan 'expansionism'. Just as it tried to vindicate the foreign intervention against Soviet Russia, this myth-making is now trying to 'legitimise' US interference in Central America and antagonise public opinion against the Communists, who are described as 'exponents of the threat to Western values'. The truth about existing socialism, its foreign policy of peace, and the revolutionary restructuring and acceleration of socio-economic development in the Soviet Union is distorted, ignored, or banned. Frankly speaking, the reactionaries are for the time being successfully using their propaganda machine to disunite and weaken a section of the democratic forces, and make them distrustful of the Communists and reluctant to cooperate with us.

Of course, we are saying all this not in order to justify omissions in our public relations or our policy of alliances or in order simply to remind people of the incredible difficulties encountered by this work under, for example, the fascist Stroessner regime or after two decades of a dictatorial regime in Brazil. We are indeed facing many difficulties, and we have many shortcomings. But under all conditions the *surmounting of anti-communism is a priority for we see it as an imperative for the unity of the revolutionary-democratic forces.*

We feel that in our work among sections of people infected with anti-communist prejudices and sentiments it is extremely important to explain the historical role of the communist parties. The people must be told about the patriotism and public spirit of the Communists who fell victim to fascist terror, about their boundless devotion to the cause of national liberation and social emancipation. We consistently expose the lies about existing socialism being 'undemocratic', about it being in 'crisis', and about the 'hopelessness of its economic model'. We want the people to see that anti-communism is used as a means of disuniting and weakening the anti-imperialist, democratic forces, of keeping the countries of the continent dependent upon the transnational corporations. *Anti-communism is a brake on social development and a total negation of the ideals of freedom, equality, and brotherhood with which the bourgeoisie of the Old and New worlds appeared on the historical scene two centuries ago. Whatever its garb it cannot conceal its incompatibility with true democracy and social progress.* *

We have spoken of the changes in the political consciousness of Latin Americans. It is important to stress that more and more people are understanding the terrible danger overhanging humanity because of imperialism, that a nuclear war cannot be allowed to break out.

However, the questions that arise are: At what cost should this not be allowed? Does not the struggle to preserve peace relegate the attainment of revolutionary-liberative aims? Is not peaceful coexistence identical with

'social appeasement' on a global, regional, and national scale? It is not, of course, a matter of 'appeasing' an aggressor or succumbing to the imperialist threat. This would be unnatural. We have in mind the *necessity and possibility of avoiding wars, for the forces of militarism and reaction are opposed by the powerful potential of peace and progress*. In this context it would be appropriate to recall words spoken by Lenin at the Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets in 1920: "... We are winning over to our policy of peace a steadily increasing number of states which are undoubtedly hostile towards the Soviets."⁹

Nor is it a matter of 'social appeasement' in a society torn by class contradictions, *or of putting off the decision of the problems of national liberation and social emancipation. The decision of these problems is linked to the fulfilment of our internationalist duty, that of preserving and consolidating world peace. This is a cause of all the peoples of the planet, of all continents, and an imperative of our time.*

At Mikhail Gorbachov's meeting with a delegation of the Communist Party of Argentina led by Athos Fava last March it was emphasised that an immense responsibility devolves on the leadership of fraternal parties for accurately assessing the processes taking place in this or that country and in the world as a whole, for opportunely and accurately choosing the policy and tactics consistent with the requirements of the day. To a huge extent this is what now determines the destiny of socialism and national independence and the realisation of the potentialities of the working class and liberation movements. With this is linked the settlement of many global problems and the survival of civilisation.

There is only one reasonable and acceptable way of avoiding a nuclear cataclysm — peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and an international order in which the predominant factor is not military strength but good-neighbourly relations and cooperation.

The understanding that only concerted efforts based on international solidarity can bridle militarism and reaction has become the distinguishing feature of our day. The agenda of our region's political life advances the need not only for democratisation, for fundamental changes in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population, but for unity between the forces of national liberation and the forces of world social progress. *To stop the nuclear maniacs means to clear the way for a future of peace and freedom for humanity. We see this as the most significant distinction of the confrontation of the Latin American peoples with the forces of external and domestic reaction, as the historical continuation of the Great October Revolution and the Cuban and other liberative revolutions of the 20th century.*

¹ This pamphlet was written by Astrojildo Pereira, one of the founders of the Brazilian Communist Party.

² See A. Pereira, *A Formação do PCB*, Rio de Janeiro, 1962, p. 28.

³ See N. Werneck Sodré, *Contribuição à História do PCB*, São Paulo, 1984, p. 39.

⁴ See L. Paso, *História de los partidos políticos en la Argentina. 1900-1930*, Buenos Aires, 1983, pp. 457-459, 529-532.

⁵ A. Pereira, op. cit., p. 47. This congress was attended by nine persons representing over 70 members of communist groups in Brazil.

⁶ By the time the Seventh Comintern Congress (1935) was held the communist parties in the region had a numerical strength of 25,000, while by the time the Second World War broke out their numerical strength had risen to 90,000. With the revolutionary movement continuing to gain momentum after the victory over fascism, the number of Communists in Latin America exceeded 380,000 in 1947. At the 1975 conference in Havana the delegates represented 24 communist and workers' parties in Latin America and the Caribbean that had an aggregate membership of 600,000. Their ranks continue to grow.

⁷ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 472.

⁸ From the Spanish word meaning servility and treachery.

⁹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 488.

for human survival

The Communist View Of The Peace Movement

The WMR Commission on the Struggle for Peace and Democratic movements held an international seminar in Prague on 'The Developments of the Peace Movement in the 1980s and the Communists'. It was attended by representatives of the fraternal parties on the journal: **Ali Malki** (Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria), **Jose Maria Lanao** (CP Argentina), **Antonio Ribeiro Granja** (Brazilian CP), **Bert Ramelson** (CP Great Britain), **Duong Ngoc Ky** (CP Vietnam), **Roland Bauer** (SUPG), **Georg Kwiatowski** (German CP), **Mohammed Magdi Kamal** (Egyptian CP), **Unni Krishnan** (CP India), **Kadhim Habib** (Iraqi CP), **William Stewart** (CP Canada), **Francisco Gamboa** (People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica), **Antonio Diaz Ruiz** (CP Cuba), **Rafic Samhoun** (Lebanese CP), **Badamyn Lhamsuren** (Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party), **Hugo Campos** (Paraguayan CP), **Semou Pathe Geuye** (Senegal Party of Independence and Labour), **Ali Ahmed el Tayeb** (CP of the Sudan), **Ali Ileri** (CP Turkey), **Jose Lava** (CP of the Philippines), and **Joe Molefe** (South African CP) and by guests: **Brian Price**, Secretary of the International Trade Union Committee for Peace and Disarmament (Dublin Committee), **Vladimir Oryol**, First Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, and **Josef Krejci**, First Deputy Chairman of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee.

Below is a short survey of the proceedings at the seminar reflecting the main propositions and conclusions of those who took part in the discussion.

PARTICIPANTS in the seminar analysed the present situation and stated that the struggle against the nuclear threat, and for mankind's survival, is entering upon a new phase. There is evidence of a community of interests on the main issue, which affects the destinies of the present and coming generations: a nuclear catastrophe must be prevented. That is the humanistic platform on which there could be joint action by a wide spectrum of forces.

The specifics of this 'to be or not to be' period, speakers said, makes one take a fresh look at many traditional issues in the communist and working class movement and try to comprehend the prospects opened up for the Communists of the globe by the political line of the CPSU, the changing face of the USSR and world socialism as a whole, the growing social activity of the masses in various countries, and their urge to participate practically in governing social development.

Papers prepared for the seminar contained diverse information on this matter. They presented a general character of the present-day anti-war movement (**Vladimir Oryol**), the peculiarities of cooperation between the communist parties and their partners in the fight for peace in some countries (**Francisco Gamboa**, **Semou Pathe Gueye**, **Georg Kwiatowski**, **Unni Krishnan** and **William Stewart**), and a description of the actual situation and lines of contest between the peace forces and imperialism in various parts of the globe (**Duong Ngoc Ky**, **Badamyn Lhamsuren**, **Ali el Ahmed Tayeb**).

The discussion centred on how the Communists view their responsibility for the right theoretical assessment of the processes in their own country and in the world as a whole, and for timely and precise selection of political line and tactics in this critical period, when the human race is faced with the problem of self-annihilation or survival.

Special attention was given to the development of the peace movement and ways of enhancing its impact on public opinion and on political structures through the masses. All the participants in the seminar wanted to know how the communist parties take account of the specific features of the various regions in their practical activity, and what are the points on which they agree with their partners in the common struggle for peace.

New Thinking: What Does It Mean?

There was a lively exchange of views on the question of the new political thinking which was raised at the seminar. The new thinking, said **Vladimir Oryol** is not just a choice of some postulates or ready-made prescriptions for every occasion, but *an approach to analysing the actually existing problems and the search for effective solutions*. The point is to bring out and consider in due time the issues emerging in the process of social development and social struggles, and which require responses on the part of the Communists and the international communist movement as a whole. We all need to see phenomena as they are, soberly and without any illusions or attempts at wishful thinking. Boldness should be displayed in seeking solutions without futile dogmatism, and in discovering the unbeaten track in making the common cause a success.

But what does the new approach mean for Communists acting in different conditions?

The need to fight against the prospect of a nuclear apocalypse confronts the African peoples at least as stridently as it does the other peoples of the Earth, said **Semou Pathe Gueye**. Although Africa has a wealth of resources, it is that part of the world whose development prospects appear to be the dimmest. Hunger, the external debt, drought, illiteracy, social and cultural poverty, other natural and social calamities from which the peoples of the Third World have to suffer, keep assuming dramatic forms on our continent because of economic and social backwardness, technological underdevelopment and frequent waste of the available economic, intellectual and simply human potentialities. The message is that Africa has greater need than other continents of an international climate in which use can be made of its own resources and additional ones coming from mutually advantageous cooperation with other countries. In such a climate, the African peoples could raise the level of their economic, social and cultural development and strengthen independence, for a more effective contribution to mankind's peace and progress.

The slogan of mankind's survival is connected with the new thinking, said **Ali Ileri**. It helps to outline the framework of very broad alliances. But if the broad masses are to join in the struggle for peace, there is a need to reckon with the specifics of the individual countries, especially those where millions of people are dying of hunger and are being oppressed by dictatorships, which are no more than a camouflage of the power of the sinister forces of international reaction. Here, there are the most diverse aspects to the concept of 'survival', and it is broader than the urge to save man from nuclear death. It means a struggle for democracy and radical reforms, in defence of human dignity, and for a New International Economic Order.

In the LDCs, **Mohammed Magdi Kamal** went on, the approach to peace is largely determined by internal factors. There is a need to rebuff imperialism and neocolonialism, to do away with poverty and ignorance, hunger and backwardness, which worsen the condition of the peoples, and of this the masses are more aware than of the task of averting war and a nuclear catastrophe. It will take much effort to show the masses the interconnection between social development and the struggle for peace.

I am worried, said **Joe Molefe**, when I hear the same thing being said over and over again. This talk about the new thinking could become meaningless. Everyone now says: 'We favour the new thinking', but when they explain what it means, it turns out that 90 per cent consists of old views and notions. Idle talk about the importance of new approaches to the reality could do more harm than good. It is not correct to over-accentuate the specifics of the various regions. There are many people even in Europe who regard the struggle for peace through the prism of protest against apartheid and imperialist violence. They are becoming aware of the responsibility of imperialism because of its vicious bloody actions in South Africa, Nicaragua and the Middle East. Whenever we overrate the specifics, we at once run into a dead end.

New political thinking and new approaches are valuable in the formation

of alliances by various movements, but are especially important for the peace movement in the nuclear and space age, **Jose Lava** said. However, these do not mean that dialectical and historical materialist thinking is obsolete or inadequate. It is essentially directed against timid, narrow, sectarian and dogmatic thinking which repels potential allies, in favour of bold, imaginative, realistic creative and principled thinking which enables the building of the broadest coalition of reason, conscience and realism for peace, against war which can lead to nuclear holocaust.

While the realities of the various regions may differ, said **Jose Maria Lanao**, the general is everywhere combined with the particular. Now and again, we tend to give exceptional attention in our assessments to the latter, while ignoring the former, and vice versa, the result being an underestimation of the specific aspects. Both approaches tend to harm anti-war activity. The struggle for democracy, for social well-being, against imperialist interventions, and in support of the countries which fall victim to aggressions objectively helps to save mankind from a nuclear catastrophe. But we cannot say that the struggle for peace in Latin America must be confined only to these issues; after all, negative processes like the militarisation of space affect the interests of all the countries of the continent. Another pressing need is to ban nuclear weapons tests.

The point is, therefore, to reckon with the specifics of one's country and to mobilise the masses for the satisfaction not only of their particular (regional) demands, but also for general demands. That will be an effective contribution to the anti-war struggle.

The Communists of Latin America are fully aware of the need to act with a sense of responsibility and in the light of the whole spectrum of world political problems and not only of the realities in their own countries, said **Francisco Gamboa** and **Antonio Diaz Ruiz**. The situation in many countries on the continent accords with what was said in the CC Political Report to the 27th Congress of the CPSU: '... The balance of strength in the struggle against war is shaping in the course of an acute and dynamic confrontation between progress and reaction.' As our peoples clash sharply with imperialism, the Communists resolutely come out in defence of the Nicaraguan people's struggle, against the imperialist intervention, and support the activity of the Contadora Group working for negotiations. In El Salvador, the Communist Party and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front are carrying on a policy which is open for dialogue with the government. In Colombia, the Communists firmly observe the armistice agreement with the government, despite the gross provocations and crimes to which they have fallen victim. In Argentina, the movement for punishing military men who have committed grave crimes under the dictatorship has done much for the common struggle against militarism and repression in the region. The struggle everywhere for solving the external debt problem, which the Latin American Communists resolutely support, is exerting growing pressure on the US financial system, and could have an effect on the US military budget.

The new thinking, speakers said, signifies a broad approach to these phenomena, a rejection of sectarian attitudes, and work with everyone who can help to make the common cause — the preservation of peace — a

success. It was emphasised at a Conference of South American Communist Parties in Lima that 'action in defence of peace and the issue of mankind's survival are of concern to the widest social strata, to men and women who have altogether different religious beliefs and ideological views.'²

Our assumption is that the realities do reflect themselves in social consciousness, said **Georg Kwiatowski**. The peace movement in the FRG has assumed unprecedented proportions, because more and more people have come to realise the existence of a nuclear weapons arsenal that could destroy the Earth many times over. They have reached the conclusion that it is simply meaningless to stockpile new weapons since this makes it ever more difficult to control these weapons, and that tends rapidly to increase the threat to humanity. People are coming to realise that conventional weapons, too, now have a destructive force that is generally comparable to that of nuclear weapons. If it comes to the use of conventional weapons, chemical plants, factories, nuclear-power plants and other nuclear installations in a populous country, like the FRG, will be destroyed, so that even a 'conventional' war could have the same consequences as a chemical or nuclear war, even if these types of weapons are not actually used.

The tragedy at Chernobyl, the breakdowns at chemical plants at Bhopal (India) and in Western Europe have shown that that is precisely how things could actually happen, he went on. One should bear in mind that radioactive and chemical pollution knows no boundaries between states or continents. Everyone will be affected by the effects: the victims of aggression and its initiators, and even the neutral states not taking part in the conflict at all. That is why many are being convinced that in order to avert such a misfortune it is better to settle all controversial issues between states by peaceful means, and not through the use of weapons, which should be reduced and destroyed. Otherwise, there will be a catastrophe of such proportions that it will be impossible to distinguish the ashes of capitalism from the ashes of socialism, as the US economist John Kenneth Galbraith put it.

What speakers said showed that the new political thinking takes some time to sink in. It is the result of analysis and action not only by the Communists, but also by other social and political forces. The following could be regarded as the characteristic features of the new approach in the policy of ensuring peace:

First. An objective assessment of the historical period of development through which the world community as a whole and each individual country are now passing; a comprehension of this reality: in the nuclear-space age all the peoples can either perish or survive together.

Second. A recognition of the fact that peace is the priority value, and that the interests of mankind and of social progress are superior to national, bloc, class or narrow-group interests.

Third. The conviction that war between states, to say nothing of nuclear war, cannot settle any political problems; these need to be settled by peaceful means only, with respect for each people's right to self-determination.

Fourth. A refusal to regard the arms race as a means for strengthening national security; the perception that one's own security depends on the

security of the potential adversary; a switch to partnership with the adversary in disarmament and maintenance of world peace.

Fifth. A view of the peaceful coexistence of states belonging to the two opposite systems as a vital necessity; the contest between capitalism and socialism can proceed only in the forms of peaceful rivalry.

Hence the demands which life makes on all the peace forces, wherever they may be active. It is most important today *to know and foresee the trends in world development, to work out one's own alternatives to militarism, to be able to tie in national problems with global problems, to find new forms for resolving the contradictions for the benefit of peace and progress, and to be capable of mutual understanding and cooperation with everyone who is opposed to nuclear war.*

Who Are the Allies?

The participants in the seminar analysed the make-up of the peace movement today as a form of public stand and action, and noted its breadth, massiveness, pluralism, flexibility and ability to draw into its ranks new forces from among those which had traditionally ignored politics. It was said that in the capitalist countries members of the middle strata, with their petty-bourgeois ideology, and pacifists, have a significant role in the movement, although it is not very easy to cooperate with them. The anti-war protest by non-proletarian groups continues to be most unstable; it is influenced by changes in the political temperature which may carry it to extremes.

Here, objective and subjective factors have an influence. The concept of peace is *a complex one*, and has military, economic, political, social, cultural, moral and other aspects. Everyone who wants peace has his own notion of it, depending on his class and social origins, traditions, cultural conditions, etc. But there is something that unites the positions and standpoints of the various elements, and that, **Vladimir Oryol** said, is a reflection of the universal interest: having peace means preventing the outbreak of war, especially nuclear war, after which "there will be no problems, and there will be no one to sit down to some negotiation stump or stone, let alone table",³ as Mikhail Gorbachov picturesquely put it to the international forum 'For a Non-Nuclear World, for Mankind's Survival', which was held in Moscow. That is why the task which now has to be tackled collectively — the task of saving the globe and life from destruction — and ideological controversies bear no comparison.

In the face of the threat of nuclear catastrophe, said **Georg Kwiatowski**, ever broader circles of various classes and strata of the society display a readiness to stand up for peace out of different motivations, but their common goal is mankind's survival. That is the basis on which the working class joins together in action with other class forces, even with the big bourgeoisie, the exception being the extreme right-wing circles of the military-industrial complex.

That is exactly what has happened in the FRG, he went on. Bertholt Beitz, a member of the Krupp Board, for instance, has come out openly for disarmament, mutual understanding and normalisation of relations

between the socialist and the capitalist states. A peace initiative group was set up at a Krupp works, and its activists can find common ground with members of the board on détente and East-West cooperation. Their concord naturally ends when it comes to economic and social problems, such as jobs, higher wages, shorter hours, etc. The struggle for peace and mankind's survival does not invalidate or suspend working class action for its class goals and interests. One has to see that those are two different problems whose solution is sought by social forces with a different make-up.

In Turkey, a section of the monopoly bourgeoisie linked to imperialism, said **Ali Ileri**, is a potential ally of the peace forces, and its members also have a sense of responsibility for the existence of civilisation. When the authorities decided to set up a new NATO testing ground in Konya, resolute protests were voiced not only by local organisations of all the opposition parties and trade unions, but also by businessmen: the regional chamber of commerce and industry, and association of wealthy peasants and big landowners.

Our experience with US imperialism from its inception up to the present, with the dominance of the US military-industrial complex and transnational corporations, combined with our increasing realisation of the utter destructiveness of nuclear weapons, have broadened our horizons on the question of a peace coalition, **Jose Lava** went on. We regard as actual and potential allies all those honest elements who are and can be convinced that nuclear war is impermissible, and are willing to contribute to its prevention. These may include anti-communists and anti-Sovietists and even foreign and local class exploiters who are more concerned about the survival of humanity and its civilisation, than about their narrow class interests.

The 'imperialism — people' contradiction is an objective fact of life in the LDCs. Imperialism treads on the interests of the ruling classes of these countries as well. This provides the basis for a near-national consensus behind India's foreign policy, said **Unni Krishnan**. The Communists have worked for it for a long time. US imperialism has posed a threat to the very stability of the Indian state. This, and the people's concern for peace, security in the region, and defence of national sovereignty have impelled the Rajiv Gandhi government to pursue the present anti-imperialist foreign policy course. There are, of course, elements in the bureaucracy and the bourgeois political formations, including the ruling Indian National Congress (INC) who are opposed to this policy. The Communists are striving to unite all the patriotic, anti-imperialist left and democratic forces to rebuff the threat to the unity of the country, to beat back terrorism in Punjab, and defeat the game of instigating internecine religious-fundamentalist, communal and chauvinistic conflicts. With this aim in view, the CPI is seeking a dialogue with all such sections, be they members of the ruling INC, or bourgeois opposition parties, or other left or democratic parties and organisations.

Forces which had been on the sidelines of the peace movement are now joining in the fight against war and militarisation of space, primarily scientists and physicians, and numerous other peace initiative groups

formed on the occupational principle or range of interests. They have all brought to the discussion their common and specific experience and conclusions bearing out the need for disarmament, and showing the harm of nuclear armaments and SDI. Discussions by members of the same professions are highly important for their joint political action; experience shows that people will listen above all to the views of well-known scientists, those who are competent in their field.

The peace-making activity of the churches and various religious communities has also been intensified. Millions of young people and women, feminist organisations and other political bodies and interest associations are now taking part in the peace movement, which includes realistically-minded elements among the ruling parties. It means that there are now greater chances of setting up a broad coalition of reason and peace.

Approach to the Pacifists

This aspect was raised in the papers presented to the seminar and in the course of the discussion. **Vladimir Oryol** said that there must now be a different attitude to the pacifists as compared with that of the past. For a long time, Lenin's idea that pacifism is a means for duping the working class,³ an idea he expressed during the flare-up of World War I, formed our basically negative attitude to pacifism. It has now changed and has ceased to be an expression of passive protest, but is rather an expression of militant anti-war protest. The facts show that many pacifism-minded people have spent months blocking military bases, take part in demonstrations and engage in vigorous action. It means that our attitude to them must also change. Indeed, we ourselves have, in a sense, turned out to be pacifists.

What was the main difference with the pacifists? They rejected — and continue to reject to this day — all war out of hand. We, for our part, have drawn and continue to draw a distinction between just and unjust wars, revolutionary and counter-revolutionary wars. Let us ask ourselves this question: can the test of justice be applied to a nuclear war if it means universal annihilation?

Nuclear war is absolutely inadmissible, and that is why we reject it unreservedly, he said. No one can win a nuclear war: all will lose. Nothing can justify mankind's annihilation. Here we find a common platform with the pacifists. It would be a mistake on our part to continue giving a negative meaning to 'pacifism' in our publications or discussions, for that would mean dividing, instead of strengthening, the alliance of the peace forces.

Pacifist ideology is quite another thing. It denies that war and policy of violence have a class content, and makes no distinction between those who are right and those who are wrong, and whence the threat. We do not accept that view, but ideological differences are no obstacle to the closest cooperation with various pacifist trends in the struggle for peace and against the nuclear threat.

I agree that the Communists could conclude alliances with everyone fighting against the danger of nuclear war, and for preserving life on the

Earth, said **Mohammed Magdi Kamal**. That includes the pacifists. But we have differences with them when it comes to local, regional wars sparked off by imperialist aggression. The pacifists condemn any kind of armed struggle. But the fact is that in some situations we have to take up arms in order to liberate our country from invaders or to defend it against aggression. The issue of just and unjust wars is most sensitive for those of us who live in the Arab countries, in the Middle East, where Israel's aggression and occupation of foreign lands continue, and where we call on the peoples to defend their country by every means, including the use of arms. We do not rule out any peaceful settlement of Middle East problems with the participation of all the parties concerned, but we are firmly opposed to any deals on any terms.

Joe Molefe dealt with yet another aspect of the problem. In the course of our struggle against racism and apartheid we have acquired experience in cooperating with pacifists in South Africa and elsewhere. But we do not say that we are pacifists. After all, their approach is, in principle, non-violent: if anyone smacks you on the right cheek, you should offer him the other. We must have means to retaliate if we are attacked. That is why we cannot liken ourselves to the pacifists as one of the speakers claimed.

I think that all of us see the difference between Communists and pacifists, said **Roland Bauer**, but we must not regard that as being of paramount importance, especially now that there is a need to avert a nuclear catastrophe which would put an end to everything. The Communists, I feel, should welcome the fact that so many pacifists are involved in the peace movement. By cooperating with them we are moving away the threat and doing everything so that it should not be necessary to turn either the one cheek or the other. Never before in the past have we had such a wide spectrum of identical views. I think that is due not only to changes in the pacifist platform, but also to an evolution of our own views.

When it comes to survival and our common destinies, said **Georg Kwiatowski**, we must cooperate with everyone who is against war, and for disarmament and lasting peace. We regard our partners as a most important force that is essentially anti-imperialist. Our views, which are not pacifist in any sense, largely coincide with their vital propositions. We do have ideological differences on some issues, but it is not ideology that is in the forefront; it is common struggle and joint actions to remove the threat to mankind's self-annihilation.

Today, it was said at the seminar, *the Soviet programme for nuclear and chemical disarmament by 2000, the development of the Reykjavik process, and the Delhi Declaration on the principles for creating a nuclear-weapons-free and non-violent world open up fresh prospects for cooperation before the anti-war movement*. Real possibilities have been appearing to enlarge its base and to enhance the public impact on policy in order to check the arms race, 'humanise international relations', and put humanistic ideals and principles into practice. The platform of human ideals can give the anti-war movement its 'second wind' and ensure mutual understanding and close cooperation between the broad political and social forces fighting for peace.

The Role of the Working Class and the Trade Unions

Participants in the seminar stressed the cardinal significance of broader involvement of the working class and stronger ties with the trade unions for successfully advancing the peace movement.

They noted as a positive factor that considerable changes have taken place in the social democratic approach to the peace movement over the past several years. Social democracy has started to re-think and alter its old stand and has begun to support the movement's basic demands. It has already disapproved of the deployment of new US nuclear missiles in Western Europe. Now, action in defence of peace is not rejected, and Social Democrats on the level of their official leadership are being urged to take part in such action. The militarisation of space through the 'star wars' programme has been firmly condemned. Social Democrats want partnership in security and urge a return to the policy of détente. There has been a wide response to the joint demand by the Social Democratic Party of Germany, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for a nuclear-free corridor in Europe and a zone free from chemical weapons.

Such shifts provide greater opportunities for strengthening and advancing the peace movement, but one obstacle is that an influential social democratic section continues to take an anti-communist stand and claims that the 'two superpowers' are equally responsible for the arms race and the growing threat of war. That is having an adverse effect on the positions of the trade unions in which Social Democrats are influential.

The future of the anti-war movement, **Vladimir Oryol** said, largely depends on the role of the working class within it. As a class, it has not yet had its final say in the non-socialist countries. Until it joins in the peace movement with all its own methods and forms of struggle, one can hardly expect any definitive success.

That view caused a lively discussion at the seminar with speakers expressing both pros and cons.

We are all well aware, said **Antonio Ribeira Granja**, that the working class has yet to take due action in the peace movement. This matter requires circumstantial analysis of the level of development and condition of the working class in the industrial capitalist countries, on the one hand, and in the LDC's, on the other. I feel, he said, that the working class tends to fight primarily against what could be called the enemy within: hunger, poverty and indigence. "Men must be in a position to live in order to be able to 'make history'. But life involves before everything else eating and drinking, housing, clothing, and various other things." There is the widest response within the working class movement in Brazil to all the issues relating to the struggle for peace, but in practice it is much weaker than working class action for priority social demands. The problem is to find the instrument to awaken within the working class in our country a sense of the need for active struggle for peace.

I cannot agree that the working class is not having a great impact on the peace movement, **Bert Ramelson** objected. If that were truly so, the situation would have to be seen as an extremely grave one. One could say

that trade union participation in peace actions is not sufficiently broad.

The working class and the trade unions have not fully joined in the struggle for peace, said **Georg Kwiatowski**. But in my view, great and positive shifts have taken place here as well. There has not been a single trade union congress in the FRG which failed to pass a resolution in support of disarmament. The majority came out against the SDI and for the elimination of nuclear weapons, and almost all the congresses approved decisions to take part in mass actions (thus, September 1 has been designated as the Day of Trade Union Action for peace) and in the Easter marches in some parts of the country. There are peace initiative groups at about 400 enterprises. The scale of their work is, of course, not yet large, but trade union leaders and members of factory representative bodies are taking part in these groups. They carry on explanatory work at their enterprises to show the interconnection between the economic and social needs of the working class and détente. I would take, he said, a more differentiated approach to the role of the trade unions, since the situation differs from one country to another.

Unni Krishnan, Brian Price and **William Stewart** supported that view, and gave examples of wide participation by national and international unions in the struggle for peace. Their anti-war activity, they said, goes to create the conditions for the joint action by all the peace forces. The problem is to tap more fully the anti-war potential of almost 500 million unionised men and women throughout the world. The militancy of the working class movement and its resistance to militarisation largely depend on the Communists' activity in the midst of the working masses.

Communist Parties' Stand and Action

Much attention was given at the seminar to the distinctions of the struggle for peace in various regions. It tends to run a different course in Europe as compared with that in Asia, and in Africa, as compared to that in the Middle East or Latin America. Peace movements differ essentially from each other in various parts of the globe and groups of countries: socialist, developed capitalist and less developed countries. That is the effect not only of the different political and social conditions in which the anti-war struggle proceeds. There are different perceptions among its participants of the interconnection between global, regional and national aspects of the problem of preserving peace and helping mankind to survive.

That being so, *the Communists face greater demands*. Each party is, of course, responsible above all to its own people, but in the nuclear-missile age the framework of its responsibility tends to widen. All the peace forces are confronted with one common enemy: imperialism. It is the internationalist duty of the Communists to mobilise the masses in fighting against imperialism in each country to limit its potentialities for meddling in the affairs of others and for using force against the freedom-loving peoples, and to halt the nuclear and conventional arms race it has started.

The Lebanese Communist Party, **Rafic Samhoun** emphasised, rejects both the separation of the struggle for peace from the national realities and the battle against imperialism and for social progress, and the approach of

those who insist that it is up to the peoples of the great powers and the allied countries of the two opposed alignments in Europe to remove the nuclear threat. We do not believe that the problem of ensuring world peace has been imposed on the Arabs from outside, although broad masses in our countries have yet to become fully aware of the problem. When mobilising the masses, uniting them and convincing them that nuclear war can be averted, our party seeks to raise the struggle for peace to the level of present-day requirements, as all the peace forces, all those who want to survive, have been trying to do. We do not see the end of the civil war in Lebanon as coming from the 'Camp David peace process', but from the country's territorial integrity, democratic guarantees for continued political struggle, and a realistic programme for settling the national crisis as the basis for a dialogue between all the Lebanese.

Participants in the seminar wanted to know what the communist parties were doing to develop the peace movement in their own countries. Here are a few examples.

In *Senegal*, the Communists want the removal of French military bases, the disruption of secret agreements with the USA and NATO and an end to the use of Dakar as a ferrying point for imperialist aggressions.

In the *FRG*, the Communist Party is carrying on a signature collection drive for the Peace Charter, which is later to be put as a bill before the Bundestag. Together with the other forces, the Communists want the country to keep out of 'star wars' preparations, and the removal of US nuclear missiles from its territory.

The Communist Party of the *Sudan*, in the underground period, did everything to frustrate the programme for militarising the country and turning it into a US imperialist bridgehead at the interface of the African and Arab regions.

The *South African* Communist Party has pointed out the fact that the arsenals of Pretoria's racist regime are being filled with nuclear weapons developed in collaboration with Israel.

In *Costa Rica*, the Communists joined their partners in the peace movement to initiate a wide campaign of protest against the US military preparations on the country's territory for use as a base to attack Nicaragua.

In *Canada*, the Communist Party has actively supported actions by peace fighters against the testing of US cruise missiles on Canadian soil, and for the abrogation of military agreements with the Pentagon.

