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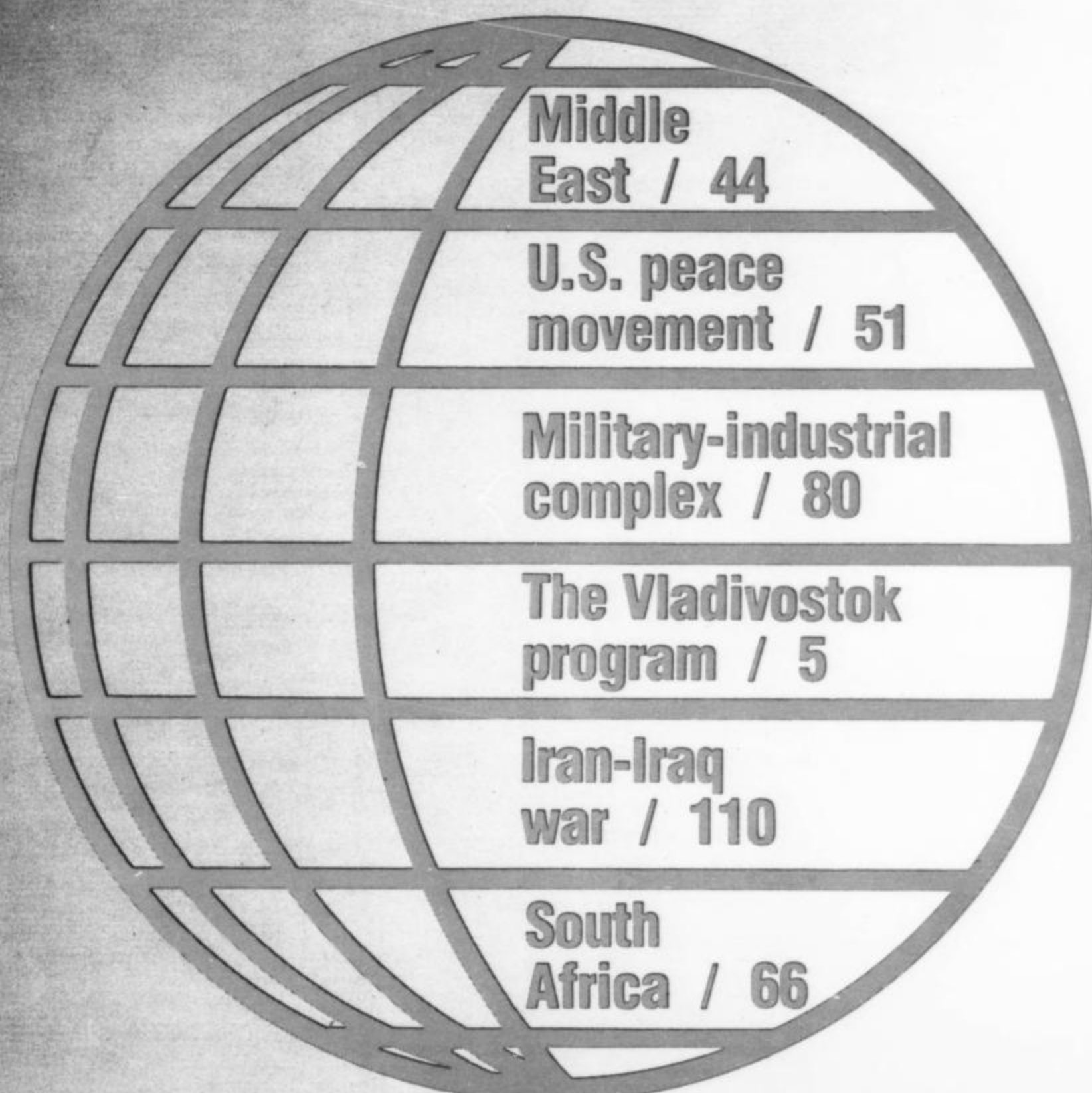
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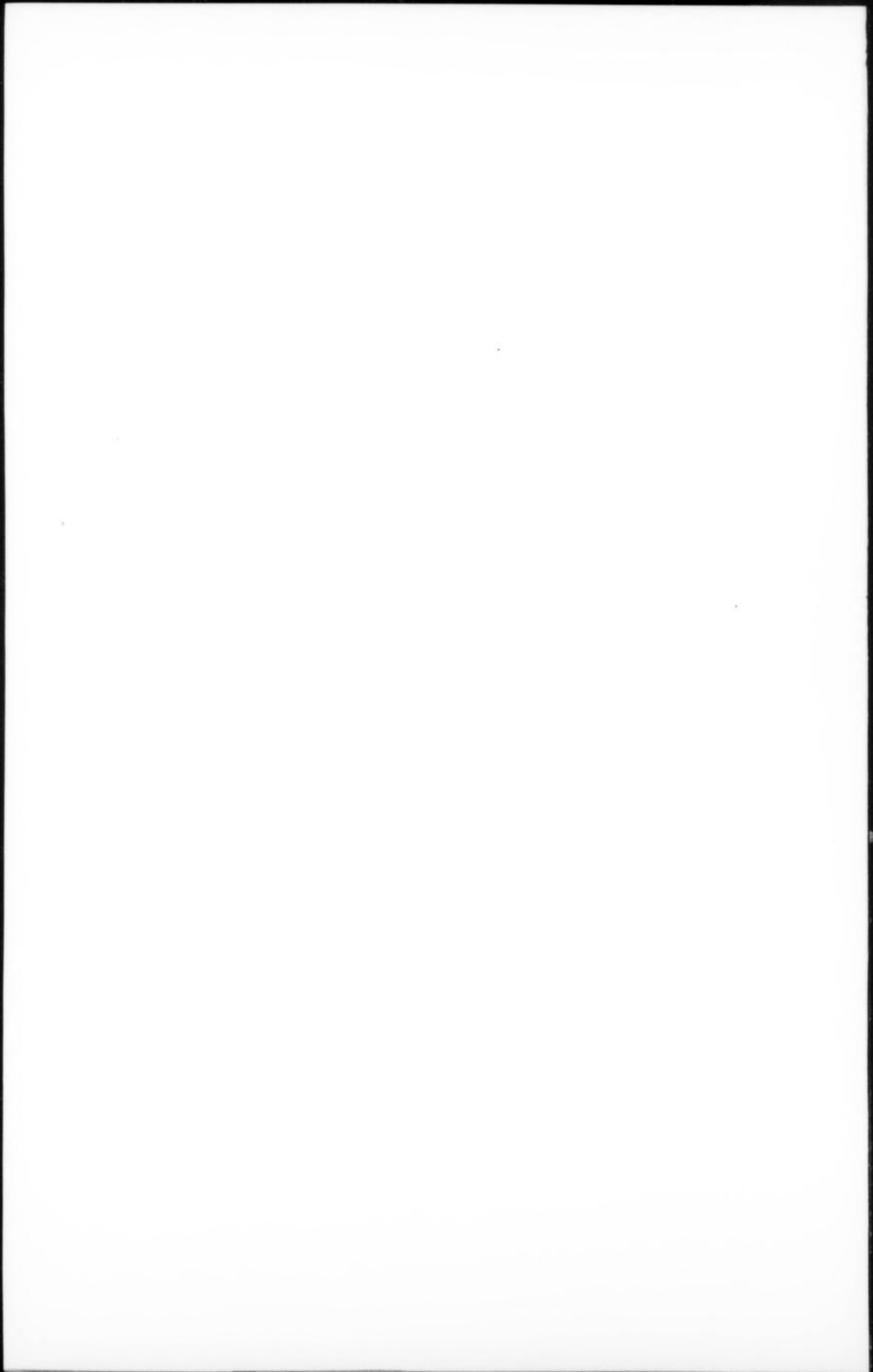
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The Vladivostok Programme: Progress And Prospects

Anatoly Dobrynin — Secretary of the CPSU CC

IN the community of states and peoples, which abounds in contradictions and is simultaneously interdependent, national and regional problems are woven into one knot with general human problems. The main problem in this intricate complex is that of preventing mankind's nuclear self-annihilation and of its survival in the nuclear-missile age. The solution of this problem and the assurance of universal and regional security largely depend on the state of affairs in the Asia-Pacific Region (APR), with its great diversity of countries, big and small, socialist and capitalist, non-aligned and aligned in military blocs. The assurance of peace and security in the APR is a part of the general problem of establishing a comprehensive international security system.

The Soviet Union is an Asian and a Pacific state, and the problems of this vast region are among its concerns. Our understanding of the approaches to their solution, and the conceptual basis and practical programme for ensuring peace and security in the APR through the joint efforts of all its countries, as Mikhail Gorbachov proposed at Vladivostok a year ago, are informed by a clear vision of the existing realities in the light of the long-term interests of the peoples of the region, and are oriented towards the future.

The most vital of these realities is that human civilisation is confronted with a threat from the accumulation of vast stockpiles of nuclear weapons,

Anatoly Dobrynin (b. 1919), member of the CPSU since 1945, graduated from the Moscow Institute of Aviation in 1942 and from the Higher Diplomatic School of the USSR Foreign Ministry in 1946, thereafter joining the Foreign Ministry staff. He served as Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations from 1957 to 1960 and as Soviet ambassador to the United States from 1962 to 1986. He was elected Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and department head there in March 1986. Anatoly Dobrynin was elected alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee in 1966-1971 and has been a full member since 1971.

and it is a reality which is fully present in the APR as well. Militarisation within it is a process gathering dangerous momentum. The APR is being turned into an arena of military-political confrontation and a hotbed of armed conflicts, and these always carry within them the latent danger of developing into global conflicts.

The responsibility for the tension in the region falls primarily on the United States, whose ruling circles do not want to give up the arms race, including the nuclear arms race, and have no intention of dismantling their bases or withdrawing their troops, air force and navy from foreign territories and waters.

A group of US troops, the second largest abroad after the group in Western Europe, is deployed in the Pacific region, with a concentration of large quantities of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles. Submarine-based missiles are tipped with something like 1,500 warheads, aircraft-carrier-based planes with about 1,000 warheads, and other US warships carry roughly as many. Tactical nuclear weapons are deployed on US bases in South Korea.

US imperialism has the objective of locking the APR into a system of US military bridgeheads stretching from Europe across the Middle East, East Africa, the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia, all the way to Japan, South Korea and Oceania.

Military-political partnership within the United States-Japan-South Korea triangle is being activated. The United States regards its bases in Japan and South Korea, together with the armed forces of these two countries, which are being modernised with US aid, as a single military-strategic complex. Japanese ruling circles have steadily built up the combat strength of their armed forces in support of Washington's global course.

The Pentagon seeks to preserve the old military blocs and agreements in the APR, and to knock together new ones. Everything is being done to establish the unlawful US military presence in Micronesia. Washington has tried in various ways to foist military cooperation on the ASEAN countries.

As a result, the countries of the region are being increasingly involved in the ruinous arms race. In 1985, for instance, the ASEAN countries spent over \$7 billion — 2.5 times more than in 1975 — on the maintenance and modernisation of their armed forces.

There is a continued and growing danger of a spread of nuclear weapons in the region. The military orientation of Pakistan's nuclear programme is a cause for especial alarm; nor are there any technical impediments to some other states acquiring nuclear weapons.

The build-up of the military potential of countries in the region evidently tends to increase the mutual uneasiness and has an adverse effect on the condition of broad masses of the population by diverting vast funds from economic and social development.

The military preparations of the United States and Japan are aimed not only against the socialist countries. There is no doubt that US military bases in APR countries also have the purpose of dictating to these countries the will of the imperialist monopolies. The US armed forces

abroad are an instrument for putting pressure on the peoples and governments of the liberated countries and a means for enabling the US and Japanese transnational corporations to throw their weight about in the region and to go on making huge profits. The rate of profit in the region is almost twice as high as it is in the developed countries (15.2 per cent as compared with 8 per cent). The so-called economic aid of the United States and Japan to less developed countries in the region in effect turns out to be downright bondage. The APR countries account for a sizeable part of the less developed countries' debt, which is now in excess of \$1 trillion. Thus, with an external debt of \$26 billion in 1986, the Philippines has to use virtually one-half of its export earnings to meet its annual interest payments. Indonesia's debt is even larger — \$42.2 billion — and over 40 per cent of its export earnings go to pay interest to foreign creditors.

Militarisation frequently gives the military circles a growing role in a country's political life, and that is fraught with the danger of the installation of reactionary military dictatorships and a drive against democratic rights and freedoms. In this context, one needs merely recall the case of South Korea.

The continued existence of dangerous hotbeds of tension and armed conflict is a specific feature of the present situation in the APR. Efforts to untie these knots meet with resistance from the imperialist forces.

It is Washington that has hampered in every way a normalisation of the situation around Afghanistan and Kampuchea, and in the Korean Peninsula. The imperialists have speculated on the difficulties of the historical and revolutionary process and have resorted to patent provocations, setting themselves the goal of fighting socialism, and discrediting and wearing out the socialist countries.

Washington has also conducted an aggressive line with respect to the non-socialist states of the APR who strive to pursue an independent policy. That is exemplified by the bitter campaign against New Zealand, the intervention in the internal affairs of the Philippines, and the events in Fiji. The United States has put massive pressure on the ASEAN countries so as to prevent them from setting up a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia.

India is being subjected to constant pressure by the United States. An especial threat to its security and stability is posed by the activity of US special services in fanning ethnic and religious conflicts in the country, and throughout South Asia generally. India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had very good reason to say on one occasion that there was an international conspiracy encouraged by reactionary forces inside India.

Alongside of all these negative phenomena, there is also evidence of other, positive trends in the APR, and of the vast potentialities of the whole region. There is ever more profound comprehension in the region of the vital need for a change in the present dangerous situation. The forces striving to erect a barrier to the spread of nuclear weapons have been acting with greater vigour and demanding that the peoples should be assured of a peaceful and secure future, free from threats, violence and fear.

More and more countries have taken a stand in favour of negotiations, national reconciliation and normalisation of the situation around the

hotbeds of conflict. In this way, they have begun to make more active use of their right to take part in world affairs.

The Soviet Union and the CPSU have sought actively to promote this process and have structured their foreign policy in the light of the interests of consolidating peace in Asia and the Pacific, as on the globe as a whole.

All the Soviet foreign policy initiatives are based on our universal approach to the principles for structuring international relations in the modern epoch, on what we call the new thinking. In the most general terms its substance may be set forth in the following propositions. *First*, nuclear war cannot be a means for attaining any reasonable objectives in the international arena whatsoever. *Second*, in the present-day conditions, the arms race cannot be won either. *Third*, no state can have security without equal security for all. *Fourth*, each people, big or small, has the sovereign right to a free choice of its economic and social system and way of development. *Fifth*, with the growing interdependence of states, the differences in economic and social systems, ideologies and world outlooks must not be an obstacle to broader mutually advantageous cooperation between all the countries concerned.

The application of the new thinking to the concrete conditions of the APR has produced a programme, which Mikhail Gorbachov set forth in his Vladivostok speech in July 1986, and which he further elaborated in his interview with the Indonesian newspaper *Merdeka* on July 21, 1987.

The principal elements of this programme are as follows:

- elimination of regional hotbeds of tension by means of political settlement;
- a halt to the nuclear arms race;
- reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments;
- creation of nuclear-free zones;
- dismantling of military bases on foreign territories;
- confidence-building measures in the military field;
- arrangement of equitable and mutually advantageous economic cooperation between all the countries of the region;
- efforts to set up a new international economic order;
- preparations for the eventual convocation of an all-Asia conference for a joint search for constructive solutions.

The Soviet Union's consistent line for a phased elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world, and our concrete proposals at Reykjavik and since have done much to give the APR palette an anti-nuclear hue. The South Pacific has been declared a nuclear-free zone. The idea of a similar zone in Southeast Asia is being actively advanced. There has been a spread of protest against French nuclear tests on Mururoa Atoll. There is growing demand to rid the Korean Peninsula of nuclear weapons. Anti-nuclear provisions have been written into the fundamental laws of the Philippines and some other countries. The People's Republic of China has been ever more active in stating its views on disarmament problems.

The Delhi Declaration on Principles for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World, which was signed last November, is the latest example of the politico-philosophical approach to the vital problems of inter-state relations. Although the document sprang from the development of

relations between two countries, it goes well beyond bilateral and regional frameworks — it is an expression of the aspirations of mankind as a whole.

The Soviet Union's readiness to dismantle all its medium-range missiles not only in the European but also in the Asian part of our territory was a major step towards the wishes of the Asian countries. Shorter-range missiles are also to be dismantled.

The significance of this initiative is amplified if one takes into account that the USSR has not linked it up with the issue of the US nuclear presence in Korea, in the Philippines, and on Diego Garcia, although it does hope that it will not be built up. What is more, the USSR has declared its readiness to commit itself not to increase the number of its nuclear-armed aircraft in the Asian part of the country, if the United States does not additionally deploy nuclear weapons in the area within reach of Soviet territory.

The states of the South Pacific that declared their region a nuclear-free zone under the well-known Rarotonga Treaty were given support by the Soviet Union and China, which signed the protocols to the Treaty, but met with a high-handed disdainful refusal on the part of the United States, Great Britain and France. The government of New Zealand, which proclaimed its nuclear-free status, likewise met with understanding from the USSR, but became the object of an unprecedented campaign of blackmail, vilification and discrimination mounted by Washington. The Soviet Union has officially voiced its positive attitude to the Southeast Asian countries' concept of turning their region into a nuclear-free zone, but US statesmen want them to abandon the idea. We have welcomed the intention of our Korean comrades, who have formulated the concept of a nuclear-free zone on the Korean Peninsula.

For a number of years now, the Soviet Union has urged the need to work out and put through confidence-building measures in Asia and the Pacific. There is the useful European experience, and it appears to be meaningful for the APR, where military activity is on a very high level. The Soviet Union has proposed that here as well the question of confidence-building measures should be translated into the practical plane, with special attention to the security of maritime and air communications and international straits. We generally favour the start of negotiations on reducing the activity of naval fleets in the Pacific Ocean; through their contact runs the line of confrontation, which generates the danger of conflicts. There could be a limitation on the areas of navigation by nuclear-armed warships, so that they should not approach the shores of the other side within the range of operation of their onboard nuclear weapons. There could also be an understanding on limiting anti-submarine rivalry. Confidence-building could be enhanced by the limitation of scale of naval exercises and manoeuvres in the Pacific and Indian Oceans and in the adjacent seas, by advance notification of them, by a mutual renunciation of naval exercises or manoeuvres in international straits and adjacent areas, and of the use of combat weapons in the course of exercises in the area of traditional maritime routes.

Many useful things can be done to strengthen security in the Indian Ocean. The Soviet Union has continued its consistent support for the idea

of turning it into a zone of peace in complete accord with the aspirations of the coastal countries and the non-aligned states. That could be promoted by an international conference on the Indian Ocean in accordance with UN resolutions. Preparations for it have been under way for several years, but they have kept coming up against Washington's resistance and sabotage.

It is time to set up international security guarantees for shipping in the Indian Ocean, on its seas, straits and gulfs. Given the political will, the question of security for air communications, of collective measures against terrorism on maritime and air routes in the Indian Ocean could also be settled.

The Soviet Union will persevere in working for a full-scale agreement on ending nuclear tests, whose repudiation by the United States, Britain and France has caused legitimate indignation in the APR countries, which have not forgotten that the first US nuclear-weapons tests were staged in the Pacific and deprived many inhabitants of the region of their health and even of their life.

The Soviet Union attaches much significance to reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Asia down to the limits of reasonable adequacy. We are aware that there must be a phased solution to this problem. For its part, the USSR has already taken practical steps to reduce its military presence in the APR. A number of military contingents have been withdrawn from Mongolia and Afghanistan by agreement with the governments of these countries. We have reduced the numerical strength of our troops in Afghanistan in the hope of stimulating the process of national reconciliation, and we have not been mistaken.

We have issued resolute calls for an end to the fratricidal Iran-Iraq war, which has already taken more than a million human lives and has ceased to be a bilateral affair. We want to see the withdrawal from the Persian Gulf of all warships not belonging to the countries of this region. We have just as resolutely condemned the attempts on the part of the United States and some of its allies to internationalise this conflict.

The Soviet Union wants to have the military confrontation, which is embodied in bloc politics, reduced to a minimum. If the time is not yet ripe for a disbandment of the existing military alignments, it is now already a fully realistic and topical objective to prevent the establishment of new closed groupings of states, notably in the APR. The important thing is to expose in due time the actual schemes of the architects of the bloc policy, who have covered up their plans with calls for economic and technological cooperation, as they have with the idea of what they call the 'Pacific community'.

The Soviet conception of universal security organically includes international economic security. The best way to ensure it is to implement the principle of 'disarmament for development'. The Soviet Union is also prepared to develop regional economic cooperation, a goal to be served by the national committee for Asian-Pacific economic cooperation now being set up in the USSR.

The socialist states' peace initiatives, which they have taken at various times, run along the course of ensuring peace and security in the APR. The Soviet Union and the CPSU are in accord with Mongolia's proposal to

conclude a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-resort to force in relations between the states of the region. We put a high value on the Afghan leadership's course towards national reconciliation, and the readiness of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to enter into military-political negotiations between the North and the South on a summit level and to agree on a phased reduction of the armed forces of the DPRK and South Korea down to 100,000 men on each side with a subsequent withdrawal of all US troops from South Korea. The USSR has supported the initiatives of the countries of Indochina on arranging peaceful good-neighbour relations with the ASEAN countries, on establishing a zone of peace and stability in Southeast Asia, and their course towards a political solution of the Kampuchean problem in the spirit of the conception of national reconciliation. Implementation of Vietnam's proposals on adjusting Vietnamese-Chinese relations would be of great importance for normalising the situation.

The Soviet Union would like to cooperate with the People's Republic of China in the matter of ensuring peace and security in Asia and the Pacific region, and of great significance here is the two countries' identical position on the no-first use of nuclear weapons and on the inadmissibility of the militarisation of space, and the fact that in most cases China, the USSR and the other socialist countries vote the same way when major world policy issues are considered in the United Nations. China has criticised a number of aspects of US policy in the region, condemned the resurgence of Japanese militarism, and supported the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on ensuring peace in the Korean Peninsula.

Positive shifts in relations between the USSR and China have taken place in the recent period, and a political dialogue is under way, although there also remain some differences in their approach to a number of international problems. We are sure that a further improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations would do no one any harm and would, in fact, serve the cause of peace and stability in Asia.

The Soviet concept of strengthening peace in the APR naturally implies the involvement of the United States and Japan in the process. The US and Japanese peoples would only stand to gain from a lowering of the level of the nuclear-missile threat in the APR, and from the establishment of an atmosphere of good-neighbourhood and cooperation in the region. There is now evidence in the United States of greater activity by public forces opposing nuclear weapons. The anti-nuclear attitudes are even stronger in Japan, where the militaristic trends are opposed by the Communists and the Socialists, and by broad public circles.

The principle of universality is a part of the Soviet view of peace and security in the APR, and it signifies that all the countries of the region, big and small, whatever their political and social order and foreign policy orientation, are invited to join in the dialogue. Mikhail Gorbachov's idea of the eventual holding of an all-Asia conference in the future for a joint search for constructive solutions is just such a working hypothesis, an invitation to discussion. The APR countries' specific world outlook and political and cultural uniqueness could enable them to suggest

off-the-beaten-track measures which are understandable and acceptable to one and all for solving the problems of this vast region of the globe.

It is a most challenging task to involve all the APR states in the process of elaborating the principles for ensuring security in the region, to say nothing of completing the endeavour with the convocation of an authoritative conference on security and cooperation. It took a whole decade to produce the final document on European security. There should be no illusions concerning the difficulties which will have to be surmounted in the APR, but we think that a start could even now be made on shaping the practical mechanism for attaining this goal. It could evidently be erected both along the state line and the public line, and could include bilateral and multilateral meetings, scientific seminars and international conferences.

The ideas of achieving peace and security in Asia and the Pacific through joint efforts by the countries of the region, the pivot of Mikhail Gorbachov's Vladivostok speech, have produced a wide resonance. But we have kept in touch with reality and are aware that the way to consolidating peace and security in the APR will be neither short nor easy. The main obstacle is that the ruling circles of the United States and Japan are still captive to the old, militaristic thinking. They like the present situation in the APR, in which there is either direct hostility, all the way to armed conflicts, between the individual countries, or mutual mistrust and suspicion, which the imperialists themselves have also tried hard to stoke up. In such a situation, they find it more convenient to dictate their will and to try to justify the massive US presence in Asia and the Pacific region.

One also has to say that some less developed countries in the region have taken a contradictory and inconsistent stand. On the one hand, they are seriously disturbed over its militarisation and the general sharpening of the situation in the world. On the other, they are now and again inclined to reduce the entire problem to Soviet-US disagreements and to avoid taking an active part in standing up for peace.

It is now more important than ever before in the past to mobilise the common sense potential, the partnership of catastrophe, as Mikhail Gorbachov said in Vladivostok.

There is also such a potential in the APR. It includes above all the socialist countries, whose role and efforts were described above.

The communist movement in the non-socialist countries has an important role to play. The Communists' struggle to realise the idea of Asian-Pacific security dovetails with the struggle for democratising political life and extends the basis for the communist parties' activity. The fraternal parties want public opinion in the countries of the region to regard the Communists as consistent champions of national interests and fighters for saving mankind from a nuclear catastrophe.

The Consultative Meeting for Peace, Security and Good-neighbour Cooperation in the Asia and Pacific Region, which was held in Ulan Bator last July on the initiative of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, provided a good opportunity for an exchange of opinion and a joint search for ways of effective and concerted action. It was the first such multilateral meeting of communist and revolutionary-democratic parties of the region,

and it was attended by the representatives of 21 parties from 18 countries of Asia and Oceania.

It was said at the meeting that life itself has shown the meaningfulness of the Soviet Union's Vladivostok call on all the APR countries to cooperate for the sake of peace and security. It was simultaneously stressed that the concentration of attention and effort on preventing a nuclear war as the priority problem cannot be a reason for underestimating the acuteness of the class contradictions in the capitalist world, for playing down the problems in defending the interests of the working class and all the other working people which have to be tackled by the democratic and revolutionary forces. It voiced solidarity with those who have spared no effort in the frontline of the struggle for these interests so as to pave the peoples' way to a better future. The participating parties agreed to hold such meetings in the future as well, and to invigorate and extend bilateral and multilateral exchanges of views on the problems of peace, security and good-neighbour cooperation in the region, and on other matters of mutual interest.

The meeting, Mikhail Gorbachov said, was an important contribution to the establishment of a security system in Asia and the Pacific and the strengthening of world peace.

The non-aligned movement, the conception of which, incidentally, took shape in Asia, has increasingly acted as a powerful anti-war force. Imperialism has tried hard to lock the movement on regional issues so as to prevent its participation in seeking solutions for the truly major problems of our day. But there is also a clear-cut urge of the movement as a whole and of most of its participants to have a decisive say on the substance of such problems as disarmament and development. India's foreign policy is of especial significance. The international role of this major state, which this year marks the 40th anniversary of its independence, has been growing in Asia and throughout the world.

One can also look to the partnership of reason among realistically-minded leaders within the ruling circles of developed capitalist countries who are capable of discerning the scale and reality of the danger hanging over mankind and of putting the task of its survival above all else.

The general shift in world public consciousness and the greater activity of various public forces and movements against militarism, for disarmament and for saving mankind from the threat of nuclear war will, of course, have an effect on the situation in the APR, but one must also see that the level of the anti-war movement in most, if not all, non-socialist countries of the APR, is far from adequate to the level of military danger. An understanding of the nuclear-missile threat hanging over mankind has far from everywhere made a deep penetration into the public mind of the countries in the region. The reasons are, evidently, diverse: they are historical, political, social and psychological. But, we feel, the main thing here is the relatively low level of political awareness and information of broad masses of the population, together with the ceaseless influence of anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda on the masses. All of that makes it more difficult to carry on a joint struggle for greater peace and security, and for the creation of an atmosphere of good-neighbourhood

and cooperation, both in the region and on the world scale.

That is why special attention needs to be given to the task of extending the basis of the anti-war movement by involving new social strata and groups. In this context, importance attaches to the practical experience of the International Forum for a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Humanity, which was held in Moscow, and which was attended by personalities representing the most diverse public strata with the most different political views and ideologies, but united by a single purpose: to preserve peace. The recent World Congress of Women, the broadest and most authoritative congress in composition in the whole history of the women's movement, was another positive example.

As Mikhail Gorbachov emphasised during his meeting with Nguyen Van Linh, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, on May 19 this year, the efforts of the countries of Europe and Asia towards building regional security systems could be merged into a single Eurasian process that could give a mighty impetus to creating a comprehensive international security system. In this vitally important matter, there is a need for close cooperation between the fraternal parties of the countries of Europe, Asia and the Pacific. It is most important, we think, to take account of the useful experience in the struggle for peace and security in Europe and on other continents, while using it, of course, with a full sense of the specifics of the Asia-Pacific Region.

What are the problems that, in our view, need to be jointly solved, if the conception of peace and disarmament is transformed into action by broad popular masses?

It is important above all to convince the doubting that the struggle for peace in our day is an organic and necessary part of the struggle for democracy and social progress, and that the prevention of a nuclear war is a necessary condition for the advance of any society along the way of democratisation and social transformations; there is a need to convince millions of men and women who are worried over their daily bread that along with hunger, they are confronted by another mortal danger, that of mankind's self-annihilation in a nuclear war. There is a need to demonstrate that the struggle against the nuclear-arms race is simultaneously the way to escape death from hunger.

There is a need to enter into a dialogue which is open and based on mutual consideration of each other's positions with all the social forces capable of joining in the anti-war movement in one form or another. It is highly important to hone the arguments in favour of peaceful and constructive initiatives and to present them in such a way that they reckon with the social psychology of the various strata of the society, and that they are intelligible and convincing for the given region and the given country. To seek ways to combine the struggle for the working people's specific interests with the anti-war and anti-nuclear movement of the broad masses is a task that fully stands before us.

There is a need for wide-ranging and patient explanatory work to overcome the fairly widespread mistaken assumption that the issues of war and peace boil down to contradictions between the two so-called superpowers, and that they have to be tackled by them alone.

Over the past year, the USSR has markedly invigorated its foreign policy ties in the region and has raised them to a higher level. Much importance attached to Mikhail Gorbachov's visit to India, and Rajiv Gandhi's visits to Moscow, and also to Eduard Shevardnadze's official visits to a number of APR countries. Parliamentary exchanges are being widened, and the volume of contacts has increased along various lines.

We have given much attention to expanding economic, commercial, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation with APR countries. A plan is being drawn up for the development of the Soviet Far East as a highly efficient economic complex, incorporated in the international division of labour system.

The CPSU wants the closest cooperation and coordination of efforts in the region by the socialist states and the fraternal parties of the non-socialist countries. We are ready actively to promote the advance of new peace initiatives and proposals coming from our friends and partners.

Socialism: Unity of Theory and Practice

Renewal — A Natural Form Of Society's Development

Janos Berecz — Political Bureau
member, CC Secretary, HSWP

IN Hungary the present-day reality has been shaped by diverse forces and influences. It epitomises the labour, aspirations, and efforts of several generations, but the decisive impetus was given by the decades since the nation's liberation in April 1945. Even the tragedies, errors, and contradictions of this period cannot eclipse the fact that fundamental social changes have taken place in Hungary. The epochal development led by the HSWP over the past 30 years is widely known and recognised. But the edifice of socialism remains to be completed, and many of Hungarian society's basic problems await their solution.

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He began working in Hungary's youth organisations in 1955. In 1966 he was elected secretary of the party committee at the Foreign Ministry. In 1972 he became deputy head of the HSWP Central Committee's Department of International Relations and then headed that department. In 1982 he was appointed editor-in-chief of *Nepszabadsag*, organ of the HSWP Central Committee. He was elected a Secretary of the HSWP Central Committee in 1985, a member of the party's Central Committee in 1980, and a member of the CC Political Bureau in June 1987. He is a deputy to the National Assembly (parliament) of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Relationship Between National and International Conditions

Social construction always proceeds under historically concrete conditions and it is possible to advance towards the implementation of socialist principles only on the basis of national reality. When objectives and tasks are marked out it is important to keep the diversity of international experience in mind, to compare it with our own, to proceed from a concrete analysis of practice, and take real potentialities into account.

