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MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

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In Memory of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev

Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, four times Hero of the Soviet Union and Hero of Socialist Labor, died suddenly at age 75 on November 10, 1982. An outstanding personality of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, and the international communist and working-class movement, a distinguished theorist and talented organizer passed away. His long and eventful life was devoted entirely to the great cause of the October Revolution, the party of Lenin, the interests of working people, and the building of communism.

Leonid Brezhnev was born on December 19, 1906 in the town of Dneprodzerzhinsk, into the family of a steelworker. At age 15 he went to work at a steel foundry, where he received working-class tempering in a large and fine work collective. At 17 he joined the Komsomol, and in 1931 became a member of the Communist Party.

After graduating from a technical college, Leonid Brezhnev was a land surveyor in Kursk Gubernia, and then in Byelorussia and in the Urals. There he came to love the land, the hard and very vital labor of the peasants.

Upon returning to his native town, Leonid Brezhnev entered the local metallurgical institute, where he combined study with responsible party and public work — as secretary of his department party committee, chairman of the trade union committee, and then secretary of the institute's party committee. After graduation from the institute he worked at a factory and then served in the army in the Transbaikal area. He held office in local government and party bodies.

Elected Secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk Regional Party Committee in 1939, Leonid Brezhnev did much to organize the production of military hardware.

Leonid Brezhnev was in the army in the field from the very outbreak of the Great Patriotic War. As soldier, communist, and political worker he traversed arduous frontline roads all the way from Novorossiisk to Prague. As deputy chief of the political department of the Southern Front, then chief of the political department of the 18th Army, and chief of the political department of the 4th Ukrainian Front he took part in planning and carrying out many major operations of the Soviet Army in the

Caucasus, the Black Sea area, the Crimea and the Ukraine, and in liberating peoples of European countries from the fascist invaders. The name of Commissar Brezhnev is associated with the unexampled feat of Soviet troops on Little Land. Leonid Brezhnev ended his war-time service at the Victory Parade in Moscow as Commissar of a Combined Regiment.

In 1946 Leonid Brezhnev was elected First Secretary of the Zaporozhye and then the Dnepropetrovsk Regional Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. Giant facilities of Soviet industry such as the Zaporozhstal Works, the Dnieper Hydropower Station, the metallurgical plants at Dnepropetrovsk and Nikopol, and the Krovoy Rog Mines were restored under his direction.

In the period 1950-1952 Leonid Brezhnev was First Secretary of the Communist Party of Moldavia. He did much for the development of industry, the socialist restructuring of agriculture and the promotion of culture in this Soviet republic, which was one of the youngest at the time.

In 1954 Leonid Brezhnev was elected Second and then in 1955 First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. He devoted all his energies to developing virgin land and was in the front ranks of the fighters in the great battle to tap Kazakhstan's vast grain-producing resources. It is to Leonid Brezhnev's unfading credit that this battle was won, that Kazakhstan became one of the country's main producers of grain.

At the 19th and subsequent party congresses Leonid Brezhnev was elected a member of the Central Committee of the CPSU. He was an alternate member of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee, a Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee (1956-1957), a member of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee (1957-1966), and from 1966 onward a member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee. In 1958-1966 he was a member, Deputy Chairman, and then Chairman of the Bureau for the RSFSR of the CPSU Central Committee.

Leonid Brezhnev was a deputy of the 3rd-10th Supreme Soviets of the USSR, a deputy of the 5th-10th Supreme Soviets of the RSFSR, and a deputy of the 3rd Supreme Soviet of Moldavia and the 4th Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan. He was a member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (1965-1977)

and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (1960-1964 and from 1977 onward).

At a plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee in October 1964 Leonid Brezhnev was elected First Secretary, and in 1966 he was elected General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The further development and strengthening of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are inseparably associated with his unflagging theoretical, political and organizational work. Abiding firmly by the theory and behests of Vladimir Lenin, he was tireless in ensuring that the party should more and more fully implement its role as the leading and guiding force of Soviet society, as the organizer and inspirer of the constructive work of millions of people, as the political vanguard of the Soviet people.

Leonid Brezhnev performed an inestimable service in restoring, consolidating and developing Leninist norms of party life and principles of leadership, in reinforcing the party's links with the people. As General Secretary of the CC he ensured the harmonious, collective work of the Central Committee and its Political Bureau. He gave much of his attention to perfecting the work of republican, territorial, regional, town, district and primary party organizations.

Leonid Brezhnev made an immense contribution to the fulfillment of the plans for the building of communism in our country. The party's economic and social policy was based on the fundamental guidelines laid down by the 23rd-26th CPSU congresses for the building of developed socialism and the transition to communism. The development of socialist industry, agrarian policy, of which the Food Program is a major element, the enhancement of the efficiency and the intensification of production, the perfection of social relations, and the communist education of the people are matters that were creatively elaborated by the party, by its Central Committee with Leonid Brezhnev at its head.

Leonid Brezhnev was Chairman of the Constitution Commission, and in 1977, on the basis of his report, following nationwide discussion and approval, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted the new constitution of the USSR, which gave a further powerful impetus to the development of socialist democracy. Leonid Brezhnev's work as head of the Soviet state was many-sided and productive. It contributed toward enhancing the prestige of the organs of the people's power and improving their work.

By their heroic labor the people built a powerful material and technical basis of de-

veloped socialism. The combination of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism allows attaining progress in all sectors of the economy. The party and the government show day-to-day concern for the welfare of the people, for the growth of their living standard and cultural level. Leonid Brezhnev devoted much attention to problems of scientific and technological progress, to promoting the growth of labor productivity, to improving the quality of work, to developing the productive forces of Siberia and the Soviet Far East, and to the exploration of outer space.

Leonid Brezhnev displayed unremitting concern for the development and creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory by the party. A staunch Marxist-Leninist, he made a considerable contribution to the theory of scientific communism, to the elaboration of the theory of mature socialism, of the ways and means of its further perfection and development.

For many years Leonid Brezhnev headed the Defense Council of the USSR, giving day-to-day attention to the Soviet Armed Forces, which dependably guard the peaceful work of the Soviet people and are the bulwark of world peace. The highest military rank, that of Marshal of the Soviet Union, was conferred upon him.

Drawing upon the legacy of Lenin, Leonid Brezhnev profoundly analyzed the international situation, the balance of strength on the world scene, and concrete ways of averting a thermonuclear world war. His works on questions of war and peace are of fundamental significance to Soviet foreign policy.

A fervent patriot, Leonid Brezhnev was an internationalist in the most profound, Leninist sense of the word. Linked to his own people by thousands of threads, he always understood and took close to heart the destinies and aspirations of other peoples. He did much to make the potentialities and might of the first socialist country promote to the maximum the cause of peace, mutual understanding and friendship among peoples, and productive and mutually enriching cooperation.

Devotion to internationalism was strikingly embodied in Leonid Brezhnev's unceasing concern and efforts to strengthen fraternal friendship and cooperation with countries of the world socialist community, and the militant alliance of the Marxist-Leninist parties of socialist countries on the basis of equality, mutual respect and mutual assistance.

Leonid Brezhnev worked tirelessly to strengthen and develop beneficial, all-sided links with countries that have won liberation

from colonial oppression and adopted the socialist orientation, the road of struggle for socialism, with all peoples fighting for political and economic independence.

With Leonid Brezhnev's name are associated the deepening and improvement of relations with fraternal communist parties of the whole world at the new, important and complex stage of the development of the world communist movement. He valued highly the dedication of class brothers, their devotion to the ideas of communism.

Leonid Brezhnev will go down in history as a great champion of peace. He profoundly understood that in our nuclear age a war would be a catastrophe. He articulated the inspired, mobilizing idea, which won worldwide recognition, that the cardinal right of the human being is the right to live.

Under Leonid Brezhnev's leadership our party worked out the Peace Program, which was endorsed by its 24th congress and enlarged upon by its 25th and 26th congresses, and put forward many important peace initiatives. This helps to constantly sustain an atmosphere of détente and cooperation in international relations, and conduct an active struggle for peaceful coexistence, against the forces of aggression and imperialism. In the minds of millions, peace and socialism are more firmly than ever associated as an indivisible whole.

Leonid Brezhnev was distinguished for his lofty partisanship, Bolshevik commitment to principle, modesty and humaneness. He was held in affection by all Soviet people.

For his distinguished services to the Communist Party and the Soviet Union in communist construction, for his great personal contribution to the Soviet people's victory over the German fascist invaders in the Great Patriotic War, for his energetic and productive work in strengthening the economic and defense potential of the Soviet Union and his indefatig-

able efforts on behalf of peace and the security of peoples, Leonid Brezhnev was decorated with the title of Hero of the Soviet Union four times and the title of Hero of Socialist Labor.

He was decorated with the Order of Victory, eight Orders of Lenin, two Orders of the October Revolution, two Orders of the Red Banner, the Order of Bogdan Khmelnitsky 2nd Degree, the Order of the Patriotic War 1st Degree, the Order of the Red Star, honorary arms, and medals of the USSR. He was awarded the Karl Marx Gold Medal and the title of Lenin Prize Laureate.

For services to the communist, working-class, and national liberation movement, in the struggle for peace, Leonid Brezhnev was awarded three times the title of Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, three times the title of Hero of the German Democratic Republic, the titles of Hero of the Mongolian People's Republic and Hero of Labor of the Mongolian People's Republic, three times the title of Hero of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the titles of Hero of the Republic of Cuba and Hero of Labor of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the highest decorations of the Polish People's Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Laos, and many other countries. He was awarded the International Lenin Prize, the Dimitrov Prize, and the Joliot-Curie Gold Medal.

Communists, Soviet people, and our friends abroad, everybody who values peace on earth, bow their heads in a tribute of profound respect to the memory of this outstanding leader of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union, of this great political personality of our times.

*Central Committee of the CPSU
Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR
Council of Ministers of the USSR*

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60 years of fraternal friendship among peoples

Konstantin Chernenko
CC Political Bureau member,
CC Secretary, CPSU

In the course of humankind's long development, life has posed it with countless problems, big and small. An infinite number were resolved by the assiduous labor of generations and as a result of technological, scientific, or social progress. But many remained open and unresolved for centuries.

The reason was not that humankind, notably its progressive section, did not strive to resolve them. On the contrary, it made repeated attempts to find a solution, but without success. The hindrances were the objective conditions created by the exploiter society, set up by the system of oppression of man by man.

A radical switch toward the solution of urgent, pressing problems of social development was ushered in by the Great October Socialist Revolution. "The road that brought Russia to socialism," said Leonid Brezhnev, "is the highway of world history, of all human civilization. Despite the specifics of the conditions obtaining in Russia, the October Revolution expressed the main, central tendencies of an entire historical epoch, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, for which the way was paved by the entire course of socio-economic development in the world."¹

One of the age-old problems for whose solution a beginning was in fact laid by the October Revolution was the extremely complex nationalities question, one of the most difficult and burning questions ever to bedevil humankind.

Now that the peoples of the Soviet Union and, together with them, all their friends have marked the 60th anniversary of the USSR, which became the first close-knit union multinational state of workers and peasants in history, one can see with crystal clarity that the epochal significance of socialism's experience, of the momentous changes, of the profound social transformations in our country, is inseparable from the extremely important fact that it was the Soviet Union that took the courageous initiative to resolve the nationalities question.

It was precisely because having settled the fundamental social problem of ending ex-

ploitation of man by man, because the October Revolution simultaneously resolved the nationalities question, extirpated national oppression in all its forms and manifestations, and ensured actual equality to the nations and ethnic groups inhabiting the country, that the Soviet Union was able to become, over the past period, a powerful socialist state with a highly-developed economy and a rich, multinational culture. During this period the nations and ethnic groups of our country united into a new historical community, now known as the Soviet people, under the banner of the Leninist Communist Party.

I

The way to forming the USSR was paved by the gigantic ideologico-theoretical, political and organizational work of the Leninist party. The integral multinational state is the result of the revolutionary creativity of the working class of Russia, of the huge sections of people emancipated by the Great October Revolution. The birth of the fraternal union of equal republics is inseparably linked to the genius of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Founder of the Bolshevik Party, he also was the founder of the Soviet multinational state.

As in the proletarian revolution, there was no beaten track in the socialist settlement of the nationalities question. It required historical courage and responsibility, political perspicacity, and a profound understanding of the laws of social development, and of the interests and sentiments of the masses to undertake to cope with this extremely difficult matter.

The Bolshevik Party acquired these qualities in the fire of struggle and trials of the three Russian revolutions. A dependable compass for it was the theory of Marxism-Leninism, which offered a profound concept of the nationalities question. In enlarging upon the theory of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Lenin showed that the solution of the nationalities question was indissolubly linked to the attainment of the socialist revolution's cardinal aims. "A foundation — socialist production — is essential for the abolition of national oppres-

sion," he wrote, "but this foundation must also carry a democratically organized state."²

In other words, labor's victory over capitalism is the objective condition for the realization of the national rights and interests of peoples. But, on the other hand, for the overthrow of capitalist rule there must be internationalist unity of working people of all nationalities, a solid alliance of the proletariat of all nations with the peasant masses of all nations in the struggle against the exploiting classes, for genuine equality among peoples. From this standpoint, deepening the theory of socialist revolution, Lenin exhaustively showed that the national liberation movement is objectively an ally of the working class in its struggles against imperialism, against bourgeois rule.

Leninism gave the working class of Russia and the international proletariat a lucid program for resolving the nationalities question. One of its key postulates was the recognition of the self-determination of nations up to and including the right to form independent states.

Lenin had to champion this program in a heated, tense polemic. His opponents included prominent foreign Marxists and some leading figures in our party. Their main argument was that consistent implementation of the principle of self-determination of nations would disunite peoples and lead to the appearance of small and tiny states, and that this would be an obstacle to the internationalist unity of the working class and undermine its position.

Lenin demonstrated the total untenability of this argument. He showed that while the nationalities question was of immense importance it did not exist outside the sphere of class relations, outside the class struggle. This meant that ultimately its settlement would be decided by the common class interests of the working people. Their desire toward internationalist closeness and unity would be redoubled many times over if they had every reason to see themselves as members of nations not infringed upon in any way. Therefore, by displaying steadfastness in defending the national rights and interests of peoples, the revolutionary proletariat would direct social development not toward growing state fragmentation but, on the contrary, toward the formation of "a union which precludes any coercion of one nation by another — a union founded on complete confidence, on a clear recognition of brotherly unity, on absolutely voluntary consent."³

The scientific accuracy of the basic postulates and provisions of Lenin's theory on the nationalities question was conclusively borne

out within a span of time that is extremely short in terms of history.

A little over five years separate the Great October Revolution from the day the USSR was proclaimed. But the socialist restructuring of society started by the October Revolution had an immediate effect on the character of the nation-to-nation relations throughout the former Russian empire. The colonialist-imperialist policy pursued by tsarism and which the bourgeois Provisional government could not abandon, vanished like a shadow in the sun. The system of national oppression planted by tsarism was utterly demolished.

The gains of the October Revolution gave a powerful impetus to the internationalist unitary movement of the peoples of our country. Various, sometimes extremely contradictory ideas and plans about the ways of forming a multinational socialist state were suggested at the time. But it was the principle of socialist federalism, put forward by Lenin, that was accepted. This principle, linked organically to democratic centralism, underlay Lenin's plan for the state unity of the Soviet republics. The wisdom and prescience of this plan were that the union republics retained their sovereign rights for which they were given iron-clad guarantees and, at the same time, actively used all the advantages of a big country developing its economy in accordance with a single plan in the common interest. This was not simply the putting together but the multiplication of strength.

In December 1922 representatives of the sovereign Soviet republics that had already taken shape by that time — the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, and the Transcaucasian Federation — gathered at a congress in Moscow, where they declared: "... we, delegates of these republics, on the basis of the powers vested in us, resolve to sign the treaty on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."⁴

It would be hard to overestimate the significance of this historic act to the formation of fraternal relations between nations, to the development of socialist statehood, and to the building of the new society. But, needless to say, it was still a long and arduous road from the proclamation of internationalist principles to their realization, to ending the legacy inherited by us in the sphere of relations among nations from the exploiting society.

The juridical equality of the union republics, nations, and ethnic groups recorded in the treaty was quite obviously counterposed by hard fact that there were glaring differences in their economic development levels and that

there were manifest distinctions in the degree of their assimilation of modern culture.

Socialist democracy differs fundamentally from bourgeois democracy in that it does not stop at formal recognition of the rights of citizens, of peoples. It demands that equality should not remain a purely juridical concept, that it should acquire a concrete, viable content. For our party and the union multinational state headed by it, this posed many laborious, complex tasks, which they tackled in accordance with the guidelines formulated by Lenin, who insisted that the communists should base their policy "on the national question too not on abstract and formal principles but . . . on a precise appraisal of the specific historical situation and, primarily, of economic conditions."⁵

In mapping out its course toward the country's industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture, the CPSU was clearly aware that its economic policy had to foster not only the growth of the productive forces, lead not only to socialism's full assertion in all areas of life, but also contribute to strengthening friendship among peoples. Time has shown that the line adopted by the party was correct in all respects.

Two radical changes called forth by economic transformations were of enormous importance for the development of the relations between the different nationalities in our country. First, the establishment of collectivist forms of economic management in town and countryside helped to wash away the social soil nourishing nationalist views and feelings. The durability, to use Lenin's words, "of the deepest of petty-bourgeois prejudices, i.e., of national egoism and national narrow-mindedness"⁶ is due precisely to the backward, philistine, small-commodity system. Second, industrialization steadfastly led to the elimination or diminution of the economic imbalances between union republics, between territories whose populations differed from each other in terms of ethnic composition.

An immense and irreplaceable role was played in the economic as in the political and social development of the fraternal nations and ethnic groups by assistance to them from the RSFSR, from the Russian people. Regardless of the sacrifices and privations that had to be suffered, the Russian people, who were themselves experiencing incredible difficulties, extended disinterested assistance to the other peoples of the country in defending their revolutionary gains, and made an incalculable contribution to ending the backwardness of the formerly outlying ethnic areas. This great act of

internationalism will always be remembered by all the peoples of our country.

In the complicated work of promoting cultural development, too, an exceptionally productive part was played by the Russian people, by party organizers and propagandists who came from their midst, by the revolutionary, democratic Russian intelligentsia, and by the Russian language which all the Soviet peoples chose voluntarily as the language of association among themselves.

"I would have learned the Russian language if only because it was the language spoken by Lenin." These words of the Great Soviet poet Vladimir Mayakovsky articulate a view that is basic to understanding how the relations between the nationalities of the USSR took shape. Friendly links and fraternal cooperation were fostered not between peoples generally but between peoples who had acquired or were acquiring a definite social make-up and whose culture was getting a specific ideological content. Thus, a new meaning began to enter the concept "Russian," which prior to the revolution was in some cases associated in the minds of local inhabitants, say of Central Asia or the Transcaucasus, with a hated tsarist official. It was now associated with the workers of Petrograd, with the Bolsheviks of Russia, with Lenin.

It is always useful to look back at history. In the case of the history of resolving the nationalities question in the USSR, our party draws upon it as a source of extensive experience on which it can confidently rely in its present-day practice and in charting strategy for the future. In this it faithfully abides by a behest of Lenin's, who said of himself that he always looked back to the past "in the light of what is required for our policy tomorrow and the day after."⁷

Much of our experience is, of course, linked to the specifics of the past, with a concurrence of inimitable circumstances. However, it is not particulars that define its main content, which is what interests us vitally.

But are we the only people whom it interests? The problems of relations between nationalities remain among the most pressing to this day. They are extraordinarily acute in bourgeois countries, where national or racial discord keeps erupting into bloody conflicts. Serious social and political friction arises over the destiny of immigrant workers in capitalist countries. Decades after the downfall of the colonial system, international relations are still under the virulent influence of the actual inequality between developing nations and the imperialist powers, the imperialist brigandage in the Middle East exemplifying the latter's

anti-humane, aggressive policies. Growing momentum is being acquired by the liberation movement of peoples striving to combine the assertion of their national rights with a revolutionary renewal of the forms of society's life.

The use of the experience of other countries is, as everybody knows, a sensitive matter requiring a creative approach, and least of all permits simplification. Of course, nobody feels that in the history of the formation and development of the USSR recipes may be found for the solution of all present-day urgent problems in the relations between nationalities. However, it is a fact that nowhere, except under conditions of existing socialism, has the nationalities question engendered by capitalism been in fact and radically resolved.

The solution of the nationalities question, inherited by our country from the past, spelled out, above all, the *actual equality* of all nations and ethnic groups of our country, the complete surmounting of the backwardness of the former outlying ethnic regions.

The formation of the USSR powerfully accelerated the economic development of the country as a whole and of each of its republics. Whereas in 1922 the Soviet Union's share of the world's industrial output was roughly 1 per cent, today it accounts for 20 per cent, and it is now manufacturing more industrial products than were manufactured throughout the world in 1950. The economic growth of the former outlying ethnic regions of Russia is striking: within the same period the volume of industrial output has risen 428-fold in Uzbekistan, 928-fold in Kazakhstan, and 1,036-fold in Armenia. Of course, rapid economic growth rates were to be observed not only in the former backward regions. In this context, the economic growth of the Baltic republics (which joined the USSR in 1940) is eloquent: industrial output has risen 50-fold in Estonia, 47-fold in Latvia, and 63-fold in Lithuania. The economy of the Russian Federation, the largest union republic, has undergone a transformation: it now has a powerful industry that includes all the advanced branches and in less than a day produces more than was produced in the whole of 1922.

The development, enrichment, and in some cases revival of national cultures went hand in hand with the growth of the socialist economy. The party took steps to give scope for the expression of the spiritual world of peoples in accordance with their national traditions and in the distinctive creative forms intrinsic to them. In practice, quite often a beginning had to be made with the abolition of illiteracy. The dimensions of cultural creativity in the epoch

of socialism can be appreciated if only for the fact that since Soviet power was established more alphabets have been developed for letterless languages than throughout the preceding history of the whole of Europe.

While demolishing the objective basis for national strife and nationalistic prejudices, the socialist restructuring of society simultaneously and immeasurably consolidated the social positions and ideological and political prestige of the most consistently objective champion of internationalism — the working class. The unity of the peoples of the USSR grew and gained strength precisely on the foundation of the community of class interests of the different ethnic contingents of the proletariat, of the working people. Not only Hitlerite aggression but also the man-hating ideology of fascism were shattered by this moral and political unity as by indestructible armor. We defeated a formidable enemy in the Great Patriotic War, saving humankind from rabid nationalism.

A developed socialist society has been built through the tireless and concerted efforts of all the working people, of all the peoples of the USSR. At this stage new scope is being acquired by the process of deepening the social and ideologico-political unity of the Soviet people, who constitute a social and internationalist community of a fundamentally new type, within whose framework the formation of a classless society is proceeding in our country. We have every reason to regard its emergence and development as the generalized outcome of a profound restructuring of relations between nationalities under socialism, as a key indication of its socio-economic maturity. Moreover, it signals a huge advance toward the realization of our program aim, that of building communism.

II

Progress toward communism spells out work requiring a high degree of organization and self-discipline, initiative, a creative approach to work, and a colossal exertion of effort.

Also, the dynamics of the development of relations between nationalities in a mature socialist society confront us with many problems and tasks. The full settlement of the nationalities question in the shape it was inherited by us from the past does not imply that this question has been altogether removed from the agenda in the USSR, that it is no longer taken into account in the party's policy.

The actual aims of the CPSU's policy on the nationalities question at the present stage and the ways and means of achieving them have been defined by the party's 26th congress.

To quote Leonid Brezhnev, it is our policy to increase, in the first place, the material and cultural potential of each republic and, at the same time, make the maximum use of this potential for the balanced development of the country as a whole. We see our paramount task in promoting the numerical strength, ideological level, and professional skills of all the ethnic contingents of the Soviet working class, which is the leading force of our society, in ensuring the further consolidation of its unbreakable alliance with the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia. Steps are being considered and taken to improve the training and utilization of the huge army of highly-skilled specialists now at the disposal of each republic and, in fact, prevent any manifestation of parochialism. The labor resources of all of our republics are being purposefully enlisted into the fulfillment of such major all-union projects as the development of the riches of Siberia, the Soviet Far East, the North, and the zone of the Baikal-Amur Railway, and the development of the non-chernozem belt.

The Food Program adopted by the CPSU Central Committee at its plenary meeting in May 1982 is of immense significance, both from the economic and the social standpoint. Its fulfillment is linked directly to the party's fundamental program aim, namely, that of raising the people's living standard.

Essentially speaking, we have been tackling many of these tasks in earnest in recent years. They vividly mirror the dialectics of the growth and perfection of developed socialism. The concept of a developed socialist society, elaborated by the CPSU and other fraternal parties, sets the orientation on a deep penetration into these dialectics, into the regularities governing the formation of the communist system, on an innovatory solution of complex new problems posed by life, while at the same time guarding against superficial assessments of reality, against putting the cart before the horse.

The extensive and beneficial potentialities being opened up by the application of this concept to the relations between nationalities were shown comprehensively in the documents of the 26th congress of the CPSU, the CPSU Central Committee's resolution "On the 60th Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," and in the works and speeches of Leonid Brezhnev, in the speeches delivered by him at the anniversary meetings in Tashkent and Baku. These are documents of creative Marxism-Leninism. They provide the key also to a problem that sometimes evokes heated debates, the problem of the correlation between the two leading trends in the development of

nations under socialism: their all-sided development and flowering, on the one hand, and their steady coming together, on the other.

It is only from a purely mechanical approach, which is precisely that of the Western Sovietologists specializing in misrepresenting the relations between nationalities in the USSR, that one can assert that the progress of nations inevitably undermines the unity of Soviet society and will in future unavoidably bring about the Soviet Union's disintegration.

The actual picture is quite different: the rapid development of the Soviet nations was made possible and is taking place on a solid democratic, internationalist foundation, on the basis of their actual equality. Further, the interests of development induce the nations themselves to combine their efforts and resources on a larger scale than ever. As Leonid Brezhnev eloquently put it: "Equality generates confidence, and confidence generates mutual understanding and ever more closer cooperation in all areas of communist endeavor."⁸

The other side of the matter must also be borne in mind. Let us draw an example from the economic sphere. The balanced and effective development of the Soviet economy now ensures a flexible blending and dovetailing of the wide-ranging initiatives of union and autonomous republics, and autonomous regions and areas with centralized planning, with the economic maneuvering of manpower and funds on the scale of the entire country. Of course, this dovetailing is not automatic: it is the task of practical policy to find it in each concrete case.

In the early years of the Soviet power, when the aim was to raise the formerly outlying ethnic regions of Russia to the economic and social development level of the center as quickly as possible, purely commercial considerations frequently receded into the background. We were committed to this by Leninist internationalist principles. Our party continues to be steadfastly guided by them in directing the development of the relations between nationalities. However, today, when it is becoming of paramount importance to enhance the efficiency of all elements of the all-Union economy, when its future is linked to a decisive extent to large-scale composite programs, we have the opportunity of according much more attention to the strictly economic side of the matter. The USSR is an integral economic complex. Precisely this fact is accentuated in planning and in implementing economic policy. As practice shows, this benefits equally the entire Union and each of its member republics.

The aforesaid leads to an extremely important conclusion: guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, the Soviet communists uphold, as they have always done, the view that progress in building the new society gradually leads to the ever closer coming together of nations. "The aim of socialism," Lenin wrote, "is not only to end the division of mankind into tiny states and the isolation of nations in any form, it is not only to bring the nations closer together but to integrate them."⁹ However, any voluntaristic pushing of the natural process of the erasure of national distinctions and attempts to accelerate this process are alien to the spirit of Leninism, to the policy of the CPSU.

The party holds that in promoting the internationalization of all areas of the life of Soviet society it is vital to show the utmost concern for the national interests and requirements of peoples, to make sure that in matters big and small the principle of free will and the norms of fraternal cooperation are strictly observed between them.

Not only the Soviet economy, which we have dealt with, but all other areas of the social activity of Soviet people, our statehood, and the entire political system, whose foundation consists of the Soviets of People's Deputies, have reached a high level of internationalization. The CPSU attaches great significance to strengthening and developing the Soviet multinational state. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is at the present stage and will remain in the future the optimal state form of uniting the Soviet nations and ethnic groups for the attainment of our program aims. However, we do not consider the existing national-state structures as frozen and immutable.

The consolidation of the principles of union as a natural process is to be observed in the work of the state apparatus with the accentuation of the people's character of our state and the growing internationalization of socioeconomic and cultural life. In parallel, while steadily perfecting Soviet society's political system, the party sees to it that the maximum use is made of the broad rights and potentialities of all the union and autonomous republics, regions and areas, and that the working people of all nationalities are increasingly more active in the work of organs of power and management.

Consistent internationalism permeates the constitution of the USSR adopted in 1977. It safeguards society against parochialism and national narrowness and against neglect of the specific interests of nations and ethnic groups.

The law, however, becomes a genuine norm of life only when it is backed up by social

consciousness, a sense of duty, and moral support of the people. That is why the CPSU sees the patriotic and internationalist education of the people as a key and inalienable element of its ideological work. Our party propaganda and our entire way of life instill respect for the national dignity of every citizen of the USSR, educate people in a spirit of affection for our great united country, and of fraternal solidarity with the working people of other countries, with people fighting for peace and social progress.

One of the darkest pages of the history of the 20th century is the escalation of racial and national hatred fostered by capitalism. In this there is a distinct, clear-cut boundary between the two worlds, the two systems: in our country no person will ever feel an outcast, a social pariah only because he belongs to this and not to that nationality, because the color of his skin is this and not that. Any insult to national dignity is in our country not only immoral but a violation of the law. And any concession to nationalism and any abetment of national conceit are fundamentally at variance with Lenin's behests, with the traditions of the CPSU.

The Leninist friendship among the peoples of the USSR was welded in bitter trials. This friendship, as we know, draws its strength from the fact that it unites, that instead of obliterating the individuality of each people it generates inexhaustible energy and a firm confidence in the future.

The party brings the achievements of scientific theory to the people, enabling them to get a more profound, clearer understanding of where the boundary lies between legitimate national pride and its excessive magnification that threatens to grow into nationalism. At the 26th congress of the CPSU it was noted that the "CPSU has fought and will always take a determined stand against such attitudes alien to the nature of socialism as chauvinism or nationalism, against any nationalistic aberration."¹⁰

The response to the party's word and thought, which inspire the masses with the ideals of patriotism and internationalism, is all the greater because the party conducts its ideological work inseparably from its organizational work. Questions concerning the relations between nationalities are more and more becoming part and parcel of the day-to-day functions of party committees of all levels. To this end they are oriented by the CPSU Central Committee. More, they are induced to act in this direction by the need to take into account the multinational composition of the population of republics, regions, and work collectives.

Close association and constant contact between people of different nationalities at work and in everyday life set party, trade union and YCL organizations and economic bodies many questions whose settlement, we hold, must be approached with a high sense of responsibility, with consummate delicacy and tact.

One of the cardinal elements of the party's work in this sphere as well consists of selecting, placing and educating cadre. The CPSU Central Committee and party committees of local organizations constantly keep the ethnic aspects of the cadre policy within their field of vision and make sure that there is proper representation in party and state organs of all the nationalities residing in the republics. It must be borne in mind that the non-indigeneous population of our national republics now numbers approximately 50 million or almost one-fifth of the country's entire population.

Party committees are doing their utmost to find the most expedient application of the professional and political qualities of each knowledgeable and hard-working cadre. They make it their concern to satisfy opportunely and in full the specific requirements of all ethnic groups in the sphere of language, culture and everyday life. In resolving all problems of this kind we are dependably served by a tested means — scientific principles of leadership, the Leninist style of work, and the Leninist cadre policy.

As in the past, the ideological and organizational work of the party is indispensable in further consolidating fraternal unity and cooperation among the peoples, in sustaining the healthy climate in which socialist society lives and works, in promoting a high standard of cultured association between nationalities. Our experience bears out convincingly that all nations and ethnic groups can be united only by a communist party, which steadfastly articulates the interests of the working people of all nationalities.

Ever since it was founded the CPSU has been holding high the banner of proletarian internationalism, the banner of the unity of interests, aims, will and action of working people. The joint work of people of different nationalities in one and the same party organization and the internationalist unity of the party's ranks have given the people an example of the proletarian, socialist solution of the nationalities question. The party has united peoples in an inviolable alliance because it itself is a living embodiment of committed comradeship of like-minded people. There are people of more than 100 nations and ethnic groups in the CPSU, which is the bulwark of internationalism in the true

sense of the word, and the leading and guiding force of the multinational Soviet society. It was such a communist party that was conceived and founded by the great Lenin. It remains such today. And it will remain such in the future.

III

Throughout the 60 years of the USSR's existence principles of internationalism have underlain its policy on the international scene.

In this context the question arises, of course, of the very concept of "internationalism," of its many-faceted content. In keeping with Marxist-Leninist theory, our party distinguishes the general democratic and class aspects of internationalism and takes the dialectical link between these aspects into account.

All the peoples of the world are today faced with a common task whose significance to the destiny of humankind cannot be overestimated. This is the task of averting a world war, a thermonuclear holocaust. Lasting peace on earth is the central aim of Soviet foreign policy. Leonid Brezhnev's constructive proposals and initiatives in the last few months of his life on behalf of the Soviet Union are evidence of the inexhaustible energy the CPSU and the Soviet government are putting into the quest for ways and means of eliminating the danger of war, preserving and developing détente, bridling the arms race, and achieving an overall improvement of the system of international relations.

Soviet foreign policy has the understanding and support of large segments of the world's political forces and public opinion. This is a crucial factor enhancing the efficacy of our policy of peace. The CPSU attaches great significance not only to having international problems settled through government-to-government negotiations, through the efforts solely of diplomats. World politics, Lenin said time and again, must be the international affair of the masses. Accordingly, our party steadfastly advocates the international unity of all sociopolitical forces prepared and able to contribute to the consolidation of peace.