In *Great Britain*, the Communists have helped to develop the movement for nuclear-free towns, a movement which already involves over 250 municipal councils.

In *India*, the Communist Party has concentrated its efforts to build up the peace movement into a united mass movement in support of and for the strengthening of the anti-imperialist foreign policy of the country, for the defence of India's sovereignty and integrity. It has sought to organise a specific campaign to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, against the imperialist arming of Pakistan, and for improving Indian-Pakistani relations towards peace, friendship and cooperation.

Together with the peace movement, the trade unions and other public

bodies, the CP *Greece* has mounted a nationwide campaign under this slogan: "Away With the Bases, Down With Nuclear Armaments, End Nuclear Tests!" That call was signed by more than one million Greeks.

In *Indochina*, the Communists have been working hard for stabilising the situation, developing good-neighbour relations in the region and turning it into zone of peace, together with the peoples and states which are members of ASEAN.

When discussing the forms and methods of the anti-war struggle, speakers noted that the peace forces have yet to exert an influence on the political structures. How is the will of the peoples for peace to be transformed into concrete government action? That is a question with which all the participants in the anti-war movement are concerned. Despite the mass demonstrations in Western Europe, the parliaments have, after all, approved the deployment of US missiles. That US-imposed act gave visible confirmation of the crisis of bourgeois democracy. But the Communists have failed to make full use of that fact in their explanatory work.

Nevertheless, **Vladimir Oryol** claimed, the contradiction between the popular majority opinion and the acts of Western ruling circles, which was exposed not only on the missile issue, had a peculiar effect. The anti-war movement began *a search for new ways to make the authorities take political decisions for disarmament*. Something like a peace lobby is being shaped, and it is engaged in working out measures alternative to the arms race, and trying to carry them through the 'corridors of power'. In broader terms, it is the formulation of conceptions of nuclear-free defence, projects for international control to monitor observance of agreements, doctrines of unprovocative defence, and so on.

Should one assume in this case, asked **Rafic Samhoun**, that mass action as a means of pressuring the authorities has proved to be ineffective?

How meaningful is it today?

The time for mass demonstrations has far from passed, said **Vladimir Oryol**, and they have an ever greater role to play. The peace lobby will find itself impotent in their absence. Massive demonstrations continue to be the most spontaneous, understandable and acceptable form in which masses of people express their will. Peace fighters in Western countries are quite right when they say: "If I stay at home, how will the government know that I am against the nuclear threat?" That is a telling argument in the dialogue with those who have not yet joined in the struggle for peace.

Every opportunity should be taken to influence the ruling circles, said **Semou Pathe Gueye**. We have managed, for instance, to obtain an audience with the President to find out his view of the USSR's peace proposals. The manner in which we presented Mikhail Gorbachov's initiatives forced the President to declare that they are truly good, and that Senegal has no problems in cooperating with the socialist countries. That is also an important argument for our contacts with those who take their lead from imperialist propaganda and assume that all evil in the world comes from socialism.

The development of the mass struggle for peace is inseparable from the influence of socialism on public opinion. In this context, **Kadhim Habib**

raised the question of mass participation in peace actions in the socialist countries. **Vladimir Oryol** told of the development of the anti-war movement in the Soviet Union, and admitted that at one time there was much formalism in this work. It was assumed that historical experience gives Soviet people the immunity of hatred for war, so that there is no need to organise mass action for peace. But generations which have not experienced war have come on the scene; war issues have become more complicated; and people are now much better informed. All of that called for frank discussion, respect and serious conversations at home, including military-political problems.

The new thinking helped to take a fresh view of the 'détente from below' conception, which some people in our country used to regard as just 'another ideological subversion by imperialism'. But the facts show that foreigners visiting the Soviet Union have their strongest impressions from meetings and conversations with people in the street, who feel no sense of enmity for other peoples. The USSR's image was often shattered precisely for those who had sincerely believed that every Soviet citizen is just raring to declare war and suppress democracy in the West. That is why we believe that it is highly important to involve the greatest number of our citizens in the anti-war movement.

Czechoslovak public opinion, said **Josef Krejci**, acts on the assumption that if a broad coalition of reason and peace is to be created, one should look for allies wherever they may be and where the conditions for doing so exist. We have recently done much to expand our contacts with various movements, and not only with those which agree on all points, from first to last.

We are prepared to carry on discussions, to set forth our fundamental standpoint and to hear out even those who make anti-Soviet statements, said **Vladimir Oryol**. But the point is not only to be able to hear, but to hear out what the opponent says. Not everything the opponent says always appears to be absolutely wrong. Experience shows that many ideas from the midst of the anti-war movement, which at first looked suspicious and were simply brushed off, turned out to be highly valuable and useful, such as the idea of 'survival' and the term itself. Thus, the Communists' experience also consists in new approaches to *mutual understanding* and the working out of a *common* platform within the ranks of the peace movement. Dialogue between partners with an equal right to peace and life is becoming the one and only effective way to rapprochement.

Badamyn Lhamsuren recalled the role of socialism and other anti-war forces in shaping a security system in Asia. An important element in this trend is the joint action and statements by members of parliament, trade unions, youth and other public bodies in countries on the continent. The interests of preserving peace and averting a nuclear war are superior to any disagreements between individual communist parties of Asia. That is why the MPRP has been working actively to prepare and hold a consultative meeting of Communists from the Asian-Pacific region on security problems.

The answer to the question of what kind of functions the Communists have in the anti-war struggle is provided by life itself, it was said at the

seminar. The communist parties have a unifying role and help to involve other political and social forces in the peace movement. Thus, until 1982-1983, the CP India (Marxist) took a fairly reserved attitude to the Indian peace movement, but discussions, persuasion and our flexible stand induced it to assume a more active role in the peace struggle, **Unni Krishnan** said. The 'Marxist' Communist Party is now actively involved in the actions on Peace Day (September 1), and has lately joined the organised peace movement represented by the All-India Peace and Solidarity Organisation. Again, it is our party's efforts that have brought into the peace movement other political elements belonging to bourgeois political parties, such as the Janata Party, Lok Dal, and to several regional political formations.

The Communists, it was said at the seminar, are a part of the peace movement and act within it for equality and cooperation in partnership. They reject anyone's right to lay claims to leadership and have won authority by their initiative and vigorous activity in the movement. Objectives, slogans and forms of joint action can be decided upon only in a common effort. In the struggle for peace, the Communists insist on putting forward demands which have broad support from their partners.

Speakers noted that the communist parties want *to see the utmost expansion of the peace movement, and the greatest possible unanimity on a diverse spectrum of joint and parallel actions by the various forces*. While respecting the political motivations, and the ideological and organisational independence of their partners, they expect them to reciprocate. On the other hand, they have not given up the exposition of their own views on the complicated issues, such as the social sources and causes of war and the arms race, the flimsiness of the concept that the two superpowers bear equal responsibility, and the myth of some kind of threat from the East.

The Communists have worked in various sectors of the peace struggle and have enriched the movement with their knowledge and experience, and have themselves received new ideas. Cooperation with those who have different ideological and political views requires more vigorous ideological and political work among party members. It is, after all, not only the Communists who carry their ideas into the peace movement. A similar process tends to run in reverse as well. The communist parties want the democratic movement to be as broad as possible, speakers said, and believe that it is advisable to opt for the forms of struggle which best help to expand these movements and the growth of awareness and a readiness for action among broad circles of the people, the working class in the first place. The Communists believe that *the most radical form of resisting war is that which has involved the masses*.

¹ Mikhail Gorbachov, *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Moscow, 1986, p. 83.

² *Voz* (Colombia), December 18, 1986.

³ *Pravda*, February 17, 1987.

⁴ See V. I Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 162.

⁵ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, pp. 41-42.

Never Forget!

Physicians Against Nuclear Genocide

Academician *Moritz Mebel* — CC member, Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG)

IN the nuclear-space age, war can no longer be a continuation of politics by other means, because it poses a threat to mankind's very existence. The few people who would miraculously survive would be hurled back into the Stone Age, provided the globe remained intact after a nuclear catastrophe. In this sense it can be compared with genocide or with a grotesque and final epidemic. How true is such a comparison? Let us look at the facts.

The A-Bomb which was known in the United States as Baby and which was detonated over Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, had terrible medical, biological and ecological consequences. The combined effect of the shock wave, the light, heat and ionising radiation led to the death of almost 80,000 inhabitants of the city's 350,000 within the first twenty-four hours. Towards the end of 1945, the number of dead had gone up to 140,000, or roughly 40 per cent of the inhabitants. Only 10,000 of them were military men, the rest were all civilians. Before the A-bombing of Hiroshima, it had almost 76,000 buildings. Two-thirds of these were turned to rubble, and many of those left standing were badly damaged.

Those were the immediate results of the nuclear nightmare, but that was not the end of it. Most of those who had experienced the A-bombing and who were still feeling fairly well at the end of 1945 later developed numerous ailments, some of them caused by the after-effects of radiation, mainly in the form of blood disease and malignant tumours. People continued to die years later, and some are still dying today.

The results of the explosion of a single A-bomb are not some flight of the imagination, but are a part of the hard scientific record, and are completely identical with the events following the second US nuclear attack on Nagasaki on August 9, 1945.

The first two atomic killers had a most primitive design as compared with nuclear warheads today. Baby was three metres long and weighed about four tons; it had an explosive force of 12 kilotons (12,000 tons of TNT). Nowadays, a US nuclear warhead will fit into an artillery shell, weighs 50 kilograms, and has an explosive force of 350 kilotons (350,000 tons of TNT), which means that it is 80 times lighter but 29 times more devastating than the Hiroshima bomb.

The nuclear powers have now stockpiled nuclear arsenals with a total explosive force of roughly 20,000 megatons (one megaton equals 1,000 kilotons), which is equivalent to 1.5 million Hiroshima bombs. The world

Moritz Mebel was born in 1923; he has been a member of the Communist Party since 1943, and a member of the SUPG CC since 1986; he is a world-renowned urologist, a professor and doctor of medical science. Since 1983 he has been chairman of the GDR Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.

now has a population of about five billion, which makes it more than four tons of TNT per head. Over 6,000 World War IIs (when 'only' three megatons of explosives were used) could be fought with the available nuclear weapons, while one US strategic B-52 bomber is capable of delivering nuclear warheads with a greater explosive force than that of all the munitions exploded in all the wars throughout human history.

The imperialist powers, led by the United States, have been spiralling the arms race on the Earth and want to get it out into space. They have set in motion a mammoth propaganda machine presenting Reagan's SDI as a humane project as a means of defence against the nuclear threat, etc., a project which it is claimed would eventually lead to nuclear disarmament. SDI could cost as much as \$3 trillion.

In contrast to the arms race, which is being stepped up by imperialism 'along every azimuth', the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty countries have put forward a well-conceived and realistic programme for phasing out nuclear weapons by the year 2000. They have done their utmost to prevent the militarisation of space and have kept coming up with new major initiatives on disarmament. The Warsaw Treaty countries back the principle of the equal security of states, and have displayed a bold, novel and flexible approach and a readiness for reasonable compromise in order to escape from the absurd and mortally dangerous arms race. That is our, communist, view of humanism and of basic human interests. *The socialist community's urge to assure all the people of life and health, a secure world and a living worthy of man is the very essence of socialism, and the whole point of its external political philosophy and activity.*

One should always bear in mind those facts and figures, if one is to understand which way the policy of imperialism is leading: a World War III with the use of nuclear and possibly space weapons, a conflict that would not be a mere fight between belligerent nations, *but a war against all the peoples of the Earth, against civilisation, against man's habitat.*

This 'quiet' war is essentially under way, because the arms race is already killing human beings without any shots fired. One child and two adults die in the world every second from hunger or infectious diseases. Two billion men and women are forced to drink water that is unfit for human consumption, and that is the cause of 80 per cent of all disease in the LDCs; 27.8 per cent of the world's population cannot read or write. The list could go on and on, and that at a time when almost \$1 trillion is being wasted on armaments every year. Let us say, by way of comparison, that the annual budget of the World Health Organisation is equivalent to worldwide military spending for only three hours. Is it right to accept, for instance, that roughly one in 350 inhabitants of the Earth is a soldier, and only one in 3,700, a doctor? In the light of these facts it is clear, I think, why physicians have now begun to act vigorously against war. After all, they have always had a special responsibility for human life and health, a responsibility stemming from their code of medical ethics known as the Hippocratic Oath, which enjoins them to do their utmost for the good of their patients.

But it takes more than professional knowledge to act in that way. As a citizen and a member of the society, the physician has no right to retire into

the ivory tower of 'pure science', to confine himself to saving the lives of a few persons, while watching indifferently as mankind slides down to nuclear disaster. Not all physicians are, regrettably, guided by these principles, but that also applies to members of other, less humanistic professions. History shows that human thinking has seldom been capable of perceiving the great demands of a rapidly changing world in due time and of responding accordingly.

But physicians aware of their social responsibility have long pointed out that *the problems facing them can be solved only by commingling sound professionalism and social activity*. Such approach was advocated by Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902), a German physician and public leader whose activity was of epochal significance for science. At the end of the 19th century he wrote: "If medicine is truly to fulfil its great tasks, it must intrude into the big political and social life." Virchow vigorously opposed war, with its two other apocalyptic agents of destruction: famine and pestilence. That is why he urged the disarmament of armies and tried to prevent the Franco-German War of 1870-1871 through negotiations with French advocates of peace.

The ideas propounded by Virchow and other progressive physicians are still valid today; indeed, if anything, they are even more valid today.

In a rapidly worsening international situation, three Soviet and three US physicians got together in Geneva in December 1980. The group of US physicians was led by the cardiologist, Professor Dr. Bernard Lown of Harvard University, and the Soviet group, by Academician Yevgeny Chazov, Director of the Institute of Cardiology of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Moscow, and now the USSR Minister of Public Health. Lown, Chazov and their institutions had cooperated professionally since 1960, but they met in Geneva for another purpose: to agree on starting a movement known as the *International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War* (IPPNW). Their anti-war cooperation was based on the Hippocratic Oath, by which physicians must be guided, regardless of the geographical region, state or social system they work in, or their political or religious tenets. Five principles were agreed at the meeting, and this became the foundation of the IPPNW movement:

- it is to focus its activity on opposing nuclear war;
- physicians take part in it in the light of their professional duty, which is to protect human health and life;
- the movement is to be worldwide and open to all physicians;
- it is to inform the peoples and their governments of the consequences, notably of the medical consequences, of nuclear war;
- while taking steps to prevent nuclear war, the movement is to remain neutral and to abstain from criticising any government.

The idea was that the IPPNW would have a mobilising effect on their colleagues and patients and, through them, on broad strata of the population, because the authority of physicians in dealing with such problems is exceptionally high.

The First (constituent) Congress of the IPPNW was held near Washington in March 1981, and was attended by 70 physicians from 12 countries. The news that a representative Soviet delegation was attending

the congress to discuss with colleagues from the United States, Europe and Japan the medical aspects of a nuclear conflict left a strong impression on US and world opinion.

Before the movement was five years old, it was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in December 1985, and the citation said, in particular, that the movement had brought much expertise to its explanatory work to make the public at large become aware of the disastrous consequences of nuclear war. That was both an important contribution to opposing the arms race and a boost to the efforts to switch military spending to the needs of public health care and other peaceful purposes.

The IPPNW now has more than 160,000 members and has national sections in 60 countries. Its development has evidenced a noteworthy evolution from important but still purely descriptive studies of the negative effect of man's continued and dangerous coexistence with nuclear weapons (psychological effects, especially on children, youth and old people) and studies of the immediate and remote effects of a nuclear conflict, to *energetic practical actions in various forms*, such as the involvement of physicians and all other men of goodwill in the fight against the arms race on the Earth, and for the prevention of its spread to space. Accordingly, October 1 has been designated by the IPPNW since 1984 as International Day of Physicians' Struggle Against Nuclear War, with special emphasis on ending nuclear tests as is clearly formulated in what is known as 'Doctor's prescription', adopted at the Fifth Congress in Budapest in 1985. Bernard Lown said the nuclear tests moratorium was the "*medical prescription for peace*", while the US Physicians for Social Responsibility (a section of the IPPNW) has turned this issue into a subject of mass discussion and a vigorous anti-war campaign by physicians from the United States and other Western countries.

The national sections carry on diverse activities, depending to be sure, on whether or not the governments of the various countries do more than talk about averting a nuclear catastrophe. Cooperation on the national and international levels of the movement with other professional and public bodies sharing a sense of responsibility for preserving world peace has been growing stronger. Significant work has been done, in particular, by physicians within non-governmental organisations of the United Nations and its specialised agencies. What is of great importance is that members of national sections speak at many major medical congresses.

The IPPNW section in the GDR, which was set up in 1982, has pointed out from the outset that it would be quite wrong to reduce its tasks to collecting sociological data and scientifically grounded conclusions on the devastating effects of the use of nuclear weapons. We feel that the *IPPNW's main thrust is mobilising, in the light of well-proven facts, thoroughly considered acts by physicians and by the population, through them, for an active struggle in various forms against the nuclear arms race, for a transfer of the money going into the preparation of war to badly needed aid to LDCs and environmental protection* (concrete projects are already to hand and others are being worked out).

GDR physicians, for instance, have been studying the impact of the nuclear threat and the arms race on the mentality of children and young

people. We have cooperated with members of other professions in formulating a full-scale programme to enlighten teenagers and young people in all the country's schools concerning the causes behind the build-up of armaments, their effects on human life and the functioning of ecological systems, and the need to join efforts to prevent a nuclear catastrophe. The news media, including the dailies of all the parties in our republic within the National Front, the Free German Youth and the trade unions regularly publish items on the activity of the IPPNW at home and abroad. Church publications have also carried reports on its actions. The medical newspaper *Humanitas*, and a weekly dealing with pressing medical problems, and other publications have done much to spread scientific knowledge about the hazards of nuclear war and to acquaint the public with the tasks and measures organised by our national section (debates, symposia, conferences, photo-exhibitions, meetings with foreign guests, etc.).

GDR physicians have focussed their anti-war activity on the prevention of a nuclear clash in Central Europe, where it is most likely to occur due to the world's largest concentrations of nuclear weapons in the area. In view of the density of the population in this part of the continent — one of the most ancient seats of human civilisation — the effects of a conflict here would be especially devastating. That is why we have most actively supported and spread knowledge of the proposals to reduce the level of nuclear confrontation in the heart of Europe and eventually to set up a nuclear-free zone or corridor in the area. The Soviet Union's initiatives aimed to rid our continent of medium-range and shorter-range missiles are of the utmost significance for this process, for a relaxation of tensions and for a strengthening of collective security.

We are broadly involved in international exchanges of delegations to gain a better knowledge of the anti-war effort by our colleagues abroad, and to give them an idea of our own various efforts. I would note in this context, for instance, a tour of the GDR by a group of US and Soviet physicians led by Professor Sidney Alexander (USA) and Academician Trapeznikov (USSR), in preparation for the Sixth World Congress of the IPPNW, which was held in Cologne in May 1986. It was highly useful for both sides to have those numerous meetings between our guests and physicians and medical students at our institutes and medical colleges, with their face-to-face conversations and contacts, and exchanges of experience with the presidium of our national section.

All GDR physicians prepared to oppose nuclear war can join our movement. We believe that our primary task is to involve all those who work in our public health service (almost 58,000 persons), and to exert, through them, an active influence on the population of our country so as to mobilise it for solving today's key problem. It is encouraging to see medical students and young doctors, most of them members of the Free German Youth, joining willingly in our movement. We feel that their participation is most important, because conscious activity by young people is the pledge of a peaceful and nuclear-free future.

Here is an example. A special forum on the work of our movement was held within the framework of the Fourth National Scientific Conference of

Students and Young Doctors, which was held at the Karl Marx University in Leipzig last March. It was attended for the first time by representatives of all the district committees of the Free German Youth for an exchange of experience. They discussed the principles, tasks, and forms of work of the IPPNW and mapped out ways for doing more within it. There was soon a positive response to the results, conclusions and recommendations of the meeting and their application at GDR medical institutions: classes, student circles, theses and youth meetings.

There was much diverse preparation in all the medical institutions and colleges for the Seventh World Congress of the IPPNW (Moscow, end of May). Thus, the youth group of our national section, led by Dr Karen Reimer, put together and sent to the congress a mobile photo exhibit on the life and activity of Albert Schweitzer, a leading German thinker and physician well known for his anti-war activity. Wall papers and pamphlets dealt with the topic of 'Medical Students Against Nuclear War', while young medical personnel held meetings and conversations on important problems facing the movement. We have turned out placards, drawings, stickers, postage stamps and other similar materials.

If the international and national movements of the IPPNW succeed through joint and concerted action with all the peace-loving organisations and movements of the globe in winning the hearts and minds of its inhabitants, this mighty force will certainly make government leaders take the way of dialogue, détente and disarmament. An effective worldwide coalition of reason and goodwill must be created. It is no easy task, but it is the only alternative if mankind is to escape incineration in the searing flames of a nuclear war.

the party

Meeting of CC Secretaries of Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries

FROM May 12 to 13, 1987, a meeting of the Central Committee secretaries for organisational work of the communist and workers' parties of socialist countries took place in Bucharest. It was attended by delegates from the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Cuba, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Romanian Communist Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of

Vietnam, and also by an observer from the Workers' Party of Korea. A *WMR* representative took part in the meeting.

The conferees had an extensive exchange of views and experience on ways of upgrading organisational political work and improving the activities of party bodies and organisations with a view to raising Communists' responsibility for the fulfilment of the resolutions of the congresses of their parties on socio-economic development and the extension of socialist democracy.

The delegates stressed the importance of the decisions taken by the congresses of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries and exchanged information on the practical efforts and priorities of their parties in carrying out these decisions and the programmes and plans of their countries' socio-economic development. They noted the remarkable progress made by the socialist countries under the leadership of their parties in building the new social system, and the diversity of their experience and of the concrete ways, means and forms of fulfilling the ever more complex tasks facing the socialist countries at the current stage.

In view of the need further to promote the leading political role of the communist and workers' parties in building socialism and communism, and in society as a whole, speakers laid emphasis on the importance of upgrading organisational political work and improving the activity of party bodies and organisations through the creative development of Marxism-Leninism with due regard for the imperatives of the current stage of building socialism in each country at the time of the scientific and technological revolution, and also of increasing their role in all economic, political and social affairs and their contribution to the accomplishment of the goals set by the parties. They stressed the decisive importance of political and organisational work, which is directed to marshalling all efforts and implementing the parties' general policies and national socio-economic development plans. Much importance is attached to each party's ability to form a critical estimate of its own work and constantly renew its democratic ways and means of organisation and leadership so as to contribute to the worldwide growth of the prestige and appeal of socialism.

The parties represented at the meeting made extensive expositions of their experience in improving the forms, style and methods of organisational work, heightening the responsibility of Communists for consistently implementing party resolutions and abiding by the laws of their countries, enhancing the effective participation of every Communist in practical work in accordance with his or her abilities, training and expertise, and more efficient guidance in encouraging and monitoring fulfilment of assignments. The conferees paid special attention to the experience of individual parties in promoting inner-party democracy, improving the forms and methods of consultations, involving all Communists in the present-day tasks and making better use of their abilities and initiative. They also noted that the parties represented at the meeting attached much importance to personnel policy, to the ideological, political, occupational and professional training of cadres and their greater responsibility for their jobs.

In the light of the pertinent documents adopted by the congresses of their parties, the conferees extensively discussed accumulated experience, decisions and priorities in upgrading social relations and the management, planning and organisation of their national economies to improve efficiency and to expand more speedily the material and technical base of each country. They discussed current tasks in further broadening socialist democracy and providing guarantees for appropriate democratic instruments to effectively involve the working people in the administration of all affairs and of society as a whole. They also had extensive exchanges on the ways, means and organisational forms used by their parties in line with the specific conditions of each country to guarantee the direct involvement of the working class, farmers and other working people, work collectives and public organisations in drawing up and implementing decisions, development plans and programmes, and the domestic and foreign policy of the parties and states.

The conferees noted that exchanges of views on different aspects of party work and on the building of socialism in general, broadened the understanding of the achievements and goals of each country and helped promote friendship, solidarity and cooperation and the unity of the parties and countries engaged in building the new system. The participants reaffirmed the resolve of their parties and peoples consistently to expand cooperation in the political, economic, scientific, technological, cultural and other fields in order to further the comprehensive and speedy progress of each country and to advance the common cause of socialism and peace.

Speaking highly of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which had ushered in a new age in human history, the participants in the meeting stressed the importance their countries attached to the celebration of its 70th anniversary.

The participants made clear the desire of their parties to do everything they could to promote cooperation and solidarity with the other communist and workers' parties and all progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces of the world in combating the threat of nuclear war, ending the arms race, banning weapons in outer space, achieving effective disarmament, primarily with regard to nuclear weapons, and promoting peace and social progress. They noted the importance of the proposals made by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for safeguarding peace and world security.

The meeting passed in a comradely and workmanlike atmosphere and in a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding.

An International Symposium In Prague

World Marxist Review sponsored in Prague on May 19-21, 1987 an international theoretical symposium 'The October Revolution and the Main Problems of Our Age' to mark the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution.

Taking part in the work of the symposium were delegations of 60 communist and workers' parties and international democratic organisations: the Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, the Communist Party of Argentina, the National Liberation Front of Bahrain, the Communist Party of Belgium, the Communist Party of Bolivia, the Brazilian Communist Party, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Canada, the Communist Party of Chile, the Colombian Communist Party, the Congolese Party of Labour, the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, the Communist Party of Cuba, the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Communist Party of Denmark, the Dominican Communist Party, the Communist Party of Ecuador, the Egyptian Communist Party, the Workers' Party of Ethiopia, the Communist Party of Finland, the German Communist Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, the Communist Party of Honduras, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Communist Party of India, the Communist Party of Indonesia, Iraqi Communist Party, the People's Party of Iran, the Communist Party of Ireland, the Communist Party of Israel, the Workers' Party of Jamaica, the Jordanian Communist Party, the Workers' Party of Korea, the Lebanese Communist Party, the Communist Party of Lesotho, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Progress and Socialism Party of Morocco, the Palestinian Communist Party, the Paraguayan Communist Party, the Communist Party of the Philippines, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Portuguese Communist Party, the Romanian Communist Party, the Communist Party of El Salvador, the Communist Party of Saudi Arabia, the South African Communist Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Spain, the Syrian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Turkey, the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Yemen Socialist Party, the World Peace Council, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the International Union of Students, and the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation.

For three days the participants discussed a broad range of issues connected with the fraternal parties' analysis of the contradictions present in today's world and in international developments and of the Communists' theoretical approach to the struggle for human survival and social progress.

Work is under way to prepare *WMR* coverage of the event.

An Updated Strategy

K. P. Silva — General Secretary,
Central Committee, Communist Party of
Sri Lanka (CPSL)

THE 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka was held in Colombo on March 22-26, 1987. More than 500 delegates from all over the country unanimously approved the documents the party presented for their consideration — the political report of the Central Committee, the revised programme of the party and the organisational report. A new Central Committee was elected, comprising both leaders with extensive party experience and many new comrades whose staunch struggle for the cause of the working class and all working people earned them this high honour.

Throughout the preparatory period, the Political Bureau and the Central Committee gathered several times to examine in detail and in depth questions pertaining to the party's strategy and tactics for the forthcoming period. This was made imperative by the increasingly complicated and dramatic developments at the national level and on the international scene. It was important to discuss problems in the context of this situation, to come to proper conclusions and adopt a correct course. The draft political report, revised programme and organisational report were presented to the Central Committee which approved them unanimously.

According to the provisions of our party's Constitution, draft documents should be made available to the membership at least six weeks before a congress, and this was done. The district committees and the branches of the party took a keen interest in discussing the draft documents, made a thorough study and submitted their remarks. District-level meetings were convened, at which members of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee explained the documents and presented them to the membership. From the nature of the amendments proposed by the Communists it was clear that they had thoroughly studied the documents, that the membership accepted totally the fundamental positions of the CPSL, and that the amendments were submitted to improve the wording of this or that important provision. For example, some branches thought that certain formulations in the political report were in contravention of the position contained in the draft programme.

These aspects of the preparations for the congress demonstrate that *no other party in Sri Lanka has such democracy in the functioning of the party and in the collective formulation of its policy.* The entire membership of the

K. P. Silva (b. 1923) started life as a baker's assistant. He later joined the government leather factory as a worker, where he soon became its trade union leader. One of the key leaders of the general strikes of 1946 and 1947 he quit the Lanka Sama Samaja Party of which he was a Political Bureau member on the issue of Left Unity and joined the Communist Party in 1955 along with a large group of those who had quit the LSSP likewise. He has served the CPSL as a Central Committee member, a member of the Political Bureau and a Deputy General Secretary. He has been the General Secretary of the CPSL Central Committee since July 1979. K. P. Silva was subjected to reprisals by the authorities in the 1980s. He has repeatedly contributed articles to *WMR* dealing with key aspects of the struggle waged by the Communists and the people of Sri Lanka.

Communist Party took part in the discussion of the draft documents. The preparatory work lasted for several months and climaxed with the formal opening of the 13th Congress on March 22, 1987.

In the period since our 12th Congress in 1984, our party was able to make progress in the Marxist-Leninist education of its members. We can be proud that, despite the intensive ideological and propaganda campaign waged by anti-Communist and communal forces to disorient and damage our party, *there was not a single case of desertion or defection from our ranks* on these grounds. Dedication to Marxism-Leninism, ideological maturity and commitment to principle marked the party meetings at which delegates to the congress were elected.

According to the CPSL Constitution, only those members who have seniority of at least one year as full members of the party can be elected as delegates to a congress. Usually, as it was evidenced at the 13th Congress, the persons who were elected as delegates were comrades with much greater seniority. Founding members who had joined the party at the time of its establishment in 1943 were 2.2 per cent of the delegates, and those who became members in 1944-1950 made up 3.3 per cent. The rest of the seniority structure among the delegates was as follows: those who joined the CPSL in 1951-1960 accounted for 11 per cent; in 1961-1970, 24.5 per cent; in 1971-1980, 30.5 per cent and in 1981-1986, 28.5 per cent. This is a proper reflection of the party's membership structure.

The social composition of the delegates to a very great extent reflected the social composition of the membership: 17 per cent were industrial workers, 11 per cent were peasants, and teachers and various white collar workers were 30 per cent of the delegates. There were also party full-timers, professionals (doctors, engineers and lawyers) and students. The unemployed and the retired comprised, respectively, 11.5 and 10.5 per cent.

The information compiled by the credentials committee of the congress indicates that 55 per cent of the delegates were people living on wages. Besides, most of the new members and candidate members who were recruited last year came from the working class. The Central Committee pointed out in its organisational report that over the past three years, 25 per cent of all new members came from the plantation workers and the total share of new working class members admitted between the last two congresses was 40 per cent. The number of white collar workers and professionals among the CPSL membership has also increased.

The high educational qualifications of the delegates are clear from the fact that 19 per cent of them had studied up to the eighth grade, 48 per cent to the tenth grade, 13 per cent up to the 12th grade, and 16 per cent were university graduates. The internationalist character of our party is reflected in its ethnic composition: the Sinhalese make up 90 per cent of the membership; the Tamils, 8 per cent; and other ethnic groups, 2 per cent. The CPSL enjoys a popular support and wields influence in both Sinhalese-populated and Tamil-populated areas. Among other things, the congress has stated that our party has been the *only* national party able to continue open political and trade union activities in the North, albeit on a restricted scale and in the midst of great dangers and difficulties.

The 13th Congress of the CPSL was convened at a difficult and decisive juncture as far as international developments were concerned. World wars, that diabolical phenomenon of the twentieth century, can no longer produce winners or losers, with existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons being sufficient to obliterate all life on Earth several times over. The 13th Congress of the CPSL described the fight for the survival of the human race as a *new and priority task for mankind*. The delegates said that all over the world, it should be the Communists' mission to mobilise the masses in defence of life and civilisation. In so doing, the Communists will not only be fulfilling their most fundamental duty to humanity — namely, guaranteeing its survival — but also their basic class and liberation tasks, for the struggle for disarmament and peace has become a major factor in the struggle against imperialism in today's world.