There was a time when other thinking prevailed and other methods were employed. It was considered that the 'timetable' of socialist construction 'can be dictated' to history regardless of distinctive conditions, that decisions taken on one occasion, in a specific situation, can be adopted without change, copied in entirely different situations. The Hungarian experience of the initial years of socialist construction reaffirms that this thinking and political approach led to a rupture with reality, to the setting of unrealistic objectives, to a breakdown of the unity between practice, policy, and theory, to an erosion of confidence in policy and ideology. As a consequence, there was a debilitation of the system's mass base and of the foundations of authority, a serious political, economic, ideological, and moral crisis.

The prevailing historical conditions were disregarded, even though practically on the day after the Great October Socialist Revolution Lenin said that it was vital to note that the forms of transition to the new society inevitably "are and must be diverse, depending on the conditions under which the advance aiming at the creation of socialism begins. Local distinctions, specific economic formations, forms of everyday life, the degree of preparedness of the population, attempts to carry out a particular plan — all these are bound to be reflected in the specific features of the path to socialism . . ."¹

Developments have time and again demonstrated the validity of this warning and compelled that it be taken seriously. Three decades ago the HSWP drew the conclusion that *socialism had to be built on the basis of social reality and with account of international experience while constantly weighing the actual historical circumstances*. This is also borne out by the development of other countries, namely, that success comes when the builders of the new society have a broad international outlook and constantly compare their own experience with that of others, and proceed from national distinctions in the first place. Through this practice and theory socialism is enriched with diverse, unique decisions that may be used in various countries.

Our party will go on abiding by this thinking and method. In the spirit of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and with its help it will, while basing itself on what has been achieved, search for the most realistic possibilities and ways for progress and test practical solutions leading to the end objective.

In Hungary the socialist reality combines national reality with concrete international conditions. Among the latter the definitive factor is the existence of the socialist world system, of which we are a part. Hungary's choice of the way and its development over the past 40 years have been

decisively influenced by the fact that it was liberated by the Soviet Army and that a friendly alliance has formed with the USSR and there are close relations between the Soviet Union and Hungary in all areas. As a member of the socialist community we have consolidated multilateral relations with countries that have opted for socialism. All this has ensured Hungary's security and enabled it to proceed with peaceful constructive endeavour; international cooperation facilitated Hungarian society's development, paving the way to the utilisation of the experience of countries addressing similar historical tasks.

Also a major international factor was that because of Hungary's membership of the socialist community imperialism was powerless to exercise any determining influence. However, through various counteraction — inflaming tension, aggravating the danger of war, escalating the arms race, pursuing a great-power foreign economic policy, conducting ideological subversion, encouraging and supporting the system's internal enemies, and so forth — imperialism is impeding our progress and limiting our potential for resolving domestic problems.

The consolidation of the position of the socialist countries after the Second World War and their successes in economic development, social insurance, education, science, and culture were of immense significance in creating the conditions for the Hungarian people's constructive work. The socialist world system has become an epochal political and historical factor, showing its viability and strength and demonstrating that it is a realistic alternative to capitalism.

Our Attitude to the Soviet Experience

In terms of human civilisation socialism is a young society that has yet to reveal all its potentialities. There is much that we still do not know about it. In the day of Marx and Engels there were only the general outlines of the road to socialism in the form of conclusions that could be drawn from capitalism's contradictions in the course of the historical process.

The October Revolution gave rise to an entirely new situation. Prior to it socialism was only the subject of thought. But now it had to be built in practical terms in a distinctive situation that was in many respects different from the one that was anticipated. Theory and the methodology of Lenin's thinking and work presumed the need for studying the concrete historical situation, looking for forms of socialist construction adequate to that situation, discussing and adopting decisions, and making bold, even far-reaching changes on the basis of the accumulated experience. Lenin always held that socialism could not be built without the people's initiatives and efforts.

In the course of three decades the Soviet Union single-handedly implemented a programme of socialist construction, tackling its social, economic and cultural problems. The situation was a disturbing one, for there was a real threat of armed attack with the purpose of destroying the new system. The Soviet Union was compelled to build up its defences and subordinate the solution of individual problems to this aim. During the pre-war years the character of the transformations was visibly influenced

by the inherited backwardness, the economic, social and political structure, the relations between the various nationalities and ethnic minorities which had markedly disparate levels of development, and the diverse traditions and customs and resultant national distinctions. This period cannot be assessed exclusively as one of progress in surmounting backwardness, as only a specific national feature or, equally, as the only possible road to socialism.

Prior to the formation of people's democracies following World War II there was only one country with the practical experience of socialist construction. There was the objective danger that an historically concrete way and also specific solutions would be taken as a model of socialism, and more, that this would be seen as the only possible model (this is exactly what occurred later). Lenin's proposition that "only by a series of attempts — each of which, taken by itself, will be one-sided and will suffer from certain inconsistencies — will complete socialism be created by the revolutionary co-operation of the proletarians of *all* countries"² was pushed into the background.

A new historical situation took shape in the world after the war when a number of countries in Europe and Asia and then on the American and African continents embraced socialism. Extensive *international experience* stemmed from their progress. It allows drawing vital lessons, mutually studying experience, adopting useful practices, precluding one-sidedness, avoiding hasty theoretical conclusions and, if such are made, correcting them. Considerable opportunities appeared for identifying what was, on the one hand, universal and essential in socialist construction and, on the other, distinctive. By continuing to build up experience and knowledge we are able to correct the simplifications and errors in the concept of socialism resulting from the former limited practice.

In this respect the Soviet experience is of unfading significance and plays an indispensable role. It unquestionably contains general, essential features of socialist construction applicable in other countries, although a specific historical situation engendered specific decisions that, as a consequence of subjective factors, became more specific and, to a large extent, burdened with negative features. Thus, the *Soviet experience has been and remains of irreplaceable value to the socialist movement, but in the historical perspective it is evident that there cannot be (nor, seemingly, is there) an eternally functioning 'pure' formula of socialism* applicable to any country at any time.

Having embarked upon the building of the new society, other countries (including Hungary) drew upon the Soviet experience. However, on account of certain circumstances we were unable to avoid the errors of mechanical repetition and copying. A contributing factor was that in the prevailing conditions there were some similarities: almost all countries encountered the need to surmount inherited backwardness; there was the continued external threat, the danger of a world war breaking out. For that reason there was a measure of haste in restructuring society, as a result of which some programmes were launched before decisions entirely consonant with the existing reality could be adopted. In parallel with the application of general experience, copying led in some instances to

imitating specifics and to the adoption of errors and distortions along with what was good.

That old dogmas and distortions were being jettisoned and that there was a striving for renewal were strikingly shown at the historic 20th Congress of the CPSU, which opened the way for bringing socialist construction more closely, organically into line with the concrete conditions prevailing in individual countries and, in the long run, for bringing a more diversified and richer experience to light. The concept of a 'single model' ceased to exist in socialist theory and a balance was restored between general regularities and national distinctions, but in practice (for various reasons) full account was not taken of this reality with the result that the ideas advanced at the 20th Congress were implemented only partially and in a contradictory manner.

The socialist world system has now to measure up to a major historical challenge. Scientific and technological progress has reached a new quality and this is powerfully influencing the shaping of international economic relations and the social effects of these relations. Socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place, have made impressive advances in many areas, for example, space exploration, rocketry, and nuclear power engineering, but lagged behind in economic restructuring and in going over to intensive development. In the latter half of the 1970s and in the early 1980s the development of the socialist world system slowed down and the advantage in economic growth rates relative to capitalism was lost. The resultant difficulties not only precipitated internal social strains but influenced the international situation by giving the ruling circles of the imperialist states a gleam of hope about being able to turn the tables on socialism and encouraging them to pursue a hard-line policy. A correct response to this challenge was crucial to the destiny of socialism.

At its historic 27th Congress the Communist Party of the Soviet Union declared that it would meet the challenge, that it was prepared to come face to face with realities, take a new approach to the problems that had piled up, clear the road to the future, and remove everything that was hindering the solution of domestic and international problems.

The historical challenge concerns all the socialist countries, and each is contributing its share of responsibility for framing and carrying out the tasks needed for the appropriate response. In the final analysis the *decisive role is played by their unity and cooperation*. We have to recognise that we shall encounter daunting problems and formidable obstacles and that we shall have to show restraint and courage, but this work has to be done in order to cleanse, renew, and consolidate socialism and create the conditions for taking it to a qualitatively new level where its advantages will unfold to a fuller extent.

Along the Path of Reforms

Lessons of the past indicate that inevitable changes cost least to countries that are able to resolve their problems without massive upheavals, by means of organic reforms. Hungary's record over the past 30 years is explicit evidence that a principled reform policy, that progress along the path of reforms, is a natural form of our development.

The HSWP saw the significance of reforms in the socialist society and made it clear time and again that it had the ability to put them into effect. A wide-ranging renewal of the party, policy, and society as a whole took place after 1956. We adopted a new attitude to socialist transformations in agriculture. Acknowledging the contradictions and factors hindering economic development, the party set out 20 years ago on a comprehensive reform of the mechanism of economic management and accelerated the implementation of reforms in the 1980s. Innovative, all-embracing, reform-related solutions of problems are being constantly put into effect, for instance, upgrading the electoral system, state administration, and the work of public organisations.

In socialism's development it is of decisive importance to introduce *qualitative changes* opportunely and consciously. Needless to say, not every change is a renewal. However, when contradictions arise in one or several areas of life there has to be a comprehensive solution. This cannot be ignored for otherwise serious injury will be inflicted on socialism.

As an organic element of socialist construction, renovating reforms create the possibility of looking for and selecting new methods and solutions, of correcting what had been previously done, and using the advantages inherent in the new system. That is why the HSWP has advocated and will go on favouring reforms carried out under the conditions of socialism and for socialism. In keeping with this line, the party opposes the striving, inspired by fear of renewal, to complicate the planning of reforms and obstruct them. At the same time, it clamps down on all attempts to use reforms as a pirate flag to undercut the social system.

Since it was founded almost 70 years ago the HSWP has accumulated extensive experience that has become a solid foundation of its activity and a value of the entire movement and of theory. But it also has bitter experience that has taught it what projects, methods, and solutions should be avoided. There have been many occasions when the party had to adapt to drastically altered situations, and to take a critical approach to past delusions, errors and distortions.

Socialism's colossal potential for self-renewal is demonstrated by the changes in the policies of the CPSU. The work of fraternal parties shows that recognition of and the determination to press forward with the renewal of socialism are gathering momentum also in other countries, whatever the name given to this process. For us this creates increasingly favourable conditions for staying on course.

Practice reaffirms that under socialism as well *the question of power invariably holds the key place in politics*. The prestige of authority rests on total confidence, on the living and active link between the party and the people. The party is able to mobilise the people to contribute to the solution of objectively mature and recognised problems only if it can put forward a programme that is consistent with prevailing external and internal conditions and is supported by the people as their own.

The preservation and steady reinforcement of this unity and the system's legitimisation³ are rooted in the *upgrading of socialist democracy*, in the participation of as many people as possible in decision-making. It is our aim that the functioning of the institutions and instruments of socialist

democracy should conform with society's development level and facilitate the attainment of our objectives. The goal of further progress is social self-administration as understood by Marxism. This is not only the end ideal of our development. At every stage we have to take steps in that direction as the conditions mature for such steps.

Our vision of democracy is that it is the natural constantly developing condition aimed also at giving shape to the qualitatively new, socialist, people's, national community. Exchanges of opinion, the polemics vital for bringing to light and comparing interests, defining their priorities, and for conscious preparations based on collective effort are elements of democracy. It is important that the discussions oriented towards positive social reforms, that the dynamic public spirit should contribute to a critical redefinition of outdated projects and practices, to the further enrichment of our approach.

In order to strengthen the party's leading role and contacts with the people *it is necessary to develop the political system as a whole and its individual elements, to promote political organisation and public openness in political matters.* This means taking the complexities and compositional character of reality into account and recognising that there is a plurality of interests. The eradication of antagonistic class contradictions and the increasing coincidence of the basic interests of allied classes and strata have not led to the disappearance of the distinctions between these interests; more, new distinctions and contradictions have surfaced. In shaping and implementing policy we take into account this complex fragmentation of interests and orient ourselves on them for the sake of common aims and stability. Diversity does not preclude the possibility for political unity, chiefly because fundamental interests are based on the people's power and public property in the means of production. This possibility does not go into effect automatically.

The experience of Hungary and other countries is a warning that in the course of socialist construction there may be legitimate problems and even crisis phenomena that, in turn, may lead to a broader institutional and political crisis. Of greater significance is the experience that through sustained, conscious effort it is possible and vital to maintain social accord, in other words, the people's identification with the socialist homeland and system which must be reproduced and strengthened in changing situations.

The working people regard the existing system as just and legitimate if its political decisions mirror their requirements and are reaffirmed in day-to-day life by a tangible rise of their living standards, if society has a durable scale of values, and clear and consistent moral norms, moral orientations, and if the people are drawn into the administration of public affairs.

We see the upgrading of democracy as a large potential for consolidating the system's legitimisation in the ongoing situation, when some economic difficulties, changes in the notions about socialism, and initial phases of the alteration of the scale of values generate uncertainty in some circles. But we respond to difficulties not by inhibiting democracy but, on the contrary, by deepening it and going forward with consolidating elements of self-administration.

Our party has consistently and with considerable receptivity pursued its policy of alliance and *achieved broad popular cohesion identified with socialist aims*. The constantly renewing social accord, based on confidence between the party and the people, is the guarantee of our stability and our ability to promote progress.

In Hungary the *economy* is a key area for the upgrading of socialism. It is important to mention how we respond to economic challenges and to what extent we are able to neutralise negative influences and difficulties that bring about stoppages and halt growth. Efficiency, quality, and competitiveness in production and more effective participation in the international division of labour are the overriding conditions for progress. We see the locomotive of development in the close interrelation and mutual dependence of politics and economics and in taking the multiform impact of the social environment, science, culture, and ideology on the economy into account.

Since the 1960s, when it was found that economic growth had to be stimulated by other, more effective ways and means, we have had to look for answers to many new questions. In the process of getting a profound understanding of reality it was important to recognise that commodity production, operation of the market and the law of value exist under socialism, that planning can be effective if use is made of the laws of commodity production, and if the plan and the market are in organic unity. These factors were mirrored in the 1968 reform of economic management.

The past two decades have confirmed that *a continuous economic reform* is both necessary and viable. On the whole, our development has acquired a balance and a more flexible adaptability to requirements. Questions related to maintaining the balance, to structural changes, and to innovation now get priority.

It has become clear that the relations of property and distribution likewise cannot remain stagnant. In the 1980s we enforced the relevant reforms that gave new scope for socialist construction, but they generated new contradictions and problems. We are now thinking of ways and means of increasing labour returns, giving more incentives for work of high quality, and fostering more receptive thinking, responsible behaviour, and an independent flexible organisation of labour.

Income differentiation is an effective means, lever, and motive force of our development. We are moving in that direction consciously, giving effect to the principle that wages should only be paid for actual labour. It is important to foresee the effects of this approach and regulate the resultant differentiation in the social structure.

However, this does not side-step argument. Levelling, which ideology and public thinking interpreted as social equality and turned into a principle of socialism, prevailed in practice at one time. The growth of free benefits from social funds was regarded as a criterion of socialism's advance and, willy-nilly, consumption rather than work was thus stimulated.

Labour is the mainspring of development in a socialist society. This is, of course, a contradictory mainspring reproducing imbalances but, as a whole, it has lent itself to public control. Between primitive egalitarianism

and socially unacceptable distinctions there is an equilibrium where remuneration in accordance with work is an adequate incentive but, on the scale of society, does not create excessive, intolerable inequalities. This equilibrium is in line with our social aims and has to be constantly recreated.

Differentiation related to the labour contribution gives rise to many economic and ideological problems at the 'poles of distribution': the principle of aid to people in the lower-paid brackets must be applied consistently in social policy, and the principle of social justice must be applied in meeting the interests of society as a whole. But as our society develops the need arises for drawing a proportion of the property owned individually by citizens into the process of social reproduction. We find that it is expedient to give working people a larger incentive for using these funds. This ensures a more effective, judicious, and responsible functioning of state property and will help to foster a more proprietary attitude on the part of people to such property. The experience of Hungarian cooperators and small-scale commodity producers, who have already adopted this practice, raises the question of introducing into the state sector the solutions that have been tested by the former and proven to be viable. We would thereby not only create the conditions for an exchange of production expertise between enterprises of different types of ownership and various kinds of organisations but have the possibility of establishing that higher efficiency is by no means implicit in any single form of this property or organisation. In the coming years it will remain our policy to preserve dependable living standards and reduce social inequalities.

Illusions and the Reality

Various notions about socialism are presently current in Hungary. The vast majority of people approach life not theoretically but practically, on the basis of what they see for themselves. At the same time, they learn and adopt views and values from different sources. A considerable influence is brought to bear by the family, the school, acquaintances, the mass media, and culture as a whole. We must look for the reasons for this multiplicity of views, including the 'vagueness' in opinions about socialism, in reality, in theoretical and educational work, and in the relationships between these factors.

The old, utopian pictures of a crystal-clear, everlastingly and universally applicable theory that unerringly marks out the direct route towards socialism has become fairly deep-seated in the public mind, even among a segment of the Communists. It may bend sometimes, and when this happens it straightens out again, almost automatically. The same may be said about the party and the socialist state seen as epitomising collective wisdom and explaining in detail when and what should be done. Consequently, the role of the individual is reduced to carrying out the tasks set from above to the best of his or her ability, conscientiously, as fully as possible. In this view difficulties, standstills, and serious problems are regarded only as transient complications: here the inference is that once these complications are surmounted we can continue our advance along

the straight road of socialist development.

Confidence in a 'well-oiled mechanism', in an undeviating, unswerving movement was of immense significance in disseminating the ideas of Marxism, of socialism among the people. This confidence rested on an ideological and a material foundation: on the one hand, on the recognition that the main trend of the historical process is towards a classless society and, on the other, on the unprecedentedly dynamic economic and social construction that was started after the victory of the socialist revolution. But we now know that the theory of balanced, unobstructed development was a fallacy in the past as well. This became strikingly self-evident in the period of new scientific and technological breakthroughs that accelerated changes, when continuous renewal became the paramount stimulus. Today the guarantee of success lies in flexibility, in the ability to make extraordinarily quick changes.

In the interests of progress we have to put an end to the illusions that a measured and untested march towards a classless society takes place under socialism. But we remain convinced that *on its own foundation the new system produces the human and economic prerequisites of further steady growth* even with variable dynamism, that it demonstrates its advantages over capitalism in the production of material goods and in promoting the all-sided improvement of the people's life.

A more realistic approach to socialism may only be based on a better knowledge of Hungarian society and on an effective and responsible distribution of roles in the course of resolving any problems that may arise. In both cases a large contribution would be made by a theoretical generalisation of the values that have taken shape and been implemented in the practice of the HSWP and our society over the past 30 years, by a more profound understanding of these values on the part of the people, by a concrete analysis of present-day processes, contradictions, and tensions, and by an open quest for means and solutions and for ways of putting them into effect. Thus, it is important *to tie in the socially rational actions more closely with the principles and aims of socialism*. In their dialectics lies the further path for the building of the new system.

Our experience and the well-being of our people corroborate that socialism in Hungary is a reality even if it is not a completed edifice. The gains and torments of the preceding stage demonstrate that it represents the best possibility for the further blossoming of the Hungarian nation. The goals that have been marked out give us a clear picture of the socialist prospect. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has a programme, endorsed wholeheartedly by the people, for combining potentialities with these goals.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 208.

² *Ibid.*, p. 346.

³ The people's recognition that the social system is warranted, valid, and just, that it is consonant with their interests and requirements. — *Ed.*

The 70th Anniversary of the October Revolution

Another Step Towards The Future

Jorge del Prado — Secretary
General, Peruvian Communist Party CC

THE outstanding Peruvian revolutionary and founder of our party, Jose Carlos Mariategui,¹ enthusiastically greeted the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, characterising it as "mankind's first step towards a society of brotherhood, peace and justice".²

The birth of socialism is, beyond doubt, the most important event in world history because with it the age-old dream of the working people has come true, confirming the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of revolution in our time.

When it came to power, the workers' and peasants' government headed by the Bolshevik Party and Lenin, handed factories and plants over to the working people and the land to those who tilled it, liberated the oppressed nations and ethnic groups of the former tsarist empire, and adopted an historic Decree on Peace.

Ever since that time the struggle for human dignity acquired a new dimension and ushered in an entirely different stage of social development.

The Great October Revolution also marked the beginning of the general crisis of the system of bourgeois-imperialist domination and opened the road to emancipation of the dependent and oppressed nations. Today, seventy years later, everyone who really wishes well-being and happiness for the people and independence and prosperity for all nations cannot but give its due to the heroic party of Lenin and the multinational people of the Soviet Union and solidarise with them.

Peru also felt the effect of the great upturn in the new historical circumstances.

After the First World War the imperialist domination of our economy, at first by Great Britain and then by the United States, led to a sharp decrease in the export of Peruvian raw materials, their production being monopolised by the two countries' companies. Jobs were slashed, wages cut and the working people's standard of living declined as a result. The economic crisis that followed further aggravated the situation and evoked anti-imperialist sentiments among the broad sections of the Peruvian people. Under the direct influence of the socialist revolution in Russia, the Peruvian working class staged in 1918-1919 its first major political strikes. The proletariat began to emerge as the main protagonist of national

Jorge del Prado (b. 1910), a prominent figure in the international communist movement and Jose Mariategui's disciple and associate, joined the Peruvian Communist Party in 1929, became a member of its Central Committee in 1931, was elected a member of the CC Political Commission and Secretariat in 1942 and Secretary General of the PCP Central Committee in 1966. Jorge del Prado is a member of the Senate. He has written several works on the Peruvian communist, workers' and trade union movement.

developments. Thanks to Mariategui's untiring activity, the first class-based trade union centre of the Peruvian working people was established and the Communist Party made its first steps.

The consequences of the First World War, the structural crisis of capitalism and the socialist revolution in Russia gave a powerful impetus to the development of the anti-imperialist movement among the broad sections of students, intellectuals and middle strata. But that movement can acquire strength and consistency, Mariategui said, only when the anti-imperialist struggle is linked to a socialist perspective.

The processes taking place in Peru today are considerably affected by the successes of socialism and the victories of the national liberation revolutions. Socialism has demonstrated in practice its superiority over capitalism, the fact which gives it immense appeal. The gains of the countries of the socialist community, including Cuba, are seen by the Peruvian Communists as the most convincing argument in favour of inexorable social progress, which relies on the growing alliance of all the fighters for complete and genuine national and social equality, peace and the security of nations.

The Soviet Union set an example of liberating the working people from capitalist exploitation and of emancipating the peoples from national oppression. It is only in the light of its true value that we can understand the universal importance of its internal and external policy. Only in this way can we evaluate the consistently internationalist and Leninist policy pursued by the CPSU. The principles which inspired the October Revolution continue to determine today Soviet policy of combating the growing aggressiveness of imperialism, which threatens mankind with nuclear war. Just like Mariategui when founding the PCP, the Peruvian Communists are wholeheartedly on the side of the USSR, the indestructible bulwark of national liberation, socialism, democracy and peace.

I think that without a serious evaluation of these premises, *without determining their exact historical meaning, it is impossible to understand and appreciate the true value of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union.* "The case in point," Mikhail Gorbachov stressed, "is actually a radical turn and measures of a revolutionary character. As we talk about reorganisation and related processes of far-reaching democratisation of society, we mean truly revolutionary and comprehensive social transformations."³

What is then the reason for this reorganisation? With much already said and written about it, let me go over the main points anew.

Scientific socialism shows and reality confirms that in their development the productive forces (material and intellectual) tend to outgrow at a certain moment the existing relations of production. When this happens there appears a need for social revolution which would modify outdated patterns and open the way for the development of the productive forces to enable further progress.

In a society, where the state eliminates the conditions for exploitation of man by man and class struggle discontinues, the aforementioned dialectical process develops even faster. At the same time its significant peculiarity is

that the outmoded relations of production and social relations can be renovated without one class necessarily replacing another in power, without any change in the very nature and essence of the social system. Within the framework of the state of the same type and under the same form of government the long-established relations of production, which have grown narrow, outmoded and become a drag on socialist development, can and should at some point undergo conscious and profound transformation or renovation.

These are the aims, in my opinion, of the process of restructuring, renovation and profound democratisation intended to accelerate the socio-economic development of the USSR. The new course was outlined by the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and approved by the 27th Party Congress. As Mikhail Gorbachov repeatedly said, the potential of the socialist productive forces, that has been growing as a result of the staggering achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, could not be fully used given the outmoded forms of labour organisation and social relations. They interfered with the development of the productive forces and the natural growth of man's creative abilities under socialism. The under-estimation of material encouragement of both individual workers and enterprises also had a role to play in slowing down production rates and making it impossible to raise quality. Progress in social relations and culture was blocked by the inadequate development of democracy and also acceptance of bureaucracy, dishonesty and abuse of power by some government and party apparatus officials.

The removal of every constraint of social progress, the ever fuller implementation of democratic rights of the individual, self-management, the encouragement of initiative, open criticism and self-criticism, as we see, are awakening truly revolutionary enthusiasm among the Soviet people. This is already yielding fruit in material production and intellectual, scientific and cultural progress. Broader prospects are opening up for the Soviet Union and a powerful impetus is being given to the motive forces of a new society not only in the USSR but also in other socialist countries, which apply a similar approach to their own realities so as to accelerate their development and to perfect socialist democracy.

This is how the Peruvian Communists and, I am sure, the Communists of other Latin American countries understand and assess the changes in the Soviet Union. Soviet foreign policy, pervaded with a new spirit of initiative and efficiency, is inseparable from these changes. It is a more dynamic, daring and efficient policy.

I think there is no need to go over every specific action, every concrete step taken by the USSR to stop the race in lethal and sophisticated armaments and to avert nuclear catastrophe. They are commonly known and match the spirit and humanistic objectives of socialism, its theory and practice. I would like nevertheless to make a very important point.

The cause of universal peace, nuclear disarmament and the preservation of life on Earth is closely and inseparably linked with the tasks of national liberation, as the global strategy of imperialism aims at subjugating other nations. Its adventurist attempts to appropriate other people's territories and resources and to set up an even more ramified network of military

bases and strongholds all over the world stem from its plans to attack the socialist community, primarily the USSR, and to suppress any national liberation movement wherever it emerges.

Nicaragua is a graphic example in our region. President Reagan has unabashedly proclaimed that aggression against that sovereign state is aimed at stamping out a 'centre of resistance' to his strategy. The US administration wants to drown the Sandinist revolution in blood because the proud people of this small republic are not going to bow to Washington's diktat. The US head of state is quite preoccupied with the struggle waged by the Salvadoran patriots for their national liberation and democracy, with the actions by the Chilean people against Pinochet and for the re-establishment of a democratic regime, and with the Paraguayans' efforts to overthrow the Stoessner dictatorship.

I would like to dwell upon another aspect of this problem which, though very important, has not yet received sufficient attention. The changes in the Soviet Union give a special meaning to our struggle. What I mean here is primarily the relationship between *socialism and democracy*.

In Peru, just like in other Latin American countries, an appreciable portion of our real or potential allies hesitated to approach us and even tended to distance themselves from the Communists. In so doing, they often cited a certain incongruity between the successes of existing socialism in the economic, social, scientific, technological and cultural fields, on the one hand, and the level of its democratic freedoms in politics, on the other. The restructuring and changes undertaken in this field are dotting the i's, actively winning ever more new friends over to our side. And that is of great importance in the complicated political situation in Peru today.

In its struggle the Peruvian Communist Party proceeds from the general laws of the development of revolution, reflected in the theory of Marxism-Leninism and confirmed by practice, laws which emphasise the importance of unity among all the revolutionary and patriotic forces for the sake of reaching the goals of the proletariat. In this way our party, acting in different historical circumstances, contributed to the formation of powerful anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic alliances, such as the National Anti-Fascist Front and the National Democratic Front during the Second World War, the Petroleum Defence Front from 1959 to 1962, the Left Unity Front in 1967-1968 and the United Left coalition during the 1980 election campaign and after October 1980. In alliance with other mass political organisations, the PCP managed not only to resist imperialist pressure but also to accelerate considerably the revolutionary process in our country.

The United Left coalition integrated the principal revolutionary political forces and the mass of the unaffiliated who were against imperialism and favoured a socialist perspective. On several occasions it successfully participated in elections and in the 1983, 1985 and 1986 election campaigns it *became the country's second most important political force*. Today it is a real alternative to the present APRA-led government of Alan Garcia. His party won a majority in the latest municipal elections of 1986 because a few months before the election it had taken up our slogans of opposing the anti-popular policy imposed by the IMF.

The very logic of developments has made the government refuse to subordinate to predatory IMF diktat and to adopt, under an emergency policy, some measures which initially reduced inflation, relatively revived production, increased, though slightly, the gross domestic product and thus lowered unemployment. Today, however, these measures, mere stop-gaps as they relied on hard currency savings through suspension of payments to foreign creditors, have already exhausted themselves without shaking in any way the positions of imperialist transnational corporations. They left intact the system of private capitalist property and did nothing to strengthen state enterprises responsible for guaranteeing our independent economic development.

Therefore, the timid positive measures in the economy, as the United Left coalition and the PCP have repeatedly pointed out, *attest to the duality and dichotomy between the government's internal and external policies*. On some foreign policy issues the Aprists have adopted patriotic positions, largely coinciding with those of the United Left coalition and the PCP. They are in solidarity with democratic Nicaragua, have effected rapprochement with Cuba and support the struggle waged by the Salvadoran and Chilean patriots. But their internal policy is becoming ever more reactionary. Seeking to work out a socio-economic development model geared to the interests of powerful local entrepreneurial groups, which are connected with TNCs and dependent on foreign markets, the Aprist government encroaches upon the rights of the working people and ruthlessly suppresses their actions. It is flirting with the reactionary brass, which follows the Pentagon's precepts in waging a war against its own people under the pretext of combating the 'Sendero Luminoso' terrorists and toughening its confrontation with mass left-wing organisations, peasant associations, trade unions and political parties.

Taking into account the resultant acute polarisation of forces, the Communists do not exclude the possibility of a patently repressive regime installing itself in Peru, which can be impeded only by *the broadest possible mobilisation of the mass of the working people*. Our party and the other organisations within the coalition are sparing no effort to bring about such mobilisation. The successful national strike of May 19, 1987, is a forceful demonstration of the fighting spirit of the Peruvian proletariat and of the people's determination to prevent the establishment of the Aprists' authoritarian rule. This polarisation focusses political debates in Peru today on the class nature of the Aprist government and its goals on the one hand, and on the role of the United Left coalition in the new conditions on the other. These problems were discussed extensively at the Ninth PCP Congress last May.

In effect, contention is mounting in Peru between two lines of development. One, advocated by the Aprists, at first appeared to be a reformist or national-reformist alternative but has now become an alternative of capitalist development in the interests of the monopolies. The other, proposed by the coalition, is revolutionary.

In the economy, the government goes on pursuing, albeit inconsistently, its policy against IMF diktat. At the same time, the economic levers still are in the hands of the rightists, and the same is true of the judiciary and

the repressive apparatus. No structural reform has been carried out and the interests of the working people and democratic rights in general are being trampled upon.

Under the circumstances, while advocating the anti-IMF policy and solidarity with the states which have freed themselves from the imperialist yoke and supporting governmental actions for peace and disarmament, the Communists should rebuff encroachments upon the workers' rights made in the selfish interests of the main Peruvian business groups. Our party deems it necessary to fight on two fronts — *against the ultra-rightist forces, the military and the government's submission to them and for re-establishing democratic freedoms and for the genuine economic and political sovereignty of the country.*

What are we to do under the circumstances? To begin with, it is necessary to strengthen the United Left coalition, to expand its base and to rally closer together the parties, trade unions, peasant associations and the organisations of students, intellectuals and women operating together with the Communists. In this connection our party plans to organise a National People's Assembly, which will complement the coalition rather than duplicate it. In the face of direct threats from pro-imperialist and fascist elements we propose to set up self-defence committees or groups in every organisation.