Harmonizing with the principal democratic interest of the peoples, that of preserving world peace, internationalism is entirely in accord with the class content of the CPSU's international strategy, i.e., proletarian internationalism and solidarity with fraternal socialist states and the revolutionary, anti-imperialist, liberation forces.

Soviet communists place a high value on our country's membership in the international community of socialist states. This community is one of the specific forms of promoting the

class internationalism of the working people and socialism's ongoing development. Membership in the community imposes commitments whose fulfillment benefits each and all of the fraternal states. This is the foundation of the functioning of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, which are making a tangible contribution to economic progress and to safeguarding the security of fraternal countries.

The new type of association between people, implicit in socialism, came into operation for the first time in the course of the USSR's development as relations of friendship and cooperation among all the nations and ethnic groups inhabiting an indivisible union state. The socialist community has enriched social practice with the experience of shaping relations of friendship and cooperation among peoples on a state-to-state basis. One cannot fail to see the similarity and links between these phenomena, which concretize the principles of socialist internationalism, although, of course, the distinctions between them are also obvious.

Nothing limits or fetters the sovereignty of the countries united in the community. The building of socialism is the affair of the peoples of the fraternal countries, and every advance is made solely by the concerted efforts of society as a whole. Similarly, none of them imputes the responsibility to anybody else in the event that there are miscalculations in policy and disruptions in social or economic development. However, the community of class interests and the class internationalism linking the fraternal peoples significantly enlarge their potentiality for moving to new heights of economic, social and political progress and for surmounting whatever difficulties may arise.

Our party continues, as it has always done, to oppose the emasculation of the content of the concept of "internationalism," the obscuring of its militant, sharp anti-capitalist thrust, and its conversion into a seemly cover for opportunist maneuvering between class forces. In the sense it was understood by Marx, Engels and Lenin, and in the sense it is seen by the CPSU, internationalism is a principled stand that is incompatible with the pursuit of momentary benefits, with any concessions to nationalistic feeling. It spells out the readiness, if necessary, to accept privation for the sake of sacrosanct solidarity with class brothers. "The Soviet government," Lenin wrote, "set a higher value on the world dictatorship of the proletariat and the world revolution than on all national sacrifices, burdensome as they were."¹¹ The CPSU has time and again proved its fidelity to this behest of Lenin.

The CPSU sees itself as an inalienable part of the international communist movement. The Soviet communists see their internationalist duty in vigorously helping to enhance the movement's ideological and political influence, its moral prestige and its unity. This is particularly important today in view of the need once again to tell the world clearly that the communists are the international force consistently opposed to war.

The internationalist solidarity of the communists rests on principles, one of which makes it mandatory to respect the independence of each party. Of course, this presupposes an attentive and thoughtful attitude to the specifics of the strategy and tactics charted by one party or another in accordance with the concrete conditions of its work and struggle. In the view of the CPSU, it cannot be otherwise. Any other approach to this matter would be a departure from the behests of Lenin. One of his postulates is that policy must conform to the general principles of scientific revolutionary theory and, at the same time, take local specifics into account.

Of late there has been much talk in the world about the thesis, infiltrated by bourgeois propaganda, that socialism cannot be identified with its "Soviet model," because in the USSR socialist construction went on under specific conditions that make any use of its experience impossible and undesirable in any other country.

Here, we can make several points.

First, "the Soviet Union," declared the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on the 60th anniversary of the USSR, "does not urge upon anybody patterns and 'models' of state organizations that ignore the specifics of this or that country."¹²

Second, speaking of specifics, we have quite a few, of course, like other peoples. Take, say, that selfsame multinational composition of the population. There are nearly 160 countries in the world and only a few — they can virtually be counted on the fingers of one hand — are comparable to the Soviet Union in this respect. But what follows from this for an assessment of the international significance of the Soviet experience? Evidently something directly opposite to what the critics of the "Soviet model" are trying to prove.

Indeed, the fact that there is no stereotype for the building of socialism was demonstrated and proved in practice for the first time precisely in our country in the process of asserting the new social system. In the history of our society socialist federalism and democratic centralism, which are principles of Soviet national au-

tonomy, have never been concepts of, so to say, a formal order. They express, among other things, the specifics of the advance of different nations and ethnic groups to socialism. In Central Asia and Kazakhstan, for example, the political structure of the new system included for some time, aul and nomad Soviets, whose work was adapted as closely as possible to the life, customs and traditions of the local population. In some ethnic regions of the Far North and the Soviet Far East there were clan assemblies. In short, for those who engage in interpreting the "Soviet model" it would be advisable to take into consideration the fact that in our country socialist construction proceeded not according to some speculative pattern; it embraced a vast diversity of forms and methods of restructuring social relations in accordance with the specifics of the different regions, with account of the national traditions and clearly expressed will of the peoples.

However, the other side of the matter is that all the peoples of our country arrived at socialism, in other words, they built a society that in all cases, regardless of local conditions and national specifics, has identical socio-economic and political foundations in essence and in content. History has shown that there neither is nor can be a road to socialism in circumvention of the general regularities brought to light by Marxism-Leninism and borne out by the experience of the USSR and other countries of existing socialism, by the international practice of revolutionary struggle and socialist construction, in the same way as no successful progress can be made along this road without taking the national specifics of each country into account all-sidedly.

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Peace and cooperation among peoples. Are these an ideal or a reality? If this question is approached from the standpoint of the general situation in the modern world, the reply begs itself: they are still a dream, an ideal. But the 60-year history of the USSR and the international experience of socialism strikingly demonstrate that this ideal is attainable. To turn it into a global reality is no easy matter.

As for our country, the Soviet Union, it will continue to follow the course set by the 26th party congress, the course of the Peace Program for the 1980s, as it was said at the extraordinary plenary meeting of the CPSU CC which met in connection with the sudden death of Leonid Brezhnev. Détente, disarmament, the overcoming of situations of conflict, and removal of the threat of nuclear war, those are the tasks we have set ourselves, it was said at the plenary meeting. We want reliable security for ourselves, for our friends, for all the peoples of the world.

We have the strength, General Secretary of the CPSU CC Yuri Andropov said at the plenary meeting, which has helped and continues to help us at the most arduous of times, which enables us to tackle the most complex tasks. This strength is the unity of our party ranks; this strength is the party's collective wisdom; this strength is the unity of the party and the people.

The unity of the party and the people was manifested once again in the unanimity with which the Soviet people met the decisions of the plenary meeting, which reaffirmed the continuity of the CPSU's Leninist internal and foreign policy line. The banner raised by the October Revolution — the banner of peace and friendship of the peoples — will forever remain a reliable guide in all our deeds, in all our accomplishments.

1. L.I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1970, p. 77 (in Russian).
2. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 325.
3. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 293.
4. 1st Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Verbatim report, Moscow, 1922, Supplement 1, p. 4 (in Russian).
5. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 145.
6. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 150.
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Existing socialism and the world revolutionary process

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The world revolutionary movement is attaining a steadily growing breadth, depth and scale. It is becoming more united and acquiring greater internal diversity. Some socialist countries are successfully building a developed socialist society, others are laying a foundation for it. In some countries that have achieved national liberation, the revolutionary forces are steering a course toward socialism. In the capitalist world the working people are fighting for democratic rights and freedoms, for better living and working conditions, for radical social changes that will pave the way to the new society. But there are countries like El Salvador and Namibia where the revolutionary forces have to resort to armed struggle in order to stand up against internal and external reaction, to check the counter-revolution.

The world revolutionary process has been joined by many new social and political forces committed to fundamentally resolving acute problems, especially problems generated by capitalist predominance. These forces are fighting under dissimilar conditions for a renewal, a restructuring of the world. They are at different levels of social development, and tackling specific tasks that differ radically from each other, and hence the fact that the concrete forms of their activities likewise differ considerably. However, we are witnessing simultaneously a growing internal intertwining, a closer interdependence of all the processes and forces that have been determining the make-up of our epoch since the Great October Socialist Revolution.

All these developments are not inconsistent with the regularities of the world revolutionary process; they are only a new form of the expression of these regularities and this means that it would be wrong to regard them as an anomaly, as a negative phenomenon. At the 10th congress of the SUPG it was noted that "in our day the regularities of the socialist revolution and of the building of socialism and communism manifest themselves in the most diverse conditions. The diversity and complexity

of these conditions and of the problems and tasks that the revolutionary forces have to resolve are growing. At the same time, the growing significance of the common international tasks confronting all communist and workers' parties, the three main revolutionary currents of our day, is making closer unity of all revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces ever more imperative."¹

The revolutionary developments in the world are now linked more than ever to the defense of peace, making the struggle to preserve peace the main task of the communists. The demands being made of them by the social and political breadth of the revolutionary movements are greater, but there are now wider opportunities for cooperation with non-proletarian strata. It is vital to make full use of these opportunities, for every step on the road to peace and social progress is the result of purposeful, active struggle, of winning the most diverse social circles to our side.

Ever since the Great October Revolution the question of the leading motive forces of the world revolutionary process has been chiefly that of assessing the role of existing socialism, the interrelation between it and other progressive forces of our epoch. This question has been raised thousands of times, and the answer has been given thousands of times. Nevertheless, far from abating, the debate is even growing sharper. To this day, debates sometimes flare up over how revolutionary the socialist countries are today and in what their revolutionary thrust is expressed.

Let us briefly consider the arguments used by our ideological adversaries to misrepresent the actual role of the countries of existing socialism, of the Soviet Union in the first place, in the world revolutionary process, and their interrelation with other currents of that process.

From U.S. President Ronald Reagan one hears that the social changes throughout the world, for instance, in El Salvador, Nicaragua or elsewhere, are the result not of internal contradictions in society but of outside in-

fluence and interference. The whole of Soviet foreign policy is portrayed by imperialist propaganda as laying the ground for a worldwide revolution, that is supposedly to be accomplished by "export." Further. It is alleged that the thesis of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems is purely tactical and transient, and that its purpose is solely to create a respite for a further mobilization of socialist strength. It is claimed that in fact the USSR is counting on military strength and war as the mainsprings of revolution. According to this logic, the threat of war comes precisely from socialism, from the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution.

Mention must be made of yet another allegation of the adversary, an allegation that is outwardly diametrically opposite to the first but in fact pursues the selfsame aim of discrediting existing socialism and splitting the revolutionary ranks. It is asserted that the socialist countries have in general lost their revolutionary character and are not interested in a social change on a global scale, that on the international scene they are pursuing a policy "from positions of strength."

The course toward global confrontation steered by imperialism's most aggressive circles, involves, among other things, psychological warfare in the true sense of the word, in which the above-mentioned assertions are used in the most diverse variants. The harm they inflict must not be underrated, for the complex character, diversity and contradictions of the class struggle on the international level and also the difficulties facing revolutionaries create the atmosphere for the spreading of inventions of this kind. Imperialism's ideologues clearly see the incontrovertible fact, which some progressives are, regrettably, still slow to appreciate, that today unity and close cooperation between the forces of peace and socialism is the greatest obstacle to imperialism's policy aimed at achieving world supremacy, at oppressing and exploiting nations.

What are our grounds for maintaining that the countries of existing socialism are the mainstay of the struggle for peace and social progress? In the first place, it must be emphasized that this thesis contains no covert, unsubstantiated claim of the socialist countries to the leading role in the world revolutionary process. It only mirrors an objective historical fact. In other words, this thesis is deduced not from any abstract theory but, as we shall show, from social practice, and it is only reflected and substantiated by theory. For that reason, if the world-historic role of existing socialism is questioned in some progressive circles, the

doubts that are aired can be dispersed by steadfastly pointing out that what is questioned is not a postulate of theory but an objective state of affairs. A misguided approach to this issue is doubly harmful: on the one hand, it leads to a mistaken assessment of the overall situation in the world and of the main forces behind its development and, on the other, the role of some currents and movements and, notably, one's own attitude to the leading political forces of the international class struggle, are wrongly defined, and this can lead to negative political effects. When people speak of "superpowers," their diktat, rivalry, and spheres of influence, when this is attributed equally to the USA and the USSR, they distort the actual political picture and this ultimately undermines the anti-imperialist, revolutionary forces.

Many instances may be cited to prove that the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries in fact lead the struggle for peace and social progress. We shall confine ourselves to three areas where it is conspicuously seen that the allegations we have cited are pure falsifications and distortions of reality.

In the fulfillment of the historic tasks that arise in the course of social development existing socialism is ahead of other revolutionary forces. The abolition of exploitation of man by man and the institution of socialist property in the means of production have paved the way for the free development of the working people, for their self-assertion in production and society. The working class, the popular masses are themselves shaping the conditions of their life. Democracy, for which the proletariat has fought, acquires a new content under socialism. For the first time in history people are in fact guaranteed such key rights as the right to work, to education, to culture, to participation in public affairs, to a life of peace, and to racial and national equality. The settlement of fundamental social problems under socialism exercises a powerful influence and attracts revolutionary forces that are only at the beginning of the road to liberation. Here it should not be forgotten that in many socialist countries the new society is only at the formative stage. This is a conscious and systematic process. It is developing successfully, but is far from completion. In the course of it, existing socialism steadfastly reaffirms its revolutionary character and more and more fully demonstrates its revolutionary motive forces.

Sometimes there is criticism to the effect that socialism's development is inconsistent with these or those subjective desires. Such criticism either ignores or underrates several circumstances. First, socialist construction is a

steady advance along unblazed trails and encounters new problems that are settled neither spontaneously nor automatically but consciously and methodically in the interests of society as a whole. Although the regularities of this development are known, there is still insufficient experience and in many cases positive examples are still non-existent. Alternatives often arise, but whether the choice has been correct can only be seen after and not before practical steps have been taken. Socialism is, after all, a living social organism, whose achievements are measured not with the yardstick of utopias, of abstract ideals but of scientific notions of social development, with the yardstick of living reality.

Second, socialist construction is not free of contradictions. Some of them were inherited from capitalism, and others are created by the international class struggle, by the actions of the imperialist adversary. Among them there also are such that arise in the new society itself. This reflects the dialectics of the historical process, which remains fully operative under socialism as well. It would be quite wrong to declare in advance any contradiction unnatural or negative. The important thing is to identify it opportunely and work out a constructive solution.

Third, the building of the new society proceeds gradually, going through definite stages, which have a determined sequence. The fulfillment of many current tasks, such as, for instance, the promotion of the living standard, the enhancement of efficiency in the economy, and so on, depends on many objective factors — they cannot be selected or changed arbitrarily. This concerns, in particular, the regularities of the development of the productive forces and also the impact of the international class struggle on the internal processes of a socialist society.

And fourth, there is no mandatory, single "model" of socialism, but there are general regularities of socialism whose application to various national and historical conditions creates not only the possibility but also the direct need for building the new society in each individual case by one's own ways and means. The drawing together of socialist countries does not exclude a distinctive way of life and culture — these specifics, these distinctions in interests are not anything extraordinary.

At present the economy of most socialist countries is at the stage of transition to intensive extended reproduction. This reproduction is regarded as the foundation and, at the same time, the condition for carrying out

other major socio-political tasks, enhancing the new system's attractiveness, and the struggle against the imperialist course toward confrontation and an escalation of the arms race. The switch to the new type of reproduction requires closer cooperation than ever among the fraternal countries in all fields. Nobody can single-handedly resolve critical problems of economic development such as ensuring adequate supplies of fuel and raw materials, or achieve noteworthy successes in the struggle for peace and international cooperation. This requires joint, coordinated efforts and, naturally, presupposes agreed interests of partners. There are extensive and favorable possibilities for using the advantages of the socialist system in carrying out the complex tasks of the 1980s.

Today, when the preservation of peace has become a matter of life and death to all mankind, the further unfolding of the world revolutionary process depends on whether the efforts to avert a thermonuclear war, assert the principles of peaceful coexistence, and end the dangerous arms race are successful. The forces working for social and national liberation are everywhere running into the policies pursued by imperialism which is endeavoring to use military pressure, intervention, militarism and other means to halt social progress, reverse development, and achieve economic and political supremacy. Suffice it to recall the USA's policy toward Cuba and Arab states, and the American aggression against Vietnam and the other countries of Indochina.

One may ask who can disrupt imperialism's plans and ensure lasting world peace? It is quite obvious that this requires the concerted efforts of all who militate against war. Today the anti-war movement is stronger than it has ever been. However, let us not forget that for nearly four decades the decisive factor maintaining and dependably guaranteeing peace in Europe has been and remains the defense capability of the socialist countries, notably of the USSR, a capability that is sufficient to check the imperialist aggressor and makes it plain that the danger the latter is whipping up is mutual. The military-strategic equilibrium created by the Soviet Union and the courageous and realistic Soviet peace initiatives and disarmament proposals provide the inalienable foundation for all-sided détente and international security. Regardless of whether this is realized by all the peace advocates in the world, the defensive might of the socialist states ensures the maintenance of a military-strategic equilibrium and serves not only their own security but also the interests of the forces of peace and progress, the cause of world peace.

Wittingly or unwittingly, an essentially different viewpoint is propounded by those who want the USSR to make even larger unilateral concessions than before in the field of disarmament; they threaten that otherwise they will hold the USSR morally responsible for the continued arms race.

But of what benefit would it be to the USSR to initiate an increase of the military potential? Under socialism, expenses on defense are a burden that only hinders the rapid attainment of other vital socio-political aims. In the case of the aggressive circles of the USA and other NATO countries, they can achieve their aims only by tilting the military balance in their favor. Counting on the possibility of delivering a nuclear first strike, they believe, in their madness, that these prerequisites will allow them to win a nuclear war.

The preservation of world peace thus requires the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Treaty allies to maintain their defense capability at the proper level against the event that the efforts to achieve disarmament fail, or the NATO Brussels decisions to deploy new medium-range missiles in Europe are put into effect. Unilateral Soviet disarmament would be inconsistent with the need to preserve peace because such a step would change the power balance in favor of imperialism's military adventures.

Existing socialism is the decisive factor in the international balance of strength, a factor without which peace cannot conceivably be upheld and consolidated. The new society has created and continues to create the overall conditions under which alone all progressive movements can make headway despite imperialism's military and economic strength and its aggressive policies. Far from threatening anybody, the defense capability of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is the solid guarantee that U.S. imperialism will not force a Pax Americana on humankind.

Revolutionary processes have been going on in the world ever since the Great October Revolution, and after fascism's defeat they have risen to a new, higher level of development. The national liberation movement unfolded powerfully. Existing socialism has been built in a number of countries on different continents. There is an indisputable link between the strengthening of the Soviet Union and the growth of the community of socialist nations, on the one hand, and the mounting scale of the other revolutionary, anti-imperialist movements on our planet, on the other.

The break-up of imperialism's colonial system became a reality as a result of the weakening of imperialism during and after the Second

World War and the dramatic strengthening of world socialism. But this does not mean that the USSR plays the role of mastermind of the world revolutionary process, as imperialist politicians and spokesmen constantly impress upon people. This is acknowledged by realistically-minded bourgeois observers. One of them, Malcolm Toon, a former U.S. ambassador in Moscow, recently expressed his apprehensions over the fact that Reagan and his entourage are inclined to blame everything taking place in the world that does not suit them on the Soviet Union. This leads to misconceived conclusions and, consequently, to political miscalculations. In the view of this American diplomat, the desire to intimidate the USSR only harms the USA.² Or take another example. In connection with the developments in Central America the British newspaper *Observer* wrote that whatever the West thinks of the Soviet Union it benefits nobody when the Russians are blamed for the political crises provoked by the West itself.³

History shows that revolutionary processes are started not by interference from without but by internal social contradictions, existing economic relations, the structure of the political power, and imperialist oppression. And if we nonetheless speak of the impact of existing socialism on the world revolutionary process, we do so only in the sense that more favorable conditions are taking shape for this process and possibilities are arising for extending assistance to the struggle.

The countries of existing socialism influence revolutionary processes in various ways. This is facilitated by the development and strengthening of the new system, by the change in the balance of strength on the international scene in favor of peace and socialism, by the narrowing down of imperialism's sphere of action and of its potentialities for interfering in the affairs of peoples. Moreover, this is fostered by the international solidarity and cooperation of socialist countries with revolutionary, liberation forces. However, contrary to the assertions of our adversaries, solidarity and cooperation are far from being identical with "export of revolution," although they are extremely important and in some cases decisive prerequisites for the success of revolutionary transformations, for preventing imperialist export of counter-revolution. The reason for this is that in the young states, whose peoples have shaken off the yoke of colonialist tyranny, the revolutionary circles have to contend at once and directly not only with the internal enemy but also with an adversary whose strength is superior to theirs — with politically exper-

ienced, influential, and sinister international imperialism, with transnational corporations. The counter-revolution is organized on an international scale and is very strong. That is why the defense of the revolution and its gains requires support, including, in some instances, military support (for example, in Cuba, Afghanistan, Angola, and Kampuchea) from the socialist world.

Serious problems are created by the economic backwardness and poverty of many of the countries that have won liberation. These are the legacy of colonialist exploitation. The efforts to end backwardness usually encounter various obstacles. Let us name some of them. First, these nations remain in the orbit of the capitalist world economy, and for them this means continued inequality, exploitation and different forms of dependence on neocolonialism. Second, the former metropolises and the transnational corporations boycott and sabotage the steps taken by the new nations to win genuine economic independence and promote progressive development.

The Third World nations are acutely in need of advanced technology, skilled labor, and educational institutions to train their own cadre. Imperialism is not inclined to meet these needs without profit to itself. That is why assistance from socialist states, extended without political strings, is so vital to the new nations to enable them to resolve their internal problems independently, reinforce their sovereignty and foster their progressive development.

Under these conditions there can be no question of "exporting" or "importing" revolution. First, support from socialist countries in no way impinges on the responsibility of the leadership of the new states, on its right to adopt decisions and set tasks and aims of social development. Second, it is in principle impossible to "import" any specific way of social development: it is chosen and implemented by the peoples at their own discretion, in accordance with concrete historical conditions and potentialities. Hence the diversity of the ways and forms of development characterizing these countries. Third, the socialist countries make no political conditions for their assistance, but extend it without mercenary motives and promote cooperation on the principles of voluntary choice, equality and mutual benefit. And, fourth, the socialist countries respect the policy of non-alignment pursued by a number of nations and cooperate closely with them. Cuba and Vietnam, for instance, are active members of the non-aligned movement. This course of existing socialism counters the imperialist practice of setting up regional military al-

liances around the world and drawing developing countries into them in order to keep them under control.

We emphatically reject the interpretation that the contradictions between "North" and "South" boil down to a struggle between the "superpowers" for spheres of influence in Asia, Africa and Latin America and that this is what jeopardizes world peace. What we are actually witnessing is imperialism's bid to establish, preserve and extend its domination in the Third World and be in a position to control the sources of cheap energy and raw materials on which it depends.

In order to justify interference in the internal affairs of other countries, the USA proclaims whole regions of the world its sphere of vital interest. It sees no need to reckon with the interests of peoples. In their efforts to divert public opinion from imperialism's crimes, its apologists are vainly trying to invent analogies between the foreign policies of socialist and capitalist states. Such analogies do not exist. On the contrary, the socialist world's solidarity with the developing countries and its economic and political cooperation with them are a major factor of the struggle for peace and security, for the sovereignty of peoples.

The socialist countries' solidarity with the fighters for national liberation and with other revolutionary forces is an important contribution to the solution of humankind's global problems. In addition to safeguarding peace these include the problem of food, the all-sided development of formerly backward countries, the problem of supplying them with energy and raw materials within the framework of a just and democratic international economic order, and the problem of health protection. Imperialism either cannot resolve these problems or directly obstructs their settlement.

There is one more side to the question of the role played by existing socialism in the world revolutionary process: the attitude of revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces to socialist countries. The course of humankind's present development, including the movement for national and social liberation, can be understood only if this role of existing socialism and its interrelation with other forces of the world revolutionary processes are correctly assessed.

Life makes many demands of this interrelation. This cannot be ignored without detriment to one's own cause. Any weakening of the alliance with the countries of existing socialism leaves the other freedom-oriented movements defenseless in the face of imperialism's intrigues and counter-revolutionary plans, and

prejudices the cause of world peace and social progress. Today, more than ever, the will of the revolutionary forces for cooperation makes an imprint on anti-imperialist actions. As was noted at the 10th congress of the SUPG (1981): "A growing striving and preparedness for mutual understanding, cooperation and joint actions on the basis of mutual respect and

independence are to be observed among equal comrades-in-arms in struggle."⁴

1. *Protokoll des X. Parteitages der SED*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1981, pp. 148-49.

2. See *U.S. News & World Report*, March 15, 1982, pp. 45-46.

3. *Observer*, March 21, 1982.

4. *Protokoll des X. Parteitages der SED*, Vol. 1, p. 146.

Crisis of the racist system in the South of Africa

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The beginning of the 1980s was marked in our country by another powerful upswing in the people's struggle against the apartheid regime. This has occurred against the background of the deep economic, political and ideological crisis, which is rocking the very foundations of the existing system. Virtually every day now there are sharp clashes between the authorities and the victims of their policy of oppression and discrimination. Revolutionary ferment is felt everywhere — at the factories and in the mines, on the farms and in the schools, in the bantustans and in the Black urban ghettos. A distinctive feature of the present stage of the liberation battles is the blend and close interlacing of various forms of struggle: armed operations by the combat Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) contingents, the mounting strike movement, mass action by students, protests by the dispossessed in the poor Black townships and locations, and organized political campaigns. There is no doubt that the strategic initiative has passed into the hands of the oppressed.

The rising tide of the popular resistance cannot be ascribed to the operation of any one factor. Qualitatively new political and material conditions for the struggle of the emancipation forces in South Africa have taken shape as a result of the victory of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique. It has had the most profound psychological impact on the South African masses and has given them the confidence that it is possible to win liberation even within the lifetime of the present generation. Their faith was further reinforced after the fall of the Smith-Muzorewa regime in Rhodesia which seriously undermined the racist positions in the South of Africa. The growing international solidarity with the South African patriots adds

strength to the Black majority and deepens the isolation of the Pretoria authorities.

But the main thing is that the oppressed people have resolutely refused to live in the old way. The people are all the more adamant in rejecting the existing order out of hand because, in effect, they simply have no other way out: while death at the hands of the racist executioners threatens those who take part in anti-government action, those who have been broken and subdued are cut down by privation, hunger and disease.

The savage racial oppression with which every sphere of life is shot through, objectively creates the basis for unity in struggle against the tyranny of the ruling white minority among the broadest spectrum of social classes and strata: workers, peasants, intellectuals and small businessmen. The front of the fighters for the victory of the national-democratic revolution is led by the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, a vanguard movement which includes Africans, coloreds, Indians, and the most courageous, far-sighted and increasingly democratic-minded section of the white community.

The ANC, the oldest national liberation organization on the African continent, which recently marked its 70th anniversary, enjoys unprecedented influence and authority among the masses. Its role in shaping the country's destinies is contested neither by friend nor foe, and the movement it leads is the only real alternative to the existing regime. The authorities banned the ANC but could not reduce its influence among the masses. Evidence of this is the full support given to its program, strategy and tactics, slogans and initiatives by the toiling masses. Anyone who now shuns discussion in a conversation of the ANC's acts, and

fails to express solidarity with it, is bound to be treated with suspicion and contempt. The campaign for the liberation of Nelson Mandela, the prominent leader of the ANC and of the national liberation struggle in South Africa, is assuming extensive proportions. That courageous fighter has now been in prison for two decades, but as a political leader he enjoys the highest popularity in our country, a fact even white-owned periodicals have had to admit.

The people have also given active assistance to the armed struggle being carried on by Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC. Its large-scale combat operations, above all against military-industrial enterprises and strategic installations, have now become commonplace. But its operations are not always of a purely military nature. They are frequently designed, say, for propaganda purposes, like the explosions of leaflet-packed bombs in public places such as shopping centers, railway stations and so on.

Umkhonto units have demonstrated their capability of acting independently over a long period of time, maintaining reliable communications with their command and coordinating their action on the scale of the whole country. They owe this to support from the population. In the midst of the masses, the Umkhonto fighters are like fish in water: they are given help, supplies and refuge. The national liberation army could not have existed without such a mass base. With such a base at its disposal, the people's army has been increasing its strength, mobility and effectiveness from day to day.

Within the broad bloc of forces opposing the racist autocracy, the leading role objectively belongs to the working class, the chief motive force of the revolutionary process in South Africa and the mightiest adversary of racism. The basis on which the whole bourgeois-racist structure of the apartheid regime rests is the super-exploitation of the Black proletariat by means of extra-economic coercion. Discriminatory labor legislation and an artificial depression of the value of the African working people's labor-power help to maintain a ratio between the necessary and the surplus-product on a level that is much more favorable for the imperialist monopolies than it is in any industrial capitalist or developing country. Investments in South Africa are recouped in the shortest possible period and yield one of the highest rates of profit in the world. It is not surprising, therefore, that world imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place, have taken care to bolster their cooperation and alliance with the racist authorities in Pretoria.¹

The ruling class is terrified of an organized and united working-class movement. Efforts to mobilize the exploited to struggle for their demands and rights are immediately met with fierce reprisals. The authorities are persistently carrying on with the policy of splitting the working people by national, racial or tribal principle.

The only truly multiracial militant trade-union center in the country is the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), which was set up over a quarter-century ago. It has never been formally banned, but has virtually always been forced to act clandestinely. Thousands of its members have fallen victim in the savage massacres of strikers by the police. Dozens of its leaders have been arrested, subjected to torture, and tortured to death. But the trade union center has not abandoned its chosen way of consistent defense of the working people's class interests and resolute struggle against the apartheid regime.

SACTU, acting as a militant ally of the ANC in the national liberation battle, is doing a great deal to organize and unite various contingents of the proletariat. It is actively working to arrange joint action and to overcome the divisions, an effort which is of special importance in the light of the actual state of the working-class movement in the country. To this day, the overwhelming majority of white workers are, unfortunately, infected with racial prejudice. Nevertheless, even while enjoying obvious privileges, as compared with their Black class brothers, they are subjected to exploitation by big capital and the imperialist monopolies. But the struggle to clear their minds of the poisonous fumes of chauvinism will be long and hard.

Despite all these obstacles and other unfavorable factors, proletarian action is gathering force. More than 200 strikes were held in 1980 — double the number for 1979; the number of officially acknowledged strikes in 1981 came to 342, and in the first six months of this year to 182. Their main demands were: higher wages, reinstatement of fired trade-union leaders, recognition of trade unions set up by the workers, and of the labor contracts concluded by them with their employers, etc. The new upswing in the strike movement is marked by greater perseverance and better organization, greater confidence of the working people in their own strength, and their unwillingness to retreat even in the face of brutal repression.

Effective support of militant working-class action by broad strata of the population is a relatively new and highly effective factor. Local inhabitants provide strikers with money and

other help, frustrate attempts to recruit strike-breakers, and stage boycotts of products marketed by companies refusing to meet the strikers' demands. The ties between industrial workers and students have been growing closer. The students have held joint solidarity meetings, collect funds in aid of strikers and canvass support for the proletarian struggle. One student committee issued a statement, which emphasized that "the students and the general community . . . understand that the real power lies with the workers and that it is for the workers to make the fundamental demands."

The increasing militancy of the African proletariat has compelled the racist regime to revise its approach to African trade unions. Under new legislation proposed by the Ministry of Labor unregistered trade unions² which have no "legal standing" will be given the right to participate in industrial disputes. This is a clear admission that the unregistered trade unions can no longer be ignored either by the authorities or by the industrialists.

The racist regime has tried to prevent the trade-union movement from displaying any activity in the political sphere. But in South Africa — where Black workers are effectively denied every right — virtually any demand, be it for better working and living conditions, higher pay, changes in the rules of employment, etc., tends to result in conflicts with the racist authorities, and inevitably acquires a political hue. In such conditions, the trade unions cannot shun politics, if they want to retain their role of champion of the oppressed working people's interests.

Developments clearly show that while the white minority still has a grip on the key spheres of socio-economic and political life, it is no longer capable of controlling the minds of Black workers and finds it ever harder to control their actions as well. The giant will no longer be kept down in the shackles of bondage and is rising to his full height, shaking the foundations of the apartheid regime, whose fabric is close to the breaking point.

The socio-political crisis and the growing strength and maturity of the national liberation and working-class movement have compelled Pretoria to retreat on a number of fronts.

In the 1960s and early 1970s — a period of economic boom in the country — the rigid racial division of labor, which reserved skilled, supervisory, and managerial jobs for whites, was not seriously challenged either by domestic or by foreign monopoly capital. Nowadays, big capital, in particular, finds that the draconian racist legislation and regulations which prevent African workers from acquiring tech-

nical and technological skills and mobility of labor are retarding their efforts to resolve the crisis affecting the country. The situation is aggravated by the acute shortage of skilled and semi-skilled workers. While the country is short of about 700,000 specialists, well over 2 million Africans — 20 per cent of the economically active Black population — are unemployed. The Afrikaner and the English-speaking bourgeoisie³ and the foreign investors are interested in improving the mobility, productivity, skills and stability of the African labor force. Efforts to overcome these problems are hampered by the notorious racist regulations which still bar Africans from a number of skilled trades and by the resistance of white trade unions which regard the advancement of African workers as a threat to the super-privileges enjoyed by the white workers and the petty bourgeoisie.

South African business circles and the outfits voicing their interests, such as the National Development and Administration Fund, the Federal Chamber of Industry, and the Association of Chambers of Commerce among others, have been clamoring for a minimum of political reforms to help reduce the crisis phenomena in the economy and contain the growth of social conflicts. In this context, an indicative statement was made by Mike Rosholt, head of Barlow Rand, South Africa's largest industrial corporation, when he said that there was a growing conviction among South African businessmen "that racial discrimination and economic growth are not compatible, and that discriminatory measures must be removed if we are to have stability and an acceptable economic growth."⁴ Similar reforms have also been advocated by influential foreign investors,⁵ who are seriously worried by the explosive situation in South Africa, which is jeopardizing their interests.