The Sri Lankan Communists appreciated highly the conclusions of the CPSU's 27th Congress, the various Soviet initiatives before and after Reykjavik, the work of the Soviet representatives at Geneva, the Soviet proposals on eliminating medium-range missiles from Europe, and so forth. We offered a special resolution and adopted a message to be sent to the CPSU Central Committee, expressing support for the constructive international steps of the Soviet leadership and for the efforts of the CPSU to renovate the Soviet Union's advanced socialist society. We also decided to improve our organisational, agitational and propaganda work and to strengthen our activities in the struggle for peace. The Communists of Sri Lanka will continue to try to serve as an important arm of the world movement against nuclear war, to ensure disarmament, alleviate global and regional tensions and build a nuclear-free world.

The years since the 12th Congress of our party have been some of the most complicated and dangerous in Sri Lanka's recent history. The country is threatened with dismemberment. The government's reliance on a military solution to the burning national question is not only continuing to aggravate the problem but is also dislocating the economy further. It casts more and more burdens on the working people. Over a fourth of Sri Lanka's revenue is spent on the 'war' in the North and East of the country, but now the government needs five billion more rupees over and above the current budget. Can the country and the people bear this colossal expenditure? Besides, the position the ruling quarters have assumed on the national question is fraught with the danger of internationalisation of the problem.

The government's 'open door' economic policy, that is, dependent on capitalist development, gives rise to crises in virtually all sectors. Privatisation of the state sector enterprises is proceeding apace, and that includes closures of certain enterprises that compete with the private sector. The ruling United National Party (UNP) takes a favourable view of transnational capital which has struck roots in many branches of our economy. The growing dependence on imperialism poses a threat to our national sovereignty.

The government has mounted an attack on the democratic rights and gains of the masses. Public meetings are restricted, and demonstrations are practically banned. Under cover of a 'hazard to democratic institutions',

the armed forces have been strengthened and there is militarisation of the political life in the country. In recent years a tendency has been growing to integrate the military with civilian authority, thereby seeking to spread to the whole country the forms of administration similar to those maintained in the Northern and Eastern provinces. The country is ruled more by regulations than by laws that are enacted by Parliament. It would be no exaggeration to say that *the political system has in fact become authoritarian*.

The 13th Congress has formulated the party's approach to the key problems our country is facing. In the period between this congress and the next, the CPSL should seek to develop mass mobilisation and struggles in the following main areas:

- the fight for peace and, especially, to put and end to the insidious attempts to involve Sri Lanka in US imperialism's global and regional war strategies;

- the fight to ensure in every way a just and negotiated settlement of the national question. Over the past years this question has come to the fore in politics, often relegating other important matters to the background. Finding a solution to the national question is now problem Number One;¹

- the fight against the line of dependent capitalist development and its adverse consequences in the fields of the economy and social life;

- the fight to stop the UNP government's erosion of democratic rights, processes and institutions and to win back, consolidate and extend them;

- the fight for free and fair elections to local bodies and to a new Parliament genuinely representative of the people.

Presently Sri Lanka is passing through a complex and crucial period. The ever-deepening crisis of dependent capitalist development has engulfed not only the economy and the political process but also the entire social fabric. The working masses will surely perceive that the only way out of the crisis is the adoption of a different path of development — the path leading to socialism. In this situation the struggle for the further advance of the working class movement has to be charted taking into consideration not only the changes in the political and economic structure that have taken place and are still proceeding but also the more fundamental shifts and developments in the social composition of the people and the emerging realignment of class forces. All these questions are examined in detail in the revised programme of the CPSL.

Until recently, the party was guided by the programme adopted 12 years ago in 1975, at the Ninth Congress. Subsequently, certain amendments were made to the programme. But there have been very far-reaching changes at the international level and in our country too. Therefore, it was necessary for us to take these changes into consideration in order that we reach proper conclusions about the course of the national revolution and elaborate the party's strategy and tactics. In the original version of the programme there were several fundamental weaknesses: there was no proper analysis of capitalist development in Sri Lanka, specifically of the changes that have occurred within the bourgeoisie. The revised programme which the 13th Congress approved pays adequate attention to this issue.

Broadly, we can say that up to the 1970s there were two clear sections of the bourgeoisie — one which was more or less comprador, and the other which had certain anti-imperialist potentialities. The United National Party which expressed the interests of the former section created obstacles to the development of the properly national bourgeoisie, although this bourgeoisie gradually developed into a strong element. But in the 1970s the national bourgeoisie came to a position where it had to rethink as to how it would develop further. The first problem was the lack of capital, and the desire was to solve it by enlisting the support of foreign capital. Secondly, there was the problem of obtaining technology, and the national bourgeoisie turned to the imperialist countries. Thirdly, the limited opportunities of Sri Lanka's market prompted the bourgeois quarters to look for external markets.

The changes that were taking place in the local bourgeoisie were used by imperialism which was trying to win these sections over and make them dependent. Eventually, conditions for partnership between national and foreign capital emerged.

Therefore, due to these changes, unlike in the preceding period, *the bourgeoisie as a whole* turned towards collaboration with foreign capital, with imperialism. The CPSL stresses in its Programme that "the change of government in 1977² marked . . . the final turn of the bourgeoisie to capitalist development dependent on imperialism".

In the earlier version of the programme there was another weakness: there was more emphasis on political parties rather than on social classes. The programme approved by the 13th Congress offers a comprehensive analysis of the state of the *current class structure and the changes under way in the social fabric*. It also examines the course and the consequences of Sri Lanka's capitalist evolution, class stratification and how the different classes and strata respond to the present capitalist development. Because of the fact that the bourgeoisie as a whole has begun to cooperate with imperialism, and no significant part of the bourgeoisie is anti-imperialist, the bourgeoisie cannot carry out even the democratic tasks of the revolution. Hence the importance of examining the new factors and the new changes in order to identify the revolutionary and liberation potential of other social forces.

The definition of the present stage in our advancement towards the socialist perspective remains unchanged. Our country is at the *stage where we have to complete the national democratic tasks of the revolution, to carry out national democratic transformations*. But the question is which class forces are capable of carrying them out and which class is to lead these forces.

The new version of the programme does answer this question. We should form a *broad class alliance* comprising the working class, agricultural labour, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, other strata working for wages, the petty traders and patriotic sections of the middle and small bourgeoisie. The programme says that "it is necessary to establish a united political front under the leadership of the working class and comprising the motive forces of the present stage of the revolution with the alliance of the working class, agricultural labour and the peasantry forming its core. It

may be called by an appropriate name acceptable to the class forces represented in the front. The programme of this front shall be based on the fundamental tasks for carrying out national democratic transformations."

The party's strategy and its emphasis on the establishment of a united front underlie the tactics the 13th Congress has elaborated for the immediate future. The rich experience our party has acquired in promoting political and class alliances has taught us how essential and important it is for the party to provide *correct political leadership that broader forces will also accept and to work constantly to strengthen the party itself and its influence and prestige among the working masses.*

The congress stressed the growing role of the left front, currently operating in the form of an alliance. This process began with the formation in 1984 of an inter-party coalition comprising the CPSL, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party³ and the Sri Lanka People's Party.⁴ Now the task is to agree on a conceptual programme which would clarify the long-term positions of the participating parties. These matters are being discussed at the moment. Once these parties have established the united front on the basis of a programme with a proper perspective, it becomes possible to draw other left, radical and other anti-imperialist forces into it.

Joint action on the broadest possible basis is now acquiring particular significance. In the period before the next congress, parliamentary and presidential elections are expected. The government may well try to postpone them by resorting to a referendum, and this will pose a threat to the democratic process. All forces will have to be mobilised to defend it. If there are sections within the government itself who oppose the postponement of elections and the further militarisation of political life, then we would cooperate with these forces as well.

In this connection one should point out that there are two kinds of opposition to the present government in our country — a left and a bourgeois opposition. The latter criticises the government (from its own positions) not only in respect of domestic policies, but also in regard to Sri Lanka's growing involvement in US war plans. If both the bourgeois and the left opposition could agree on joint action to resist this development, the effect would be considerable.

The 13th Congress of the CPSL expressed its solidarity with all fraternal parties, especially those forced to work under conditions of illegality and persecution. The communist movement is now a mighty force in mankind's struggle for lasting peace and social progress. We welcome the growing unity and cohesion of our great movement and *reaffirm our desire to do everything to see such unity and cohesion developed further on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.*

The congress welcomed the re-establishment, after a lapse of nearly three decades, of fraternal relations with the Communist Party of China. Although there are areas where our party's assessments and positions still vary from those of the CPC, it was agreed by both parties that these were not of such a nature as to stand in the way of the re-establishment of fraternal relations. The 13th Congress endorsed the recommendation of the Central Committee that these relations should be restored, undertaking to do all it could to strengthen and develop them further.

We also welcome heartily the growing bilateral and multilateral consultations of Communists from different countries on questions of international and regional importance and on the application of Marxist-Leninist science to current problems. The congress expressed its appreciation of the role played by *World Marxist Review* in this connection. The delegates fully supported the decision of the communist and workers' parties of the Asia-Pacific region to discuss common problems at a meeting at Ulan Bator in July 1987 and expressed the hope that all fraternal parties of the region would contribute to the success of this meeting.

Fraternal delegations from ten countries were guests of the congress, and 28 communist and workers' parties from all over the world sent their greetings. We are proud that the Communists of Sri Lanka hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and we are fully determined to contribute all efforts to consolidating and strengthening the unity of our movement.

¹ The treatment of the national question in the Programme of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka is discussed in K. P. Silva's 'Regardless of Bourgeois Chauvinism' (*WMR*, No. 11, 1986). Specific ways of an intercommunal settlement are defined in the documents of the 13th Congress. The government should create a favourable atmosphere for such a settlement (initiating proposals for a viable ceasefire, release of political detainees, declaring an amnesty, stopping attempts to impose the will of the government through military operations or economic blockades, and silencing those in its ranks who try to provoke anti-India confrontations). The Tamil organisations should declare their readiness to suspend guerrilla activities, stop attacks on Sinhalese civilians and to agree to hold talks for negotiating a settlement. — *Ed.*

² The advent of the UNP government. — *Ed.*

³ Socialist ('Equal Society') Party. — *Ed.*

⁴ Established on the basis of the radical wing which broke off from the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. — *Ed.*

Joining the Christian Democrats in a Ruling Coalition

Alberto Mino — Directorate and
Secretariat member, San Marino
Communist Party (SMCP)

Since May 1978, the Communists have invariably participated in the successive governments of San Marino, a small republic with a population of 23,000. The ruling coalition of Communists and Socialists lasted eight years till their cabinet was brought down by a

Albert Mino (b. 1937), a metalworker, joined the party in 1957. During the 1960s he was one of the leaders of the San Marino Young Communist Federation and also worked in the Secretariat of the San Marino Labour Confederation. He was elected to the SMCP Central Committee in 1968 and has been heading the CC External Political Affairs Commission since 1986.

crisis in the summer of 1986. Since then the country is governed by a new cabinet of Communists and Christian Democrats. The interview below describes the unique experience of the San Marino Communists.

The Communists' participation in government seems to have become a political tradition, hasn't it?

IT certainly has. Between 1945 and 1957, it should be recalled, the Communists sat in the Congress of State (government) as members of an anti-fascist alliance, removed from power only by the joint efforts of domestic and international reaction. Subsequently, for 20 years, our party was in the opposition and was returned to power in the 1978 elections, when it polled 26 per cent of the vote and won 16 out of the 60 seats in Parliament. It became the leading partner in the ruling coalition which also included the San Marino Socialist Party with eight seats and the Socialist Unity Party with seven. By casting their ballots for the Left, primarily for the Communists, the working people had shown their disillusionment with the 20-year rule of the Christian Democrats. The international situation also contributed to the Communists' success, as détente still prevailed.

The going in the 1983 elections was harder. Ronald Reagan had already moved into the White House, and other developments, too, contributed to the dramatic aggravation of the world situation. Meanwhile the economic crisis had grown worse in the capitalist world, also affecting San Marino. The Italian Communists and Socialists had fallen out, and this, too, had its effect on the political atmosphere in our country. However, though the SMCP polled fewer votes than in 1978, it generally held its ground. The party won 15 seats and formed a government with its former partners. We viewed the outcome of the elections as the people's recognition of the fact that the Left had managed to improve the situation in the country against all odds.

This must have been far from easy?

So it was. We inherited a difficult political, economic and social situation from the period of Christian Democratic hegemony. The Demochristian policy-makers to that time insisted on opposing the demands of the working people, and especially on restricting collective bargaining. The government had for years blocked any expansion of public services, such as transport and public catering, and also of child-care centres, vocational training and general schooling, falling farther and farther behind the people's needs.

The economic situation, too, was far from stable. The late 1970s saw signs of an industrial decline as production structures grew obsolescent for lack of investment. As a result, after the 1978 elections the governmental majority faced the need for reducing unemployment, especially among women and young people.

Moreover, real estate and other speculations and the thriving system of 'clientship', whereby people were divided into categories depending on

their party affiliation, had an ill effect on public morale. The general belief was that to have rights, one had to get into the good books of those in power.

What would you say about the results achieved by the left government? What goals did the Communists pursue and what did they accomplish?

The democratic cooperation government had a joint programme of a progressive reformative nature designed to renovate San Marino society. It also took into consideration the demands put forward in the mass trade union actions of the 1970s.

The Communists were essentially out to protect the social and economic gains of the working people, to secure an improvement of their living standard, to create more jobs in industries employing skilled labour, to have the population participate in government on a democratic basis, to upgrade the education and health care systems, to find new avenues for advancing culture, and to broaden San Marino's international relations. We viewed the governmental programme as an important element of the party's general policy of laying the foundation for transforming society along socialist lines in democracy and freedom and with due regard for the traditional values of our people. That strategic objective of the party was reiterated in the documents of its latest, 11th Congress in January 1986.

Concentrating its efforts on promoting production and creating new jobs, the democratic cooperation government did a good deal to rectify the situation. By the end of 1986, unemployment had dropped to a minimal 3 per cent. The living standard went up visibly thanks in large measure to expansion of public services, which constantly were in the government's focus of attention. Moreover, the position of the SMCP as the leading party in the governmental coalition facilitated the working people's fight for their rights and interests.

The democratic cooperation government launched a series of progressive reforms. One of them, covering taxation, aimed at a fairer distribution of the national product, benefiting the poorer sections of the population. Our party initiated the drafting of the country's first long-term economic development plan, laying the foundations for economic planning. The judiciary was modernised, family legislation made more democratic, general and direct suffrage was introduced in elections to local self-government bodies, and school and higher education was upgraded.

San Marino's foreign policy also changed for the better. The country's ties with the USSR and other socialist countries grew stronger. The government sought to contribute to the work of international organisations in the spirit of the moral and political goals of the non-aligned movement, which is striving to make self-determination and sovereignty the basis of international relations. Pursuing a policy of active neutrality, it consistently upheld San Marino's national independence and resolutely supported initiatives for disarmament and lasting peace.

Despite these achievements, however, the government failed to cope with one very important problem, that of administration. Far from all the

planned reforms were consistently introduced and many of the newly-promulgated laws were stillborn. As a result, the goals of the governmental programme were not accomplished. We told our partners in the coalition on more than one occasion that we were opposed to the way the major reforms were being implemented. But no common language was ever found with them.

The governmental crisis was precipitated by the differences between Communists and Socialists over the principles and methods of governing the country, wasn't it?

Yes, this was the main cause, though not the only one. Differences over some other problems of principle came to a head in the cabinet and within the parliamentary majority; one of these concerned relations with Italy. The last straw was a series of financial scandals. Some cabinet members were rumoured to have been in league with the crooks. We Communists could not tolerate such a situation and did not want the scandals to cast any shadow on our party. In the circumstances the SMCP announced its withdrawal from the ruling coalition.

Even before the crisis, the Communists had tried to come to terms with both socialist parties and form a joint government on a new platform. It was our belief that cooperation with left-wing forces would serve our political objectives to best advantage. Yet all our initiatives were left unanswered. Unlike the Socialists, the Christian Democrats who had until recently been unresponsive to our proposals for open dialogue on ways of renewing society voiced readiness to cooperate with the SMCP.

What do you think paved the way for the accord between the Communists and Demochristians to form a new government?

The Christian Democrats had always been a conservative force and, frankly, we never conceived them as a possible government partner. Of late, however, some changes occurred within their party, which never was socially homogeneous. The important thing is that they have renounced their patently anti-communist stance, that they now treat our party as any other political force and accept our cooperation.

The socialist opposition claims that the agreement between the SMCP and the Demochristians is an 'historical compromise'. We take exception to this definition. The point is that no other government could have been formed at this juncture, while the present one makes for collaboration between the two largest and most important political parties in the country, which can help resolve the problems facing San Marino. Most Communists, specially polled, called for alliance with the Christian Democrats.

The two parties, naturally, have different ideologies. But both represent broad strata of the population. The Christian Democrats enjoy the support of 42 per cent of the electorate, among them a sizeable segment of the working class and the working people as a whole. That is why there is an objective basis for cooperation between the SMCP and the Christian

Democrats. It enables us to broaden our relations with the Catholics, who can make a tangible contribution to the Republic's democratic development.

What are the Communists' positions in the cabinet? Would you outline its programme and goals?

Roughly, government posts are divided equally in terms of both numbers and importance.¹ Our party got the important portfolio of Secretary of State for Internal Affairs. The ministers for industry and handicraft, for education and culture, for transport and communications, and for tourism and commerce are also Communists. The Christian Democrats hold two secretaryships — one for foreign and political affairs, and the other for finance and budget — and also the ministerial posts of health and social security; labour and cooperation; territorial development, environmental protection, agriculture and municipal affairs.

The cabinet has a joint programme which includes proposals put forward by the Communists. We view it as a serious and sound political programme meeting the interests of the people. The programme gives much consideration to economic problems, taxation and the creation of new jobs, primarily for young people. Special importance is attached to the need for rectifying the damage done by the aforementioned financial swindles and settling the moral issue which had been the undoing of the previous government. Improving the functioning of governmental and administrative agencies, accelerating territorial development, and introducing new environmental protection measures are important issues as well. The cabinet also strives to restore a correct and honest relationship with Italy, clouded of late by a series of economic, financial and legal problems.

The latest plenary meeting of the Central Committee gave a generally positive appraisal of the relationship with the Demochristians in the ruling coalition. It is working. The differences between the approaches of the two parties have not disappeared, of course, but they do not stand in the way of the joint programme.

How does the SMCP reconcile its participation in the ruling majority with its extra-parliamentary and extra-governmental activity?

The Communists believe that it is only by preserving ideological independence and a distinctive political stand that the party will be able to accomplish its programme goals. The SMCP does not completely identify itself with what the cabinet is doing and avoids merging with any governmental institutions. The role played by members of our party in the government and the more general tasks of the Communists are things apart.

The party's 11th Congress stressed that the SMCP was looking for ways of building a socialist society in keeping with the specific features of our country, winning new followers, and broadening its social base. When all is said and done, the Communists' success at the polls and our ability to

influence government policy and to insist on deep-going social change depend on these factors. The party can fulfil its long-term programme only by pursuing an effective policy of alliances with reliance on wage labour, technical specialists and intellectuals.

The Communists are active in the trade unions while respecting their autonomy. In the past few years they have won effective support from the youth and women. They cooperate with the San Marino Young Communist Federation which has substantial influence in society: we have jointly tackled employment and environmental issues, and enlisted young men and women in cultural activities and politics. The SMCP has a sound relationship with the San Marino Women's Union as most of its members believe the Communists represent their interests.

We are working with various sections of the people to broaden our ranks. Our membership has been growing steadily, though not speedily, ever since 1978. Today, the party has a membership of 1,200. Along with industrial workers, more and more people from other walks of life are joining us.

Although our relations with the Socialists have soured, we are looking for ways of resuming cooperation. That is in keeping with our party's long-term objective of forming a broad alliance of all the democratic and progressive forces with a view to building a socialist society capable of meeting the aspirations of the working people and the youth, promoting freedom and democracy and creating opportunities for the development of the individual.

¹ The Congress of State (government) of San Marino consists of three Secretaries of State and seven Ministers of State (deputies), with the secretaries wielding more authority than the ministers. — *Ed.*

Against Bourgeois Liberalisation

A Survey of the CP China Press

THE news media have been reporting a struggle in the People's Republic of China against the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalisation and for the assertion of socialist spiritual culture. Those were the tasks listed by acting General Secretary of the CPC CC and Premier of the State Council **Zhao Ziyang** along with economic construction, which are paramount now and over the long term. The following survey of the CPC press was made on the basis of items in the CPC CC newspaper *Renmin Ribao* and the journal *Hongqi*, and gives an idea of the problems being tackled by the Chinese Communists in the political and ideological sphere.

The gist of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalisation, said **Zhao Ziyang** in his speech at the All-China Assembly of People's Representatives in March and April of this year, is to oppose the four cardinal principles,¹

to get the party out of leadership, to abandon socialism and stage a capitalist comeback.

The press gives concrete examples of the influence these ideas of bourgeois liberalisation are having. There is, first, the student unrest in some towns in the country, which began in Shanghai on November 10, 1986. Within a few days, student demonstrations were held in Taiyuan, Jinan, Hefei, and later in Nanjing, Hangzhou, Wuhan, and Beijing, and continued until the early part of January 1987.

Renmin Ribao analysed these events and said that most participants in the demonstrations had no other purpose than to accelerate the process of socialist democratisation. Only a handful of demonstrators had anti-socialist and anti-people's objectives (it turned out that these were not students but those who had infiltrated the higher schools to instigate young people to take part in rallies and demonstrations). Still, the paper says, the student unrest was far from accidental. It was caused by the spread of such erroneous views as the urge to establish in China a 'Western-type democracy', to 'imitate the West' in every respect, and completely to deny national culture, the whole people's ideals, morality and discipline.

Fang Lizhi, a former prorector of the Technological Institute in Hefei, is quoted as saying: "I share the principle of complete Westernisation. What we have done over the past thirty years is a fiasco from the standpoint of the social system." The same speaker listed what should be 'Westernised', and included science, technology, culture, the political system, and property relations.

According to a document issued by the CPC CC Commission on Discipline Verification (the full text of its directive is included in an article published in *Renmin Ribao* under this title 'The Communist Has the Duty Scrupulously to Abide by the Party Constitution'), a small number of Communists, including some leading cadres, have ignored party discipline and have made public statements cutting across the line, course and policy determined by the Third Session of the 11th CPC CC Plenary Meeting.² Things have come to such a pass, says the document, that the four basic principles are being openly rejected, party leadership is being profaned and repudiated, the socialist system attacked, and efforts made to spread the ideas of bourgeois liberalisation. The paper stresses that the danger of this trend is great. It tends to slow down the successful construction of the two cultures³ and to undermine political stability and unity.

The party press has emphasised that the bourgeois liberalisation trend did not spring overnight. **Chen Junsheng**, head of the Secretariat of the State Council, recalled in *Renmin Ribao* that this ideological trend has already made itself known eight years ago, and he referred to **Den Xiaoping's**⁴ statement of March 30, 1979, saying that "some people — although they are few — are subject to sceptical attitudes, infect others and resist the four basic principles". The same attitudes, says the author, are being spread today. Some claim that capitalism is superior to socialism and that China needs to be transformed on the Western model. Those who voice discontent with the socialist homeland have started talking about the need of doing away with the party's leadership.

Chen Junsheng invites readers, especially young readers, to sort out this

key question: "Which is the system that can ultimately save China: socialism or capitalism?"

Those who root for capitalism, the author says, have forgotten the country's history and are out of touch with the realities. Among the events that followed upon the West's entry on the stage of imperialism were, in particular, the aggressions against China and its partition into spheres of influence. Some Chinese who sought to save China wanted to learn from the West and practise capitalism. But the imperialist powers did not allow China to do so. They reduced China to a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country, deprived of the historical conditions for capitalism. That was rejected by China, which found its own and only way to salvation: the way of socialism under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The backwardness could not be ended at once, he goes on, and the situation is now such that the national economy is weak, the population large, and the farmland limited. And although very great successes have been scored since the formation of the People's Republic of China, it continues to be a less developed country because of its extremely weak economic basis. Eighty per cent of its one billion population are peasants. Food supply, education and employment are still intractable problems. But that is not the fault of socialism.

Some assume, **Chen Junsheng** continues, that China's economy will instantly prosper if it opts for the capitalist way. There are references to South Korea, Taiwan and some small countries in Asia. In this context, the author says that the Kuomintang practised bureaucrat capitalism. How well did they do then? They brought disaster to the Chinese nation. If the new China had practised capitalism, it would not have been supported by the people nor would their great revolutionary enthusiasm have been aroused to build up China on the wreckage left behind by the Kuomintang regime. China's international standing would not have been solid. So taking the socialist way was a historic choice made by the Chinese people.

The author considers the advantages of the most advanced social system and says that the socialist revolution and socialist construction have already helped to reduce the gap between China and the economically developed capitalist countries. "We must acquaint the people, especially the young," he says, "with what is progressive and useful in the capitalist countries, while resolutely boycotting everything that is reactionary and corrupt."

The above idea is elaborated by **Li Feng** in an article of the same paper entitled 'Renovation of Views: Pro and Con'. With the exception of an extremely small number of those who want to 'change the party's colours', says the author, most comrades must draw the following necessary lesson, when it comes to renewing ideology and consciousness: not everything that one sees for the first time is 'new', and it is even less excusable blindly to adopt everything foreign as new. It is inadmissible, he says, to use bourgeois liberalisation to 'renew' the four basic principles, to use bourgeois democracy to renew socialist democracy, to use the political structure of the bourgeois state to renew the political structure of our country, and to use Western value judgements to renew the concept of what is valuable among our revolutionaries. That is not renewal but a movement back into a past historical epoch. Only that is truly new which in

the course of building socialism with Chinese specific features gives fresh hopes, shows new ways to the goal, and adds strength.

Many items in the press emphasise the role of the CPC as the leader of the whole Chinese people building the new life. Without the Communist Party's leadership, says an editorial in *Hongqi*, the theoretical journal of the CPC CC, entitled 'Hold Firmly to the Four Basic Principles and Fight Bourgeois Liberalisation', there would have been neither socialism nor a future. That is a truth already demonstrated by life and that will certainly be confirmed by further development. *Hongqi* says that it is socialism that has helped the Chinese nation to flourish. Because of its socialist choice, China has been playing an ever greater role in international affairs. Since the period of the democratic revolution, says the journal, the CPC has regarded socialism and communism as the goals and high ideals of its struggle. The fact that the state which has the world's largest population has taken the socialist way is one of the major events of the twentieth century, which not only marks a turning point in China's destiny, but which has also had a strong influence on the course of world history.

One should bear in mind, says the article, that China got down to socialist construction after a long period of imperialist plunder under semi-feudal exploitation and oppression and in postwar dislocation. Serious miscalculations were made in economic policy. Nevertheless, an independent and relatively coherent system of industry and the national economy as a whole has been set up in the country.

Under the people's power, the output of the key manufactured products has been multiplied over and over again. In steel output, for instance, China has risen to fourth place in the world, in coal to second place, in electric power generation to fifth place, and in oil output to sixth place.

Significant successes have been scored in agriculture. Through a rational system of distribution and stabilisation of prices for cereals, China, which has almost a quarter of the world's population, now in the main satisfies its people's food requirements. Socialism alone has been able to solve the problem of feeding hundreds of millions of people. That is one of the vivid testimonials of its advantages, says *Hongqi*.

The journal notes that living standards in China are still relatively low, and goes on to say that it is the CPC that has pointed to the country's lag behind the developed capitalist countries in the economic, technical, cultural and other spheres, and has worked out the policy of reform and wider ties with the rest of the world. But one cannot expect, the journal says, that the vast lag built up over the centuries can be entirely done away with in a matter of decades. While socialism in China is still imperfect, it is streets ahead of the capitalist system with its organic violations of vital human interests and social stratification. Our system has been developing steadily, making use of the best gains in various countries of the world. That is something capitalism cannot do, says the journal.

We have made many mistakes, continues the article, in practising democracy and law and order, and there are many defects in the political structure. These problems are sure to be solved. In spiritual culture, the socialist countries have common ideals, goals and moral criteria, and the Marxist world outlook is the dominant form of socialist consciousness.

The Marxist world outlook in the Chinese society was central to a conversation at the Academy of Social Sciences, as reported in *Renmin Ribao*. To claim, as some do, that Marxism in China is one of a 'hundred schools' in rivalry with each other, says the report, amounts to denying Marxism as the leading theoretical basis of our ideology. Marxism is not just another 'school'. It is the 'school' which has the dominant and leading role. The 'let a hundred schools compete' policy⁵ needs to be conducted in the light of Marxism.

Liu Danian, the well-known Chinese historian, who took part in the conversation, noted that the spread of the ideology of bourgeois liberalism is closely tied to the claims of some that Marxism is 'outdated' and that its time has 'passed'. "Our duty as social scientists is to respond to this question theoretically and in connection with practice. So long as capitalism is there, the bourgeoisie will try to deny Marxism. That is why we must understand that fighting bourgeois liberalisation is a long-term task."

In the Chinese press, questions of democracy are prominent within the framework of the struggle against bourgeois liberalisation. An article in *Renmin Ribao*, signed *Observer*, says that the channels of democracy have not yet been thrown open here and there, and people are not able to put forward their proposals and views. Hence, the understandable discontent the people feel in this respect. The article stresses that democracy must be concrete and have a straightforward class character, and its development can proceed only under the party's leadership. As a counter-argument to those who want a multiparty system in China, the paper quotes **Deng Xiaoping** as asking: what is the use of such a system in the capitalist states if most of the parties do not represent the interests of broad masses of the working people?

The problem of democracy is also dealt with in a *Renmin Ribao* article by **Peng Zhen**, CPC CC Political Bureau member and Chairman of the the Standing Committee of the All-China Assembly of People's Representatives, on the CPC CC resolution 'Concerning the Leading Line in Building Socialist Spiritual Culture'. The author starts from the idea contained in the resolution that "developed democracy is one of the great goals of socialism and an important embodiment of socialist spiritual culture in the life of the state and the society", and goes on to compare bourgeois and socialist democracy. He shows the existence in China of broad democratic rights which are altogether inconceivable under the exploiter system. But, he stresses, democracy is not a synonym for disorder and anarchy. It is inseparable from law and discipline.

The party press notes that the Chinese Communists believe that study and tireless work on one's own thinking should provide the solution to the existing ideological problems, and should help to overcome the apolitical notions, to say the least, and the incorrect interpretations of the party approach, democracy under socialism and other concepts, be they deliberate or inadvertent. The CPC CC resolution says that it is useless to talk of development unless there is real study. Here, an important role belongs to education and science, literature and art, information and publishing, radio and television, libraries and museums. That is why

workers in education, culture and science have an especially important task in building spiritual culture. Hence the need for all-round development of the intelligentsia, for giving it a higher status in the society and for efforts to unite it more closely with the working class and peasantry.

The status of the intelligentsia in the Chinese society is dealt with in a *Renmin Ribao* article entitled 'Party Policy with Respect to the Intelligentsia Will Not Change'. Its author **Li Peng**, a member of the CPC CC Political Bureau and a Deputy Premier of the State Council, refutes the claims that the struggle against bourgeois liberalisation signifies an 'ordering' in the midst of the intelligentsia. At a meeting with intellectuals working in science and technology, **Li Peng** said: "The fight is against departures from the four principles, the efforts to impose capitalism on China, and to bring about blanket and disorderly Westernisation. But this fight does nothing to change the party's policy with respect to the intelligentsia."

The most meaningful task in the fight against bourgeois liberalisation is to strengthen ideological and political work in the CPC and to have party and state cadres study the theory of Marxism-Leninism. That is said in a *notification issued by the Propaganda Department of the CPC CC*, a summary of which was published in the party press. It puts the duty on party committees in the provinces, towns, autonomous districts, and central party, state and military institutions to arrange the study of CPC CC documents by all the cadres. It stresses that this is of great significance for the party's ideological unity and resolute struggle against bourgeois liberalisation, and also for correct realisation of the all-round reform and consistent implementation of the CPC CC's line, course and policy.