The Communists should be ready to confront the new situation, which is becoming ever more complicated because the government, intent on preventing any change of a socialist content, keeps intact the principle of private property and resists any qualitative revolutionary change.

Peru is indisputably on the verge of major decisive battles. *Never before have the left-wing forces, the revolutionaries and those who are fighting against imperialism and for socialism had such a close possibility of winning power.* It is now a tangible reality. For this reason we attach great importance to the policy and conclusions worked out by the Ninth PCP Congress. Much is to be done by the sessions of the National People's Assembly, and the congresses of the General Confederation of the Working People of Peru, the Popular Union of the Peruvian Women and the Young Communist Union scheduled for late 1987 and early 1988. The party attaches primordial importance to reactivating the United Left coalition at all levels.

It became possible to see clearly against the backdrop of new realities the significance for Peru of the fundamental alternative of our time — while imperialism means the enslavement of countries and peoples, exploitation and nuclear war, the socialist countries, the USSR and Cuba in the first place, provide us with the most graphic example of truly equal relations and respect for sovereignty and the interests of other nations. This refers to the attitude towards the problems of foreign debt, mutually advantageous economic cooperation, cultural exchanges and peaceful coexistence in the broadest possible sense.

The Peruvian Communists have always relied in their struggle on the Soviet Union's support. Approaching the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, we are happy to see existing socialism, born of the great revolution, perfecting itself and gaining a second wind. It is a powerful

incentive and support in our own struggle for national liberation, peace and socialism in Latin America and the Caribbean.

For the Peruvian Communists, just as for the revolutionaries throughout the world, the practical confirmation of our ideas and of the correctness of our policy is an invaluable contribution to strengthening the prestige of all those serving the Communist ideals. For the peoples fighting for their national independence this means the further consolidation of the major power which gives them much-needed support on the international scene.

¹ Jose Carlos Mariategui (1894-1930), a theorist and propagandist of Marxism-Leninism whose legacy has to this day evoked profound response among the Latin American Communists. — *Ed.*

² J. C. Mariátegui, *Historia de la crisis mundial*, Lima, 1959, p. 53.

³ Documents of a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (January 27-28, 1987), *Information Bulletin*, No. 6, Special Issue, Prague, 1987, p. 12.

⁴ An armed underground organisation of the Pol Pot type. — *Ed.*

The Fresh Breeze of Reconstruction

Mohammed Harmel — General Secretary of the Tunisian Communist Party (TCP)

The Ninth Congress of the Tunisian Communist Party held in June 1987 voiced unconditional support for the processes of restructuring and renewal going on in the USSR today and its beneficial effect on various aspects of world development. *WMR* asked Comrade Mohammed Harmel his opinion of these processes.

THE restructuring processes going on in the Soviet Union are evincing not only interest (as anything associated with the USSR usually does) but also keen sympathy among the broadest sections of the democratic public in Tunisia. The latest Congress of the Tunisian Communist Party was one example: most of the representatives of the country's democratic movements invited to our Congress, among them the General Secretary of the Movement of Democrats-Socialists, paid tribute to the USSR and its role, and spoke highly of the policy of renewing Soviet society.

As for forces habitually hostile to the Soviet Union, the restructuring has caught them by surprise so that they are unable to respond to what is taking place or find any plausible arguments serving to discredit this policy.

Mohammed Harmel was born in Tunis in 1929, and educated in the Sadiki College and a teacher training institute. He joined the Communist Party in 1949 and was elected to its Central Committee in 1951. Between 1952 and 1956 he was a teacher and then began working for the party full time. In 1956 he was elected to the CC Political Bureau and shortly afterwards became a TCP CC Secretary. Between 1949 and 1954, he was persecuted time and again for his role in the anti-colonialist struggle and in 1963, when the party was banned, he was arrested and imprisoned. He was elected the TCP First Secretary in 1981 and General Secretary in 1987.

The fact is that since the very emergence of the USSR anti-Soviet propaganda, no matter how subtle, has always exaggerated out of all proportion its difficulties in the crucial, most painful periods of Soviet history. That was the case after the Revolution and the Second World War, when people had to make immense sacrifices while all the goals of socialism were yet to be achieved in practice, and in the years of temporary stagnation and bureaucratic deformities.

We know that those periods, too, witnessed great accomplishments. Our ideological enemies, however, have always sought to exploit those factors which do not represent the essence of socialism, namely, the vestiges of capitalism or the consequences of wars, difficulties, mistakes or inertia. Anyway, prior to the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and the 27th CPSU Congress, even those democratic non-Marxist forces which are sympathetic towards us were inclined to think that the Soviet Union had lost its capacity for renewal and driving energies and stopped in its development.

Anti-Soviet elements were intensively exploiting the mistakes made at that time to build up the image of a society ossified. But now that revolutionary change is under way in the USSR, that propaganda is running out of steam and its chief arguments are crumbling. *That is very important to us because anti-Sovietism is a crucial component of the ideological struggle and a serious obstacle in our work with the masses.*

Mikhail Gorbachov's course has won genuine sympathy. But a great deal is yet to be done for the general public in our countries to appreciate fully the developments in the USSR and other socialist states. Such appreciation is being held back by insistent anti-Soviet propaganda over the years and by some other problems which many people find hard to understand, like Afghanistan and Poland. Renewal in Soviet society, too, is just beginning and only its results, primarily economic and social, revolutionary change in those spheres and the extension of socialist democracy can turn this sympathy into energetic support.

Anti-Sovietism has fallen back somewhat but we should not underestimate its ability to adapt itself to changed circumstances. A few years ago, for instance, capitalist propaganda came up with the human rights issue and, we should admit, assiduously mined that vein. The Soviet Union was not yet on its course of restructuring and new dynamism and anti-Soviet elements made good use of that circumstance.

Socialism is becoming more and more attractive to the general public, though they rely solely on the press for information about it, a press usually far from sympathetic towards the Soviet Union. The appeal of socialism is decisive in our struggle but it is important to see and show reality as it is, complete with its dynamics and all the controversial aspects of its development. When the restructuring achieves more tangible results, the image of Soviet society will correspond to the very essence of socialism rather than to individual periods of its development.

We should note in this respect that many of those who frown upon the Soviet Union do so out of sheer prejudice rather than any fundamental hostility. People far removed from socialist reality have a poor idea of it. There are also those who are critical of some aspects of life in the USSR

and its policies without being really anti-socialist.

The assertion of truth about the new society and the rebuttal of the distorted pictures painted of it *remain an important aspect of the ideological struggle*. Even when the policy of restructuring has yielded tangible results, which is very important in itself, it will not yet mean that everything is clear to everyone.

The Tunisian Communist Party enthusiastically welcomed the course formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress. This attitude is the more understandable because our party itself has for several years been seeking both theoretical and practical renewal. We would like better to match objective realities, shed rigid stereotypes in statements and attitudes and effectively gear our policy to the problems of the country on the basis of an innovative analysis of the genuine interests and needs of workers and the people as a whole.

We have been working vigorously in that direction ever since independence (1956) and especially since the late 1960s. In 1974, the party adopted an important document, the Progressive Democratic Alternative, and in 1981 the party's Eighth Congress laid down a line of renewal in various fields, including politics, ideology, party development, training of party cadres and formation of leading party bodies. We introduced the term 'restructuring' because a great deal was to be refurbished and dead wood cut out. Today, as the party's Ninth Congress noted, we are not yet fully satisfied with our activity or with the results achieved. The perfection and extension of party development, the consolidation of its unity, is a continuous and controversial process, which involves struggle. It calls for sustained efforts to reach deeper, rectify shortcomings and weed out negative phenomena.

In the theoretical field, the Tunisian Communists have been examining for a number of years problems relevant to the nature of the Third World countries' new phase of development, the character of revolution in our age and the content and forms of the state. Thanks to the work done in that field, we came at our Ninth Congress to conclusions which, though provisional, seem to us very important.

One example is a concept of non-capitalist development which is broader than the classic concept; the Tunisian Communists used it in the 1960s but had to drop it later. At some point that concept enabled us to evaluate new realities and the role of those forces outside the working class and the Marxist movement which stood on anti-capitalist positions. It was the time of the cooperative movement in Tunisia and the growth of the national revolutions in Algeria and in Nasser's Egypt. Eventually, these processes ground to a halt, practice showed their limitations, and the concept itself ceased to reflect the realities of the countries known as progressive.

From our point of view, the non-capitalist road concept should be made more specific and used in very special, I would say, exceptional circumstances. The tendency to broaden that concept and apply it everywhere was wrong. The 'non-capitalist road' tag began to be erroneously stuck onto countries which only pursued anti-imperialist foreign policy. Though in itself positive, this policy did not yet mean that

the country in question was on the road towards socialism. Similarly, policy of promoting the state sector — a positive fact in itself — was erroneously cited as proof of an end to capitalist development in those countries.

At some point the exaggeration of these limited features to the exclusion of everything else and their general amplification to create an image of states marching towards socialism ceased altogether to correspond to reality. I will not name specific countries to avoid hard feelings. But such an image clearly misrepresented real processes from the point of view of theory.

The question of democracy and the state was underestimated in that concept. One could think of countries in which democracy was abused but which nevertheless were considered progressive. In our view, no country can be called progressive if it blocks democracy, no country can be simultaneously undemocratic and progressive. Practice has corroborated this view virtually everywhere.

At its Eighth Congress the Tunisian Communist Party formulated the idea of a national-democratic revolution, which envisions change in every field, not only in the economy and foreign policy but also in social relations and in the content and forms of the state.

Truly revolutionary changes, even those proceeding by stages, must affect every aspect of life. Otherwise, they are merely attempted changes or individual drives, more or less progressive but not amounting to overall orientation towards socialism.

Reflecting along these lines, we came to the conclusion that revolutions carried out in the Third World by a minority, 'from above', even if they bring to power anti-imperialist regimes, come against formidable difficulties, as was the case in Afghanistan. Changes of a progressive nature began to be introduced there, in our view, at the level of an élite virtually cut off from their backward, feudal and vast country. Acute contradictions that flared up within that élite were exploited by the considerable reactionary forces, with all the ensuing consequences still making themselves felt.

We therefore believe that *the revolution must be a really popular revolution*, i.e., one born of the people's demands and carried out with the participation of the mass of the people. A putsch, even a most progressive one, is not our strategy. There are situations, of course, in which a progressive minority can take power, but the merits of such a changeover seem problematic.

The Ninth Congress of the Tunisian Communist Party formulated a premise on the content and forms of the state. The type of power existing in Tunisia and its class base — predominantly the new bourgeoisie — had been defined way back at our Eighth Congress, but that was not enough to characterise the state comprehensively. Power in its class-based confines is exercised differently by various political regimes, military and civilian, more or less democratic or reactionary. Although not affecting the class character of the state, the forces operating within its structures and the alignment of forces in and outside state power play the decisive role.

The concept of the alignment of forces manifested through the state, we think, is fundamental to the formulation of the strategy and tactics with

due consideration for the struggle waged by the masses. Since we are far from indifferent to form, it is not enough to say, 'It is a bourgeois state.' Whether fascist or any other, it is always a bourgeois state under capitalism, yet its form counts a great deal.

All our combative slogans, including those in defence of democratic achievements in Tunisia, come from these ideas. Conclusions drawn to this effect and the striving to give consideration to the ideas and aspirations of other forces were a salient feature of our latest congress. The Tunisian Communist Party is not guided by narrow partisan interests. Its sole purpose is to serve the interests of workers, peasants, the entire working people and the homeland. The Communists do not have one truth for the party and another for the masses of people.

We do not lay claim to a monopoly of truth. It is through controversy and continuous efforts that unity can be achieved even among the Communists. The strength and essence of our revolutionary teaching lie in criticism and reflection, and in a link between theory and practice, which presupposes *a continuous search for new approaches and new ideas*. Otherwise, everything will boil down to a repetition of formulae, the misunderstanding of what is taking place and a break with reality.

In the past few years the Tunisian Communist Party has been in far closer touch than ever with the new demands, preoccupations and concerns of the broadest sections of the population. It has raised a number of issues which have evoked a sympathetic response and interest from society. People who just recently kept their distance from the Communists now pay tribute to the political and theoretical activity of the party and recognise its vanguard role in analysing the situation and advancing new ideas. One could see all that at the Ninth TCP Congress.

The CPSU's current course encourages us to carry on our innovative search. We have always been deeply in solidarity with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries — even when some things have seemed incomprehensible or discouraging to us. We have never doubted that the Soviet Union will pull abreast of the demands of our time. Mikhail Gorbachov's policy is emphatically justifying these hopes, which relied on a theoretical foundation.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in our view, has a great capacity for renewal and for overcoming negative phenomena, and it has more than once demonstrated that in practice. Marxism-Leninism has always been for the CPSU a life-giving source in this respect. Lenin with his ideas and actions was the very epitome of innovation and a critical approach: suffice it to recall the Brest Peace Treaty and the New Economic Policy, which at first sight seemed to run counter to theory (but in fact clashed with its dogmatic interpretation). The NEP, for instance, apparently seemed to be a sort of return to capitalism, but it was introduced in a country ruled by the proletariat and its Communist Party. It looked like a paradox.

It is the many initiatives of this kind and the continuous ferment of ideas that constitute *the innovative essence of Leninism*. It never fails to evoke immense attention and sympathy. But whenever that sense of innovation and creativity is lost, the result is the dull repetition of formulae and

routine. And routine is mortal danger to Marxism and socialism. It is in itself that socialism should find the capacity for development, renewal, and for surmounting obstacles, which after all were enormous in a country which had to build a modern economy. Today we are far more confident that such a capacity exists and will manifest itself in full measure.

All the recent international proposals made by the CPSU have the same innovative, vigorous spirit. They have thrown into disarray the proponents of the policy of tension and the arms race and the enemies of peaceful coexistence. It is the Soviet Union that has the initiative today and it is Gorbachov's course that has the sympathies of people striving for peace, while Reagan, whose name is associated with the Irangate debacle, is on the defensive.

I think that the CPSU's current policy is *a powerful uniting factor in the international communist movement*. When I say 'uniting' I do not mean a return to a sort of monolithism without any divergences or differences — that is a matter of the past. The Communist movement is diverse and will be even more diverse. But there is negative and positive diversity. The former emphasises differences to the exclusion of everything else, whereas the latter presupposes the broadest possible unity in diversity.

It is in this spirit that we understand and support the proposal of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to hold in Moscow during the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution an informal meeting, without any document or summing up, to discuss broadly the more important questions of concern to the whole world with the participation of not only Communists but also representatives from other parties. I am certain that it is a useful initiative.

A Revolution That Changed The World

In the run-up to a signal event, the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Ninth Congress of the Tunisian Communist Party stressed in its political document that the October Revolution had drastically changed the political map of the world to the detriment of imperialism, capitalism and reaction and in favour of the peoples, the liberation movement and socialism. In an historically short period the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have achieved important economic, social and political results in spite of the economic backwardness of some of those countries and a hostile environment.

That breakthrough was made possible by people's revolutions under the leadership of the communist and workers' parties, revolutions which did away with exploitation of man by man, led to the establishment of a new system and paved the way to the eradication of unemployment, the guaranteed right to work, education and health care for all, and the consolidation of the positions of the forces of national liberation, social progress and peace. We stand in full solidarity, the document says, with the socialist countries not only as Communists ourselves aspiring for socialism but also as a detachment of the liberation movement which has always enjoyed the solid support of those countries.

But those fundamental achievements and the spread of socialism, which

originated in Europe, to Asia and Latin America have not obscured negative tendencies, manifesting themselves at different stages of the building of socialism. Sometimes taking acute forms, those tendencies have given rise to economic, political and technological difficulties which have held back progress in some countries. Such situations call for a profound and objective critical analysis so that we could give conscious and efficient solidarity to the parties and peoples building a new society.

The audacious, revolutionary measures taken by the new Soviet leadership to rectify shortcomings have helped lay bare many difficulties that have to be overcome in the economy and in the extension and perfection of socialist democracy. There have appeared in individual socialist countries bureaucratic deformities with regard to direct worker participation in administration and management, the relationship between the ruling parties and mass organisations, the information media, etc.

Of course, we bear no responsibility for the mistakes made by others, even by communist parties, nor do we borrow foreign experience, even if a success, as a model, the TCP political document says. But we consider it our duty to fight slander and misrepresentation peddled by the imperialist and other reactionary propaganda media, which depict socialist realities in a negative light in order to discredit socialism and the countries which have built it.

Our Interviews

Re-establishing The Party's Lost Position

Gerardo Iglesias — General Secretary, Communist Party of Spain (CPS)

It will soon be five years since the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (SSWP) scored a victory in the parliamentary elections and the Felipe Gonzales government came to power in Spain. That is a period long enough to see the definitive trends in the country's development under the Socialists and to compare the results of their activity with what they had promised the electorate. What is the Communist Party's assessment of the main achievements made in the preceding period in the economic, social, home and foreign affairs?

Gerardo Iglesias was born in 1945 into a miner's family, and worked in the pits of Asturia for many years. He joined the CPS at the age of 15. Under the Franco dictatorship, he was repeatedly arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. He took an active part in trade union activity. He became a member of the CPS CC in 1973. In 1978, he was elected General Secretary of the Communist Party of Asturia, and became a member of the CPS Executive Committee. Since November 1982, he has been the CPS General Secretary. He is a member of parliament, and chairman of the United Left Coalition (ULC).

FELIPE Gonzales headed the government with a slogan 'For Change', offered an advanced programme in all spheres, which evoked obvious popular enthusiasm among the working people, youth, the most disfavoured groups of the population, intellectuals, and the progressive middle strata. For all these sectors, which welcomed the SSWP's victory in the 1982 elections, the fact that Gonzales headed the government signified the second essential change in the country since the collapse of the Franco dictatorship.

From 1976 to 1978, the old dictatorial regime gave way to a democratic political structure: political parties and trade unions were legalised; freedom of speech, communication, assembly and association was established; a democratic constitution was framed and promulgated. But these democratic changes proceeded in complicated conditions (one should remember the attempted coup d'état in 1981, the notorious 'tejerazo') and, most importantly, the country still had the old economic and social system, a type of capitalism inherited from the Franco dictatorship. Nor was the old regime's state apparatus replaced. The working people, the left-wing forces, and democratic public opinion saw the switch to democracy, for all its limitations, as a form for consolidating the system of liberties and impeding attempts to restore the old order. These forces approved the changes, without abandoning the hope that they could be deepened in the near future.

Those are the reasons for which the SSWP enjoyed support in an atmosphere of general enthusiasm. It was assumed that the SSWP would give a lead to Spanish democracy, as it consolidated its structures, along the way of progress and change. That is the meaning millions of voters put into the 'For Change' slogan.

CPS deputies voted, with some reservations, for Gonzales as chairman of the government, thereby also voicing support for the historical opportunity.

However, the government took a totally different tack from the very start of its activity. It soon forgot about the programme for change, and began to conduct a policy which continued the line of the centre-right cabinets that had presided over the political transition. That was the policy it conducted in every sphere.

In the socio-economic sphere, the government pursued a liberal policy, and abandoned the reforms and efforts to circumscribe the power of the monopolies and private finance capital, it carried on an aggressive policy against the working people behind the backs of the trade unions and in complete accord with the will of the major capitalist power-centres. In order to understand that, one should compare the widening distance between the SSWP and the trade union centre allied with it, the General Union of Working People, and the government's support for the Spanish Confederation of Entrepreneurs, and the presidents of the big private banks in the country.

In domestic policy, the government, instead of reforming, adapted itself to the state apparatus inherited from Francoism, and kept

working hand in glove with the most retrograde elements which had established themselves within it. Instead of acting as a factor for development and broader democracy, the SSWP government became a brake on the expansion of the democratic process, hampering the citizens' participation in political life, fortifying some of the authoritarian features of the state, while neglecting the organisations of the civil society.

In foreign policy, the turnabout presents a truly lamentable picture. The party which, when taking office, had promised to hold a referendum to get the country out of NATO, eventually asked the people for their opinion merely in order to use the whole of its political authority, and even threatening the prospect of a crisis, to keep Spain in that military bloc, so trampling on the will of the majority.

From the neutrality, which had enjoyed a wide consensus in Spain, we have gone over, thanks to Gonzales and his absolute majority, to a pronounced Atlanticism. For the sake of Europeanism, Spain has conducted a foreign policy which takes account of the interests of the United States, rather than those of Europe. The subordination to Washington has become obvious, and has been expressed in Spain's Mediterranean policy and in some aspects of its stand on Latin American problems.

The SSWP leadership has opted for renouncing change and for constituting itself as a state-party, the only manager of national policy in permanent accord with the 'actual' (or 'real') internal and international power-centres. It assumed that its absolute majority in parliament would enable it to lay down projects for decades ahead, since the right-wing forces found any serious alternatives unnecessary, and since it saw no 'danger' coming from the left. That view was based on the crisis of the CPS and on the hope that it would prove to be insuperable. Indeed, in 1984, the SSWP decided that the CPS was dead.

But it took only five years for the situation to undergo a marked change. The working people, the young, and the popular stratum who had initially assumed that the absence of change was due to necessary prudence, later came to understand that the reason was rejection of change. Their patience gave way to protest. An impressive process of the masses' social and political mobilisation got under way in Spain in 1986 and 1987. Millions of men and women went out into the streets to demand a change of policy; workers, students, peasants, employees, medical workers, teachers and women took part in mammoth demonstrations in the run-up to the March 1986 referendum on the NATO issue.

In political terms, the situation underwent a change in the June 10, 1987, local and regional elections and the elections to the European Parliament. As compared with 1982, the SSWP lost the backing of three million voters, but these votes did not go to the conservatives either, for they, too, lost some of their supporters, a fact which makes it altogether impossible to lock the country into a tight bipartisan system. The number of votes cast for the Democratic and Social Centre (DSC), a progressive centrist group headed by former prime minister Adolfo Suarez, and for the United Left

Coalition led by the CPS, has, on the contrary, increased.

The SSWP's absolute hegemony has been upset. The political map of the country is once again becoming pluralistic. The potentialities of the left have markedly increased. In many municipalities, the SSWP will be in need of the votes of ULC deputies, and that will oblige it to pursue a more leftist policy. Pluralism will stimulate social organisations and movements to participate in political life and will enhance their role. After the elections, there were critical demands within the ruling party itself for a return to the left-wing policies.

The alternatives proposed by the CPS within the ULC run along three main lines: an economic policy based on a mixed economy, the policy that would consolidate the public sector and give priority to the creation of jobs; a democratic reform of the state, and broader freedoms; and a peaceful foreign policy independent of the United States.

There is no need to go into details of the Communist Party's policy proposals. Let us note, merely, that these alternatives are a reflection of the political aspirations of the millions, and of the substance of the hopes the SSWP has failed to justify. Critically-minded elements within the SSWP also look to these proposals. They are the basis on which various forces (left-wing Socialists, progressive trade unionists, pacifists and ecologists) have agreed to work with the Communists within the United Left Coalition.

The extent to which the working masses, the left-wing forces and the democratic movements have an influence on government policy evidently depends in large measure on the Communist Party's militancy and influence in the society. You have become the leader of the CPS at one of the most trying periods of its history. Could one say that the crisis has been surmounted and that the party has entered upon a phase of 'recuperation' and recovery?

The CPS has, indeed, recently gone through a very grave crisis. I said earlier that the government — and not it alone — believed the CPS to be dead. For various reasons, many had hoped that it would disappear.

But they were all wrong. *Our party has not ceased to exist. Its crisis is over. The party has started on an important process of rehabilitation of its forces in an atmosphere of serious self-criticism; in the face of the SSWP's deviation, it has put forward its political initiative for reconstituting Spain's left-wing forces; it provided the political orientation for action by the working class and pacifist circles which have rocked the country.*

The latest elections, at which the splitting actions failed and the ULC's support increased, have clearly shown that the Communists must unite within the framework of the CPS, especially since it is completely open to facilitate the joining of other forces and ensuring unity.

We have welcomed the incorporation of comrades from the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain (CPPS) within the ULC, and this has strengthened our cooperation and growing joint action. We expect them to act with greater resolution for communist unity within the ranks of the CPS, which we ourselves are prepared to promote with greater flexibility

and with more patience.

The restoration of the Communist Party's political and social role and its initiatives leave no doubt among the Communists in the grassroots organisations and among the hundreds of thousands of its sympathisers that the CPS has stood the trial, and unity needs to be re-established within its framework without delay. They are sure that the CPS — and a united CPS — is a national imperative.

As I already said at the party's festival in June, we have succeeded in continuing our advance.¹ But the pace is still slow, and it has involved only a small part of those who could join in.

The consistent, dynamic and modern left-wing forces capable of re-orienting the left-wing line as a whole, and Spanish policy itself, still lack the support of many men and women. These leftists must become a genuine exponent of the aspirations of the young and make them a major protagonist in the leadership. Communists, Socialists, progressive leftists, pacifists, environmentalists and feminists are all called upon to rally for concerted efforts.

Each of these trends, both traditional and modern, and each with its own culture, can and must legitimately stand up for its right to have the whole spectrum of demands integrated within the common action project. We must not support a scattering of forces.

Despite some integration of the various trends within the ULC, numerous electoral lists — those of the left nationalists, the Greens, the Communists — continued to compete with each other in the June 10 elections. What have these lists done? They have simply weakened the representation of the left-wing forces. Without denying everyone's right to act in the most convenient manner, I believe that our efforts must and can be united even more actively.

Indeed, it is now a *realistic prospect to ensure the unity of all the Communists within the framework of one party, the CPS*. That is possible because there are no substantial differences between the Communists, while their minor distinctions could well coexist within the CPS.

There is no monolithism within the CPS, and we do not want to have it ever again. Monolithism can be justified only by exceptional conditions, but otherwise it runs against democracy, kills ideas, and paralyses the will. It is now possible to question everything in the CPS: policy and persons, starting with the General Secretary. That is why we say: one and all within the same party!

What is your view of the present state of the European left forces, and of their cooperation? Have the processes under way in the left-wing circles in Western Europe had an effect on the balance of forces in Spain?

We regard Western Europe as an important region of the world, and a supranational framework for our own political struggle.

We live in an ever more interrelated and complex world. International factors have an ever more tangible effect on decisions taken in this or that country, and there are ever fewer questions which it can settle on its own,

in isolation from the others (especially if it is a small or medium-sized country). There is a growing tendency towards the states uniting into 'zones' or 'regions', in accordance with their geographical or historical affinity. Western Europe is undoubtedly just such a type of supranational entity. It has assumed the form of the European Community, to which Spain belongs not only politically, but in virtue of the objective conditions (one need merely recall that the EEC accounts for 60 per cent of Spain's export and import turnover).

The Communists believe that Spain is so ensconced in the EEC that important aspects of our class struggle affecting the country's working people are also reflected on the European level. That has obliged us to think about our strategy not only in national terms, but also in terms of European alternatives. That is why we agreed to the country's entry into the EEC.

It is just now dominated by conservative forces, with monopoly-capitalist trends prevailing. The EEC is permeated with a spirit of Atlanticism, and that is expressed in its subordination to the United States and in the aggressiveness with respect to the countries of Eastern Europe.

The important thing is to work out a continent-wide left alternative in order to change the balance of forces and trends throughout the whole of Western Europe. This must be an economically progressive alternative designed for a strategy of cooperation with the less developed countries, and for liberation from US fetters, a strategy based on a policy of peace, nuclear disarmament, and common security with the socialist countries. It should be a Western Europe displaying concern for the future of the peoples of the whole of our continent, united in a peaceful world, without the arms race, or acute destabilisation, and under a new international economic order.

For us, speaking of European left-wing forces means considering the general alternative for transformations and changes in Europe, of unity with the Social Democrats, provided they evolve towards the left. The idea is to have an agreement concerning the formulation of an alternative project of the various components of the left, the ideal being an evolution of some of the components towards the traditional positions of the others.

Concerning the influence of the ongoing processes on the state of the left-wing forces in Spain, one should say that the SSWP's policy runs counter to the new orientations and the positive evolution of the principal social-democratic parties in Northern Europe. While they have moved to the left, the SSWP has increasingly moved to the right. The SSWP's recent electoral reverses and the internal debates within it will, we hope, lead to a re-orientation in the spirit of what has surfaced in the Social Democratic Party of Germany or the Labour Party in Britain.

What is your attitude to the CPSU's intention, which was expressed by Mikhail Gorbachov in his interview with *l'Unità*, to hold an informal meeting of Communists, and members of other political and social forces in Moscow (during the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution)?

Since our main activity proceeds within the West European framework, and since there is no suggestion of reviving some sort of 'world leading centre' (something that was neither explicitly nor implicitly suggested in Mikhail Gorbachov's proposal), we agree that that occasion or any other occasion which could offer itself in the future should be used for an exchange of opinion, assessments of the international situation, and an analysis of the world problems faced by mankind.

A dialogue between communist and workers' parties, between them and various democratic and new left-wing political forces (the Greens and others) is necessary. Such a dialogue on the basis of independence and mutual respect is essential in a world which, I repeat, is ever more interrelated.

What do you think of the restructuring now under way in the USSR? What influence on the international communist movement is, in your view, being exerted by the processes in the USSR?

The changes in the USSR are of paramount historical importance both for that country and for the world as a whole. Apart from the economic and social restructuring, there are, after all, the measures to democratise the society, to extend popular participation and public openness. There are also the bold actions in the international arena, where the Soviet Union has conducted a genuine policy of peace and elimination of nuclear weapons, and has put forward new conceptions of security in Europe and the whole world based on political cooperation rather than on purely military elements.

Those are the three interrelated aspects of the changes which should, perhaps, better be termed 'profound renovation', and which are of revolutionary significance, as Mikhail Gorbachov himself has said.

I am convinced that this course is irreversible, and I hope that boldness and dynamism, instead of inertia and a slowdown of pace, will prevail, regardless of how fast this process runs.

The USSR is a socialist state which, for evident historical reasons, symbolises for world public opinion the breadth and scope of existing socialism. The reforms, the renovation and the democratisation can and must restore to the Soviet Union the prestige which, I think, it tended to lose over the past few decades largely because of a delay in the development of socialism and of its democratic forms, the very phenomena which an effort is now being made to correct.

The success of this process will have — and is already having — unpredictable consequences for the development of the forces of progress and communism throughout the world. Certain realities and actions of the USSR in the past were a negative factor in making the ideas of socialism more credible. Mikhail Gorbachov's policy is making a contribution to restoring this credibility.

This process is not an easy one. The situation which efforts are now being made to correct took shape over the decades. We think that the initial mistakes go back to the 1930s. The special and dramatic circumstances made it hard to correct such mistakes earlier on. When such

attempts were made, inertia prevailed. The current changes are connected with the critical necessities of mankind as a whole. That, together with the dominance of the new generation in the USSR, are factors which suggest that the process is irreversible.

There is no doubt that the Communists of the whole world must support it. But that is not the main thing. The main thing is to 'sweep clean one's own house', and to proceed with one's own political and cultural renovation. In each country, and in each set of concrete circumstances, one must be able to apply policies and organisational forms in accordance with the new conditions in the world today.

Concerning the defence of peace, the most important thing in Western Europe is not so much to issue propaganda testimonials in support of the USSR, as to put pressure on the governments of European countries for the conclusion of disarmament agreements, and to influence Western public opinion so as to pave the way for the ideas of nuclear disarmament, and for the new conception of international security.

¹ See *Mundo obrero*, No. 444, July 2-8, 1987, pp. 8-9.

THE MIDDLE EAST KNOT MUST BE UNTIED

For the past four decades the Middle East has been a bleeding wound on our planet. There have been many attempts to defuse the conflict situation but so far none have been successful. The idea of holding an international conference on a Middle East settlement has lately been gaining momentum. *WMR* asked two of the region's leading political figures to share their view of what the prospects are for convening such a conference and for bringing it to a successful completion, and what is preventing it from being held.