Both local and foreign capitalists shudder at the fact that increasingly workers and other sections of the oppressed masses are identifying their downtrodden lives and conditions with the capitalist system as a whole. Hence the social moves designed to give a section of the Black population a stake in defending and preserving the system. To bring this about, gradual steps have been taken over the past few years to build up a strata of Black collaborationists. The administrative élite in the Bantustans and some sections of the Black middle strata are expected to play this role.

This has been paralleled by a campaign being orchestrated by Prime Minister Botha

himself. At the end of July 1982, he unveiled his latest "constitutional reforms," proposals to set up three racially segregated "Parliaments," one each for the white, colored and Indian populations.⁶ In turn, these three "Parliaments" will elect the state President, who will dispose of immense and awesome powers. The state President will be elected by an electoral college of all three "Parliaments" consisting of 50 whites, 25 coloreds and 13 Indians elected by their racially segregated "Parliament." It is proposed that each "legislative chamber" will deal only with matters which pertain to its own separate community interests. It is the President who will decide what is of common and what is of separate interest. These powers enable the President to control the entire legislative process of all three "parliaments." In addition a new Presidential Council composed of elected, separately by the three "Parliaments," and nominated members is to be set up to "regulate" the work of the President and to make binding decisions if the 3 separate chambers cannot agree on legislation which is designated as being of a common nature.

It is absolutely clear that "reforms" are no more than a maneuver to gain the support of coloreds and Indians and to ensure by new and more sophisticated mechanisms that the white minority will continue to dominate the economic, political and ideological life of the country. Above all, the proposed changes completely ignore the African people who constitute 70 per cent of the total population of South Africa. As Bishop Desmond Tutu, a militant African church leader, succinctly put it, "a whole people had been relegated to . . . a limbo of visible invisibility."⁷ Even the conservative white newspaper *Sunday Tribune* wrote: "An instant assessment of the proposals leads gloomily to the conclusion that they provide scant hope of bringing peace and reconciliation to South Africa."⁸

The revolutionary forces in South Africa reject with contempt these new proposals. Even though they are in some ways an attempt to break with the old rigid doctrine of apartheid, they can never satisfy the demands and aspirations of the oppressed people of South Africa. They are part and parcel of the desperate attempts of the ruling class to halt the irresistible pressure for revolutionary change. We are not interested in minor concessions which ensure white supremacy and domination albeit in a new disguise. We are fighting, sacrificing and dying for people's power in a new, free, independent and progressive South Africa.

A dangerous maneuver by the Pretoria regime is the purported agreement with Swaziland, whereby it intends to cede the areas of Ka-Ngwane and Ngwavuma to Swaziland. By a stroke of the pen nearly a million Africans will become foreigners in their own country. By this action the racists seek to divide the African people and provoke fratricidal strife between Swazis and Swazis and between Swazis and Zulus. This ploy is also an attempt to lend legitimacy to the imperial ambitions of creating a constellation of Southern African states in which South Africa would be the central and dominant partner. This scheme has already been rejected by the frontline states, which have been promoting their cooperation within the framework of their own regional grouping, the Southern African Development Coordination Conference.⁹ The proposed agreement between South Africa and Swaziland also includes provisions for the setting up of a naval base — in the area to be ceded to Swaziland — to be used by the navies of the imperialist powers. This would inevitably involve Swaziland in the aggressive and destabilization policies pursued by U.S. imperialism in the region and in the Indian Ocean.

The democratic forces reject this racist imperialist conspiracy and have called upon the government of Swaziland to repudiate the agreement.

Botha's attempts to refurbish the facade of the regime to dispel the growing fears of monopoly capital and to damp down the growing revolutionary ferment have led to ever widening cracks within the white minority camp and the ranks of the ruling Nationalist Party. The wishes and demands of the big Afrikaner bourgeoisie have gradually come to prevail in the Nationalist Party, which since its foundation has claimed to represent the interests of the Afrikaner people, irrespective of their class origin and position. The big Afrikaner bourgeoisie, like other big business groups, have an objective interest in seeing the removal of the most odious manifestations of apartheid, which fetter the development of the productive forces.

Today, the leaders of the Nationalist Party do not speak in the name of the Afrikaner people as a whole but of South African monopoly capital. The ruling regime's "total strategy" is, in effect, an attempt to adapt the racist order to the needs and requirements of the imperialist monopolies, to damp down the simmering wrath of the people, and to prevent the oppressed masses from being further revolutionized. The gist of this

strategy was fairly clearly expressed by Botha himself, when he said: "Change is the sole alternative to revolution."

But those on the extreme right wing of the white community have given a hostile reception even to these superficial reforms. The ultra-reactionaries express the views above all of the middle farmers, the privileged workers' élite, the small merchants and officials. They are flatly opposed to any departure from the dogmas and canons of apartheid, and are prepared to do anything to prevent such a development. Blatantly fascist-type groups are stepping up activity. One of them is the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, whose symbol is suspiciously similar to the Nazi swastika, and whose methods recall the actions of Nazi storm troopers. It has declared that it is prepared to use force to resist any attempt on the government's part to introduce "power sharing" with the colored people and Indians. In September 1981, several such groupings banded together into an outfit they call "Save White South Africa." It is reported that they have ramified connections abroad, being, among other things, involved — together with the U.S. Ku Klux Klan and the Italian "Ordine Nuove" outfit — in the International Union for the Defense of the West, which was set up five years ago.

Within the ruling party itself there is growing friction between the "verligte" and "verkrampste" — the "moderates" and the "diehards." Following a sharp disagreement with Botha on the notorious "power sharing" issue, the leader of the "verkrampste" Andries P. Treurnicht, together with 15 other members of parliament, left the Nationalist Party to set up his own, Conservative Party. It may well attract other ultra-reactionary elements from among the Afrikaners, so further intensifying the class polarization and deepening the rifts within the ranks of the white minority.

This split taken together with the previous schism within the Nationalist Party is an aspect and reflection of the deep crisis afflicting the capitalist state. It clearly demonstrates that the old class alliances within the Afrikaner community which ensured Nationalist Party rule since 1948 is shattered. The split within the party is beyond repair. The extreme right-wing organizations such as the Herstigte Nationalist Party and the Conservative Party have stepped up their efforts — and already with some success — to solidify their support among the Afrikaner workers (especially in the mines), farmers, the lower echelons of the civil service, police, army and security forces.

While any rift, however small, in the enemy

camp helps the fighters for freedom and everything needs to be done to widen it, one should not forget, even for a moment, that conflicts within the white community are secondary matters which do not go to the root of the problem. Neither the "moderates" in the Nationalist Party, nor the pseudo-liberals in the Progressive Federal Party, which brings together intellectuals, including Afrikaner intellectuals, and businessmen, have displayed the slightest inclination to recognize the African people's demand for national liberation.

Alongside the attempts to carry out cosmetic reforms, the second component of Botha's "total strategy" is the utmost toughening up of repression against the resisting masses. The largest number of prisoners in the world per head of the population is now being kept in South African torture chambers. Of all the "rights" the Africans enjoy, it is the "right" to die that they have most opportunities to exercise: thousands of Africans die in the gold and uranium mines, are shot and clubbed by the police and hanged every year. As Nelson Mandela wrote in a message smuggled from his prison cell on Robben Island: "Apartheid is the rule of the gun and the hangman."

The South African racists' "total strategy" is essentially a strategy of total war against our people, a strategy of genocide. What other interpretation is there for the declared intention to achieve, within this decade, a "final solution," i.e., to perpetuate the domination won by the white minority with fire and sword through the total segregation of colored, Indians and Africans, and the forcible settlement of the latter in tribal Bantustans? What could be more inhuman than the attempts to deprive a man of his native land by declaring him to be an alien in his own country? But that is precisely the ultimate purpose of the projects for setting up "national homelands" for the African population, as the racists now call the former reservations. Only 40 per cent of the Africans used to live there 20 years ago, but now the figure has gone up to about 55 per cent. The number of people who are forced to commute daily from the Bantustans to work in the "white" areas has multiplied 2.5-fold over the past 9 years. Four Bantustans have already been proclaimed "independent states," and the 7 million people driven into them are no longer regarded as South African citizens, which means that, in accordance with the regulations laid down by the racist authorities, they cannot lay claim even to the least share of that country's wealth which they have created.

The Bantustans, while still serving as "reservoirs" of cheap labor, are being increas-

ingly converted into a dumping ground for the human "waste" which the apartheid regime can no longer use: women, children, old people, disabled and generally everyone whose labor is not absolutely necessary for the normal functioning of the South African economy. The racists are not worried in the least about the lot of these people, although they are all doomed to monstrous privation, hunger, disease and death. Over one-quarter of the newborn do not live to be one-year old, there are virtually no medical services, while cholera, dysentery, TB and other epidemic diseases rage unabated. Even the Pretoria authorities admit that in order to satisfy the most elementary food requirements of the inhabitants of these Bantustans, food production there has to be increased at least 10-fold. The shortage of land is such that in Ciskei, for instance, according to one British paper, by the end of the present decade there will be standing room only.¹⁰

The harsh reality explodes the assertions of the "liberals" that apartheid will wither away of itself in the process of South Africa's economic development. The facts tell a different story: apartheid is spreading through the body of the country as a malignant growth carrying with it suffering and death. This growth will not disappear of itself, it needs to be removed in a surgical operation.

Racist imperialist South Africa constitutes a real threat to the independence and peaceful life of the newly free African countries, especially the frontline states. Encouraged and bolstered by the Reagan administration's crusade against the Soviet Union, the communist movement and the national liberation forces, the Pretoria terrorists have stepped up their aggression against Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and other states. The South African military unlawfully occupy Namibia and some parts of Southern Angola. They have brutally murdered thousands upon thousands of civilians. At the present time, the racists are planning to step up sharply their barbarous aggression and enlarge an area of invasion in Angola. Such an escalation would pose a grave threat to the peace and stability not only of Angola but of the continent as a whole. Speculating on the demand for a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola — a preposterous demand, since the stationing or withdrawal of Cuban troops is a matter solely for the governments of the two countries concerned — the racists are hampering the negotiations which are intended to lead to Namibian independence. But they may put forward as many obstacles as they wish, led by SWAPO Namibia will be free.

The consistent efforts by the MPLA and FRELIMO Party to create socialist societies are meeting with stubborn resistance from racist South Africa and world imperialism. The Botha regime sustains with arms, money and other material assistance counter-revolutionary groups such as UNITA which is operating against Angola and the anti-Mozambique National Resistance. Pretoria is also encouraging and sustaining counter-revolutionary groups in Zimbabwe and Lesotho. In total disregard of the territorial integrity and independence of the frontline states, South Africa's special services have made attempts on the lives of our freedom fighters living and working there. The latest dastardly act was the assassination by a parcel bomb of Ruth First, a dedicated fighter for national liberation and socialism, who was a brilliant journalist and academic.

The South African fascist political machine would like to do to these frontline countries what Zionist Israel has done to Lebanon. It is therefore the duty of progressive humanity to render support to the frontline states, for to defend them is to help preserve peace in the region. South African revolutionaries deeply appreciate the all-round assistance rendered them by the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, independent Africa, the non-aligned movement and the working class and progressive public opinion in the capitalist world.

Nor can we ever forget that racist South Africa is able to survive only because of the financial, diplomatic, political and military support of the major imperialist powers. It is also of the gravest concern that the unholy alliance of Zionist Israel and racist South Africa has acquired a nuclear capability. Thus the destruction of the apartheid system is in the interests of the peoples of the entire continent and of world peace.

The winning of national liberation is the immediate goal for which our Communist Party is working. National and racial oppression in South Africa is not a by-product of capitalist exploitation, but is an organic part of it. Hence the especially close interconnection and interdependence between the tasks in the struggle for socialism and for national liberation. This is reflected in the strategy for a national-democratic revolution which has been worked out by the South African Communist Party, and which is based on Lenin's ideas of interaction and alliance of the working-class and national liberation movements.

Our party program has defined the system existing in South Africa as "colonialism of a special type," under which oppressors and op-

pressed live side by side on the same territory. At the same time, South Africa is a country in which capitalism has already assumed highly developed forms and in which the material prerequisites for transition to a higher socio-economic formation have already taken shape.

National oppression and class exploitation are the two main elements which determine the present socio-political structure in South Africa. In these conditions, the ANC and the SACP personify the two complementary streams of revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary organization. They are complementary because in South Africa the struggle for national liberation insistently requires organized participation by the working class and its political vanguard, the Communist Party, and the struggle for socialism just as insistently requires a powerful movement for the freedom of the oppressed nations and races, a movement led by the ANC. The African National Congress is a mass organization uniting all the forces which, irrespective of ideological convictions and political preferences, are participating in the struggle against the racist autocracy. The South African Communist Party expresses the interests of the proletariat, which acts not only within the national-democratic front, but also carries on its own class struggle. Its goals do not conflict with the goals of the national-democratic revolution, but go beyond these, to the prospect of a radical restructuring of the society on socialist lines.

The alliance between our two organizations, based on our common strategic tasks and tactical approaches, combat comradeship, and mutual trust, has been steadily developing and gaining in strength. Addressing a ceremonial rally to mark the 60th anniversary of the South African CP, ANC President O. Tambo declared: "Ours is not merely a paper alliance, created at conference tables and formalized through the signing of documents and representing only an agreement by leaders. Our alliance is a living organism that has grown out of struggle."¹ In their growing resistance to the inhuman apartheid regime, the forces of the liberation movement are taking ever more resolute combat revolutionary action, and this brings them closer to the communists.

Our party, which emerged over 60 years ago, has always been in the front line of the struggle of the working class and other working people against racial segregation and discrimination, and for democracy and human rights. In the bitter battles against the enemy its cadre have been seasoned and acquired combat experience. Many communists have risen to leading posts in various sectors of the national libera-

tion movement by virtue of their capabilities and boundless loyalty to the common cause, and their readiness to pay the highest price for the victory, the price of their own life. The names of many of our comrades have been inscribed on the people's scroll of honor for ever.

The SACP's activity has never been confined to sermons and exhortations. We are a party of fighters and activists working in the very midst of the masses. The communists — leaders and rank-and-file members — have initiated, organized and taken part in all the battles against the racist oppressors. We were also a party to the decision to go over to armed struggle. There are many communists among the Umkhonto we Sizwe combat units, including their commanders.

The national liberation movement in South Africa largely owes its present scope and clarity of perspectives to our party's tireless activity in the organizational, political and ideological spheres. The well-thought and clear-cut concepts and tenets based on the theory of scientific socialism are now no longer the exclusive asset of the communists, but have been variously spread to broad sections of the fighters for liberation.

We take pride in the fact that our party was the first on the continent to raise the banner of Marxism-Leninism, which it carries high to this very day. Its enemies claim that it is a "foreign ideology" which is allegedly alien to Africans. It is true that the fundamental ideas of our doctrine were not worked out in Africa, but then they do not belong to any individual country or nation either. If one refuses to apply the absurd narrow geographical yardstick, and considers the extent to which the content of this doctrine accords with the vital interests of the masses, one will have to recognize that the ideology of imperialism, which has occupied and enslaved our countries, is the ideology that is truly foreign to the African peoples.

The doctrine of scientific socialism is a reliable weapon which helps to resist the attacks of the enemy and to score decisive victories over him. Without this weapon, the peoples of Africa, as of other regions of the world, would be immeasurably weaker — politically and ideologically — in the face of imperialism and neocolonialism. The South African communists have been actively and creatively using this weapon in the battle for national liberation, so bringing on the hour of triumph of the oppressed and the ultimate victory of the working class.

1. On this and other aspects of the policy of imperialism with respect to South Africa see: Y. Dadoo, "The

Military-Political Trend in the Strategy of Neocolonialism," WMR, No. 5, 1981; "Africa in the Early 80s," A Political Survey, WMR, No. 9, 1981; S.P. Gueye, "Imperialism in Africa: Stake on Force," WMR, No. 6, 1982.

2. Under South Africa's legislation, only registered trade unions enjoy the right to conclude collective agreements with employers, which are sanctioned by the government, and which, for that reason, are binding, and also to stage strikes. — Ed.

3. Persons of Dutch and British descent constituting the two main ethnic groups of South Africa's white population. — Ed.

4. *Financial Times*, November 26, 1981.

5. There are almost 2,000 British, U.S. and West German companies now operating in South Africa, and total

foreign investments amount to 30 billion rands (in May 1982, 1 rand equalled \$1.05). It is no exaggeration to say that these financial injections help to "oil the wheels" of the South African economy and keep it running.

6. Out of the total population of about 27 million, some 4.5 million are white, 2.7 million are colored and 0.8 million are Indians. — Ed.

7. *The Star Weekly*, August 21, 1982.

8. *Sunday Tribune*, August 1, 1982.

9. Set up in the spring of 1980 to reduce the economic dependence of the states in the region on South Africa. It includes Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. — Ed.

10. See *The Guardian*, September 13, 1981.

11. *The African Communist*, No. 87, 1981, p. 22.



Conclusions borne out by events

Michael O'Riordan
General Secretary,
Communist Party of Ireland

Children killed by plastic bullets fired by British soldiers in Northern Ireland; 11 British Army personnel blown to bits in central London by IRA bombs. These events in the middle of this year were but two of a continuous violent series that characterizes the outcome of British rule in the northeastern part of Ireland. The fact that they have given rise to restrictive undemocratic laws on the citizens of Britain itself is clear proof of the correctness of Marx's famous statement, "A people which oppresses another cannot itself be free." It is more than a coincidence that these words with their universal meaning were first articulated by him in his analysis of the effects of British imperialist rule in Ireland in the last century.

In retrospect the events of the year show how correct it was for the delegates to the 18th congress of the Communist Party of Ireland, which was held in May, to have centered their main attention on the question of Anglo-Irish relations. That was logical since the congress political resolution began by stating that Ireland was in the midst of a great crisis, with British imperialism controlling a part of Ireland, and that as a consequence of the divisive and oppressive effects of that rule, society in Northern Ireland was wracked by sectarian division, repression and bloodshed.

In addition to the national question there are, of course, other grave problems of an

economic and social nature, but they are not separate from the British division of the country into two states. The commanding heights of the economy in both the independent Republic of Ireland and direct British-ruled Northern Ireland are dominated by British monopoly capital, multinational companies and foreign financial institutions. In both parts of Ireland, unemployment is soaring and the standards of living of the working people are under constant attack.

These are major social problems but events have proved that it was correct for our party not to approach them from a specifically narrow national or domestic position.

"Ireland's problems and the solution to them," declared the congress political resolution, "must be viewed in the context of a changing and crisis-ridden world — a world divided by two contending forces: on the one hand, the imperialist and capitalist powers; and on the other, the socialist, anti-imperialist and developing countries . . . But it is the forces of the socialist world, the working-class movement and those fighting for national liberation which are continually altering the world scene." Incidentally, it is worth recalling that the above international approach to Ireland's national problems was further emphasized by the participation in the congress of fraternal delegations from a number of communist and

workers' parties from both socialist and capitalist countries.

Since the national congress of the CPI there has been a deterioration in relations between the governments of Britain and the Republic of Ireland. A constant bone of contention has been the partition of Ireland and the situation in Northern Ireland. The British Prime Minister, Mrs. Thatcher, recently made her own specific contribution to the state of relations when she declared in the House of Commons that what happened in Northern Ireland was no business whatsoever of the Republic of Ireland.

Following on from that, the British government has been trying to implement another of its imperialist-styled "solutions" to the problems of Northern Ireland. Once again it has taken the shape of a powerless assembly; full economic and political control will remain at Westminster. Meanwhile the Communist Party used the elections to this assembly in October as an opportunity to put forward its democratic program. It clearly recognized that this British "initiative" was being used as a smokescreen for the continuation of repression and as a way of seeking to give a spurious democratic cover to the denial of democracy in the north of Ireland.

This denial of democratic rights stems from the very creation of the Northern Ireland state, with its artificial majority,¹ as our party clearly reasserted at its congress: "The Irish people have a fundamental democratic right to unity and independence. This right was most blatantly suppressed by the undemocratic imposition of partition, an imposition that established British imperialism's central guilt and responsibility for the political crisis in Ireland."

Another feature of the undemocratic make-up of the North Ireland state was the fostering of sectarianism. This cancer, sustained by British imperialism, has been used by the big land-owning class and merchant elements to keep the working class divided and isolated from the ideas of class solidarity. Through the ideology of Unionism, which supports the "union" with Britain, the Protestant section of the working people have been led to believe that they can enjoy privileges at the expense of their Catholic counterpart, while remaining free. The prevalence of this ideology with its strong fascist tendencies has not only resulted in widespread discrimination against the Catholic section of the population, but has also meant that the working-class movement has been forced to the periphery of political events, handing political leadership to bourgeois elements, who endorse these reactionary sentiments in the north, while in the south the political stage has been

taken by differing bourgeois forces with a narrow and limited nationalist perspective.

Perhaps the most evident undemocratic aspect of life in the northeastern six counties of Ireland is the repressive legislation that provides the forces of "law and order" with a license to kill, plus a free hand to arrest, torture, imprison and to spy on every man, woman, youth and child. This repressive apparatus is deliberately aimed against the Catholic section of the population, on the one hand to encourage the counter-violence of such groups as the Provisional IRA,² and on the other hand, to help foster sectarianism. This is achieved in one way by presenting the crisis as a "war against the IRA" — as it constantly is by government propagandists — thus inciting the Unionist terror gangs to join in this "war" against the entire Catholic population.

Yet central to overcoming these serious problems is the need for the implementation of radical democratic reforms, which would first and foremost see the creation of a devolved parliament guaranteed by a genuine Bill of Rights. This could lead to real equality between the Catholic and Protestant sections of our community, the elimination of privilege through sectarianism and the establishment of normal political rights long denied by repression. It is through the struggle and eventual winning of these demands that we can achieve the political mobilization of the working class and, in turn, the undermining of the hold which Unionism through sectarianism has over large sections of the population.

This democratic strategy toward a solution to the imperialist-created crisis in Ireland was reaffirmed in May at the Communist Party's congress, but the congress held no one-sided view on how to fight Britain's rule in the north of the country. It emphasized as a key concept the placing of responsibility on Britain and the clear demand for an end to Britain's interference.

While the political resolution pointed out that "Britain will not leave Ireland merely because the Irish people demand it," it also made clear that "the winning of a British declaration of intent to withdraw is of major importance because it would remove from the Unionist bourgeoisie the major weapon by which they maintain the division of the working class in the north, i.e., the guarantee of union with Britain." The congress emphasized the necessity of struggling against repression and for a decisive democratic advance against Unionism at the same time as intensifying the effort to force Britain to

abandon its claim over Ireland and its support for a Unionist veto.³ This process will be long and hard, but there is no other way in which Northern Ireland will come out of the present crisis for a better future.

This struggle, however, is not being made any easier by the military campaigns of the Provisional IRA and the self-styled Irish National Liberation Army (INLA).⁴ Their elitist military methods, whether by bombs and bullets in Britain or in the cities, towns, villages and countryside of Northern Ireland, have provided a pseudo-justification for British repression and alienated large sections of the British working class, so weakening the opportunity to win them away from support of the present Westminster policy.

In addition, their attempts to introduce political violence into the Republic of Ireland have tended to bolster reaction there, which objectively strengthens imperialism's position in Ireland. The events since the 18th congress of the CPI have confirmed the conclusion expressed at the 15th congress (October 1971): "Continual repression by the British would fail, as in the past, to solve the 'Irish Question.' However, on the other hand, blind violent reprisals by the Provisional IRA will not win national independence for the Irish people. The state terror inaugurated by the British cannot be defeated by acts which grievously divide the working people and lead to a deepening of sectarianism, thus strengthening that basis of calculated division on which the British rely to hold on to Ireland."

Internationally, since the outbreak of the crisis in the late 1960s, the British government has endeavored to present itself as the honest broker, as a champion of democracy and a defender of majority rule, but the truth is that Britain's interest in Ireland, North or South, is not a moral and democratic one but a bellicose one of defending and advancing the military strategic interests of imperialism. The evidence is there. Sir Norman Brook, Secretary to the British Cabinet, wrote in a memorandum in 1949: "It is a matter of first-class strategic importance to this country that the North (of Ireland. — M.O'R.) should continue to form part of His Majesty's Dominions. So far as can be seen, it will never be to Great Britain's advantage that Northern Ireland should form part of a territory outside His Majesty's jurisdiction. Indeed, it seems unlikely that Great Britain would ever be able to agree to this even if the people of Northern Ireland desired it" (my italics. — M. O'R.). That frank proclamation of why imperial

self-interests should ride over the democratic choice of the people was only revealed in 1979, when the documents of 30 years before were made available for scrutiny by historians.

Likewise the British Commonwealth Office in a study of 1951, which is now declassified, states: "A united Ireland whose willingness and unqualified cooperation could not certainly be relied on, which was neutral, or which was sharply divided internally over neutrality would be a major problem in the defense and support of Western Europe. Failing some firm and satisfactory assurance as to the attitude in war of a united Ireland, there are strong strategic arguments for the retention of the friendly bastion of the six counties (i.e., Northern Ireland. — M. O'R.) as part of the Commonwealth."

It is because of this clear British strategic-imperialist stand that the Communist Party of Ireland approaches the question of unity and independence of Ireland as an issue that is never separate from the question of war and peace, both on the national and international level.

That there is a specific relationship between British rule in Northern Ireland and the neutrality of the Republic of Ireland is shown in the fact that another reason for the deterioration in the intergovernmental relations was the issue of the Malvinas. The Irish government at first condemned Argentina for its takeover of the islands but it had second thoughts on the question of economic sanctions against the country, when it was clear that Britain was determined to give an adventurist imperial exhibition of force. The neutralist stand by Ireland drew screams of rage from London, which described it as a "stab in the back." That no such charges of treachery were levelled at Italy — a fellow NATO member — for a similar stand makes clear that Britain expects the sovereign Irish government to behave in the same subservient way as a colony, and that its independence exists only on the sufferance of the British government. In fact, one British Tory MP articulated this when he wrote: "The Republic (of Ireland. — M. O'R.) owes its existence to an agreement with Britain whereby we recognize it as an independent state."⁵

Because Britain is the oldest of the imperialist powers and Ireland was its first colony, both the ruling class and the Irish people share a unique experience, one of years of oppressing and the other of being oppressed. Irish communists learning from the historic

experience of our people never underestimate the ability of London to use new stratagems, different to the Act of Union of 1800, of partition in 1921, to hold Ireland in the imperialist camp. Imperialist forces, not only in Britain, but also in the USA and the EEC recognize very well the inter-linkage of the question of world war strategy and that of the unity of Ireland. Through the agency of Britain these forces are searching for a formula that would trade off some kind of Irish territorial unity in return for the involvement of the whole island in imperialism's strategic plans. Such an involvement, Irish communists have declared, would be too high a price for any kind of territorial unity.

The Irish people have a fundamental democratic right to unity and independence, but as communists we recognize, and this has been again stressed by the 18th CPI congress, that the struggle for world peace is complementary to our struggle for a democratic solu-

tion to the national question. Our aim must be to make the whole of Ireland free of war installations and completely detached from any kind of military alliance. The key to establishing this is through the organized working class taking over its rightful position at the head of the national struggle.

1. Britain's partitioning of Ireland ensured that the actual minority in the country, who supported the British connection and professed the Protestant religion, made up two-thirds of the population of the state of Northern Ireland. Hence the minority viewpoint in Ireland became a majority one, while those adhering to the majority demand for a united independent country, who were mainly of the Catholic faith, became a minority.

2. Illegal organization of a military nature formed in 1969. It sees its chief goal in unifying Ireland through an armed struggle against Britain. — Ed.

3. The Unionists' "right" to veto any project to unify Ireland. — Ed.

4. Illegal military-type organization founded in 1975. It uses the same tactics as the Provisional IRA but is more ultra-leftist. — Ed.

5. *Daily Mail*, June 22, 1982.

The party branch in the transitional period

Vu Oanh

CC member, Communist Party of Vietnam

THE CHARACTER OF A COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION

Ever since it was founded, our party has adhered to Lenin's propositions on the proletarian party of a new type as fundamental principles and lines of party building. Lenin's idea of the role of party branches as "a base for agitation, propaganda and practical organizing work among the masses"¹ has passed the test of time in our party and proved valid and viable.

The historic victory in the war of resistance against U.S. aggression, the defense of the country against invaders, the safeguarding of political security, and achievements in the economic and cultural spheres are all inseparable from the activity of party branches. To strengthen these in every respect is a task of paramount importance in advancing along the socialist road. "The party branch," Ho Chi Minh said, "is the foundation of the party; if it functions well, every effort will come off well."² Vietnam's communists remember this legacy. The CPV, generalizing its own experience and assimilating the vast experience of the CPSU and other fraternal parties, works to ensure that its branches gain steadily in pres-

tige and exert growing influence on work collectives and the people. We see this as an assurance of solving the diverse problems cropping up at the new stage of the Vietnamese revolution.

Revolutionary socialist changes in our country are taking place in an intricate situation. On the one hand, we are apparently living in a climate of peace; on the other, we must counter the manifold subversive activities against our country. What is more, we must be prepared for the eventuality of the adversary launching a large-scale war of aggression. Serious difficulties arise in the economic and social spheres, in which the party comes up against many entirely new, formidable problems. These are largely due to what the fourth CPV congress (December 1976) described as the distinctive context of the transition "from a society with predominantly small-scale production to socialism, skipping the capitalist stage of development."³ We need to grasp these problems, find optimal solutions for them and put them into practice.

In this situation the party sets itself and the people two strategic tasks: first, building social-

ism, and second, being ready to reliably defend their country, socialist Vietnam. Specifying guidelines for the period ahead, the fifth CPV congress (March 1982) stressed the need to stabilize and improve the people's life, continue work on providing the material and technical base for socialism, accelerate the socialist transformation of the economy, strengthen the country's defenses and safeguard its security. To be able to accomplish these tasks, we must reinforce the dictatorship of the proletariat, promote the working people's right to collective management and effect socialist industrialization.

It is important for every branch and every member of the party to realize what all this implies. What we mean by dictatorship of the proletariat is organization of the working class and other working people in a socialist state led by the party. We are deeply convinced that organization on this basis is the only way to transform the old society, build a new one and achieve complete and definitive victory for socialism.

Strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat is a task closely linked with that of promoting the working people's right to collective management. This implies, said Le Duan, General Secretary of the CC CPV, creating a society in which the working class will play the leading role and the social community, organized working people and their backbone, the worker-peasant alliance, will be real masters.⁴ It is a question of establishing in the country an integral system of social relations conducive to the increasing exercise by the working people of their right to be masters in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres throughout the country as well as in every district and every lower echelon.

The dictatorship of the proletariat and the working people's right to collective management are prerequisites of socialist industrialization, the key task of the whole period of transition to socialism. This task consists in transforming Vietnam into a state with up-to-date industrial-agrarian economic structures, advanced culture, science and technology, and powerful defenses and in guaranteeing the people a happy life.

The action program approved by the congress demands that the party continuously perfect the style, forms and methods of its leadership of society. The party is now leading socialist construction all over the country and the defense of the socialist motherland. This increases our responsibility to the masses for the outcome of the common effort and stresses the need to establish and develop proper mutual

relations between the party, the people and the state. Our own experience has induced us to adopt the following principle: the people are masters in the country, the party leads and organs of state power govern. We want all party organizations, including branches, to work according to this principle.

Experience has shown that success in the work of party branches depends on a correct definition by each of its place and specific political tasks according to the exigencies of the moment. Our branches are operating in the most diverse conditions due to distinctions in the character of work collectives, cultural and other organizations, and districts. This is why, speaking of the importance of a correct definition by branches of the lines, tasks, aims and means of their effort, we insist on their being specific and precise and stress the importance of tackling problems both courageously and with a sense of responsibility and the need to maintain the communists' revolutionary efficiency. At the same time we see to it that all measures are scientifically sound and meet the actual requirements of the revolutionary process.

We strive to ensure that all working people, above all communists at the local level, really understand the party line and unfailingly respect laws, order and production plans. At the same time we expect them to bear in mind our resources, to know the peculiarities of climate and soil and the right methods of tilling the land in their area as well as the state of the material and technical base, and to make proper use of the labor traditions and experience of the masses. To be sure, these are no easy tasks. But the party resolutely combats laxity and passivity and the tendency of some branches to dodge difficulties and look to help solely from higher party bodies.

We must rely on the people's revolutionary creative effort and fully use their tremendous energy and enthusiasm. It is for this reason that the party expects its members to really ensure and promote collective management by the working people. This is the only condition on which branches can correctly coordinate the general trend of advance and their tasks, mobilizing the masses to achieve the goals set by the party.

Many branches in industry, agriculture and transport occasionally encounter what seem at first sight to be insurmountable difficulties. Yet close cooperation with the working people and progress in collective management enable them to really become a leading force and do what has to be done. True, there are still branches in which orders and pressure are sub-

stituted for explanation and persuasion and collectivist principles are infringed. As a consequence, they cannot cope with their duties, their activity is handicapped by many complications and there develop negative phenomena and unhealthy differences among communists.

The CPV considers that respect for and steps to guarantee the working people's right to collective management are a requisite of ridding the character and behavior of some cadre members and rank-and-file communists of negative features. This is particularly important where the party is in power and is leading socialist construction. We know by experience that the socialist revolution is the most comprehensive, consistent, deep-going and definitive transformation of society. The tasks of this revolution cannot be accomplished on orders from an apparatus but must be a result of effort by a voluntary alliance of working people united and operating under the leadership of the working-class party.