It says that the fight against bourgeois liberalisation is strictly confined to the party framework and is being carried on mainly in the ideological and political sphere over basic political principles. It should not affect policy in the sphere of economic reform and with respect to the countryside, scientific and technical projects, the search for styles and skills in literature, the arts, the non-party intelligentsia and the people's daily life, says *Hongqi*. The ideological and political basis of the critique of bourgeois liberalisation and rectification of the erroneous right-wing deviation consists of the line, course and political propositions worked out since the Third Session of the 11th CPC CC Plenary Meeting. In accordance with these propositions, it is not right to criticise the right-wing deviation from 'leftist' positions, let alone allowing the erection of obstacles to conducting the policy of reforms, giving access to the external world, and enlivening the country's economy.

Renmin Ribao says that the fight against bourgeois liberalisation, a matter of exceptional importance, should not be turned into a political campaign. "We are deeply aware," the paper says, "that no political campaign can help solve the problem. It is impossible to root out the influence of this ideological trend by means of one or even several campaigns. Erroneous judgements need to be analysed and criticised without compromise and with a full awareness of one's rightness, but there

must be restraint and the use of methods of persuasion, and resolute avoidance of the 'leftist' methods of the past. That is what the course of the struggle and its healthy development will depend upon."

Brian Johnson

¹ 'Socialism, the peoples democratic dictatorship, the leading role of the Communist Party, Marxism-Leninism and the ideas of Mao Zedong'. — *Ed.*

² In December 1978. — *Ed.*

³ Meaning socialist material and socialist spiritual cultures. — *Ed.*

⁴ Deng Xiaoping, a member of the Standing Committee of the CPC CC Political Bureau, Chairman of the Central Military Council, and Chairman of the Central Advisory Commission of the CPC. — *Ed.*

⁵ The slogan behind the policy is fully formulated as follows: "Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools compete" (meaning the flourishing of literature, the arts, and scientific and technical creativity). — *Ed.*

INFORMATION

The Communist Movement Today

For Marxism's Creative Development

AT their recent meeting in Moscow, Mikhail Gorbachov and Wojciech Jaruzelski emphasised the significance of the joint Soviet-Polish Declaration on cooperation in ideology, science and culture. The document states that at this turning point in history, guided by their responsibility for the future of socialism and by the principles of socialist internationalism, the CPSU and the PUWP are joining efforts for renovating the socialist system, and making it more dynamic and open to everything progressive. The aim of both parties is to extend democratic gains, remove obstacles to people's self-fulfilment and provide conditions for invigorating economic, political and social activity, and for using every person's abilities and talents.

Joint ideological, political and cultural activities by the CPSU and PUWP are designed to disseminate and defend mankind's supreme values, primarily life itself. The Declaration goes on to say that both parties intend to promote human rights in the spirit of socialism, to do their utmost in resolving global issues in the interests of all nations, and to promote international understanding and trust.

A New Stage in Bulgarian-Chinese Relations

Acting General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee and Premier of the PRC State Council Zhao Ziyang met with General Secretary of the BCP Central Committee and Chairman of the PRB State Council Todor Zhikov who paid an official visit of friendship to the People's Republic of China in early May 1987. During the meeting Zhao Ziyang declared that the talks opened a new stage in Bulgarian-Chinese relations and would

help to strengthen cooperation between the two parties and nations on the basis of mutual respect.

Todor Zhikov also met with Chairman of the CPC Central Advisory Commission Deng Xiaoping. Both leaders stressed that the international communist movement had gone through certain difficulties and disputes but it was time to overcome them. The BCP and the CPC are aware of the responsibility they bear in the struggle to achieve the unity of both the socialist countries and the communist parties.

The Fresh Wind of Reconstruction

During his talk with Mikhail Gorbachov at the end of April in Moscow, Rene Urbany, Chairman of the Communist Party of Luxembourg, declared that what is now being done in the USSR makes socialism more attractive and helps the Communists of Luxembourg act more boldly and confidently. For Communists, he said, reconstruction is like a fresh wind. Our adversaries, Mikhail Gorbachov noted, have realised that the ongoing change in our country is in earnest, and have launched a slander campaign in a bid to discredit *perestroika* and Soviet foreign policy. Soviet people are inspired by the fact that political circles and ordinary people in the West see the current reconstruction in the USSR in a favourable light and welcome what the USSR proposes on the international scene.

During the meeting, the two leaders noted that CPSU-CPL relations are based on long-standing friendship, complete equality and comradely solidarity. Both parties are for consolidating the communist movement on the basis of these principles which strengthen each party and the movement as a whole.

The Idea of a Large-Scale Forum is Winning Support

In the present complex situation, the CPSU and the French Communist Party are fighting shoulder to shoulder against the threat of nuclear war, for security and disarmament, and against the aggressive policies of international imperialism. At their meeting in Moscow in early May, Mikhail Gorbachov and Georges Marchais noted the objective conditions for setting up a powerful and effective coalition of all peace forces to stop the nuclear threat and secure mankind's survival.

This aim will be greatly furthered by the creative efforts of the communist parties and their active participation in the anti-war movement, and also by dialogue and cooperation with various other movements.

Voluntary and equitable cooperation of Communists from all continents is becoming ever more significant. The forms of cooperation, both bilateral and multilateral, should be diversified to meet both the national interests of each fraternal party and the common interests of Communists all over the globe. Mikhail Gorbachov and Georges Marchais said they favoured a large-scale forum of various forces in Europe aspiring to disarmament.

They stressed that CPSU-FCP ties are developing in a spirit of international solidarity and fraternal friendship.

Obstacles to Unity Must be Removed

There is an insistent need for an international front against nuclear weapons. The struggle for preventing a nuclear conflict, for disarmament, and against militarisation of outer space, must be centred on scrapping SDI, banning all nuclear tests, and setting up nuclear-free zones, says a joint statement on the results of bilateral consultations in Bucharest between Nicolae Ceausescu and Kiichi Miyamoto, leaders of the Romanian Communist Party and the Japanese Communist Party. Both parties believe, it says, that to solve vital world issues all barriers to restoring genuine unity in the communist movement can and must be removed.

Joint Efforts Start Bearing Fruit

A report in *An-Nida*, organ of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party, says that at their meeting in Damascus delegations of the Lebanese and Syrian communist parties welcomed the heroic struggle of the Lebanese Patriotic Resistance Front and the inhabitants of the Golan Heights against the Israeli occupation forces. They also emphasised that efforts by the USSR and the Palestine and Arab national liberation movements, their communist parties inclusive, for an international conference on the Middle East have begun to yield positive results, and the idea of such a conference is enjoying growing international support.

The delegations voiced their desire to strengthen mutual cooperation in various fields. They agreed to set up a joint commission to study and write a history of the communist parties of Syria and Lebanon.

After Thirty Years

A delegation of the Communist Party of Greece paid its first visit in 30 years to the People's Republic of China. This is the first step towards improving relations between the CPG and the Communist Party of China. According to *Rizospastis*, the Greek communist paper, the talks were focused on the topics of peace and security. As a result, the views of the parties came closer together. The CPC declared that it agreed with any disarmament initiative and saw in a positive light the Soviet proposals for scrapping all nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

The CPG delegation said that in present-day conditions communist and workers' parties should strengthen their ties and hold bilateral and multilateral discussions on various problems, including controversial issues, to find mutually acceptable decisions.

Ties Resumed

The communist parties of China and Canada have decided to resume ties after a twenty-years interval. This was announced in Beijing at a meeting between William Kashtan, leader of Canada's Communists, and the leadership of the Communist Party of China. The two sides stressed this was in the interests of both parties.

WMR Introduces

OLE SOHN

Chairman, Communist Party of Denmark

IN April 1987, the 28th Congress of the Communist Party of Denmark elected Ole Sohn chairman of the party.

A builder by training, Ole Sohn was born in 1954 in Horsens. He became politically active in the Communist Youth League and was a member of its Board from 1970. In 1972 he joined the Communist Party of Denmark.

A vigorous trade unionist, Ole Sohn became chairman of the Horsens branch of the Unskilled and Semi-Skilled Workers' Union in 1977, and has served on the Board of this union, the biggest in Denmark, since 1980. In 1982-1984 he was a member of the Horsens municipal council.

Ole Sohn was elected to the Central Committee of the party in 1980 and to its Executive Committee in 1983.

JEAN SPIELMANN

General Secretary, Swiss Party of Labour

THE 13th Congress of the Swiss Party of Labour (February 27-March 1, 1987) elected Jean Spielmann SPL General Secretary.

Jean Spielmann was born in 1944 in Geneva. His first job was one of apprentice milling machine operator at the Secheron Works, and he attended evening courses in electrical engineering. Since 1968 he has been working with the Postal, Telegraph and Telecommunications (PTT) Authority in Geneva.

He joined the Swiss Party of Labour in 1967 and has been an SPL member of the Grand Council (parliament) of the Geneva Canton since 1971. The 12th Congress of the SPL (1983) elected him a member of the Political Bureau and a Deputy General Secretary of the party.

Jean Spielmann has been active in the trade union movement since 1964 and was a committee member of the Steelworkers and Watchmakers' Federation. He led the Geneva branch of the PTT Union for several years and is now its vice-president.

Conference In Katmandu

THE Communist Party of Nepal held its Fifth Conference (the first after the Fifth Congress) in Katmandu in February 1987 to discuss preparations for the local elections¹ and to deal with the party's organisational questions. The conference received a message of greetings from Comrade Bishnu Bahadur Manandhar, the imprisoned General Secretary of the CPN Central Committee. The delegates sent their greetings to Comrade

Manandhar and adopted a resolution demanding his unconditional and immediate release.

Comrade Manandhar was arrested on June 4, 1985, while preparing to lead a demonstration in Katmandu with slogans calling for the restoration of democracy. The CPN declared this day the Day of Democratic Unity, thus expressing its solidarity with all those who were raising their voices in defence of democracy. At that time, thousands of political activists and leaders of the Nepali Congress Party and of other organisations were imprisoned. Most of the members of the Political Bureau and of the Central Committee, as well as local leaders of the CPN were arrested. While all the others detained during those days have been released, the authorities continue to keep Comrade Manandhar in prison without bringing any charges against him or citing any reason.

The conference adopted two separate resolutions — on the local elections and on the organisational construction of the party. After the conference a press release was issued by Comrade Nilamber Acharya, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPN, on the party's policy concerning the local elections. The CPN utilised these elections as a form of struggle for the restoration of democracy. In some districts the CPN nominated its own candidates and in others, guided by the line of building broad democratic unity, supported different nominees who advocated these goals.

Bahadur Singh Thapa

¹ Held from March to June 1987. — *Ed.*

In Brief

BRAZIL

The Communist Party branch of the Brazilia federal district has started a newspaper — *Voz*. Its first issue gave coverage to preparations for the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of Brazil and to major international developments. Communist newspapers have been launched in many states of the country this year.

COLOMBIA

The membership of the Colombian Communist Party grew by more than 5,000 last year. Some 400 primary party organisations were formed, many of them in new areas, such as Arauca, Uraba, Cesar, Bolivar and Santander. New zonal committees were set up. This has been reported by the CCP bulletin *El Organizador*.

ECUADOR

The Broad Front of Left Forces (which includes, among others, the Communists), the Socialist Party of Ecuador, the Popular Democratic Movement and other left-wing organisations signed a governmental

programme in late April. It calls for the nationalisation of foreign banks, the suspension of payments on foreign debts, an agrarian reform and other structural innovations. The left-wing leaders decided also to start talks to draw up common lists of candidates to stand in the general elections scheduled for January 1988.

FRANCE

A Plenary Meeting of the CC French Communist Party last May nominated Andre Lajoinie, a member of the Political Bureau and CC Secretary, a candidate for the presidential elections in spring 1988.

JAPAN

According to the final returns of the elections of governors and deputies to the prefecture and municipal assemblies last April, candidates of the Communist Party of Japan (including three candidates of the allied left-wing organisations) won 121 out of the total of 2,670 seats in 44 prefecture assemblies. The Communists now have a total of 145 deputies (including those in the three prefecture assemblies to which no elections were held). The party also gained six seats over the previous election in the municipal assemblies of the nine largest cities to bring the number of its deputies to 80 (out of the total of 665).

POLAND

On December 31, 1986, the Polish United Workers' Party had 2,129,002 full and candidate members in 20,270 primary party organisations. Industrial workers accounted for 38 per cent, farmers 9 per cent, and intellectuals 51.7 per cent of the total. Women make up 27.2 per cent, young people 6.9 per cent and pensioners 17.2 per cent of the membership. In 1986, the PUWP accepted 74,263 new members (44.6 per cent of industrial workers, 6.3 per cent of farmers, and 47.7 per cent of intellectuals). Young people, among them 16,972 members of the Polish youth and student leagues, account for 46 per cent of the replenishment. Altogether 41,444 members dropped out of the party for various reasons last year. The party registered a net gain in membership for the first time in several years, reported the weekly *Zagadnienia i materialy* which published these statistics last April.

SWITZERLAND

The Swiss Party of Labour had 29 candidates elected to the municipal authorities of the Geneva Canton last April. Now ten Communists sit on Geneva's municipal council. The party held its own in the elections while the bourgeois parties surrendered several seats each to the ecologists who won a total of 26 seats.

URUGUAY

The 21st Congress of the Communist Party of Uruguay will be convened in the last quarter of 1988, says a communique on the work of a Plenary Meeting of the CC CPU which took place in May 1987.

viewpoints

Unity Of Arab Peoples — Guarantee Of Independent Development

Rafic Samhoun — CC Political
Bureau member, Lebanese Communist
Party

IN former times, employing brute military force or acting through puppets from among local rulers, the colonialists arbitrarily determined how to use and where to direct the economy of subjugated countries. Theirs was an exclusively self-serving policy. The needs of colonial peoples were disregarded. Some branches of the economy were encouraged (cotton-growing in Egypt, vine-growing in Algeria, silkworm-breeding in Lebanon, and so on), and most of the others were held in check. Foreigners fragmented the conquered nations and artificially redemarcated their frontiers.

Long centuries of exploitation left the former colonies with a misshapen dependent economy that in large measure stunted their development. Today it would be fair to say that the acquisition of political independence alone is not enough for surmounting the socio-economic backwardness of the peoples which have won liberation. The new nation-states still have to tear down the many barriers erected on this road by neocolonialist and neoglobalist policies and shake off the financial and economic fetters imposed by imperialism and transnational corporations. Let us illustrate this with an analysis of the situation mainly in the Arab world.

Growing Dependence

World imperialism, US imperialism in the first place, has a large set of means for sowing divisions between the new nation-states, determining at will the boundaries of their economic development and controlling their economy and natural resources.

Developing, notably Arab, countries have a visibly disadvantaged status in the system of the international capitalist division of labour. Hamstrung by the consequences of colonialist rule, they have to orient their production towards the export of specific agricultural products and raw materials. Over the past few decades the division of labour in the capitalist system has undergone changes: electronics and other modern industries are growing in the leading capitalist states while 'old', traditional industries — mining and primary processing of natural resources — are migrating to the Third World where they find cheap labour and large sources of energy and raw materials. Rather than bringing the new state any real economic

benefits this is giving them a more dependent status in the capitalist world economy.

To attain their objectives the imperialist powers have recourse to political, military, financial-economic, and other instruments. Developing nations are confronted by outposts of world reaction — Israel in the Middle East, South Africa on the African continent, and puppet and dictatorial regimes in Asia and Latin America. They face the menace of aggressive military blocs, the huge fleets patrolling seas and oceans, and the thousands of military bases scattered around the world. The neocolonialists deliberately kindle local conflicts and wars, and ethnic and confessional clashes. Large numbers of people are dying on the battlefields of declared and undeclared wars (the civil war in Lebanon, the Iraq-Iran war, the intervention in Nicaragua, and so forth).

The imperialist powers have trapped many Third World nations in the net of neocolonialism. The rapidly escalating *expansion of the transnational corporations* is the basic economic vehicle for shackling these nations to the principal centres of capitalism.

The new forms of dependence are linked closely also to the colossal growth of the *external debt of developing nations*. If we take just two Arab states — Egypt and Sudan — we shall find that the former's debt has risen to almost 40 billion dollars, and the latter's has exceeded 10 billion dollars. New loans can no longer cover even the interest on such debts.

To this we should add the *widening 'price scissors'*, i.e., the gap between the extremely high prices paid by the developing states for their imports and the abnormally low prices they get for their raw materials exports. For example, in the period from the close of 1985 to the middle of 1986 the price of a barrel of oil dropped from 28 to 10 dollars (it stood at 16-18 dollars at the beginning of this year). An exchange on these terms further upset the trade and payments balances of dependent nations and heightens their need for loans.

The new nation-states are increasing their *spending on armaments*. Their spending now accounts for three-quarters of the arms purchases worldwide. Held in the vice of neoglobalist strategy, the member-states of the Council for Cooperation Among the Arab Countries of the Persian Gulf have spent nearly 400 billion dollars for these purposes during the past 15 years. Nations suffering from appalling poverty and mass hunger are also being drawn into the mire of the ruinous arms race.

Imperialism is now threatening to impose *economic sanctions* in the event Third World states nationalise or expropriate the property of foreign monopolies or limit their revenues (an illustration of this is the threat to freeze Libya's assets). Moreover, in such cases the creditor-nations and their financial centres deny loans to developing countries. The condition of the working people, of the broadest masses, including the middle classes and the intelligentsia, is deteriorating dramatically as a consequence of this economic and financial bondage. There have been many actions by starving people in Egypt, Sudan, and Morocco. And there are signs that similar actions are brewing in Lebanon and other countries.

Deadlock Options

Some Arab bourgeois economists suggest resolving all these problems within the framework of an 'independent capitalist state' that would 'control the process of domestic accumulation', 'the reproduction of labour power, the concentration of money surpluses, the domestic market, natural resources, and technology', and ensure 'the development of a country with its own resources'.¹

In this context the question arises of whether the economic independence of a new nation-state can be ensured by the old bourgeoisie left over from colonial times: this bourgeoisie remains heavily dependent on the imperialist centres and is turning that nation into an object of constant and diverse forms of robbery. It exports raw materials and the output of extracting industries, while any other export industries that it develops are those that consume considerable energy and raw materials and require cheap labour. Such industries are oriented mainly towards the markets of the leading capitalist powers.

Can a country be taken onto the highroad of independent development by those groups of the local bourgeoisie that subjectively seek to accelerate its economic growth and want the national market to be independent but, at the same time, build import-replacing industries manufacturing consumer goods that only the affluent sections of the population can afford to buy? On account of the operation of many factors these local entrepreneurs ultimately come under the laws of the capitalist world market and dictation from the transnationals and find themselves dependent on foreign credits extended by financial centres, on imports of foreign technologies and technological expertise. The success of their businesses depends on how wide they open the doors permitting the transnationals to infiltrate the national economy, the financial sphere, and the local market.

The lessons of history, in the Middle East at least, provide indisputable evidence that the attempts by some sections of the local bourgeoisie to win economic independence for their countries have seldom achieved their purpose. The bonds of dependence on world capitalist centres have remained intact. Any turn by the new states to a policy consistent with their national interests is strongly countered by the imperialists, who have been able to find a common language with some groups of the national bourgeoisie, adapt to the situation in many Arab countries, and enmesh them in relations of dependence of diverse form and magnitude.

New social strata objectively desiring close collaboration with the capitalist world and flourishing as a result of its economic expansion have emerged in the new nation-states after they had won liberation. In some Arab countries these strata consist not only of the big or compradore bourgeoisie, as was the case in the initial period after liberation, but of bureaucratic and parasitical elements that had come from the petty bourgeoisie and now occupy the positions of power. The neocolonialists place their reliance mainly on precisely these elements.

With the passage of time the petty bourgeoisie's customary inconsistent, dual class stand led those of its members who came to power to isolate

themselves gradually from the social interests and national aspirations of the vast majority of their own class, let alone those of the workers, peasants, and all other working people. In the initial period there have been cases where the new governments set out to ensure the independent development of their countries, build the corresponding comprehensive socio-economic structures; more, there have even been cases where they introduced some important political, economic, and social reforms in this direction. However, by virtue of objective and subjective reasons the state leadership was unable to sustain and deepen the movement towards economic independence. The objective reasons included the colonialist exploitation, the inherited backwardness and the deformation of the national economy, the absence of industries manufacturing means of production, and the enforced dependence on imported machinery and foreign capital. Fear of the working class and its ideology and hostility for the people's democratic aspirations were among the subjective reasons.

As the ruling élite degenerated into a bureaucratic, parasitical stratum it acquired new, self-serving interests objectively coinciding with the interests of the old compradore bourgeoisie. This degeneration is taking place because, for one thing, nothing was done to break away from dependence on the world capitalist centres.

Another reason for this is that the bureaucracy used the public sector for personal gain and for obtaining privileges. Their departure from the masses found expression also in the reinforcement of the private capitalist sector and in the gradual paring down of the public sector's progressive content, leaving that sector exposed to the destructive impact of inefficient management, sabotage, and anarchy of production. The parasitical stratum increasingly harnessed the public sector to its own interests, using its potential to build up influence and accumulate large fortunes. The policy pursued by the ruling circles aborted the agrarian reform. The polarisation in the distribution of incomes grew more pronounced, and the improvement of the social conditions of the life of workers, peasants, and the petty bourgeoisie slowed down.

The relations of dependence linking some Arab countries to the capitalist world are "a distinctive feature of the capitalist mode of production predominating in these countries (where it coexists with other modes of production and economic structures). This mode took shape and continues to crystallise under the burden of the dependent relations formed as a result of the long rule by imperialism's colonial system in Arab countries. Currently, these relations are being sustained and deepened as a consequence of the development policy pursued in these countries by the ruling bourgeoisie."²

Take, for example, a very rich Arab nation, Saudi Arabia. What has its economic build-up brought it? A fairly widespread view is that in a developing nation industrialisation is practically a passport to economic independence. But in Saudi Arabia industrialisation is boxed up with the capitalist world market and the international capitalist division of labour, and subordinated to foreign centres that in the long run determine its magnitude, choice of technologies, types of equipment, and so on.

A survey conducted by some Lebanese economists notes that transnational corporations take part in joint industrial ventures when all the expenses for the purchase of equipment and the creation of the needed infrastructure are borne by the Saudis. Most of the burden of funding these ventures is likewise borne by the Saudis although the transnationals have a share of up to 50 per cent in them. The building, equipment, and commissioning of projects as well as the marketing of their products are put in the hands of foreign companies. This increases the expenses on the purchase of machinery, know-how, licenses, services, the import of spare parts, and so on. Most of these projects heavily pollute the environment and do not fit into the relevant norms operating in developed capitalist countries.

As a consequence, it was noted at the Fifth Congress of the Lebanese Communist Party, "in some Persian Gulf states industrial projects (notably, petrochemical complexes) were built without any planned mutual link-up and began to compete with each other. They were not organically tied to the requirements of the domestic market. The imperialist transnational monopolies forced a subordinate marketing status upon them. They depended on the monopolies for their equipment, spare parts, and highly-trained personnel. These circumstances nullified their significance to the development of the national economy."³

Such is the situation in Arab states possessing oil wealth. But the situation is even worse in countries that lack such resources and have a larger population, for instance, Egypt, Sudan, Morocco, and others. Their leadership's socio-economic course and 'open door' policy relative to Western powers, notably the USA, are aggravating the problem of economic development, increasing the army of unemployed, and leading to a deterioration of the people's condition.

The attempts at independent development in the Arab world have shown that *the bonds of foreign dependence can be broken only by coupling the defence of the acquired state sovereignty with efforts to enforce socio-economic changes in the interests of the working masses*. In some Arab countries the problem of national statehood and the restoration of territorial integrity have been a high priority of the class confrontation for years. The working class and other revolutionary democratic forces active in this confrontation are opposed also to foreign capital, the transnational corporations, imperialism's aggressive sorties, military blocs and bases, and to internal reactionary elements who are helping to subordinate the country to foreign interests.

The Lebanese Communist Party's experience is that the people's vital interests are not limited to the satisfaction of their socio-economic requirements. Objectively they are equally interested in problems of national character. *The social status and role of the working class in society commit it to act in defence of national independence and state sovereignty together with all other revolutionary democratic forces*. This task demands considerable sacrifice and is an urgent, pressing matter in addition to being of a long-term character.

The objectives of the Arab peoples' struggle against US imperialism, Israel, and reaction are an equitable and lasting settlement of the Palestine

problem and the Middle East conflict, the liberation of the lands occupied by Israel, and the attainment of Arab unity. Without efforts to achieve common objectives it is hard for a people to assert its legitimate right to have control over its national resources, put economic and social reforms into effect, win economic independence, and do away with backwardness.

Imperialism is out to perpetuate the divisions in the Arab world, fuelling and deepening alienation between states, and seeking to sow disunity in each of them on the basis of religious-communal, ethnic, or some other factors. In this situation the fight for Arab unity becomes the priority task of the working class.

Success in resolving socio-economic and national problems depends on the political attitudes that are usually expressed in the relevant programmes, declarations, and slogans of the forces in confrontation. While exposing the insularity and narrow class character of bourgeois policies, the Communist Party draws up *its own programme for its country's national and social development* in keeping with the stand of the working class and proves in practice that its implementation is most consistent with the aspirations of the masses.

There are some who believe that the problems facing the Arab peoples may be settled exclusively by summit talks between developing non-aligned states themselves and also between them and the leading capitalist powers. Further, it is alleged that the working class, the peasants, and their allies — the urban and rural petty-bourgeois masses, in other words, the vast majority of the population — are indifferent to the challenge of winning economic independence in conformity with national interests.

In fact, it is the people who suffer most from the absence of true state sovereignty and from the encroachments upon their country's independence. Problems of this kind are settled not only at negotiation tables but by militant actions on the part of the working masses. Ultimately, this is closely linked to the *character of the political regime* in developing, including Arab, countries, to changes in the alignment of forces in these countries. It is possible to end foreign exploitation, turn towards genuine economic independence, and surmount age-long backwardness only under a regime that guarantees to the masses political and economic democracy and participation in decision-making. It is the Lebanese Communist Party's view that the establishment of national-democratic government in Lebanon would be a major step along the road to socialism.

The tasks of the present stage of the movement for national liberation and social emancipation in Lebanon can only be carried out by a revolutionary class alliance founded on truly democratic principles, relying on the masses, and uniting all the anti-imperialist forces without exception. These are the working class, the peasants, the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie and middle classes, revolutionary intellectuals, and the political circles that actually represent their interests. This alliance would be made effective by the ideology, political slogans, and practical actions of the working class; by the extension and deepening of the most diverse ideological and organisational links to the masses; and by unity of action on

the part of all revolutionary democratic forces at both the leadership and grassroots levels.

Our party is calling for a *broad revolutionary democratic alliance on the scale of the Arab world* that would be able to cope with the national and socio-economic tasks facing the liberation movement. Such an alliance would open the prospect for putting an end to disunity and establishing mutual relations, coordination, and integration between all the Arab states.

The attainment of the following basic aims would give the development of the new nation-states an anti-imperialist content: the establishment of full sovereignty over economic and natural resources; the neutralisation of imperialist interference in internal economic and political affairs; the establishment of a new international economic order; and the assertion of the right to determine the orientation and character of foreign political and economic relations independently. All of this presupposes society's comprehensive, economic, cultural, and social development through industrialisation, the modernisation of agriculture, the training of national cadres, and the narrowing down, as far as possible, of the gap between the processes of economic growth and social progress. The key to the successful pursuit of this policy lies in *enlisting the masses into decision-making and into the efforts to consolidate what has been achieved*.

A public sector in the economy that would curb foreign capital and use it in the national interest, governmental and public control over the activities of local capital, and the eradication of pre-capitalist relations of exploitation in agriculture would make it possible to accelerate the development of the new independent nations and raise the people's living standard.

Anti-Imperialist Solidarity

Coordinated attitudes and actions by the Arab and other developing nations would contribute to the success of their struggle for equitable, independent, and active participation in the affairs of the world community and to the restructuring of international economic relations in keeping with the principles of justice. In order to advance along the road of social and economic progress the Third World nations need peace and détente founded on the principles of peaceful coexistence and *on broad cooperation with the socialist countries in diverse areas*. Under present-day conditions, especially in a situation of détente, such cooperation would lead to progressive changes in the system of global economic relations and help to build independent economies.

The ongoing internationalisation of capital, the increasing expansion of the transnational monopolies, and the dangerous growth of imperialism's aggressiveness are imperatively posing the question of *tying in the actions of the peoples who have won liberation more closely with those of the working class and mass democratic movements in the citadels of capitalism*. Their concerted efforts would serve to bridge the shocking and steadily widening disparity between the development levels of 'North' and 'South', between rich and poor countries. The continuation of the situation in

which three-quarters of the world's countries are in hopeless debt and a tiny handful of states play the role of omnipotent usurers is fraught with the threat of a social explosion that could destroy the last remnants of stability in international relations.

Our class adversaries have long ago felt themselves endangered by the socio-economic processes taking place in the Third World. They are mustering their material, ideological, and information-propaganda potentialities in order to block the militancy of suffering nations. The anti-imperialist movement in the developing countries is being assisted by the communist and workers' parties of industrialised capitalist powers. The Communists are not confining themselves to statements of support. They are helping the working class and all other working people to act more vigorously and bring pressure to bear on their own imperialist governments with the *aim of bringing about the establishment of a new world economic order and the democratisation of international relations.*

Militant solidarity serves the interests of the working class, of the broad masses in both developing and industrialised countries. This will make a large contribution to the settlement of the central, most vital issue of the century — the removal of the threat of war hanging over the peoples of the world.

¹ Samir Amin, *Seminar on the Independent Development of the Arab World*, Amman (Jordan), 1981 (in Arabic).

² Paper presented by Fada Abdalla (Lebanese economist) at an international symposium in Tripoli, Lebanon, 1986 (in Arabic).

³ *Draft of the Political Report to the Fifth Congress of the Lebanese Communist Party*, 1987 (in Arabic).

Prospects For Nationalization In The US

Daniel Rubin — Political Bureau and
Central Committee Secretariat member,
Communist Party, USA (CPUSA)

USUALLY the US is considered to have little or no experience both with nationalization of the economy and struggle for it. In this view, prospects for further nationalization are seen as far off. This estimate flows from an assessment of the Reagan Administration's policies and strength. It also flows from an assessment of the level and direction of the labor movement and other anti-monopoly forces.

While the US is not on the eve of large-scale nationalization of industry, the objective and subjective factors leading to it are maturing at an

Daniel Rubin (b. 1931), holder of a college degree in law, joined the Communist Party in 1953. From 1959 to 1966 he served as National Secretary of the Communist Youth League. He has been on the National Committee (now Central Committee) since 1959. Since 1963 Daniel Rubin has been elected to the party's governing bodies. He has been a member of the CPUSA Political Bureau since 1975 and of the Central Committee Secretariat since 1984.

unprecedented pace. The Communist Party USA (CPUSA) has long favored nationalization as a radical measure in the interests of the working class and as part of curbing the power of the monopolies.¹ A proper assessment requires examining the main objective developments of the economy and their present and future impact on the working class and other anti-monopoly strata.

Since the early 1970s the qualitative turn in the general crisis of capitalism and its newly sharpening structural crisis have manifested themselves in a substantial slowdown in the rate of growth of gross national product, labor productivity, etc. There is also massive unemployment. Inability of capitalist production relations to accommodate the scientific and technological revolution (STR) is evident in many respects. While in 'research intensive' sectors, introduction of technology is extremely rapid, most of 'labor intensive' industries are being abandoned. Often only the biggest transnationals or developed capitalist governments can afford the necessary investments to keep up with technological developments. Plant closings and buy-outs by bigger monopolies result even in high-tech industries.

The STR, especially in such areas as transportation and communications, together with related changes in capitalist forms of ownership — the transnational and conglomerate — have greatly increased the mobility of capital. Internationalization of capital, in turn, has further contributed to the sharpening of the contradiction between the increasingly social character of production and capitalist ownership of production. It contributes to the growing tendency toward instability and stagnation of US capitalism, even alongside rapid progress in limited branches of the economy. In his report to the National Conference in July 1986 Comrade Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, called these contradictory processes "an era of crises" for US capitalism.

The monopolies see militarization as a major means of allaying the contradictions. While this is, of course, largely routed in the drive to dictate to the rest of the world, even to US allies, it also has immediate profit motives. Militarization is a major cause of the huge chronic annual federal deficit of \$2½ trillion that requires \$150 billion a year to finance. It is a factor causing civilian sectors to fall behind technologically and be abandoned.