We publish the replies.

The Only Way To Peace

Meir Vilner — CC General Secretary,
Communist Party of Israel

ISRAEL'S continued occupation of Arab lands is fuelling growing tension in the region and may lead to yet another war that would be more devastating than any we have previously seen and put international peace in peril. *It is urgent, vital, and in keeping with the interests of the peoples of the Middle East and our entire planet to eliminate this hotbed of war by*

Meir Vilner was born in Vilna (Poland) in 1918. He went to Palestine in 1938. In 1940 he joined the Communist Party. In 1943-1948 he was a member of the CC and the CC Political Bureau, and a CC Secretary of the Communist Party of Palestine. He has been a deputy to the Knesset since 1949. A CC and CC Political Bureau member of the Communist Party of Israel since 1948, he was elected the party's General Secretary in 1965.

establishing a comprehensive, just, and lasting peace. In the situation prevailing on the international scene and in our region the only way to achieve this is by convening an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations. This explains why the idea for this conference now has more support than in the past.

There are distinctions in how this issue is viewed by the two major political blocs forming the present 'national unity' government in Israel (Likud and Maarah). However, the significant thing is what unites them, what has been for a number of years and still is — with the approval of the US administration — the obstacle to a definitive and just settlement of the Middle East conflict.

What is this common denominator?

Both blocs deny the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, refuse to recognise the Palestine Liberation Organisation as its representative, and out of hand reject the idea of a Palestinian state. They insist on territorial acquisitions, object to Israel's withdrawal from Arab lands seized in 1967, and declare that Jerusalem, including the occupied and annexed Arab part of the city, must remain under Israeli sovereignty and that the question of its future is not negotiable. Both Likud and Maarah back the 'iron fist' policy towards Palestinians in the occupied lands. They laud the strategic alliance with the USA against national liberation movements, against the independent states not only in the Middle East but in other parts of the world that have no desire to follow in the wake of US policies, and against the Soviet Union and the socialist community. Both have subscribed to Israel's official inclusion in the 'star wars' programme promoted by the Washington administration. Both are attacking the interests and rights of the working people and pursuing a discriminative policy towards the Arab population of Israel.

Once we understand what *unites* these two governing blocs we can see the substance of the *differences* between them on the question of an international conference on the Middle East and a settlement of the entire Israeli-Arab conflict.

Headed by Israel's present Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Likud does not accept the idea of holding such a conference, contending that there is nothing to talk about. Its watchword is 'Eretz Israel' ('The land of Israel'). Likud's proponents deny recognition not only to the rights but to the existence of the Palestinian people, and want Israel to annex all the occupied Arab lands.

For its part, Maarah, led by the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, has lately been saying that with some reservations it is in favour of convening an international conference. One reservation is that it should be attended not by PLO representatives but by Quislings included in the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. Another is that after the first sitting the conference should disband and there should be direct talks between the Israeli representatives and the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation formed along the pattern suggested by Maarah. A third condition is that the Soviet Union's participation in this international forum would depend on whether it restored diplomatic relations with Israel

and acquiesced to demands that amount to interference in an internal affair, namely, in the question of emigration. It is self-evident that to make preconditions for the participation of one or another side or country in an international conference is to torpedo the possibility of convening it.

Peres has admitted that he is not interested in the conference as such but feels that it should be held as a pure formality since King Hussein of Jordan is making direct talks with Israel conditional on the existence of an 'international umbrella'.

In other words, what Peres is suggesting is not an international conference but talks between Jordan and Israel with the participation of some Palestinian collaborationists under the aegis of the USA. The purpose here is to conclude another separate deal on the Camp David pattern, by-passing the Palestinian problem and isolating Syria. More, there are projects for 'dividing functions' between Israel and Jordan in the occupied Palestinian lands: Israel would exercise the military power while Jordan and its puppets would take care of municipal affairs, utilities, and similar matters. In this way they are planning to blot out the rights of the Palestinian people.

None of these plans hold out the promise of a comprehensive, just, and lasting peace in the region. On the contrary, they are aimed at perpetuating the military threat. From this it follows that the views of Likud and Maarah about an international conference diverge not over the issue's substance but over tactics.

Regardless of which of the two blocs they represent, the Israeli ruling circles could not have gone on occupying Arab territories without support from Washington. US imperialism is the principal force that has hitherto been, along with the Israeli rulers, obstructing a peaceful settlement in the region.

But this is not to say that there is no hope of holding an international conference on the Middle East. Apart from its regional implications, the Middle East crisis is a paramount global problem. It is affecting peace throughout the planet and influencing a wide spectrum of state-to-state relations. The prospect for holding a conference thus depends to a large extent on the situation in the world, particularly on the state of relations between the USSR and the USA.

In the course of all these years the Soviet Union has been pressing for a comprehensive, just, and durable peace in the Middle East in keeping with the interests of all the region's peoples and countries. It initiated the idea of holding a UN-sponsored international conference of all the sides involved in the conflict, including Israel and the Palestinian people in the person of their acknowledged and sole lawful representative, the Palestine Liberation Organisation, and also the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. Let me re-emphasise: *in the situation now taking shape in the world and in our region this is the only way to extinguish the Middle East hotbed of war.*

The UN General Assembly has passed several resolutions worded in this spirit. Massive pressure can compel the US administration to consent to the holding of an international conference on the Middle East. The very fact of such a conference would add a dynamic dimension to the quests for

an all-embracing settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict and galvanise the efforts on the scale of the planet, region, and individual countries to ensure the successful consummation of this forum.

The stand of the Communist Party of Israel on problems related to a Middle East settlement rests on the resolutions adopted by the United Nations and is aimed at ensuring the rights of all the peoples in the region. Underlying the settlement should be Israel's withdrawal from all the lands seized by it in 1967, the creation of a Palestinian state on the West Bank of the Jordan, including the Arab section of Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip, and the return of the occupied Golan Heights to Syria.

In a nutshell, the essence of the solution is two states for the two peoples: the Israeli and the Palestinian.

We Are Optimistic

Yasser Arafat — Executive
Committee Chairman, Palestine
Liberation Organisation

THE Geneva Peace Conference¹ was to have been the instrument for settling the Middle East problem. The efforts made at the time allowed foiling the attempts of the USA and Israel to hinder a just, comprehensive, and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict and the Palestinian problem. In this context let me recall the understanding that the Arab delegation to that conference would include PLO representatives. Moreover, in the joint Soviet-US statement on the Middle East of October 1, 1977² the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the fact that they had their own representative were recognised by the USA for the first time.

However, developments took an unexpected turn. A visit to Jerusalem by Anwar Sadat subverted the Geneva Conference. Then followed the Camp David deal, which our people saw as a catastrophe to their cause and to the Middle East problem as a whole. The war between Iraq and Iran likewise has had extremely dangerous consequences.

Later, with the blessing of the US President Ronald Reagan and the then Israeli Prime Minister Monachem Begin a new conspiracy was launched — the Israeli army invaded Lebanon and besieged Beirut. Together with the militarist élite in Israel, world imperialism headed by the USA believed that they had destroyed the PLO and dealt finally with the Palestinians.

An Arab saying goes: "They are of different minds in the palace and in the village." The invasion of Lebanon became the longest war fought by Israel. Its military strategy was aborted: it thought it could carry hostilities over to the enemy's territory and inflict a lightning defeat on him, as was

Yasser Arafat was born in 1929 in Jerusalem. An engineer by profession, he is a graduate of Cairo University. He was active in the student movement and was one of the founders of the Palestinian Fatah organisation. He has been Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the supreme commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Palestinian revolution since 1969.

the case in the previous quick actions that took only a few days or even hours. The siege of Beirut lasted 88 days. According to information available to the CIA, Israel suffered more casualties in Lebanon than in all other armed conflicts with Arabs.

More, despite the difficulties that the Palestinian revolution had to face after the forced withdrawal from Beirut — the attempts to create problems artificially in its ranks, and undermine the movement's unity from within — we and our Lebanese allies were able to fight an exceptionally effective and successful war of attrition in southern Lebanon. The Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin acknowledged that the 'Operation Peace for Galilee' of 1982 had failed (this was said in 1987, after a lapse of five years).

Unprecedented staunchness is being displayed by our people in the occupied territories. That which is to be observed there today is *a mass rising in the true sense of the word*. At the close of June, for example, Arab residents of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, including those holding Israeli citizenship, staged a one-day protest strike with the motto 'Day of Equality'. This strike, involving 280,000 people, demonstrated the anger of the Arab people of Palestine at the oppression, enslavement, and racial discrimination practised by the Israeli authorities against our people.

All the universities on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip have been closed for several months. Israeli troops took them by storm, breaking into the campuses and killing and wounding. The events in the Al-Duheisha, Balata, Qalquiliya, Rafah camps and elsewhere are evidence, I repeat, of a real uprising. In the course of this uprising our people are reaffirming their unity and cohesion around the recognised leader, the PLO.

Similarly rugged courage is being displayed by the people living in the Palestinian camps in Lebanon. Some of these camps, for instance, Sabra and Chatila, have on several occasions been the scene of slaughter by the Israeli military and their surrogates. Regardless of the organisation to which they belong, all the people in these camps have fought and are continuing to fight shoulder to shoulder under the PLO banner.

This unity of the people in and outside the occupied territories has had a very beneficial effect on the situation within the ranks of the Palestinian revolution. The consolidation of Palestinian unity achieved at the 18th session of the Palestine National Council reaffirms that *our people are an integral entity, whether they live on occupied lands or in refugee camps, and that their leadership personified by the PLO is the instrument of revolutionary action*.

Note must be made of the considerable role played in this by our Algerian brothers and Soviet friends, who actively helped to unite the Palestinian contingents in the course of a long dialogue that took place in various places — Algiers, Aden, Tripoli, Prague, and Moscow. Last year I spoke in Berlin with Mikhail Gorbachov, who expressed support for the efforts to consolidate the PLO ranks. Moreover, it was agreed that it was important to convene a conference on a Middle East settlement.

Later, during the visit of the French President Francois Mitterrand to the Soviet Union it was suggested that for this purpose there should be a preparatory committee consisting of the five permanent members of the

UN Security Council. This idea of holding a UN-sponsored international forum on the Middle East with the participation of the sides involved in the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation on a basis of equality with the others, as well as the permanent members of the Security Council was supported at the conference of heads of state and government of non-aligned countries in Harare and at the summit of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference in Kuwait. Earlier, it was upheld by the Arab summit in Casablanca. The EEC members adopted a statement declaring their interest in the search for a Middle East settlement on the basis of the principles enunciated by them in the Venice Declaration, i.e., the realisation of the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and PLO participation in an international conference on the Middle East. The need for such a conference has been repeatedly affirmed by the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. The Soviet stand was clearly stated in the joint communique on the results of the Moscow visit by a delegation of the PLO Executive Committee at the close of June. This communique says that the conference should be authoritative and its purpose should be the establishment of peace based on the UN Charter and relevant resolutions and on international law. Provision must be made for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab lands, including those of Palestine, and for the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine to return to their homes, to self-determination, and to the creation of an independent state.

Thus, despite the present difficult situation in our region, there is now for the first time an *actual international consensus on the question of an international conference on a Middle East settlement*. It should be borne in mind that, willy-nilly, the situation in the Middle East directly affects the destinies of the entire planet. The threat emanating from here is not confined to the region alone. Generally speaking, the Europeans and we are in one and the same boat — they are in the northern and we are in the southern. From the south our region also abuts on the borders of the Soviet Union. Any new Arab-Israeli war would inescapably undermine world peace.

In the face of the present consensus the US administration has likewise declared that in principle it agrees that there should be an international conference. But it has its own aim. It would like to use this forum as an umbrella for further outrages of the Camp David kind. Currently we are witnessing a US-Israeli plot to drag Jordan — again under the screen of an international conference — into a separate deal. Our people in the occupied territories have resolutely rejected this plot. A general Arab stand in opposition to it has begun to take shape.

We are therefore saying that there is an urgent need *to hold an Arab summit in the autumn of this year* in order to spike a Camp David No. 2 and not only to come to an agreement on convening an international conference (such agreement was already pledged in Casablanca) but also to draw up a joint plan of action at the conference with account of the new phenomena and changes in the Palestine situation and on the world scene.

The imperialists, the Israeli rulers and their surrogates in the region are seeking to undermine the success achieved at the 18th session of the

Palestine National Council. It is being alleged that its outcome only complicates a Middle East settlement. Remember, the first major decision passed at the session was to subscribe to the holding of a UN-sponsored international conference on the Middle East with the equal participation of all sides, including the PLO, and the permanent members of the UN Security Council. How does this decision complicate the search for a just, comprehensive, and lasting peace?

Also, under various pretexts attempts are being made to bribe Palestinians. This is the aim, above all, of the so-called 'development plan' for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to which the USA has so far contributed 44 million dollars. Israel is annually getting direct aid amounting to 3,700 million dollars and indirect aid to the order of another 4,000 million dollars. And here the sum is only 44 million dollars. Is that enough for a development programme? Of course not. It is no more than a sop for making new Quislings among Palestinians.

This attempt will not work. There are no Quislings among our people. As I have already noted, they are today more closely united than ever before around the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

That is why I am optimistic. A bulwark of this optimism is also the stand of the friendly Soviet Union, which has put all its weight and prestige on the side of the Palestinian people's just cause. This cause has the support of all decent, freedom-loving forces of the world, the socialist community, non-aligned states, and African and Islamic countries, which have expressed solidarity with the people of Palestine, with the Arab nation in the face of hostile challenges.

¹ This conference opened on December 21, 1973, and was attended by representatives of the USSR and the USA, as co-chairman, Egypt, Jordan, Israel, and the UN Secretary-General. — *Ed.*

² This statement recorded, in particular, the intention of the two sides to do their utmost to facilitate the resumption of the Geneva Conference not later than in December of the same year. — *Ed.*

³ Code name for the invasion of Lebanon. — *Ed.*

for human survival

A Swelling Stream

Jim West— member, Political Bureau,
CC Chairman, Central Review
Commission, CPUSA

IN its drive for world domination, US imperialism operates everywhere it can and by whatever means it can get away with. It behaves like it has a natural-born right to rule the world. The unrestrained arms build-up is the center-piece of its foreign policy in order to confront adversaries and allies alike from positions of superior strength. The militarization of the country takes place at the expense of the economic and social well-being of the people of the US. In almost every area of international relations, US imperialism infringes on the interests and sovereignty of nations and the rights of peoples. In turn, this produces varying degrees of reaction among diverse sections of the multiracial, multinational population of the United States.

Six Thousand Organizations

This helps to explain why the peace movement takes on so many different forms. Another reason is that most people do not give up their affiliations, beliefs and normal associations in order to be for peace. Still another reason is the various different points of emphasis from one group to another in the fight for peace, as for example those groups which put their main attention on withholding tax payments in protest against military expenditures. At the same time, the widespread awareness that a nuclear war could mean the end of our planet as a viable home for all life has generated a stimulus for developing increasing *cohesiveness in action* among the diverse groups and trends that make up the unique United States peace movement.

A special role in this potential for uniting all the peace forces is played by the Movement for a Nuclear Freeze. At its December 1984 Fifth National Conference, the Campaign for a Nuclear Freeze, one of the biggest and most influential US peace organizations, decided to elaborate a long-term strategy for an alternative to the foreign and domestic policies of the Reagan administration as a whole.

Thus, the Freeze Movement began to establish a broad framework within which the most diverse peace forces could come together. One could say that in opposition to US imperialism's nuclear umbrella, Freeze was raising a big anti-nuclear weapon umbrella for all to stand under.

On the crucial question of disarmament alone, there are some 6,000 different disarmament groups. They include Physicians for Social Responsibility, the Union of Concerned Scientists, Student Association for

the Prevention of Nuclear War, Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Psychologists for Social Responsibility, US Committee Against Nuclear War, United Campuses Against Nuclear War, Lawyers' Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, Communicators for Nuclear Disarmament, among others.

There is a large number of committees in solidarity support of national liberation, freedom struggles and against US intervention policies — from opposition to US policies in Nicaragua, Central America and the Caribbean, to opposition to US policies of support for apartheid in South Africa, Pinochet in Chile and for support of Palestinian liberation, etc.

Among the many traditional peace organizations there are the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Women Strike for Peace, the American Friends' Service Committee (Quakers), the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), the US Peace Council, World Federalists, etc.

As we indicated above, all these organizations have in common the fear of nuclear war. They also have in common a very significant thing: objectively, all their efforts are targeted against one or another of US imperialism's world domination policies.

This is a development of historic and worldwide significance. For it means that the Washington administration would have to contend with an insecure rear in the event it embarked on new military adventures. The memory of Vietnam, when the homefront opposition became an important factor in US imperialism's defeat, haunts the Pentagon and the military-monopoly complex. That is why the fascist-minded elements in the Reagan administration are persistently working to inch the government apparatus ever closer to fascism. The Communist Party has consistently warned of this danger from the time Reagan ran for re-election.

"The Soviets Stopped Testing, Why Don't We?"

For many years, anti-Sovietism and anti-communism have operated as a brake on the development of the peace movement. Anti-Sovietism was the mote in the eye which prevented many from seeing that the bottom line of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism was war and fascism. This impaired vision prevented them from seeing that the responsibility for the arms race and the war danger resided in Washington. Within the peace movement, this disability was sustained and promoted by the concept of 'two superpower responsibility' for the Cold War, the arms race and the war danger.

Today, the tides of anti-Sovietism are running out. This big change came about beginning with the unilateral halt in nuclear weapons testing by the Soviet Union and the refusal of the United States government to do likewise. The popular expression among the people was, "The Soviets stopped testing, why don't we?"

The change in thinking accelerated rapidly as a result of the Reykjavik summit. The proposals of the Soviet Union for a step-by-step reduction of nuclear weapons toward the goal of a world free of all nuclear weapons by the year 2000 fired the imagination of millions and raised the hopes, spirits

and enthusiasm of peace activists. It left the equal responsibility peddlars with an empty bag. It generated new confidence in victory by making it crystal clear where the real responsibility was and what the direction of the struggle should be.

Thus, the national director of SANE, David Cortright, said: "The recent Soviet peace initiatives are tremendously positive . . . The international and domestic initiatives are related. The Soviet Union can't address internal and social needs without reducing the needs of the military . . . This is an exciting period in Soviet history, which augurs well for the evolution of the Soviet system." The executive director of Nuclear Weapons Freeze, Carolyn Cotton, said: "It is now clear that the US is the obstacle to arms control. The Soviets have demonstrated that they are willing to do it." And Michael Harrington, national co-chair of the Democratic Socialists of America, said: "Under Gorbachov there's the greatest possibility for arms control since the Cold War. But Reagan's insane insistence on Star Wars and other intransigent policies is holding things back. Gorbachov's international initiatives are very positive."

As a consequence, a number of the major peace organizations were encouraged to become still more active in exposing the myth of a Soviet threat and to explain the truth about the Soviet stand on peace and disarmament. Thus, the Center for Defense Information in Washington publishes a brochure detailing the positive record of Soviet compliance with arms agreements. The Friends Service Committee, WILPF, US Peace Council, SANE and other organizations have published pamphlets and leaflets telling the truth about the Soviet peace positions. So has the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

New forms of peace action have arisen in the wake of the new awareness that if nuclear war is to be prevented, the US and the USSR must find ways to get along peacefully. The Mississippi River peace cruise of Soviet and US peace champions aroused great interest and was officially greeted by mayors and other officials at every stopping point along the way on the nation's main heartland waterway.

Television peace bridges between US and Soviet cities, growing moves to establish sister-city relations, exchange of delegations of all kinds and much more are helping very much to wipe out the worst features of years of anti-Sovietism.

At the same time, the brightened prospects for the possibility of winning the fight for peace have stimulated renewal and intensification of all forms of peace action. Thousands gather at the Nevada nuclear test site in protest against every announced new test, and hundreds are arrested. Vigils are held in front of federal government buildings in the various cities. Picketing, regularly and frequently, takes place at companies and institutions which do business with apartheid in South Africa.

President Reagan's adamant insistence on his Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) — Star Wars — which threatens to wreck the negotiations for arms reductions — has aroused a growing opposition to SDI. The Union of Concerned Scientists has published a large amount of material exposing the myth and reality of Star Wars.

A new coalition of organizations actively campaigns against Star Wars.

Among them are the American Baptist Churches, Common Cause, Council for a Livable World, League of Women Voters, United Church of Christ, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Union of Concerned Scientists and Professional's Coalition for Nuclear Arms Control.

At this writing, a mass campaign is under way for millions of signatures on 'A People's Appeal for Peace'. This petition is simultaneously being circulated in the Soviet Union. It concludes as follows:

"Now, therefore, we the people of the United States and the Soviet Union, in order to advance peaceful relations between our peoples and improve the security of our countries and of the peoples of the entire world urge:

- a verifiable comprehensive nuclear test ban;
- a freeze, phased reduction and eventual elimination of all nuclear, chemical and biological weapons;
- a transfer of resources from military to human needs;
- an increase of people to people contact."

Rejecting Boycott

The resurgence of mass action for peace was heralded last year with the Great Peace March. Starting in California, the dedicated peace activists walked across the country over a period of many months, holding meetings in small towns and big cities under the slogan "The Russians stopped testing, why don't we?" Everywhere it was greeted with enthusiasm and expressions of support. The number of marchers swelled as it moved toward the East Coast. Big rallies were held in Cleveland, New York and other centers. It ended up in the nation's capital many thousands strong, a harbinger of things to come.

The high point of the people peace offensive in the first half of this year was the huge mobilizations in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco and a half-dozen other centers of April 25th. Focussed on the demands for no aid to the contras, no US intervention in Central America and an end to US support for apartheid in South Africa, the demonstrations by 150,000 in Washington, 75,000 in San Francisco and thousands more in other cities *became a general protest against the arms race and US foreign policies.*

The demonstrations were called by 24 national trade union leaders and 55 religious leaders of all denominations. Among the unions represented were the Auto Workers, Communications Workers, Machinists and Aerospace Workers, Clothing and Textile Workers, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, Service Employees, Food and Commercial Workers, Government Employees, Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, Woodworkers, Hospital Workers, Farm Workers, Teachers and Longshoremen.

No less than half of the participants were trade union members.

Because of the multi-racial, multi-national character of the trade unions, there was the largest outpouring of Afro-Americans since the days of the huge civil rights demonstrations led by Dr. Martin Luther King. Tens of thousands who had never been in a demonstration took part.

In sponsoring, organizing and taking part in the marches, these unions,

representing 40 per cent of the total AFL-CIO membership, largely in basic industries, defied the edict of Lane Kirkland, head of the AFL-CIO.

He and Albert Shanker, anti-Soviet, reactionary leader of the Teachers' Union, had sent letters to their affiliates against taking part in the April 25 actions. This demand was rejected and, in fact, it became a spur to get out the largest possible numbers (in the East, severe weather kept the numbers down). The demonstrations were a powerful rebuttal to Kirkland, Shanker and the International Department of the AFL-CIO which, as is widely known, is very much under the influence of the CIA.

Among others who were rebuffed or taken by surprise by the huge trade union turnout were such self-styled 'Marxist-Leninist' groups as New Alliance Party and Line of March — Frontline. These petit-bourgeois radicalist sects, occupying doctrinaire, dogmatic positions, maintained that nothing had changed since Lenin's day, that precisely the workers in such unions as those that demonstrated on April 25 were labor aristocrats who loyally support the foreign policy of the imperialists. Needless to say, they were pretty well shaken up.

The capitalist media deliberately downplay or ignore labor's role in general and with respect to peace in particular. On the other hand, much publicity, at home and abroad, is given to the statements of the reactionary, cold warrior-controlled International Department of the AFL-CIO. But it does not speak for the affiliated unions and membership of the AFL-CIO.

Some 20 years ago, a vice-president of the Packing House-Meat Cutters Union (now the Food and Commercial Workers Union), Charles Hayes, an Afro-American, stood before an anti-Vietnam War rally in Chicago and declared, "George Meany¹ does not speak for me or my membership!" (Today Hayes is a Congressman from Illinois.) Since then, this cry was taken up by many trade unionists who disagreed with the official position of AFL-CIO support to the interventionist foreign policies.

As for the union's attitude to disarmament, as far back as 1983, the convention of the AFL-CIO expressed the conviction that "the nuclear arms race must be halted and reversed".

The AFL-CIO Convention last year declared: "The AFL-CIO welcomes the resumption of the Geneva negotiations between the USSR and the USA and endorses the objective of a balanced reduction of nuclear arms within a system of verification guaranteeing collective security."

The Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, representing all the unions in basic industry, at its 50th anniversary meeting adopted a resolution calling for reciprocal reductions in the nuclear arsenals of the Soviet Union and the United States; continuation of the policy of not undercutting SALT limitations so long as the Soviet Union follows such a policy; abiding by the 1972 Anti-ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty limits; a negotiated ban on anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons, all nuclear weapons tests and the production and stockpiling of lethal chemical weapons; avoiding the escalation of the arms race into outer space; and a mutually verifiable bilateral freeze on the production of nuclear weapons.

All told 24 major unions have come out for a freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons. And 12 major unions

have, at this writing, come out against Star Wars, declaring: "The Star Wars program would not protect the population of the United States. It would only encourage the Soviet Union to build more nuclear weapons. It would be ruinously expensive. It would destroy the entire fabric of arms control and expand the arms race into outer space."

Labor for Peace Committees were formed in many cities. In recent years West Coastland and Gulf Coast longshoremen refused to handle cargo to or from South Africa. Many unions have sent delegations to Nicaragua for fact finding and reporting to the members and the public on the blatant attempts of the Reagan administration to overthrow the Sandinist government.

The decline of Reaganism, combined with the magnificent Soviet peace initiatives, has created the conditions for more and more labor leaders to speak up and give voice to the deep-seated and long-existing aspiration of the working class for a peaceful world.

The Role of the Communists

In all these developments, the Communist Party, USA, has played an important, consistent role. Our 23rd National Convention in November 1983 stressed that the 'insane course of US imperialism' leading to nuclear confrontation must be stopped and that this was the foremost task facing the American people. The Party itself is *the only US political party consistently and unwaveringly fighting for peace*. On April 25th, the party contingent of 1,000 in Washington was greeted with applause and cheered as its banners proclaimed the party's call to 'Dump Reaganism. Reverse the Country's Course.'

The Communist Party is welcomed and supported each time it takes part in mass action for disarmament. The very fact that the Communists are invited to join the coalitions that organize these projects indicates a certain abatement of anti-communist attitudes in the United States.

The Communist Party concentrates its contribution to the peace struggle above all *on promoting unity and joint action by the different organizations, groups and coalitions of US peace champions*. We accord priority to the key issues that unite, not separate anti-war activists. That is why the Communists refrain from emphasizing ideological differences. Still, our party uses every opportunity to conduct ideological work too. The objective is to help people see the real source of the danger and to highlight the socialist countries' humanitarian commitment to peace and the self-serving, aggressive and hegemony-seeking intentions of imperialism.

For example, our party has done much to mobilize the masses in support of the results of the US-Soviet summit meeting. These efforts generated a widespread response. We attach very close attention to demonstrating and stressing the interconnection between the struggle for peace and the drive to uphold the socio-economic and political rights of working people.

Exercise of these rights is a sore subject in the United States, and working people and the unions show great concern over it. This problem often provides the initial impetus for the involvement of working people in anti-war activities — and that, essentially, is our major task. The CPUSA invariably strives for a situation in which working people would constitute

a majority of participants in anti-war actions. And we have made certain headway here — witness the fact that William Winpisinger, a prominent labor union leader, head of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, has begun to speak openly about the positive role of the Communists in the labor and anti-war movements. The Communist Party was also among the sponsors of the events to celebrate the May Day centenary.

Exceptional importance is attached to the question of selecting and training a cadre, particularly that of leaders, for work in the peace and labor movements. The Communist Party is doing its utmost in this field, both in ideological and in organizational terms. In all our party schools, questions of education are linked, in different ways, with the issues of the peace struggle.

The Communists use their press, pamphlets and other publications, as well as public addresses and mass campaigns in the unions and in the community organizations, to help make the working people better informed about the issues of war and peace and to promote solidarity. For example, the Communist Party publishes and distributes pamphlets of 4 to 12 pages (up to 100,000 copies each), many of them dealing with questions of preserving peace.

On May 1, 1986 the CPUSA launched *People's Daily World*, a national newspaper, by merging the West Coast *People's World* and the East Coast *Daily World*. The new daily, produced by the latest printing techniques, is of great political importance for the entire working class and has become an effective weapon of the US Communists in the struggle for peace. It is the only national paper waging a consistent, day-to-day struggle for peace.

Our party has contributed substantially to the development of the peace movement's communications infrastructure which comprises books, periodicals and bulletins. Reaching readers far and wide, these publications largely strive to act as a counterweight to the traditional media structure. The 'new social movements' in the United States do use diverse channels to contact broad sections of the public, but it is obvious that these channels cannot replace the mass media, particularly television with its enormous influence. For example, when 'The Day After', a film that presented a graphic, although toned down picture of the horrors of nuclear war, was shown on television, the number of people supporting the idea of nuclear arms control increased 12 per cent.

Despite the difficulties, the US Communists have confidence in the strength of the peace movement which expresses our people's common sense and goodwill. The situation now in the making creates an imperative need to ensure *unity and greater activity of the working people, of all champions of peace and democracy in the struggle to make use of the new opportunities opened by the peace offensive of socialism and the rising opposition to war.*

The peace party knows it must increase its pressure on the war party and limit and neutralize the warhawk's influence. As Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party USA, said, "the new international alignment of forces, the world revolutionary process, the worldwide movement for peace, the increasingly widespread anti-government sentiments that have grown in many parts of the globe over the past four

years, coupled with the fact that 89 per cent of the Americans support the idea of consolidating peace — all this, taken together, opens up new prospects for the struggle and provides US peace champions with new leverage”.

¹ The then AFL-CIO leader. — *Ed.*

A Moral And Public Duty

Kazimierz Morawski — Chairman,
Christian Public Association, member of
Poland's State Council

WE Christians are deeply conscious of our responsibility in defending world peace. War kills and puts a brutal end to what is most valuable — human life — while eroding and poisoning the human soul, hardening the heart, compounding the worst human traits, and hampering the normal — that is, primarily peaceful — development of the society. Not only war as such, but preparations for war cut across the elementary principles of morality. After all, we are all aware that the threat of violence itself amounts to violence. We also know that the sense of an inevitable nuclear catastrophe tends to weaken the human will in combating this evil and erodes the moral fibre of human solidarity. *From the Christian standpoint, any policy resorting to the threat of war is immoral and must be condemned.* The ruling circles of the United States and other Western countries have tried to cover up their own efforts to spiral the arms race with a pretended urge to save peace. But peace-making is incompatible with the use of immoral and inhuman means which must be firmly resisted. That is why in their pastoral letter last year the bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States publicly denounced the US arms programme.

The arms race is abhorrent to the Christian social ethic. We believe that if harnessed to the chariot of another war, the remarkable triumphs of the human mind will inevitably lead to the self-annihilation of the human race. But the marvellous achievements of science and technology must be wedded to the principles of human morality for they could put a new face on our planet and do away with want, backwardness and social inequality.

Those are the considerations which urge *the need for involving Christians ever more widely and concretely in peace-making in fraternal cooperation with members of other creeds and also with those who take the materialist world view.* This need also springs from the conviction that the front of those who are acting in defence of the gift of life must be as wide as possible. Christians have entered into a dialogue with non-believers, primarily with Marxists, and have maintained it for other motivations as well. Some of these are connected with present-day political realities, while

Kazimierz Morawski (b. 1929), journalist by education, is a civic and political figure; he is a member of Poland's Sejm (Parliament).

others — which go much deeper — are rooted in philosophy, notably eschatology.¹

What is the political reality in the latter half of the 1980s? The watershed runs between those who have taken bold and realistic steps to halt the arms race and avert the globe's nuclear incineration, and those who have been turning the spectre of nuclear conflict into an ever more realistic prospect in defiance of their own rhetoric and powerful propaganda media. Christians, true to their moral and peace-making mission, and regardless of the difference between the churches, place of abode and political views, must certainly find themselves — and indeed, ever more frequently do find themselves — on the side of the former against the latter.