In striving for stronger links with the masses and furthering collective management, we enlist the active participation of non-communists in our organizing work. We consider that this helps the working people exercise their right to be masters in their country and at the same time helps increase the party's leading role and improve the work of cadre members and communists generally. Non-communists participate in our activities by expressing their opinion on every aspect of the lines and plan of party activity and levelling criticisms at the leadership of local party organizations as well as individual party members. We lend an attentive ear to comments on the behavior of communists, the reinforcement of our ranks, the selection and character of party cadre members. Work in party branches helps foster the working people's political consciousness and strengthen their ties with the party.

We make a point of perfecting all round the functioning of every component of the country's socio-political structure — party organizations, government bodies, economic agencies, production associations, scientific and technological institutions, cultural and other mass organizations — and of channelling their efforts in one direction. It is our conviction that organizationally the party synthesizes the strength of all the components of the existing system of proletarian dictatorship. The party would lose its strength if it set itself apart from this system and stopped relying on its echelons for support. The party branches and committees of many enterprises, educational institutions and cooperatives have made big gains in fulfilling state plans by working hard

to increase the role of public organizations and economic and administrative bodies. Conversely, the effect of party guidance of work collectives is limited where all these entities receive little attention.

This is particularly noticeable in the south, where the party lost many of its cadre members during the war against the U.S. imperialists. Village, factory and school branches are still small and weak there. The situation is similar in the sparsely populated border areas, where branches have yet to be formed in many places. This means that we must give much effort to forming and consolidating party branches and, besides, continuously see to it that other components of the socio-political structure of the country grow and play an increasing role.

We attach great importance to measures ensuring the proper functioning of party organizations at diverse levels. In stressing the leading role of its branches in industrial enterprises, on building sites and state farms, in government agencies, schools, hospitals, research institutes, and so on, the party insists on its members respecting the principle of one-man management in the production sphere and helps extend the powers and responsibilities of leaders of work collectives. At the same time it calls on branches to effectively supervise the work of managerial personnel, perfect inner-party life and improve work among the masses.

The Leninist principle of party building demands that links between communists and their branches be strengthened in every way. Experience has shown that party organizations condition the behavior of their members and that party members in their turn directly influence the character of their organization. It is only in strong party organizations and given a precise definition of their functions, tasks and working methods that communists can fully apply their abilities and professional qualities. The vigor, the leading role of party organizations, their prestige and their influence on the masses grow only if their cadre members as well as the rank and file grow ideologically and politically.

The CPV, continuing to build up and strengthen its organizations, devotes attention not only to party branches and committees but to the communists' work in small work collectives, especially in production teams and groups. It is in these entities directly associated with material production that the party comes into contact with non-communists every day and every hour. Party branches generally fulfil their duties well where work collectives are strong enough and the group organizers are

equal to their job and wield influence on the collective.

Much depends on perfecting the activity of the leading core of the party branch. This core is made up of party workers, managerial personnel, engineers, scientists and members of mass organizations. Specifically, it comprises the secretary of the branch, the chairman of the cooperative concerned or the manager of the enterprise, the chairman of the people's committee (of the village or neighborhood), leaders of mass organizations, economic executives and noted specialists. We do our best to consolidate such leading cores, to see to it that their members cooperate fruitfully.

At the same time the party resolutely combats all attempts to abuse authority for selfish ends and all manifestations of a bureaucratic, swaggering attitude to the problems of working people, particularly non-communists. We educate party members in the spirit of President Ho Chi Minh's legacy. "Every communist, every cadre or rank-and-file member of the party," he said, "must be inspired with a revolutionary morality, must be most hard-working, thrifty, honest and just, must be absolutely disinterested. We must keep party ranks untarnished and be worthy of the name of leaders and faithful servants of the people."⁵

The CPV, which has over 1.7 million members, is engaged in a persevering effort to improve the composition of its membership. Communists are active in every field of socialist construction and in the front line of defense of the socialist country. The Central Committee calls for raising the level of their knowledge, especially in the areas of theory, economics and management, science and technology, and culture. This is a bottleneck, a shortcoming of many of our comrades even though their revolutionary morale is high and they have stood hard tests in political and armed struggles against their enemies. By now over one million communists have taken various classes in fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist theory; about 500,000 have received a secondary education and upwards of 200,000 are graduates of secondary specialized schools or higher educational institutions.

We first began to issue party cards to members in 1980-1981. We consider that this is something more than a formal procedure acknowledging membership. This involves much ideological and organizing work whose purpose is to strengthen party ranks and accomplish political tasks, to heighten the communists' awareness of their duty and responsibility, rid the party of those who violate its moral standards, perfect the leading ap-

paratus of party organizations and committees, reinforce party branches and committees where necessary and ensure fruitful activity in various areas and work collectives.

One of our principles is that the leading apparatus of every party branch must enjoy the confidence of the masses and higher bodies. This is indispensable if the leadership is to carry on high-standard educational work among the communists, influence their behavior and promote criticism and self-criticism. Where branches are weak we make an effort to strengthen them organizationally, meaning primarily their leading bodies. The work of these bodies is assessed according to the results achieved by the branches concerned. The decision to issue party cards to members is taken depending on these results. A fundamental aspect of the work involved is the greatest objectivity in examining the activity of communists. The party insists that only comrades who are commended by both communists and non-communists be issued membership cards. We regard non-party people's attitude to communists as a most important criterion in estimating the latter's work and behavior. During the party card issuing campaign, non-communists often expressed in writing their opinion of this or that party member. We think that thanks, among other things, to this political act of issuing membership cards produces a positive result. Of course, the party continues to focus attention on the education of communists and the proper selection of cadre members even though the campaign is over.

The CC CPV stresses the need to improve the composition of branches and to make high demands of applicants for membership, and tightens controls over the admission of new members. Special attention must be paid to the selection of candidates among front-rank workers, young people, women and members of small nationalities. In South Vietnam, where communists are still few, we plan to build up the party's numerical strength more vigorously without, however, making any concessions on principles. On the one hand, we send from North Vietnam cadre members or communists serving in the armed forces to border areas, where these comrades may be said to form the core of future party branches. On the other hand, we unite our most reliable and active non-party allies in "groups of people devoted to the party" which we form in villages and other communities as well as in production artels. These groups operate as the core of production collectives, uniting them and helping implement the party's policy. They form

the environment in which those who have adequate reasons to join the party are tested and selected.

After its fourth congress the party admitted 375,000 people, 85.9 per cent of whom are young front-rank workers.

Increasing the role of party branches depends to a notable degree on competent leadership on the part of higher bodies. The more thoroughly we concern ourselves with economic problems, the more we realize that the role of branches has grown, especially in management, now that the party is leading economic and cultural construction and the formation and advancement of a new life throughout the country. Branches encounter difficulties where the mechanism of organization and management is inadequate. We believe leading work assumes a bureaucratic and conservative character and becomes fruitless where the exigencies of developing production are not met, plan fulfillment is held up, the material and technical base is not renewed in time and there are difficulties in raw material supply. This is why the CC CPV points to the need to encourage the initiative and creative independence of branches and, at the same time, the need to perfect the working methods of higher bodies, particularly those concerned with economic management.

In improving and perfecting the mechanism of management, the party fosters the autonomy

of enterprises and the activity of working people and seeks to join together social, collective and individual interests. It is all the more important in this connection to promote the development of districts by judiciously combining agricultural with industrial production and gradually converting districts into agrarian-industrial complexes. We see the formation of these complexes as the main line of work in agriculture and are building up and consolidating party branches in rural areas accordingly.

The tasks described on these pages are new to us and so require much effort. The problems facing branches and the party as a whole arise from the complicated situation in which our country finds itself. But the party is convinced that it has chosen the right course. It is important that every communist and all party branches and other organizations should know well the party's goals and their own tasks, proceed courageously in the thick of life, establish close ties with the masses, approach their job creatively and raise their efficiency. This is an assurance of the complete triumph of our cause.

1. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 354.

2. Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Works*, Hanoi, 1973, p. 330.

3. *Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam*, Hanoi, 1977, p. 54.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

5. Ho Chi Minh, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

New experience

OUR INTERVIEWS

WHAT THE FIRST YEAR SHOWED

Eduardo Montes

CC Political Commission and
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United Socialist Party of Mexico (USPM)

Q. About a year ago our journal carried an article about the founding of the USPM.* What was the past year like for the new party and what has it achieved?

A. I would say that the principal result of these months is that the USPM has asserted itself in Mexico's political life as a tangible, influential force. I'll give you an example. We decided to consummate this summer's presidential election campaign with a rally in the capital's central square, Constitution Square. Some sceptics argued that we were biting off

more than we could chew and would place ourselves in a ludicrous position, because the square would not be filled with people. These proved to be unfounded apprehensions. The attendance exceeded all expectations. Besides, the elections themselves demonstrated how the party's prestige has grown: the USPM polled more than a million votes to become the third largest political force in the country. It must be borne in mind that all this was achieved within a very short span of time.

In the course of the year since the new party was founded there has been a visible growth of its influence in the trade unions and in other mass organizations. However, we do not feel that we have done all that could have been done and orient our comrades on more militant work in these organizations.

Still, successes do not eclipse the problems waiting to be resolved. Much attention is given to questions related to unity within the USPM. I

*WMR, No. 2, 1982.

must say that all the parties that joined in the unity process displayed enthusiasm and consciously took this necessary step. At the grass-roots level there was understanding that this step would allow forming a stronger and more prestigious party capable of championing the working people's interests effectively. Nevertheless, many people remained attached to what they termed as "their own" organization, being guided by false "party solidarity." At first, during the initial weeks after the USPM was constituted, it looked like a federation of several parties. This impression was accentuated by the fact that the first Central Committee was formed on the basis of proportionate representation of the organizations that joined the USPM. Something of the sort was to be observed also at the level of states and regions. But at the first USPM congress, CC members were elected by direct and secret ballot, which, in our view, is the most democratic way of electing leading party organs and allows avoiding clannishness.

I would say that the Mexican Communist Party adapted itself to the unity process easier than the others. It was more solid and more mature than its partners. The communists had quite an extensive experience of militant ideological, political and organizational work, including participation in the coalition of left forces. This helped it to restructure itself, avoid parochialism, and make a considerable contribution to the success of the unity process.

For various reasons not all the members of the parties concerned joined the USPM, some stopped half-way. A CC plenary meeting urged them to join the united party, declaring that its doors were open to them. There was a response to this call. In parallel, our influence grew among all sections of Mexican society. In the past eight months our membership has risen by 20-25 per cent and we have set up uniform primary organizations. However, we have not been able to unite people in all localities, and the central organs are now devoting special attention to party building, to organizational work.

Much effort is needed to elaborate a correct style of work, notably a style of leadership. Among the communists it has become a custom that to be a party leader means to give day-to-day guidance to the party's activities. To other comrades who joined the USPM from small organizations it was a novelty to regard matters related to party building, finances, and party study so seriously. So far these distinctions have not been erased and are felt at all levels of leadership.

So you see that the first year brought not only success but also difficulties.

Q. Would you say that one of the reasons is that organizations had had dissimilar views on these or those questions united in the USPM?

A. Yes, of course. The USPM was formed through a merger of five parties, and a step of this kind is always accompanied by many complications and problems. There were divergent views about the character of the future united political organization even before the USPM was officially constituted. The Mexican Party of Working People, which incidentally initiated the unity process, had its own notions about what the new party should be like. Its leaders insisted that the new party should not be called either socialist or communist, that the hammer and sickle should not figure on its emblem, and that the *Internationale* should not be the party anthem. All this, we communists were told, would frighten away working people who, it was alleged, lacked the consciousness to join an organization fighting for socialism. It was asserted that the Mexican people would not understand and accept a reasonable explanation of why society was divided into classes, the reasons for the exploitation of wage labor, and so on. In refuting views of this kind at innumerable debates and in the press, we tried to show that the MPWP leaders wanted to deny the incipient party clear-cut ideological guidelines and a lucid class content and orientation.

Heberto Castillo, one of the MPWP leaders, stuck to an authoritarian view of the party, believing that all power should be in the hands of the leading élite and thereby reducing the role of primary organizations to a minimum. We thought in different terms, stressing that there had to be a genuinely democratic organization, with all of whose elements — beginning with the lower echelons — vested with wide rights and having the possibility of actually taking part in policy-making. Two views thus came into conflict. The MPWP did not agree with the opinion of its partners and refused to take part in the National Unification Assembly that brought the new party to life.

Far from all the difficulties and divergences were eliminated even after the USPM was founded. Debates continued over many acute problems of theory and practice. Although five parties have merged into one, it is a long and difficult process to achieve complete ideological, political and organizational unity. We believe that this unity cannot be the result of simple voting. Of course, there is always a predominant view and precisely this view is re-

corded in party documents. As we see it, there is now a new and important element of work that conforms to the conditions under which the USPM is functioning. It is that if in discussions not less than 25 per cent of those present are in disagreement with the majority, a decision is adopted and carried out, but the discussion of the disputed point continues in order to bring the minority round to changing

its mind. If its view remains unchanged it is publicly reported in the party press. We feel that under the circumstances this procedure prevents the formation of factions in the party.

Despite the difficulties that we encounter, we look to the future with optimism for we know that the Mexican revolutionary movement is experienced and will not err in the choice of its road.



Trade union problems and the attitudes of communists

PROCEEDINGS OF AN INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

An international symposium "New Features and Problems of the Trade Union Movement in West European Countries and the Attitudes of Communists" was held in Luxembourg on April 21 and 22, 1982, by WMR and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Luxembourg. It was attended by communists working in the trade union movement and dealing with its problems from six countries: Austria, Denmark, the FRG, Great Britain, Greece and Luxembourg. Below is a summary of the proceedings.

Movement at the crossroads?

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the trade union movement faced a set of new problems determined by the current development of capitalism, its crisis phenomena, and capital's offensive on the working people's rights and socio-economic gains. This produced within the movement itself various difficulties and peculiar trends and features which require close scrutiny and a clear-cut definition of the communists' attitude to them. Such was essentially the initial assumption of those who took part in the discussion.

Rene Urbany, Chairman of the CP Luxembourg, said in his opening speech that the point was to discuss and analyze the demands which are made on the trade unions and so also on the political movement of the working class in the 1980s. At this time, just when the social and political contradictions of capitalism increas-

ingly stand out against the background of its deep crisis, it is most important to examine the conditions and problems of the trade union struggle and to promote, through exchanges of experience, opinions and information, a better understanding of the whole complexity of this struggle so as to make an even more tangible contribution to it.

We think it is important to take account of the following: despite the entrenchment of the transnational corporations in the state-monopoly structure of the capitalist countries, we are aware that the national states continue to be the key sphere and the national organizations of the working class, the chief force in the struggle against monopoly capital. At the same time, the internationalization processes within the system of state-monopoly capitalism, the growing international organization of the monopoly bourgeoisie, and the framing of a common strategy both by the transnationals and by world imperialism demand, more insistently than ever before, the need to concert and coordinate trade union demands and action on an international class basis.

This puts a great responsibility on the communists. By sustained political action, we must prevent the trade union movement from being deprived of its class functions and from being converted into an instrument for the defense of decaying capitalism. To us has fallen the important role of orienting the trade unions toward consistent defense of social gains and social progress and efforts to effect social transformations.

The trade unions' stand on the struggle for

disarmament and for peace now tends to be ever more important. The preservation of peace is the crucial issue on which depends the continued development of the material foundations of humankind's existence and social progress and, indeed, its very survival.

Consequently, the communists are faced with a set of new problems connected with their work in the trade unions.

Hardly anything is now more important, said Bert Ramelson (CP Great Britain). Being Marxists we believe that there is no other way to transform the capitalist society except struggle, chiefly the struggle of the working class and also of its allies. The most elementary organization which can unite the workers today (and not when we shall be able to change their consciousness in the desired direction), to unite them for this struggle against the ruling class and to learn in the course of it the lesson that there are no complete or final solutions without a radical transformation of society, such an organization is the trade unions. Just now, we believe, it stands at the crossroads. What do I have in mind?

The working-class movement has been developing under the impact of a number of objective factors. First of all, we live in a period with rapid qualitative changes in the development of the productive forces, a fact which has an influence both on the organizational structure and behavior of the ruling class in the capitalist countries, and also on the organizational structure and even on the goals and forms of struggle of the working classes. These are changes which we call the scientific and technological revolution. At the same time, there is intensive concentration and centralization of capital, on a scale that makes the national framework too small, and transnational corporations emerge. Tremendous power is concentrated in the hands of the entrepreneurs, for whom the whole non-socialist world becomes a workshop which enables them to use the division of labor more efficiently and with benefit for themselves, while finding the ways and means for pitting the interests of workers in one country against those of workers in other countries. By using the revolutionary changes in the process of production in this way, capital is in a position to exert growing pressure on the working people. But I want to emphasize, however, that these objective processes can also be used by the organized working class for its own interests.

Under the impact of these factors, it undergoes changes. This process has many aspects, and I shall deal with only some of them which

are connected with trade union problems. First of all, the social condition and characteristics of those who are known as white-collar workers differ less and less from those of the blue-collar workers, as they increasingly join the ranks of the working class. This stratum is not a small one by any means, and its growth provides a broader basis for trade union activity. But it also produces new problems.

Since 1970, the trade union movement in Britain has grown by 30 per cent, and now involves over 11 million, that is, over one-half of the employed population. Where do these people come from? Most of them are, of course, white-collar workers, and also women. In our country just now (and I do not think that it is an exception) 40 per cent of all trade union members are not manual workers, as they once used to be.

By 1985, we expect workers by hand to be in a minority. But their role in society does not diminish at all. They are the main force in production, which is crucial to its success, and they are the most organized contingent of the working people, and the most consistent in struggle. Here is an example: less than 200,000 striking miners can bring to a halt the mining industry of Britain and, consequently, put pressure on the whole of the economy. Or a relatively small number of railwaymen could paralyze transport, and so also production. The same could be said of some other categories of workers. At the same time, at trade union congresses the white-collar workers are coming to have a great influence. The level of their class consciousness is relatively low, politically they are weaker, their trade unions are new and do not have enough experience. And so the trade unions are faced with this serious task: to merge into a single movement workers by hand and by brain, and to help the latter to master the methods of industrial workers' solidarity and struggle. The white-collar workers must realize that they do not have the same strength in negotiating with the employers as do some categories of manual workers, that the latter have paved the way for the establishment of new unions of white-collar workers, and that their solidarity has helped to strengthen the latter's positions in conflicts with the employers.

The crisis of capitalism is another objective factor which exerts a tremendous influence on the working-class movement. This crisis differs from all the previous ones in depth and duration, and also — a fact that needs to be emphasized — in ideological terms. I know of no economist capable of confidently predicting when the crisis will end, and the people are

beginning to realize that this is not an ordinary recession which is to be followed by a revival, that this is not a situation in which they will be without jobs for five or six months, and that everything will then change. They already feel that the crisis is a protracted and chronic one. A whole generation is coming on the scene which is losing any hope of ever getting a job. Nothing like that has ever happened before. This creates very big problems for the trade unions, but this also holds out fresh opportunities.

During the post-war economic boom, the ruling class made material concessions with relative ease, above all because economic growth ensured relatively easy profit. In the 35 post-war years, the trade unions have secured a substantial growth in the working people's living standards, together with greater dignity for the workers. The conditions were created for the workers' representatives to be reckoned with, not to be talked down to as an inferior, but seriously to negotiate with at the same table. And in the countries of which we speak here, the trade unions have grown. That is natural, because an organization must grow if it scores successes.

The current crisis has changed the situation out of all recognition. It is a fact that the crisis phenomena have made it harder to extract profits, and so the employers are ever less inclined to make concessions. At the same time, the mass unemployment reduces the workers' strength in the fight against the employers — and we must realize this and face the reality. There is not only the fear of being fired for protesting against the acts of the employers. The number of trade union members in Great Britain has started to decline, and that is because the trade unions have failed to create the necessary structures to retain the unemployed within their ranks when they are no longer able to pay their trade union dues. Now and again, the trade unions fail to realize that there is a need to take special measures to draw into their ranks school-leavers who have not had a job in their lives and, moreover, have no prospect of getting one in the future. As unemployment grows, the trade union membership tends to fall. Last year, according to our estimates, trade unions in Great Britain lost five per cent of their members.

Let us also note that the employers have overcome the fear they had felt in face of the working-class movement in the post-war period. At that time, virtually the whole capitalist world had to dig in, because the workers tended to associate the depression and mass unemployment with capitalism, and it was clear that the monopolies were responsible for

nazism and the war. The employers had to agree to serious concessions to the workers, to take steps to create the impression of social stability. They supported the idea of a "welfare state" in which the social security system had an important role to play. But 40 years later, another anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaign got under way and the employers' fear of the working-class movement was somewhat moderated. They now feel more confident, although they always remember that the strength of the working class and the trade unions could grow.

I think that the main strategic line of the ruling class now is to break up the trade union movement, not physically, but only by depriving it of the possibility of exercising its functions and carrying on the class struggle. That is why I believe that the most important task facing the communists in Great Britain at the present time is to preserve and strengthen the trade unions so as to enable them to defend the working people and themselves against the capital offensive.

In Great Britain, there is a spreading anti-trade union campaign and attempts are being made to curb the rights of the trade unions. Their representatives met recently to discuss the strategy of the struggle. For the first time in our history, a £1 million fund was set up for a campaign in defense of trade union rights. But there is more to it than money. For the first time, the British trade union movement as a whole did not reject the idea that if the need should arise it would ignore the laws. It is a great thing for it to display such determination.

We regard it as evidence of the trade unions' realization of that which is most important for them: wages, employment and social security are, of course, essential, but you will get nothing of this if the role and rights of the trade unions have been undermined, if they are incapable of putting pressure on capital. Just now, the British trade union movement may be in the vanguard, it is one of the most powerful in the world. And, perhaps, that is precisely why it has been selected as the first target by international capital.

It is obvious, at any rate, that the defense of the trade unions in the face of the offensive mounted against them in various countries and in various forms is, for us, communists, one of the most important questions.

The idea that the trade unions are confronted with a serious choice was also expressed by *Lothar Schussler* (German Communist Party). The experience of the FRG working class over the past several decades, he said, was in many ways peculiar. For 25 years, the forces of capital

and social reformism tried to present our country as some kind of model for harmonizing the interests of labor and capital in practice. Although the working-class movement in the FRG has scored major successes in its struggle, these were attained through relatively small efforts and did not call forth serious acts of solidarity by the working people. The reasons lie both in the economic strength of West German imperialism, which could afford to make financial concessions in order to maintain its dominant positions, and in the existence and activity of numerous unitary trade unions which were capable, in the virtual absence of a reserve army of industrial workers, to exert serious pressure on big capital. Those relatively easy successes continue largely to determine the thinking of workers and employees in the FRG to this day, while the context of the struggle and the political and economic situation have undergone a complete change.

Since the mid-1970s, the conditions for the existence of West German imperialism, the conditions for the use of capital have undergone a fundamental change, the arms race has been stepped up, and the funds earmarked for wages and the financing of social reforms have been reduced. Since the 1974-1975 crisis, FRG concerns have been openly striving to secure a redistribution of the national income in their favor by depressing the living standards of the working people. That is when the trade unions adopted their defensive tactics. During that cyclical crisis, they succeeded in maintaining the level of real wages, and in 1979 even secured longer holidays for a majority of workers and employees, but with the start of the following cyclical crisis in 1980, there has been evidence of a reduction in real incomes. The government has launched a resolute drive against the social and political rights which had been won over the past several decades.

The mass lockouts of recent years were designed to curb the activity of the trade unions and to undermine their finances. Increased pressure was exerted on the workers' representatives, trade union officials were put under surveillance by government agencies and electronic surveillance systems were set up in industry to monitor workers.

Mass unemployment inflicts the most brutal calamities on the working class. The existence of a reserve army of nearly two million markedly sharpens competition within its ranks. There are even signs of local egoism in the trade union struggle against the closure of enterprises. Bourgeois politicians and scientists already speak of two "classes": the jobless and the "job-holders." Such competition tends to

cause, in particular, a growth of hostility for foreign workers, a fact the neo-nazi groups have already been using with some success.

The central question today is what are the organizations of the working class going to do about it. The report of the GCP Board to the sixth congress of the party in 1981 said: "In a period in which big capital has gone over to an open offensive against the working people's living standards, and peace is jeopardized by the policy of confrontation and stepped up arms race, trade union struggle acquires special importance."¹

Our trade unions now face the most serious test in their history. How successfully they will pass the test depends on the attitude to them on the part of workers and employees in the future. If the trade unions set the working people an example of steadfastness and confidence in their own strength, this will redouble the energy of the working population in the struggle for its rights. If they evade the struggle, a loss of confidence in the trade unions could begin.

"Social partnership" — a fiasco

For the time being, against the background of the crisis in the other countries, Austria continues to have a special status, and does not seem to fit into the general picture, said Rudolf Streiter (CP Austria). The level of unemployment in Austria is lower, and the growth of prices slower than it is in most other Western countries. This is due to a number of factors: a favorable energy situation, which is connected with the high level of energy generation and the long-term contracts on the supply of energy from the USSR and other socialist states; Austria's proximity to these states and its links with them, a fact which has an influence on the actions of the government and the captains of the economy; the fact that a sizable part of the Gross National Product is realized in foreign trade, while trade relations and cooperation with the socialist countries provide long-term jobs for roughly 150,000-200,000; and Austria's neutral status, which gives it advantages in the sphere of economic policy.

Let us bear in mind that in Austria there is a contradictory combination of the economic power of capital and the political power of the state resting on a system of "social partnership," which helps to institutionalize conciliatory relations between the government, business and the trade union leadership for the purpose of maintaining "social peace." They take joint decisions on all the main social and economic problems, bypassing the elective organs. In political terms, "social partnership"

binds the trade unions to participation in spreading the deliberate lie about there being some kind of community of interests between capital and labor. In economic terms, it serves capital, because it imposes on the trade union leadership a renunciation of the use of the militant potential of the working people in the struggle for their own economic interests. With the "social partnership" policy is closely connected the limitation of democracy in every sphere of trade union activity. Its main principle is the cutting short of any mass action in order to provide the leadership with the conditions for conciliatory activity.

We now have a situation in which even the parliament has no say on some issues. Negotiations on some problems are carried on only between the chairman of the Austrian Trade Union Federation and the president of the Federal Economic Chamber, and only that which these two men decide goes to the parliament. In consequence, it has become something of an executive agency for the decisions taken by these two men.

The social democrats seek to use their majority in the Austrian Trade Union Federation to bolster their own parliamentary positions. This means not only the integration of the trade union association into the framework of government policy, but also what could be called personal integration: three ministers are simultaneously chairmen of the three major sectoral trade unions, while the chairman of the Austrian Trade Union Federation is simultaneously the president of the parliament. A number of other state secretaries concurrently hold important posts in the trade unions.

However, this policy has been noticeably losing its popularity among the workers. The assurances that Austria already has a "welfare state," a socially balanced state, and that capitalism has been overcome are now being refuted by the growing economic difficulties, and the working class is coming to realize that it has been simply cheated.

In the recent period, resistance to the cut-backs in social benefits, the layoffs and the closure of enterprises has grown and acquired new forms. In the town of Judenburg, 10,000 people went out into the streets to protest against the dismissal of workers and the threatened closure of the VEW plant. At the paper mill in Niklasdorf and at the Felten Guillaume works, the workers blocked the streets in protest against the closure of their enterprises and drew the attention of the public to their problems. In this action, an active role was played by the Left Trade Union Bloc and the communists.

Lothar Schüssler's rejoinder: For years, "so-

cial partnership" was a term readily used in the FRG. You will now hardly find a trade union functionary using this term in a positive sense.

Over the past two or three years, broad masses of trade unionists have come to realize more clearly that the social democrat-led government has failed to put forward any alternative in favor of the workers and against the effort to burden them with the weight of the crisis. Here is an example which demonstrates the trend in the changing thinking within the trade unions. On May Day of this year, the social democrat minister of North Rhine-Westphalia was slated to deliver a speech in a Ruhr town. Many trade union functionaries, mostly social democrats in that town were against inviting him to speak. Why? Their reasoning was as follows: if the meeting were addressed by the spokesman of the government whose policy is aimed to reduce the working people's living standards, the local trade union leaders could not be responsible for the consequences. There are many other similar examples, and these are totally new trends which have not yet assumed such an acute form. They should not be overestimated, but it would also be wrong not to reckon with them, especially from the standpoint of the possibility of cooperation with the social democrats in the trade unions.

This idea was continued by Aloyse Bisdorff (CP Luxembourg) who said that what has been said about "social partnership," the "welfare state" and the involvement of the trade unions in realizing such conceptions testifies that "social partnership," in the form in which it was accepted by the social democratic trade unions, was characteristic of the period when the economic outlook was favorable. This policy is now proving to be a fiasco, and the governments, even those headed by social democrats, to say nothing of those headed by right-wing parties, are trying to break up the network of social security built up earlier, while the trade unions which were involved in the partnership policy are being attacked. It is being said that by their demands they have habituated the workers and the rest of the population to live beyond their means. The trade unions, for their part, have gone over to the defense.

In the mid-1970s, the trade unions allowed themselves to be involved in "social partnership" the Luxembourg way, which is an institutionalized system of trilateral cooperation enacted legislatively. They agreed to a collective contract, a so-called zero contract, which is in force until the end of 1983 and which says that until then the trade unions will not demand any wage increases, provided wages are automatically adjusted to the growth

of prices. But indexation has been abolished by the government and the crisis has induced the employers to go back on these obligations. This has put the trade unions in a difficult situation and they are forced to redefine their position. There is also lack of clarity with respect to the economic policy of the social democratic circles. Some forces in their midst are prepared to go along a common way with the communists, but they are, unfortunately, still too weak. The future will show whether they are able to gain in strength.

All these events have forced the trade union leadership to recognize the futility of the model based on "social partnership" and to resort to measures of protest, something the communists had long ago emphasized. On March 27, 1982, a powerful demonstration was staged in the capital. It was attended by nearly 40,000 people, i.e., roughly a quarter of the whole working population. A warning strike was staged on April 5, and its scale exceeded all expectations: 80,000 persons downed tools. These two trade union acts had the following characteristic features:

- the unprecedented scope of the movement, which turned out to be the most massive since the Second World War and which involved workers not only at the major enterprises in the heavy industry, but also at the medium and small enterprises;

- the political tenor of the movement, which was directed primarily against the government policy;

- the broad intra-trade union unity which was displayed in the course of the demonstration, for the participation in which a call was issued by all the trade union organizations, including the Christian, which thereby stood aloof from the Christian Social Party, the chief partner in the government coalition.

It is becoming ever more obvious that all the forms of state encouragement and stimulation of the capitalists fail to yield an economic effect unless they involve measures of coercion and control on the part of the state. In this connection, the CP Luxembourg has worked out the conception of an economic policy providing for the nationalization of the steel industry, and its views were set forth in a pamphlet published by the Jan Kill Center. We succeeded in starting a discussion on this problem in the trade unions. They are now engaged in reviewing the conceptions of economic and social policy and formulating alternatives which are to be shortly put up for discussion by extraordinary trade union congresses.

The discussion of this point was continued by Mogens Höwer (CP Denmark) who said that

from 1975 until recently the social democrats were at the helm in his country. The so-called incomes policy was an attempt to put through some measures in the financial sphere for the more efficient use of social resources. The government also had the goal of enhancing Denmark's competitiveness on the external market. But it also claimed that capital needed to have an incentive for investment to create new jobs. As a result, the very tough financial policy of our social democrats was essentially no different from that pursued by Reagan or Thatcher. Only in the latest period of the wage-rate agreements now in effect, considerable changes were made in the wage-rate system, automatic cost of living adjustments were abolished, compensation for government officials reduced, etc. In accordance with a report issued by the Government Secretariat for Economic Affairs, from 1975 to 1981, the real wages of workers who are members of the Central Association of the Trade Unions of Denmark dropped by 12 per cent, and those of government employees, by 24 per cent.

Consequently, the characteristic thing about Denmark is that the offensive by capital was being supported and encouraged by the social democratic government.²

The ground was prepared for what is known in our country as "trilateral negotiations": the government, the trade union center and the employers' union get together to assess the economic state of the society and agree on the framework within which the wage-rate agreements are to be modified. After that, the individual trade unions are allowed to fight for the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table. This policy of compromise is not yet being pursued quite openly, but one is struck by the identical statements issued by the trade union bosses, the leaders of the employers' union and the ministry of economics and its economic advisers.

"Higher wages or new jobs" — that is how the employers' union, the Central Association of the Trade Unions and the government see the alternative on the eve of the 1983 wage-rate bargaining, but everyone knows that the restraint on wages did not help to create additional jobs and that, on the contrary, the number of unemployed since 1979 has doubled. In 1981, of the 1.5 million unionized wage workers, 700,000, i.e., nearly one-half, variously resorted to the unemployment aid fund. In 1981, the number of unemployed averaged almost 300,000, to which should be added 100,000 persons who have more or less voluntarily left the labor market.

The internal commodity market has been

undermined by the super-tough wage-rate and piece-rate policy. Housing construction has virtually come to a halt. Industry is unable to sell its products because the purchasing power of the population is limited. The wage policy pursued by the government is the reason why Denmark takes the "prize" as Europe's leading country on one essential indicator: mass unemployment. This provides good evidence that the reformists' line is untenable.

Unity, the central problem

Following the victory of the democratic forces in October 1981, said Yiannis Theonas (CP Greece), the working-class movement in our country was faced with new and important tasks.

The deep economic crisis is rooted in the whole of earlier development. The way along which Greece has been moving is characterized by uncontrolled monopoly operations and dependence on foreign capital. The governments of the right-wingers who ruled the country after the overthrow of the dictatorship strove to shift the burdens of the crisis onto the working people and to increase the profits of the concerns. In order to achieve this, the authorities tried to manipulate the workers' trade unions. Making active use of various opportunities for intervention, of reactionary trade union statutes and establishing puppet organizations, the right-wing government managed to extend its influence on most of the associated organizations, including the Federation of Labor, whose board was infiltrated by agents of the employers.