Prominent in the plans of US capitalism to overcome its difficulties is an all-sided attack on the standard of living of all non-monopoly strata of the population, particularly our multi-national, multi-racial, male and female working class. Basically the aim is to increase the rate of exploitation of the workers by intensifying labor, reducing wages and benefits and cutting social welfare programs. All this affects especially harshly those sections of the working class and others who are racially oppressed. Real wages have declined steadily since 1973 for a total decline of 14.3%. Unemployment has never declined below 6.8% in the 1980s. The officially defined poverty rate, which reached 12% in 1978, was 14% of the population in 1986 or 33 million people living in poverty,

The labor movement and working people generally are moving in the direction of increasing social struggle on all fronts — on the shop floor, in

strike situations, for affirmative action and against racism, for democratic rights, on peace, disarmament and against US intervention around the world. The labor movement is showing much more vitality, fighting spirit and solidarity.

The question of nationalization should be seen in the light of the inability of capitalism to utilize the STR and internationalization of economic life for the benefit of the people. As these problems grow, only working class power and building of socialism can really answer them, but *nationalization while capitalism exists is a logical step to begin to meet the difficulties.* It creates better conditions for the struggle of the working class and other anti-monopoly strata for their interests.

Meanwhile, from the standpoint of monopoly capital as a whole, objective developments are promoting the need for limited, pro-monopoly forms of nationalization in certain industries. This is consonant with the overall trend of increased regulation of the economy in view of the growing instability of the world capitalist market. For example, there is government aid to keep extractive, energy and basic manufacturing as well as a range of service industries in the US to meet the needs of transnationals and to ameliorate social protest. The biggest new developments of the STR require huge amounts of investment for research and development with a whole time period of high risk and low return. This is when the Government directly organizes the activity and finances most of the costs, especially in military-related branches.

The nationalized sector in the US is much smaller than in the West European capitalist countries, but it exists. It includes natural resources on the 40% of the land area still owned by the federal government, public services such as the postal administration, power and transport facilities, nuclear fuel factories and the like.

There is a history of nationalization and of the struggle for it to build on. The labor movement from its founding favored nationalization of particular industries and expansion of governmental responsibility for social services. For example, the United Mine Workers called for coal nationalization in 1921. The CIO was part of the mass movement that during the Great Depression of 1929-1933 won public works, unemployment insurance, etc., that reduced hardships and led to public power that produces 25% of all electric power today. During the Cold War, support for nationalization waned. About 10 years ago, labor support began to build up again, starting with union locals at plants threatened with shutdown in steel, autos, etc. At their last convention, the steelworkers (USWA) supported nationalization as a possible alternative. William Winpisinger, President of the Machinists, and other unions representing a quarter of the organized workers have taken similar positions.

The unions believe that nationalization gives some possibility of stable production and employment in basic industries: in steel, 200,000 jobs have been lost in the last few years. Closures threaten many communities, towns and cities, affecting every aspect of life. There are increasing examples of city governments seeking to take over plants that threaten closure.

Within the system of state-monopoly capitalism, the Federal Government serves as the executive of the monopoly capitalists. But it also

tends itself to operate like a giant monopoly corporation, selling government property to cover huge military spending and pursuing other measures that cause immense annual budget deficits. The main tendency of the Reagan Administration, however, is clearly toward privatization. In March 1987 it sold Conrail, a railroad company, and now wants to sell off Amtrak, another railroad, and unprofitable enterprises like the uranium processing plants. It is also selling land and natural resources. There are attempts at privatizing public education. Earlier capitalism needed mass public education of workers. Now it needs only a small sector who are highly educated. In the view of the state-monopoly elite, massive permanent unemployment and the effects of the STR produce little need for a universal, quality public education system. So it attempts to destroy public education while privatizing sectors of it.

There is a growing popular opposition to these attempts at privatization and at destruction and giveaway of natural resources. Thus attempts by oil, gas, and coal strip mining monopolies to rip off these resources have met with a number of recent defeats. In addition to the growth of popular opposition, sectors of monopoly often oppose privatization. Aluminium companies oppose putting the hydro power facilities of Bonneville in monopoly hands because their low energy rates for smelting would soar. Privatization of rail freight and of US Postal Service would also mean higher rates for many monopolies. So far, despite new technical developments and hidden subsidies, no monopoly purchaser has been found for the uranium processing plants.

The current Administration is under the sway of the reactionary ideological essence of Reaganism which extols the spontaneous workings of the capitalist market place and attacks government ownership as 'smacking of communism.' There is *the bourgeoisie's class fear of what nationalization may lead to*. The Reagan Administration makes use of old-time monopoly propaganda, claiming that market competition is the source of all positive economic developments, that the government cannot interfere competently in the economy, and that this meddling would only restrict 'free enterprise.' Therefore, the role of the government must diminish and privatization is necessary. There is much that, at first glance, appears to support this line of argument. A monopoly capitalist government, unless under great mass pressure, will operate to favor the monopolies. That means corruption in collusion with the monopolies, favoritism, inefficiency and bureaucracy.

But the main trends of public opinion are now moving counter to this line of argument. Polls taken in recent years indicate that working people oppose any decrease of government social welfare programs, education, public transportation, health care, the infrastructure. Despite their criticism of what is monopoly capitalist government, working people have learned from the first years of the Reagan Administration that they are worse off as a result of certain decreases of government activity.

There is also experience of many with certain kinds of government activity that was introduced under mass pressure. This pressure has forced the government-controlled Tennessee Valley Administration and Bonneville power projects to take steps for flood prevention. Millions of

working people still enjoy Federal and State Parks which, despite deterioration, remain models of efficient, free or low priced public recreation. Train service and conditions picked up for a time when Amtrak took over after the monopolies abandoned the Eastern railroads. There are other examples of government ownership and management comparing favorably to that of the monopolies — such as the Power Authority of the State of New York (PASNY) and its low rate, relatively efficient and safe power compared to Long Island Light & Power Co. (LILCO) — so much so that even the Republican New York Senate favors a takeover of LILCO.

The CPUSA has been very active in promoting nationalization in the concrete struggles over plant closings. The build-up of a movement for State and Federal legislation providing a mechanism for nationalization when plants threaten to close would help make nationalization appear a timely alternative to the workers. At the same time *our party calls for nationalization not only of declining industries and plants but also for radically curbing the power of the monopolies, for takeover of some of the most powerful and hated monopolies — oil, energy, banking, drug and medical equipment.* There is also the question of nationalization of military industry, of taking the profits out of armaments, within the framework of slashing military spending, and channelling the money thus saved into civilian production, for peace and disarmament.

We understand that nationalization under capitalism does not solve the problems of the working class and other anti-monopoly strata or resolve the contradictions of capitalism. It is not some 'socialism under capitalism'. Even if the working class and anti-monopoly forces are in a position to control all of the policy decisions and correctly pursue these interests, they are still surrounded by the monopoly capitalist environment. They must purchase from hostile monopolies and sell to them. They must either secure investment capital to begin the production cycle or to renew technology at going technical levels from monopoly financial institutions or from governmental institutions which at one level or another are still dominated by monopoly interests. They will be strongly affected by the economic cycle, inflation, high interest rates, the structural crisis, etc. There will be continual attempts to return control, if not ownership, and to force individual aspects of policy to conform to monopoly interests.

Public power utilities and the US Postal Service now charge the monopolies lower rates paid for by small users or out of the public treasury. Public hospitals become milking agencies for big insurance, drug, medical equipment, real estate, construction and banking companies.

The experience of our country and other developed capitalist countries is that even nationalization initially won by popular pressure and started for anti-monopoly interests has proven unable, without notable exception so far, to hold that course. Moreover, it has suffered at least temporary reversal of direction. *The anti-monopoly character of nationalization is thus continuously threatened in capitalist society.*

The central problem is who is in a position to decide the full range of policies of the nationalized sector and which class nationalization is to benefit. *The CPUSA stresses nationalization 'under democratic control.'*

This is some assurance to workers to protect them from arbitrary action of a government loyal to private capital. The unions, the workers, other anti-monopoly strata need to have a clear majority on the controlling board. This body should be independent in its authority from the general executive arms of government. It should have assured access to governmental funds and credit for necessary investment which must include keeping the technological level up to the going level. If investment depends on monopoly controlled government decision, it is only a matter of time, given the need for rapid renewal to compete, for pinched profits. This would create pressure for layoffs, wage and benefit reductions, curtailment of production and its quality, decreased sales, etc. and the ending of the nationalization entirely or of its anti-monopoly direction.

When we speak of 'nationalization' we include *a whole variety of forms of public ownership* at the city, state or Federal level, whether directly owned and operated or through an 'authority', etc. We support even a small city takeover using the right of eminent domain, condemning private property for a 'public use' with reimbursement. Our preference, however, is for units with bigger resources such as a Federal authority with respect to a whole industry.

In any situation we stress the need for independence of a democratically controlled public entity. If nationalization is to mean job security, affirmative action,² model wages and conditions, quality products at reasonable prices to non-monopoly sectors, these conditions of democratic control and source of investment capital are necessary.

It is also necessary for the inevitable monopoly attacks and monopoly caused economic problems to be met by a fighting policy on the part of the democratic management, the union, workers and general anti-monopoly people's movement. Any retreat from the chosen course may lead to a turning point in which nationalization serving anti-monopoly interest begins to serve the monopolies and/or promotes privatization. On the other hand, nationalization, even initiated by monopoly, can be transformed into an instrument of anti-monopoly advance by mass struggle. This would mean *a new plateau from which to struggle for major democratic intervention in the monopoly controlled economy*.

We are still at the stage of seeking to win nationalization of material production sufficient to establish the principle that public ownership under democratic control is a real alternative to the rapaciousness of the monopolies. This will help to create the basis for a new level of consciousness that challenges monopoly domination in general. As Gus Hall put it in relation to the struggles of the steel workers, "there is absolutely no other solution for the steel industry except a takeover of the whole industry . . . It becomes an immediate issue, a realistic demand."³ Nationalization is on the agenda, and our party is deeply involved in the struggle for it.

¹ See *New Program of the CPUSA*, New York, 1982.

² Measures aimed at eliminating existing ethnic inequality on the shop floor and in society. — Ed.

³ *People's Daily World*, August 21, 1986.

Intellectuals In Present-Day French Society

Gerard Streiff — CC member, French Communist Party, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the weekly *Révolution*

THE question of intellectuals was considered at a plenary meeting of the FCP Central Committee in June of last year.¹ This same question was discussed at a sitting of the National Council in February 1980 in Bobigny. In specifying our understanding of the social role played by intellectuals, we showed, in particular, that they include not only leading figures of the intellectual community but, above all, the millions of working people participating in society's life, especially in production. Note was made at the time of the important circumstance that these are not a special category of persons standing aloof from the problems disturbing the world, but persons encountering the same exigencies and difficulties as everybody else. On this point our conclusions could not be final, for the pace of social change has quickened, aggravating the crisis, and the evolution of the role played by intellectuals in France today had to be reassessed.

The past 30 years have witnessed a dramatic expansion of the sphere of intellectual work. In the days of the Popular Front only 2 per cent of the economically active population were intellectuals; in the 1950s their proportion rose to 10 per cent, and today it adds up to 25 per cent, of whom nine-tenths are hired workers. In the private sector one in every five employees is an intellectual; in the public sector, one in every four, and among state employees — administration, education, and medical services — every second person.

There has been a feminisation of this work: women comprise one-third of the intellectual community. Three-fourths of the teachers of elementary classes and more than half the teachers of secondary schools are women.

As a body this social category has become younger. Within less than 20 years the number of students, for instance, has doubled and is reaching one million. Future intellectuals are confronted by money-motivated selection: the education process does not meet with the requirements of the day, and the demand for specialists is diminishing. Students have no certainty about their future. They are asking questions about it and are rejecting the present policy in higher education. This was admirably shown by the youth actions of November and December 1986.

The growing scale of intellectual activity is an outcome of the scientific and technological revolution, which has led to an extension of the share of the intellectual work in all areas of life, beginning with production. Hence the steady and considerable increase of the number of technicians, managerial workers, engineers, and other persons working by brain in

Gerard Streiff — member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party since the 23rd Congress that was held in 1979. He was the *L'Humanité* correspondent in Moscow in 1983-1985 and then became the Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the journal *Révolution*. He is the author of the book *The Dynamism of Gorbachov*.

areas linked to the circulation of merchandise and capital. In an urbanised society new technology infiltrates all social and production activity, changes the character of consumption and the way of life, and raises communication and services — education, research, and the health, judicial, administrative, information, distributive, social, and cultural services — to an unprecedented level.

A New Image

All these changes and contradictions have induced the French Communists *to make a critical reassessment of their old view of intellectuals*. The intelligentsia no longer presents a picture of a relatively small and socially homogeneous community isolated from production, a community of persons each of whom privately, in seclusion, engages in his or her professional, purely mental activity (teacher handling all subjects in a class; a scientist working by himself in a laboratory; a physician possessing all known biomedical knowledge).

"In their vast majority," it was stated in the report to the plenary meeting, "today's intellectuals are hired workers using specific implements of labour under conditions in which the development of technology requires a high level of professionalism. Intellectuals employed at industrial enterprises or in the services industry have complex relations with other working people. They perform responsible duties, managing finances, negotiating contracts, and heading production collectives. The purely mental and narrow individual aspect of their activities has been pushed into the background on account of the technical nature of the tasks being addressed by them and due to the interlocking of various functions within the collectives, professional cooperation, inter-industry exchange and, in some cases, international relations."

Yet another image has receded into the past: it is that of the intellectual as the custodian of truth and the ideals of justice, and the spokesperson of those who are denied a voice. In France there is, of course, a long-standing tradition linking the activity of intellectuals and the struggle for progress, in which a notable role has been played by the French Communist Party. But this link is weakening. The image of the intellectual is undergoing a modification under the impact of social changes, the crisis, and the specialisation of labour by brain. Have the intellectuals, in the given case, not become wage or salary workers at the level of all the other working people? We do not think so for two reasons.

In France intellectuals are not reduced to some socio-professional category. Although the image of the intellectual as the arbiter of thought is being gradually erased, this notion remains in people's minds and affects the relations between them. The symbolic function of the intellectual as a personality does not fade.

Moreover, the very real process by which labour by hand and labour by brain come together is only emerging and is not leading to the disappearance of intellectuals. On the contrary, the significance of intellectual professions is being reaffirmed.

Consequently, *the concept of the intellectual persists. But social changes*

have profoundly affected its meaning. The intelligentsia, as I have already noted, is not a homogeneous social category. Some intellectuals have come from the bourgeoisie or strata close to it, others are from the working class. Hence the growing distinction in the status and behaviour of the various groups. But there also are powerful factors drawing these groups closer to each other. For instance, the attitude to the product of thought — knowledge, ideology, artistic creations, intellectual values. Out of this stems a correct understanding of the potentialities of our time and of the prospects for progress, as well as the doubts about what ultimately comes of this progress.

The capitalist crisis is seen diversely by intellectuals, some of whom succumb to the temptation to offer individualistic decisions that look to them to be the most realistic way of surmounting difficulties in their professions or everyday life. The intelligentsia is looking for its new image, and today, more than ever before, it bears the imprint of specialisation and professionalism. The outstanding personality, who spoke for and in the name of everybody, is being replaced by the mounting individual and collective role of a numerous army of intellectuals who are coming into ever closer contact with real life.

The Role of Culture

It is important to examine the present cultural situation in France in this context. In Bobigny we defined culture as being an organic sum of elements that allow citizens to take their own destiny and their common history into their own hands.

But the crisis of society, undermined chiefly by the conflict between the human being and profit, permeates the entire fabric of our social life, and this means culture, as well, in which the imperative of capitalist profitability is becoming increasingly predominant. While the technological revolution is radically reshaping mental activity and functions, the capitalist industry of culture directs and mutilates these changes. Moreover, in this area, too, capital is imposing its own model of a two-speed society in which the élite enjoys all that is best while the majority has to rest content with the mediocre.

To put it in a nutshell, money is appropriating progress. In the long run, the distinctive character of French culture is called in question: superstition disputes the terrain of rationalism, the law of the jungle ousts humanism, the manoeuvres of politicians are clothed in the garb of progress. Culture itself is in crisis for it is incapable of responding to the major problems of the close of this century. This is seen clearly in the example of television and the school.

But there is a more serious circumstance: there is a widening gulf between the colossal growth of the human being's objective capabilities and the feeble use of these capabilities by the mass of individuals.

"This is a question of civilisation", the report notes, stressing that "the crisis of culture arises from its base, the economic crisis, but in its turn the latter intensifies the crisis of society and acquires the magnitude of a global crisis of society, a crisis of civilisation, which is essentially a crisis of class society."

The Communists oppose this prospect of cultural decline with a broad strategy for cultural development. Of course, this presumes a new approach to culture, a renunciation of the "idealistic vision of culture", of the "long habit (which, despite appearances, has very little in common with materialism) of regarding society as consisting of tiers: the economy at the bottom, politics in the middle, and ideology and culture at the top".

Thus although the idea of a 'cultural solution' to the crisis is misconceived, no way out of the crisis can be found without a powerful cultural dimension. All aspects of cultural life must be kept constantly in mind: science, technology, art, sports, morals, civic activity, and politics.

This shows that in our efforts to resolve the capitalist crisis, in other words, in our struggle for a democratic advance towards self-administering socialism in the French way, it is important to pose not only economic or political problems but also cultural problems.

New Criterion

In this context we propose some common objectives: an increase of investments in culture; measures against all social injustices; the eradication of barriers between the different sectors of culture (education, production, research, creativity, and so on); and the institution of public and national responsibility in the sphere of culture. We reject the spurious dilemma — domination of private interests or of state interests. The main thing is to encourage decentralisation, plurality, comparison of views, and self-administration. The FCP champions freedom of culture and the distinctive identity of French cultural life; it advocates productive international exchanges and is against the imitation of standard foreign models.

Quite naturally, *the party gives much of its attention to education and professional training.* It would be no exaggeration to say that our analysis of the crisis of schools and institutions of higher learning has been fully borne out in the powerful actions of students and school pupils, which received instant support from the Communists, who, of course, accorded full respect for the independence of this movement. Its first major triumph was the abrogation of the Devaquet law.²

What have we been saying since June 1986?

That on the pretext of reducing state interference in the affairs of the school the authorities are seeking to dismantle the public sector in education, revoking democratic guarantees and intensifying segregation. Preference is given to a system of education adapted to a society developing 'at multiple speeds'. This signifies a radical reorientation, under the direction of capital, of all forms of education, the management of our education system in accordance with the tenets of financial profitability.

This strategy of the Right is, in effect, a continuation of the school policy that has been pursued in recent years by the Socialist Party.

The Communists are proposing new criteria in this area — such as a state attitude, freedom, justice, equality, quality, progress, the lifting of barriers, cooperation, efficiency, plurality, and responsibility.

Since there is a multitude of private educational establishments in the country, we feel it is vital to define their mission as part of the national system of education.

The Communist Party's analysis also addresses the problems of art. The present government's policy (which, while containing nothing new, only accentuates the policies of its predecessors) is simple: making art more dependent upon private interests and, in effect, bringing art under the dictatorship of money. State allocations have already been cut back. We reject this logic and support those workers in art who are demanding a new cultural policy under conditions of plurality and decentralisation.

The FCP's stand relative to freedom of creative work and criticism envisions a definitive abandonment of any utilitarian, norm-setting concept and, at the same time, freedom for the expression of our views, the standpoint of Marxism, and the opportunity to contrast it to other opinions and attitudes. The multiplicity of aesthetic currents, works, and perceptions of reality vitally needed for artistic creativity should, we believe, correspond to the multiplicity of criticism. It should not be reduced to a simplistic negation nor to a universal slant towards any favoured style — aesthetic, ideological or political. Our experience is that it is not easy to achieve such diversity. To define the main trends of artistic creativity in all areas there has to be a profound, critical analysis of works, but much too often such an analysis is not made although there are good examples of such an approach in our newspapers and journals. It is this sort of work, which is a key component of any pluralistic criticism, that the Communist intellectuals are called upon to do if, without bowing to dogmatic simplifications, we really want to put an end to explosive eclecticism at a time when art is moulding the thinking of millions upon millions of people.

A Needed Dialogue

Thus, in a situation witnessing the broad development of intellectual activity and the mass conversion of intellectuals into hired workers the *promotion of culture cannot be regarded as a minor issue and the intellectuals cannot be regarded as an auxiliary force. It is no longer a question of winning them, as we had once said, to the side of the working class. The old concept of alliance was consistent with the former situation.* Today it is a question of finding common ground.

How is this to be achieved?

A dialogue is necessary between the intellectuals and the Communist Party. The aggressiveness now being displayed by the conservative forces is making this dialogue urgent. The shift to the right in French society does not date from the parliamentary election of March 16, 1986. The ground for it was prepared by the policy of compromises pursued by the Socialist Party, a policy which discouraged progressive circles. From this standpoint, the response of intellectuals has been very eloquent indeed.

Since the mid-1970s we have been speaking of the ideological war started by imperialism to undermine faith in socialism, compel intellectuals to turn away from the political struggle, and spread historical pessimism. After

1981 the Socialist Party of France committed itself to full participation in this campaign with the objective of weakening us. Its efforts were directed towards making people accept the idea that a crisis was inevitable and discrediting revolutionary ideas. These efforts had repercussions, influencing intellectuals in particular.

Of course, we have always soberly assessed the intelligentsia and have never shared the opinion that the concepts of intellectual and proponents of progressive views are inseparable. Furthermore, we have never presumed that Marxist views were predominant among intellectuals. As in the whole of society, there are among them various schools of political thought and a very real rightist cultural tradition. However, between 1958 and 1981 there was a tangible upsurge of progressive trends among them, and this was used mainly by the Socialist Party. And since its policy largely bore the stamp of right views, the idea of the inevitability of crisis, the hostility for socialist countries, and the bellicose anti-Marxism did indeed influence many intellectuals.

The Communists have been alerting the public to the danger of this drift since 1977. But we were not heard. No wonder that there was confusion among intellectuals within a few years. Left-wing intellectuals discredited their own ideals. At the same time, those of the right wing increasingly extolled their views: they touched up their doctrine of biological inequality and caste contempt for ordinary people, proclaimed the most retrograde irrationalism as the summit of human thought, presented the development of morals as a decline of morale, and whitewashed the ultra-Right in order to form a holy alliance against the Communists. The Right sought to give their views a modern varnish, depicted capitalism as the luminous future of humanity, identified freedom with competition, progress with élitarian selection, and the development of the individual with individualism, cultivated a money cult in children, made the successful capitalist out to be the model of the modern hero, and portrayed imperialism's subversive operations as the ultimate virtue of our time.

The Communist Party has remained the sole centre of resistance to this evolution. But in this struggle it is not easy for us to come to terms with many intellectuals, for between them and us there are deep-seated prejudices and significant divergences on key issues. Such as, for example, the attitude to the socialist countries, the role of the working class, and the functions of the Communist Party.

We have to convince the intellectuals that although the present struggle is a hard one the future is not dead. We are indeed living in an epoch of revolutions and we expect much from the coming century. There has to be clarity on the important issue that the Right, which has taken revenge, will not be vanquished if we are rejoined by the Left that had capitulated. The genuinely progressive road of action is today embodied in class struggles, in the struggle for socialism in the French way. This is an immense task, but the magnitude of the ongoing popular actions in France shows that the forces of change should not be underrated.

It is unquestionable that there has been a real deterioration of relations between the intelligentsia and the party, but it is also true that there is the

possibility of rapidly and dramatically extending our influence among intellectuals.

This requires *a further invigoration of the political struggle* (particularly relative to problems such as education or television) *and, above all, our broader participation in the battle of ideas*. We are constantly witnessing incredible scenes of intellectual illusionism and terror, where those who do not support the power of money are branded as adversaries of progress, where negation of socialism is called realism, the revolutionary struggle is called an anachronism, servility to anti-communism is called moral courage, and class criticism is called 'ponderous language'. And all this is taking place in a situation witnessing a staggering degeneration of the ideological polemic, attempts at totally stupefying public opinion, and a confused flight from real issues.

We feel that it is our duty to assert our communist identity more actively in these battles, acting honestly and openly, in a polemical spirit. Hence the significance that is attached to our press, to the newspapers *L'Humanité* and *L'Humanité-Dimanche* and the journal *Révolution*.

Naturally, the Communist intellectuals have a special role to play in the fulfilment of these tasks.

It is less permissible than ever before to regard our work with intellectuals as secondary, and we should, more than ever before, boldly rely on their experience, support their aspirations and, together with them, promote transformative, unifying activity, foster the most animated and open exchange of ideas, and pose major problems of the future.

¹ See the report delivered by Guy Hermier at a plenary meeting of FCP Central Committee, *L'Humanité*, June 18, 1986.

² A law on a reform of institutions of higher learning proposed by the conservative government.

You Cannot Tame A Hyena

Volodia Teitelboim — CC Political Commission member, Communist Party of Chile

THE almost 14 years of the Pinochet dictatorship have been the grimmest and most tragic period in Chile's history, while for the Communist Party these have been years of a terrible ordeal. Pinochet sees communism as his principal enemy. For us this is indeed an honour. The dictator recently again gave vent to his maniacal hatred. In an interview for the newspaper *El Mercurio* he repeated that he would make short shrift of the Communists (a statement that has become his stock-in-trade). In fact,

Volodia Teitelboim (born 1916) is a prominent civic and political personality, writer, and publicist. He joined the party in 1932 and was elected a member of the party's CC Political Commission in 1945. Prior to the fascist coup of 1973 he was a member of the Senate. He is the Editor-in-Chief of the Madrid-based journal *Araucaria de Chile*.

when he staged the coup of September 11, 1973 he vowed to destroy the Communist Party. It seemed to him that our organisation could be dismantled by butchering thousands of Communists. But the party that this obsessed 'caballero' had pledged to snuff out is alive and not complaining about its health. Today, more than ever, it has the affection of the working people. Even bourgeois ideologists are conceding that the Communists are now one of the most influential forces in the country. Also, there has been a rise of their moral prestige, the foundation of which is their boundless devotion to the working people's interests. The Communist Party has demonstrated that it is a tireless proponent of determined action to unite the entire opposition.

But murder is not Pinochet's sole occupation. He is also a liar. It is not true that his regime is harassing only Communists. His first act was to ban all political organisations. Of course, the main victims of the repressions have been the parties that represent the people, the left currents, but day after day the tyrant slings mud at the Christian Democrats whom, in his 'delicate' martinet language, he calls 'political degenerates'. As far as he is concerned every person opposed to the dictatorship is a 'degenerate'.

In the face of the Pinochet tyranny the left forces, the entire opposition, have to go on *constantly reinforcing their militant unity*. Moreover, it is vital to see that in order to defeat the common enemy the internecine strife must come to an end and there must be harmony among the opponents of the regime. The essence of this regime must be clearly understood and the actual situation has to be assessed soberly.

No political party is free of errors. But the Right-centrists in Chile have been more short-sighted than anybody else. It is common knowledge that the conspiracy against the lawful government of President Salvador Allende was orchestrated in Washington, which not only provided the funds but gradually involved a large section of the bourgeoisie, whose parties supported the coup. There were 'civilian generals', who blew the democratic regime up from within and rubbed their hands with joy in advance. They counted on the military to do their dirty work for them, perpetrate a bloodbath, and then return power to the Centrists and the Right, in other words, to the notorious 'forces of order', the 'decent crowd', who would resurrect a conservative state of the old model. What tragic naivete! The Communist Party used every possible argument to make it plain that they were pushing the nation into a trap that would close on them as well. But the 'decent crowd' remained deaf. If it is true that repentant sinners go to paradise, present-day Chile is obviously no paradise. Regrettably, to this day many have not learnt the lessons of the recent past.

A 'Tame' Fascism

On October 11, 1973, in its first message to the people following the fascist coup, the Communist Party characterised the Pinochet regime as a fascist tyranny, noting that it was the deadliest enemy of all forms of freedom and democracy, an enemy which had ruthlessly trampled human rights and suppressed everybody refusing to serve it without question. At the time it

seemed that this message was a voice from the wilderness. The Communists, our Socialist allies, and many activists of the Popular Unity,¹ who had level-headedly and objectively assessed the tragic reality of those days in the light of the fascist 'experience' of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco, in the light of events in other countries, at once identified the true nature of 'tame' fascism, to which my country fell victim. There was no change in its essence and practices, but in Chile it had a concrete plan — to establish a 'termless' military dictatorship. Despite obvious facts, which incessantly belied their expectations, some political leaders of the bourgeois élite did not relinquish their hope of winning freedom of action and power without a struggle and without overthrowing Pinochet. This interests them much more than the restoration of democracy. To this day it does not occur to some people that it is hopeless to try and tame hyenas. They still think they can get astride a tiger.

Metamorphosis of Fascism

Historians studying the fascist dictatorship may define several stages of its history. Upon becoming the chairman of the ludicrously sounding 'Legislative Commission', General Humberto Gordon (he claims to be a political thinker of note), a new member of the ruling junta and the former chief of the Chilean secret police, is offering his own pattern of time spans for the latest period of Chilean history. First he singles out a phase that he modestly calls the "period of harmonious and gradual development". Actually, these were years when democracy was dismantled and the Chilean economy was unsettled. The second stage, this self-styled theorist adds in a doctrinaire tone, was "what some prefer to call 'transitional' but I believe it would be more correct to describe as 'transformative'". The third stage, which best of all throws the spotlight on the dictatorship's intentions, is characterised by our gallant general as "a time of consolidation achieved by the present government with an eye to the future". Here's where he lets the cat out of the bag: precisely "with an eye to the future"! But has this 'future' a time element? It has not. What the general wants is clear as day: to block any possibility for the nation's return to democracy. He says bluntly, repeating the thoughts of his lord and master: "We will never, under any pretext, permit putting back the clock which has shown the best hours in Chile's history."

The Communists have always understood that *the dictatorship would under no circumstances permit freedom*. Gordon did not fortuitously use the word 'never'. Nor can this be brushed aside. Chile will indeed never acquire freedom if its citizens relinquish the struggle, which is the only means for compelling the tyrant to abandon the plans for perpetuating the dictatorship. It would be a waste of breath merely to talk, just as it would be a waste of time to hope that Pinochet would agree to hold free elections. There is only one thing to be done, and it is to put an end to despotism.

Sellers of the Skin of an Untrapped Bear

There is little doubt that the dictatorship in Chile would not have lasted this long had the Right-centrists not erred so cruelly in their evaluation of

the regime, had they not erected so many barriers to unity, and had they fought consistently side by side with the Communists against the common enemy. But many of them are acting like players on a football field marked out by the tyranny, scoring goals not against the opponent but into the goalmouth of the opposition to him. One sometimes gets the impression that with their laudation of the pathologically anti-communist regime and of the dollar empire's strategic anti-communism they are a Trojan horse. Had these gentlemen not been helping the dictatorship to survive all these years? Instead of fighting it had they not been trying to 'milk the neighbour's cow', hoping to bring in 'their own' president and foretasting the 'joys of power'? Some are already now raising the question of a future hegemony of the Right. A Latin American statesman has likened such people to the would-be hunter trying to sell the bearskin before he has caught the bear, or to a diver whose thoughts are on taking a rest before he has even come near the diving-board. First it is necessary to catch the bear or take the dive. So with the dictatorship: it has to be pulled down before there can be any talk about restoring freedom in Chile.

Why We Are Urging a Mass Popular Rising

The Communists consider that there have been two major periods since the coup: the first lasted until 1980, and the second continues to this day.

For the first seven years we fought ceaselessly, calling upon the opposition to come to an agreement and act jointly with us. But we constantly ran into a wall of incomprehension. Towards the close of this period some Centrists and traditional Rightists began to join the left opposition. In 1980 the transition to the oncoming stage was marked by two dissonant but interlocked events: Pinochet's bogus plebiscite and the Communist Party's declaration, made public by its General Secretary Luis Corvalan, calling for a *mass popular rising*.²

The Pinochet regime's phony constitution is a document which the opposition does not read very much. It is thereby doing itself a disservice, for a close reading makes it clear that the dictatorship is out to prolong its rule indefinitely, to be more exact, not only to the close of the present century but well into the next. In the above-mentioned interview for *El Mercurio* Pinochet boasted that in Chile there was complete order, that there were no problems. If he died there would be a successor. The regime's succession he said was guaranteed by the armed forces, which, according to the 'Constitution' had become a sort of 'government within a government' through the National Security Council. In other words, any civilian president in the twenty-first century would be no more than a puppet of the military. This is the dictatorship's cherished design.