Furthermore, the Soviet Union's far-reaching and profoundly realistic peace initiatives are becoming a most important factor. Two of these, which are most convincing, were formulated by CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachov: the elimination of nuclear weapons by 2000, and the nuclear-test moratorium. That, we believe, is an historic attempt to implement Christianity's peace-seeking ideals, which are so important at the present stage of mankind's development. How, then, can Christians not give full and all-round support to these and other Soviet initiatives aimed at safeguarding peace and effecting disarmament?

There is also an extremely negative feature to the political reality of our day. It is the constant efforts by the US ruling circles to take a confrontational approach to the Soviet peace initiatives and to try to solve problems by means of force. What is most disgraceful and immoral is that senior members of the Reagan administration keep demagogically operating with pseudo-religious pretexts, while conducting their neoglobalist strategy and spiralling the nuclear arms race.

I must say with utmost frankness and sincerity that for every true Christian, for all people of good will, regardless of their world outlook, such attempts to ideologise international relations are not just intolerable and must be resolutely condemned, but also require effective and immediate resistance. Those of us who take a firm stand on the ground of global political realities must be totally opposed to SDI. It is a mad idea that a 'space shield' will give the United States superiority in armaments over the Soviet Union and will enable it — under the space umbrella — to inflict a crippling blow at world socialism. What is more, such a view is immoral and politically absurd. Spokesmen for all the Christian creeds and churches with theological authority have said as much.

Consequently, the following can be said on the basis of an objective and deep analysis: *the new and important quality of present-day international relations has created a situation in which Christianity, if it wants to remain true to itself and to its human duties, cannot but see the difference between the USSR's policy of peace and disarmament, and the confrontational line of the United States and its NATO allies.*

However, the Christians' fraternal cooperation with non-believer advocates of peace should also be seen in its broader, deeper and longer-term dimensions. It is hard to fail to see that the practical cooperation with Communists against mankind's nuclear annihilation keeps producing new and tangible moral and social results for the various

trends in Christianity and on various continents.² My conclusion is that at the end of the twentieth century *there are perfectly obvious points of contact between Christian and Marxist humanism, both of which have a common ethical root: man, his all-round development are central.* Hence, the identical sense of responsibility for the future of civilisation. Hence, the common concern about elementary human rights, including the right to work and personal dignity, which is so often and brutally debased under capitalism, in the society of exploitation and oppression. That, incidentally, is the source of their common conviction that the right to justice in the broadest sense of the term, and above all the most important one — social justice — is among the inalienable attributes of the society. These ideals are a common heritage of Marxists and progressively-minded Christians. These are the ideals that induced the leader of the Cuban Revolution to declare in his famous book that the numerous trends in present-day Christianity have been drawing ever closer to socialism and frequently turning into a kind of natural reserve of the revolution, especially in Latin America and the Third World generally.³

The aspirations, ideals and wishes of Christians nowadays tend to be ever more often expressed in practical terms. The important initiatives of Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and of all Russia deserve attention. He has regularly organised conferences of authoritative members of the ecumenical movement to consider practical steps in defence of world peace by various creeds, communions and churches.

Let us recall that one such round table three years ago subjected to stern criticism the very idea of 'star wars' as being altogether at odds with the principles of the doctrine of the Gospels. Last year's fourth round table discussed the problems of hunger, poverty, and militarism, which have to be done away with if a new moral order is to reign in international relations.

Thus, the arms race must be rejected out of hand, because it does not in any way accord with the elementary ethical norms and the Ten Commandments of the Bible. One needs merely recall that — as religious leaders from Third World countries did at the round table — even local conflicts and the arms race tend to limit the already scant food resources and mean hunger for the LDCs. They drew attention to the reverse process: the breach of moral rules and distortion of human values inevitably go hand in hand with any international tension and war hysteria. That is the situation which spawns the detrimental irrationalisation of views and world outlook. That is why one should note the call of Bishop Karoly Toth of the Evangelical Reformed Church in Hungary that in a world faced with the nuclear threat Christians should abide by new ethical commandments. Participants in last year's round table declared that while the gradual departure of generations of people from this world is natural, and is the result of a biological 'changing of the guard', the destruction of mankind in a nuclear conflagration can never be accepted as the destiny of civilisation. Hence this demand: *defence of life is the supreme duty of every person, regardless of ideological convictions*

and world outlook. The round table formulated it as follows: "The individual may sacrifice his own life for the benefit of the community, but the future of the human race as a whole cannot be decided by any man, group or community".

Summing up these and similar other conclusions, one could say that war has ceased to be an instrument of rational policy. Human beings will have no reliably secure future until they set up and use institutions capable of peacefully settling simmering international conflicts. Besides, there should be no delay in identifying the whole spectrum of long-term objectives. The most important thing now is to secure the general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests. Hence, the importance of the well-known Soviet proposals on this issue.

There can be no peace without justice either; peace is jeopardised not only by the arms race and by the US attempts to impose its policy by force, but also by systems like the various dictatorships in Africa and Latin America, which are socially and politically most unjust.

Our view of the problem of war and peace, which has been so successfully expressed, in particular at the conferences and international meetings held on the initiative of the Moscow Patriarchate, the Christian Peace Conference in Prague, and the Berlin Catholic Conference, is being formulated in ever more concrete terms with the rise of the movement against the arms race and for the removal of its main cause: the activity of the militaristic forces of the United States and NATO. Christians involved in the struggle for peace believe that *it has been perfectly well established* why almost half a billion people now live below the so-called absolute poverty line, literally dying of hunger, cold and disease.

Among these causes is the sharp spurt in military spending, which tends to upset the balance in production processes and reduce the imports of the basic means of production; the scandalous rise in the external debt of many countries, now turned into a political and economic weapon ever more frequently used by imperialism to infringe the independence of an ever greater number of states, the strong and ever growing social differences both within the individual countries of the world capitalist system, and in the relations between the (capitalist) 'rich North' and the 'poor South' (Third World).

In the light of all these reflections, attitudes and acts by the Christians making social comparisons of world realities in the face of the grave threat of nuclear confrontation, another important conclusion suggests itself. There is no doubt that those who profess Christianity and other creeds now feel compelled to make the choice between war and peace. As a result, the community of believers is faced with this alternative: what is it to be? A community accepting that the present state of the world cannot be altered, or a community inspired by the urge to liberate mankind and faith enabling it to respond to the challenges of the epoch: indigence, hunger, social injustice and — the main thing — the nuclear threat?

In short, Christian action in defence of peace generates *the need for*

believers themselves to work out a new scale of values, a new world moral order. This means primarily preserving the Evangelical gift of life, the paramount human value, which is under a mortal threat from the forces of oppression and nuclear annihilation. The Primate of Poland Cardinal Jozef Glemp says: "I think that the concept of peace is the same for one and all. What is peace? It is the supreme good." The key goal of our social, moral and political action is to get believers to comprehend, on the one hand, who represents the destructive forces, and why (and consequently, for what reasons US imperialism poses a greater threat to the general Christian ideals of peace and justice) and, on the other that the Soviet policy of détente and disarmament is congenial to Christians for ethical reasons.

How are these truths and conceptions comprehended by those who belong to the various trends in Christianity today? It would be wrong to claim that all men on Earth who believe in God have already accepted them. There is a deep internal and mainly social and political division within Christianity today, as also within the other creeds and religious communities. No wonder Ronald Reagan is often able to brandish both the Gospels and the sword. In some socialist countries, the internal anti-socialist forces, supported by imperialism, profess something like a 'theology of war against socialism', thereby demeaning the basic evangelical values and ideals of Christianity.

But it is perfectly clear that this reactionary trend, objectively promoting the nuclear confrontation and Reagan's strategy of neoglobalism, is not prevalent in our world. When in the course of Vatican Council II⁴, the unforgettable great realist Pope John XXIII issued his calls for peace in his encyclicals 'Mater et magistra' and 'Pacem in terris', it became quite obvious that a deep change was coming to a head within the Catholic Church, for in contrast to his predecessor, Pope Pius XII, Pope John XXIII rejected the idea of 'just wars' in the nuclear age, when neither victor nor vanquished can hope to survive a nuclear conflict.

These encyclicals make *three* main demands, which are still valid:

- to implement simultaneous, balanced and mutually controlled disarmament;
- to create infrastructure of an international peace defence system, with global rules and institutions; and
- to attain social justice within countries and in international relations.

The awareness that a future war could cause vast destruction led to the formulation of the following radical assertion in 'Pacem in terris': "In our epoch, the epoch of atomic might, it would be nonsense to regard war as a means for restoring violated rights." Pope John XXIII added that real and lasting peace between the peoples must rest on mutual trust. In the second encyclical he also described weapons as being the "result of a lack of mutual trust among the people".

When these realistic ideas are quoted not just by Catholics but by Christians in a wider sense, it leaps to the eye that they are similar to what the CPSU CC General Secretary has been saying. It is the Soviet peace proposals that are now an embodiment of the aspirations and wishes of the main Christian trends in the world.

After the statements by Pope John XXIII came the peaceable

statements of his successor Pope Paul VI. The Apostolic capital, which took a more realistic peace-making stand at the opening of Vatican Council II, has publicly expressed it from time to time. Every year, the Popes organised Peace Days, and last year also an International Day of Prayers for Peace, which culminated in a mass at Assisi, at which Pope John Paul II officiated. Poland highly values his active peace-making, and that was emphasised by Chairman of Poland's State Council Wojciech Jaruzelski on the Pope's visit to Poland.

Apart from the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches, other trends in Christianity have been joining in the defence of peace ever more often and with ever greater vigour. The Protestant churches and many others which draw on wisdom from the Bible, have successfully participated in peace-making acts such as those within the World Council of Churches.⁵

The 215 religious leaders from 56 countries who met this year at the International Forum for a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Humanity, called on believers throughout the world, on all people of good will and on all statesmen to declare that nuclear war is immoral and unacceptable for human beings; to condemn the nuclear deterrence doctrine and the doctrine of mutual assured destruction (MAD); to abide unconditionally by the existing treaties on nuclear weapons, and to conclude new ones consonant with the hope for a nuclear-free world that was produced by the meeting in Reykjavik.

The Christians who attended the forum are well aware that it is now a matter not so much of peace-defence activity by believers in word as it is in deed. *The minds of all Christians should, in other words, be attracted to the side of those who are if not the only guarantee, then certainly the most solid guarantee of mankind's salvation from nuclear destruction.* We do not hesitate in declaring that such a force is the Soviet Union, with its unprecedentedly dynamic peace offensive, and the entire community of socialist countries. This vanguard of progressive mankind has been and continues to be a community of peoples working keenly and consistently to create a socially fairer and morally more perfect world of the future, and wholly dedicated to this idea.

What has been said suggests the principal moral and social duty of Christians who strive above all by their acts to remain true to the doctrine of the Gospels and the Testaments of Christ, which means using the moral authority of the Church to do everything we can to help man's supreme good to triumph over the forces of destruction and evil.

¹ A branch of theology concerned with the final events in the history of the world or of mankind. — *Ed.*

² That does not, of course, affect the insurmountable and basic ideological contradictions between materialism and idealism, which have always been there, and will always remain, but which exist in coexistence. Or, rather, they coexist without hampering cooperation in areas that are the common and supreme good for every human being.

³ For details, see Estebal Ona, "Fidel Castro Reflects on Religion", *WMR*, No. 1, 1987. — *Ed.*

⁴ It lasted for three years, from 1962 to 1965. — *Ed.*

⁵ The WCC is a union of most of the Protestant, some Orthodox and other churches. — *Ed.*

International Problems: A Look From New Delhi

Krishna Subrahmanyam —
Director, New Delhi Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses

Krishna Subrahmanyam, a well-known Indian political scientist, was interviewed by *WMR* during the course of the Moscow International Forum for a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Humanity.

What is your view of the general tendencies of world development since Reykjavik?

THE meeting in the Icelandic capital highlighted many phenomena. It reaffirmed, among other things, that the US administration would not give up its Strategic Defence Initiative. The Washington administration views it not only as a project capable of securing US military-strategic superiority for years to come, but as a programme propelling the United States to the forefront of technological progress. All the other countries, including the US allies (among them Japan), are cast in subordinate roles.

Reykjavik corroborated the lesson of past experience: the American administration only signed arms control accords when it had been able to secure in them loopholes for circumvential manoeuvres and self-serving misinterpretations. It concluded, for instance, a treaty to ban nuclear weapons tests in the three media, in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, only on the condition that underground testing could be continued. The SALT I Treaty was much the same story; it set a ceiling on the numerical growth of ground-based ICBM launchers, but Washington kept building up its arms arsenals by adding ever new warheads. As for the SALT II Treaty, the United States never ratified it. It signed the treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons but, although the goal of that legal act was formulated in its very name, the American side has always tried to circumvent it.

I do not think I will be mistaken in saying that the United States is not too willing to bind itself by serious arms control commitments. But by refusing to take such steps, it inevitably detracts from its international prestige.

The problem, however, is not confined to the stand taken on nuclear weapons by the United States. More, the point in case is not so much the members of the 'nuclear club' as those non-nuclear states which have signed the non-proliferation treaty and thus, I think, actually recognised the nuclear powers' right to keep such weapons. That is why it is necessary to declare that a nuclear capability does not entitle anyone to positions of strength and that nuclear weapons must be banned.

Rajiv Gandhi and Mikhail Gorbachov were unanimous on this score in the Delhi Declaration signed by them. The document is a history-making one, I would say, because it is relevant to the whole world.

The next question, that of ways to peace in the Asia-Pacific region, looks a local one next to the global problem of general nuclear disarmament. Yet it is immediately related to the crucial problem of war and peace on Earth, which is of common concern. Do you agree?

Absolutely. This is precisely how Mikhail Gorbachov approached this question in his Vladivostok speech, which I personally would compare to Jawaharlal Nehru's well-known statement and his idea of convening in New Delhi a conference on international relations in Asia. Nehru urged unity among Asian states and discussed prospects for the continent. As you know, most of his proposals have not materialised. But it is all the more important to turn to outstanding problems and together to begin tackling them — in fact, that was what Mikhail Gorbachov said in Vladivostok. I must say, though, that it will take far more time and effort to introduce the Helsinki process in Asia.

You may ask why.

The European states are stable, while in Asia the evolution of statehood continues. Hence a host of problems of nation building and consolidation, which often involve violence. Without belittling these problems, I would say that they can be resolved. A fresh impetus must be given to the process of confidence-building, similar to the one which has started in Europe. It is harder to do this in Asia, I repeat, but it is necessary to make a start. And let us hope that ideas of cooperation and security will spread and take hold in the Asia-Pacific region. All that, naturally, will not happen overnight — but then in Europe, too, such ideas had been formulated many years before the Helsinki accords were signed.

What are the relevant recommendations of your research centre?

We must proceed from today's realities. A solution to everyone's satisfaction will be worked out only when people have faced the hard facts and when the political will to establish an atmosphere of cooperation and security has prevailed in practice. This is what makes it imperative to keep people better informed and explain to them the present situation and the risks involved. In a sense, everyone should become a politician. It is very important, moreover, that all the countries of the world should oppose injustice in international relations and apolitical and immoral ends and means.

The readers would certainly like to hear about the work of the UN research team you headed.

Our team studied the problems of nuclear deterrence. It included one expert each from the USA, the USSR, the FRG, the GDR, Argentina, Egypt, India and Sudan. The paper produced by that international body does not present any unanimous conclusion or generalising statement but merely reflects the differing viewpoints of the North Atlantic alliance, the socialist countries and the non-aligned world. It shows that NATO rationalises the nuclear deterrence doctrine; that the socialist countries are

opposed to it and believe that peace will be preserved through military parity¹; and that the neutral, non-aligned states are of the opinion that the nuclear deterrence doctrine, which has been pursued for the past 40 years, has an adverse effect on world peace and security.

The final paper of our research team therefore presents the relevant views. Our findings have been passed on to the United Nations but we do not know the opinion of other countries. The Western press has not given wide coverage to the paper, which is quite typical of the bourgeois mass media. Indeed, they take notice of only what comes from the Western strategic alliance and ignore everything else, and that is precisely what has happened.

¹ Under the military doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty countries, military parity at the lowest possible level is the minimum goal, while the ultimate objective is general disarmament and a world without war or violence. — *Ed.*

the party

The Racist Regime Admits The Communists Can Never Be Destroyed

Dan Tloome — National Chairman,
South African Communist Party

Your party has been banned since 1950 and it has acquired extensive experience of underground work. What has it been focussing on in recent years in view of the sharp aggravation of the crisis of the apartheid system?

WE have worked very hard to develop, sustain, and consolidate our underground structures in the face of unceasing repressions by the racist regime. Over the past decade it has managed to destroy a large section of

Dan (Daniel) Tloome (b. 1919), whose father was a clergyman, is a teacher by profession. During the Second World War he joined the Communist Party and then the African National Congress. In 1949 he was elected to the ANC National Congress. In 1949 he was elected to the ANC National Executive. One of the founders of the South African Peace Council, he was editor-in-chief and publisher of the journal *Liberation* in the 1950s. In 1953 the authorities barred him from political activity, and in 1963 he was placed under house arrest. Soon afterwards the Communist Party organised his departure abroad. He has been a member of the Executive of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, and in the 1970s he was elected Deputy General Secretary of the ANC. He was elected National Chairman of the SACP in 1987.

our party apparatus and to seize and torture to death a number of our activists and leaders.

But harassment has not prevented our party from organising closer contact between its units and reinforcing the collective efforts of their activities. They often get together to consider common questions relating to their work, to the tasks set by the SACP leadership, and to the development of the revolutionary movement. It is our position that whatever the conditions facing it, a Communist Party must always seek to build links and contacts with the working people. It is our intention to make our underground work more dynamic, in particular by setting up factory floor units.

How are the Communists disseminating their views among the population in the conditions now prevailing in South Africa? What are the main directions of the party's work in ideology and public relations?

Our work in public relations and political education is aimed not only at members of our party and the broad-based revolutionary alliance but also at the people at large. The content of our propaganda material is wide-ranging. It covers our party's history and its current aims and prospects. From time to time we issue leaflets commenting on some ongoing processes.

We have achieved much in acquainting people with our party Programme and in distributing works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism published in separate small booklets. Each has a different colour and the format is such as to make it very difficult for the racist police and security to detect them. Right now we are working on a Zulu translation of the *Communist Manifesto*.

The African Communist is also distributed in a special illegal edition inside South Africa. Since 1985 we have been producing *Umsebenzi* (Worker). It comes out about six times a year and its essence is: (1) the wide coverage of subjects and (2) there are no long articles. Each article is short, to the point, and written in a way that can be understood by our people.

So, it is *Umsebenzi* talking and discussing with our people and not talking to the people. The highest compliment paid to *Umsebenzi* came in a letter from a worker in the black township of Katlehong: "In fact I am not well educated, because I left my schooling early. But I am so very much concerned about politics. I would like to have more knowledge about politics, because when reading these articles I can see that it does not need very much education to understand what you say. Please send me other articles as much as you can. Forward to the People's Struggle! Long Live the ANC and SACP!"

What sort of articles are carried in *Umsebenzi*? How are they related to your day-to-day tasks and long-term objectives?

We've carried a series of articles on Marxist philosophy and political economy and on what we call understanding everyday politics. For

example, one of our latest issues had an article about the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, explaining how it operated and what it meant to the world capitalist economy. In every issue of *Umsebenzi* we try to deal with some international issue. We've dealt with the Middle East, we've dealt with the heroic fight of the people of Nicaragua, and we've dealt with the struggle for world peace. In the latest issue we dealt with the tragic murder of Samora Machel by the South African racists.

Moreover, *Umsebenzi* tries to give some kind of leadership and guidance to our people. We have published a series of articles on underground tactics.

By our accounts *Umsebenzi* is becoming more and more popular. Those of its readers who have access to photo-copying machines make duplicates of *Umsebenzi* for wider distribution. Often, as soon as they've read an issue people pass it round. There's a considerable risk in this: a person caught with a political pamphlet, a leaflet, or any other propaganda material issued by the Communist Party is liable to be sentenced to at least five years in prison. Under the law the maximum for this sort of 'offence' is the death penalty.

A major aspect of our political, propaganda, and educational work is to tell people about the reality in socialist countries, particularly in the Soviet Union. We bring out the immense role the USSR has played in defending anti-imperialist revolutionaries throughout the world and about the changes that are now taking place in the Soviet Union.

As the debates about the nation's future gather momentum in South Africa and more people are attracted by the ideals of socialism, people show a growing interest in news from the socialist countries. To speak about their achievements and difficulties, their unresolved problems, is to help our people to get a more profound understanding of what the new system really means. We emphasize the point that to build the new society is infinitely harder than to wage even the most difficult revolutionary struggles.

Imperialist propaganda often alleges that in South Africa the Communists are infiltrating the anti-racist movement. What are the relations like between the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress?

The alliance between them is unshakeable and indestructible. I don't like to speak about myself, but in this case I should like to refer to my own experience. I am the Chairman of the South African Communist Party and, at the same time, a member of the leadership of the ANC and the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Politically, I am committed to these three currents of our revolutionary movement. There are no contradictions between them. Never in my life have I felt that I was doing work for one organisation at the expense of another.

We are perfectly clear on the point that the stronger the ANC is the stronger the CP becomes, and the more effectively the CP acts the stronger and better organised the ANC will be. To clear the road for the victory of the revolution in South Africa it is vital that both organisations should be

stronger and larger. This mutual dependence is predicated on the fact that ours is the only alliance of its kind between a national liberation movement and a party of the working class. We share common objectives and common positions in relation not only to the internal revolutionary struggle but also to the fundamental questions facing humanity.

The Communists hold some leading posts in the ANC and are active in the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. There are quite a few Communists in the leadership of the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Many of them have paid with their lives for their political activities.

The imperialists and racists would dearly love to split the alliance between the ANC and the SACP. To this end they would like people to believe there is a 'communist conspiracy'. A vicious anti-Soviet campaign is now unfolding in our country, and it sometimes reaches hysterical proportions. Our enemy is still hoping to find 'moderate African nationalists' who would come out against the Communists. He should not labour under a delusion: the people have seen for themselves that the Communist Party has no objective other than to champion the interests of the working class, of the entire population. The Communists are winning the people's confidence by their own dedication to the people's cause, by their selflessness and profound understanding of the ongoing processes in society. The SACP is calling for the broadest resistance to the apartheid regime with the participation of trade unions, mass democratic organisations, the street committees, and the people's power bodies being set up throughout the country, and it is helping to strengthen all these forces. Even the racist regime has had to admit that it can no longer hope to destroy our party.

The struggle against apartheid in South Africa has an international dimension. What is the role of the Communists in this struggle?

We firmly abide by the view that on the international scene the ANC is the sole representative of the entire spectrum of the revolutionary forces in South Africa. Members of the SACP are active in carrying out the external work of the ANC and also of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, which, as an affiliate of the World Federation of Trade Unions, promotes relations chiefly with progressive trade unions of other countries.

Our party regards itself as an integral part of the world communist movement. No matter how difficult our struggle is, no matter how difficult our situation is, and no matter what the obstacles are for us, we see our duty as a Communist Party to strengthen the international communist movement, which we regard as the main instrument for the revolutionary renewal of the world.

We attended the 1960 and 1969 international meetings of communist and workers' parties and were active in convening a meeting of communist and workers' parties of Tropical and Southern Africa. We believe that contacts between fraternal parties should continue to be developed so that exponents of Marxism-Lennism on our continent are able to get together regularly, exchange opinions, and openly discuss many questions with a

view to making an even greater contribution to the struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism.

The SACP has, on several occasions, appealed to the international communist movement to contribute to the struggle for the enforcement of sanctions against the racist regime, and to give political and material assistance to the revolutionary movements in our country. The positive response of the world communist movement to our requests and appeals has had a stimulating impact on the consciousness of the working people of South Africa. One can only be a true patriot if one is a true internationalist. Hence our intention to keep our people better informed about the struggle in various parts of the world.

Let me make one more point. Our enemies are going to all lengths to undermine the relations between the ANC and the Soviet Union, to give people a distorted view of the character of international solidarity with our struggle against apartheid. In particular, US officials are alleging that the SACP is a puppet of the Soviet Union and that the latter is using the SACP to increase its influence in the ANC and impose the pace and direction of the struggles to come. This is nonsense, of course. The ANC President Oliver Tambo has himself said that the Soviet Union has given unselfish support to the ANC not because of the SACP but because of its own deep commitment to the struggle against racism, colonialism, and apartheid.

Neither the Soviet Union nor any other socialist country has ever tried to impose any policy decision on us. They are supporting the people of South Africa in every way they can. Unquestionably, international solidarity has helped the ANC and the SACP to develop the struggle in the face of the most vicious forms of repression, give it new strength and come to a point at which we can now see the end of the racist regime.

Akahata Speaks With The Masses

Yoshinori Yoshioka — CC
Presidium Standing Bureau member,
Japanese Communist Party; Editor-in-
Chief of *Akahata*

THE Japanese Communist Party marked its 65th anniversary last July, while its central organ, the newspaper *Akahata* (Red Banner — *Ed.*) will be 60 in February 1988. Before World War II, *Akahata* was published underground, and had an important role in warning about the aggressiveness of Japanese militarism and taking a stand against the imperialist war. At the time, the JCP, like the constellation of the Great Bear, showed the Japanese people the way, wrote one worker in culture who was himself not a Communist. *Akahata* was then a similar lodestar.

Our newspaper continues to play a special role today. In the light of the long-term prospects for the revolutionary process in the country, as outlined by the JCP Programme — and the main idea is that an anti-

imperialist, anti-monopoly and democratic revolution is to develop into a socialist revolution — the JCP has been working to transform Japanese society by winning a majority in parliament in a successful election. We call this course a 'majority revolution'.

The party's periodical has an important role in any country, Lenin emphasised. Having set the task of effecting a majority revolution, we believe that, in the present conditions, the work *Akahata* and other communist mass propaganda organs have to carry on is a strategic imperative.

When saying that transformations in Japan are necessary, one should take account of the fact, however, that it is a highly developed capitalist state with a strong bourgeois mass media corps. There are now 124 dailies in the country with a total printing of over 48.5 million copies (as of October 1986), 73 weeklies (about 33.8 million), and 2,156 monthlies (roughly 193 million). The presentation in virtually all of them is so angled as to safeguard the existing system. Let me add that the number of books published in Japan every year has reached 1.449 billion volumes a year, while the number of TV sets came to about 32 million (as of March 1986). One should also bear in mind that television and most of the book publishers equally do the social will of the ruling circles.

If we are to resist the ideological attacks of the bourgeoisie and implement our programmatic course for a majority revolution in Japan, we have to lay special emphasis on ideology, one of the three forms of class struggle of which Engels spoke — the political, the economic and the ideological — for it can help alter the mentality of the masses.

We cannot attain our goals in the face of the drive by reactionary ideology unless we rally most of the people round the party and set up a united front by winning people's minds, and here the party attaches great importance to propaganda activity addressed to the whole Japanese people. Here is what the resolution of the 17th Congress of the JCP in November 1985 says in this context: "In a monopoly-capitalist country, like Japan, with its mammoth mass media, active and systematic propaganda work by the party aimed to defend the people's vital interests is of crucial significance in shaping public opinion and developing the popular movement."

The congress described our periodical as the "party's artery, the channel linking it with tens of millions of people". It also said that the "main task in assuring success in renovating state policy, and in party and revolutionary work, is activity aimed to unite most of the people, to bring the party closer to the broad masses through *Akahata*, and to keep systematically explaining the internal and external situation, the course of the struggle by the party and the people and the lines of its development".

That is why we have continued to work purposefully and systematically to circulate *Akahata* in the masses, resisting all pressures from the reactionary ruling circles and overcoming the impediments they keep creating. As a result, *Akahata* now has 3 million subscribers, as compared with only some tens of thousands in early 1959, when it first began to increase its circulation. That was the result of the party's policy of invigorating the activity of its printed organ through the involvement of

many Communists in winning a wider readership, playing a bigger part in carrying the paper to the population (mainly home delivery in the mornings), collecting the subscriptions, and so on. Almost 250,000 men and women, which is roughly one-half of the party membership, take part in the distribution of the paper. We highly appreciate this work, which appears to be simple, but which calls for much self-sacrifice, and — conditions being what they are — can, we believe, be called a heroic effort. The Communist Party's central newspaper has acquired some strength from the standpoint of its influence on policy in Japan, a country where the mass media have reached gigantic proportions.

Alongside *Akahata*, we now have at our disposal many other propaganda media, including party periodicals and publications issued by the JCP. Apart from its daily and Sunday issues, *Akahata* prints weekly publications with commentaries and a special issue on party work and study. There is also a monthly *Akahata* issue for the blind, and on Sundays, a cassette tape recording of the paper.

The Communist Party has two weeklies: *Gakusei Shimbun* (Student Newspaper), *Shonen Shojo Shimbun* (The Boys' and Girls' Newspaper), and nine journals, eight of which are monthlies: the theoretical organ of the JCP CC *Zen ei* (Vanguard), *Gekkan Gakushu* (Monthly Studies), *Josei no Hiroba* (Women's Tribune), *Gurafu Konnichiwa — Nihon Kyosantoo desu* (Hello, We Are the JCP), *Asu no Noson* (The Countryside Tomorrow), *Bunka Hyoron* (Cultural Review), *Keizai* (Economics) and *Rodo Undo* (Workers' Movement). The journal *Sekai Seiji. Rompyo to Shiryo* (International Politics. Critical Reviews and Materials) is a fortnightly. All of these are widely circulated among various strata of the population. The journals *Josei no Hiroba* and *Gurafu Konnichiwa — Nihon Kyosantoo desu* have a big part to play in acquainting the popular masses, notably women, with the party's policies and views, and its role and character.

Another form of mass propaganda is the preparation and circulation of pamphlets, which explain in a popular and clear form the major political problems of interest to the Japanese people and also the policies and ideology of the JCP. These pamphlets do much to help the party establish and maintain ties with broad strata of the population. Since the 17th JCP Congress, we have issued nine such pamphlets with a total printing of more than 19 million copies. Here are some of the titles: *For Mutual Accord and Cooperation of the People to Establish a Nuclear-Free Japan* (January 1986); *The JCP's Aims* (May 1986); and *Reflections on the Policy of Local Organs of Power* (March 1987).

These are exemplified by last January's pamphlet entitled *Large-Scale Tax Increase in Defiance of Electoral Promises. How Are You Going to Live?* which criticises the Nakasone government's new indirect taxes in the form of a sales tax, whose purpose is to ensure additional financial resources for the arms race, do the big enterprises a service, and help to meet the promises made to the United States. The pamphlet sets forth the party's policy on this issue. Almost 900,000 copies of the pamphlet were sold within a short period of time. It dealt a blow at the cabinet of Nakasone and the Liberal-Democratic Party during the local government

elections last April and helped the JCP to score a success.

Finally, there are some visual and audial forms of propaganda, mainly video cassettes which are becoming increasingly popular. This form of propaganda is also important in countering the influence of television. We do not have the vast amounts of money it takes to buy television time, and so we make wide use of video cassettes to spotlight events which are important from the party's standpoint.

In addition, we issue a poster *Akahata Photonews* twice a month, with a printing of 90,000 copies (2.16 million a year).

These propaganda media, *Akahata* in the first place, have a great influence, but with the reactionary drive and the mass media monopolies spreading among the people what could only be called conservative policy ideas, a paper with a printing of 3 million copies cannot do much to change the mentality of the overwhelming majority of the country's 120 millions. If that is to be done, we believe that, alongside efforts to widen the field of *Akahata* activity, the main ideological organ which daily and weekly tells of the party's positions, other forms of propaganda work should be developed to reach virtually all the strata of the Japanese people.