One should bear in mind that these people have nothing in common either with social democracy or reformism. The influence of reformism in our country is limited, which is why the employers have directly intruded into the working-class movement, implanting their agents so as to split and demobilize it. After 1974, workers' organizations displaying class consciousness were expelled from trade union associations.

Just now, there are five trade union confederations in the country, but only one of them has any real importance: the General Confederation of Greek Labor (GCGL). Its activity is firmly based on class principles because of the influence of the Communist Party. It has pursued a policy of unity of the working class at the grass roots, and has coordinated the activity of the trade unions within the GCGL with that of the other trade unions. We have got down to working out the tactics for cooperation between variously oriented trade union organizations and seek in every way to encourage this coop-

eration on the basis of a joint action program.

The party now in power is the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), which represents anti-monopoly and democratic traditions. In spite of some positive steps which have helped to democratize political life, it has not gone far in realizing its electoral promises. In the economic sphere, the emphasis is on private initiative, no anti-monopoly measures are being taken, and no concrete initiatives have been made to end the dependence on the monopolies.

The government asserts that its policy is an optimal one, so that even if it has failed to live up to some of its promises, that does nothing to minimize the importance of its achievements. But everything that has been achieved has been done under pressure from the democratic forces. The rightists continue to have solid positions in the state apparatus and have been trying to prevent any changes in the government's policy that could deprive them of power altogether. The result is a highly complicated and contradictory situation in the country, which is characterized, on the one hand, by fresh potentialities for the development of the mass movement and for another turn toward democratization, and on the other, by resistance to this from the ruling circles, imperialism and the oligarchy, and also by the fact that the PASOK government's policy is marked by conciliation and backsliding.

A new bill on the activity of the trade unions and workers' representation was recently put before the Parliament. It contains a number of provisions which should substantially help the working-class struggle, like the complete prohibition of lockouts, the ban on the employment of strike-breakers during strikes and judicial harassment of strikers, legislative guarantees of trade union work on the shop-floor, etc. These are important provisions being mooted in our country for the first time, and they still have to be fought for.

As virtually all the participants in the symposium said, the set of problems concerning trade union unity within each country and in the international arena is extremely broad and solutions for all these problems will not be found all at once. But these are clearly central problems, and attainment of the goal requires much flexibility, perseverance, painstaking work, and unification first of all on the most important problems which truly require common efforts for their solution.

How to counter the transnationals?

The drive by big capital against the working people's rights is proceeding against the back-

ground of objective processes connected with scientific and technological progress and the development of economic socialization of production, notably in the form of transnational corporations. Remarking on this fact, participants in the symposium set themselves the following question: is it right to say that the trade unions have turned out to be powerless in the face of these new phenomena?

Among those who have suggested that the trade unions are powerless, said Lothar Schusler, is former AGTU chairman Vetter, and that is something that needs to be considered in all seriousness. It would be absurd to resist scientific and technological progress, but it is not enough to insist only on overcoming its social consequences. The struggle must be aimed at a fundamental change in the socio-economic conditions which tend to turn scientific and technological progress against the working people. It is inconceivable to hamper the economic socialization of production either, but the transnationals have capitalized on it and have used their growing strength against the working class, while some of the traditional means of resisting the drive by capital have, indeed, proved to be less effective than they have been in the past; this means that one of the key tasks is to find methods of struggle corresponding to the new conditions.

The strike is the trade union's chief weapon in the fight against capital, *Aloyse Bisdorff* continued, but it tends to be less and less effective, because in the event of a stoppage, international capital is capable of transferring production from one country to another. Here is an example: for four months we produced steel plate and no one knew where the orders came from. When these had been fulfilled, it became known that the steel plate was to have been made by our British fellow-workers who were then on strike. That is why a highly important problem is organizing international cooperation on the trade union level, and even better, also on the party level. We believe it is worth discussing.

It is the absence of global unity of the trade union movement that gives the transnationals scope for action, said *Bert Ramelson*. I would even put it this way: we find big capital united, but there is no corresponding unity of the workers. The trade unions recognize this, but up to now they have not managed to overcome the difficulties and conservatism within their own organizations. There are also ideological disagreements which divide the workers, and there is not yet enough desire to overcome these disagreements. Consequently, the strengthening of unity in the fight against the

transnationals is an urgent problem and ways and means need to be found to overcome the difficulties which hamper its solution.

Something in this context has been achieved, and there are potentialities and examples of joint action by trade unions on the level of shop stewards and trade union leadership at the factory level. In our view, permanent organizational structures of workers' representation on an international scale should be worked out. Even international negotiations between the trade unions and the transnationals could, after all, be arranged to prevent the corporations from setting one group of workers against others.

We already have some experience. And this is not as difficult as it may appear at first sight. In particular, a struggle has been started against two multinational firms (one producing rubber, and another cars). The trade unions dispatched a group of shop stewards to various enterprises in Europe to lay the foundations of cooperation. Their mission was a great success. For instance, solidarity relations have been established with Spanish, Belgian and French working people. Close ties between the workers of enterprises of one and the same multinational firm prevent them from being pitted against each other. That is a new problem which confronts the trade unions and which they must solve if they want to survive. Closer contacts also need to be developed on the trade union leadership level in various countries.

I have said that we are looking for new means of struggle, but new use can also be made of old ones in the changed conditions. For instance, the takeover of enterprises. Some time ago it was frequently an effective form of struggle. When the workers took over a plant, the owners were unable to recruit strike-breakers and get into the plant. Now many are afraid to start a strike and take over a plant believing that if they do so, it will be closed down. There is good ground for such fears. Thousands of workers may find themselves without jobs all at once, and the goals of the strike may not be attained. So in definite conditions this method is simply not applicable. But there is here still a "but." If your plant is a part of a large production unit, a component of a multinational corporation, and if one or two plants are closed down, but the sense of solidarity with the workers of other countries employed at plants of the same firm is developed, the strike may prove to be an effective instrument of pressure on the employers. It is important to think through every aspect in organizing such acts: to prevent the withdrawal of equipment and transfer of capital to another enterprise, to involve in the struggle not only

the workers themselves, but also the population in the locality (for this there is good ground: we have a case in which the closure of one plant brought everything to a standstill: trade, the life of a whole town). The way to act is to make the employers understand: if production is transferred elsewhere they could find themselves losing assets worth tens of millions of pounds. In that case, the strike and the takeover of a plant will be a means of putting pressure on the employers in the course of negotiations with them. So it turns out that an old form of struggle is filled with new content.

What we are still not adequately aware of, especially from the standpoint of the forms of struggle, is, I think, that one of the characteristic features of the multinational firm is the extraction of maximum profits from the global division of labor. The product consists of components made in various countries. There is hardly a single car in the Western world that has been made exclusively, say, in Britain, Germany or Sweden. The engine is made in Spain, the transmission in Belgium, the body in Britain, while the whole thing is put together elsewhere. That is what should be made use of. I have already said that the multinational corporations are able to pit workers in different countries against each other. But concerted action can, on the contrary, disorganize the production of a multinational corporation, and this gives the workers additional strength in bargaining with the management. I think that the trade union movement should improve the use of such means. This form of struggle is possible not only on an international but also on a national scale.

The transnational corporations have now got their hands on the whole capitalist world, and they are playing with it, using the national states as well for their purposes. But contradictions between the interests of a transnational and this or that state arise fairly frequently. In order to retain power, the state now and again makes concessions to the working class and displays a desire to put pressure on the transnational. The trade unions have to do everything to turn this to their advantage. There is also this contradiction: the United States, the strongest imperialist power, with the largest number of transnational corporations, now and again puts pressure on other states for the benefit of the transnationals. The potentialities that spring from this need to be concretely analyzed by the communists and the trade unions in each country and also on the international level.

Lothar Schussler agreed with Bert Ramelson that joint action by the trade unions within the

national framework and in the international arena was indeed the central problem. He suggested that here there is even a need for some departure from the ideological contradictions between the individual trade unions so as to tackle jointly the truly common tasks. Meanwhile, the AGTU, for instance, has displayed intolerance with respect to some trade unions. The idea of unity must be set up in contrast to local interests.

As far as I am aware, the secretariats of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) have councils for multinational concerns. At the same time, trade union representatives in industry, for instance, the members of production councils, have no real knowledge about these councils, i.e., although definite organizational forms exist, up to now they have yielded very little for the struggle against the transnationals.

Progressive trade union leaders in the FRG have been discussing these matters very actively. In our view, the strategy of the struggle must include, as a minimum, the following points: mutual exchange of information between all the representatives of the workers of the individual enterprises of transnational companies; joint programs of demands on the scale of the transnationals must be drawn up; action in the fight for these demands must be coordinated.

Good examples are already available. Jobs are being wound up at plants belonging to a Dutch chemical concern in the city of Kassel. The working people of the enterprise have established contacts with Dutch workers at the concern's main plants. An exchange of information and delegations has been arranged and solidarity demonstrations are being staged. Thus, comrades from Holland also took part in the demonstrations in Kassel. But these are only the embryos of cooperation, and they indicate the direction for developing our activity.

Some forces refused to have contacts with trade unions which maintain ties with the communists, said Mogens Hower. The printers' trade union in the FRG provides a different kind of example. Its chairman Leonhard Mahlein is simultaneously chairman of the International Graphical Federation, and there we have met with an ever more positive attitude to ourselves over a number of years. Let me add that it was the West German trade union that initiated the contacts with us. It also established ties with an allied trade union in the socialist GDR. The cooperation has assumed such forms and scale that the International Graphical Federation has established relations with the corresponding WFTU association.

They have held joint meetings alternately in the GDR, the FRG or another country.

Interaction between the trade unions yields real results. When the workers of a Danish multinational corporation in Jutland began a struggle in support of demands for higher pay, the company decided to put pressure on the working people by transferring production to Hamburg, where it had its subsidiaries. Direct contacts between the trade union delegations of both enterprises were established in order to explain the situation, and the necessary results were achieved literally within the hour. Here is another interesting example: the workers of a Danish bourgeois newspaper carried on a strike for 141 days. Its management decided to transfer production to other countries: FRG, Holland, etc. But we were able to thwart these plans through the International Graphical Federation. An attempt was then made to switch the order to the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Once again, thanks to the cooperation of the International Graphical Federation and the printers' organization of the World Federation of Trade Unions, this was prevented. So, what comrade Schussler spoke about has already been partially effected in our industry, the printing industry.

The development of international solidarity between the workers of enterprises of transnational corporations in different countries is now more necessary than ever before, said Yiannis Theonas. The transnationals have intensified their intrusion into the national economy. Many firms in our country are Greek only in name. Directly or indirectly, foreign capital controls more than 1,500 enterprises constituting the most modern and productive part of the Greek industry. In the metal-working industry, electrical engineering, the oil and chemical industry, international concerns control from 50 to 95 per cent of the assets. Over the past several years, foreign bank capital has intensively infiltrated the credit system and the insurance companies of Greece. The right-wing governments did not even try to effect any of the restrictive measures which are applied in other capitalist countries. What is more, the privileges of the concerns were constitutionally entrenched. All of this makes the struggle of the working class more difficult.

We believe that the development of direct contacts between the working people of different subsidiaries of one and the same transnational concern is extremely necessary and could make the workers' action much more effective. By way of confirmation, let me cite a major strike staged by ships' crews when the mobilization of seamen's unions in various

countries helped to secure broad support for the strikers. The same thing happened during the strike by radio operators.

It is highly important, we believe, to develop cooperation between the communist and workers' parties so as to have the efforts of the communists in each country, of our comrades who are simultaneously trade union functionaries, promote international cooperation between trade union organizations. If there are contacts between parties, it is easier to establish relations between the trade unions. The CPG took part in joint action with the French Communist Party against the closure of Pechiney, a major aluminium concern with enterprises in Greece and France. Another example was last year's strike by seamen, when many European fraternal parties did much to help our struggle by their solidarity. The CPG will continue to work in this direction and looks to support from the working-class movement and the communists of other countries.

The strike continues to be the best weapon available to the trade unions in the capitalist world, declared Fernand Hubsch (CP Luxembourg), but strikes tend to lose their effectiveness without international solidarity. It needs to be emphasized that the communists have already actively helped to arrange such solidarity in many cases. We maintain constant contacts with GCP organizations in Bremen, Saar, and with the French comrades. In 1978, we had a large-scale demonstration by workers in Thionville, and among those who took part were communists from the FRG, Belgium, France, Holland, Italy, Great Britain and Luxembourg. This large demonstration also evoked a response among workers who belong to other political parties, and this gave us an opportunity to secure stronger positions in the sectoral trade union in the heavy industry. The communists' international cooperation is, of course, the key factor in consolidating the international unity of the working-class movement.

What to do about rationalization?

As other speakers have said, problems arising from the use of scientific and technological achievements and the rationalization of production effected by big business are extremely acute and complicated. New technology, Rudolf Streiter said, is being installed at enterprises and offices at a headlong pace. With the emergence of microcomputers and microprocessors in the 1980s, one may expect such a rapid progress of rationalization that it will eclipse everything the trade unions have had to

face in the past. This will tell not only in industry, where countless jobs will be eliminated, but also in the sphere of social and private services.

The problem is being compounded by the possibility of starting a system of collection and registration of personal data, i.e., of total control over the citizens. A man reflected in hundreds or thousands of indicators in a sense becomes "transparent" for industrial management and so is more easily manipulated.

The following data indicate the scale of these processes: by 1990, the number of display terminals in Austria's institutions is expected to increase from 27,000 to 160,000, and the number of microcomputers from 17,000 to 145,000. One can easily imagine the avalanche of problems and dangers looming before us.

What can the trade unions do about it?

The major strike by printing workers in the FRG also had an influence on our country, for instance, in the bargaining for collective agreements between the trade union of employees in the private sector and the trade union of workers in the paper and printing industry, on the one hand, and the employers, on the other. Under the impact of the strike, the first contract on protection from the consequences of rationalization was concluded after protracted discussion. It contains provisions on obligatory negotiations in the event of the installation of new technology, and on guarantees against layoffs. Besides, it regulates matters like the right to use information, studies for members of the production councils and the granting of additional leave for them, and participation in the management of the enterprise. There is, of course, no need to turn all the members of production councils into computer specialists, but they must be given knowledge in this sphere that is necessary for participating in the management of production and decision-making. The Left Trade Union Bloc issued a special pamphlet for this purpose under the title *New Technologies, A Manual for Members of Production Councils*. It gives the workers' representatives practical recommendations about the things that need to be given special attention when new technology is installed, and indicates the labor legislation that should be relied upon in the event of conflicts.

This is an extremely serious problem, Bert Ramelson agreed. It is perfectly obvious that there is no returning to the time of the Luddites, when workers destroyed machines, for it is inconceivable to resist scientific and technological progress. The trade unions must see to it that the introduction of modern technology

does not lead to a loss of jobs, to unemployment, and that, on the contrary, it should improve working and living conditions. How can this be achieved?

We believe that there is a need to insist on a preliminary discussion with the trade union on the use of new technology and hardware and on the methods to be used in the process. Alongside the problem of wages, this important problem must be reflected in the bargaining on collective agreements. It is important that the trade union should understand the new role and appreciate the new importance which now belongs to workers' control. The methods by which it is effected depend on the concrete conditions, they may be different, but the idea itself is an organic component part of the trade union consciousness.

Our party also believes that the consequences of scientific and technological progress is a very important problem, Mogens Høwer said. Its attitude to the scientific and technological revolution was analyzed at a seminar in October 1981, which noted the importance of taking a Marxist approach to the problem of new technology.

Lothar Schussler's question: In the FRG, wage-rate contracts on the duration of working time will expire for many trade unions on December 31, 1983. These contracts provided for the 40-hour work week. There is an intense discussion in the trade union movement just now about how advisable it is to cancel these contracts and to fight for a gradual introduction of the 35-hour work week. The communists want a way to be found to shorten the work week, for we believe that this is one of the ways to avoid the grave social consequences of rationalization and to turn scientific and technological achievements to the working people's advantage. What do comrades from other parties think about this?

I should like to emphasize, first of all, Bert Ramelson said, that there is a difference between shortening of the work week and, for instance, a situation in which the workers work three days a week (three days one group, three days another). This is called work-sharing. We naturally oppose this, but we favor shortening the work week while preserving wages. And, of course, there is a need to fight for longer holidays. Both would, indeed, help to use scientific and technological progress for the benefit of the working people, and not only for that of big business.

The policy of the British trade union movement comes to the following: each trade union is recommended to make demands for a shorter work week, believing that this is even more

important than the demand for higher wages. But problems tend to arise when we speak of early retirement on pension. The slogan is, of course, a good one, but only if one is able to live on one's pension. If it is so low, as it is, say, in Britain, retirement at 60 is, in effect, advantageous for the employers, instead of the working people. Here we have a kind of latent unemployment. This is why we always tie in the demand for lowering the retirement age with the demand for higher pensions.

In Austria, said *Rudolf Streiter*, the question of shorter working hours has been brought to the fore in view of the economic difficulties and the problems of employment, but there is a wide spectrum of views on this matter. Some trade unions demand the 35-hour week, others oppose it. Even the members of the government have opposite views on this score. The arguments are highly diverse. On the one hand, it is said that shorter working hours is a means to ensure jobs, on the other that we cannot afford this from the economic standpoint.

There are data, however, which indicate that a reduction of the work week from 45 to 40 hours, which coincided with the 1975 crisis, helped to preserve 200,000 jobs. This means that the proposed measure is not a useless one at all. This should be taken into account, as also the fact that the current pace of production makes the shortening of working hours necessary because of the excessive intensity of labor.

Our proposal is that a 39-hour week should be introduced in 1983, to be reduced by 1 hour in every subsequent year, to 35 hours by 1987. This, naturally, with the preservation of full wages, because any drop in incomes and so in the purchasing power of the population would have the most undesirable economic consequences. Here the view of the trade unions and the party coincide.

Mogens Hower brought yet another problem which is connected with scientific and technological progress and rationalization. It is the raising of skill standards. I was first confronted with it in 1979, he said. The trade union of workers in the paper and printing industry in the FRG then put forward the demand for continuous workers' training to raise skills throughout their working lifetime, which would enable them to adapt to technological progress. (Incidentally, in the periods in which one set of working people were being retrained, others could do their jobs.) This demand may figure in the collective bargaining in Denmark this year, because it could help to reduce unemployment.

Lothar Schussler. In the FRG, this demand

has somewhat retreated into the background.

Bert Ramelson. I feel that it should be among the primary demands. As production develops and high-technology industries emerge, two contradictory problems tend to arise. On the one hand, the workers in the old industries lose their skills, and on the other, the new industries need workers with higher skills. In our country, while unemployment is large-scale, there is a shortage of some grades of workers. The trade unions demand that the installation of new technology must be accompanied by retraining, and that school-leavers should be given an opportunity to receive appropriate occupational training and then skilled jobs. But the ruling class has not even tried to solve this problem.

To return to the question of whether the trade unions are or are not powerless under the transnationals' domination and their use of scientific and technological achievements for their own benefit, said *Rudolf Streiter*, in my view the trade unions are not powerless. I should like to note that the nationalization of industry presents a definite alternative to the present policies of big capital and the transnationals. When the economic outlook was favorable, it was widely accepted in the working class that it made no difference where one worked, so long as one made enough money. This meant that the role of the nationalized sector and the potentialities which it presented were not yet comprehended. But the crisis situation in 1974-1975 brought about a change of views, because jobs proved to be more reliable in the nationalized industry. When production was folded up in the private sector, and at the enterprises of the transnationals, the workers came to understand that nationalization is an important factor working for their interests. Today, in view of the changes in the working people's consciousness, fresh opportunities arise for the struggle in defense of the nationalized industry, and also against the transnationals.

The search for ways to resist big capital in its urge to turn scientific and technological progress and the advantages of economic socialization solely to its own advantage carries the working-class movement to demands which variously affect the prerogatives of economic and political power.

Shift of accent in trade union demands and the problem of the long term

This question arose at the symposium: was there not in the present conditions a definite shift of accent in the workers' struggle from the purely material issues toward rights in the

management of production, influence on its conditions, and control over capital? Was there frequently not to be found, even behind the struggle over traditional demands on wage rates and working hours, something that was larger and that was connected with the prerogatives of economic power? And how was all this to be related to the long-term goals, to radical transformations in society?

Lothar Schussler held that the traditional demands of the trade union movement — higher wages, a shorter work day, a shorter work week, etc. — continue to be effective and meaningful. But in the present conditions it is much harder to attain these, and the experience of the FRG confirms that there has been a marked increase in socio-political demands. This is due to the crisis phenomena in industry. There is a growing conviction in the trade union movement that unemployment cannot be eliminated by raising purchasing power or reducing working hours, which is why ever more far-reaching socio-political demands tend to arise.

I want to give an example which echoes the experience of the Luxembourg comrades. For 30 years now, the Metal Workers' Union has had in its program the demand for nationalization of the basic types of industrial production. But in that period, the trade union leaders have rarely remembered it. Now the trade union ever more frequently stresses the need for nationalization, indicating definite concerns in this context. In Dortmund, Hoesch has done away with several thousand jobs, and the workers and the trade unions have demanded its nationalization. The question was discussed not only in trade union circles, but also at a meeting of the concern's workers and employers, where the demand was adopted unanimously.

How to realize it is another matter. Here we come to a broader set of questions. In the steel industry, which means in Hoesch as well, participation in management is effected within the Montan system, which provides for the parity rights of employers and wage workers on supervisory boards. On these boards, however, there is a "neutral person" who is elected from such socio-political circles that he, as a rule, turns out to be far from neutral, and casts his vote for the capitalists. The experience of struggle at Hoesch and other enterprises shows that job cuts cannot be prevented only through participation in management. The demand for nationalization is now being ever more forcefully pressed. But it does not solve the basic problems either. Under the system of state-monopoly capitalism, trends

favoring the capitalists have been developing at the nationalized enterprises. The working class is ever more clearly aware that it is necessary to reduce the power of the concerns in the management of production and to switch it to democratic control. We, communists, explain to the masses that nationalization can only be meaningful if it is impossible to take decisions in the governing bodies of enterprises that cut across the interests of the workers.

The rightists in Greece, said Yiannis Theonas, are trying to distort the meaning of the swing to democratic development for which a majority of the people voted, and to split the forces involved to realize these goals. Our party believes that cohesion of the country's democratic forces is a most important matter. It seeks to force the government to fulfil its electoral promises. We are working to have the trade unions go beyond material problems and also make political demands, which is also essential from the standpoint of improving the working people's economic conditions. The CP Greece has emphasized the need to nationalize the basic industries, to give the workers a genuine say in the management of production, and in formulating a program for the development of the whole Greek economy.

Returning to the question of nationalizing large-scale industry, said Aloyse Bisdorff, I should like to describe how our proposals on this score were worked out. When the crisis situation developed in the steel industry and proved to be protracted, the danger arose that some enterprises might be closed down and the workers thrown out into the street. The ARBED concern threatened them precisely with such a prospect and demanded funds from the government to right the situation and ensure the preservation of jobs. The government, the trade union and the concern hammered out agreements under which the industrialists were given large government financial subsidies provided they guaranteed 16,500 jobs and carried out an employment and labor productivity program. The communists warned that the agreement would not be fulfilled. They stressed that this money was going to a private enterprise without any guarantees, and that the working people would subsequently have no control over these funds. That is exactly what happened: the money disappeared in the concern's strong room, and no one knows how it has been spent. We decided that the time had come to declare: if state funds are to be invested in the steel industry in such amounts, the state must itself decide how they are to be used.

Let us note that the financial subsidies are so large that they are double the concern's fixed

capital — that is the kind of amounts that are involved. And the trade union leaders are also coming to realize ever more clearly that if we want to guarantee employment in the steel industry we must put an end to the present strategy of the concern, because it conflicts with the national interests. ARBED invests its capital in the industry of Brazil, South Korea and other countries, while in our country the basic industry is faced with the threat of disappearance. Considering that 20 per cent of Luxembourg's active population is employed in the steel industry, that it provides employment for 60 per cent of the railway workers, etc., one can easily imagine the serious and truly national scale of the problem.

The timeliness of the demands put forward by the communists is confirmed by the fact that over the next few months there could be a strong shift of accent in the allocation of capital in our industry. The entrepreneurs intend to make a 30 per cent new stock issue, and these could well end up in the possession of foreigners, so that we shall have nothing to nationalize. It is this situation that induces the working class and the trade unions to realize the need for nationalization and the support of our demands. How these appear in detail can be seen from a pamphlet issued by the party, which we regard as the basis for discussion.³

Other comrades here have said that public ownership is the alternative to the transnationals' economic strategy. I agree with this, said Bert Ramelson. We all want the public sector to grow. But I want to note that there should still be no illusions on this score. The problem of unemployment will not disappear even if industry is in the hands of the state. In Britain, our steel industry was nationalized nearly 30 years ago. However, the volume of output has dropped by roughly 20 per cent. Look at the industries which suffer most from unemployment: steel, the railways and other types of transport. But they were all nationalized. Of course, we have had some contradictory processes: nationalization, denationalization, renationalization, etc. I repeat that we want the state sector to grow and expand to the maximum, because then it would be easier for us to put pressure on the government. But nationalization alone will not solve the problem. There is a need to work out a program including the points which indicate what the state has to do from then on. The Marxist classics, you will recall, said that public ownership did not provide a solution for the working people's problems, but merely held out the possibility of such a solution.⁴

Rudolf Streiter spoke about his approach in

greater detail. In Austria, he said, there is evidence of the growing influence of foreign capital. According to the latest data, almost 420,000 workers and employees, i.e., 21 per cent of wage-working Austrians, are employed at nearly 3,500 enterprises under its control. Foreigners control 71 per cent of the electric industry, 62 per cent of the insurance companies, and 50 per cent of the trade. In view of the limited scale of its own R and D, Austria tends to be ever more dependent on foreign capital. In order to obtain access to modern technology it turns out to be necessary in some industries to give foreign rivals who are in possession of the required technology the right to participate in turning out the product in our country. The result of this state of affairs is, in particular, that in 1981, 66 billion schillings were taken out of the country in the form of profits. Foreign concerns are invited to locate their enterprises here, and the advertising plays up the availability of cheap and skilled labor. These concerns are generously endowed by the government.

The nationalized sector has an important place in the economy, for it offers the possibility of exerting an influence on it, to create new jobs and lines of production, and resist foreign penetration into industrial construction and research. But these opportunities are not used by our state. Instead of purposefully expanding the nationalized manufacturing industries, sizable funds are being invested in the enterprises with foreign participation. New lines of production are started mainly with the participation of transnational concerns.

The nationalized banks have an especially dangerous role to play in the promotion of private capital. They extend financial aid to Austrian enterprises only at a high rate of interest, although they have more than enough money. Instead of investing these funds directly in Austria, they use them for speculative purposes abroad.

It is not right, as other speakers have said here, to close one's eyes to the fact that the nationalized industry is a part of the capitalist economic system. The supervisory and other boards of state enterprises are packed with representatives of private capital, in whose interest it is to cut down the state sector, to weaken it or to hand it over to foreign capital. This is exemplified by the fact that with the assistance of the government and the trade unions, Austria's nationalized electro-technical industry has been largely subordinated to the West German Siemens concern.

In order to convert the nationalized industry into a real bulwark of the working class,

monopoly capital and its representatives must be removed from the management of its enterprises. Workers and employees must have a real say in the management of production and the taking of responsible decisions. But what do we find in practice?

This right has been virtually brought to naught. Let us note that trade union dues are usually deducted by the accounting department from the payroll, thereby excluding direct contacts between trade union members and their organization. Trade union conferences are frequently held in such a way as to adopt only those decisions which have been framed in advance by the majority faction, which, as a rule, means social democrats, without any consideration of the proposals and arguments put forward at the conference itself. The policy of the Austrian Trade Unions Federation boils down to converting the production councils, which should represent the workers' interests, into organs of control over the workers, and into an instrument for conducting the leadership's policy. Trade union members are effectively deprived of the democratic right to elect the governing body. Political decisions are taken by a handful of persons belonging to the top trade union leadership. So we have here a set of interrelated problems which require a complex solution.

Luxembourg's trade unions, *Fernand Hubsch* said, have succeeded in getting their delegates on the supervisory boards of major companies of multinational corporations. But there are a great many obstacles to the workers' actual participation in management. The law, in particular, binds members of supervisory boards to keep production matters secret, so that the workers' representatives are unable to use their knowledge and information to mobilize the working people, all of which erodes the front of struggle. Nevertheless, we stand for participation in management, which we regard as an intermediate stage in the struggle, and insist on parity participation.

Consequently, present-day practices confirm the fact that nationalization can of itself cater for capital. The same can be said about participation in management. This question arises: is not the restructuring of economic relations — both that which is connected with the prospect of democratic transformations and that which constitutes the basis of socialist transformations in the economy — a coherent process including both socialization (nationalization) of the means of production and an enhancement of the role of those who make direct use of these means of production?

Are not these two organically connected aspects of one and the same process?

A broader approach will take us to the problem of politization of the trade union struggle, which is an important aspect of the communists' strategy. But let us first consider a new problem which has a direct bearing on this.

Facing the problem of war and peace

The attitude to the problems of preserving peace and to the mass anti-war movement which has now acquired unprecedented proportions is one of the most important issues facing the trade unions, and it was naturally discussed by the participants in the symposium.

The working-class and trade union movement in the FRG has always regarded itself simultaneously as a movement in defense of peace, said *Lothar Schussler*. This tradition implies a high political responsibility, which now falls on the trade unions. The task is, undoubtedly, to remove the danger of a thermonuclear war, which could incinerate all life on the globe. That is why the prime duty of the working class in the FRG is resolute struggle against the deployment of NATO medium-range missiles on the country's territory.

A number of trade unions have passed resolutions urging revocation of the decision on the installation of such missiles in the FRG. Among them are the unions of metalworkers, workers in commerce, banks and insurance companies, printers, teachers and woodworkers. Thousands of trade unionists took part in peace marches and the rallies on those occasions were addressed by trade union activists and leaders.

There is a growing understanding among the working people of the interconnection between the arms race and the social dismantling. Indicative in this respect is a demonstration by 70,000 workers held in Stuttgart in November 1981. It was followed by numerous demonstrations on a smaller scale across the country. However, much still needs to be done to develop cooperation between the working-class movement and the peace movement.

Elaborating on the idea, *Aloyse Bisdorff* said that the communists should set themselves the task of providing more in-depth explanation in the trade union movement of the problems in ensuring peace. In that movement we still find the widespread view that any job is a boon, regardless of whether it is a military plant or a rolling mill. It is the communists' duty to show, on the basis of scientific analysis, that spending on the arms industry and the armed forces do not create jobs, but, on the contrary, lead to their

reduction, and that the growth of employment in this sector does not create any additional product but merely generates inflation. Consequently, the trade union movement should be more actively involved in the movement for peace.

As for Britain, Bert Ramelson said, our trade unions have a high level of political consciousness. The miners, for instance, have a key role to play not only in the struggle for the solution of economic problems, but last year held for the first time an international peace conference to which trade unions from capitalist and socialist countries were invited. When the U.S. trade unions declared that their representatives would not attend if delegates from the Soviet Union did, the miners replied: "Right, stay home. It is our business whom to invite. We shall not tolerate anyone dictating some kind of conditions to us." It is a pleasure to realize that there is such a development. A world trade union conference on the socio-economic aspects of disarmament was held in Paris, and its convocation was initiated by the British trade union leaders who took part in the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace in Sofia. The British miners have decided to hold annual conferences in support of peace.

All the participants in the symposium spoke about the preservation of peace and it was the general view that much still remains to be done to give the trade unions a deeper understanding of the problem and to invigorate their struggle against the arms race, and for détente and peace.

The communists' strategy

The communist parties' approach to the problems facing the trade unions was evident in all the statements by the participants in the symposium, whatever the subject they dealt with. But some aspects of the communists' strategy were specifically brought out.

In the period of exacerbating crisis, the party's ideological work acquires special importance, said Lothar Schussler. It helps the workers to understand the causes of the crisis and to put forward a real alternative to capitalist development.

In the class battles of the past, the German CP has worked out a number of short-term programs for mobilizing the working people and for making their action more purposeful. In doing so, we seek to go beyond the purely urgent problems, always pointing out that the communists tie in their solution with the struggle for their main goal — socialism.

At the same time, we, communists, who are a part of the FRG working class, value every

mark, every right which has been wrested from the employers and from the government despite the efforts of reaction. In the class battles, the workers gain experience and come to see more clearly the limitations of the present system. These battles help to raise the self-awareness of the masses and to generate the forces which will be capable of vanquishing capitalism and establishing a social system ensuring a social basis for conducting a policy of peace, certainty in the future, and improvement of living and working conditions.

The GCP's program declares that it opposes any attempts to use the trade unions as a "disciplinary factor" for the defense of the capitalist system and as an instrument for tying them through "social partnership" ideology to big capital and for subordinating them to government policy based on its interests. For our party, the cooperation of the political and trade union working-class movement signifies support of militant action by the trade unions and the mustering of public solidarity with their demands.

Observing the growth of the working people's consciousness, we regard it as a factor helping to intensify our struggle, a factor for joint action — including action by communists and social democrats — on a common platform. It confirms our conviction that in our conditions the trade unions must pursue an autonomous policy. Autonomy is just now being hotly debated in the trade unions, and the concept itself implies not only formal independence of political parties, not only organizational independence, but also that the interests of the working class must be definitive in trade union action.