The strategy of mass popular rising, charted by the Communist Party, takes into account the dictator's bluntly stated aspiration to perpetuate his regime. It is obvious to everybody that this can only be prevented by total dedication to the struggle, and this is exactly what the Chilean Communists have been demonstrating from the outset. We are aware that uncompromising resistance to fascism will be ineffective if one fails to utilise the entire spectrum of forms of class struggle. *Only parliamentary*

methods of struggle and an attitude to the regime as though it were just another bourgeois democratic government are ineffective as means of counteracting the brutal dictatorship.

It should not be forgotten that in 1969 the Communists went out into the streets to defend the Christian Democratic government of Eduardo Frei against mutineers led by General Viaux. The precedent for this had been set by our party's founder Luis Emilio Recabarren, who in 1924 supported President Arturo Alessandri deposed by the military. We thereby demonstrated our respect for democratic institutions despite the fact that in both cases we were an opposition party. But in 1973, when the military decided to attack the Constitution, the Christian Democrats failed to respond with a similarly lofty sense of civic duty. Who then defended democracy and who denied it protection? We are putting this question today to those who closed their eyes to what was happening and are to this day hurling the charge that those who sacrificed their lives to protect rule by the people were anti-democratic. There is no credible evidence that in the course of the 65 years since it was founded the Communist Party of Chile has committed a single anti-democratic action. Such evidence cannot be produced because on this count the Communist Party's record is impeccable.

However, we still have to explain the essence of our 'mass popular rising' formula. This new formula does not fit into the classical definitions of non-violent or violent struggle. Strictly speaking, such a rising is neither the former nor the latter. It represents an *entirely new mode of action* that has no precedent in Chilean history and has been provoked by the military-fascist tyranny which is obsessed with the megalomaniacal ambition of perpetuating its rule with barbaric repressions. The dictatorship counts on using military strength to turn an entire nation into a submissive herd. In calling for a rising our party proceeds from the premise that freedom will not come along the narrow path of negotiations with Pinochet or from an overnight commitment to freedom by Yankee imperialism, which had itself nursed the dictatorship in the first place. Liberation will come only through the courage of all Chileans seeking to achieve genuine freedom in the only way accessible to them, namely, through an organised onslaught by a united and determined opposition.

The two definitions accompanying the word 'rising' express, in our view, similar concepts — *mass* and *popular*. But they are non-equivalent despite being very close in meaning. Both concepts stress the plurality of the subject of action, i.e., the idea that the objective of a rising cannot be attained by any single group or by a minority of the population, that this can only be done by a national majority. This majority exists as a mass potentially disenchanted with the dictatorship and desiring to put an end to it. But within this broad popular spectrum there still are wide zones where passiveness and an absence of orientation predominate. Not all of the latent opposition keeps in step with the times or commits itself to liberation. It is vital to draw into the struggle the people who are affronted by the regime but continue to contemplate developments inertly.

Old and New Methods

It must be emphasised that a mass popular rising would be a rising against the dictatorship with the use of the most effective ways of overthrowing it. It envisions old and new forms of struggle. Traditional methods of action by the working class and the people, actions typical of Chilean political life, remain valid in the prevailing situation whether this concerns work in the party, the trade unions, among the population at large, the students, women, in campuses or among intellectuals. Nonetheless, the specific demands of these population groups spring from the single political objective which is to put an end to despotism. However, it is quite evident that this objective cannot be attained by old methods alone. Explicit evidence of this is the Chilean people's experience in the period between 1973 and 1980. We have had to look for something new, to blaze new trails in accordance with the new conditions for a successful battle against the bloodthirsty dictatorship, which is determined to halt the march of history in Chile.

The dialectics of struggle has thus produced fresh ideas and new modes of action. Distinctive means have been explored and resources have been mobilised. The way to this was prompted not by inflamed imagination but by the experience of struggle, necessity, and resourcefulness: let's put it like this, by the intelligence and creative genius of the masses. This is exemplified by the innumerable forms of civil disobedience (a term accepted even by leading Christian Democrats) born chiefly in impoverished population centres, in the thick of the working people and the unemployed, in organisations uniting the relatives of fascism's victims, among students, intellectuals, and large sections of advanced youth. Matters then reached the stage of open protests. The people began to build barricades and employ curtains of fire. It was then that the foundations of the dictatorship were shaken for the first time, *for unceasing and well-coordinated blows by the masses are the only means that can break its back and sweep it out.*

One more factor must be taken into account: our striving to draw lessons from what the Communist Party has self-critically called 'historical incomprehension'. This is quite an old problem. The point is that Latin America was traditionally regarded as a preserve of reactionary military dictatorships. Children were taught to see Chile as an exception among the other nations of Latin America. We were, as Diego Portales³ put it, the 'English of Latin America'. All of us were lulled to sleep with such fairy tales. The awakening was terrible. People painfully came round to one and the same question: Why had the constitutional government of President Allende been unable to stay in power? This question had to be answered, not only in hindsight but, and above all, with the future in mind — how to end the fascist dictatorship, ensure a dignified future, and make sure there will be no repetition of the tragedy.

These are the disturbing, profound thoughts now in the minds of the Communists. They are thinking not of themselves but of the interests of the entire people, of the entire nation, of the interests of democracy today, tomorrow, and in the long term.

The Oligarchy's Private Troops

Portales disbanded half of the army and formed a 'national guard' to protect the interests of the oligarchy, using the militia of colonial times as the model. In 1932, after the ephemeral socialist republic⁴ was proclaimed, the Right likewise set up a parallel army of 50,000 men and called it the 'republican militia'.

The reactionaries are now ill at ease. Cruelly deceived and victimised, the people have begun learning the lessons of history, slowly, step by step, laboriously. They want to understand why, with the strength of truth on their side, they had become a toy in the hands of the ultra-reactionary minority, whose weapon is the 'truth' of might? Do the people not have the right to self-defence? Was it a crime to attempt to save the lives of the 30,000 Chileans put to death by Pinochet and his Praetorian Guard only because weapons were in the hands of murderers and not of the people? Was it a crime to attempt to prevent the killing of Tucapel Jimenez, Jose Manuel Parada, Manuel Guerrero, and Santiago Nattino?⁵ Was it a crime to attempt to prevent the 'disappearance' of 2,500 Chileans or the burning alive of two young people — Rodrigo Rojas and Carmen Quintana (it was a miracle Quintana did not die)? Perhaps the Chilean people have the obligation to submit docilely to whatever Pinochet wants to do to them? Who dares to contest the right of a people to lawful self-defence and to rebel, a right institutionalised in many codes and even in the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights?

More than a thousand years ago it was acknowledged that the people had the right to rise in rebellion. Thomas Aquinas saw it as acceptable when it was the only effective way of replacing an unlawful government by one that abided by true justice. The facts indicate that it is the only possible way in present-day Chile. Let us note in parenthesis that the persons who staged the fascist coup had themselves called for a rising. Moreover, those who supported or sympathised with them had advocated such a rising. Of course, this does not mean that other forms of struggle must be renounced. All ways are good and suitable that lead to Chile's liberation. But in our country the Brazilian, Uruguayan or Argentine model is unlikely to succeed on account of the dictatorship's markedly autocratic character personified by the tyrant himself, who recognises no law save his own.

Our Slogan: A United Opposition

For the people 1987 should not be a wasted year. How is this to come about? There is only one way and it lies through *unity and struggle*. True, unity has eluded the opposition throughout the past 13 years. Why? There are many reasons and some are of exceptional tenacity. They include the trivial interests of the exploiting classes, fossilised prejudices, and the powerful influence that imperialist dictation exercises on the thinking and actions of individual political leaders. In Chile today the opposition may be described as a spectrum of heterogeneous political forces ranging from the Right, that has one leg in the camp of the dictatorship, to the most consistent Left.

Encouraged and supported by Washington, those of the Centre and the

Right constantly and purposefully manoeuvred with the objective of sowing divisions among the left forces. After several years of sustained effort they managed to scuttle the Popular Unity. But it should be recognised that the disintegration of the Popular Unity was also furthered by various centrifugal forces in it that caused many of the difficulties of the Allende years.

Our adversaries are now planning to remove the united left forces from the Chilean political scene in order to clear the road to power for a Right-centrist coalition with some 'left garnish'. This has led to the formation of the Democratic Alliance⁶ and, to some extent, the National Accord bloc,⁷ both of which had in advance excluded the Communist Party and other participants in the Popular Democratic Movement.⁸ It will be remembered that from the outset the Communist Party had advocated the formation of *a single opposition coalition*. But we were dumbfounded to learn that a Democratic Alliance had been formed without the most militant forces of the opposition. This indeed was a scurrilous, anti-unity action that was incompatible with our immutable policy of uniting the entire opposition to the tyranny.

In keeping with our position we are again and again offering concord to all the opponents of the regime. The point is not how this will be called: unity, convergence, mutual understanding or consensus. Of course, it is important to find the necessary word, but that is not the main thing. The decisive question is: *What is the purpose of unity?* We would never offer it only in order to become reconciled with the dictatorship, to bend on our knees before the US State Department and pray for freedom to come from the heavens. We must unite in order to win democracy in the real sense. It has been proven thousands of times that it can only be won in battle. A national rising must involve all who aspire to put an end to fascism. We believe this to be the best way.

The Left Has to Regroup

The left forces — this must be said — have always been more militant than the forces of the Centre or the Right. Those who represent the people have the urgent task of opening their eyes and aborting the regime's manoeuvrings aimed at paralysing the Chilean people with Pinochet's fraudulent promise of 'free' elections. In short, we hold that in order to mobilise the people, who have had all they can take and are demanding immediate democracy, it is necessary to reorganise the left forces. In Chile's history there are precedents showing that the Left can achieve much and play the decisive role. Left-wing forces won the presidential election in 1938 by uniting in the Popular Front, and they repeated this victory in 1970 as members of the Popular Unity alliance. The present situation in Chile is making it imperative for *the left forces to regroup again and form a close-knit alliance*. There is a need for a united opposition giving the movement daily impulses, making it more dynamic, and boosting its morale, a movement capable of bridging the gulf between the people united against the dictatorship and the leaders of the various parties who still cannot find a common language.

Two events that mirrored our contradictions took place in the opposition camp at the close of 1986. One was the proposal made by Molina and Boeninger⁹ with the support of a relative majority of the leadership of the Christian Democratic and National parties.¹⁰ This proposal was that we should wait for the mirage of 1989, for the wild utopia of Pinochet's ravings about 'free elections'. Yes, we want free elections, but in a free Chile. They cannot take place without a struggle, without deposing the dictator. The visionaries should abandon their hope that somebody will bring such elections to them on a silver platter. If Pinochet continues to sit tight in the La Moneda palace and remains in command of the armed forces, the elections will be a foolish fancy.

The other event, which was positive, signalled the first step towards unity of the Left. It was the 'Dialogue for Democratic Concord' published jointly by Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, Clodomiro Almeyda, leader of the Socialist Party affiliated to the Popular Democratic Movement, and Luis Maira, Coordinator of the Left Christians. This document, signed early in December 1986, enlarges the propositions in the 'Letter to the Chilean People' initiated by the Socialists in the PDM and the Left Christians. The basic tenets expounded in it boil down to making democracy and peace the cardinal issues that can unite all of the nation's social and political forces aspiring for law and order on the basis of Chile's sovereignty. A chapter in this document 'Chilean Reality and the Problem of Selecting the Ways of Struggle' denounces the fascist regime's 'militarisation of politics', branding this an arbitrary operation of the dictatorship and the generals. The people reject such action as totally unacceptable. Naturally, one of the objectives of the country's democratisation will be the 'demilitarisation of politics'. The three above-mentioned parties see no possibility for negotiations with the dictator and are opposed to the policy of ideologically 'excommunicating' large sections of the people pursued by the tyranny, Washington, and some groups of the bourgeoisie.

This first step towards reorganisation of the left forces was followed by a conference of representatives of 11 parties called the 'Conclave of the Left' and held in Santiago in mid-December. This conference expressed a clear-cut trend. But we do not consider that the Chilean Left have now been united and that they have surmounted all that divides them. It is only the beginning, not the culmination of a process that has just begun. At the conference it was noted that the Left had to make an effective contribution to a political solution of the Chilean problem, a solution that would bring true democracy to the nation. This is the only road to a just, pluralistic, and stable political system. The representatives of 11 parties honoured the memory of President Allende, paying a tribute of earned respect to him as an outstanding historical personality. His staunchness had set an example for all of us.

The Communist Party of Chile will continue to study the day-to-day experience of struggle, go deep into questions of theory and practice linked to national reality, and analyse the internal components of this reality, in particular, the role of the armed forces. Our task is to unmask the militarist concepts being spread by the Pentagon, such as the notorious 'national

security doctrine' and 'internal war' against one's own people.

Imperialism's policies have to be more closely analysed. It is no accident that Pinochet's patrons, engaged in preparations for 'star wars' and threatening humanity with a nuclear apocalypse, are the most rabid enemies of peace. All this is part of the policy inspired by Washington's global ambitions. Chile under Pinochet is only one of the chessmen on imperialism's bloodstained chessboard. Of course, those whom the very thought of the right of peoples to self-determination and national sovereignty, of the independence of Latin America infuriates, are working indefatigably. But the community of people of good will is immeasurably stronger than they.

Sixty-five years ago the great son of our people Luis Emilio Recabarren founded the Communist Party of Chile to take part in the historic mission of liberating the working people from all forms of oppression. Three months before he died he called upon the people to unite in a surge that would topple the military dictatorship. The party of Luis Emilio Recabarren and Pablo Neruda has been steadfastly working in that direction.

¹ Formed in December 1969 by the Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats, radicals, and other left parties and organisations. — *Ed.*

² See Luis Corvalan, 'Unity Against Dictatorship: Ways and Forms of Struggle', *WMR*, No. 1, 1986. — *Ed.*

³ Diego Portales (1793-1837), statesman and political leader. Upon becoming the country's virtual president in 1830, he ruled by authoritarian methods, championing the interests of the then emergent Chilean oligarchy. — *Ed.*

⁴ On June 4, 1932 senior air force officers staged a coup and proclaimed a 'socialist republic'. It existed only 12 days, being dismantled by the next coup. — *Ed.*

⁵ These patriots were put to death sadistically: they were beheaded. — *Ed.*

⁶ Consists of the Christian Democrats, Social Democratic and Radical parties, and also of right-wing Republicans and the Liberal Movement. — *Ed.*

⁷ A political pact signed by the parties of the Democratic Alliance and some right-wing groups. — *Ed.*

⁸ A left opposition coalition that includes the Communist Party. — *Ed.*

⁹ Right-wing leaders of the Christian Democrats. — *Ed.*

¹⁰ These parties speak for the financial oligarchy and bourgeoisie linked to foreign capital. — *Ed.*

surveys, letters, and diary

Class Struggle In The Centres of Capital

1985-1986 STRIKE MOVEMENT

IN the period under review, the working class has continued its struggle in conditions that remained difficult, mainly because of these four factors.

First, the US administration's stepped-up line of confrontation and the arms race. It has had a negative effect on the working people's social condition, and showed with greater clarity the link between the struggle for peace and for social progress.

Second, the growing mass unemployment in most of the leading capitalist countries, even in the economic recovery phase after the 1980-1982 crisis.

Third, scientific and technical progress, which has led to a worsening of the condition of the working class under capitalism. The struggle for having STR achievements used for social progress has been an ever more important element in trade union activity in the industrialised capitalist countries.

Fourth, the markedly greater use by the monopolies in the recent period of the instruments of state power against the unions and striking workers, which tended to complicate the conditions of the working people's struggle, while intensifying its political character and orientation.

Politicisation of the Struggle

In the new situation, trade unions were faced with the need to renovate their strategic conceptions. It was characteristic of discussions on this matter in the unions that they went beyond the narrow traditional framework of wages and basic-rate issues, to the formulation of social and political demands based on the working people's class interests. These demands have been ever more important:

- preservation of peace, adoption of effective disarmament measures, and cutbacks in military spending in favour of social programmes;

- an end to the reprivatisation of the public sector, which has been practised on a fairly wide scale in some capitalist countries, and expansion of the sphere of state control in the economy;

- elimination of mass unemployment through effective employment programmes;

- protection and extension of trade union rights, including the right to

have a say in deciding on technological policy and preventing the anti-social effects of scientific and technical progress;

condemnation of racism, apartheid, hostility to foreign workers, and new forms of imperialist exploitation and diktat in the less developed countries; and

environmental protection.

Many trade union centres have become aware of the truth, which is being daily driven home to them in practice, that successful defence of the working people's social interests crucially depends on the character and consequences of big politics. The need to rethink traditional trade union attitudes is also connected with the changes in the social composition of wage-workers, because it is important for new groups of working people to become aware as soon as possible that their interests are identical with those of the working class as a whole, and actively to join in its struggle.

It is, of course, quite natural that these processes in various countries have been reflected in different ways in trade union activity. Nonetheless, one obvious trend, for instance, has appeared: *there is a change in the proportion of purely economic strikes and mass actions by the working people on political issues*. The change has been in favour of the latter, although ideologically this trend has developed on the platform of reformism, which is still dominant in many trade unions in the capitalist countries. The politicisation of the working class struggle is also promoted by the growing unity of action by its various contingents on a wide spectrum of objectively interconnected global, international and national problems (an interconnection which, incidentally, multiplies the potentialities of the working class for conducting a policy of alliances with other democratic forces and movements).

There was a trend in this period *for strikes to be longer*. This is exemplified by the miners' strike (1984-1985) and the print workers' strike (1986) in Great Britain, the six-month strike by steel workers in the United States (1986), and the almost four-week strike by French railwaymen at the end of 1986. The multifaceted political struggle by FRG trade unions against legislative curbs on their right to strike lasted for more than a year (1985-1986). All these militant actions by the working class met with just recognition and moral support from other trade unions, workers' parties and, in some cases, from a sizeable section of the population.

The fight against the grave social and economic consequences of the structural crises of capitalism is an important element of the working class movement at the present stage. Industries which suffer most from these crises — mining, steel, and shipbuilding, among others — are usually highly concentrated territorially, so that their fold-up tends to affect not only workers and employees, but also the entire population of a given region. That is why the action, views and demands of the trade unions on overcoming the effects of structural crises are echoed in other social groups: artisans, traders, workers in the services, education, public health, and so on.

Protest attitudes have been growing in recent years among employees of state agencies and institutions who suffer from governmental 'economies' and social dismantling. In all the major capitalist countries, this trend has

been expressed in numerous strikes and other action by government employees. In this way, those who had earlier been far from participating in the struggle in defence of social rights or wages are being increasingly involved in the strike movement and other forms of protest. That is an alarming development for the capitalist establishment and its meaning has not, of course, been lost on the ruling circles, whose reaction has been of the harshest. Let us recall, for instance, that one of the first things Ronald Reagan did after taking office as US President was to crush the air traffic controllers' union. One can also well understand the obduracy with which the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher resisted the formation of a trade union at the Cheltenham intelligence centre.

Strike Movement Panorama

Below is a survey of the major strike action by the working people in some of the leading capitalist countries in 1985 and 1986.¹

United States

The administration's economic and social policies geared to confrontation and the arms race have aroused growing protests among wide sections of the population, and especially in the working class. At the annual winter meeting in February 1985, the leaders of the major labour unions announced for the first time their refusal to support any increase in military expenditures at the expense of social programmes. They demanded that the administration should freeze the military budget and give priority to social needs, and also work out government programmes for creating and protecting jobs.

In January 1985, 12,000 workers of International Harvester, which makes farming machinery, staged a strike to back their demands to restore social benefits worth \$100 million, which they had been forced to give up in 1982 allegedly to save their jobs.

In March of that year, five trade unions of Pan-American World Airways and 5,000 pilots of United Airlines staged a four-week strike. These strikes were marked by a high degree of solidarity of all the flight personnel despite the use of strike-breakers by the employers.

On July 21, almost 9,000 workers of the Wheeling-Pittsburg Corporation, which makes steel, went on strike against wage cuts.

In October, over 80,000 workers and employees of Chrysler, an auto transnational, staged a week-long strike. The strike ended with a victory for the working people: the employers were forced to retreat and to accept a new labour contract providing for higher wages.

Employees of Trans-World Airlines struck for eleven weeks from March to May 1986 against sackings.

On May 24 and 25 of that year, millions of US citizens took part in a country-wide protest action against poverty, hunger and homelessness. There was a fund-collection drive to help the victims of these calamities.

At the end of May and in early June, 15,000 workers of the biggest aluminium corporation in the United States staged a strike to back demands for higher wages.

A four-week strike was staged by 155,000 members of the

Communication Workers of America at the enterprises of ITT, the leader in this field, against management's intention to sack 20,000 workers and employees and for no cuts in wages. Work was stopped in August by 40,000 employees of telephone companies in the state of New York and eight other states.

A strike by 45,000 steel workers began in nine states on August 1 in response to corporate attempts to reduce jobs, cut wages and whittle down labour union rights. A civic committee in support of the strikers was set up on the initiative of the AFL-CIO. The longest strike in this industry ended only in January 1987 with a partial victory for the working people.

A three-day strike was held in early October 1986 by 30,000 longshoremen on the East Coast. It tied up eleven ports and had important social and political repercussions.

The strike movement has on the whole become more vigorous. Only in the first six months of 1986, the number of strikers reached almost one million. There was also more political action, notably against support for the Nicaraguan contras and the apartheid regime in South Africa, and against racial inequality in the United States.

FRG

In view of the mass unemployment, cutbacks in social benefits and attacks on trade union rights, notably the right to strike, the German Trade Union Federation (DGB) took some highly significant and unprecedentedly wide action in 1985 and 1986 against the economic and social policies of the conservative government. From October 14 to 20, 1985, the DGB staged a Week of Action, which involved over 1.4 million, under this slogan: 'Down with the Policy for the Few: Jobs for All — A Say in Management — Social Justice'.

On December 2, tens of thousands of working people at more than 100 enterprises in the metal-working industry came out in protest against the authorities' intention to change the labour legislation (with the aim of limiting the right to strike). On December 10, 500,000 metal workers staged a warning strike. Within a few days, the DGB organised a mass rally which adopted the Dusseldorf Manifesto. The DGB called on all the sectoral unions to act in a common front against any curbs of the right to strike. Support for the solidarity action by 17 unions within the DGB was voiced by the German Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party of Germany, the Green Party, and also numerous democratic and peace organisations.

DGB protest actions — leaflets, warning strikes, demonstrations and rallies — continued in 1986. On February 4 and 5, 320,000 metal workers came out in defence of the right to strike. Warning strikes were staged by three trade unions of FRG state employees.

On March 6, more than one million working people took part in about 250 regional union rallies. Mass protest demonstrations were also held on March 19 and 20. These trade union actions and demands were supported by a majority of the population. Nonetheless, the anti-union law was passed on March 20, 1986, by the Bundestag with the votes of the government coalition of the CDU, CSU and FDP.

However, the protests were not dampened by the reactionary act. Almost 7.6 million working people (more than 96 per cent of those polled) came out against the act in a written poll, and although the passage of the law could not be blocked, the unions scored a great success in mobilising the working masses, as the 13th Congress of the DGB noted.

May Day demonstrations, in which nearly one million working people took part, developed into a nationwide Day of Action for jobs, against social dismantling, and for peace and disarmament.

With the support of the population in the various regions, union action and initiatives were aimed against mass sackings, primarily in the steel industry and shipbuilding. In May, almost 100,000 metal workers joined in warning strikes, demonstrations and action days. The result of this struggle was a basic-rate contract which for the first time in many years once again provides for a rise in real wages.

Young people have repeatedly taken part in various forms of action against the high level of unemployment. The most powerful expression of their protest was the DGB Autumn of Youth Action from September 13 to November 15: nearly 100,000 took part in measures organised in every part of the country.

It is worth noting the contribution made by the DGB and the sectoral unions to the movement for peace and disarmament. It was reflected not only in the numerous resolutions and programmes, but also in actions like the mass peace marches in spring.

Great Britain

Over a period of years, the Conservative government has phased in anti-union legislation which was used by it and the employers to pressure the British working class movement. Court action against strikers or unions deciding to strike was taken on 21 occasions only in the first four months of 1985. Still, over 800 strikes were staged in the course of that year. The strikers were mainly opposed to any further sackings at the enterprises and the growing unemployment, which had already assumed proportions unprecedented in the postwar period, against the capitalist rationalisation at the expense of the workers, and cuts in budget appropriations for social needs.

March saw the end of the heroic strike by British miners against the 'healthy contraction' favoured by the government and the National Coal Board. The idea was to close down 20 pits which meant the loss of jobs for a large number of miners. That was the longest and most militant action by workers in Great Britain's history. The miners failed to win, but then the government did not attain its political objective either, and that was to crush the miners' union. The miners' strike struggle met with support at home and with wide international solidarity.

A series of strikes was staged by British teachers in 1985 and 1986 for higher salaries and against plans to cut back appropriations for the needs of education.

In April 1985, 12,000 Scottish railwaymen staged a 24-hour strike in protest against the plan to shut down railway shops in Glasgow. In November, union members among personnel at many airports in the

country staged selective strikes against the planned reduction of jobs.

On January 25, 1986, 6,500 printers at the News International newspaper concern in London went on strike over the sacking of 6,000 of their comrades and curbs on the union rights of print workers. Their struggle lasted for a whole year, and involved numerous demonstrations, which were supported by other unions and the population. It was ended only in January 1987, when Murdoch, the owner of the concern, used threats and blackmail to confront the trade unions with this alternative: either to call off the strike, or to lose, under a court order, all the union assets and pay a large fine. The course and outcome of that strike showed that the main task in the British working people's struggle now is to fight for the abolition of the anti-union legislation and for a change in economic and social policy. That was made central to the activity of the Trades Union Congress at its 118th session.

France

Class action by the working people was aimed against mass sackings, the declining living standards, and infringements on trade union rights, with the most active struggle being carried on by workers and employees in industries like metallurgy, engineering, shipbuilding, the auto industry, transport and the services.

There was continued unrest among railwaymen. Among their main actions was a 24-hour strike in March 1985, a powerful strike on June 19 and 20, in which almost one-third of all the railway personnel took part, and a major strike in late 1986 and early 1987.

In the spring and autumn of 1985, the workers of Valeo-Ducellier, which makes automobile equipment, responded with various protest actions, including the takeover of the enterprise and a warning strike, to the management's intention to close down the plant at Issoire, and to the mass sackings at its other plants.

These and other actions by the working people were followed by a national Day of Mass Action (October 24, 1985) organised by the General Confederation of Labour (CGT) against unemployment and falling purchasing power. It was widely supported by workers and employees in the metallurgical, mining, chemical, and textile industries, electric-power plants, the post office and public transport.

The social struggle was sharpened when the Chirac government took office in March 1986. The working class put up stiff resistance to the government's policy of reducing wages and the working people's rights, further cutting back social gains, and reprivatising major state enterprises, banks and television. Wide protest actions were staged by workers in communications, education (in particular, a demonstration by 300,000 teachers in Paris on November 23), and also by working people in shipbuilding, steel, and the merchant navy (an almost four-week strike by seamen ended on January 5, 1987, in a complete victory).

Social tensions rose to a peak with the student demonstrations in November and December, and a four-week strike by railwaymen in December 1986 and January 1987.

University and high school students were agitated over the project for an

anti-democratic university law: 600,000 young people flocked to Paris from all over France for a demonstration on November 27, and more than a million on December 4. In response to police brutality and the killing of an Arab student impressive protest demonstrations and silent marches were held on December 10. The students not only got the minister responsible for higher education to resign, but also the Chirac government to abandon its bill.

Following the numerous actions by railwaymen in the course of 1986, a strike by locomotive engineers and other personnel on December 18 generated a fresh and powerful wave of strikes in the state services. The railwaymen were opposing wage cuts, a discriminatory wages scheme, and mass sackings, and demanded better working conditions. By the end of the year, the strike had spread to the workers of the Paris Metro and commuter transit, and in January 1987 also involved those employed at electric-power and gas-supply enterprises. The government had to make concessions. And while the strikers failed to attain their main goals, their action had a pronounced political impact on the masses and, together with the success of the students, erected strong barriers to any further conduct by the authorities of their anti-social policy.

Italy

Problems like defence of trade union rights, mass unemployment and social dismantling, preservation of real wages, and shorter working hours were central to the working people's struggle. The unions continued actively to oppose attempts to limit wages indexation to the growing prices. The renegotiation of basic-rate contracts was marked by intense confrontation between representatives of the working people and employers.

February 1985 was marked by a strike of Italian print workers against sackings following the installation of new hardware, and for shorter working hours and higher wages. In March, the strike spread to some categories of state employees. That same month, powerful protest demonstrations over the murder of trade union leader Ezio Tarantelli were held in many Italian cities on the call of three national trade union centres (GCIL, CISL and UIL).

On October 9, the trade union centres staged a general two-hour strike to prevent implementation of planned curbs on social gains; the work stoppage involved 18 million working people.

In December, a march and demonstration were held by 100,000 young people for the right to work and against the high level of unemployment among the young. Also in December, 100,000 inhabitants of Milan came out in demand for a state employment programme.

During the May Day celebrations in 1986, the national trade union centres once again reaffirmed in documentary form their urge for closer cooperation and issued a joint call to fight for work, peace and social progress. At the central rally in Reggio di Calabria, the secretaries-general of the three centres emphasised that they were backing common demands.

Workers in the state services were most strongly affected by the strike movement in 1986. Numerous strikes by state hospital personnel in some

cases involved up to 150,000 people. In June and December, strikes were staged to back up demands for a renegotiation of basic-rate contracts by air traffic controllers, in October by the pilots of the Alitalia airline, and in June, November and December by railwaymen. Teachers and the employees of banks and state institutions struck in November and December.



The characteristic aspect of social conflicts in recent years in the industrialised capitalist countries continued to be an urge on the part of the working class and its organisations to put forward *constructive and unitary alternatives on the most burning issues of the day which could draw allies*. That applies primarily to preventing nuclear war and ending the arms race, which is being spiralled by imperialism, demands which are closely bound up with the working people's economic and social claims. The fact that ever greater masses of working people are coming to understand this connection is a pledge of further growing activity of the working class and trade union movement as one of the key factors in present-day social development.

Dr Kurt Schumacher
Institute for Politics and
Economics (GDR)

¹ These facts come from a documentary survey 'Kampfaktionen der Arbeiterklasse und anderer demokratischer Kräfte in den kapitalistischen Hauptländern' (IPW — Berichte, Berlin, Heft 4/1986 und Heft 4/1987).

Peace Initiative

Jaruzelski Plan: Cut Arms In Central Europe

ADDRESSING the Second Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth on the eve of the 42nd anniversary of the historic victory over Nazism, Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, put forward an important initiative for disarmament and trust in Europe. The essence of this initiative, which has come to be known both in Poland and in other countries as the Jaruzelski Plan, is as follows.

The Polish People's Republic proposes ways of cutting armaments and building trust in a zone of Central Europe, specifically, on the territories of nine states: the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, and also the FRG, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Denmark. Eventually, such arms cuts and confidence-building measures could be extended to the whole of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Warsaw's Proposal

The plan calls for lowering the level of armed confrontation in the following ways:

- first, the phased withdrawal and reduction of *shorter-range nuclear weapons* of agreed types; talks to this effect are expected to cover every type of these weapons;

- second, the phased removal and reduction of *conventional weapons* of agreed types, primarily the more powerful and accurate ones which could be used in a surprise attack;

- third, *revision of military doctrines* so that the parties involved would view each other's doctrines as exclusively defensive;

- fourth, the formulation of *more far-reaching confidence-and security-building measures than those defined in Stockholm*, and also *provisions for efficient national and international verification through extensive monitoring and on-site inspections*.