One means literally linking our party with tens of millions of people is the *Akahata* special issues published monthly or on key political events and problems, and also during elections. We distribute them in the streets and at factory gates, and deliver them to readers' homes — a total of 38 million addresses. In 1986, we distributed ten special *Akahata* issues, and six early this year already. In addition there is a large number of issues addressed to particular sections of the population or dealing with the problems of individual regions. There are also special issues of district newspapers independently made up by local party organisations.

Akahata special issues are a reflection of the Communists' views on pressing problems, and rebuffs to attacks on the JCP by the ruling circles and reactionary parties and groupings. Here are the captions of some of them to give an idea of the diversity of the topics of such issues:

Put the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons Issue on the Agenda of World Politics. This is the Time to Decide on Eliminating Nuclear Weapons. Letter from JCP CC Chairman Kenji Miyamoto to US President Ronald Reagan (February 1986). Among other things, this issue said that the joint statement on negotiations between delegations of the JCP and CPSU of December 8, 1984, helped to focus world politics on the problem of eliminating nuclear weapons;

This Must be Stopped! Ronald Reagan, Yasuhiro Nakasone, and the Monopolies are Responsible for the Sharp Rise in the Exchange-Rate of the Yen and the Direct Onslaught on our Standard of Living (May 1986);

No to the Hitlerite Policy of Nakasone, Who Is a Bland Liar. Let us Change the Policy Ignoring the People's Interests by JCP Successes. This legally-valid handbill of the JCP was published during the parliamentary elections in July 1986 (according to the law several leaflets could be published during events like national elections);

Rice-Growing is the Basis of Japan's Agriculture. No to a Transfer of Control Over Japanese Food Supplies to the US. Establish a Profitable State

Price for Rice to Protect its Production and Agriculture in Japan (June 1986);

Disarmament is the Definitive World Trend. Stop the Policy of Arms Escalation that Opposes It (July 1986);

The JCP CC's Address to the Japanese People Over the Grave Situation Which Has Taken Shape Round the State Railways Corporation, 'Japan's Feet' (October 1986);

Do Not Allow Demagogic Policy-Twisting Propaganda. Watch Out: Shokyo rengo (The World Anti-Communist League) is Operating in Various Districts. It is Led by the Liberal-Democratic Party and the Democratic Socialist Party (January 1987);

Another Bugging Device Uncovered. This Time Near the Home of Koichiro Ueda, Deputy Chairman of the JCP CC Presidium. No to the Fatal Policy (March 1987);

The Sales Tax is the First Step Towards the Fatal Policy. Nakasone and the LDP Have Four Objectives: Sales Tax, Arms Escalation, Participation in SDI, and Adoption of State Secrets Act. There is Evidence of a Secret Agreement on the Importation of Nuclear Weapons into Japan. That is Clearly Stated in a Secret Telegram from the US Secretary of State (April 1987).

Party members deliver *Akahata* special issues to readers' homes not only in the cities but in mountain villages and outlying islands. The circulation of *Akahata* special issues takes as much effort as the regular delivery of *Akahata's* daily issues. But we believe that this activity is most important in strengthening our ties with the masses and consolidating the popular majority. Its results were evident in last year's elections to both houses of parliament and in the recent local elections.

By means of lies and Hitler-type propaganda deception the LDP managed to win many seats in the 1986 parliamentary elections, while members of the opposition — the Japan Socialist Party, the Komeito and the Democratic Socialist Party lost some of their seats. The JCP, alone of the opposition parties, increased its parliamentary representation.

In the local government elections last April, the LDP, campaigning for a sales tax, suffered a defeat, notably in the elections for governor in Fukuoka prefecture, which were regarded as a 'crucial battle'. In prefecture assemblies it won fewer seats than ever before in the past.

Meanwhile, the JCP has proved to be the only party to succeed in all the municipal elections: in prefectures, cities, districts, urban settlements and villages, and also in the elections to 23 district assemblies in Tokyo. So, including the deputies who had been elected before, we have a total of 3,824 seats, a number the Communist Party has never had in its history.

Here is what a statement of the Standing Bureau of the JCP CC Presidium says about the April election returns: our party "succeeded in the elections because we took account of the lessons of last year's elections to both houses of parliament and, from the outset, made public our policy and course in the elections to the local organs of power. That was the basis for consistent preparations and, during the actual elections, consistent mass propaganda, mainly through *Akahata* special issues, to show the advantages of JCP policy".

In this mass-oriented propaganda activity which is addressed to the whole people, *Akahata* special issues attach special significance to explaining the party's policies and views, shedding light on its history and ideology, and rebuffing attacks of our enemies. Japan is a country with strong anti-communist attitudes, which are the product of the pre-war anti-communism that was implanted under imperial militarism, and the post-war US-style anti-communism. There is now an unprecedented reactionary offensive based on demagoguery. Under such circumstances, especial significance attaches to rebuffs to any anti-communist attacks and the conduct of a large-scale propaganda campaign to show the true face of the JCP on the basis of its policies, history and ideology.

Tremendous significance attaches to this activity, which is also addressed to the whole Japanese people, both to those who do support and who do not support the JCP. This activity has been meeting with a lively response as expressed in the many letters we have been receiving. A woman who read our leaflet on the history of the Communist Party, showing that it had been the only party in the country which selflessly fought against the aggressive war started by Japanese imperialism, wrote to us to say: "I learned for the first time that there was a party which opposed the war in which I lost my husband." Every issue of *Akahata* has wide reverberations among the people and helps to increase the number of its readers.

The JCP has focused on the activities of the communist press and believes that it is a primary line in concretising the party's programme and a task of strategic importance to carry on mass propaganda work, such as the delivery of *Akahata* special issues to the homes, publication of the journals *Women's Tribune* and *Hello, We Are the JCP*, and tens of millions of pamphlets.

Addressing the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the JCP Central Committee last February, CC Chairman Kenji Miyamoto said: "If we are to carry out social transformations in Japan, we have to change the soul of the electorate. Here the paper is of great significance, but it alone cannot enable us to address tens of millions of voters. Still, from the standpoint of setting out in concrete terms our programmatic tasks in Japanese conditions, where the mass media have a tremendous impact, there is a need to carry on, at least once a month, an all-embracing propaganda campaign addressed to tens of millions of voters. It is not right to regard this as unimportant, or to deal with it only when there is time. There is a need to be clear about the importance of this strategic proposition in transforming a country like Japan."

Mass propaganda work is also determined by a specific feature of the party's programmatic course. As the JCP works for the transformations, it does not bide its time in waiting for a favourable situation in the hope of capitalism collapsing by itself, but seeks to shape the situation through vigorous and purposeful actions by the democratic forces headed by the Communist Party.

That is the line we have conducted in various areas of party activity. Take for example the problem of eliminating nuclear weapons, which has now become the primary one, the urgent task of the whole of humanity. Here we have not taken the attitude of passive observer of the course of

Soviet-US negotiations, and have not put our stake only on the Soviet Union's diplomatic efforts. We have called on the peoples of various countries to rally round their parties so as to change the balance of forces in the world between the proponents of nuclear weapons and those who want to destroy them. That should result in the governments which cling to nuclear weapons being pushed back and non-nuclear governments coming on the scene, i.e., a situation in which it will no longer be possible to refuse to accept the elimination of nuclear weapons.

Our approach to Japan's political transformation is the following: "There is a need to face the time-tested basic proposition of scientific socialism which says that, however deep the economic contradictions, they will not automatically lead to a situation of revolutionary crisis," says the JCP CC Report to the party's 17th Congress. "If the tendency of social progress is to be made a historical reality, the important thing is to gain a correct understanding of how capitalist contradictions are manifested in various countries. The revolutionary forces need to make their own efforts to unify a majority of the people for carrying out transformations in their own countries."

Concerning the problems of the struggle in setting up a united front of progressive forces, one could say that, now that the Japan Socialist Party has slid down to a splitting, anti-communist position, our party is in the vanguard of this struggle and has continued to carry on this work, without waiting for the Socialists to think again, and has rallied the efforts of the Communists and other truly democratic forces.

Finally, there is party construction. Following the adoption of amendments to the JCP Programme, its organisations, down to those at the grassroots, have put forward 'comprehensive plans' on every level as the basis for purposefully and independently increasing the party membership and enlarging the circle of our newspaper's readership. In this way, we have been consolidating the JCP, which now has 500,000 members, and some three million subscribers to *Akahata*.

Mass propaganda work is a concrete embodiment of our party's programmatic course, which is to carry out a majority revolution through purposeful efforts and a change in the mentality of broad strata of the Japanese people.

INFORMATION

The Communist Movement Today

Calling For Interaction

THE radical improvement of the political climate in Asia and the Pacific calls for the active participation of all the states and the broad mass of the people. This conclusion was made by the participants in the Consultative

Meeting of 21 communist and revolutionary-democratic parties of the region held in Ulan Bator last July. They stressed the vital importance of their parties' interacting with the other peace-loving forces and singled out the significant contribution that the national liberation movements can make to the cause of strengthening peace and security.

Authoritative figures in the world communist, workers' and revolutionary-democratic movements voiced their readiness to have a dialogue and to act jointly with political parties, trade unions, women's, youth, religious and other organisations and movements working to avert the nuclear danger and to turn Asia and the Pacific into a zone of peace and progress. It is important, the final document of the meeting pointed out, to carry on the traditions of anti-imperialist struggle of the people of that region and to make use of the experience accumulated by other countries in ensuring security and developing peaceful cooperation among states.

The participating parties agreed to step up and expand their bilateral and multilateral exchanges of opinion on the issues of peace, security and good-neighbour relations and also on other problems of mutual interest. They emphasised that the first ever consultative meeting in the history of the Asia-Pacific region was held in the year of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which had played a decisive role in awakening the enslaved nations and gave a graphic confirmation of the effectiveness of revolutionary ideas.

Confidence-Building Changes

Acting General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee and Premier of the State Council of China, Zhao Ziang, last June visited Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Poland. It was noted in this connection that the past few years saw many changes, which opened an opportunity for that visit and made it possible to speak of the 'building of confidence'. China today, Zhao Ziang said, views the foreign policy activity of the European socialist countries as an important factor of maintaining peace and shows interest in the experience of building socialism and in the reforms carried out by some socialist countries. During the Chinese leader's stay in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and Hungary opinion was exchanged on the development of bilateral inter-party relations. The sides reiterated their desire for broader ties between the communist parties and for their wider interaction on the international scene.

Relations Resumed

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, Meir Vilner, said at a press conference in Beijing that he had detailed talks with CPC leaders during his visit to China. A broad range of political and ideological questions, including international relations, the danger of nuclear catastrophe and efforts to stop the arms race and ensure

universal peace, were discussed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, he added. The sides paid special attention to the situation in the Middle East, the Israeli-Arab conflict and also the Palestinian problem.

They also touched upon the problems of the international communist movement. Meir Vilner pointed out that their positions coincided or were similar on many of the issues discussed though differed on some of the others. Speaking of the bilateral relations between the Communist Party of Israel and the Communist Party of China, the sides agreed to resume normal friendly contacts between the two parties in the interests of both nations and the common cause of peace and socialism.

Towards Fully Normalising Relations

Only by trying to get to know each other can we create conditions for mutual understanding and trust among nations, said the leader of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia delegation which visited Spain last June on the invitation of the Communist Party of Spain. The visit, he stressed, was a new step towards fully normalising relations between the two parties on the principles of independence and mutual respect.

From the Press

WRITING FOR THE PEOPLE

The front page of *Nhan dan*, the newspaper published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, regularly carries short articles signed by N.V.L. (the pen-name of Nguyen Van Linh, General Secretary of the CPV Central Committee). He raises a fairly broad range of problems, from economic transformation and negative phenomena in the work of the party and state apparatus at the grassroots level, to difficulties in supplying the working people with consumer goods. One of his articles dealt with the role of the party press.

The newspaper, Nguyen Van Linh says, did a lot to propagandise the ideas of the party during the underground period and acted as an agitator and educator of the mass of the people. Today the press and the other mass media operate openly, carrying on the revolutionary traditions. But many newspapers, including central ones, are not quite aware of the fact that they write for rank-and-file party members, for the working people. They publish long editorials and articles written in a stilted and unintelligible language, though the party newspapers are a connecting link between the party and the masses.

The press should be the mouthpiece of not only the party and the government but of all sections of the population, the article says. It should reflect popular thoughts and aspirations and denounce the misdoings of cadre workers, party members and employees. Besides articles on the party line and policy, the press should carry reports on successes and failures in tackling the tasks posed by the Communist Party of Vietnam and the state.

The press should be lively and stimulating not only in form but also in content. It should give answers to the questions that beset people and this refers to theoretical articles too, although it is far from easy to write them in a simple language. The author urges avoidance of inordinate quotations, including the classics of Marxism-Leninism, so as not to imitate Confucian philosophers who tended to repeat on every occasion, 'Confucius said . . .' All the articles carried by the party press should solely aim at familiarising the people with the party policy, helping the party to be in touch with the people and to act in accordance with their aspirations and interests.

In Brief

ITALY

In late June 1987 the Italian Communist Party held a conference to commemorate its founder and leader, Antonio Gramsci. Addressing the conference, Alessandro Natta, the ICP's General Secretary, said, among other things, that Antonio Gramsci belonged not to the party alone: his legacy is of interest to all those who desire to follow the road of socialist renewal.

ROMANIA

A Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, held in late June 1987, took the decision to convene a National Conference of the RCP in early December 1987.

USSR

The June 1987 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee took the decision to convene the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU in Moscow on June 28, 1988.

DEMOCRATIC YEMEN

A general party conference was called by the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party. It was attended by more than 350 delegates and by representatives of mass public organisations. The suggestion was made to remove from the Central Committee 26 full and alternate Central Committee members, who after the January 1986 events remained on it only formally, and 25 new alternate CC members were recommended. An extraordinary Plenary Meeting of the YSP Central Committee endorsed the recommendations of the conference.

Newspaper Festivals

THE annual festival of the newspaper *Die Wahrheit*, published by the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, was keynoted by slogans of struggle

for peace, stronger anti-imperialist solidarity of the peoples and against unemployment. The participants also urged solutions to the city's social problems and befitting celebrations of Berlin's 750th anniversary.

The Communist Party of Spain held its annual festival in Madrid's Casa de Campo Park. A large exhibition described the work of the weekly *Mundo Obrero*, the leading publication of the Communist Party's Central Committee, and newspapers of several communist, workers' and revolutionary-democratic parties of other countries put up their displays in the international pavilion.

The newspaper *Avant*, the leading publication of the Party of Communists of Catalonia, held its festival in Barcelona. Speakers at a rally, the central event of the festival, raised problems of special concern to the country and the people, among them Spain's participation in NATO, efforts to control the rise of terrorism and the revival of bourgeois nationalism, and urged popular unity in efforts for peace.

The *Trybuna Ludu*, the leading newspaper of the Polish United Workers' Party, held its traditional festival in Warsaw. Hundreds of local people and guests visited the Vistula embankment, where mass festivities took place by the Old City. Exhibitions, variety grounds and book fairs were organised on a five-kilometre strip of the embankment. Representatives of more than 30 periodicals of communist and workers' parties took part in the festival.

exchange of views, discussion

Can the Military-Industrial
Complex be Bridled?

International Symposium in Prague

The WMR Commission for General Theoretical Problems has led a symposium 'US Policy of Neoglobalism, the Military-Industrial Complex, Contemporary Militarism and the Working Class'. Reports were delivered at the symposium by **Ernie Clark** (Communist Party of Great Britain), **George Toubi** (Communist Party of Israel), economists **Georgi Tsagolov** (USSR), **Arno Gottschalk** (FRG), and

Ladislav Dvořák (Czechoslovakia); contributions to the discussion were made by **José Maria Lanao** (Communist Party of Argentina), **Gančo Ganev** (Bulgarian Communist Party), **David Moraes** (Communist Party of Bolivia), **Antonio Ribeiro Granja** (Brazilian Communist Party), **Duong Ngoc Ky** (Communist Party of Vietnam), **Donald Ramotar** (People's Progressive Party of Guyana), **Zenon Zorzovilis** (Communist Party of Greece), **Magdi Kamel Mohamed** (Egyptian Communist Party), **Satiadjaya Sudiman** (Communist Party of Indonesia), **Kadhim Habib** (Iraqi Communist Party), **Christoforos Ioannides** (Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus), **Alvaro Oviedo** (Colombian Communist Party), **Francisco Gamboa** (People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica), **Sam Moeti** (Communist Party of Lesotho), **Rafic Samhoun** (Lebanese Communist Party), **Hugo Campos** (Paraguayan Communist Party), **Semou Pathe Gueye** (Senegal Party of Independence and Labour), **Khalid Hammami** (Syrian Communist Party), **John Pittman** (Communist Party USA), **Ali Ileri** (Communist Party of Turkey), **Georg Kwiatowski** (German Communist Party), **Jose Lava** (PKP — Communist Party of the Philippines), **Elean Thomas** (Workers' Party of Jamaica) and **WMR** staff members **Stanislav Menshikov** and **Yevgeny Panfilov**.

Below is a review of some points made in the discussion at the symposium.

Contemporary Realities and Theory

WHAT are the prospects of dismantling militarism, a most abominable offspring of imperialism and a scourge of our civilisation? To answer this question, the discussion demonstrated, we should re-examine the theoretical premise that militarism cannot be done away with unless the capitalist system is abolished.

Participants in the symposium took exception to that view, and noted that *the success of the anti-militarist struggle and, first and foremost, the attainment of its priority goal of nuclear disarmament, are not conditional on the dismantling of the capitalist system*. What is central to this struggle is the achievement of peaceful coexistence of socialism and capitalism, and survival of humanity.

The Communists stand for a socialist perspective in the struggle against imperialism and support everything that contributes to the peaceful progress of civilisation, to a world free from violence. They offer *assistance to the social forces which want to live under capitalism and have no wars, in testing the possibilities for its peaceful, nuclear weapons-free evolution*. There is nothing illusory or impracticable in the striving for such a way of development in view of the real alignment of forces on the global scale.

We hope to build a world without nuclear weapons by the year 2,000, **Ernie Clark** said. This goal will be achieved, naturally, not through the defeat of capitalism. The point in Britain is to create a situation making it possible to erode the positions of the military-industrial complex within the framework of capitalism. Those who think that it cannot be scrapped unless capitalism and imperialism are defeated clearly delude themselves. The tendency for introducing in the peace movement ideas which can

provoke a split in it or narrow its scope should be abandoned.

Discussing the relevance of anti-militarist struggle to the strategic goals of the working class party, **Ali Ileri** said: "A Turkey without militarism is possible and could be viable. That could also benefit the local bourgeoisie. And for the working class and other working people, such national development would be an immense success because the dominance of militarism is the main obstacle to social progress. A Turkey without militarist supremacy is a goal that is realistic and, moreover, revolutionary in the context of the strategic tasks of our working class."

Speakers dwelt at length on the attitude of the capitalist class to militarism. They noted that military-strategic parity has *led militarism into a crisis* and made it useless for the realisation of imperialism's global ambitions by means of war. Hence the growing desire of the capitalist class *to get rid of those weapons which could imperil the security of the imperialist powers themselves.*

The monopoly bourgeoisie has not formed a single front of militarism, **George Toubi** stressed. A sizeable part of it, speakers noted, have an *economic* interest in setting *limits to militarisation* so as to reverse the protracted decline of the civilian industries and overall economic and financial instability. The monopolies oriented to civilian production are not happy with the redistribution of profits through the state budget and price mechanism to favour the armaments industries. Militarisation also brings to a head *inter-imperialist contradictions*, which, in turn, can put a brake on its growth. The United States, for instance, uses its balance-of-payments deficit to shift a considerable share of its military spending onto other countries and, seeking to detract from their competitiveness, urges them to increase their military budgets.

The imperialist powers at the same time finance the arms race not only from domestic sources but, to an ever larger extent, at the expense of the developing countries, using for the purpose their foreign indebtedness. *The abolition of foreign debts and the establishment of a new international economic order* therefore offer a good chance for subverting the economic foundations of militarism.

"Is militarisation an essential aspect of imperialism, its intrinsic feature?" **Rafic Samhoun** asked. He noted that some economists interpreted its possible escalation in the foreseeable future as an 'objective need' of world capitalism and pointed out that "a one-sided view of the problem leads to the erroneous conclusion that humanity, bogged down in the quagmire of militarism, will have to bow to the will of imperialism or succumb to the view that a war in which there will be neither winners nor losers is inevitable. But the forces which stand in an irreconcilable conflict with the military-industrial complex and suffer at its hands in both the imperialist and the developing countries, to say nothing of the socialist ones, are stronger than the forces which stand to gain from militarism."

The *problem of contradictions within the military-industrial complex itself*, which has yet to be studied in full, cropped up in the discussion. **Arno Gottschalk** used the FRG as an example to show that arms production in many corporations and the financial groups controlling them amounted to just a few per cent of their total operations. In the scientist's view, "those

monopolies do not pin their economic fortunes on the war business and are increasingly realising that their economic interests are adversely affected by the arms race and militarist policy of aggression. Disarmament would not necessarily face those concerns with the problem of economic survival. The probability that they *'must'* put their stakes on the war business alone is low. In some situations, arms limitation measures may even benefit those concerns. The latest wave of mergers in the armaments industry is not bound to bolster the more aggressive forces in West Germany."

He pointed to early signs of the West German ruling classes' cautious turn towards the relaxation of international tension and explained that change of heart by their *awareness of the growing risk of sharp confrontation, their anticipation of lucrative trade deals with socialist countries, the aggravation of their rivalry with the USA and their desire to shake off US hegemony*. At the same time he cautioned against an over-optimistic view of the prospects: the FRG leaders are not at all eager to accept disarmament even though they do not resist Soviet-US accords on nuclear arms reductions. (They would like the Bundeswehr to retain shorter-range INF missiles.) The reason is not so much the profits from the war business as their claims to pre-eminence in Western Europe, which they would like to back with military muscle while gradually distancing themselves from the dangerous militarist course pursued by the US administration.

The final conclusion of the participants in the discussion was that the ruling quarters of the capitalist countries would not of their own accord break off with militarism or refuse its services *unless forced to do so by economic and political circumstances, by the mounting mass protests and by the constructive policies of the socialist countries*.

An Independent Force or a Tool?

Studies of today's militarism, above all of US militarism, Georgi Tsagolov said, have prompted the following conclusion: "The military-industrial complex is assuming the function of the main propellant of militarism, and turning it into an overbearing force. The war machine of imperialism today is more than a mere tool used by the bourgeois state to pursue its policy. The complex is demanding continuous reproduction of weapons on an even broader scale and major arms build-up programmes, which guarantee its long-term prosperity, and these needs are turning the arms race into a self-propelling process."

The way to overcome militarism, if we accept this view, is first and foremost *to strip the military-industrial complex of its de facto status of a relatively independent force*. What needs curtailing is not only its special interests, related to war preparations, and the military-technocratic development tendencies that are characteristic of it, but also its ability to goad capitalist society into an aggressive foreign-policy course and influence the upper echelons of the power structure in order to block steps towards disarmament.

How can our goal be achieved? Is there any way to turning militarism, an autonomous force dictating to the government and society, into a dependent and subordinate force, thus preparing the ground for the

dismantling of the military-industrial complex? The *nationalisation of private corporations*, which are the backbone of the complex, Tsagolov believes, could become a step on that road. "Militarism cannot be destroyed overnight," said he. "The first thing that can and must be done is to remove the most fearsome threat, which is posed by the nuclear arms arsenals. And society can partially overcome the influence of the military-industrial complex, which stands in the way, by nationalising the armaments industries."

The efficacy of this measure was called into question in the discussion that followed. Speakers noted that the capitalist state enterprises which produced armaments were in no way better than the privately-owned ones. Militarism is swelling in some countries and military spending and arms production keep growing on the basis of nationalised industries too. Private capital finds a host of ways and means of battenning on the war business even in such circumstances. It was also noted, however, that nationalisation carried out by the bourgeoisie meets the interests of the ruling class which, on the whole, does not want to be dominated by militarism and is seeking to subordinate it to the overall interests of monopoly capital. In this way at least some, though insufficient, constraints would be put on the relative independence of the military-industrial complex.

The discussion also brought forth *other theoretical evaluations of the place of the military-industrial complex in the structure of state-monopoly capitalism*; a number of participants in the symposium relied on them in their substantiation of anti-militarist measures.

"The military-industrial complex in the FRG is not an autonomous force," **Arno Gottschalk** said. "The country's war industry is not an independent economic sector or a closed faction but a component of big business, and is controlled by the largest financial grouping of West Germany, the Deutsche Bank. The war corporations' links with financial capital explain their strong influence on state policy." The stand of financial capital, he stressed, is all but univocal: "... the Deutsche Bank is not merely the 'Gray Cardinal' of the war business but the leading financier of trade and economic contacts with socialist countries."

Accordingly, in order to uproot militarism economically, Gottschalk believes, "it is necessary not merely to nationalise the war industries but first and foremost *to extend democratisation to vast segments of the economy*. The goal is to seek the turnover of the key economic sectors to the state *with the participation of the working people and trade unions in administration and management and with broader opportunities for them to exercise control*."

A question arose in the discussion: under what conditions does the participation of the workers and trade unions of the war industries in administration and management constitute an anti-militarist measure? **George Toubi** drew attention to the fact that in Israel the Histadrut (National Labour Federation) owned a range of armaments plants alongside the state, the major participant in the military-industrial complex. "It was not easy for our party to work out a clear stand on that unique phenomenon," he said. "We are opposed to the labour leadership,

which is under the influence of the Zionist establishment. However, we refrain from demanding that the union-owned plants of the military-industrial complex be dismantled. The very fact of their being owned by the Histadrut seems to have a potential of no small importance to the working class, which can be tapped with a change in the Histadrut leadership and in the management of those plants."

It is an important task for the Communists to promote the formation and development of anti-militarist thinking in the trade unions, among their members, the symposium noted. **Arno Gottschalk** and **Ernie Clark** said that the formulation of *concrete production development plans as an alternative to military production with the preservation of jobs* could be a meaningful peace action on the part of the trade unions. Initiative groups at a number of West German armaments plants have come up with substantiated proposals for conversion of production to specific civilian lines. The British trade unions have been working along these lines for a number of years and in the recent period have sponsored conferences on the conversion of military production. Detailed programmes help dispel the fears of workers employed in the armaments industries that disarmament will make their jobs redundant.

The conversion of huge resources from military to civilian production would be fundamental to a reorientation of state policy to the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. **Alvaro Oviedo** said in this context that "the economic aspect justifiably merits much attention in the examination of practical opportunities for countering militarism. However, machinery has been built in many countries to enable the military-industrial complex to control the state apparatus, and few anti-militarist goals can be attained in the economic sphere alone. There is a need for *meaningful changes in state policies and in the alignment of forces on the domestic scene, and also for progress towards the democratisation of society.*"

"What are our plans for countering militarist policy?" **Arno Gottschalk** continued. "It is still necessary first and foremost *to mount on an even broader scale a mass political movement capable of exerting pressure on the government.* Action for the FRG's constructive role in the elimination of medium-range nuclear missiles, an important component of militarist strategy, is assuming priority along with opposition to Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative. Another important goal is to block the planned conventional rearmament by seeking first and foremost a freeze on the military budget. We are trying to combine peace actions with opposition to social dismantling because the ruling quarters finance the expansion of military production by cutting social spending."

Speakers noted that the progressive forces keenly felt a need for a thorough study and formulation of *concrete alternatives to the military-industrial complex*. A broad anti-war coalition cannot be based just on the consensus with regard to individual demands or on support for various proposals put forward by peace movements. All that should be complemented with a well-thought-out *concept of bridling militarism and dismantling the military-industrial complex* which would make it possible to formulate realistic national initiatives and give substantive answers to

possible objections of both friends in a broad coalition and its opponents.

The British peace campaigners have been discussing *a national defence concept*, **Ernie Clark** said in this context. The point is not to have more weapons than are called for by national security. It seems that the idea of *the minimum arms level determined by the defence needs* could become the starting point for folding up the military-industrial complex and arms exports, and also for progress towards nuclear disarmament. Nationalisation alone is not enough here: what is needed is not only state control but also meaningful cuts in arms production and the democratic accountability of the armaments industries. The British Communists support Labour's policy of taking the country out of the nuclear arms race. At the same time, **Ernie Clark** said, we believe that Britain should also renounce its role of an imperialist power in the world.

The national defence concept, speakers observed, embraces a wide range of measures aimed at creating conditions which would *rule out any possibility of aggression against other peoples*. Those include cuts in military spending, arms production and the numerical strength of the army, the democratisation of the armed forces, and the eradication of militarist influences in propaganda, culture and science as well as in politics and the economy. The realities of national defence, it was stressed, nowadays depend primarily on *the removal of the nuclear threat and resistance to imperialist acts of aggression on a global scale*. For this reason, such a concept can be valid only in the context of the establishment of *a comprehensive system of international security pre-supposing a partnership of all states, big and small alike*. The formulation of a Marxist concept of national defence, it was noted, was delayed in some countries.

Besides National Defence

Complex problems, explained by the controversial role of the armed forces, speakers pointed out, arise as such concepts are worked out in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Far from all the uses to which the armed forces are put even by capitalist-oriented states, let alone those which have not yet made their social choice, can be characterised as manifestations of militarism. The armed forces in some developing countries help defend independence and progressive change. The social nature of militarism in the Third World, at the same time, is more complex than the picture drawn in the stereotype dogmas which set it in opposition to the 'progressive armed forces' working in the interest of national liberation.

Local militarism may come to be dominated by *anti-imperialist tendencies, which reflect contradictions between the national bourgeoisie and neocolonialism*. This militarism sometimes comes into sharp confrontation, to the point of armed conflict, with imperialism's neoglobalist course. The situation is further compounded by the possibility of local militarism being defeated in such a conflict, which clears the way to democratic change in the country and to a more consistent anti-imperialist stand.

"The evaluation of militarism in developing countries is a difficult and controversial problem," **Ribeiro Granja** said. "In my view, it is defensive

rather than aggressive in nature. The bourgeoisie rationalises militarisation by the need to protect national sovereignty — and this need is real in view of the threat of imperialist aggression. How can it be countered without weapons? But sooner or later, a military build-up begins to pose a threat to weaker neighbours." "Many developing countries have not stopped at arms imports and stockpiling within the limits of legitimate and natural defence needs but have gone beyond that limit," **Kadhim Habib** added.

One more contradiction, that between the external and internal functions of the armed forces, was noted in the discussion. "To stand up to imperialist aggression, the patriotic regimes have to spend heavily on armaments," **Khalid Hammami** said. "We Communists agree with this. But such a policy has also negative effects both on national economic progress and on class struggle. The ruling patriotic bourgeoisie tries to quench the flames of that struggle with an arms build-up."

Participants in the symposium observed that certain criteria should be developed to determine in every specific case if the country's military policy corresponds to its defence needs. Today's realities demand, they stressed, that the developing countries relate their defence concepts to universal disarmament as an effective means of countering the aggressiveness of imperialism, since their attempts to constrain it with their own arms build-up do not avert the threat of war.

Imperialism tends to resolve its conflicts and contradictions with the local militarist forces by *subjugating* them. Discussing the evolution of militarism in Latin America, **Alvaro Oviedo** observed: "Its character has changed since the Second World War primarily because of the existence on the continent of the imperialist powers' military-industrial complex and because of their policy. Political and economic structures have been developed to make Latin American armies dependent on the USA." This dependence, which makes the armed forces of developing countries a tool of aggressive imperialist alliances rather than a means of their defence, is found also in other regions. **Zenon Zorzovilis**, **Ali Ileri** and **Magdi Kamel** characterised such evolution in Greece, Turkey and Egypt, respectively. If local militarism goes out of control, **Kadhim Habib** observed, imperialism encourages senseless bloodshed between neighbouring countries, such as Iran and Iraq.

It is a paramount tendency of the present-day evolution of militarism, speakers at the symposium noted, that it is increasingly manifesting itself as *a tool of the perpetuation and toughening of the system of neocolonialist exploitation*. The developing countries have become a huge market for military hardware. It absorbs weapons which call not for special R & D and corresponding resource inputs but only for expanded production. The imperialist powers push up in this way the profit rate in their war industries, which explains the arms manufacturers' stake in escalating the militarisation of the Third World. They foster militarism there, encourage its growth and make it serve their interests.