In the recent period, spokesmen for capital have once again circulated the legend of "communist infiltration" of the trade unions. They have issued warnings against the growing influence of Marxist ideas on the working class and the consolidation of the positions of those who take a consistent stand in defense of the workers' interests. A pamphlet with the characteristic title "The Myth of Communist Infiltration," issued by the Board of the Metal Workers' Union, exposes the behind-the-scene developments in this campaign. It shows that whenever the class battles become more acute, big capital always tries to split the working-class movement. Chairman of the GCP Herbert Mies said the following in an interview about these lying accusations: "This fairy tale is not an original one at all. The enemies of the working-class movement always come up with it when they feel that their dominant positions are being jeopardized or when they want to

cover up the specially tough measures which are aimed to worsen the working people's condition. For us, communists, trade union autonomy has been not just a slogan but a real goal of our party's policy since 1968, that is, since its foundation. We believe — and this is written into our program — that we have need of strong, united and independent trade unions in the future as well."⁵

Let us bear in mind that social democrats, said Aloyse Bisdorff, have the leading role to play in the trade union movement of many capitalist countries. Which way is the situation changing and how should we resist a growth of their influence? It could lead to a situation in which the social democratic parties will use the trade unions to ensure their place in government and then to continue the same policy which the bourgeois parties had conducted. In Luxembourg, it has already become something of a tradition that former trade union leaders are given ministerial posts when the ruling coalition is formed. But we are also aware of the tremendous importance of trade union unity and cooperation between socialists and communists in the trade unions. Here are some contradictions and great difficulties, and they must be flexibly and circumspectly overcome in practice. The CP Luxembourg proceeds from the need for unity of action together with a principled struggle against opportunism, which does harm to the working-class movement.

We have before us a set of problems related to trade union work. In order to set forth its views concerning the various aspects of trade union activity, notably in economic policy, the CP Luxembourg has proposed to the trade union leadership to meet for a conversation. It is to be hoped that this will provide an impetus for invigorating the activity of the trade unions.

In the conditions now prevailing in Greece, said Yiannis Theonas, the Communist Party must take new steps to rally a majority of the population around the banners and to raise the working people's mass movement. This movement can put pressure on government policy and make the authorities alter their course toward genuine democracy. Relying on the more favorable starting positions, the working class now has the possibility of fighting for its economic, cultural and social demands with the use of the positive elements of government policy. We believe that the most important tasks are the following.

First, use of new opportunities, exercise of trade union and democratic freedoms on the shopfloor, more vigorous activity by the working people and the trade unions, and political

activity in industry and in the state institutions.

Second, *full democratization and a renewal of the country's trade union movement*. The class-conscious forces must be mobilized for struggle against the agents of the employers and against the government's attempts to meddle in the activity of the free trade unions and against the danger of an ideological split in the movement. On the other hand, there is a need to fight PASOK's intentions to use the trade unions for its own purposes. The prime minister once spoke out against their independence and politicization. He called on his associates to penetrate into the trade unions and there to defend the government, which wants to convert the trade unions into a mainstay of its policy within the working class, so effectively establishing a governmental trade union movement. That is something we cannot accept.

Third, *formulation by the working-class movement of Greece of its own policy and strategy to realize social, economic and political demands and create the prerequisites paving the way for socialism*. These problems were given special attention at the 10th congress of the CP Greece.

The communists of our country, said Rudolf Streiter, are acting within the Austrian Trade Union Federation as a part of the Left Trade Union Bloc. They hold responsible posts on the central boards of sectoral trade unions and have their representatives on the federal board and also on the Federation's women's committee. The Left Trade Union Bloc is represented in the Association by a secretary.⁶ Besides, members of the Left Trade Union Bloc hold elective trade union posts at many enterprises and also in district and Lander bodies. The Left Trade Union Bloc is the only group within the Association which defends the workers' interests from class positions and makes use of all the opportunities provided by the trade unions for doing so. Thanks to the initiatives and militancy of the Left Trade Union Bloc we succeeded in the past, with the support of other progressive forces, in putting through a number of reforms in labor legislation and social policy. But one has to say that the growing productivity of labor has far outstripped the achieved level of social benefits.

The Left Trade Union Bloc believes that its main task at the present stage of the struggle is to preserve jobs. It has worked out and proposed, as an alternative to the government policy and the present economic situation, a five-point program containing demands for the solution of economic problems, above all the problem of job provision. This program must be

set forth in concrete terms in accordance with the specific conditions of each enterprise, each district and each Land, so providing the basis for joint action. The effects of the crisis tend to increase the discontent and disappointment among broad circles of workers with the social democratic government's policy. Hence the new opportunities for joint action by workers — socialists, communists and non-party people. Realization of our far-reaching demands will depend on the extent to which this unity is achieved.

In January 1982, the Communist Party of Denmark held a major conference on trade union work with the participation of communist shop stewards representing the trade unions, *Mogens Hower* said. It was attended by 1,350 delegates, and this in itself shows that it is the communists who have proposed a constructive alternative to the reformist line of the leadership of the Danish trade union movement. The conference formulated the basic demands which are to be put forward in the course of the 1983 wage-rate bargaining. As for the party's tasks, it was emphasized at the conference that within the framework of the trade union struggle there is an alternative to the reformist and conciliatory line of the trade union leadership and the bourgeois government's policy; the communists' main task in the trade union movement is to secure unity of action in the struggle for this alternative.

There is now evidence of a new upsurge in the trade union struggle, together with a growth of the strike movement and other action. The communists are taking part in it on the basis of joint action. This has already yielded positive results, but there are also some difficulties.

Our activity is made more difficult above all by the mass unemployment, which tends to produce in the working class a mood of hopelessness and despair, and also by the rampant anti-communism, which resorts to ever more tricky methods. The parties of the "left wing" made extensive use in the latest electoral campaign of slogans for "pure socialism," "socialism with a human face," and so on, with the consequent distancing from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. In these efforts they were, of course, supported by all the other anti-communists. The CP Denmark did not tread the path leading away from the positions of proletarian internationalism for the sake of achieving a short-lived success. We believe that there are enough examples to show that those who abandon these positions very soon find themselves in a dead-end.

The CP Great Britain has formulated an al-

ternative economic and political strategy, said *Bert Ramelson*. The trade union movement and the Labour Party have accepted the basic points of this strategy. But accepting the demands contained in a program and implementing them is far from being the same thing. In contrast to many who approve the proposed course, we believe that our alternative program is only a part of the struggle to change the balance of forces within the country and within the framework of the capitalist system as a whole. We regard extra-parliamentary struggle as the main means that could force the government to fulfil at least a part of the demands of this program and guarantee that a left Labour government in practice demonstrates its adherence to these goals.

And here is yet another question connected with the politicization of the trade unions and their autonomy. There has recently been a broad discussion of the idea that the trade unions could act as a political party, and the Association of German Trade Unions is cited as an example. I came across a book about them which is called "Fourth Party?" Do we not truly find in the capitalist countries a specific situation in which the trade unions have come to put less trust in political parties and in a sense seek to take over their functions?

I think that the trade unions will never be able to become a political party. Why not? Because by nature the trade unions are open to one and all, and they have never had a common political, ideological approach, and they have never been ideologically homogeneous. But that does not mean that there is no need to politicize the trade unions, and that they should not fight for political programs expressing class positions, programs which direct the whole movement to supporting the revolutionary political party. There is no contradiction here. I believe that the trade unions must be independent of political parties, otherwise they will cease to be universal, and will cease to serve the interests of all the workers regardless of political or ideological orientation, something that could result in splits, disagreements and the emergence of a multiplicity of trade union centers. It is another matter that we should like the communists working in the trade unions to convince trade union members to accept our standpoint and to induce them to accept the policy we propose.

The participants in the conference, notably *L. Schussler*, *M. Hower*, *A. Bisdorff* and *Yiannis Theonas* raised a number of other important problems: invigoration of the communists' work with non-unionized working people, among unemployed, among foreign working

people and others. The participants in the symposium believe that exchanges of experience in such activity would be useful in the future as well.

Summing up some of the results of the symposium, Bert Ramelson, WMR Editorial Board member, said:

Our meeting showed how many new and complicated problems have arisen before the trade union movement in the recent period, and that it has not yet been able to find a solution for all of them. The positive thing is — and this is evident from all the speeches — that the trade unions are aware of the acuteness of these problems and are getting down to seeking solutions for them.

History teaches that, far from eliminating the working people's problems, class collaboration, in effect, helps to fortify the positions and the confidence of the employer class. Class collaboration, social partnership — even under a left-oriented government, if policy is still effected within the framework of the capitalist system — tends to harm the working class,

which is why the trade unions must use the most diverse forms of struggle which should help them to fulfil their basic mission. The key to this is unity of the working class and international solidarity. If entrepreneurs operate on a global scale, the working people, too, must fight back on a global scale.

What is the communists' role and responsibility in these conditions? We all agree that their task is to accelerate the spread among the masses of the idea of unity of action, of international solidarity, of struggle. That is the only way along which effective and crucial progress of the working-class movement is possible.

1. *Protokoll des 6. Parteitags der Deutschen Kommunistischen Partei*, Hannover, 1981, p. 80.

2. This policy has been continued by the bourgeois government formed in September 1982.

3. See *Eng nei Stol-Politik! d'Virschlei vun de Kommunisten fir d'Nationaliseierung vun der ARBED*.

4. Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 384.

5. See *Nachrichten zur Wirtschafts — und Sozialpolitik*, Frankfurt/M., May 1981, p. 14.

6. He is comrade Streiter. — Ed.



Nicaragua threatened with aggression

Jeronimo Carrera

CC member, Communist Party of Venezuela

Otto Sanchez

CC Political Commission member,
Guatemalan Party of Labor

Jaime Barrios

CC Political Commission member,
Communist Party of El Salvador

Nicaragua is threatened with an armed invasion. Washington does not bother to conceal its hostility to the new republic or its intention to bring down Nicaragua's popular regime, no matter how. What is behind this undisguised aggressiveness toward a small Central American country whose population does not exceed three million? To answer this, it is necessary to look back at recent events.

A little more than three years ago the U.S. made an abortive attempt to establish control over the situation in Nicaragua following the downfall of the Somoza regime. That dictator was the last member of a dynasty of tyrants who

for 45 years had ruled a country turned into a semi-colony by its powerful imperialist neighbor early in this century. Speaking generally, the overthrow of a dictator is nothing unusual in Central America. But in this particular case developments went beyond the traditional bounds. The Sandinistas, like the Cuban revolutionaries in 1959, rejected the U.S. demand that the dictatorship's armed forces, that is, the Somoza clan's National Guards, be preserved and set out to implement a vast program for radical social and economic changes in the interest of the majority of the nation and to establish a people's state. Washington raised the

alarm and hastened to declare that the Sandinista government's policy ran counter to "vital U.S. interests."

The efforts of Latin American and European allies of the White House to convince its master that world opinion saw the U.S. posture as frankly aggressive produced no result. The U.S. imperialists were set on overthrowing the revolutionary regime.

Philip Agee, a former CIA agent, has written that the CIA intended to use in Nicaragua destabilization programs tested earlier in Chile, Portugal and Jamaica.¹ To finance "anti-Sandinista operations," the U.S. administration allocated \$19 million for the CIA alone.

Washington began by banking on home counter-revolutionaries, trying to split the popular movement, foment anti-government sentiment and generate turmoil in the country. The right-wing press misrepresents the decisions and activities of the Nicaraguan regime and resorts to social demagoguery that still meets response among the less enlightened sections of the population. As in Chile, the enemies of the revolution hypocritically take up the defense of private property interests yet do not scruple to use either subversion or terror as they try to provoke clashes between Christian believers and representatives of the people's state.² The USA appropriated funds for broadcasts inciting national minorities to separatist actions and playing up the so-called "Indian question."³

On personal instructions from Ronald Reagan, the USA allocated funds for the maintenance of counter-revolutionary organizations and the training of subversive groups of ex-Somozists. Along with this the CIA was busy carrying out a plan for secret operations. In January 1982 Nicaragua's security agencies discovered a plot to overthrow the Sandinista government. Terrorists are still active in the republic, where they try to blow up bridges, electric stations, high-voltage transmission lines and other important economic objectives.

However, Washington's hopes of an internal counter-revolution in Nicaragua have so far been dashed. Reaction there is not strong enough to bring down people's rule without support from abroad. The so-called Chilean variant has failed. To be sure, the internal enemies of the Sandinista revolution are still armed but they cannot serve as a solid basis for the USA to put its schemes into practice.

Washington was faced with a choice between resigning itself to the changes effected in Nicaragua and adopting still "tougher," or military measures. It opted for the latter and

began to search feverishly for executors, for men willing to be its cat's-paw.

However, the USA cannot quite rely on its allies even in this traditional area of imperialist domination. When taking office, Reagan said that he was going to recover terrain lost in the Latin American "backyard," yet he contrived in less than two years to alienate even one-time "true friends." The shortcomings of his Latin American policy turned out to be so numerous and serious that today the dominant opinion in the USA itself is that inter-American relations are experiencing the worst crisis in this century. The top-heavy building of Pan-Americanism shows cracks so deep that Washington will hardly be able to close them up, judging by recent events.

Of course, the roots of the current crisis of the inter-American system brought about by the imperialist policy of the United States go back to the past. The White House has long encountered great difficulties in trying to win full support for its policy on the part of certain states of the continent.

Mexico and Venezuela, whose influence in Central America cannot be ignored, are seriously dissatisfied with the economic practices of U.S. monopolies. The havoc played by these monopolies with oil markets has added to social tensions in both oil-exporting countries and given rise to a new series of anti-U.S. actions. In these circumstances Mexico and Venezuela will hardly look indifferently on intervention organized by the White House.

Canada and Brazil, another two major allies of the United States, are unlikely to side with Washington and to violate in this way the traditional principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The governments of both countries are trying even now to persuade Reagan to show greater restraint toward Cuba and the Caribbean as a whole. After the recent conflict in the South Atlantic the USA cannot expect support from Argentina either.

The Malvinas crisis made many people wonder about Washington's real aims in Latin America. In Venezuela all political parties condemned the Symms amendment⁴ approved by the U.S. Senate, describing it as a serious threat to the security of Latin American countries. President Luis Herrera Campins of Venezuela, one of the leaders of the Social Christian Party, announced that his country intended to join the non-aligned movement. Subsequently a similar statement was made by Belisario Betancur, the conservative Colombian President.

Political commentators in Latin America note that since even the Venezuelan and Col-

ombian governments, which had always followed in the footsteps of the USA, now favor non-alignment, something extremely dangerous to the peoples of the region must be brewing. The attitude of these governments cannot be interpreted as a mere reaction to the Malvinas tragedy.⁵ It is safer to say that Latin American politicians are beginning to take precautions against involvement in the military adventure planned by Washington. For instance, the USA is trying to harness Costa Rica to its anti-Nicaraguan schemes by hook or by crook, hoping to throw a cordon sanitaire around the Sandinista revolution and to use Costa Rican territory as a bridgehead against Nicaragua. However, its plan, which has the backing of certain government quarters, is meeting determined resistance among diverse political forces of Costa Rica and the general public.

Thus the range of potential allies whom Washington needs so badly for its proposed aggression has narrowed noticeably. And it is still harder to make European partners understand. All that the USA can count on within the OAS is the backing of Pinochet, Stroessner, Duvalier and other dictators. As regards Latin American military personnel trained in numerous schools for anti-guerrilla warfare, only a handful of Hondurans, Salvadorans and Guatemalans can be pitted against Nicaragua. Even so, Reagan has no intention of giving up his designs.

Central America today is a region where U.S. imperialism is implementing one of the versions of its global political concept. The gist of this concept is confrontation instead of negotiation. More than ever before, Washington is against a peaceful way out of conflicts arising in various parts of the planet, and a negotiated, mutually acceptable settlement of disputes. On the contrary, it doggedly undermines, rejects and frustrates the peace initiatives, efforts and proposals of other countries, using political pressure, blackmail and threats and counting solely on brute force.

The Nicaraguan government has long sought a peaceful settlement of the dangerous situation in Central America. The Sandinistas have repeatedly expressed readiness to sign a bilateral non-aggression treaty with the USA providing a basis for mutual understanding. They have urged Washington again and again to renounce threats and acts of aggression and stressed on innumerable occasions that a frank dialogue is the only way to create conditions for lasting peace, stability and progress in the sub-region. But all their efforts have been in vain. The Reagan administration has invariably laid

down preconditions which no sovereign country can accept.⁶

Anyone who analyzes the facts is bound to conclude that the extreme aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism is not the only reason for its policy. Lately the USA has "forgotten," or so it seems, how international talks are held. Obviously, to achieve success in a dialogue, one must, first of all, feel confident, for this makes it possible to benefit from objective realities. The facts suggest, however, that ever since the defeat in the infamous Vietnam war and the Watergate scandal U.S. leaders have been characterized by diffidence. U.S. prestige has sharply declined and the chief imperialist power no longer enjoys the support it had before, not even among its junior partners. Hence the effort to impose its will on other countries by diktat, force, terror and armed intervention.

All signs are that the stage of political preparations for aggression against Nicaragua is at an end. A new "strong man" has emerged who is to fill the "void" left in Central America after the elimination of Somoza. Gustavo Alvarez Martinez, a man with a shady police record, has assumed the leadership of the Honduran armed forces at Washington's bidding. The newly-made general immediately ordered mobilization, with the result that 25,000 men are under arms now. Alvarez makes no secret of his intention to go to war against Nicaragua with U.S. backing.

Alvarez's "repressive ideas," said Colonel Leonides Torres Arias at a news conference in Mexico City (he headed the military intelligence service of Honduras for several years. —Ed.), "will only lead the people of Honduras along the road of bloody fratricidal struggle as well as toward . . . international confrontations that will bring death, pain, destruction . . . We have neither the economic nor military capability to impose a military decision on another state".⁷

Washington is arming Honduras and preparing it for aggression. To lend the anti-popular military regime a semblance of legitimacy and secure Congress approval of aid to the "chief partner" in the planned adventure, the U.S. rulers masterminded a travesty of elections in Honduras. Roberto Suazo Cordova became civilian President. His mission is to serve as a screen for Gen. Alvarez. Honduran communists commented on the deal as follows: "... It is unquestionable that Dr. Suazo Cordova has made serious commitments to the armed forces and the leaders of U.S. imperialism . . . His commitments to the military indicate that he will form a kneeling government."⁸

The U.S. Congress appropriated funds for the

"new democratic regime" and there began a flow of U.S. taxpayers' dollars and of military supplies to Honduras. In August three or four transport planes carrying arms from the USA landed at Palmerola base every day. A base for airborne troops is going up fast. Work is under way on the modernization of three airfields for heavy up-to-date planes. The naval base on Tigre Island is being expanded to receive big warships. In the 17 military camps set up near the Nicaraguan frontier, ex-Somozists are training for invasion under the direction of U.S. instructors most of whom have a "Vietnamese record." It is there that the backbone of an invasion army of 5,000 to 6,000 is being formed. The four main organizations of Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries active abroad have merged at Washington's insistence.

In other words, implementation of the plan for armed intervention against Nicaragua worked out by the Reagan administration has reached the military phase.

The Latin American press points in this connection to the likelihood of the armed conflict engulfing the whole subcontinent. *Barricada*, a newspaper published by the Sandinista Front, has made an accurate summary of the situation. "What is certain," it wrote, "is that Honduras has been turned into the chief instrument of U.S. militarism in the region, into a lance needed to goad Nicaragua into a confrontation that afterwards would justify aggression on a larger scale by the USA."⁹

In planning aggression, Washington also expects, according to all available data, to achieve far-reaching hegemonist aims: to settle accounts with the national liberation movements in El Salvador and Guatemala, and if possible, to teach Cuban internationalists a "lesson" in the Central American theater of war.

Recent events have convinced the U.S. administration that the punitive squads of the Salvadoran junta are not equal to combating the patriots and that Roberto D'Aubuisson cannot cope with a task which proved too hard for Napoleon Duarte.¹⁰ It follows, in Washington's view, that the Salvadoran problem can only be solved by the same method as the Nicaraguan problem, that is, by extending the war to the entire Central American region. As for Guatemala, the White House does not consider the situation there as hopeless as in neighboring countries but insurgency is on the rise and cannot be stopped by purely local means.

There are those among U.S. military men and politicians who realize that the aggression planned by Washington may have the most unwelcome consequences even if it begins as a local war. This largely explains the deep-going

differences among U.S. leaders in the approach to Latin America, above all to the ways and means of combating the revolutionary movement in Central America and the Caribbean.

There is yet another notable circumstance relating to the situation in Honduras, which Washington wants to play the role of mailed fist against Nicaragua. To quote Shafic Jorge Handal, CC General Secretary, Communist Party of El Salvador, "it is not true that everybody in the Honduran army accepts this tendency toward repression and intervention. There are those who hold a different, truly democratic opinion, who do not want the army to be committed to a confrontation with the people. This is how things began in El Salvador."¹¹

It is hard to say at the moment whether Reagan will bring himself to get openly involved in the Central American conflict that he is planning, or whether he will restrict himself to setting countries of the region upon one another. In any case, the threat of a fratricidal war entirely alien to the interests of the peoples of the region is growing.

Against this background the Nicaraguans are compelled to strengthen their defenses so as to be prepared to defend their revolutionary gains, their freedom and independence. The Sandinista government, backed by the solidarity of world progressive opinion, goes on campaigning steadfastly for the prevention of an armed conflict, using all political and diplomatic means. Widespread support for its effort and exposure of Washington's policy of armed intervention can make the USA negotiate. And this is the only acceptable way to overcome differences, settle disputes and head off a military confrontation in Central America.

1. *Cuadernos del tercer mundo*, No. 35, 1979-1980, p. 52.

2. On August 16, 1982 a group of counter-revolutionaries seized the Catholic school in the town of Masaya and opened fire from it against peaceful demonstrators. The instigators were armed with U.S. and Israeli rifles. — Ed.

3. A smear campaign mounted in the USA accused the Sandinista authorities of pursuing a policy of genocide against the Indian population. — Ed.

4. The amendment, submitted by Senator Steven D. Symms (Rep.) and endorsed by the Reagan administration, was approved in August 1982. It allows the President to use without the authorization of Congress "all means" at the country's disposal, including armed force, in order to prevent "Cuban influence" from spreading to the Western hemisphere. Senators opposing the amendment argued that a similar resolution passed in 1964 had made it possible to openly launch a U.S. armed intervention in Vietnam. See *International Herald Tribune*, August 13, 1982.

5. Concerning the Malvinas conflict, see Mario José Grabivker, "Imperialist Roots of the Crisis," and Gerry Pocock, "The Madness of Military Gambles," *WMR*, No. 7, 1982.

6. The State Department has declared that the USA would sign a non-aggression treaty with Nicaragua only if the latter stopped strengthening its defenses, drastically reduced its armed forces under "international" control, refused further assistance from Cuba and other countries which do not suit the USA, withdrew from the non-aligned movement, and so on. — Ed.

7. *International Herald Tribune*, September 2, 1982.

8. *Informacion*, No. 6, January 1982.

9. *Barricade internacional*, August 23, 1982.

10. Duarte, a Christian Democrat, headed the Salvadoran civilian-military junta till March 1982. He carried out extensive punitive operations against patriots on instructions from Washington. D'Aubuisson, a retired major, heads the extreme right-wing Nationalist Republican Union party. He became Chairman of the Constituent Assembly as a result of the electoral farce staged by the USA last March. He has said that he will drown the whole country in blood to defeat the insurgents. — Ed.

11. *Proceso Revolucionario*, No. 2, August 1982, p. 13.

South Asia: zone of security or imperialism's springboard?

In the military-political scenarios of imperialism's most aggressive forces, notably the Washington administration, a major role is accorded to countries of the South Asian sub-continent: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, and the island nation of Sri Lanka. With their huge natural wealth, colossal manpower resources, and strategic location in a crucial region of the world they attract the foreign vultures like a magnet. Having recourse to the old colonialist maxim of "divide and rule," the latter are trying to harness the developing South Asian nations to themselves as tightly as possible and use them in their adventurist plans for upsetting the present military-strategic equilibrium in the world.

The following articles written by personalities from these countries show how dangerous the intrigues of the forces of imperialism and hegemonism are, and map out the prospect for the struggle for détente and lasting peace in the region.

A CLEAR SKY FOR THE INDIAN OCEAN

Dew Gunasekara

Political Bureau member and CC Secretary,
Communist Party of Sri Lanka

In keeping with its ambition to be in a position to set the tune in world politics from positions of military superiority, the USA has begun to escalate its militarist preparations on a global scale. Our region has not been bypassed. The five-year Reagan program for increasing U.S. military strength in the Indian Ocean and Southwest Asia envisages the allocation of

upwards of 30 billion dollars for this purpose. According to a secret strategic directive adopted recently in the USA, this region comes directly after Western Europe in the Pentagon's scale of priorities. The accent in questions related to military planning, the allocation of resources, and the deployment of forces is now being shifted precisely to our region and also to Southeast Asia.

The U.S. military is bent on entrenching itself permanently on the territory of the region's sovereign nations. In early 1980 the Pentagon had 13 big military bases there; in the next year it obtained the "right of access" to another 21 military installations in, among other places, Australia, Egypt, Israel, Kenya, Somalia, Oman and Saudi Arabia. The ring of encirclement, in effect, closes in our region. The Washington strategists see it as a possible theater of war in the event a nuclear-missile conflict breaks out. Not remaining content with its drive to achieve military-strategic superiority in the Indian Ocean with its own forces, the USA is seeking to involve its allies in a "collective build-up of military strength." This, in particular, is the purpose of the plans being drawn up recently for extending NATO's zone of operations.¹

In the context of Washington's "limited" nuclear war doctrine a particularly disturbing factor is that more and more weapons of mass destruction are being stationed in our region. It is well known that the U.S. naval forces in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf are equipped with the most sophisticated nuclear weapons delivery systems. Diego Garcia, which lies less than 1,000 miles from Sri Lanka, has become a major repository of nuclear weapons. Moreover, it now has numerous pens for nuclear submarines and silo launchers for ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads.

Along with the region's rapid militarization, efforts are being made to establish new military alliances and revitalize the old ones. Plans are

¹ We continue the publication, started this year, of a series of articles from fraternal parties on the struggle for peace in various parts of the world (see articles on the Middle East and the Mediterranean in our January issue, on Southeast Asia and the Pacific in our June issue, and on North America in our November issue).

being considered for setting up an Indian Ocean Treaty Organization (IOTO) on the NATO pattern. Also, military organizations like ANZUS are being revitalized and efforts are being made to drag more nations into it. The USA is stepping up its pressure on the ASEAN group to make it gradually acquire the nature of a military bloc and fill the "void" created by the demise of SEATO. But bloc policy is not popular. Taking this into account, the U.S. strategists do not exclude the possibility of weaving a loose coalition in our region, to be based on bilateral cooperation of each of its members with the USA.

However, the intrigues of the militarists are encountering determined resistance from the masses, who take issue with any action cutting across the interests of peace and security. For instance, the government of Sri Lanka began talks with the Coastal Bermuda Oil Corporation on the lease of massive oil storage tanks in the port of Trincomalee (during the war it was a British naval base). Progressive public opinion was apprehensive that these storage tanks would be used to fuel the U.S. naval vessels afloat in the Indian Ocean. On communist initiative all the opposition forces in Sri Lanka protested against this plan. The government had to abandon the project.²

The government found itself in even deeper water with the publication of a booklet entitled *United States Military Posture* edited by General David C. Jones, Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. It contained a map depicting Trincomalee as providing facilities for the USA Navy. Neither the subsequent explanation by General Jones that there allegedly was a "printer's error" nor the denials by officials of both governments could dispel public anxiety. The wave of protests was not waning.

This response is symptomatic. The problem of repulsing imperialism's military ambitions has now grown more acute than ever in connection with the ongoing struggle to give effect to the UN Declaration of proclaiming the Indian Ocean a peace zone. Passed in 1971 on Sri Lanka's initiative, this declaration now has the vigorous support of the peace-loving nations of the Indian Ocean and of the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries. But the realization of this important international document has long been opposed by the USA, its allies, and also the Peking circles. The Reagan administration is singularly crude and unceremonious in this matter. It will be recalled that three years ago the UN General Assembly resolved to convene an international conference on the Indian Ocean in Colombo in

1981. A special committee handled the preparations. But the USA obstructed its work and prevented this conference from taking place. Washington is pressing for a reconsideration of the peace zone concept,³ seeking to get it replaced with the notorious "strategic consensus" idea that implies subordinating the national interests of the nations of the basin to the adventurist policy of global confrontation with the Soviet Union. Earlier, in 1978, Washington suspended its talks with the Soviet Union on limiting and then reducing military activity in the Indian Ocean.

The communists of Sri Lanka see the struggle to turn the ocean, washing the shores of our island state, into a peace zone as an important element of the worldwide movement in defense of détente, for disarmament and international security. The immediate aim is to ensure the convocation of the conference on the Indian Ocean not later than the first half of 1983. In this context we attach paramount significance to the Soviet Union's peace call to all nations with ships in the Indian Ocean to refrain, until the conference is convened, from any step that may complicate the situation in the region. The Soviet Union urged, in particular, that no large naval squadrons should be sent to the region, that no military exercises be held there, and that the military bases belonging to non-littoral nations should not be enlarged or modernized.

Unquestionably, however important and positive its results, a conference cannot by itself establish lasting peace. In the long run, success depends on the magnitude of the mass anti-war movement. The further invigoration of this movement, which has been joined by the broadest sections of society, is the principal way to counter imperialism's dangerous designs and ensure a peaceful future to the peoples of our region.

1. Officially, the southern boundary of the NATO action zone runs along the tropic of Cancer, southern and southeastern frontiers of Turkey. — Ed.

2. The press recently reported that the same corporation is planning to sign a contract for the building of oil storage tanks in the Maldives Islands. — Ed.

3. The basic principles underlying the concept of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean are: the dismantling of foreign bases and military installations in the region; the termination of the arms race; a ban on the deployment of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction; a halt to the escalation of the military presence of nuclear powers; the creation of a system of universal collective security; renunciation of the use or threat of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence of any nation in the Indian Ocean; guarantee of the right of free and unhindered use of the ocean by ships of all countries in accordance with international law, etc. — Ed.

IN A SINISTER ENCIRCLEMENT

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The people of India are disturbed by the deterioration of the international situation, which is already now acquiring the dimensions of a crisis in some areas (for instance, the Middle East) and erupting into open armed conflicts. Thunder-clouds are gathering over South Asia as well. Never in its history has India been in such serious danger as now; never has it been so encircled by hostile foreign forces as now.

Speaking metaphorically, this menace is under our belly. Its source is the monster called Diego Garcia. The huge multipurpose military base built on the island by the USA with its nuclear arsenal throws a sinister shadow on all the countries of the Indian Ocean. On the western flank, an enormous U.S. fleet is ploughing the waters of the Persian Gulf, threatening the coast of the South Asian subcontinent. Each vessel of that fleet carries weapons that can destroy a whole country within minutes. The danger on our eastern flank comes chiefly from the attempts to revive the discredited and defunct SEATO.

In the northwest, the dictator of Pakistan Zia-ul-Haq, who, like the Bourbons, has learned nothing and forgotten nothing, continues his country's militarization. The USA goes on piling up advanced arms in Pakistan, allegedly to repulse "Russian attacks from Afghanistan," while the Pakistani President himself and his Foreign Minister openly admit that there is no danger of the "Russians" attacking them across the Khyber Pass (which is a fact). The legitimate question is who is to be the target of the advanced American weaponry in the hands of Islamabad? Hence the doubts, about the motives that induced it to offer a non-aggression pact to India. It is a fact, of course, that for the sake of good-neighborly relations and mutual understanding our country is prepared to sign a treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation with Pakistan. It is also a fact, too, that time and again the weapons Washington puts into the hands of Pakistan's rulers have been used against India. The lessons of the past make us watch these military preparations with apprehension.

Lastly, tension is still high in the relations with China. True, in the past few years efforts have been made to persuade the Indian people that Peking's policy toward their country has undergone a change. But recently the Chinese have again been openly speaking of their

claims on Arunachal Pradesh. The Chinese Prime Minister, during a visit to Pakistan, reiterated China's support to the "right of self-determination" of Kashmir. Sikkim's accession to India is being questioned again. New military roads have been built through the Karakorum on Indian territory occupied by Pakistan. All these are grave and menacing portents.

Nor is this all. U.S. and Chinese agents are using the worst reactionary, chauvinistic and separatist elements to incite bloody, fratricidal conflicts, destabilize the internal situation, and encroach on the territorial integrity of India. A very grave situation, in this respect, has developed in our northeastern region, where secessionists are waging an open armed struggle against the central government. They are getting massive aid in the form of military training, arms and money. In the State of Punjab, which borders on Pakistan, reactionary Sikh elements have started a movement for what they call an "independent Khalistan." No effort has been made to conceal the fact that this movement started with U.S. backing.

The present government of India, headed by Indira Gandhi, is pursuing, broadly, a policy of peace and détente. It wants beneficial co-operation with all nations, promotes friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and is trying hard to normalize India's relations with Pakistan and China in order to consolidate national security. The Indian state leadership has also adopted a constructive and realistic stand on problems, deliberately being aggravated by Washington and Peking, such as the situation in Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

The Communist Party of India wholeheartedly supports the progressive peace policies in foreign affairs pursued by the Indira Gandhi government, and exposes the attacks of the reactionary right-wing forces on this policy. But we cannot ignore the fact that in foreign affairs as well the ruling circles are not always consistent. It is asserted that world peace is endangered by the so-called "rivalry between the two superpowers" and that the USA and the USSR are equally to blame.

The "Soviet threat" myth cuts little ice in our country. Even the on the whole pro-American monopoly press does not subscribe to it. But what can and does indeed confuse people is the theory of "superpower rivalry." By slurring over the basic distinctions between Soviet and American foreign policy it creates the outlook that "every nation bothers only about its own interest, and so why should we also not think of

our own interest?" For some bourgeois ideologues talk about "equidistance from the two superpowers" serves as justification for their servility to the USA.

The communists are tirelessly exposing the viciousness of theories of this kind, showing that they are hindering closer cooperation with the Soviet Union in the joint struggle against the USA's aggressive actions. In the present situation it is vital to continue strengthening friendly relations between India and the Soviet Union. A dependable foundation for this is provided by the Indian-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation.