Viewing her plan as a part of the European process initiated in Helsinki, Poland suggests that the sources of threats and tensions be removed without detracting from any CSCE member's security.

New Confidence-Building Steps

The Polish draft does not offer a detailed programme of action since specific steps can be worked out only in talks between the nine states concerned. That precisely these states have been chosen is due to the fact that the divide between the two socio-economic systems and military alliances passes here, in the heart of Europe. Moreover, the concentrations of troops and military hardware are especially large in this area, which maximises the risk of an armed conflict with its inevitable consequences.

The first question to ask is *what types of nuclear weapons are going to be phased out*. The Soviet and American negotiators in Geneva are now seeking an early accord on the removal from Europe of the two powers' intermediate-range nuclear weapons (1,000-5,500 km). The USSR has also suggested that the Soviet and American shorter-range nuclear weapons (500-1,000 km) be scrapped.

The Polish initiative tackles nuclear weapons *below these thresholds*, and also those weapons which do not figure in any talks or proposals. They are not just missiles but all the other weapons with nuclear warheads, such as artillery shells, mines and other nuclear charges. Both groupings have deployed such weapons in Europe as a consequence of Washington's concept of a 'limited nuclear war' away from US national territory.

What makes these weapons dangerous is that they are controlled at low levels of the army chain of command and the decision to use them may be taken by officers at that level. Hence the ever-present risk that a conventional conflict may escalate into a world thermonuclear war even without sanction from top political leaders.

The second point of the Jaruzelski Plan calls for *reducing conventional weapons*, primarily their more powerful and accurate types. The reasoning behind this idea is simple. In the past few years these weapons have been upgraded in two ways: first, to give them pinpoint accuracy and, second, to

enable them to affect the largest possible area. Both capabilities make these weapons best suited to launching a surprise attack, especially against targets far behind the enemy lines. *In this context, the proposal to reduce the shorter-range nuclear systems and conventional weapons of the above types is one package aimed at removing from Europe a dangerous 'fuse' of thermonuclear war.*

This package is complemented with a call for fresh confidence-building measures, namely, *the first ever proposal to revise military doctrines, and also to work out procedures to verify the parties' compliance with the obligations.* The Stockholm Conference accord on military confidence-building measures shows that new steps are possible to lessen the risk of an armed conflict. Poland's initiative is a sound general programme for stabilising military security in the more sensitive part of Europe.

Continuity and Comprehensive Approach

The Jaruzelski Plan with its innovative approach is in line with the tradition of Polish foreign policy, which has for decades been directed at safeguarding peace and security on our continent. In 1957, for instance, the then Polish foreign minister, Adam Rapacki, submitted to a UN General Assembly session the proposal that a nuclear-free zone be established in Central Europe, on the territories of four states (the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the FRG); the proposal was elucidated in the well-known Gomulka Plan. The imperialist powers, however, blocked these ideas in Europe, although they materialised in other parts of the world, such as Latin America and the Pacific, and are being revived in Central and Nordic Europe and the Balkans as the concepts of nuclear and chemical weapon-free zones and reductions in conventional weapons.

Poland's proposal is part and parcel of the constructive peace initiatives and practical measures of the European socialist countries and an important step towards the realisation of last year's Budapest Address of the Warsaw Treaty member countries; it is consonant with Mikhail Gorbachov's historical programme for the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons by the year 2000. The Jaruzelski Plan is also a sequel to a series of concrete initiatives, such as Bulgaria's and Romania's proposal for establishing a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans and the steps taken by the governments of the GDR and Czechoslovakia jointly with the Social Democratic Party of Germany to have a chemical and nuclear weapon-free zone established in Central Europe.

All these initiatives have the common purpose of making the continent a region of peace and cooperation. European security and stability would become a major contribution towards strengthening peace in other parts of the world, and primarily towards removing the threat of nuclear omnicide posed by imperialist policy. When all is said and done, the Old World was the breeding ground of two tragic wars and today has the world's largest stockpiles of weapons of mass annihilation.

Appeal to Reason

Poland's proposal is realistic and reckons with the security interests of all the parties concerned. Her comprehensive approach to disarmament and

trust-building takes account of the concerns and considerations voiced in, among other documents, UN reports, the recommendations of the Palme Commission and studies of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. The proposed simultaneous cuts in nuclear and conventional weapons are a reply to those in the governments of certain NATO countries who, objecting to the Soviet initiatives for the elimination of the intermediate nuclear forces (INF) and shorter-range nuclear missiles in Europe, claim that a threat will be posed to Western Europe by the Warsaw Treaty countries' conventional arms superiority. But if the Western partners show goodwill, Wojciech Jaruzelski's proposal undoubtedly can help break the deadlock at the Vienna talks on mutual reductions of the armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

It is important that Poland with her sizeable conventional arms potential urges resolute disarmament measures. Our country, just like her allies, believes that the foundations of a Europe strong in its singularity and living in lasting peace and peaceful cooperation can and must be built speedier.

Poland's initiative has evoked far-ranging responses from all over the world. It has been fully supported by the European socialist countries, as was shown, for instance, by the Berlin meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member countries. Many West European communist and workers' parties view it as a meaningful step towards détente and disarmament. Realistic Western politicians also display interest in it: Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, Belgian foreign minister Leo Tindemans, and the West German Social Democratic leaders, for instance, have commented on its merits.

The Western partners' reactions to the Polish initiative differ, of course, and they expose anew the positions of those who do not want more trust in Europe and are objecting to disarmament with the threadbare arguments of geographic asymmetry and military imbalances.

Seeking to overcome the resistance of those quarters, the socialist countries and all the other forces of political reason and goodwill are consistently and perseveringly working to build trust and remove arms stockpiles. The goal of the Jaruzelski Plan — cuts in the arms arsenals in Central Europe — is an imperative of our time.

Jerzy Waszczuk

PUWP representative on *WMR*

The Reader Wants to Know The South Korea Regime Makes War On The People

Judging by media reports, unceasing actions, involving ever larger numbers of people, are taking place against the dictatorship in South Korea. I would like to see a more detailed report in your journal.

R. Jorgensen, (Denmark)

JOBLESS, 26-year-old Pak Chon Son immolated himself in protest against the unbearable life in the US domain of South Korea. He demanded 'three rights' — to strike, to assembly, and to guaranteed wages. This happened on September 3, 1986 in the very centre of Seoul.

Three months earlier, 23-year-old Lee Dong So, a student came crashing down as a live torch from the roof of one of Seoul University's buildings. His last words were: "Down with American imperialism!"

On November 5, a student of the Pusan Industrial Institute covered himself with petrol and set himself alight in the street.

It is not hard to understand the distress that compelled them to appeal to the public in this extreme form of protest. Immolation is not a rare occurrence in South Korea. Last year there were at least 10 cases, while a total of 40 such political suicides have been recorded. Most of these acts were by students. However, young people prefer a different way, that of active struggle against the puppet Chun Doo Hwan military-fascist regime, a struggle requiring unflinching courage and entailing a deadly risk.

The 'Hot' Month of May

Students are indisputably the most active of the forces in opposition to the regime in South Korea. The youth protest movement has traditions of its own. These boil down to an uncompromising determination to democratise public and political life and win more rights and freedoms for the people.

Not very long ago the mass actions of the South Korean population were conducted under slogans calling for an end to the fascist dictatorship and the establishment of democracy. Naturally, these ricocheted against the vassal regime's master in Washington. However, it would hardly be correct to speak of anti-Americanism at that stage of the struggle. It was only lately that the demonstrations against the government of South Korea acquired new features and hallmarks. The central of these is the anti-US thrust of all these actions. This has been eloquently illustrated by a sociological poll taken by the South Korean journal *Sindong'a* showing that 95 per cent of the Seoul campuses are hostile to the USA. Anti-American feeling, the journal notes, is widespread not only among the militants of the democratic movement but among students generally.

The 'hot' month of May 1980, when a popular rising erupted in the provincial town of Kwangchu, was a time watershed in the surfacing of anti-American feeling in South Korea. The word 'rising' in no way exaggerates the size of these anti-government actions. Hundreds of thousands of people — students, workers, office employees, and intellectuals — were involved. But world public opinion was even more shaken by the magnitude of the repressions and terror unleashed by the Seoul authorities against the participants in the events of Kwangchu. Suffice it to say that the violence took more than 3,000 lives.

This was a rude awakening for the people of South Korea. For many it clearly showed the causes of the nation's serious troubles and problems: its artificial division, and the US neo-colonialist dictation and military presence in the south of the Korean Peninsula. The USA's approval of the Kwangchu massacre was a jolt that opened people's eyes. Gregory

Gadderson, a former aide at the US State Department, wrote that throughout the 30 years from the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 to the Kwangchu rising in 1980, anti-Americanism was an amorphous quantity in South Korea. But the situation changed after Kwangchu. The students began to come out with anti-American slogans, and the militancy of the actions grew sharply.

This Is Not a 'Youth Delusion'

Official, obviously understated, statistics for 1985 indicate that in South Korea some 200 mass actions were precipitated by grievances of an anti-American character. This was to be seen from the speeches delivered at rallies, meetings, and demonstrations, and from the leaflets and proclamations circulated at the time. An idea of how the socio-political militancy of the South Korean people is gathering momentum may be gained from the fact that in 1985 there were three times as many anti-American-slanted actions as in 1982 and five times as many as in 1980.

This tendency became even more apparent in 1986. During only the first ten months of that year there were more than 1,690 student demonstrations. The most impressive of these was in the city of Inchon, where the streets were packed with demonstrators carrying anti-American slogans while leaflets were dropped from the roofs of houses: 'Yankees, Buttressing the Dictatorship in South Korea, Go Home!', 'Drive Out the American Imperialists!', 'End the American Occupation, Remove the Nuclear Bases from Our Land!'.

A similar political orientation was to be seen at the gathering in October 1986 of representatives of 26 universities and other campuses of Seoul and provincial cities. This gathering was attended by over 2,000 persons, who instituted the National League of Patriotic Students Against Foreign Intervention. This was no academic meeting. It was a protest demonstration in the broad sense of the word. This was expressed in various ways — marches, public burning of effigies, and the circulation of leaflets.

A round-the-clock sit-in was staged by participants in this get-together on October 28-29, 1986. The gist of their grievances was stated in a leaflet addressed to all democratic and patriotic forces: "Let us throw the Americans out and set up an independent state by ourselves. Let us close ranks for Korea's peaceful reunification without outside interference." A proclamation addressed to the New Korea Democratic Party (the leading opposition party. — *Ed.*) urged a determined, uncompromising stand against the 'government' of Chun Doo Hwan. The National League of Patriotic Students Against the Foreign Intervention demanded the dismantling of US nuclear bases in South Korea, the withdrawal of US occupation forces, and an end to the exercises involving US, South Korean, and Japanese military units that were creating the threat of a real military confrontation.

This ideological tempering of progressive young people, the growth of their political awareness has seriously alarmed the military-fascist dictatorship, in fact all the elements protecting (in the direct and indirect

sense) the status quo in the south of the Korean Peninsula. *The Korean Herald*, mouthpiece of the Seoul regime, wrote with a note of hysteria that 'our society' can no longer close its eyes to, much less sympathise with, what was usually regarded as a naive fad or a delusion of young people. Kim Chong Hoh, the Home Affairs Minister in the previous 'government', was, as could be expected of a military man, more direct: "These are not merely left-wing sympathisers," he said of the radical students, "these are urban guerrillas supporting the violent revolution wanted by the Communists."

Components of the Protest

The main cause of the 'headache' of the South Korean government, wrote the Japanese newspaper *Mainichi*, is the real threat that the students' movement will integrate with the mounting battles of the workers. In fact, the denial of rights and the brutal exploitation are making the South Korean working people and progressive youth potential allies against the dictatorship. The regime itself creating the soil for social explosions: people are denied elementary rights, and the trade unions, whose mission is to protect and uphold the rights of working people, have, with rare exceptions, been driven underground. Capitalism's classical contradiction between the social form of production and the private form of appropriation has reached bursting point in South Korea.

The poor working conditions, the pitiful wages, and the practically unlimited working day — so suitable for foreign investors — are the mainspring of the steadily spreading popular protest. The working people are becoming increasingly aware that South Korea's economic growth of the past three decades and, consequently, the fabulous employer profits have come from their sweat and blood. This is the primary injustice that is being so zealously guarded by the Chun Doo Hwan regime and the ruling Democratic Justice Party, so named as though in mockery of democracy and justice.

"What is causing this politicisation of trade union groups?" asks Harry Campbree, director of a programme blueprinted for South Korea by the Asian-American Free Labour Institute (a CIO-AFL affiliate), which is represented in Seoul. He answers this question himself: "The reason is that the government is suppressing legal outlets of dissent." This fits in with the analysis of the situation in South Korea given to the weekly *Far Eastern Economic Review* by Kim Dae Jung, a leader of the moderate bourgeois opposition: "I think the labour movement is a dangerous problem in this country . . . The workers are major contributors to economic development, but they are not receiving the benefits and have no way of airing their complaints."¹

In South Korea the working people, as well as the most progressive contingents of students, are refusing to reconcile themselves to a situation in which the "rich are growing richer and the poor are becoming poorer, while the chasm between the population groups is widening" (words from a sermon by Cardinal Kim, Archbishop of Seoul).

The army and police terror and repressions that the fascist Chun Doo Hwan regime is bringing down on dissidents are having the opposite effect.

More and more people are joining in the fight against the dictatorship. New organisations such as the Seoul Labour Movement Union, the South Korean Catholic Peasant Association, and the Federation of the People's Movement for Democratic Unification are springing up. There are now many of them and each champions a distinct social group, but their programme aims are similar — 'liberation of the people', 'national consolidation', and so forth.

The best known of the student organisations are the Jamintu (Struggle Committee for Anti-US, Anti-Fascism, Independence and Democracy) and the Minmintu (Struggle Committee for the Nation and Democracy Against Imperialism, Militarisation and Fascism). According to official sources there are more than 300 of these organisations. Together with the groups of workers, office employees and intellectuals these are potential components of a sort of united front. Unity and interaction among the democratic forces is gradually superseding spontaneous, uncoordinated actions. A newcomer on the scene is the National Liaison Committee for Advancement of Democracy, which is the first militant alliance of the legal bourgeois opposition that includes the New Korea Democratic Party. This coalition has set out to collect ten million signatures under a demand for a revision of the 'Constitution'.

To what purpose? The current practice is that the future 'President' of South Korea is elected by an electoral college whose members are appointed by the incumbent 'President'. This system obviously plays into the hands of those already in power. Hence the pressure from democratic groups for direct presidential elections. The aim of the signature drive is to force Chun Doo Hwan to void the inequitable election system. This would, in view of the dictator's unpopularity throughout the country, bring about his downfall.

Escalation of Terror

The regime responds with repressions and terror to the demands of the people and the political opposition. This is not new. Chun Doo Hwan's predecessors — Syngman Rhee and Park Chung Hee — also had recourse to 'emergency measures' and a 'state of emergency' when they felt the situation getting dangerous. At a meeting with journalists at his residence in October 1986, Chun Doo Hwan bluntly stated that if necessary he would declare a 'state of siege' and take 'emergency measures' up to the cancellation of the 1988 Olympic Games. He publicly threatened that he would not let the anti-dictatorial and anti-US actions 'go unpunished'.

South Korea has been turned into a huge prison. Every person speaking up for democracy, independence, and the country's unification is taken into custody. Even members of 'parliament' enjoying immunity are arrested. U Jong Hwan, a deputy of the 'National Assembly' and a member of the opposition New Korea Democratic Party was arraigned before a court last January. His misdeed was that he used the 'parliamentary' rostrum to urge the country's reunification and condemn the rampant anti-communism. This was enough for the regime to charge him with sedition.

The accusations against the anti-dictatorship forces are not distinguished

for diversity. People are hounded for 'communist propaganda', 'inciting revolt', 'endangering national security', and 'anti-government activity'. When there is no pretext for harassment it is invented or set up. Such was the case, for example, in May 1986 during an action by students and workers in Inchon. Posing as demonstrators, more than 2,000 gangsters from the Democratic Justice Party made a shambles of the Inchon headquarters of the New Korea Democratic Party, where it was planned to collect signatures. But this was not all. The same fascist hooligans started fires in the city's streets and beat up people in workers' neighbourhoods. As a result, hundreds were arrested — of course, not those who committed these outrages (they were rewarded for doing their job well), but persons opposed to the pro-US regime.

Instances of this kind are legion. Last October the security police in Seoul fabricated 'incidents' at Seoul National University and at Sogan University and orchestrated an 'exposure of the Marxist-Leninist Party'. At the same time, the police raided the headquarters of the opposition Minthoren party (People's Movement Federation for Democracy and Unification). As a result, the headquarters were forcibly closed. This action was accompanied by the publication of an edict from the 'highest authority' ordering the disbandment of the 20 organisations and 14 working groups affiliated to Minthoren.

The trial of students of Konkuk University, Seoul, was also an action designed to intimidate. Three students were sentenced to prison terms of from two to six years for participating in anti-dictatorship actions.

Not long ago world opinion was shocked to learn of the death in a Seoul prison of Park Chon Chol, a student activist. But judging from subsequent reports his murderers are not suffering from a guilt complex. On the contrary. Showing fidelity to strong-arm methods of 'persuasion' where the arguments are rubber bullets, water-canon, and tear gas, South Korean police wrecked the printshops of the opposition New Korea Democratic Party and confiscated composed texts of leaflets and newspapers calling for a national rally in Seoul in memory of this student, who died under torture.

Under the military dictatorship even legal moderate bourgeois opposition is not easy. Take Kim Dae Jung, a leader of this opposition, who has been placed under house arrest nearly 40 times within a span of less than two years (from February 1985 — when he returned to South Korea from political emigration — to December 1986). Unsparing of political labels, the Seoul regime marks all dissidents as Communists or Communist sympathisers. Mass round-ups netting not only leaders but also rank-and-file members of opposition movements are routine in South Korea. These people are hideously tortured and subjected to humiliations known in the jargon of the butchers as 'fried chicken', 'Genghis Khan dish', 'snake', 'rack', and other brutalities.

There is a logic of its own in the fact that the USA, which poses as a model 'free society' and custodian of democracy, rights, and freedoms, notices no violations of democracy in South Korea (as, incidentally, elsewhere). The casket opens easily: this regime suits Washington, enabling it to keep a 40,000-strong occupation force in the south of the Korean Peninsula and maintain nuclear bases to ensure its military-

strategic interests in Asia. American instructors teach the Seoul gendarmes the most effective ways of suppressing opposition sentiments.

US Secretary of State George Shultz, too, played the role of an instructor during his visit to South Korea last spring. In addition, this visit was designed as a public demonstration of Washington's 'unflagging support' for the Seoul regime. But it would not be superfluous to note that a war against the people inevitably ends in defeat for those who start it. This is what will happen to the pro-US military-fascist dictatorship sooner or later.

Kim Jong Hyong

¹ *Far Eastern Economic Review*, November 13, 1986, p. 14.

Who's Behind the Arms Race?

The Power Of The Crowns & Co.

I have read a great deal about the economic and political power of US arms monopolies. As a rule, the press (including *WMR*) mentions only the names of the companies, the statistics of their profits and the like. I think it would be much better to cover this or that corporation in detail — how it owners secure fantastic profits and how they influence politics.

Hugo Sanchez, Mexico

LISTS of the nation's biggest companies and richest families are published annually in the United States. Generally, the names on these lists remain unchanged, and many of the more powerful corporations are active in the arms business.

Take General Dynamics, a company on top of the war business heap. It is a major Pentagon contractor and a leading element of the US military-industrial complex. The firm owes its prosperity to the manufacture of Trident nuclear submarines, F-16 fighter-bombers, Tomahawk, Standard and Stinger missiles, M-1 Abrams tanks and Phalanx artillery systems. The central place in General Dynamics belongs to Henry Crown, the chief of his clan and a leader of the Chicago finance oligarchy group.¹ Theodore Dreiser's Frank Cowperwood would have envied Crown's career. The son of a businessman and speculator, and a past master at bribing officials, Henry Crown himself speculated lucratively in real estate for many years. Pursuit of ever greater profits finally led him

This article is based on information contained in Georgi Tsagolov's books *War Is Their Business. The US Military-Industrial Complex* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1985) and *Billions for Arms. The US Military-Industrial Complex* (Mysl Publishers, Moscow, 1986, in Russian).

into the arms business. All his previous scoops paled before these huge and assured dividends.

The United States is home of various sensation-oriented contests. Were a contest for the title of armaments czar be held there now, the first nomination would no doubt go to the Crowns. 'Gobble them up or get gobbled up yourself' is their business credo. Chrysler Defense, the manufacturer of the ultra-modern M-1 Abrams tank, is the Crowns' latest major acquisition. The US press reports that a total of 7,000 such tanks will be produced at 2.7 million dollars apiece. This programme alone (and General Dynamics has more where this came from) is a staggering 19.5 billion dollars.

US arms monopolies have special opportunities for drawing both overt and covert profits. As a rule, arms prices are set through 'direct negotiations' with the Pentagon, thus transferring the competition to a plane closed to most of the other sources of private capital. The higher the estimated cost of the programme, the higher the contract fees, and the companies go to great lengths to inflate production costs.

Raising the salaries of top-level executives, expense accounts and other costs hard to monitor, the arms corporations are killing two birds with one stone. These expenditures are in fact part of those profits which are disguised in various ways. Tax-deductible, they are wholly retained by the owners and managers of military-industrial monopolies. Recently, the arms corporations have secured a number of additional privileges to guarantee them still higher profits under military contracts.

The Crowns' political credo is, 'the people must believe in the long-term threat' — naturally, Soviet. This mythical 'Soviet military threat' is being exploited shamelessly for obvious political ends and, naturally, for profit.

The Crowns and their ilk play an important role in US politics, a role commensurate with their money. The rule that money makes politics and big money makes big politics is particularly true of the United States. In 1972 Henry Crown contributed 50,000 dollars to Richard Nixon's election campaign and much more to Ronald Reagan's 1980 and 1984 campaigns. He knew where to put his money. The spiralling international tensions and the upsurge of the militarist hysteria which began in the United States with the advent of the Reagan administration were fully consonant with the interests of Crown and other dealers in death. A General Dynamics spokesman had this to say about that period: "The world doesn't look very safe out there. That makes the prospects for the industry look very good."

What happened surpassed all expectations. According to US newspapers, the Pentagon contracts of General Dynamics are to total more than eight billion dollars in fiscal 1987. Over the first five years of the Reagan administration in office, the value of the Crowns' controlling interest in the company increased by 700 million dollars. Over the period in question, this stock paid some 50 million dollars in official dividends alone. But even these figures are only the visible tip of the iceberg representing the current incomes of the Crowns who, ten years ago, were already among the 20 wealthiest families in the United States, together with the Morgans, the Du Ponts and the Gettys.

Each year, General Dynamics' firm links with the 'defence'

establishment and other government agencies are growing firmer, and the military lobby in Washington is expanding. The 'revolving door' — the exchange of high-level officials between the military-industrial monopolies and the administration in Washington — keeps swinging. Here are only a few examples.

During his terms of office as Secretary of the Navy, Edward Hidalgo helped General Dynamics get half a billion dollars or so from the treasury to cover 'unforeseen' costs in the construction of Los Angeles-class assault submarines. In 1981 he left the Pentagon to become a highly paid consultant with GD.

Assistant Secretary of the Navy George Sawyer was in charge of shipbuilding programmes. Despite cost overruns and delays, General Dynamics used him to land new and lucrative government contracts. In 1983 Sawyer became a GD vice-president. The corporation's payroll features 200-odd names of retired generals, admirals and other 'distinguished' officers.

GD sent a whole team of its own men to Washington, including James Beggs, who was put in charge of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Never before have either General Dynamics or other war corporations had more steadfast or reliable agents and supporters in Washington's 'corridors of power'. The key posts in the Reagan administration are held by people directly linked with the military-industrial quarters, or having an indirect stake in the maintenance of 'special' relations with them or expounding ultra-right militarist views. They are at the source of policy-making in the United States, ensuring the elaboration and adoption of decisions the monopolists profit from. Recent years have produced a particularly vivid example of such decision-making — President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, a programme which, according to the estimates published, promises military contracts worth dozens of billions of dollars in the next few years. That is the way these mechanics work.

The infighting that flared up within General Dynamics in the mid-1980s resulted in the dismissal of several executives. The 'victims' retaliated by revealing what they knew quite well — cases of the company defrauding government agencies and engaging in other questionable practices. The public learned how General Dynamics managed to receive 1.2 billion dollars for each of the Trident submarines built (a mark-up of 50 per cent over the estimated cost), what expensive jewelry and other gifts were presented to the wives of high-ranking Pentagon officials, how lavishly government functionaries in South Korea and Egypt were bribed to secure sales, etc.

The ensuing scandal seemed to be sure to damage the company considerably. GD was unable to deny incontrovertible proof of routine fraud, bribery and corruption. As a result, the corporation paid a moderate fine, and the Pentagon announced that for the time being no new contracts would be awarded to it. But soon this decision was cancelled under the pretext that General Dynamics participation was essential to extremely important strategic programmes.

The arms monopolies go scot-free after all sorts of shenanigans. Suffice

it to recall that of the 56 inquiries concerning the operations of the biggest US military-industrial corporations, only nine have resulted in court verdicts. The rest have been simply dropped. There you have the real 'success' of the much-advertised campaign of the Reagan administration to fight cases of abuse in the awarding and implementation of Pentagon contracts.

The power and the influence of the big arms business in the United States are growing thanks to the closely intertwined interests and increasingly firm alliance of the war corporations, the top military and the political leaders of the United States — the alliance which is known as the military-industrial complex. High finance, the ideological apparatus and militarised science are increasingly active participants in it.

The military-industrial complex, the Crowns and their ilk are the principal enemies of peace and détente. They have given rise to a tangible threat of annihilation of life on Earth. Acting against the interests of mankind, they strive to impose their will on the world in pursuit of their self-seeking economic and political objectives. "The Reagan administration," General Secretary Gus Hall of the Communist Party USA stressed, "follows policies dictated by the military monopolies . . . We have never had an administration that so actively pursued such an aggressive imperialist policy."² The Crowns profit from the arms race, and they use every means available to generate it. Curbing their power is a task of the Communists and all peace-loving, progressive forces.

George Danlow

¹ Family interests in the company's management are now more often represented by Henry's son Lester. — *Ed*

² *Information* — CPUSA, Vol. 6, May 1986.

WMR Ties

WMR delegations took part in the deliberations of the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Greece and the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin.



A *WMR* delegation took part in a meeting of communist and democratic press editors held in Moscow to mark the 75th anniversary of *Pravda*.



Izhac al-Khatib and Rushdi Shaheen, members of the Central Committee Political Bureau of the Jordanian Communist Party, have visited the *WMR* office. At a joint extended meeting of the *WMR* Commissions on National Liberation Movements in Asia and Africa and on Party Experience, they discussed the restoration of the Jordanian Communists' unity and their

struggle for the interests of the working class and all working people of Jordan, for consolidating national independence and promoting democracy and social progress.



Magid Ibrahim, Political Bureau and Secretariat member of the Central Committee of the Egyptian Communist Party, visited the WMR office during his stay in Prague. At a meeting of the WMR Commission on National Liberation Movements in Asia and Africa he discussed the situation in his country and the current tasks of the Egyptian Communists.

Facts Indict Capitalism Beneath The 'Free World's' Open Sky

THE United Nations Organisation has declared 1987 the Year of the Homeless. By drawing the attention of all nations to the magnitude of this problem — 100 million people have no roof over their heads while one-fourth of the planet's population lives in subhuman conditions — representatives of the world community have put one of the most acute issues of our time on the agenda. Generally speaking, homelessness is not the product of any accidental coincidence of circumstances. Its causes lie in the social nature of the society in which people remain the object of ruthless exploitation and everything around them can be bought or sold.

In no bourgeois state does the constitution grant citizens the right to housing. At best, these constitutions contain the words that the home is a person's castle and that any assault upon it is a crime. But is it not equally a crime to deny people the opportunity of living like human beings?

The weekly *U.S. News & World Report* acknowledges that in the USA, the largest capitalist country, homelessness has become a permanent state of despair.

More than a century ago Frederick Engels noted that homelessness is an indispensable product of the bourgeois form of society, a problem without which that society cannot exist. In 1907 Lenin wrote: "But just take a look at modern capitalist society, at the big cities, at the railways, coal and iron mines and factories. You will see how the wealthy have seized the air and the water and the land. You will see how tens and hundreds of thousands of workers are condemned to deprivation of fresh air, to work underground, to life in cellars and to the use of water polluted by the neighbouring factory. You will see how fantastically the price of land goes up in the cities, and how the worker is exploited, not only by the factory owners, but also by house owners who, as everybody knows, get much more out of apartments, rooms, corners of rooms and slums inhabited by the workers than out of apartments for the wealthy."¹ Such was the situation at the turn of the century. Has any of it changed?

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, p. 298.

CRUSHED BY THE LACK OF HOUSING

Arvid Dulak was hit and killed by a garbage truck on the curb of a street in the American city of Minneapolis. Homeless unfortunates like him used newspapers and magazines to make a silhouette of a human body sprawled on the pavement on the spot where he died. This was their monument to his memory. A shortlived monument, but an impressive one. Possibly, amongst the newspapers used for this silhouette there were pieces of the newspaper *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* which wrote that the victim was himself to blame for his death since he was sleeping where this was not allowed. It would perhaps have been apt if there also were pieces from newspapers that reported President Ronald Reagan as saying that a homeless American has only himself to blame for being homeless. Also apt would be excerpts from a speech recently made by William Zimmerman in Vienna at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Here is what the head of the US delegation said: "in the USA there are at least two rooms per person".

In that case why had Arvid Dulak died and why have another three million homeless Americans to sleep at night amid garbage, or on the ventilation grates of the subway. The same bitter lot induced another disinherited American, Joseph Mauri, to ask Soviet people for aid and support.

In the mid-1960s US President Lyndon Johnson promised to turn the USA into a 'great society'. Americans find it ironic that what Johnson failed to do has been accomplished by Ronald Reagan. He needed only to change the spelling of a single word, 'great' for 'grate', on which homeless Americans have to sleep

THE MYTH AND THE REALITY

The Communist View

Tens of millions of people who listened to Reagan delivering his State of the Union message were disappointed and angry with his empty rhetoric and meaningless banalities, with his slaying of the truth. They had hoped that he would propose concrete ways to solve the nation's most pressing problems. But he turned his back on these problems. Instead of solutions he offered up to the American people a recipe of words moving in one direction and actions moving in the opposite direction.

He mentioned that his mother never turned away a hungry person in her life, but totally ignored the fact that his policies have 'turned away' millions of hungry and homeless into the streets of our land.

From 'An Honest Picture of the Country', a Statement of the Communist Party of the USA published on February 5, 1987 in the newspaper *People's Daily World*

And That of Congressmen

A Democratic Party inquiry panel in the House of Representatives of the US Congress issued a report headed *Homeless: the Myth and the Reality*, noting that the problem of homelessness has reached crisis proportions in the USA. However, a realistic assessment, let alone solution, is obstructed by the myths entrenched in the minds of the present Washington administration's spokesman.

Myth One. Under previous administrations there were just as many homeless as today.

The Reality. The majority of the homeless lost their homes in the past few years. Since 1980 their number has been rising annually at a rate of roughly 25 per cent. There are now more homeless people in the USA than at any other time since the Great Depression.

Myth Two. A typical homeless person is one who has sunk to degradation and has no desire to work for a living.

The Reality. Practically one in every five homeless persons has some job but cannot afford the high rent being asked for a home. For this reason two and a half million Americans are annually being evicted from their homes. In many cases their home is now the flophouse or the street.

Myth Three. The vast majority of the homeless are single persons.

The Reality. The bulk of the homeless are families with children. In New York such families constitute 76 per cent of the total number of homeless; in Portland, 52 per cent, and Philadelphia, 50 per cent.

Myth Four. The local authorities and charities have enough resources to solve the problem of homelessness.

The Reality. From 1981 to 1986 the allocations for housing for low income families were cut by more than 66 per cent, while only last year they were slashed by 70 per cent. During the current year new housing construction is to decrease by 6 per cent nationwide. According to US mayors, the local authorities have to deny lodging in a flophouse to every 72 out of 100 requests, and meet only half of the demand for urgent food aid.