"External sources are coming to play the decisive role in shaping up militarism in the imperialist 'periphery'," **Ladislav Dvořák** said. "The 'export' of militarism by the imperialist powers is an appreciable component of neocolonialist expansion. It takes different forms: in

addition to arms sales and supplies, military bases and other facilities are built, advisers and training provided for national armies, imperialist troops stationed in foreign territories, mercenaries used in undeclared wars, reactionary forces backed and armed conflicts fanned up."

A number of speakers cited and analysed extensive information on the military aspects of neocolonialism and on the imposition of militarisation on developing countries by external forces. Resistance to these tendencies constitutes a vital task for the Communists and all the other peace forces.

"The neoglobalist doctrine of imperialism includes a concept of low-intensity conflicts," **Alvaro Oviedo** said in his remarks on US neocolonialism with its militarist nature. "That means, first, anti-guerrilla operations, the Pentagon's planning and backing of punitive operations against insurgent movements, as is the case in El Salvador; second, armed attacks on 'centres of terrorism', such as the US treacherous raid on Libya; and third, support for counter-revolutionary gangs, e.g., in Angola and Nicaragua. What we have before us actually is various manifestations of interventionism, which poses a grave threat to peace because low-intensity conflicts provoked and escalated by imperialism may erupt into global confrontation."

Actions to end militarist intervention in social and political affairs and stymie the attempts of the reactionary military to seize and retain power, i.e. the so-called military hegemony, typical of Latin American countries, constitute a tangible aspect of efforts for peace in the developing countries. "Such hegemony exists not only in the countries where governments are a replica of militarist institutions in both form and content; it extends considerably also to formally civilian governments," José Lanao said. "Even today, when a democratic process has got under way in countries of Latin America's Southern Cone, the army limits and subverts the authority of recently formed civilian governments."

It is not generals and admirals who decide on militarist intervention or coups d'état, he continued, exposing the social roots of military hegemony. Above them are the reactionary circles, the landed and financial oligarchy, and big business connected with imperialism. It is those dominant groups that are to blame for the terror now and then unleashed against the population of vast regions of Latin America. It is necessary to lay bare the root causes of this phenomenon and its close relationship with external factors, such as the role of the military-industrial complex, so as to produce a strong and effective counterbalance to military hegemony in the social life. It is important to know what is behind local militarism and in what ways it not only stems democratic and national-liberation processes but also contributes to the destabilisation of international relations and objectively resists the struggle waged by the peoples for human survival.

Participants in the symposium noted that it is an urgent theoretical task, put before Marxist scholars by the practical struggle against militarism, to develop a system of democratic guarantees to preclude military hegemony and affirm civilian rule.

World Politics Today: Changes Come Hard

The US policy of neoglobalism is a concentrated manifestation of the growth of militarism and the increasing influence of the military-industrial complex on life in capitalist society. That policy represents the ambition of the more reactionary imperialist forces for a social clawback at a time of nuclear-missile parity and is the main source of world tensions.

Speakers at the symposium showed that the strategic objective of the policy of neoglobalism was to achieve military superiority over socialism and to exhaust economically the socialist community through the arms race. Neoglobalist policy is directed also at perpetuating and expanding the neocolonialist dependence of the Third World countries and at narrowing the sovereignty of industrialised capitalist states. The participants discussed, specifically, if that course could be pursued for a long time and if it was inevitable or motivated by extraneous circumstances.

Probing the economic roots of the policy of neoglobalism, **Stanislav Menshikov** showed that it had gained ascendancy in the USA as a result of the substantial growth and qualitative transformation of the military-industrial complex in the 1970s and 1980s. One result of these processes was that the armaments corporations, primarily in the aerospace industry, where delivery vehicles for nuclear weapons are manufactured, joined the US monopoly business club. Furthermore, military and civilian monopolies now have a meeting ground in high technology, including microelectronics and optics, where the profit rate often is as high as in arms production. One more factor of qualitative transformations is the internationalisation of the military-industrial complex.

Facts of the broader interweaving and even mergers of arms-producing corporations on an international scale and the imperialist powers' cooperation in the arms race are common knowledge. But are they sufficient ground for the theoretical conclusions that the internationalisation of capital is also true of the military-industrial complexes of different countries? What can be said about the centrifugal tendencies and competition among the arms producers and about the growing inter-imperialist contradictions?

In **Georgi Tsagolov's** view, "the military-industrial complex is becoming a transnational entity, and not only because of close links between different countries' complexes but also because major transnational monopolies are becoming involved in its operations."

"Such monopolies have not become the dominant force in military production but operate mostly outside it," **Satiadjaya Sudiman** said.

"All their interdependencies notwithstanding, rivalry keeps growing between West European and US corporations over the profits of the military-industrial business," **Arno Gottschalk** observed. "One graphic example is the Strategic Defense Initiative. West Germany's leading corporations have realised that they will be getting mere crumbs of the SDI pie — and immediately grown cool towards it. Is it not better to get a clearer picture of these contradictions before jumping to the conclusion about the transnationalisation of military-industrial complexes?"

Participants in the discussion stressed that the economic foundations of the policy of neoglobalism were not confined to the strengthening of the

positions of the military-industrial complex in the power structure of monopoly capitalism. Even the attainment of such commanding positions by the complex, **Rafic Samhoun** believes, is a consequence of the socio-economic crisis which has been gripping capitalism since the 1970s. "Trillions of dollars keep floating nowadays but are not invested in the civilian economy," he said. "Capital relies on militarisation to secure high profits."

The latest tendencies in the evolution of the military-industrial complex and the ever deeper inroads made by militarism into the basis and superstructure of capitalism, participants in the symposium noted, *are a sure cause for worry and reason to raise the alarm*. Preparations for an unprecedentedly large-scale round of the arms race with a view to projecting it into outer space are in full swing. Arms build-up programmes that are being mooted by the militaristic forces by far exceed any earlier programmes financially, scientifically and technologically. The policy of neoglobalism is being fitted with a sort of inertia mechanism to make it run for years. It is possible to achieve disarmament by reversing these tendencies, because they are a product of political decisions taken in the upper echelons of the imperialist power structure. But it will be an uphill battle. Marxist studies of a wide range of problems relevant to human survival in our controversial and interdependent world are called upon to play a substantial part in that battle. As **Elean Thomas** stressed in conclusion, a most important goal of such studies is *to define concrete and efficient ways, with due consideration for their diversity, of curbing militarism and the military-industrial complex*. New discussions are needed — and called for by the fraternal parties — on the theoretical and practical aspects of anti-militarist struggle.

Democratisation in Latin America

International Seminar in Bogota

AN international seminar on 'Democratisation in Latin America', co-sponsored by Colombia's Social Research Centre and the journal *World Marxist Review*, was held in Bogota, from June 9 to 12 with broad public participation.

The countries of the region were represented by rapporteurs from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Cuba, Nicaragua and El Salvador. Specialists from the USSR and the GDR and a *WMR* delegation also took part. Substantive reports and informative statements were read by visiting political scientists and by more than 20 scholars and public figures from Colombia's private research centres and National University, Bogota's INCCA University, trade unions and religious, women's, youth, student and other mass organisations. The participants heard with close attention

an address by Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the CC of the Colombian Communist Party, who analysed developments on the domestic political scene in the light of efforts for democratisation. The closing feature of the international forum was a report by Alfredo Vasquez Carrizosa, a leading Conservative Party figure, former foreign minister and chairman of the Colombian Human Rights Committee, who highlighted the general aspects of the democratic process in Latin American countries.

The audience numbered 300-350 people every day, among them leading senators, MPs, municipal councillors and local authorities. The views of all the country's major political and public forces, among them the Liberals, Conservatives, Social Democrats, Communists and other left groupings and independents supportive of the democratisation process, were reflected in the discussion.

Unbiased and well-argued debates in an atmosphere of mutual respect and constructive cooperation contributed to a comparative analysis of the experiences of Latin American countries and drew the participants' attention to problems of common concern, such as foreign indebtedness and its effect on democracy in Latin America, the role of the national armed forces in the light of the progress of the democratic movement, ways of democratising state institutions and the need for political and social reforms in the region. The specific aspects of the struggle for real democracy in Argentina, Brazil and Bolivia figured prominently in the exchanges of views at the seminar. Participants gave much attention to the impact of the armed conflict in Central America on the continental democratic process and to ways of resolving it by political means.

The diverse views, which reflected the ideological and political pluralism of that international forum, helped clarify many issues under consideration, and this fact was approved by the participants and all those present.

WMR will follow up with a more detailed account of the seminar.

viewpoints

Marx's *Das Kapital* And Capitalism Today – 120th Anniversary of Volume One

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THE first volume of Marx's four-volume work, *Das Kapital*, appeared in 1867. It contains the key scientific principles of the Marxist economic theory.

Today, 120 years on, Marx's great work remains fully valid. However hard the numerous bourgeois theorists and politicians have tried to refute or ignore Marxism and its economic doctrine in the first place (the fascists and other reactionary forces tried to destroy Marxism altogether), it has proved to be indestructible. Even its bitter enemies now have to admit that "since the 1970s Marxism has been going through a renaissance" and that "Marxism continues to be attractive even a hundred years after Marx's death".¹ There must be some weighty reasons for a scientific work to be so firmly and tellingly established and to be of such great importance for an understanding of the deep-going processes of our time, despite all the attacks on it.

What then are the sources of *Das Kapital's* vitality? The first is its *scientific* character. When Marx worked on it, he started from an analysis of the facts, of *the objective reality*. He studied the situation in England, then the most developed capitalist country. He made a critical study of the scientific conclusions made by classics of bourgeois political economy. That is why his chief work carries this subtitle: 'A Critique of Political Economy'.

We are increasingly impressed with the idea that Marx kept repeating, namely, *that only an analysis of social reality, of practice, will yield scientific conclusions*. In a letter to Engels, he wrote: "Political economy can be turned into a positive science only if one examines, instead of contradictory dogmas, the contradictory facts and actual contradictions beneath the integument of these dogmas."² Having read these words, Lenin made the following remark in the margin: "It is not dogmas but *facts* that are the basis of political economy."³

Marx regarded social practice as the object, goal and objective criterion of his entire scientific and revolutionary activity. At the same time, says Engels, "Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force".⁴ The Marxist economic doctrine, and especially the theory of

surplus-value, elaborated in Volume One of *Das Kapital*, is, as Lenin put it, "The cornerstone of Marxist economic theory".⁵ This doctrine provides irrefutable scientific grounding for the historical mission of the working class and indicates the direction of historical progress: the surmounting of capitalism and the inevitable triumph of socialism.

The first purpose of science is to gain a knowledge of the laws governing the motion and development of the phenomena it studies. Marx was the first to show that social processes are ultimately based on objective laws, a conclusion he reached after long years of work in the course of which he made two great discoveries: the materialist comprehension of history, and the secret of the capitalist production of surplus-value.⁶

Marx's fundamental scientific system is elaborated in depth in Volume One of *Das Kapital*. That was a splendid fulfilment of the task he had set himself. In the Preface to the First Edition, Marx says that from his standpoint "the evolution of the economic formation of society is viewed as a process of natural history . . . and it is the ultimate aim of my work to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society".⁷ That is "the basic idea of *Capital*".⁸

In his famous Preface, Marx drew yet another important conclusion: "The present society is no solid crystal, but an organism capable of change, and is constantly changing."⁹ With his materialist approach, he lays emphasis on the objective dialectics of social evolution and, consequently, on the need for each scientific theory to study its subject-matter in motion. The first corollary, he says, is that the cognised laws of development always operate in historically concrete conditions, and that each law, "like all other laws, . . . is modified in its workings by many circumstances".¹⁰

Marx elaborated his economic theory as a *creative* science. How Marxists preserve and use the scientific legacy of the founder of our doctrine determines just how valid it is. Marxists have come to realise the need to stand up for the laws governing the development of capitalism, the laws which Marx formulated, against any attempts to deny or distort them. They have at the same time creatively continued his work not by quoting him, but by trying to understand, as Lenin said, "that which constitutes the very gist, the living soul, of Marxism — a concrete analysis of a concrete situation".¹¹ That is why when Marxists-Leninists analyse new processes of social development, they seek to find out how the objective economic laws of capitalism are manifested in new historical conditions.

Lenin's theory of imperialism provides a classical example of how Marx's doctrine is to be developed. When he analysed twentieth-century capitalism, Lenin started from the scientific writings of Marx and Engels and the objective laws they had discovered, also taking due account of their conclusions concerning the new and important trends, above all the growing concentration of production and the centralisation of capital in the last quarter of the nineteenth century: "Neither Marx nor Engels lived to see the imperialist epoch of world capitalism, which began not earlier than 1898-1900."¹² It was Lenin's own study of the new social processes that enabled him to demonstrate that twentieth-century capitalism had entered upon a new, *imperialist stage*, at which it was no longer free competition, as it was in the pre-monopoly epoch, but the monopolies that determined the

face of the society.

Revisionist and bourgeois theorists claimed that Marx's conclusions were invalid in the new conditions. Lenin stood up for Marx by providing scientific proof that while important economic and social changes had occurred under imperialism, they had done nothing to produce a new society. The changes had taken place within capitalism itself. The rule of the monopolies in the form of cartels, syndicates, concerns and trusts was a fresh manifestation of the capitalist relations of production. The laws of the motion and development of the exploiter mode of production, including the basic economic law of capitalism, the law of surplus-value, which Marx discovered, continued to exist and operate.

The spreading power of the monopolies in economics and politics led to important changes in the concrete forms in which the objective economic laws of capitalism operated. In contrast to the enterprises of the pre-monopoly period, imperialist monopolies went beyond the appropriation of *average profit* to the appropriation of *monopoly profit*, because of their dominant positions. Like average profit, monopoly profit is essentially surplus-value, but manifested in another form.

Profit is appropriated by the monopolies through their exploitation of the working people at their enterprises, and it also includes that part of the value which they extract through monopoly prices from the working people who are not employed at these enterprises, and from other classes and strata, and especially from the colonies and dependent countries. Consequently, Lenin proved, imperialism's economic development is ultimately also determined by the operation of the laws of capitalism, which Marx discovered.

Lenin's conclusions hold good for state-monopoly capitalism today. As time passed, *imperialism underwent further changes*. The power of the state and the monopolies is closely coalesced in the industrialised capitalist countries. The imperialist state has become an economic force operating 'all along the line', stepping up the processes of exploitation and monopolisation for the benefit of the monopolies. Capitalist relations of production are manifestly state-monopoly relations.

The facts have borne out Marx's idea that capitalism is an organism that is constantly changing, a process which is most pronounced at the leading capitalist enterprises. They bear no comparison with the relatively small firms of Marx's day or even with the monopolies which Lenin analysed. The roost is now ruled by giant monopoly associations and transnational corporations. Even in Lenin's day, General Electric, the US corporation, was one of the biggest: in 1910 it exploited 32,000 workers and had an annual turnover of 298 million marks. General Electric is now a transnational giant with subsidiaries in over 50 countries; it exploits 340,000 workers and has a turnover of \$28 billion.

Indeed, the forms in which capitalism manifests itself are now different but, for all the chopping and changing, what Marx said 120 years ago is still true: "The production of surplus-value, or the extraction of surplus-labour, is the specific end and aim, the sum and substance, of capitalist production."¹³

The law of surplus-value continues to be *the basic economic law* under

state-monopoly capitalism today. It is ultimately the objective greed for surplus-value and the consequent urge of the monopolies to extend their dominant positions that have led in recent years to the numerous mergers, formation of new corporate structures and faster centralisation of capital in the United States, Japan, the FRG and other imperialist countries.

Daimler-Benz in the FRG offers a typical example. Up until 1984 it ranked fifth among the industrial giants in the country. It has now moved up into first place after taking over the controlling interest in the Motoren-Turbinen-Union, the Dornier aircraft company, the AEG concern and others. Daimler-Benz has a large scientific and technological potential and is a high-technology leader. The whole purpose of its technological advance was to open up fresh possibilities for multiplying its profits.

One of the main sponsors of these mergers was the Deutsche Bank, the biggest bank in the FRG, and the major stockholder in Daimler-Benz (28.5 per cent). Lenin pointed out that monopolies tend to emerge not only in industry and commerce, but also in banking, and the Daimler-Benz case shows that the merger of industrial and bank capital into finance capital is still of tremendous importance. Moreover, the profits and power of the financial oligarchy and the influence of the monopoly banks have markedly increased in the recent period.

What is also important is that in the course of these mergers Daimler-Benz took over mainly companies which are mostly engaged in the arms business. Motoren-Turbinen-Union, for instance, makes tank, ship and aircraft engines, while Dornier supplies the Air Force with aircraft, guided missiles and other military hardware, and was the first company in the FRG to take part in SDI, the US programme for militarising space. AEG, only a few years ago in deep crisis, was taken over by Daimler-Benz following typically monopolist trimming: its 1974 workforce of 170,000 was cut down to 74,000 by 1985; it stopped producing consumer goods, and expanded its arms manufacture.

The TNCs entered upon a new stage of growth in the 1960s, spawning empires with subsidiaries in dozens of countries and exploitation organised on an *international scale*. The result was a transformation of the major monopolies of the leading capitalist countries into international power centres, whose tentacles are at the throats not just of individual countries, but even of entire continents. They now have control of almost 40 per cent of the industrial production, of about 60 per cent of foreign trade, and of over 75 per cent of the technological potential of the capitalist economy.¹⁴

The less developed world is now being sucked dry by the TNCs, especially by the giant monopoly banks, hand in hand with the imperialist states. This monopoly yoke is having some devastating consequences. A large part of the less developed world's industrial production — in Latin America, almost 40 per cent — is concentrated at TNC subsidiaries. The surplus-value they extract is appropriated by the monopolies of the United States, Britain, the FRG, Japan and the other imperialist powers. The exploitation of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America is also being intensified by the growing external debt.

The monopolies' activity, growth and craving for profit and power, therefore, not only affect the vital interests of the peoples at the centres of

capitalism, but increasingly pose a threat to the very existence of the less developed and dependent countries, where millions die of hunger and tens of millions live from hand to mouth. Imperialism is to blame for their dire plight: "It is no exaggeration to say that, to a large extent, the imperialist system is still living off the plunder of the developing countries, off their totally merciless exploitation. The forms and methods are changing, but the essence remains."¹⁵

It is now so obvious that capitalism is historically doomed by the objective trends in its development that there is a marked growth of criticism of imperialism throughout the world.

Here is how Marx formulated the objective dialectics of capitalist development: "Capitalist production . . . develops technology, and the combining together of various processes into a social whole, only by sapping the original sources of all wealth — the soil and the labourer."¹⁶ Scientific and technical progress is now shaped by the giant corporations in their efforts to modernise production and cut costs. They make wide use of science and technology as a source for extracting *additional monopoly profits*. They have turned microelectronics, robotics, and biotechnology into a scourge on their workers, employees and engineers. Since scientific and technical progress in the capitalist countries is geared to the drive for profits, we have witnessed its effects, which were indicated by Marx: "As soon as the handling of this tool becomes the work of a machine, then, along with the use-value, the exchange-value of the workman's labour-power vanishes too; the workman becomes unsaleable, like paper money thrown out of currency by legal enactment."¹⁷ There are over 30 million jobless in the OECD countries even now, in this period of recovery.

The army of unemployed is only one side of the problem. *Unemployment is being used to intensify pressure on those who work, and capitalist modernisation — to intensify the process of exploitation.* Trade unionists in the FRG have good reason to say that the employers would like to have production teams, like those prepared to take part in the Olympic Games. Those who fail to stand the stress of stepped-up exploitation are the first to lose their jobs. It is still quite true, as Marx said, that "the condemnation of one part of the working class to enforced idleness by the overwork of the other part, and the converse, becomes a means of enriching the individual capitalists."¹⁸

The operation of the basic economic law of capitalism, and, in consequence, the vast growth of corporate profits and power also have other effects in general economic terms. The purchasing power of the population is drastically reduced by the recurrent depression of real wages through cuts in nominal wages or the inflationary rise of prices, unemployment, which involves many millions, and part-time employment, the permanent social dismantling at the enterprises and the economy-wide anti-social policies. There is also the fact that millions of men and women in the imperialist countries have gone down into a 'new poverty': 34 million people live below the official poverty line in the United States alone. The towering external debt has forced many less developed countries to make sharp cutbacks in their imports.

These and similar other processes have *aggravated the contradictions of capitalism*, and especially the contradiction between output and sales. The recurrent cyclical crises, like those of 1974-1975 and 1980-1982, have become deeper. The capitalist world's economic development is now once again on a down-grade. The past few years have been marked by many crisis processes: structural, budgetary, debt-related, inflationary, monetary, and so on. The economic instability of capitalism has been noticeably intensified.

The imperialist arms race has devastating effects for the whole world, and that is exemplified by the United States, which has been stepping up the arms race in the 1980s. No matter what reactionary politicians and theorists may claim, arms manufacture does not promote economic growth, but does the very opposite, as Marx once remarked: "It is exactly the same as if the nation were to drop a part of its capital into the ocean."¹⁹ Arms production substantially weakens the national economy, because the civilian industries, as well as other important sectors of the economy, are starved of funds for development.

The arms race is carried on at the expense of the *majority of the population*, which has to bear the main brunt of it in the form of mounting taxes, social cutbacks, declining real wages, etc. No money is left for the expansion and, sometimes, even for the maintenance of public health, education and other social institutions. It is not enough to say that there is a shortage of funds for government employment programmes. Since arms manufacture is based mainly on high technologies, the investment of billions in military corporations yields a much lower effect in terms of employment than investments in civilian industries. The arms race accelerates the growth of mass unemployment.

Stepping up of arms manufacture ultimately *intensifies the crisis processes* and worsens the social condition of millions of people in the industrialised and less developed countries of the capitalist world. But the main thing is that, with the present level of military hardware and technology, it threatens to wipe out civilisation and all life on Earth. That is why the primary task of our day is to struggle for peace, and against the imperialist arms build-up and the policy of aggression.

Over the decades, the captains of the imperialist economy have repeatedly tried to cope with the crisis processes by making use of various forms of state-monopoly regulation. Up until the 1970s, many of them believed that it could be done with a Keynesian economic policy, notably the state stimulation of public demand. In January 1969, the incumbent US President Lyndon B. Johnson said in his message to the nation: "We have overcome the cyclical recessions that have diverted us from the way of growth and progress over the lifetime of many generations. In the 1960s, we applied the new strategy of resisting cyclical crises, ensuring prosperity and preventing recessions and strong inflation even before they become evident."²⁰ But these hopes were blasted by the 1974-1975 crisis.

Subsequent attempts were made to solve the problem by means of monetarist prescriptions, or the so-called supply-side economics.²¹ Giving monopoly capital a free hand and providing all-round government support for profits, especially through generous tax privileges, was said to be the

cure-all. It is now becoming clear that *there is no escape from the cyclical crises*: state-monopoly policy methods do not work against the economic laws of capitalism. It is hopeless for the imperialist leaders and their academic economists to try to rid capitalism of its contradictions and crises. The facts prove beyond any doubt that economic development under present-day state-monopoly capitalism is ultimately ruled by the objective laws which Marx discovered.

History has borne out the truth of what Engels said at Marx's graveside in Highgate on March 17, 1883: "His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work!"²² For the Communists, *Das Kapital* continues to be the theoretical basis for cognising the objective reality, substance and development laws of the modern world. The Marxist theory, with its political economy as a component part, is the Communists' lodestar in the struggle for peace and historical progress in our day. Lenin said: "The Marxist doctrine is omnipotent because it is true."²³

¹ Walter Wittmann, *Kreuzzug gegen die Realität. Die ersten hundert Jahre nach Karl Marx*, Bonn, 1983, pp. 9, 141.

² Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 32, p. 181.

³ V. I. Lenin, *Abstract of 'Correspondence of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels 1844-1883'*, Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1959, p. 78 (in Russian).

⁴ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 3, pp. 162-163.

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 26.

⁶ See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 3, p. 133.

⁷ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 10.

⁸ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 136.

⁹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1 p. 10.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 644.

¹¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 166.

¹² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 111.

¹³ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 298.

¹⁴ *Bericht des ZK der SED an den XI. Parteitag. Berichterstatter: Genosse Erich Honecker*, Berlin, 1986, p. 12.

¹⁵ Mikhail Gorbachov, *Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress*, Moscow, 1986, p. 19.

¹⁶ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, pp. 506-507.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 431.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 636.

¹⁹ Karl Marx, *Grundrisse. Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy*, Penguin Books, p. 128.

²⁰ *Economic Report of the President*, Washington, 1969, p. 4.

²¹ A package of measures to reduce taxes on profits and incomes of the rich classes ostensibly to stimulate production — *Ed.*

²² Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 3, p. 163.

²³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 23.

Keeping Faith With The Spirit Of The Times

Mikhail Ulyanov — CPSU Central Auditing Commission member, People's Actor of the USSR and Board Chairman, Union of Theatrical Workers of the RSFSR

A LOOK back to the spring of 1985 gives one an understanding of the complexity and significance of the present phase of the Soviet Union's and the CPSU's revolutionary development. At its latest plenary meetings the party's Central Committee has reaffirmed that perestroika, glasnost, criticism and self-criticism, public control, and the democratisation of all aspects of economic, social, and intellectual life are the only way to ensure successful socialist construction and put an end to the inertia in the people's consciousness, the decline in social activity, and many other unhappy realities of the preceding period.

We have at last told ourselves unreservedly, without equivocation that nothing is worse and more dangerous for socialism than dogmatic acceptance of doctrinal forms and methods of party and state activity. Stagnation and related miscalculations and errors generate a chain of ugly phenomena — from the growth of pre-crisis tendencies in society and deafness to social issues to intellectual infantilism, degradation of morals, and ascendancy of bogus priorities — that come into conflict with the socialist ideal.

Brought to light at the CC plenary meeting in April 1985 and analysed in depth at the 27th Congress of the CPSU and at subsequent plenary meetings these negative phenomena have been singled out and largely specified. But does this mean that it will be easy and painless to redress and rectify shortcomings and errors? To say that would be tantamount to sliding back into the affected optimism of the past. The cleansing processes proved to be more complex and extensive than it was at first thought. I believe that our present assessments will also be further specified and deepened, but this should not be seen as discouraging.

The need for and irreversibility of reorganisation are in fact now appreciated by a steadily growing body of opinion, both party and non-party. All of us understand that this reorganisation will determine the destiny of socialism in our country and beyond it. But what we have to bear in mind is that it entails a struggle, a collision of viewpoints. This is to be seen already now, while tomorrow this struggle may be more acute. Why? Does the future of socialism leave any of us indifferent? Do we not all agree that the changes are dictated by the actual state of affairs? To think otherwise would be a grandiose delusion. We have not lost confidence in the values of our society. On the contrary, we hold that nothing should be allowed to impinge upon socialism. But it is precisely here that two distinct views about developments come into conflict, and a bitter conflict it is. Some consider that perestroika, democratisation, and glasnost should

gather strength, while others, though agreeing that changes and improvements are desirable, adamantly refuse to accept them or want them to proceed 'quietly and unostentatiously', without any digging into the past, without having our troubles put on display for all to see and discuss.

It is my firm belief that this is the crux of the whole problem. Either we get on or stop halfway, veer to the side, 'smooth' this restructuring, and return to stagnation, from which it will then be much harder to climb out. Thus, the situation does not promise a cloudless sky or the possibility of thinking things out in the quiet of studies. It is being put into the focus of broad public discussion.

Frankly speaking, many in our country were appalled by the enormous number and complexity of the problems that came to light; having been lulled in the previous years of tranquility, and smugness, they watched the unfolding events with astonishment. In this astonishment there was an element of distrust, or rather of caution, relative to what was happening. People had previously been promised, time and again, that life would be restructured in line with Lenin's principles of social justice. The 20th Congress of the CPSU gave a visible impetus to the development of the democratic principles of our society's economic and cultural life. But its positive impact was eroded. Earlier, too, there were people who preferred quiet and tranquility, striving 'to get things going without changing anything'. But we now know what follows — the nullification of any intelligent and even-handed formulation of the ways and means of building socialism, and a return to apathy, complacency, cynicism, and permissiveness.

The big question is what is to be done? It is clear as day that we have to look for and find new economic and juridical instruments for accelerating the work of our megaton, unwieldy production machine that has grown accustomed to extensive development. It is also obvious that new forms of democratisation, self-administration, and glasnost are needed as much as the air we breathe. Nobody disputes this. But not only the economy and not only technology has to be restructured. Thinking has also to be overhauled. It has to be freed from blinkers, stereotypes, and the adjusting of realities to patterns and the proclamation of such patterns as the immutable theoretical foundation of everything under the sun.

Here the task is incomparably more complex. It is where the main collisions are occurring and passions boil. This is where we find the main knots, which if untied or cut off will let us get on more boldly and effectively with the job of normalising society.

If it is borne in mind that the pre-crisis phenomena were created not by our system, which has, in the 70 years of its development, demonstrated its colossal potentialities, but by concrete individuals, by their attitude and practical actions, one will see why such enormous significance is now attached to the human factor. The day of 'general rhetoric and oratory' has passed, and for every person this must be and already is becoming a time of action. This is the angle from which every individual will be judged and an evaluation given of him or her in moral and professional terms. I would say that this is a very powerful 'floodlight', and at this stage I don't think

everybody cares to expose his or her civic and moral stand to its glare. However, there is no other choice. "We," it was stated at the CC plenary meeting in January 1987, "have resolutely taken the course of supporting enterprising, thinking and energetic people who can and want to forge ahead boldly and are capable of ensuring success."¹

Another important point I wish to make concerns the various assessments of the international repercussions of the cleansing processes in our country. There are people in our country and elsewhere who go so far as to say that in the eyes of world opinion openness and self-criticism are undermining confidence in socialism. I think that here, too, not all of them are sincere. Lately I have visited many countries where I have had frank conversations with Communists and non-Communists, with well-wishers and with ill-wishers, and with people who cared little one way or another. These conversations showed plainly that everything now taking place in the Soviet Union is arousing not a transient but a serious constructive interest. It is as though decades after the USSR's heroic battle against fascism people are rediscovering our country and gradually shedding the stereotypes forced upon them by bourgeois propaganda.

Some see this process as a renewal of revolutionary ideas, as an enrichment of the practice of socialism. Others see it as a healthy attitude on the part of our society, as demonstrating that our society is able to cope with its difficulties. But people, including people in the USA, which I visited very recently, are most of all impressed by the far-reaching peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, especially by the new opportunities that have been opened for the anti-war movement and by the concrete proposal for freeing the world from nuclear weapons by the year 2000. The new political thinking, which is so vital in the nuclear age, is winning the minds of millions much faster and more perceptibly than those of some political leaders committed to outworn doctrines. I may be burnishing my personal impressions, but several years ago when the world had not yet learnt the Russian word 'glasnost', the palette of opinion about our country was not very cheering.

Naturally, my profession takes me closer to culture, to the spiritual problems preoccupying all of us. Here, too, there is a mountain of bureaucratic inertia that has made a sad picture of the theatre, which has been moving further away from the spectator because it failed to address his true concerns and interests. Instead of being a civic platform of public opinion, a creative institution, cleansing the intellectual atmosphere in society, it has descended into the role of a sycophant (affronting a huge number of its devotees) or of a creator of drab, emasculated, untrue, pseudo-problem stories that have likewise contributed nothing to its prestige and mission.

The theatres began to empty, and spectators began finding themselves dispossessed of the hope of hearing something serious and to the point. They saw one thing in real life, and another on the stage. There appeared two artistic value scales: a real and a mythical invented for somebody's convenience and peace of mind. The Union and republican ministries of culture contracted and recommended a host of plays which nobody staged, while many of the plays wanted by the theatres were disapproved by the

relevant authorities. Things got to a point where it was morally impossible to tolerate a double count.