Further evidence of the great significance of steadfastly developing many-sided relations between India and the USSR was given by Indira Gandhi's recent visit to Moscow. The talks during that visit conclusively demonstrated how durable and beneficial relations can be between countries with different social systems when the two sides show good will and in fact take their mutual interests into account. The CPI warmly welcomed the results of the Moscow summit, seeing them as a crucial factor ensuring peace and stability in Asia and reinforcing the national security of the Republic of India. We are staunch champions of the utmost expansion and vitalization of cooperation with the Soviet Union in all areas, including the economic and technological fields, wherever it not only serves as a bulwark of India's independent economic development but also helps to strengthen its defense capability.

Our traditions of anti-imperialist struggle and of friendly and fraternal relations with the Soviet Union have deep roots among the people, going far back into the past, to the epoch of the battles for independence. This gives the confidence that India, the Indian people will play a fitting part in reinforcing security in Asia and make a tangible contribution to the maintenance of world peace, to the solution of the supreme task now facing all humankind.

The unprecedentedly massive anti-war demonstrations of October 4 were an indication of the Indian people's determination to stay the hand of the nuclear maniacs, to prevent the fire of a military conflict from breaking out. In Delhi alone more than half a million people attended a rally protesting against imperialism's militarist plans. The peace marches throughout India were joined by over two and a half million people. Working people are demanding an end to the arms race, militating against the threat of war.

BURDEN OF MILITARIST PREPARATIONS

Matiur Rahman

CC Secretary,

Communist Party of Bangladesh

The break-up of military-political blocs and the general weakening of imperialism's positions led to the growth of the national liberation movement in South Asia in the 1970s. Simultaneously, the possibility developed of easing tension in the region and establishing good-neighborly relations and peaceful cooperation between the countries of the subcontinent.

However, this development did not suit the most aggressive forces of imperialism. They steered toward undermining détente and escalating militarist preparations. The present Washington administration is undisguisedly counting on military and political expansion in our region, on creating a material-technical base here for armed interference in the internal affairs of South Asian nations.

Spurred by U.S. imperialism, the arms race is placing a heavy burden on the countries of the region. Their military expenditures have already reached the sum of \$40 billion annually. Despite the acute shortage of funds for vital socio-economic requirements, more and more sacrifices are made on the altar of war. But for the armaments dealers, South Asia (alongside the Middle East) is a huge market for their lethal merchandise. The most sophisticated, diverse and costly armaments are being sent to this market in ever growing quantities.

Washington's aggressive militarist policy is spearheaded against the developing nations with the purpose of undermining the sovereignty and national independence won by them in a long and hard-fought struggle. Imperialist pressure is felt in full measure also by Bangladesh. As was noted in the political resolution of our party's third congress in February 1980, the "Bangladesh government is gradually submitting to this pressure." In particular, it has undertaken the role of champion of the idea, assiduously peddled by U.S. imperialism, of forming regional alliances. Ziaur Rahman, who was president at the time, suggested forming a group of seven South Asian countries (India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, the Maldives, and Bangladesh) on the ASEAN pattern. However, some of the intended members (notably India) objected to the project and the whole affair came to a standstill.

A plenary meeting of the CPB Central Committee in June 1981 gave much of its attention to the situation in the region. It expressed deep concern over the vitalization of Washington's

and Peking's military-political activities, and called upon "the people to resist the Sino-American pact designed to create instability in the region."

A major part in the struggle to thwart the sinister plans of imperialism and hegemonism is played by the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Peace Program for the 1980s, mapped out by the 26th congress of the CPSU, has become a charter of action of the peace forces. We fully support the Soviet proposals for strengthening security on our continent, including South Asia and the zone of the Indian Ocean.

True champions of democracy and progress are closing ranks in a broad anti-war movement. A leading role in this movement is played by the communists. A united peace front at the national, regional and global level is an assurance of success.

AGAINST THE POLICY OF NATIONAL CATASTROPHE

Representative of the
Communist Party of Pakistan

After the fall of the shah's regime in Iran, the collapse of the hopes that the revolutionary process in Afghanistan could be undermined and the positive changes that have taken place in Indochina, the U.S. imperialists are staking on Pakistan. They have given it the role of exponent of their policy in South and Southwest Asia and are trying to use our country as a springboard for aggressive plans against those countries of the region that are pursuing an independent course. Pakistan is now the only South Asian nation allied to the USA with an agreement of a military character.

A sort of culminating point in the conversion of the Zia-ul-Haq regime into a regional policeman serving imperialism was the agreement signed in Washington under which Pakistan is to receive \$3.2 billion in economic and military aid over the next five years. Moreover, it has been permitted to purchase \$1.1 billion worth of military hardware in the USA (Saudi Arabia has undertaken to cover this sum as payment for the services of 10,000 Pakistani mercenaries). The list of weaponry being purchased includes, apart from F-16 fighter-bombers, tanks, armored personnel carriers and helicopters.

In exchange the USA wants the Pakistani military junta to give it "access" to military installations in Pakistan. Moreover, Washington insists on the formation in Islamabad of a joint agency to monitor the fulfillment of the agreement on American military

supplies. In fact, this agency is conceived as an instrument of direct control over the policies of an ally and client.

Peking has given the Zia-ul-Haq regime military aid to the order of \$2 billion. Islamabad is getting rifles, fighter-planes, tanks, artillery, warships (including submarines), and missiles. With Chinese assistance it has built a tank engine factory and several weapons' manufacturing facilities. There are hundreds of Chinese military advisers in Pakistan. The military cooperation between the two countries has been further boosted with the completion of the strategic Karakorum highway.

For their part, the Pakistani generals are not idle. Military expenditures now absorb up to 60 per cent of the budget allocations and continue to grow. During the past decades Pakistan's military capability has doubled. The numerical strength of the army has been increased to 24 infantry and mountain infantry divisions. The country is now manufacturing missiles that have an operational radius of hundreds of kilometers. Talks are under way for the purchase of AWACS or analogous aircraft. And what is most foreboding is that preparations for the manufacture of nuclear weapons are proceeding apace.

Pakistan's militarization and its conversion into an instrument for the implementation of the aggressive designs of imperialism, hegemonism and reaction in South and Southwest Asia are creating a real threat of the spread of the military confrontation and the arms race to the entire region. For nearly three years Pakistani territory has been used as a bridgehead in the undeclared war against Afghanistan. Anti-Indian feeling is fanned in our country. It took no more than promises of supplies of American weaponry to push the Islamabad rulers into armed provocations in Kashmir and flagrant interference in India's internal affairs. An example is the support of the so-called movement for the "independence of Khalistan." It is not hard to imagine what gambles the ruling élite will take when they in fact come into possession of the most advanced weapons and, especially, if they manage to get the nuclear bomb.

The militarist intoxication of the Pakistani military clique is arousing understandable anxiety among our neighbors, India included. General Zia-ul-Haq's hypocritical offer to sign a non-aggression pact with India could not, of course, dispel that anxiety. The policy of Pakistan is far from contributing to creating a climate of mutual understanding and trust.

Having subordinated their actions to the interests of imperialism and hegemonism, the

reactionary military have turned our country into a weapons depot, into a forepost for preparing and conducting aggressive actions against neighboring states. At the same time, Pakistan is a gigantic concentration camp for working people and oppressed ethnic groups. The dictatorship is inexorably pushing the nation into an abyss.

Catastrophe can be prevented only through the concerted efforts of all patriots and democrats. These efforts must be aimed at delivering the people from the hated military junta, bringing a democratic government into power capable of steering Pakistan onto an independent course, and extinguishing this flashpoint of tension in South Asia.

THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE

Representative of the
Communist Party of Nepal

Wherever possible the present U.S. administration is trying to create volatile, explosive situations, making wide use of terror tactics in international affairs while bringing the charge of terrorism against fighters for the freedom and independence of peoples. The accent is being placed on whipping up religious-communal, ethnic, territorial and other conflicts and disputes between and in developing countries and on splitting the non-aligned movement. Washington is more and more clearly displaying an inclination to resort to threats of force and even direct military intervention. As a result, tension is growing steeply, especially in regions declared unilaterally by the USA to be a zone of "vital interests." This applies to our region as well. Rapprochement with Peking and military cooperation with it fit in with the militarist course taken by the USA's rulers.

It is our opinion that the maneuvers of the adversaries to an improvement of the political climate have to be more actively opposed by all peace-loving countries and peoples. Peace and security in South Asia, as in any other part of the planet, can be maintained and consolidated only through the joint efforts of all countries. There is no alternative to this.

A major contribution to the struggle for peace on our continent is being made by the Soviet Union, which is a great Asian power. The system of treaties of friendship and cooperation signed by the USSR with socialist countries and other peace-loving nations of the continent is an insuperable barrier to the designs of the forces of imperialism, militarism and hegemonism. There is growing support for the Peace Program proclaimed by the 26th congress of the CPSU, a program which charts the

main directions of the struggle for détente and international security in the 1980s.

The many Soviet peace initiatives spelled out in the context of this program not only indicate a realistic way of extinguishing existing flashpoints of crisis and preventing new conflict situations, but give a powerful impetus to a creative quest by other countries for constructive settlements of acute international problems. In response to the increased aggressiveness of the most reactionary circles of imperialism, some Asian countries have made constructive proposals not only for normalizing bilateral relations but also consolidating peace and security on the continent as a whole and in various regions of the continent.

In our country particularly great attention was attracted by the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic for a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations among Asian and Pacific countries. Mongolia suggested that to elaborate this proposal there should be a conference of countries of this region with the participation of the permanent members of the UN Security Council. We fully support the Mongolian initiative and consider that it should be the subject of discussion and agreement between interested countries.

While urging the utmost efforts to preserve and consolidate peace and security on a state-to-state basis, we attach similarly great significance to mass actions, to the mobilization of broad public opinion for the struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism and hegemonism.

History of the Labor Movement in the U.S. Volume 6

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into WW I (1915-1916)

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The middle strata: who are they with?

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The social battles shaking Latin America from the Rio Grande to Tierra del Fuego are demonstrating conclusively that the decisive condition for the triumph of the revolution is the alliance of the working class not only with the peasants but also with the non-proletarian section of the working people belonging to the urban middle strata.¹ The need for this alliance is shown by inspiring successes and by dramatic setbacks. On the way to it there are innumerable roadblocks and an arduous struggle with local reaction and foreign imperialist circles. The latter are doing all they can to prevent the proletariat and the middle strata from drawing closer in conditions when the influence of the middle strata in present-day bourgeois society has grown perceptibly.

Many problems are created by the unstable political sympathies, by the sudden vacillations of these strata. This gives rise to the most diverse interpretations. Sharp debates are going on about their composition and their role in the social structure and in political life. The communists and other left forces are striving to ascertain to what extent and at what stages the different intermediate groups are prepared to join in the revolutionary movement together with the proletariat and how to prevent them from going over to the camp of reaction.

The questions under discussion are acquiring special significance because bourgeois ideologues are deliberately misrepresenting the historical role of the middle strata. They use far-fetched patterns to artificially single out a "middle class" that allegedly absorbs segments of other, even antagonistic classes and becomes a factor stabilizing the capitalist system. According to this postulate the members of this class are naturally inclined toward reformist ideals and the aims of the proletariat are totally alien to them. The apologists of the "middle class" claim that it has ousted the proletariat and itself become the leading force in society. They are echoed by some "lefts," who try to

prove that lately all the major positive changes in the region were inaugurated by the "middle class."

In debunking claims of this kind the communists note that this singling out of a new "class" and attribution to it of the leading role are no more than a piece of voluntaristic juggling. It is the result of the application of the unscientific criteria of "social stratification" by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois theorists, of sheer political tendentiousness, of an arbitrary interpretation of historical developments.

The point of departure of the communists is that in capitalist society there indeed are various strata in an intermediate position between the main social poles — the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In other words, they take the inter-class position of these strata into consideration. In modern Marxist literature, the middle urban strata usually include two categories. First, the petty bourgeoisie, which, having a little capital, can exploit the labor of others but because of the modest dimensions of this capital are compelled to create, by their own labor, a portion of the new value ensuring its existence. Second, other non-proletarian groups who have no means of production and therefore hire themselves out either to the state (officials, doctors, teachers and so on), or to capitalist enterprises (managers, office workers, service personnel), or to small petty-bourgeois businesses (apprentices, learners, salesmen and saleswomen). The same category embraces new middle groups that are growing numerically under the influence of the scientific and technological revolution (engineers, technicians and other specialists).

The second category abuts the working class, forming with it a broader mass — the army of wage labor. At the same time, wage workers belonging to the middle strata differ from the proletariat. Their incomes are usually larger. But their main distinction is that they hold a different place in social production: they are farther from its material sphere, are linked

chiefly to the services sector, and are usually engaged to a lesser extent in labor by hand.

The heterogeneous character of the middle strata explains the distinctions in defining its composition. On the one hand, both the above-mentioned categories are analyzed within the same social boundaries and, on the other, the petty bourgeoisie is placed outside these boundaries. From a strictly theoretical standpoint, the second approach is more correct. At the same time, on the general sociological level it would also be correct to consider all non-bourgeois and non-proletarian groups (with the exception, of course, of the landed aristocracy and the higher echelon of the bureaucracy) together. This approach takes into account the similarity of many social, political and psychological features, and the main thing, namely, the similar intermediate position between the capitalists and the proletariat.² And the boundary dividing the antagonistic classes is fairly wide. In it are, in different ways it is true, the petty bourgeoisie and the non-proletarian section of wage workers.

Further, there are categories that do not comprise independent social groups but have some indications that bracket them with the middle strata. These categories include students, the officer corps, and the clergy, whose political influence is often much larger than their numerical proportion of the population.

Affiliation to the student body is temporary. Formally, the student body is not defined by class origin. But in practice social conditions strictly determine its social composition. In Latin America higher education was for a long time a privilege of oligarchal circles. Accelerated capitalist development and the impact of scientific and technological progress led to dramatic changes. The élite's monopoly of higher education was broken and now a manifest majority of the millions³ of Latin American students are young people from the middle strata.

An analogous situation is taking shape in the officer corps. People from bourgeois-landowner circles are being replaced by people from the petty-bourgeois, white-collar, and other intermediate groups. Although the social status, ideological make-up, and specific role of the military in political life distinguish the officers from the bulk of the middle strata, the interests and aspirations of the latter cannot but influence now the command of the armed forces. A similarly specific status is enjoyed by the clergy, who comprise a numerically large group. But it, too, has been affected by social evolution. The church hierarchy now enlists cadre from the middle and even lower strata.

Besides there are now fewer distinctions between the conditions of life of the overwhelming majority of the clergy and the majority of the middle strata.⁴

Thus, what is happening in this conglomerate? Several tendencies may be identified. First, the numerical growth of the middle strata. One of the principal causes is intensive urbanization, which enlarges their "living space." In 1960-1981 the annual population increment in 25 countries of the region averaged 2.6 per cent, while the growth rate of the urban population averaged 4.2 per cent. At the close of this period over 238 million Latin Americans out of a total of 354 million were living in towns.⁵ The highest growth rates were to be observed in the big cities, where the socio-economic base of the formation of the middle strata is particularly broad.

The structural changes in the economic system and the new demand for skilled labor are leading to an ever faster numerical growth of the technical intelligentsia and of teachers. The faster development of the services industries and state institutions is increasing the proportion of people performing administrative functions. A comparative analysis of different categories of the economically active population of Latin America indicates that in 1950-1980 there was a particularly rapid numerical growth of office employees (270 per cent), engineers, technicians, and specialists in the humanities (250 per cent), salesmen and saleswomen (230 per cent), and functionaries of the administrative-managerial apparatus (200 per cent).⁶ These figures accentuate the second tendency, namely, the growing significance of the new middle strata, of those who sell their labor, their professional knowledge and skills.

Both tendencies are due to factors implicit in all capitalist countries to one extent or another. But in Latin America the structure of the middle strata is also influenced by specific circumstances, chiefly the features of the region's socio-economic development. Backwardness and dependence, compounded by archaic social relations, provide the basis for the existence of "middle estates," inherited from the past, for strata engaged in serving the parasitical requirements of the old ruling circles. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that the modern sector of the economy is not growing fast enough to absorb all the people being displaced by the disintegrating systems. In terms of per unit investment, capital-intensive technology now creates ever fewer jobs. "Redundant people" complement the ranks of the marginals, but some of them, finding a place in non-productive services, become members of

the middle strata. Because of all these categories the spectrum of middle strata in the region is wider than in industrialized capitalist countries.

The third tendency is *internal differentiation*. This is seen in the growing distinctions between the social being of the old and new middle strata, in the extent of their closeness to this or that class that bears upon the role played by them in crucial issues of national life. Differentiation is intensified by the process of *proletarianization*, which affects the technical intelligentsia, the medical and teaching professions, and junior office workers. This process erases much of the old boundaries between the working class and the wage workers among the middle strata. At the same time, the higher bureaucracy and well-to-do members of the liberal professions are drawing closer to the social status and way of life of the bourgeoisie.

The evolution of the socio-class structure is turning the middle urban strata of most Latin American capitalist countries into a mass category of the population, with a numerical strength second only to that of the proletariat. However, it is hard to give an exact estimate because statistics do not single out these strata.⁷ It is easiest of all to assess the numerical strength of the groups of wage workers. Statistics for individual countries of the region indicate that these groups comprise between one-fifth and one-fourth of the total able-bodied population. If we take the urban petty bourgeoisie and the remnants of the former urban "middle estates" into account, we will find that the figure we are looking for is approximately 30-40 per cent of the economically active population. Of course, this proportion is not identical everywhere. It depends on the level of capitalist development and on the correlation of systems.⁸ But the overall picture is that the urban middle strata are becoming a significant component of society, a major reserve of the revolutionary forces.

In its struggle for social emancipation the proletariat has to champion the interests of all working people, including that section of the middle strata that is subjected to exploitation and political discrimination. But the latter have their own reasons for going along with the workers. Writing about the "middle estates," Marx and Engels noted that "if by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat, they thus defend not their present, but their future interests, they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat."⁹ But the process of adopting the "viewpoint of the proletariat" is much slower than

the transition to the camp of the oppressed.

The dependence of political behavior on material conditions is not direct. And it is not only a matter of the general autonomy of super-structural factors relative to the basis. The gap between material and ideologico-political imperatives of participation in the social struggle is especially wide in the case of the middle strata. Their multiform spiritual world generates unexpected deviations from what is seemingly predetermined by economic motivations.

This makes the maturing of a revolutionary consciousness an extraordinarily complex process. The dissemination of elementary political knowledge is not enough to awaken that consciousness. There is a need for cogent arguments taking into account the high (relative to the entire population) education level and general culture of the middle strata. Diverse prejudices have to be overcome.

The ruling circles methodically indoctrinate the middle strata, instilling myths about their social exclusiveness and trying to persuade them that destiny has made them the saviors of the nation. This indoctrination was aided by the economic situation of the 1960s, which was relatively favorable for the capitalist world; it was a period of massive penetration of the region by U.S. and West European monopolies and also of innumerable reformist experiments. But neither the Alliance for Progress¹⁰ nor the later "national" projects of bourgeois modernization could resolve the exacerbating social problem.

Today, with Latin America in the throes of the most devastating economic crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s, the middle strata have been severely hit by the skyrocketing inflation, the wage freeze, and the mass dismissals. A steadily growing number of doctors, lawyers, white-collar workers and members of the creative intelligentsia are finding that neither professional knowledge, nor their present "secure" place in society delivers them from social calamities, gives them confidence for the future. Reality destroys illusions: the belief that bourgeois democracy guarantees civil and political liberties, and the "strong hand" of military juntas normalizes the national economy.

However, even under these conditions the road to a revolutionary choice is by no means smooth. New reformist forces are trying to fill the ideologico-political vacuum forming as a result of the crisis of traditional bourgeois reformism and the collapse of the right-authoritarian concepts of "social welfare." At the close of the 1970s the international social-democratic movement mounted a massive offensive in

Latin America. There it is finding a social base in the middle strata, a base that in Western Europe has been traditionally provided chiefly by the workers' aristocracy. On the other hand, disillusionment and the degradation of traditional values are inducing a section of the middle strata to adopt extremist (ultra-left or right-radical) views.

The contradictory ideologico-political situation in these strata is the natural outcome of the universal tendencies of the development of modern capitalism. But a "contribution" is also made by the specific character of bourgeois society in Latin American countries. The dependence of these countries on imperialist powers, their relative economic backwardness, and the preservation of traditional attributes of social consciousness (traditions of populism and spontaneous forms of mass protests, the spread of religious persuasions and national-reformist views), on the one hand, and the upsurge of the proletarian struggle that intertwines with the popular anti-imperialist movement, on the other, widen the distance between the opposite poles of social activity of the middle strata, precipitating conflicts in their midst.

However, this section of the population is inclined not only toward contradiction but also toward rapid changes in political behavior. Chile is a striking example. The victory of the left coalition in the 1970 presidential elections was largely due to votes from the middle strata. Subsequently, failing the test of economic difficulties, they succumbed to the provocations of the counter-revolution and swung away from the Salvador Allende government. Their sentiments infected the "neutral" officer corps. In the long run, a large proportion of the middle strata turned into the mainstay of reaction, and this paved the way for the military-fascist putsch of 1973. With the passage of time most of those who sided with the putschists saw the "merits" of the Pinochet dictatorship. They are now again linking their hopes to the democratic forces.

The middle strata react keenly not only to political changes in their own country but also to developments in other countries, to changes in the international situation. Recall the fact that the progressive sections of these strata of this region became active under the influence of the Cuban revolution. The fall of the people's government in Chile confused and demoralized them. A new influx of energy was brought by the victory of the Sandinistas.

However, chronic vacillation and abrupt changes of political feeling do not signify that these or those middle strata are altogether un-

able to keep to a definite line. As they develop there is an inevitable political polarization. The division of these strata into three main camps is now more and more distinct, although the boundaries between them are extremely mobile. One section, the semi-proletarian, is waging a revolutionary struggle against capitalism and imperialism in alliance with the working class. Another, which is relatively passive, confines itself to demanding an improvement of its own living standard. This is the most unstable section. An egoistical striving for well-being regardless of the condition of most of the population, for the preservation of the privileges granted by the bourgeoisie prevents this group from understanding the overriding aims of the liberation struggle, the need for unity among the people. The third, which constitutes a minority, serves as bulwark of reaction. Both progressive and reactionary organizations, that do not hesitate in the choice of a stand on major issues of home and foreign policy, have taken shape on this social base. Some influential groups in the middle strata, motivated by bourgeois nationalism, are advocating a "third way" that they claim will reconcile all classes and harmonize the relations between labor and capital. However, illusions of this kind are inescapably dispersed by reality.

For the cause of the revolution it is dangerous to ignore the inconsistency of the middle strata and the distinctions in their attitudes. However, it must be seen that *political radicalization* is not the predominant trend. Convincing evidence of this is, for example, the broad participation of students in the social battles fought by the Latin American peoples. It will be recalled that Nicaraguan students supported the formation of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, while their university organization was one of the strongholds of the anti-Somoza movement. Students are becoming militant in Guatemala, Chile, Uruguay and other countries ruled by terrorist dictatorships. A growing number of white-collar workers and members of the technical intelligentsia and liberal professions are joining in the mass struggle for political liberties and against U.S. imperial dictation. Members of the creative intelligentsia are militating for democracy, for durable peace. Reactionary regimes are finding they cannot turn democratic art into a fawning servitor.

Progressive officers have repeatedly become prominent in political life during the past decade. In Peru, Panama, Bolivia and Surinam they initiated the overthrow of pro-imperialist oligarchies. Many members of the clergy are siding with the people who have risen against

social oppression. This is to be observed in El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile, Brazil and other countries.

Wage workers belonging to the middle strata are more and more frequently resorting to strikes, the traditional weapon of the proletariat. Strikes by teachers, junior office workers and medical personnel have become usual in many countries of the region. Further, the middle strata are joining in protest actions uniting the entire working population. This is exemplified by the national civil strikes that have time and again been staged in Argentina, Colombia, El Salvador and Ecuador. In Bolivia the middle strata joined the working class in the mass movement of 1982 that forced the pro-imperialist junta to return to a constitutional form of government. Last October power was transferred to the lawfully elected president H. Siles Zuazo,¹¹ candidate of the Democratic and Popular Unity, a progressive political coalition that includes the Communist Party.

A hallmark of the public life of the middle strata is the vitalization of professional collegiums of diploma'd specialists.¹² This was in many cases a response to anti-democratic legislation hindering the formation of or banning trade unions. As a matter of fact, the trade unions are also beginning to find many supporters among the middle strata. Both tendencies are manifesting themselves in various ways in different countries of the region. In Chile, Mexico and Brazil the predominant influence is exercised by traditional guild organizations. In most of the Central American states these are a relatively recent phenomenon. In some countries, for instance Costa Rica, two types of trade unions compete, in others, like Argentina, they not only coexist but militate together for democracy.

Until recently the Latin American communists did not in most cases give the guild organizations the attention they merited, and this made it easier for the reactionary forces to influence them. Today the communists are working energetically in these organizations, orienting them on democratic and revolutionary actions, and helping to settle conflicts between collegiums and trade unions in a constructive spirit that reinforces unity among the working people.

While studying the logic of the political behavior of the middle strata and creatively applying Marxist-Leninist methods of analysis, the communists are drawing significant conclusions for their day-to-day practice. In order to sow and cultivate the seeds of revolutionary consciousness among these strata, the lessons

taught by life must be completed with ideological, propaganda, and organizational work comprehensively taking the features of this section of the population into account. Of course, practical decisions are taken in keeping with the specific situation: the influence of the main classes on this or that intermediate segment, society's spiritual and political state, the state of its economy, the strength or weakness of the government, and the international situation in which the revolutionary process is developing.

In joining the active struggle and even recognizing proletarian hegemony, the middle strata want guarantees for their social and political future, for their right to a fitting place in the new society. This is what the reactionary forces seek to exploit, sometimes not unsuccessfully. In order to obstruct the formation of a broad revolutionary front they argue that once it comes to power the proletariat will deprive not only the bourgeoisie but also the middle strata of every prospect, that the communist cooperation with organizations representing the interests of these strata is motivated solely by situational considerations.

Replying to insinuations of this sort, Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, declared that "nothing is so alien to us as the quest for allies today only in order to get rid of them tomorrow."¹³ It is the strategic aim of the proletariat and its vanguard to draw the largest possible number of people, including the middle strata, into the struggle for a democratization of political life in the true sense, for the abolition of the exploiting system, and the assertion of social justice. The working class and its vanguard want to traverse the road of revolutionary transformation and enter socialism together with *all* whose interests and actions are not directed against the working majority. This is not merely a declaration. It is backed up by concrete actions and is borne out by the experience of victorious revolutions. In Latin America today it is testified to by Nicaragua and Grenada, where the majority of the petty bourgeoisie, the progressive section of the intelligentsia, and other middle strata have found a fitting place in the new life.

Exclusiveness, social isolationism is unacceptable to the proletariat, which exercises revolutionary hegemony by historical right as the most advanced, ascendant class and in the interests of all working people. Steadfastly enunciating the aspirations of this class, the communists invariably strive to act together with all progressive circles, both in the struggle against what is moribund, and in the efforts to build the future. But, at the same time, they are not so naive as to entertain the hope that the

middle strata will, as a whole and without vacillation, participate in the revolution at all its stages. It must be borne in mind that this motley social conglomerate has no homogeneous economic interests, that the intermediate groups harbor many prejudices that do not vanish at the wave of a magic wand. They cling to many prejudices for a long time and even infect a section of the proletariat with them. Individual sections may come under the influence of reaction. When the right forces do not receive a determined rebuff they make use of the political and emotional instability of the middle strata to set them against the working class. But if the vanguard of the revolution does not lose the initiative, takes timely measures of persuasion, and is able to develop an economic base of political cooperation, the social alliance stands the test of strength not only at the beginning of the road.

The first — democratic and anti-imperialist — stage of the revolution is characterized by a wide spectrum of participants, especially where the conflict between the majority of the nation and the oligarchal élite fawning upon monopolies and imperialism has reached the bursting point. At this stage the interests and aspirations of the majority of the nation fuse closely. But who goes on to the next stages? The lesson of history is that by no means all the initial participants are willing to do so. But the same lesson of history is that together with allies the proletariat is able to make considerably greater progress than these allies themselves expected. Joint progress becomes real because the revolutionary process changes not only social structures but also the "dramatis personae." While they join the revolution in one capacity, the middle strata acquire new social and political features as they move from one stage to another. . . . But the process of ideological cleansing, of progressive politization is by no means spontaneous. It is influenced by the proletariat, by the able leadership provided by the revolutionary vanguard.

In Latin America the middle strata, especially the wage worker groups, are now more and more frequently coming forward as one of the central motive forces of the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution. Together with the proletariat and the peasants they form the social base of the revolution. But the objective interests of the numerically predominant portion of these strata and the logic of the historical process take them further — to socialist aims. The task is to assess the vacillations and changes in the political leanings of the middle strata soberly and place their enormous social energy in the service of the revolution.

1. This article offers an analysis only of the urban middle strata.

2. See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 39, p. 453 (in Russian).

3. Under the present average annual growth rate of 15.5 per cent the number of students of the third stage of education (i.e., above the level of the general education school) in the countries of this region was to exceed 9 million by 1982 (UNESCO. *Statistical Yearbook 1980*. Paris, 1980, p. 86).

4. A point to be taken into consideration is that each of the above-mentioned three categories has its own specifics. Each has its own attitude to the proletariat and to politics. Unlike the officer corps and the clergy, the students are more responsive to actions by working people, and are quicker to understand their needs. The Latin American students have long-standing traditions of revolutionary struggle.

5. *Inter-American Development Bank, Annual Report 1981*, Washington, 1981, p. 108.

6. These growth rates are higher than the growth rate of the army of workers engaged in labor by hand. In the towns the absolute number of persons engaged in labor by hand doubled in the course of 30 years, but their proportion in the economically active population increased by only 10 per cent (R. Zinovieva, S. Patrushev, M. Romero, "La clase obrera en la estructura social de los países de América Latina", *Panorama latinoamericano*, No. 36, 1981, p. 11-12).

7. In Latin America the statistical services are much less efficient than in industrialized capitalist countries. This makes it necessary to use partial and indirect sources. But the main thing is that Marxists cannot accept the criteria of socio-demographical registration used in bourgeois statistics.

8. The Jamaican communists are of the opinion that the numerical strength of wage workers among the urban middle strata may be put at 141,000 (1978), which is equal to one-third of the number of wage workers, or 20 per cent of the economically active population. The urban petty bourgeoisie numbers 93,000, or 13 per cent of the work force. In Colombia, statistics for the same year give the numerical strength of the economically active population as 7 million. Of these, 5 million are wage workers, including about 1.5 million employees of banks, commercial enterprises, and state agencies (*Conferencia teorica internacional. La estructura de clases en América Latina. Memorias*, Ciudad de la Habana, March 26-28, 1980, pp. 178, 183, 291).

9. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 494.

10. This program of the Kennedy administration envisaged a series of bourgeois reforms in the region with U.S. economic aid in order to prevent the revolutionary process from developing. — Ed.

11. In 1980 Zuazo was prevented from assuming the office of president by a coup by reactionary military. — Ed.

12. The professional collegiums are a form of the guild associations inherited from the past. While guilds embrace all members of a given profession (in many countries this is required by legislation), the trade unions unite the most conscious, advanced members of these professions. On many issues the interests of trade union and guild members coincide. However, the guilds usually represent the interests of a closed group and for that reason they often steer a course that runs counter to the aspirations of the majority of working people. The trade unions, however, link the working section of the middle strata to the entire army of wage labor.

13. *Boletín del exterior*, No. 37, September-October 1979, p. 32.

The role of religion in our revolution

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Two religious trends have stood out in the course of the social battles in Iran over the past several decades. The first could be described as traditional and conservative. It is led mainly by the higher clergy who have mostly enjoyed a privileged status in the society. Representatives of this trend declare that it is a "sacrilege" and a false interpretation of religion to make any attempt to rely on its dogmas in effecting progressive socio-political transformations. They claim that religion and faith have nothing to do with "secular" affairs; they insist that the performance of religious ritual is more important than the fulfillment of social and patriotic duty; for that reason, they assert, one must accept the anti-humanistic capitalist system and meekly bow to it as to the will of the "Almighty" and predestination.

The other trend is connected with the revolutionary activity of the masses. It is not a new phenomenon in history. Religion, Marx said, was "the sigh of the oppressed creature," its protest against the "real distress" of this world.¹ Engels noted that religion had repeatedly — both in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages — acted as the ideology or the ideological banner of social movements. This was due to the fact that in his individual or social acts man was in need of an ideology, and in those days religion was the only form of ideology known to the society. Let us also recall that Engels pointed to a type of religious heresy in the pre-capitalist epoch, which he called the "plebeian-revolutionary" heresy that was abominable even to the burgher heretics.²

Religious ideology is still very strong in some countries of the East. Some senior and junior clergy who are not indifferent to the fortunes of their people are actively involved in its social and political struggles. These members of the clergy hold that the prophets and religious leaders of the past did not act for the benefit of the pharaohs, the caesars and the kings but had always come out against the social oppressors and enslavers. They claim that a religion which has become a purely ritual ideology out of touch with the acute problems of the day, taking a neutral stand on them and maintaining

silence about money-grubbing, oppression and parasitism and the starting of wars, has betrayed its true essence.

The experience of liberation movements, including those in the most recent period, shows that in countries where religion is the main ideology accepted by the masses, the social emancipation and national liberation struggles may proceed in a religious form and under religious slogans. This is so, of course, for concrete socio-historical reasons.

The question is why 14 centuries after the origination of Islam and after the minor and major trials through which history has tested those of its tenets that were taken up as the banner of popular struggle, the present trend, which is known in Iran as "revolutionary Islam," was able to play such an impressive role in the development of the anti-imperialist movement in our country in the late 1970s.