Myth Five. Economic development is leading to the solution of the problem of homelessness.

The Reality. The above-mentioned report declares that there is no link-up here. It draws attention to the fact that in 1983, the year economic recovery peaked in the USA, the number of homeless people reached a critical point where one in every 80 Americans had no roof overhead. There has been no change for the better ever since.

Myth Six. The administration asserts that it cannot afford to concern itself with the homeless on account of the limited funds at its disposal.

The Reality. The money going into housing is only a tiny fraction of the federal budget, especially if it is compared with military spending. The additional 500 million dollars allocated for urgent assistance to homeless people adds up to barely half the cost of a single Trident nuclear submarine.

MILLIONS DENIED A HOME

Continent of Poverty-Stricken Debtors

Most of the major cities in Latin America are being stifled in the vice of housing crisis. The number of homeless on the continent is estimated at 20 million. Almost half of the people in Mexico City — eight million persons — live in squalid huts built of plywood or rusted iron. Four million disinherited people live a life of misery in such shanties in Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro (in Brazil these hovels are called 'favellas').

A report published in early 1987 by the International Labour Organisation says that to end the continent's housing crisis it is necessary to build 89 million homes at an annual cost of roughly 62 billion dollars. But on account of the huge external debt this is a task Latin America cannot cope with. Of the available resources the lion's share has to be allocated to service debts to rich imperialist countries. Last year alone more than 100 billion dollars migrated to the safes of Western banks and transnational corporations, chiefly those based in the USA. This is almost twice the annual amount of money needed to cleanse the continent of the scab of slums.

At a meeting of the coordinating bureau of the non-aligned nations, called to consider the problems facing Latin American and Caribbean states (March 1987, Guyana), it was noted that the external debt of these states was not merely a financial problem but also a political one because not only the bank accounts of foreign creditors but also the future of the millions of people living under the constant threat of economic ruin, hunger, unemployment, and poverty are at stake. The basic human rights recorded in the UN Charter will remain empty words as long as no effective solution is found to the debt problem.

BENEFITING FROM THE TROUBLES OF OTHERS

A document entitled 'A Political Way Out. The Communist Party's Proposal', issued last February by the leadership of the Communist Party of Chile, states: "*The housing problem is growing increasingly more acute. The number of homeless families now exceeds one million; people who, in their desperation, seize a piece of land for a home, are brutally punished.*"

Miguel Lawner, a member of the Communist Party of Chile and an architect by profession who headed state housing construction agencies under the Popular Unity government, notes that the military regime continues to turn a blind eye to the problem of homeless people, a problem that has become particularly severe under the Pinochet regime. Nearly two million people have no dwellings or live in crowded hovels within the perimeter of Greater Santiago.

Hugo Fazio, an economist and a Political Commission member of the Communist Party of Chile, estimates that, as a whole, the country is short

of 1,200,000 dwellings. The housing problem is also being aggravated by the fact that hundreds of thousands of Chileans find themselves deep in debt on account of the rapidly growing interest on the mortgages they had taken to pay for housing. The payments on these mortgages have increased more than 10-fold and no end to this is in sight. Official Chilean data is that mortgages are owed by more than 650,000 families.

Last April when Pope John Paul II was visiting Chile homeless people in Santiago staged a powerful demonstration in an effort to draw attention of the Roman Catholic Pontiff to their calamitous situation. The police dealt summarily with the demonstrators.

DOCUMENTS

In Rio de Janeiro half of all the housing lacks a sewer and one in four has no running water. The sanitation in most of the houses is appalling and this is the cause of epidemics. A mass movement to end the housing crisis is gathering momentum in the country.

The Brazilian Communist Party is calling for rigid rent control and for urban housing programmes for the working people.

AN UNCOMFORTING FORECAST

The problem of homeless people is excruciatingly acute in India. Rooted in their bitter legacy of the colonial past, it is a major factor of the country's present socio-economic difficulties. At a special seminar held on the subject early this year in Delhi, attended by, among others, Communists, it was noted that in many of India's largest cities the number of homeless or people living in one-day lodgings or miserable hovels was estimated at between 20 and 50 per cent, totalling 150 million persons.

It is tentatively forecast that this number will double by the end of the present century. In Bombay, Calcutta, and Delhi up to 70 per cent of the population will have to live in ramshackle huts devoid of water and sewers.

During the years of independence neither the central government nor the state authorities have been able to find an effective solution for the housing problem. There was some sustained effort in the early 1970s in one state in India, in Kerala, on the initiative of the Communists who were in the state government then: 55,000 dwellings were built at the time for homeless families. But, regrettably, there could be no follow-up to that initiative. In championing disinherited sections of the population, the Indian Communists are insisting on a wide-ranging housing programme. They say that the right to a home, as the right to work, should be an inalienable right of every Indian citizen.

A CASTLE ON THE GROUND OR IN THE AIR?

The British saying 'My Home Is My Castle' continues to symbolise the ideal and the highest virtue of the 'property owning democracy'. The concepts of 'home' and 'life' have been as inseparable by most people for centuries on end. But today capitalism, which is developing to a profoundly disturbing extremity, is striking a crushing blow at this link.

The reprivatisation programme adopted by the present Tory government in 1979 has hurt not only workers but tenants most of all. While the money from the sale of denationalised enterprises has amounted to 5,000 million pounds over the six-year period, the transfer of municipal housing to the hands of big landlords and the granting to them of the option to purchase 'surplus' land ear-marked mainly for municipal housing has brought the exchequer 12,000 million pounds. This money came from entrepreneurs who expect to more than recoup their expenses very quickly. Rent has soared dramatically, giving money barons a new source of revenue. In the wake of the landlords, private banks offering loans for the purchase of housing have dipped their hands into the pockets of tenants of houses and land, now pressed to purchase their dwelling.

According to the Association of Building Societies, the number of loans in the period from 1982 to 1985 increased by 18 per cent and totalled 6,500,000. The following data shows how onerous the burden of debts has become: in 1985 the number of property suits filed on account of unpaid debts rose to 7,400 (there were 2,600 in 1982).

In Northern Ireland, too, people are encountering similar difficulties. In Belfast, after the clearance of slum dwellings and the transfer of people from buildings damaged as a result of the continuing disorders in the city, many of the inhabitants of the central districts have had to look elsewhere for new homes. Meanwhile, the cleared land has been used for fashionable housing development. The decision of the Northern Ireland Executive Committee for Housing to turn this land over to private developers has exacerbated the strains in the city. Likewise the changes in the conditions for paying rent allowances have inflicted a serious blow to the budgets of low-income families in Northern Ireland. Henceforth there is to be a substantial cut in the rates allowances enjoyed by 158,000 of the poorest people.

To conclude, another fact that gives food for thought is that the number of young people to be found among the homeless is growing steadily. There are 80,000 such young people in Britain and 3,000 in Ireland. Many of them sleep in their clothes, finding a place in hallways, cardboard boxes, or park benches. They have no reason to think of a home of their own as a 'castle'. Unfortunately, for them a roof over their heads is as unattainable as a castle in the air.

"Every day in London 50,000 people wake up in the morning without knowing where they will spend the next night." These words from Frederick Engel's work 'The Condition of the Working Class in England' may be safely included in the latest statistics. To this day more than 50,000 people in Britain's capital wake up in the morning without knowing where night will find them.

ALTOGETHER, IN BRITAIN THERE ARE 250,000 HOMELESS PEOPLE.

OVER A MILLION ARE IN THE SAME DESPERATE PLIGHT IN ITALY.

THERE ARE 100,000 HOMELESS PEOPLE IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY. ACCORDING TO OFFICIAL DATA, AN AVERAGE OF 60 PERSONS IN THAT COUNTRY ARE EVICTED EVERY DAY.

IN FRANCE 100,000 PERSONS HAVE NO ROOF OVER THEIR HEADS.

HOMELESS IN THE ETERNAL CITY

Rome is customarily called the Eternal City, but today it is more often spoken of as the Italian capital of the homeless. One of the main acts of a national tragedy is being played out there, writes *l'Unità*. If the government implements its decision to demolish so-called illegal houses, in which roughly one-third of Rome's population lives, the army of the homeless will be joined by thousands of families. Only those who can buy an 'indulgence', i.e., pay for official permission to keep the house they have built, will avoid this plight. But these are a minority. The rest, who cannot pay for 'government indulgences', will be thrown out into the street. No wonder hundreds of Roman families have now risen to defend their homes under the slogan: 'A home is a right not subject to demolition'.

The newspaper *l'Unità* reported a clash in the Rome suburb of Prima-Porta, where houses were ordered to be pulled down. Municipality officials and bailiffs arrived on the scene accompanied by carabinieri, police, firemen, and communication demolition teams. "What brought them here? Why had such forces been sent against peaceful people? What crime had these people committed?" the newspaper asks.

The motivation given by the authorities was that the houses had been built by these poverty-stricken families illegally. Besides, they had occupied forbidden territory near ancient architectural monuments. But for some reason nobody had objected to the building of a new road that all but buried the ancient ruins. "Nobody is complaining about this," the newspaper writes. "The purists are silent. What in that case is the hurt to these monuments by the houses inhabited by families whose suffering has earned them the right to have a roof over their heads?"

This time the inhabitants, among whom were Communists belonging to the local ICP section, saved their homes. The police siege was lifted, but the danger of a new attack has by no means passed.

The whole point is that the authorities are least of all concerned about protecting architectural monuments. They are looking after the interests of rich landowners. In Rome alone there are 113,000 untenanted rooms and houses. But the landlords are asking for rents that most Italians cannot afford to pay. (Some 4,500,000 flats, or almost one-sixth of the housing available in the country, are unoccupied for the same reasons.)

The Italian Communists see this situation as a glaring violation of social justice. They want the government to put an end to the arbitrary actions of the 'house usurers'. (Approximately one in every six Italians spends one-third of his or her wages on rent.) The ICP is demanding, in particular, a reduction of the tenant tax and a large increase of the empty housing tax. It is suggesting the formation of a special social fund that would cover at least a portion of the rent paid by impoverished families. Rent in the public sector has already now approached the market price, which is way above what most working people can afford to pay. However, *l'Unità* writes, "the central issue being raised by the Communists is not that of rent but that of social policy that would fundamentally resolve the housing crisis".

Information and other data for this issue of *Facts Indict Capitalism* were received from the representatives of the following parties on the journal: **Antonio Ribeira Granja** (Brazilian Communist Party), **Unni Krishnan** (Communist Party of India), **William Somerset** (Communist Party of Ireland), **John Pittman** (Communist Party of USA), and **Orel Viciani** (Communist Party of Chile).

the book scene

The 70th Anniversary of the
October Revolution

ECHO OF HISTORY

A Survey of Memoirs on the Liberation and Revolutionary Movement in Russia

Never before have Soviet publishers undertaken a bigger project — a series of memoirs spanning the entire age of the Russian movement for liberation from czarist autocracy and bourgeois rule. *From the Spark, a Flame. A Series of Revolutionary Memoirs* was begun in Leningrad, historically the centre of revolutionary struggle, in 1982.* Eight out of the twelve volumes slanted for publication have already appeared. This project recreates a broad panorama of the process of liberation in Russia with the help of accounts written by direct participants in it, and highlights both the continuity and the differences of each of its three main stages.

SEVENTY years ago Russia, one of the major powers of that time, went through tremendous upheavals. The bourgeois democratic revolution of February 1917 put an end to the more than 300-year rule of the Romanov dynasty. Republican institutions began to emerge in Russia. The eight months that followed were among the stormiest periods of the country's history.

All kinds of parties were vying for the right to decide Russia's future. Millions of workers, soldiers and peasants were getting their first taste of politics. For several months, the S.R.s and the Mensheviks¹ enjoyed the greatest popularity. In September 1917 the influence of the Bolsheviks began to grow rapidly. With a programme reflecting the vital needs of the country and the people, they advocated transfer of power to the bodies of revolutionary democracy (the Soviets of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies), immediate conclusion of democratic peace without annexations or indemnities, transfer of landowners' estates to the peasants, and workers' control in the economy. One after another, Soviets all over Russia came to the side of the Bolsheviks.

*From 1982 to 1986 Lenizdat published the following titles in the series: *The Country's Loyal Sons*, *The First Russian Socialists*, *The Helmsmen in the Storm to Come*, *The Revolutionaries of the 1870s*, *Proletarian Prologue*, *On the Barricades*, *The Collapse of Czardom*, and *The October Days*. Editorial Board: V. Ginev (chief compiler), M. Iroshnikov, Z. Mironchenkova, L. Plyushchikov, V. Shishkin, L. Spirin and S. Volk.

Drawing on the support of the masses and led by Lenin, the Bolsheviks took power as a result of the October armed uprising in Petrograd. Within a mere eight months, Russia advanced from the imperial two-headed eagle to the red banner of the socialist revolution.

The volumes of the Revolutionary Memoirs Series show that this process had deep historical roots and was linked with progressive traditions. *The Country's Loyal Sons* describes how, as early as 1817, Russian army officers and aristocrats organised the first secret societies aimed at overthrowing autocratic rule, abolishing serfdom and granting democratic rights and freedoms to the people. They were the Decembrists who took the first armed action against czarism on December 14, 1825. Scrupulously examining the history of the Russian liberation movement, Lenin noted that it "passed through three main stages, corresponding to the three main classes of Russian society, which have left their impress on the movement".² The first period, roughly from 1825 to 1861, was of the nobility; the second, from 1861 to 1895, was the *raznochintsi* (intellectuals not of the gentry) or bourgeois-democratic period; and the third, which began in 1895, was the proletarian period.

Organised according to Lenin's method of dating, the volumes of the series reveal that for all the differences in policy goals, degree of activity and involvement of social strata and classes, the liberation movement in Russia displayed certain common features. Czarist autocracy invariably remained the principal opponent of change. The Decembrists, the *raznochintsi* and the proletariat all sought to overthrow it. This explains the similarity in the techniques of clandestine revolutionary activities. The czar's secret police traditionally relied on the infiltration of spies and agents provocateurs into underground organisations, on spying, arrests and brutal reprisals.

The detailed introductory articles to each volume are very useful, offering a political description of the period covered in the memoirs and listing its principal events and personalities.

Take V. Ginev's article that opens the volume *The Revolutionaries of the 1870s* — about the emergence of the Narodniks (Populists), a major current in the nineteenth-century Russian revolutionary movement. After the 1861 emancipation of the serfs, capitalism was only taking its first steps in Russia, and the fighters against autocracy maintained that the country could advance to socialism bypassing the capitalist system whose grave and sinister drawbacks had already become evident in Western Europe and North America. The Narodniks held that the seeds of socialist consciousness were present in the traditions of Russia's peasant *obshchina* (community). Soviet historians differed widely in their assessment of the Narodniks: some hailed the heroism of the Narodnaya Volya activists who assassinated Czar Alexander II; others rejected this current out of hand because its populist views were opposed to Marxism. Referring to Lenin's works, Ginev provides a well-considered and historically substantiated evaluation of this movement and, specifically, of the 1870s, when the Narodniks began to conduct propaganda among industrial workers too. Naturally, these efforts "could not develop the distinctly proletarian consciousness of the workers because the Narodniks did not understand

the special role of the working class in the revolutionary movement and, in broader terms, in history. But the activities of the raznochintsi revolutionaries among the workers helped awaken, educate and draw them into the revolutionary movement. The Narodniks introduced the advanced worker to what the International was doing. Today, the positive role of the Narodnik revolutionaries at the initial stage of the working-class movement is recognised by most researchers" (p. 50).

There is an unexpected twist to the fate of populist theories: although in Russia they failed to compete effectively with scientific socialism, from time to time they re-emerge elsewhere, where the conditions are right. After World War II, populist concepts close to those of the Narodniks gained a degree of currency in some Asian and African countries. "The national intelligentsia as a particularly vigorous exponent of these ideas is looking for its own, non-capitalist path, intertwining Western socialist theories, Marxism included, with indigenous views reflecting distinctive national features and trying to use this or that form of traditional peasant collectivism as a base to build socialism on" (p. 41).

Let us take a closer look at some of the volumes in the series. The memoirs of Decembrists included in *The Country's Loyal Sons* were written mostly in the late 1850s and early 1860s — 30 years after the establishment of the first secret societies. Nonetheless, the authors vividly evoked the Decembrists' disaffection with autocratic rule and serfdom. The ideological struggle among them is also portrayed, reflecting the emergence of two currents in the liberation movement — the liberal and the radical democratic. The volume also contains an analysis of why the insurrection of December 14, 1825 in St. Petersburg's Senate Square failed.³ Its bitter lessons — lack of proper preparations, of concerted and resolute action, etc. — are topical to this day.

Those who compiled the volume have made a mistake by excluding virtually all mention of the Decembrist organisations' ties with Masonic lodges. It is a fact that radical Freemasonry played an important role in the liberation movements in Spain, Italy and Portugal during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Even prior to the Patriotic War of 1812, some Decembrists had been members of Russian lodges with Scottish, English or French rites. In 1813-1814 almost all of them joined Russian, Austrian or Prussian military lodges; later, in 1815-1816, they restored old lodges and established new ones in St. Petersburg, Kiev and Warsaw. In 1816, the St. Petersburg-based Lodge of Three Virtues included dozens of Union of Salvation members. This union, established that same year, was the first secret society of the Decembrists. When Pavel Pestel, the most uncompromising representative of the revolutionary wing in the Decembrist movement, was arrested, Masonic signs and literature were discovered in his home.

There should have been references to Masonry in *The Collapse of Czardom* volume two: evidence is now available that the leaders of many bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties maintained contacts with one another through the Great Orient of the Peoples of Russia lodge. These contacts facilitated the formation of the Provisional Government after the February Revolution.

The Masonry of today has essentially become a form of organisation adopted by the reactionaries. It is often used to further their sinister schemes — witness the revelations concerning the criminal activities of the P-2 Masonic lodge in Italy.

Of particular interest in the volume *The Helmsmen in the Storm to Come* (this is how Alexander Herzen, author, philosopher and a founder of the Narodniks movement described the Russian revolutionaries of the 1860s) are memoirs about Nikolai Chernyshevsky, a remarkable revolutionary democrat whose “outstanding and powerful intellect, coupled with a great store of knowledge . . . was unanimously recognised both by his friends and admirers and, unfortunately, by his opponents and enemies” (p. 233). Lenin said that Chernyshevsky “approached all the political events of his times in a revolutionary spirit and was able to exercise a revolutionary influence by advocating, in spite of all the barriers and obstacles placed in his way by the censorship, the idea of the peasant revolution, the idea of the struggle of the masses for the overthrow of all the old authorities”.

The memoirs reveal the rich inner world of Chernyshevsky, and contain details about his arrest, about the humiliating procedure in which he was stripped of all civil rights, and about his courage, fortitude and conviction.

The revolutionary situation that took shape in Russia on the eve of and during the first years after the abolition of serfdom was accompanied by the emergence of secret revolutionary societies and organisations. Contacts were established between the foreign-based centres of the struggle against czarist rule (Herzen's and Ogarev's journal *Kolokol*) and groups operating inside Russia. That was when a peculiar combination of utopian socialist ideas with views that idealised the Russian peasant community as an instrument of a socialist revolution began to give rise to the populist concepts of the Narodniks.

The first attempt on the life of Emperor Alexander II was made on April 4, 1866. D. Karakozov, a member of a secret society, fired a revolver at the czar, missed and was immediately arrested. That was the first act of the terrorist wing in the Russian liberation movement. From the outset, terrorism was condemned by progressive public opinion. The terrorist activities of the Narodniks and the eventual assassination of Alexander II resulted only in the accession to the throne of Alexander III, a much more reactionary czar. Autocratic rule remained intact. Nor could it be brought down by the numerous terrorist acts undertaken by the paramilitary organisation of the S.R.s on the eve of and during the First Russian Revolution of 1905-1907.

After the October Revolution the S.R.s continued their terrorist practices, aiming to assassinate Lenin and other leaders of the Bolshevik party and the Soviet government. But history has proved that terrorism is a dead end which spells the demise of any mass revolutionary party. As it is underlined in the introductory article to *The Helmsmen in the Storm to Come*, the numerous sacrifices and trials of our country's democratic movement resulted in a “combination of revolutionary struggle and the strictest and loftiest concepts of revolutionary ethics and universal morality” (p. 30).

The memoirs comprising *The Revolutionaries of the 1870s* volume show

that the period in question witnessed a more mature struggle and better techniques of clandestine activities: revolutionary societies lasted longer, their members worked hard to improve their knowledge of theory, produce underground publications and make use of legitimate publishing activities. Ties with revolutionaries outside Russia, including the First International of Marx and Engels, became permanent and quite stable. Although the revolutionaries of the period turned mostly to the peasants, members of the societies which existed in the early 1870s also made progress among industrial workers. Still, the main form of propaganda used in those years — 'going to the people', to rural areas — caused failures and invited reprisals against hundreds of members of revolutionary organisations, primarily students. Also reflected in the volume are the literary and propaganda activities of the populist leaders Petr Lavrov, Mikhail Bakunin and Petr Kropotkin — people whose names are widely known internationally and cause ideological debate to this day.

The memoirs evoke the controversies of the period over the tactics and the future of the liberation movement. The Narodniks fertilised the soil in which Georgi Plekhanov, a prominent Russian Marxist, and his comrades had their roots.

The first Russian Marxists and Social Democrats who led the growing labour movement in the first half of the 1890s had to perform a critical reappraisal of the theoretical views and tactics of the Narodniks and the Narodnaya Volya organisation. That was when Lenin began his revolutionary activities in St Petersburg. Memoirs of those who took part in the revolutionary movement of 1893-1904 make up the *Proletarian Prologue* volume. It is a salient feature of this volume and of those which followed that they contain memoirs of both leaders and rank-and-file fighters. The latter are simple and straightforward accounts describing revolutionary activities, self-education and political studies. Recalling an evening school for workers, E. Onufriev, himself a worker from the Obukhov Factory, writes that "during these classes, our revolutionary convictions developed and grew stronger". The memoirs of Mikhail Kalinin who later became Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (he died in 1946) are entitled 'The Road to Self-Education for the Worker and the Peasant'.

Many pages of this volume were written by Lenin's friends, comrades-in-arms and relatives to recall him as a sincere, committed and modest person. At that time, Lenin was still a young man, but, as G. Krzhizhanovsky, a prominent party activist and a member of the Academy of Sciences, writes: "in the person of Vladimir Ilyich at 23 we had a teacher and a past master . . . In bold and confident strokes, his young genius painted our future and channelled our will into a mainstream in which words were transformed into historic deeds" (pp. 58, 60).

The activities of the Union of the Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class which Lenin founded in St. Petersburg in 1895 and of *Iskra* (Spark), a workers' clandestine newspaper which he started abroad and which became an organ of the party, rallying isolated Social Democratic circles and committees scattered all over the country into a single whole, are the central subjects of the book. The volume also deals with the Second

Congress of the RSDLP (1903) convened thanks to Lenin's vigorous efforts, and with the first clashes between workers and the czar's police.

The collection entitled *On the Barricades* contains eyewitness accounts by participants in the main events of the revolution of 1905-1907, provides new information about "The way the political army of the revolution took shape in one of its principal centres, and highlights the popular character of the movement and the historic role of the Bolshevik party" (p. 44).

The event that touched off the first Russian revolution occurred on Sunday, January 9, 1905, when army units opened fire on a peaceful demonstration of workers who wanted to present a petition to Czar Nicholas II. Maxim Gorky's essay *January 9*, written in the wake of the massacre, impresses the reader with its passionate yet documentary style. The great proletarian writer shows how the participants in the march, at first complacent and self-assured, saw the light when they were fired upon, and lost their age-old faith in the 'benevolent czar'.

The memoirs that make up the volume often recall Lenin's intense and multifaceted efforts to create a party of a new type and to prepare the working class for an open confrontation with czarism. S. Gusev, Lenin's regular correspondent, wrote to him that the events of January 9 "set a great mass of forces in motion. The difficulty is to set these forces working. Old forms of clandestine organisation, old methods of work concentrated in the hands of professional revolutionaries . . . were an obstacle to the use of these new forces, not so experienced and . . . not so ready for work" (p. 90). "Either we shall rally all who are out to fight into a really iron-strong organisation . . . or we shall prove by our conduct that we deserve to go under for being contemptible formalists."⁵

Chronologically, the next to the last volume — *The Collapse of Czarism*, is divided into three parts, describing the working class movement and the activities of the Bolsheviks (a) during the period of reaction (1907-1910) and the new revolutionary upsurge (1910-1914), (b) during World War I (1914-1917), and (c) during the bourgeois democratic revolution of February 1917. This heavy concentration of material is regrettable: each of these periods could have been tackled in its own right in a separate volume. The structure that has been chosen accords too little space — a bit more than one-third — to the February Revolution which overthrew czarist rule and thus accomplished a major goal of the liberation movement. Nevertheless, the volume as a whole offers a sufficiently full description of the situation in the capital of the Russian Empire during World War I and the February Revolution.

So far, the series ends with *The October Days* in which the memoirs of Red Guard workers — the 'enlisted men' of the October armed uprising — are particularly valuable. They add a great deal to our understanding of the October Revolution and show graphically the huge amount of organisational effort which the Bolshevik party, led by Lenin, undertook among the masses of workers and soldiers to ensure victory.

Unfortunately, the notes to the volume are not always thorough enough. Some facts reported by the memoirs' authors have not been duly checked or annotated. This applies first and foremost to accounts about the storming of the Winter Palace. Superimposed on the memoirs of

rank-and-file participants in the operation — they were not recorded at once but at the juncture of the 1920s and 1930s or even later — are impressions of post-revolutionary feature films and fiction. As a result, the picture that emerges is overdramatised.

It is now a proven historical fact that the operation of seizing the Winter Palace and arresting the Provisional Government ministers was not so much military as political. The talks with the cabinet ministers on the terms of their surrender lasted much longer than the brief forays covered by rifle fire and the symbolic shelling. Of the 2,500 defenders of the Winter Palace, 2,000 cossacks, cadets and a company of the battalion of women guards abandoned their positions even before the seizure of the palace: V. Antonov-Ovseyenko and G. Chudnovsky, commissars of the Revolutionary Military Committee, allowed them to leave (p. 28). Only a few shells penetrated the building, and the people who stormed the palace advanced along its corridors and staircases in an organised formation, without firing a single shot. At two o'clock in the morning on October 26 "the palace was taken by the revolutionary troops, and the Provisional Government fell" (p. 265). The volume shows as wholly untenable the attempts of anti-Soviet authors in the West to present the October Revolution as a 'Bolshevik putsch' and a 'bloodbath'. The memoirs effectively demonstrate that it was a truly popular revolution.

The Revolutionary Memoirs Series is particularly topical now that we are preparing to celebrate the 70th Anniversary of the October Revolution together with progressive quarters the world over. I would like to close my review by quoting A. Spunde, a member of the Bolshevik party since 1909. He described the impressions of a man who had just heard Lenin's speech in which he announced the victory of the socialist revolution: "At that moment we . . . saw ourselves as heirs to all generations of fighters . . . We recalled the generations of Russian revolutionaries — leaders of peasant rebellions, the Decembrists, the heroes of the Narodnaya Volya. We regarded the great revolutions of the past — the English, the French, and the American Civil War — with profound respect. We felt a surge of affection and admiration for people like the Levellers in England and the Jacobins in France who had paid with their lives for learning how to eliminate exploitation . . . We acted, drawing on their experience, and we knew that the greatest of the bourgeois revolutions was only a stepping stone to the new experience of building a classless society."

Professor Vitaly Startsev
Doctor of History

¹The S.R.s (Socialist-Revolutionaries) were a left-wing bourgeois democratic party active in 1901-1923. The Mensheviks represented the main petty-bourgeois opportunist current in Russian social democracy. The name was derived from the Russian word for 'minority': at the Second Congress of the RSDLP in 1903 those opposing Lenin's principles of party organisation were outvoted in the elections of governing bodies. The Mensheviks fought against Soviet power after the October Revolution. — *Ed.*

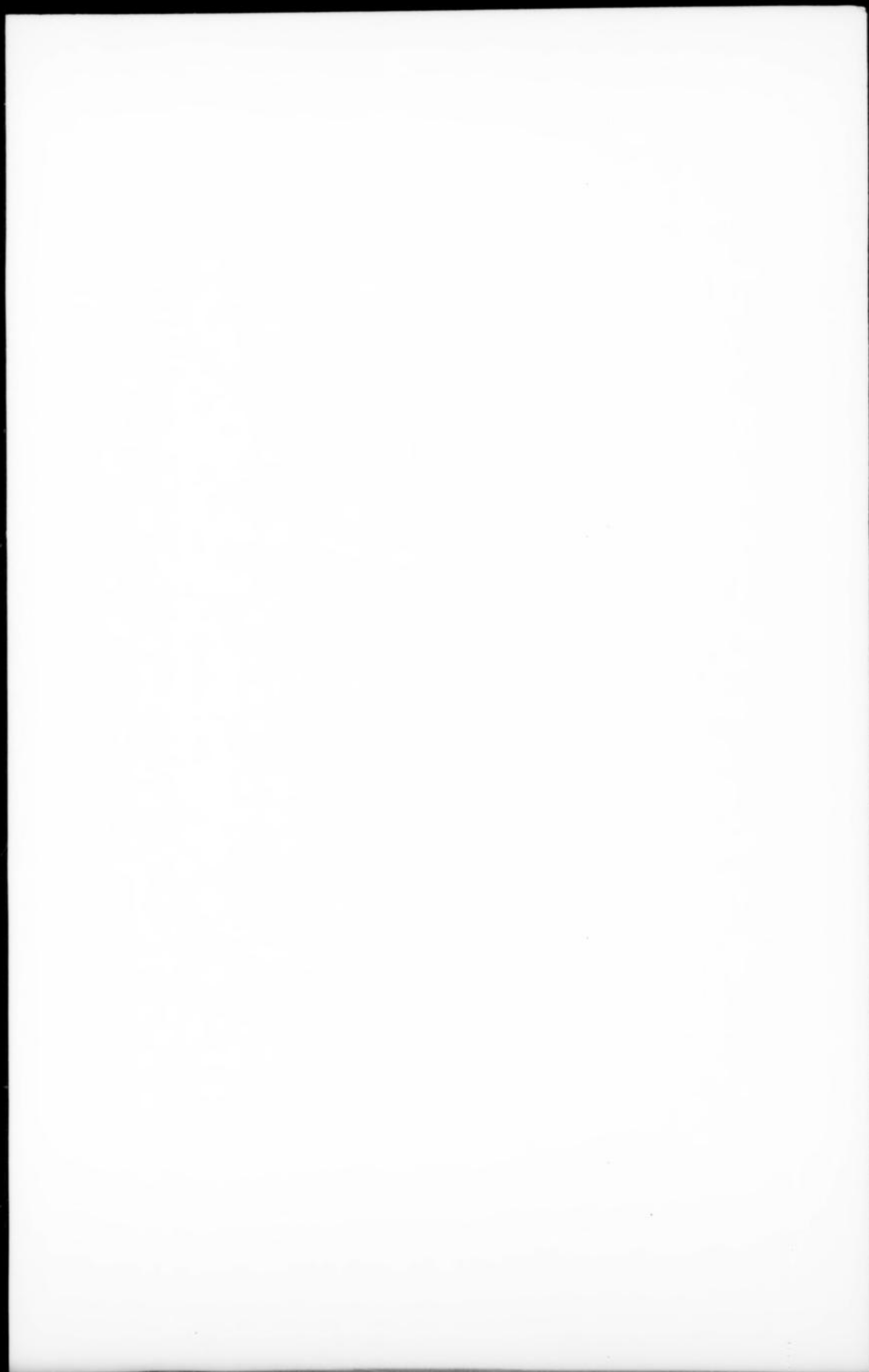
²V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 245.

³In the morning of that day officers who were members of the Northern Society led their Guards regiments to Senate Square and refused to pledge allegiance to Nicholas I. They

demanded a republic or a constitutional monarchy. The uprising was crushed, five of its leaders hanged, and more than 120 participants sent to prison or banished to Siberia. The reprisals also affected more than 3,000 enlisted men. — *Ed.*

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, p. 123.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 8, p. 145.



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