The answer will be found in the peculiarities of the present epoch and in the potentialities it has produced for liberation, anti-imperialist movements. Masses of unfortunates, awakening from the medieval slumber and apathy, rise to struggle against local and foreign oppressors. The urge for peace, independence, freedom and release from exploitation, once a utopian vision, has become a feasible task. In the light of our epoch, the social ideals which the religious creed of Islam has variously adopted in the past began to glitter with new facets and have become an effective ideological force.

Imperialism and reaction seek to crush the progressive and revolutionary movements, including those acting under Islamic slogans, or to kill their content and divert them into a confrontation with communism and social progress. They have used for their purposes, among other things, the powerful and wealthy religious organizations which are controlled by the reactionary clergy. The ruling circles of some Islamic countries have converted religion into an instrument for bolstering the positions of imperialism and the local exploiters. Counter-revolutionary forces and opponents of democratic transformations use the "holy war for Islam" as camouflage.

Consequently, in our epoch, the socio-political role of religion, including Islam, is not at all a uniform one. But it is important to emphasize that in some countries religion serves as the ideological basis for class struggle, in some instances operating as the ideology of revolutionary forces or as a part of it. It can hardly be denied that Islam has helped to develop the movement of millions of believers fighting for their liberation from despotism, oppression and foreign domination. We have witnessed the effective and influential role which the religious forces are playing in the revolution in Iran, and also in the course of the recent events in the Al Aksa Mosque in occupied Palestine, etc. In other words, the content of the process of historical development has now been manifested in a religious form as well. It is perfectly natural for Marxists to see the emancipation revolution assume different forms in accordance with the conditions of time and place. Experience shows that the revolutions which have taken place since the Second World War have been extremely diverse not only from the standpoint of their motive forces, modes of action, pace of development and prospects, but also of ideology and the nature of the forces giving a lead to the mass movement. This is a fact which cautions one against thinking in stereotypes and induces a further study of the "science of revolution."

It is noteworthy in many respects that the ideological and organizing role which religion has time and again played in revolutionary movements in the distant past has been manifested with a new orientation in the present-day conditions. Let us look at Iran's experience.

The protracted struggle by the Iranian working people and revolutionary forces reached its peak and culminated in the victory of the 1979 revolution (1357, in accordance with the solar Hegira calendar). This revolution — anti-imperialist, anti-dictatorship and popular — was staged under the slogans of Islam and under the leadership of the Imam Khomeini, Iran's best known religious leader. Its most characteristic and closely related features are the following:

- a broad and unprecedented involvement of the working masses of town and country;

- the mass movement is leaving an imprint on the course and content of the revolution, demanding action to effect social transformations which go beyond the framework of the capitalist system. This tends to arouse a bitter reaction on the part of the advocates of capitalism and of class privileges;

- the revolution is profoundly anti-imperialist and, in particular, acutely anti-U.S. imperialism;

- Islam is the ideology of the revolution.

Unless one considers these peculiarities as a complex, i.e., unless one regards them within the context of the general changes in the present world and the history of the Iranian people's struggle, one could well misunderstand or misinterpret some aspects of the Iranian revolution.

The organic blend of these peculiarities of the Iranian revolution has been manifested in the course of it. The initial actions against the shah's regime marked the start of the revolution in January-February 1978 (Behmen 1356). They were organized by students of the seminary at Kum in protest against the insults addressed to the Imam Khomeini in articles published by newspapers close to the shah's court. The Kum students were supported by the population of Tabriz, which was followed by the inhabitants of other towns and villages.

Clashes in the streets occurred throughout the year, until February 11, 1979 (Behmen 22, 1357). From day to day, ever broader masses of people were involved in these clashes, with the class composition of the participants increasingly changing in favor of the working people. Their number grew steadily. Millions of men, women and children demonstrated in the streets on some days. This took place not only in the towns but also in many remote villages. For our country, such active and dedicated participation by the working masses in the revolutionary movement was unprecedented.

With the growing scale of the working people's involvement in the revolution and their activity, their slogans became ever more popular. At the start of the revolution, they were mainly anti-despotic and liberal — remaining within the framework of the demands of bourgeois democracy. Such slogans were supported by a section of the Iranian capitalists, especially the traditional bourgeoisie (bazaar), which expected to take leadership of the movement and to confine it to half-way and conciliatory political reforms. But as the revolution advanced, the working masses put forward their own social demands, so that from day to day it was filled with a richer and more profound popular content. How was this manifested?

Let us recall that an anti-imperialist movement against the oil monopolies and for the nationalization of the oil industry led by Dr. Mohammad Mosaddek, broke out in Iran from 1951 to 1953. It was crushed as a result of a coup staged by the CIA.

More than a quarter-century lay between the Behmen 22 revolution and the Mordad 28 coup

(August 1953). But the people, who had suffered from the effects of that coup, came out against the regime of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, being mindful of the movement which had suffered a reverse and took account of its experience and lessons in the struggle. Among these three main ones should be emphasized.

First, the movement led by Mosaddek separated the anti-imperialist struggle from social transformations. It tried to attain its goals without affecting the social structure of society, preserving the privileges of the big landowners and capitalists and even striving to get these classes to take part in the movement. That was precisely one of the reasons for its defeat. In the final years of the shah's rule, masses of unfortunates and their conscious representatives, having the benefit of the experience of the defeat suffered by the Mosaddek movement, saw for themselves the fatal consequences resulting from the development of compradore capital. They had come to realize that the social substance of the shah's regime was closely bound up with its political, economic and military dependence on imperialism. Comprehension of this fact was manifested, in particular, in the looting of banks and major enterprises of compradore capital which usually occurred in the course of street demonstrations.

Second, the members of the Iranian liberal bourgeoisie opposed British imperialism, while looking to the United States for support. Even today, a quarter-century later, they strove to direct the Behmen 22 revolution toward a compact with the United States. But the masses and their recognized leaders, notably the Imam Khomeini, were vigilant and did not fall into the trap. The revolutionary movement, which started out as an anti-despotic movement, at once became profoundly anti-imperialist, above all anti-U.S. imperialism.

Third, the struggle to nationalize oil could not ensure an alliance of all the revolutionary forces. The movement was defeated mainly because of their divisions, and the Iranian people had this experience before their eyes. Accordingly, they strove hard to keep their ranks united in the fight against the shah's regime, preventing any splinter activity, whatever the camouflage for it. The alliance of the revolutionary forces and the people in the Behmen 22 revolution was a phenomenon unprecedented in Iranian society.

The most noteworthy feature of the Iranian revolution is evidently the role of the Islamic ideology. The factors which have determined this feature are numerous and cannot all be considered here in detail. However, it is a fact that the revolutionary movement started in the

religious town of Kum, in a seminary (medrese) in protest against the insults hurled at the Imam Khomeini. To this very day, that religious leader is the uncontested leader of the revolutionary masses.

The religious, Islamic features of the Iranian revolution sometimes tend to obscure its other aspects and peculiarities and even its socio-political content. At the same time, this peculiarity of our revolution tends to cause various vacillations, retreats and distortions. That is why we have thoroughly analyzed the events in an effort to bring out from their intricate pattern the main line of development.

This is best done through a survey of the events of the past four years since the Behmen 22 revolution. All this time, a bitter class struggle closely bound up with the most acute resistance to imperialist plots has been under way within the Iranian revolutionary movement.

The Iranian liberal bourgeoisie involved in the revolutionary movement had hoped to limit it to the framework of its own interests. Donning the raiment of Islam, it took over a sizable part of the power. The Provisional Islamic Government was constituted mainly of members of the liberal bourgeoisie, which advocated a one-sided orientation toward close collaboration with U.S. imperialism. A considerable section of the Council of the Islamic Revolution consisted of advocates of capitalism, who strove to make the shah's state apparatus work for them, without destroying it. The men who came to power (from Bazargan to Ghotbzadeh and Banisadr) had long engaged in religious activity and were known in the country as "true Moslems." But virtually the day after the Provisional Government was formed, a struggle broke out between the "Islam of the Bazargans" and the "Islam of Khomeini." Bazargan declared that by carrying out the revolution he had erred "three times three." For his part, Khomeini proclaimed that the revolution had just begun, that it was at the start of the way, and that it must continue.

Since the victory of the revolution, many political groupings, prominent leaders linked with imperialism and members of the conciliatory or capitulatory liberal bourgeoisie have been exposed and expelled from the political arena. Bazargan, Banisadr, Madani, Nazih, Ghotbzadeh,³ National Front leaders like Sandgabi, among others, have been removed from senior government posts. Many senior religious Shi'ite leaders who had overtly or covertly, directly or indirectly acted against the Imam Khomeini were defeated. A senior Shi'ite leader, Kazem Shariat-Madari, was removed from his post on charges of being involved in a

plot against the Imam Khomeini and the revolution, and condemned by the masses.

We believe that what has happened over these years is, in content, a typical class struggle like those which have proceeded in the course of all revolutions like the Iranian: a struggle between the privileged classes and the deprived masses, between liberal conciliators and revolutionary democrats, even if this struggle has assumed a religious form. Let us look at the remarkable and thought-provoking aspects of the imprint which the Islamic ideology has left on the class struggle in Iran.

All the trends involved in the struggle for power claim to be "the most devout" Moslems and the "sole keepers" of Islam. Bazargan, Banisadr, Ghotbzadeh, Shariat-Madari and others said that they were the truest bearers and champions of Islam and even theorists of the "Islamic revolution," and that they had a better understanding of Islam than anyone else. In other Islamic countries, the proponents and opponents of the Iranian revolution also determined their attitude to it from the standpoint of the Moslem faith. The result was the appearance of different interpretations of Islam. New terms have appeared in the religious-political lexicon: "American Islam," "the Islam of King Khalid," "the Islam of Sadat," "the Islam of Zia-ul-Haq," and "pseudo-clergy." To all of this is contrasted by many Iranian Moslems "the Islam of Khomeini."

The interpretations of Islam contain different assessments of key social categories like property, exploitation, the class substance of the state and so on. Thus, the question of property, of its forms and limits is being dealt with during the weekly Friday prayer sessions. The supporters of the capitalists and the feudals quote Islamic dogmas which say that Islam does not recognize any limits to property. They call on the "Islamic revolution" in Iran not to touch the property of the big landowners and capitalists. Religious leaders voicing the attitudes of the working people claim that the property plundered by the big capitalists and feudals, money-grubbing and usury are alien to Islam and must be done away with. The "Islamic revolution," they say, has the mission of asserting social justice.

Khomeini has spoken mainly in defense of the interests of the mass of working people and unfortunates. He says that it is the unfortunates who are the "heirs of God" on earth, and that the "Islamic revolution" and the Islamic power belong to them. Millions upon millions of urban and rural people accept this interpretation of Islam. They support Khomeini as against the feudals and the capitalists, defend

the revolutionary version of Islam in contrast with its conciliatory version advocated by the underlings of imperialism.

Developments have not, of course, all run smoothly. To say nothing of the fact that imperialism, headed by the United States, has been hatching secret and open provocations and plots and creating diverse difficulties, the religious ideology itself tends to produce problems. Thus, during the most bitter political class struggle, it lays emphasis deliberately or otherwise, on the wearing of the veil Hejab by women, setting this up as one of the main issues. Under the pretext of combatting the "heretical" ideology, attempts are made to direct action not against imperialism and capitalism, but against the progressive parties and socialist countries; the fanning of religious fanaticism tends further to sharpen the political situation in the country.

Fascist-type groups in Islamic guise also present a potential danger. Religious fanaticism creates the ground for their activity. Because there is no powerful political organization in the Iranian revolution which the people trust and whose leadership they would accept, fascist-type groupings could well capitalize on a moment of confusion among the masses.

The depth of the Iranian revolution and its specific features connected with Islam, and the bitter class struggle within the movement create numerous difficulties which hamper an understanding of its various aspects. Extremists, leftists and Maoist groupings, which have an influence among some sections of the intelligentsia, claim to be revolutionary but are in fact bourgeois and fail to understand the substance of developments in the country. While holding forth on combatting "religious reaction," they have in practice taken the stand of reactionary religion, alongside the Bazargans and alongside the United States. But true Marxists in Iran, with a scientific analysis of the course of the revolution, have chosen the right course based on a non-dogmatic, non-schematic understanding of the operation of the laws in the development of society in the specific conditions of newly liberated countries.

In these countries, including Iran, this characteristic socio-historical phenomenon has emerged: there still exist the roots of pre-capitalist orders while capitalism was implanted through colonialism, and is now being implanted through neo-colonialism. In consequence, compradore capital, with its economics and culture, exists as "social enclaves," which are not universal and which are not assimilated by the society. Consequently, these

economics and culture are not a natural result of internal development of the society itself and, for many reasons, arouse dissatisfaction among various social strata.

The problem here is that the European bourgeoisie, especially after the French Revolution, was able to modify gradually the political-juridical superstructure of society in accordance with its requirements, independently of religion and the church. But in the developing countries, including Iran, the picture is a different one. There, the compradore bourgeoisie has borrowed the culture of imperialist capitalism and has carried it over to the national soil mostly in a superficial and imitative form. But in Iran, for instance, it is not only the absolute majority of the working people in town and country, but also a section of the traditional bourgeoisie (bazaar) and the petty bourgeoisie that remain adherents to the religious superstructure, to that which is called "Islamic enlightenment." In the plebeian masses religion continues to live as it had in the past.⁴ A section of the bazaar bourgeoisie has even ignored the state laws on taxation and has paid taxes in accordance with Islamic law ("fikh") to the clergy.

Khomeini himself has exerted much influence on the efforts to channel the popular discontent along religious lines and to "politicize" the religious-minded working masses. He has declared that Islam, in the form in which it is set forth in the Islamic Koran, gives priority to the fulfillment of social duties over the observance by Moslems of rituals, which is why those who separate Islam from politics have either failed to understand it or have falsified it. Khomeini lays emphasis on diktat from the Koran and Islamic dogmas which are designed for the establishment of social justice in favor of the unfortunates and at the expense of the oppressors. He has spoken of a "holy war" against oppression and despotism and has called for selflessness in the struggle for the just cause. His prominent role in the Iranian revolution is determined by the fact that he has been able to convert religion from a means of "lulling" the masses into a means of "stimulating" their activity.

The line of "revolutionary Islam" differs markedly from the line of "traditional Islam" and has great opportunities of gaining the upper hand. The advocates of the former hope to put through social transformations in order to invest the Islamic ideology with the power of attraction and to convert it into an instrument for transformations in the whole Moslem world. Our approach is that the future will show to what extent the ideology of

"revolutionary Islam" is capable of providing for society's material and spiritual requirements, a society which craves independence, freedom, justice and progress.

The People's Party of Iran supports all the positive trends in this movement with its religious leaders, frankly expressing its views in the form of constructive and friendly criticism. It has selflessly taken part in labor and struggle, proving wherever it is possible its loyalty to the people's aspirations, whatever the form in which they are expressed. The counter-revolutionary elements have been trying hard to hamper us and to push us away from our principled stand. They have failed.

The awakening and politicization of the masses in Iran is proceeding despite the plots by imperialism and counter-revolution to slow down the process. As for the prospects before the revolution, we believe that its development in depth and breadth largely depends on the implementation of the demands put forward by our party in the sphere of socio-economic transformations and the anti-imperialist struggle. Changes in the world arena against imperialism and war could, we feel, operate as a factor helping the Iranian revolution to mature and further gain in depth at a faster pace. Considering the lines of global historical development and the growing awakening of the masses, our party looks to the future with optimism.

At the 26th congress of the CPSU, the revolution in Iran was characterized as a major international event of the recent period, and its anti-imperialist tenor, together with its complexity and contradictions, was noted.

On the strength of our party's assessments, we indicated above some of the causes behind this complexity and contradictory character and also the concrete manifestations. This calls for some additional explanation in the light of the concrete arrangement of forces among the Iranian Moslems.

They do not have a common view of the problems, lines and goals of the revolution because of their different origins in terms of social class and stratum, and also of the social interests which are different and sometimes even contradictory. With respect to the revolution it is possible to bring out these groups of Moslems, while bearing in mind that any classification has its shortcomings:

— counter-revolutionary elements using Islamic ideas as a cover. They are trying to "capture the fortress from inside" and are distorting the tasks of the revolution. Revolutionary Moslems sometimes call these forces "infiltrated enemy elements." By now, some of

these titled men, who held important posts, have been exposed and expelled;

— religious dogmatists defending the system based on capitalism and large landed estates, and also on other forms of exploitation. They claim that large-scale landed property and capitalist exploitation are compatible with the principles of Islam and "fikh" dogmas;

— numerous representatives of the petty urban and rural bourgeoisie holding to religious ideology within the traditional-dogmatic framework. In one way or another, they themselves support the revolution, but may be cheated by the above groupings;

— revolutionary Moslems who, within the context of economic problems, support the ideas of providing for the people's needs and for the needs of progress. In their view, the "Islamic revolution" cannot retain the people's trust unless it effects radical reforms for the people's benefit. That is why they advocate such transformations, coming out against the supporters of exploitation, but in the political sphere they seek to monopolize power and to restrict the activity of other revolutionaries;

— revolutionary Moslems who not only take a people's progressive economic stand but also reject political monopolism and sectarianism. They believe that without the unity of all the truly revolutionary forces — Moslems and other progressive political groupings, including those taking the approach of scientific socialism — the Iranian revolution cannot fortify its positions in the fight against imperialism and counter-revolution and cannot advance.

Leftist groupings in Iran, coalescing with the most diehard reaction mentioned above, do not accept such assessments. They are inclined to "drive everyone with the same stick," as the Persian saying goes, and in principle deny any possibility of using the religious ideology in our epoch for the purposes of progress. They brand every type of it as reactionary, medieval ideology, the "ideology of the backward traditional, petty bourgeoisie" inclining to fascism, reactionary primitivism and hatred for all things foreign. They assert that there has never been and can never be a concept like "Islamic revolutionary ideology" and that religion has a totally reactionary and anti-popular role, while Iran's experience testifies to its defeat. These "leftists" urge the need for the forcible overthrow of the Islamic Republic. One must say that they have succeeded in winning over many honest but young and inexperienced anti-imperialist fighters.

The extreme leftist groupings provide the

rightists with the pretext and grounds for presenting Marxist-Leninists as the sworn enemies of Moslems and opponents of the Iranian revolution (in contrast to the true supporters of the Imam, who call the United States "The Big Devil," for they regard U.S. imperialism as the main adversary). But the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh) has nothing in common with the leftist groupings and the views they have been spreading. Our party supports the revolution. For the rightists, however, there is some abstract "communism" in general which is allegedly the enemy of Islam. It is among the rightists that the slogans hostile to world socialism and the People's Party of Iran tend mainly to originate. The reactionary and counter-revolutionary clergy asserts that anti-communism must be the main line of policy, while the adherents of the communist world view should be expelled as the most dangerous "revilers of God."

In such conditions, the Marxist-Leninists are naturally faced with exceptionally complicated tasks. In the concrete situation in Iran, it is impossible to be a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist without a capacity to take the creative approach, without concentration and great patience, without efforts to avoid confusion and to realize the fact that the revolution cannot develop without the involvement of the intermediate strata, that these strata join the revolution with their own convictions and "established conceptions," and that imperialism and the counter-revolutionaries will not retreat from their positions or abandon their interests simply or soon, especially in a country like Iran. Our party members seek to demonstrate a maturity of thinking, revolutionary steadfastness, political insight and a capacity to resist sophistry and slander. Such a "special situation" may possibly not emerge in other countries where the revolution is carried out in the light of secular ideologies, but some of its peculiarities could well be replicated.

Consequently, the point is to repudiate the dogmatic approach, sectarianism and subjectivism, reckless and "organizational patriotism" which harm the common interest and the revolutionary movement; the point is to be where the masses are; the point is to comprehend the peculiarity of the Iranian revolution and to give the right assessment to its experience, to comprehend its complexity and contradictory nature, and its rich content as a part of the revolutionary process in the contemporary world, and to tackle the key task facing all the contingents of Iran's revolutionary forces — to strengthen unity and overcome disagreements. Those are all problems to

which the People's Party of Iran is now giving serious attention.

Difficulties are created not only by the counter-revolutionaries, extreme rightist and leftist groupings, imperialism and the agents of its spy outfits. Honest Moslems seeking to understand the true state of things in Iran after the revolution are themselves still novices in the affairs of state. It will take much time for them to acquire experience and to learn to distinguish the friends of the revolution from its enemies at home and abroad. That is no simple matter in the face of the offensive carried on by the opponents of the revolution all along the line.

The socialist and the newly-liberated countries, the workers' revolutionary parties and other progressive organizations have given and are giving the Iranian revolution assistance in view of the ceaseless imperialist plotting. At

the same time, some analysts tend to express judgments and assessments which, we think, spring from a superficial understanding of its problems. So, while being conscious of the fact that our experience has its peculiarities which may possibly not be repeated elsewhere, we believe it to be useful to share it on the pages of WMR and to tell the friends of the Iranian people what the experience of the revolution teaches us.

1. See Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 175.

2. See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 373.

3. For his complicity in an anti-government plot, Ghotbzadeh was sentenced to death and shot.

4. The working people of town and country in Iran have retained, despite the qualitative and quantitative growth of the working class, many features of the mentality and behavior which were characteristic of the plebeian masses of the Middle Ages.

Crusaders of anti-communism

A COMMENT

The United States Secretary of State, George P. Shultz, has developed a remarkable ability to transcend his immediate surroundings as well as world reality.

Ignoring such mundane things as the highest U.S. unemployment since the 1930s, the mass misery, spreading hunger and growing homelessness; oblivious to the smashing of strikes and unions by the Reagan administration; shutting his eyes to the rise of racist outrages by a resurgent Ku Klux Klan and other reactionary groups, and ignoring the growing official and unofficial violations of human and democratic rights at home, Shultz soared to the heights of fantasy and proclaimed that "a new age of democratic reform and revolution lies ahead" in the socialist countries due to "the weaknesses of communist societies," which he said were "becoming increasingly apparent."¹

The podium from which he spoke was not Cloud Nine, but the State Department in Washington at an official conference to "discuss ways of changing the structure of communist countries," — no less!²

The conference was called to work out concrete measures to implement Ronald Reagan's "Crusade Against Communism" — launched last June in his speech to the British Parliament. One can be sure that it did not intend to work for easing world tensions, to promote a climate for peaceful negotiation of differences, to bring

about arms control and reduction on the basis of equal security, to strengthen détente and peace.

The practice of blatantly interfering in the internal affairs of other countries — in violation of international law, the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Accords — in order to push the world to the brink of war, is once again openly enshrined as the official policy of the U.S. government.

Where Dulles failed, Reagan hopes to succeed with new plans for infiltrating and subverting socialist societies and propelling psychological warfare to new depths. Reagan's new Crusade Against Communism is an attempt to revive Dulles' brinkmanship and push it to the extreme, irrespective of the consequences. He quite likely thought that his speech to the British Parliament would serve to reopen the cold war in Europe and the world in much the same way that Churchill's speech at Fulton, Missouri, in 1946 opened the cold war.

The Reagan administration is beset with a deep-going economic crisis at home, the deterioration of U.S. imperialism's economic, political and moral positions in the world, a crisis of confidence in the Atlantic Alliance, and a rising tide of mass struggles, both at home and abroad, against Reagan's policies.

Having no workable solutions to the difficulties and contradictions of U.S. imperialism, the Crusade Against Communism is offered in the

hope that it becomes a bigger concern of the people than jobs, bread and peace.

Arrogance and objective judgment have never been handmaidens. Extreme arrogance blinds one to his own fatal weaknesses and attributes them to his adversary.

What gives Reagan and Schultz the authority, and by what moral right, to tutor the socialist countries about democracy?

Does this authority come from the Black victims of racist violence in Boston, or from the Black youth who face life as a blind alley with 50 per cent unemployment, or from the people of other national minorities in the United States deprived of equal rights, or from the more than 11 million unemployed, or from the air-controllers, whose strike and union were brutally smashed by Reagan, or from other trade unions victimized by Taft-Hartley and other anti-labor laws and forced on the defensive by the wage-cutting, job-conditions-destroying-drive of the big corporations, or from the ghost towns of Mahoning Valley, Ohio, and other steel centers abandoned by big business, or from the tens of thousands of small farmers and business people forced into bankruptcy by monopoly greed, or from the so-called "minor parties," including the Communist Party, whose lawful ballot rights are curtailed and violated by anti-democratic regulations and practices, or from the U.S. working people who are not represented in the country's supreme bodies of power, for almost all seats there are occupied by representatives of the parties which are in the pay of big capital underwriting their election campaigns.

And by what "democratic means" does the State Department propose to "teach democracy" to the socialist countries? By halo-crowned cloak-and-dagger agents of the CIA, by honey-covered poisonous pollution over the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and the blasphemously-named Radio Marti, by economic warfare, by threats, intimidation and blackmail? Or, perhaps, they want to show how to install "democracy" by supporting and bolstering the most reactionary regimes, the most bloody dictatorships throughout the world, or, for instance, by encouraging Israel to ensure "human rights" in the Middle East with fire and sword, the seizure of foreign territories and killings of civilians? As the reader can see, democratic means to a democratic end.

Fear that time is running out on U.S. imperialist ambitions to dominate the world is one of the motors generating the Reagan Crusade. The old, discredited Dulles' cold war policies are resurrected under the dangerous illusion that if pursued a thousand times more

vigorously they will somehow live and succeed, especially if pursued on every front and at every level.

The much trumpeted Crusade Against Communism is also aimed at creating a smoke-screen behind which the Reagan administration could launch military adventures in the Caribbean, the Middle East and other flash points.

In no way does Reagan's Crusade accord with the interests of the people of the United States or of the peoples in the rest of the world. This is clearly manifest in the outcome of the November elections in the United States, and in the numerous mass demonstrations and results of public opinion polls. No unemployed can get work, no worker can feed his family, no peace can be assured the world as a result of Reagan's policies. The call of the President of the biggest imperialist power for a Crusade Against Communism stands in direct opposition and contrast to the repeated calls by the Soviet leadership for strengthening and extending détente worldwide and to the Soviet Union's unrelenting efforts to promote confidence-building measures, to create a climate conducive to successful arms reduction negotiations.

Evidently, the Reagan administration operates on the theory that still more virulent anti-Sovietism is the way to surmount the ever-rising mass opposition to his Reaganomics policies. This Goebbels' formula ("if you tell a lie often enough, people will believe it") is being reinforced in the USA in much the same way as Reagan conducts foreign policy: coercion, intimidation, threats. The drive is on to make peace a dirty word. Congressmen's wives who formed a group merely to promote the study of peace have been branded as subversives and linked, somehow, to the Soviet Union. Trojan horse "peace movements" have been set up to split the peace movements from within and to prevent their support for or identification with Soviet peace initiatives. Such are some of the facets of Reagan's crusade.

Much, if not all, of this has been tried before. If it didn't succeed then, it is hardly likely to succeed now.

Nonetheless, one cannot let one's guard down. It takes the hard, persistent work of millions to build the edifice of peace, but it takes only a few to destroy it in a moment of laxity or negligence. Eternal vigilance and mobilization for mass struggle without let-up is the price of world peace.

James West

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1. *International Herald Tribune*, October 20, 1982.

2. *Ibid.*

Inviting disaster

Herbert Scoville, Jr. *MX, Prescription for Disaster*, MIT Press, Cambridge (Massachusetts, U.S.) and London (England), 1981, 231 pp.

The most positive aspect of this book is the following statement: "No threat to the future of civilization compares with the threat of nuclear war. No national goal is more important than the goal of avoiding the outbreak of a nuclear conflict. No governmental actions require greater scrutiny than those actions that could increase the chances that nuclear weapons will be used by anyone, anywhere on this earth" (p. 1).

However, after reading the entire book, I cannot say that the author has given us a prescription to avoid the impending disaster. The reader will find no answer to this natural and cardinal question: Whence the threat to peace? The author does not regard U.S. imperialism as the source of this threat and so, quite naturally, fails to give a due assessment to the Soviet Union's contribution to the cause of peace, détente and disarmament.

An examination of the author's credentials indicates that his conservative, technocratic background as a high-level analyst has prevented him from drawing the kind of conclusions we could expect from such a positive statement about the threat posed to civilization by nuclear war. After the U.S. atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Scoville studied the effects of these nuclear explosions, first for the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and later for the U.S. Defense Department. Then, as an analyst for the Central Intelligence Agency, he was engaged in studying Soviet nuclear weapons. When he wrote about MX, he was the president of the U.S. Arms Control Association. This association is a non-governmental body, reflecting the views of a more sober section of U.S. monopoly capital. This section is concerned with the enervating effects of overkill armaments.

His stand is ambivalent. On the one hand, he challenges some of the more bellicose policies of the U.S. administration: "The view that if we only had missile defenses, anti-aircraft forces, civil defense shelters and evacuation plans, we could survive and win is a delusion, spread to make plans for a nuclear war more acceptable. Although by tradition the Soviet Union is strongly defense-oriented, its programs are

often exaggerated in the United States to make it look as if its leaders accepted this myth" (p. 48). He also admits that new weapons systems have always been initiated by the USA, while the Soviet Union has had to take counter-measures. But on the other hand this does not prevent him from believing that the USSR poses a military threat. That is why he argues that peace between the USA and the Soviet Union can only be guaranteed if there is a two-sided deterrent to ensure that neither side would have any incentive to launch a nuclear strike first.

Let us recall that the Carter administration announced its decision to proceed with full-scale development of the MX, the largest intercontinental ballistic missile. Scoville, after going into much technical detail about this weapon, points out that the deployment of 200 MX missiles would be a threat to the entire ICBM system of the Soviet Union and argues that this weapon is designed as a first strike weapon. But there again he draws the odd conclusion that this would increase the danger of a Soviet pre-emptive strike against the USA. Let us note, however, that the book was written before the Soviet Union made its commitment in the UN not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and urged the other powers to follow suit. I wonder what Scoville would say about his apprehensions today.

The author toils in the throes of contradictions. He closes his book with a call for a comprehensive test ban treaty between the USA and the USSR* to halt the development of nuclear warheads, and also proposes to reach a balance in mutual deterrence through negotiations, but nowhere does he make a strong case for maintaining the present military parity in the world and using it as a basis for serious negotiations on arms reductions.

When we study the record of the Reagan administration, it is obvious that its approach to serious negotiations for disarmament leaves much to be desired. The USSR's no-first-use-of-nuclear-weapons commitment was declared by the White House to be a "propaganda ploy," and there is no reason to expect U.S. imperial-

— continued on p. 80

*In October 1982, the USSR put before the 37th session of the UN General Assembly its proposals for the conclusion of such a treaty between all the states. — Ed.

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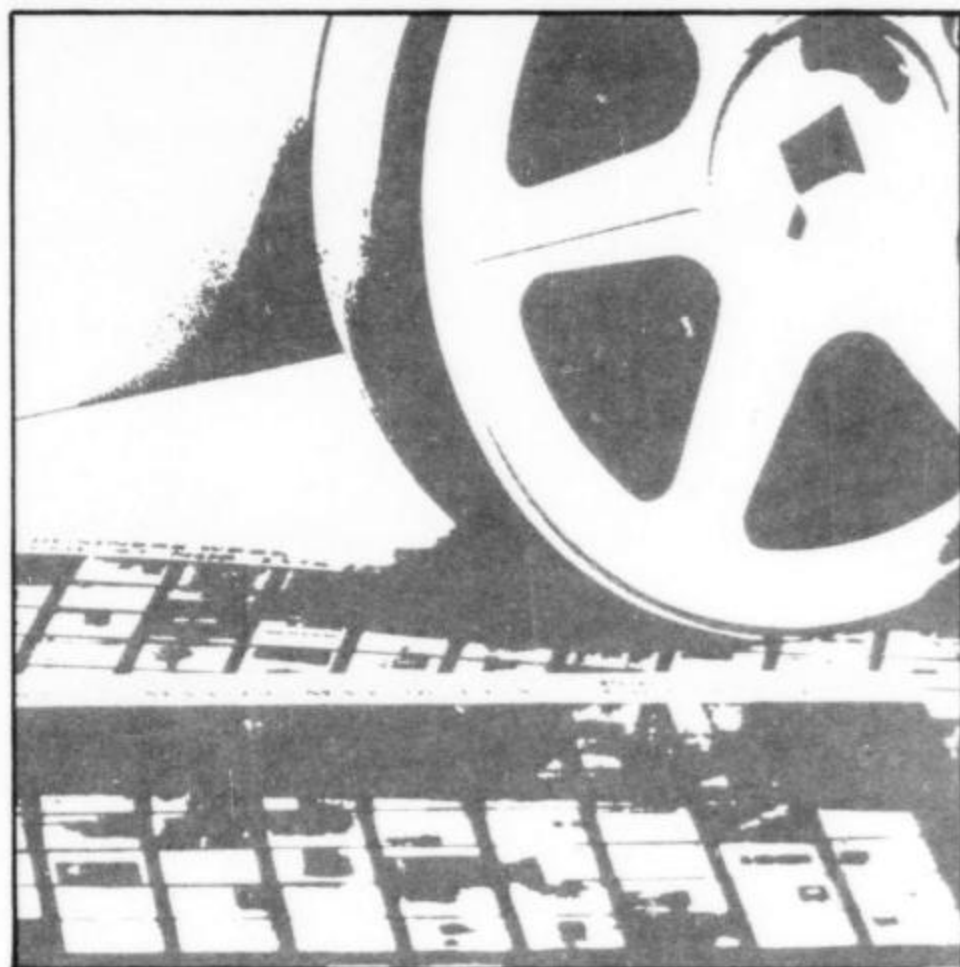
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thoughts and feelings have been swayed by the wild anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda to which they have been subjected from childhood. But they know better than most about the horrors and irreversible consequences of a nuclear war, and feel compelled to express their concern.

Jack Phillips

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