It would be wrong to blame this situation exclusively on cultural institutions or to regard all theatrical workers — actors, producers, playwrights, and stage-managers — as the injured parties. The dialectics of this problem were much more complex. Indeed, there were some who were able to stage gripping, interesting plays and sustain the Soviet theatre's reputation even under these difficult conditions. There are many persons and plays I could name, but they were not the makers of the overall climate. In other instances, as also might have been expected, a sort of intellectual time-servers, prepared obligingly to stage everything said to be 'recommended', began to gain control of theatres and decide their creative palette.

In this situation the theatre began to lose its intellectual, creative potential and finest people. For the actor the stage has been from time immemorial not merely a place of work but his whole life and, believe me, this is not at all an easy life: nothing can cushion the nervous strain and the emotional and physical overloads. The daunting thing is not difficulties — they cannot frighten a person who takes his work seriously — but the fear of falling short of what you are striving to achieve, of what you are capable of doing.

As a result, we got a situation in which the state paid theatres subsidies to stage artistically and ideologically impeccable plays; the resultant empty seats in the theatres were paid for out of the same pocket. Regrettably, neither material nor moral losses disturbed those who saw state tasks as bureaucratic routine and portrayed their own, bureaucratic ambitions as matters of state importance.

That is why there was such a warm and committed response to the call, proclaimed by the party's 27th Congress, for fundamental changes in culture — the theatre, the cinema, literature, and all the other arts. I know that the finest people of the theatre were waiting for the possibility of speaking their minds and, in the meantime, they were building up their intellectual potential. At this point I shall mention what we have accomplished to pave the way for the implementation of the party's guidelines for promoting and cleansing the ideological and moral atmosphere in the theatre.

But first a few words about how we formed the Theatrical Union of the RSFSR. This did not prove to be easy to do. At our congress of theatrical workers everything at first proceeded smoothly. It was assumed that the former All-Russia Theatrical Society would undergo no more than some cosmetic changes. Prepared in advance, with hardly any modifications, the old Rules provided for the old administrative methods of directing artistic work, and the nominations for the top leadership jobs were also agreed upon in advance. Moreover, new tasks were charted in the 'spirit of the times' and the appropriate terminology was used.

This programmed scenario came unstuck in the course of the congress. Theatrical workers wanted a creative union that would, alongside and together with cultural bodies, bear the full responsibility for the development of the theatre nation-wide. The draft Rules were promptly

blackballed at the preliminary stage. This was a rap on the knuckles for those who wanted no more than a semblance of change.

Naturally, after the congress, at which an atmosphere of uncompromising, frank discussion reigned, these draft Rules were jettisoned altogether; it was felt that there had to be a new document consonant with the role that the newly-organised creative union undertook to play. Yet it was this rejected variant that was printed for discussion in the theatrical community. The bureaucrats sought to gain their ends in this devious way. Whereupon a group of theatrical workers, including myself, wrote an open letter to the newspaper *Sovetskaya Kultura* under the heading 'What Should the Union Be Like?' "The whole purpose of cultural institutions," the letter said, "is that they should help to create the conditions for vigorous creative work in art, but that was what they were least concerned about. Some leadership circles were labouring under the delusion that they alone were the creators of cultural values. The impression people got was that rather than cultural institutions existing to serve art, the latter existed to serve these institutions . . . A creative union's principal objectives and tasks are to put the party's line into effect in art, uphold artistic truth, weed out manifestations of a lack of principles and ideals, close the door to aesthetic drabness, and protect talent as a national treasure. A union should also protect the creators of art from, among other things, the incompetence of the bureaucracy that had grafted itself onto art, concentrating all 'legislative' and 'executive power' in its hands."

The creative, committed viewpoint prevailed over the bureaucratic attitude — the Union of Theatrical Workers of the RSFSR was formed and it adopted its own Rules, following which the Union of Theatrical Workers of the USSR was founded. But this was only the beginning. As we went deeper into the circumstances and causes that had led to stagnation in art we found that the going was not to be easy. Much of the 'beginning' — electivity of executives in theatres, independence in selecting the repertoire, a clear elucidation of the role and place of the producer, and so on — requires thought and civic drive. The stakes are high: we're talking not about a new signboard but of the theatre's magical ability to influence society's moral climate. Still, the main thing has been achieved: the mechanism stimulating and liberating the natural process of creativity from the fetters of bureaucratic practices has begun to function.

Let me return to what I said about making a break with stereotype thinking. We are getting a situation that is not peculiar to the theatre. I do not believe that a person can change his thought pattern overnight. I do not believe these mercurial 'converts'. The demolition of stereotypes is not a quick or simple process. There are people who are sincere about wanting to make a dramatic break with the past but cannot do it. There are others who quickly assimilate new slogans, skilfully mimic and adapt to them while not changing in any way. These people are particularly dangerous, much more dangerous than the open adversaries of the ongoing reorganisation. They are dangerous on account of their precipitate, not disinterested preparedness to drown everything in words. They were the addresses of caution at the January 1987 Plenary Meeting: "There has been

enough talk . . . What we need now is action and more action."²

Of course, the general atmosphere prevailing in our life in the Soviet Union has been and is the mainstay of our actions. It has become easier to breathe. It may be said that we are undergoing cleansing through truth. Our huge ship has unfurled its sails. Here the question that arises clearly and imperatively is: "Where are those magnificent plays, when will we finally get the plays exemplifying and commenting on the substance of the folk and psychological depths of the reorganisation we are witnessing on all sides?" Let me put it bluntly: as yet they are nowhere to be found. After last year's turbulent, exciting season, when some reportorial, artistically true plays were presented, the theatres are now only getting together plays consonant with the spirit of the times, with the standards and criteria set by audiences.

In the ongoing process of rejuvenation of all aspects of our life, including culture, it would be a gross mistake once more, as in the old days, to begin prompting producers, actors, and playwrights to confine their retelling of important developments to superficial and, as was frequently the case, limited illustrations bounded by the footlights. The processes we are witnessing today are studies of life by means of art, not a collection of facts. The people expect the theatre to present not predictable interpretations, not a hastily concocted set of ready-made answers but the complete and fearless truth about our past and about the values being created today for posterity. You will agree that this is not an easy task. One thing I am certain about is that this formulation of the ideological objective cannot leave an artist indifferent. Yuri Afanasyev, the well-known Soviet historian, put it very aptly when he said that we want the unexpected from literature, the theatre, and films. Of course, he meant this not in its banal meaning but in its lofty sense that cleanses and elevates the mind. This is the only way we can develop the finest traditions of Soviet art expressed in Lenin's famous words: "Our workers and peasants merit something bigger than spectacles. They have won the right to real, big art."³

Our theatrical union and, I know, other creative unions are today living a busy life. In the broad sense, the process of democratisation requires not only an uncusomary attitude to the solution of each specific problem but also the ability, as we put it today, of learning democracy, of learning to apply its principles.

Meanwhile, passions keep blazing up, sometimes with fierce intensity, and not all can be kept within reasonable boundaries. This should not cause apprehensions. Nobody can discredit the ideal of democracy, including its application to the restructuring of the theatre. Let everybody who wants to speak have the floor. Openness has never led to catastrophe, to an abyss, but the lack of it, the lack of true democracy leads to that abyss. Our bitter experience of this is extensive and unforgettable. Armed with the decisions of its 27th Congress our party has the ability and the experience to elicit the truth and act in the people's best interests.

Our social optimism prompts us to work harder, to be persevering. We shall travel along our chosen path without fearing fresh winds: they blow away everything superficial, flimsy, and trivial. "Democracy comes girdled with a storm," wrote Alexander Blok, one of the greatest Russian poets of

the turn of the century. He said that life can forgive the artist all sins except one — betrayal of the spirit of the times. These words have not lost their original meaning. It is much easier to live irresponsibly than to be responsible for every step one takes.

Yet, if there is to be an advance, such steps must be taken unflinchingly.

¹ Documents of a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (January 27-28, 1987). *Information Bulletin*, No. 6, Special Issue, Prague, 1987, p. 44. — *Ed.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 79. — *Ed.*

³ *Reminiscences About V. I. Lenin*, Vol. 5, Moscow, 1984, p. 15 (in Russian).

A Personal Impression Learning To Be Masters

The Beginnings of Worker Self-Management in Bulgaria

Ib Nørlund

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THE efforts to restructure the economic mechanism and to invigorate what is known as the human factor began in the various socialist countries at different times and in different ways. Thus, at the beginning of this decade, the Bulgarian Communist Party put forward its slogan that the people's state is merely the owner of the means of production, while it is the work collective that has them at its disposal. That was the origin of the new Labour Code, which went into effect in January 1987, and the declaration which devolves to the working people themselves the right to run their own enterprises, and which was last April issued by the National Assembly, the country's parliament.

We, for our part, feel that these documents will make it easier for us to refute the arguments of the opponents and critics of socialism, but much depends on how these new ideas are realised in practice. That is why we were happy to accept an invitation from the BCP CC to come to Bulgaria and see for ourselves.

Emil Khristov, BCP CC Secretary, explained the meaning of the ongoing processes. All the economic units — from the production team, the primary one, to the association, the largest one — are becoming self-regulating systems, which are supplied with the resources necessary to fulfil the tasks that follow from the state plan. What counts is the end result. At its own level, each unit collective chooses its own ways and means to attain that goal.

Our Bulgarian comrades said that success in restructuring the economy and its radical technological renovation depend directly on the extent to which all those engaged in production, management and administration are involved in the process. In accordance with the decisions of the 13th Congress of the BCP (April 1986), elections of self-management organs, as provided by the new Labour Code, were held in all the primary work collectives (teams) and basic work collectives (enterprises). We took note of the fact that the heads of teams and enterprises were elected by secret ballot.

But even with that kind of democratic approach to personnel appointment, no executive has the right to act on his own. Labour legislation makes the general meetings of labour collectives or meetings of their authorised representatives (at the big plants) the sovereign organs of self-management of the producer units. These meetings hear reports from managerial personnel and elect team councils and enterprise economic councils, at least one-half of whose members must be shopfloor workers.

The current changes in the organisation of labour and management are not cosmetic: they are changes of quality, the 13th BCP Congress stated. Professor **Vasil Mrychkov**, Director of the Institute of State and Law of the Academy of Sciences, told us that when the new Labour Code was being discussed over a number of years, this question kept arising: did it signify an extension of producer democracy, the working people's participation in management, or socialist self-management? The choice was made in favour of socialist self-management, and the distinction is that the individual workers and collectives do not merely have a say in the drafting and adoption of decisions, but take the final decisions themselves.

Let us say that a team has been given an assignment by its enterprise on the quantity, quality and range of products, and has been assured of the supply of the raw and other materials and electric power it needs. From then on, it takes all the decisions on its own: how best to organise production, how many people it needs and how to arrange their work, how to obtain the best quality with minimum material inputs — all these are within the competence of the team. It also has disposal of the payroll fund, which is not a fixed, but a residual magnitude depending directly on its profits, and this also implies the need for cost-benefit analysis. Everyone's personal contribution to fulfilling the monthly plan, or the labour-participation coefficient, as it is called in Bulgaria, is collectively discussed. Cuts in pay are in store for those who are late for work or turn out defective products.

"Doesn't that give the individual a sense of being oppressed by the collective?", we asked **Kosta Andreyev**, a Secretary of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions.

"Those who work well are, in fact, stimulated by the atmosphere in their team, while those who want to live at the expense of others are, indeed, subjected to pressure, and not to administrative pressure, but mainly to moral pressure from their fellow workers. In the conditions that have been created everyone is paid strictly according to work."

We asked another question: "Doesn't the new system minimise the role of trade unions, many of whose functions are being transferred to the work

collectives and their elective organs?"

"The tasks of trade unions have now been somewhat modified and expanded. They see to the correct formation of the new collective organs and to the strict observance of their powers and competence. They explain the substance of the economic mechanism, and help those who are elected to the management bodies to widen their knowledge. Social questions, the provision of facilities for rest and leisure, and other similar matters remain within their competence. Finally, they stand on guard of the interests of the work collective as a whole, and of each of its members, act as arbiter in settling any labour grievances, endorse or refuse to endorse dismissals and, whenever necessary, contest the decisions taken by management, economic councils and team councils. On the state level, no decision affecting the working people's condition is taken without the most thorough consultations with trade unions, whose multifaceted role is written into the policy documents of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the country's Constitution."

Self-management and the new economic mechanism are only at their initial stages, so that it is evidently too early to sum up any results, but the system has been in operation at some enterprises since the early 1980s. It was introduced gradually, one part after another, largely by trial and error, and with corrections, as theoretical concepts were worked out and practical experience gained. We were invited to inspect one of these enterprises.

The industrial district of Pernik lies just beyond the suburbs of the Bulgarian capital. The landscape here used to be dotted with slagheaps, but when the coal was worked out, the pits gave way to modern engineering works, blast furnaces and other enterprises. The Blagoy Popov scientific-production enterprise, which we visited, is named after one of Georgi Dimitrov's closest associates who took part in the revolution. The enterprise has several large shops and a research institute. It turns out special grades of steel, rolled and shaped stock and heavy equipment for the mining industry. It has more than 1,700 personnel, and is a front-ranking enterprise, as we were told at the party district committee.

This view is also borne out by the data we were given about economic activity of the Blagoy Popov enterprise in 1986. It overfulfilled the state production plan, while cutting down per-unit costs of marketed products. Profits went up to more than 4 per cent over and above the planned target. Planned labour productivity growth was topped by 6 per cent. Average wages were 3 per cent up on the previous year. There were no claims for replacements of defective goods or on contractual deliveries. Fifteen per cent of the product mix was renewed.

We met the director, **Manol Mikhailov**, who is 57 years old, and is a metallurgical engineer. He started out as a builder, then worked as a shop superintendent, and studied in the USSR. From our conversations with other comrades we found that his authority at the plant is very high, and this was borne out last September, when he reported to a meeting of the authorised representatives of the work collective and was then elected director by a secret ballot, with 144 votes in favour, and one vote against.

At the same time, there was an election of the new economic council. The candidates had been nominated by shop and team collectives and were

proposed to the meeting by the trade union committee, while some of the candidates were nominated from the floor. It is within the competence of the meeting to decide on whether to hold a secret ballot or to vote by a show of hands. It decided on the latter. Those who received less votes than the others did not get through, including two of the candidates on the trade union list. The heads of teams and shops at the enterprise were elected to their councils in a similar procedure.

Let us note that the election of the director of the Blagoy Popov enterprise was the only innovation there, since the team leaders, the shop superintendents, and the team and economic council members have been elected there for a number of years now. On that occasion, among those who were elected to the chief enterprise council were the director and his deputy for economic matters, the secretaries of the party and Young Communist League organisations, the chairman of the trade union committee, and workers, technicians, team leaders, representatives of various specialities and sections, both members of the BCP and non-party people — a total of 21 persons. Among them was crane operator Vera Gebreva, the only woman. But one has to bear in mind that the working of metal is mainly a man's job.

"Would it be true to say that the heads of the management and the party and social organisations have an ex-officio seat on the council?", we asked Filip Vyrgolov, the trade union chairman and a veteran worker at the enterprise.

"I don't think so. According to the Labour Code, any member of the work collective can be elected on a par with anyone else to the highest management body. On it are those who get the most votes. Now and again, the trade union chairman has been left out. But experience shows that when that happens, it is harder to work: it is better in every respect to have the authoritative voice of the trade union heard when the decisions are being discussed and formulated, than to find out what its views are after the decision has been taken and when it has to be contested (although that has not happened very often). Generally speaking, the greater the number of competent people on the council with a knowledge of economics and production, and of the mood and wants of the workers, the more effectively the self-management system operates."

"Are all members of the elective bodies competent enough to participate in decision-making?"

"To train people for participation in self-management is a major function of the trade union. We started doing it a few years ago, when 'The Worker is the Master of Socialist Property' movement got under way at the enterprise. We have a department for training foremen and team leaders. A school for team council members has been working in the tool shop for more than three years. There is less experience in other shops, and in some the training is just getting under way. Members of the enterprise council and the authorised representatives of the work collective have meetings once a month with specialists and economic and financial executives. We try to help our comrades to have a range of interests going beyond those of the team and the shop. After all, the enterprise council discusses strategic matters and determines the long-term tasks in the development of

production and the social sphere, all of which were earlier dealt with by the ministry. That being so, it is dangerous to make a mistake when voting for this or that decision."

Our several conversations with workers and team leaders in the shops showed that the efforts of which the trade union chairman spoke were bearing fruit. **Khristo Nedev Ovcharov**, a milling-machine operator from the tool shop, has been working at the plant for almost twenty years. He told us that there has recently been a change in pay, which has gone up; the work has become more interesting and challenging; the discipline, now a matter of everyone's concern, has improved; forced idling has been reduced. Workers are now able to operate different machine tools and mechanisms, so that there is better use of equipment, and economies in raw materials and electric power.

The team led by **Vene Mirchev** in the press shop decided that all the work could be done by 35 instead of 40 persons. They are trying to tap the reserves for boosting productivity by improving the labour organisation and raising the skills.

"The workers themselves," the team leader said, "introduce the innovations which the team can tackle on its own, and submit proposals to the shop and enterprise management when things do not depend on them alone. Wages are distributed by the seven-man team council according to each month's results. The team council works in close contact with the party group and the trade union, which help to settle any controversial issues. Discipline and order are, as a rule, ensured by persuasion, but sometimes material penalties have to be imposed for defective products and absenteeism.

We had a less favourable impression from our conversation with a worker in the technical control department in the same shop who had been re-elected to the enterprise economic council. **Angel Vitanov** said that he kept in touch with the discussion of matters in that body, but found it hard to tell us what he himself was doing for self-management. He said he stood up for the interests of his shop and informed his comrades of the council decisions. But is that enough? Let us add that when we were there he was not involved in the training of council members, which had been described to us by the trade union chairman, and it turned out that he did not receive any materials preliminary to the sittings of the council. Far from everything at the plant seems to be running smoothly yet and not every member of the workforce has been involved in the common effort.

Simo Stratiev, deputy director of the plant and a member of the economic council, also described some of the difficulties and negative trends. There were cases when workers did not re-elect team leaders who stood on principle, so that men of lesser stature now and again stood at the head of teams where such attitudes prevailed. On the other hand, however, good workers try to join teams led by competent men who are able to provide the team with raw materials, components and orders, and to eliminate forced idling, all of which holds promise of high earnings.

At the same time, payment in strict accordance with the quantity and quality of labour, as the law provides, has yet to be effected. Poor economic management and old habits that die hard still make it possible

for an idler to 'earn' a fair amount, and people tend to be put out when they see it.

In short, there are enough problems to deal with, but the main thing — we and our Bulgarian comrades believe — is that the work collectives have been given a free hand and many of them, like that at the Blagoy Popov enterprise, have seen for themselves that they have the right to manage themselves and are able to do so. That is most clearly felt in the teams, where the current problems in production and remuneration of labour are being in the main solved successfully. The higher the level, the more intricate the tasks, and so the greater the need for competence. It is our impression that work-conscious industrial and office workers and managerial personnel at every level now seek to acquire competence in acting as masters of their enterprise. The party, the state, the trade union and the law are on their side. We wish them every success.

Pernik — Sofia

Stop The Bloodshed

A Continuing National Tragedy

Aziz Mohammed — CC First
Secretary, Iraqi Communist Party

THE armed conflict between Iraq and Iran — one of the longest in the twentieth century — has escalated into a full-blown war of attrition. The Persian Gulf has become a highly dangerous flashpoint of tension posing a serious threat to the independence of the countries in that region and to international peace.

Some people regard this sanguinary conflict solely through the prism of present-day developments, without taking into account the factors and reasons that led to the unending military conflagration. This is a myopic attitude and it is not helping to find acceptable terms for ending the war, which entered its eighth year on September 22, 1987.

In the view of the Iraqi Communist Party the unleashing of this armed conflict was the continuation and outcome of the domestic policy pursued by the reactionary dictatorial regime in Iraq and reflection in foreign policy. In the latter half of the 1970s Iraq abandoned its previous political and socio-economic course. The class nature of the government underwent dramatic changes. It began to promote the interests of the big, notably bureaucratic and parasitical, bourgeoisie. Concrete evidence of this was the stepped-up terror against democratic and progressive forces, the ICP in the first place, and against the Kurdish national movement and all

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dissidents, including members of the governing-Baath Party.

There was a turn also in foreign policy. Contacts began to be forged with reactionary, conservative pro-US regimes, particularly with Saudi Arabia and the Shah of Iran. Moves were made to normalise relations with the Camp David regime in Egypt. Meanwhile, a hostile stand was taken towards Arab states pursuing an anti-imperialist policy and towards the Arab national liberation movement generally.

This course came under the influence of changes in the region, specifically the April Revolution in Afghanistan and the people's rising in Iran, which brought down the Shah who was a key pillar of US policy in our region. The Iraqi government adopted a hostile attitude to the rising of the Iranian people and gave refuge to persons who were prominent in the Shah's government and in the secret police (SAVAK).

Iraq's political rulers and those who had been hit by the turbulent changes in Iran and Afghanistan — the USA, Israel, and Saudi Arabia and other reactionary regimes in the region — found that they had *common interests*. Correspondingly, the Baath leadership was increasingly inclined to look with favour at the plans of the USA and reaction. An outcome was the execution of large numbers of patriots, the harassment of Iraqi Communists, and provocative anti-communist and anti-socialist pronouncements.

In furthering its neoglobalist policy Washington did much to push Iraq into war, backing its military campaign against Iran, providing Baghdad with intelligence, and bringing pressure to bear on Saudi Arabia and the reactionary governments of other Persian Gulf states in order to draw them into funding the murderous gamble. The US deftly used their knowledge of the Iraqi regime, of its expansionist and chauvinistic ambitions.

The USA also exploited the anti-Soviet and religious-fundamentalist views of the new Iranian leadership and the remaining pro-American elements in the Tehran state apparatus to aggravate Iranian-Iraqi relations and bring the peoples of the two countries into a collision that would erode their strength and undermine their struggle for democratic changes, social progress, and peace.

The war that broke out has taken an enormous toll of lives and wrought inconceivable economic devastation. Heightened US meddling and fuelling of the conflict led to an escalation of the hostilities. The war could have been stopped if the leadership of both belligerents — Iraq and Iran — had their people's interests at heart.

If we analyse the present situation in Iraq we will find that *the government has its own reasons for not ceasing the carnage*. The regime is determined to hang on to power at all costs. It is afraid of the people's vengeance for its destructive gamble, which has seriously endangered the country's integrity. For that reason, while publicly declaring that it wants peace it was the first to use chemical weapons, which are banned by international law, and the first to obstruct international shipping in the Persian Gulf¹ and use large numbers of aircraft to bomb towns. The Iraqi ruling circles set a course towards a steady escalation of hostilities and invited Turkey, a NATO member, to interfere in Iraq's internal affairs. They are constantly seeking to spread the conflict by involving Arab

countries and then internationalising it with US intervention.

The Washington administration intends to use the continuing war to achieve its main objective, which is *to establish US supremacy in our region and turn it into a springboard for its designs* in other parts of the world. It is seeking to create new flashpoints of tension in order to use them as a pretext for direct interference in the Persian Gulf area, which it has declared a sphere of its 'vital interests'. The build-up of the US presence is serving the plans of the Washington administration to blackmail the socialist states and undermine the Arab national liberation movement. Concurrently, the USA is set on committing its competitors — West European countries and Japan — to its policies. It will be borne in mind that 60-70 per cent of Japan's and roughly 25 per cent of Western Europe's oil comes from the Middle East. As for the USA, it imports not more than 10 per cent of its oil from this region.

In our region the USA wants to restore the influence it lost when the Shah's regime was overthrown, make Iraq more heavily dependent on US imperialism and reaction, and paralyse its potential for participating in the confrontation with Israel. Small wonder that at the height of the hostilities between Iraq and Iran the Israeli military invaded Lebanon with the intention of striking at the Palestinian national resistance, smashing the Palestine Liberation Organisation, and fuelling the threat to Syria and the other Arab states.

It must be noted that the pressure brought to bear by world public opinion for an end to the war has unquestionably influenced US imperialism's tactics and its plans relative to this bloody conflict. Following the scandal over the sale of US weapons to Iran (with the involvement of Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt) and the transfer of intelligence information to Iraq,² and also as a result of the pressure being put on the Washington administration in the USA itself and from its allies, the Americans have somewhat modified their methods. But their basic aim is still to protract the war in order to enlarge their presence in the region.

The incident in which the US frigate *Stark* was hit by an Iraqi aircraft³ gave rise to many puzzling questions and provided the excuse for increasing this presence and pressurising Persian Gulf states into extending privileges to US warships on the pretext of ensuring the safety of shipping. This was accompanied by further threats of direct intervention in the armed conflict.

The war has brought our country incalculable suffering and plunged it into a *national catastrophe* such as it had not known for many centuries. Over 300,000 persons have been killed and hundreds of thousands have been wounded, crippled or taken prisoner. Oil installations and other economic facilities costing hundreds of billions of dollars have been destroyed in the war. The regime's external debt now exceeds 100 billion dollars. Just to service this debt requires 3,500 million dollars annually. Iraq does not have that kind of money with the result that the debt burden is growing heavier.

The government is stepping up its harassment of anti-war forces. It recently had recourse to chemical weapons against the population and democratic forces of Iraqi Kurdistan. Many people lost their lives and

hundreds were injured.

The war and the foreign interference have created a serious threat to our country's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The masses are demanding an immediate end to the conflict. Voices calling for a cessation of the military gamble and the hardships it is bringing are to be heard in Iraq and Iran.

On the third day of the war the Iraqi Communist Party issued a statement saying that it "urges the men of our heroic army to stay the hand of the dictatorial clique, prevent it from continuing its barbarous crimes, stop the destructive war, and get a settlement of all differences by negotiation".⁴ War has never been nor can it be a reasonable way of settling disputes between nations.

In the face of the developments at the front, the Iraqi setbacks on Iranian territory in 1982, and Iran's persistence in continuing the war and seizing Iraqi land, the Fourth ICP National Congress adopted *an action programme for a speedy termination of the Iraqi-Iranian conflict*. This programme envisions:

- 1) the repudiation by both belligerents to any claim to annex foreign territory;
- 2) respect for the internationally recognised frontiers between the two countries at the outbreak of the conflict;
- 3) respect for the national sovereignty of the two peoples;
- 4) reaffirmation of the right of each people to choose its socio-political system through a free expression of will.

The Fourth ICP National Congress noted that the "termination of the war under pressure from the masses and patriotic and progressive forces backed by the forces of peace and progress throughout the world will enable the hundreds of thousands of young people mobilised for the front to return to civilian life and give them the opportunity of successfully fighting for their rights and freedoms, of making the Hussain dictatorial regime answerable for its crimes against the country and people, for starting the devastating war".⁵ In the present concrete situation this programme may be enlarged. The discontinuance of the air strikes at peaceful towns and merchant ships, renunciation of the use of chemical weapons, a halt to the escalation of hostilities, and an exchange of prisoners of war would clear the way for ending the war and the hardships caused by it. Another step in the direction of peace between the two countries may be made by world opinion by demanding that the USA pull out of the Persian Gulf area, withdraw its warships, and abstain from any interference that may further aggravate the situation.

The Iraqi Communist Party is doing its utmost to enlist the support of the masses and patriotic opposition for the slogan '*For an Immediate End of the War, The Overthrow of the Fascist Dictatorship, and the Implementation of a Democratic Alternative*' advanced by the party's Fourth National Congress. To achieve this important objective it is striving to form the broadest possible front of all interested forces.

International solidarity with the struggle of our people, their national democratic forces, and the Communist Party against the war, the dictatorship, and the terror is acquiring particularly great significance in

the present difficult situation. This solidarity has been and remains a mighty instrument that can compel imperialism and reaction to submit to the will of the peoples. Acting together with the Iranian and Iraqi democratic anti-war circles, our party is working to enlist active support for the efforts to end the war and halt the terror in both countries. Some bilateral committees have been set up to implement joint actions.

A tribute must be paid to the diplomatic efforts of the Soviet Union to put an end to this terrible conflict. In many statements the Soviet leaders have drawn attention to the significance that the termination of the war would have for the two neighbours (Iran and Iraq) and the other peoples of the region. In this context special note must be made of the Soviet Government's statements of January 8 and July 3, 1987.

Fraternal communist and workers' parties and all contingents of the national liberation movement are declaring their solidarity with the struggle of the Iraqi and Iranian people to end the war, settle differences peacefully, and halt the terror against democrats in both countries.

Thanks to the actions of the forces of peace and progress, the US Security Council, the non-aligned movement, and many international organisations have passed momentous decisions that can help the anti-war actions of the Iraqi and Iranian people.

In view of the extraordinary significance of international solidarity, we feel it is of particularly great importance for international opinion everywhere:

- to build up efforts and reinvigorate the calls for peace;
- to expose the US role in kindling and protracting the armed conflict, make people see that US imperialism is using this conflict to enlarge its military presence in the Persian Gulf and throughout the Middle East, and reveal that the supplies furnished by Washington to the military machines of the belligerents are helping to keep the hostilities going;
- to support the national patriotic forces in the two countries in their stand against terror, their struggle for democratic freedoms, and their proposals for ending the Iraqi-Iranian conflict, and set up solidarity committees that would act against the war and the dictatorship and press for peace and democracy.

We are convinced that the spread of international solidarity with the Iraqi and Iranian peoples will help their joint efforts on behalf of peace and open up broader prospects for intensifying the struggle against the dictatorship, the designs of imperialism, Zionism, and reaction.

¹ According to Lloyd's statistics 330 sea-going ships were attacked in the Persian Gulf in the period from May 1981 to mid-1987. This resulted in the sinking of or serious damage to 41 large tankers and 113 small ships with a total tonnage amounting to one-third of the tonnage sunk during the Second World War. — *Ed.*

² For details, see Mahmoud Azad, "'Irangate': Hypocrites Exposed", *WMR*, No. 3, 1987. — *Ed.*

³ The incident occurred on May 17, 1987. — *Ed.*

⁴ *Al-Thaqafah al-Jadidah*, No. 124, September 1980 (in Arabic).

⁵ Documents of the Fourth National Congress of the Iraqi Communist Party (November 10-15, 1985), p. 81 (in Arabic).

The People Are Tired Of War

Ali Khavari — CC First Secretary,
People's Party of Iran (Tudeh)

IT would have seemed that the Algiers treaty, signed in March 1975, has done away with the territorial disputes inherited by Iran and Iraq from British colonialism, which acted on the principle of 'divide and rule'. But this was not to be. After the events of 1978-1979, which temporarily weakened the central government in Iran, the relations between the two nations deteriorated more than ever. They were aggravated by the expulsion of the Ayatollah Khomeini, on the eve of the revolution in Iran, from Iraq, where he had been living in exile, by mutual interference in each other's internal affairs, by the political and religious strife and by the frequent border incidents. The intrigues woven by imperialism and Zionism were a contributing factor. In September 1980 Iraq annulled the 1975 treaty, its army invaded Iran, and war broke out.

A lethal storm has been raging for seven years over the peoples of the two neighbouring countries, which have no cause for hostility. The almost million fatalities, the even larger number of wounded and maimed, the tens of thousands of war prisoners, the millions left homeless and compelled to leave their motherland, the thousands of ravaged villages and towns, the material damage amounting to hundreds of billions of dollars, and the growth of dependence on imperialism are only part of the calamities that have descended on both sides. To offset solely its material losses Iran will have to spend all its oil revenues in the course of over two decades.

The conflict became a protracted slaughter chiefly because the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran *linked the nation's destiny to war*. Taking advantage of the people's religious feeling it coined the slogans: "War until total victory over global unbelief" and "War until the total defeat of Saddam Hussain and the godless Baath Party".

With its religious fundamentalism, the Iranian regime is intractably seeking a military victory. It is preaching the export of the Islamic revolution and Muslim integristism to impose upon Iraq a state system modelled on the one in Iran. This is seen as a major step towards the realisation of the design to turn Iran into the world's main centre of Islam. Massively supported by Iran, the operations of the Hezbollah (Party of Allah) in Lebanon, an organisation that is seriously obstructing unity among the progressive-patriotic forces of Lebanon and interfering in the affairs of neighbouring Afghanistan covertly and overtly, are a striking illustration of the expansionist policy of Iran's religious-chauvinistic ruling circles.

Coming to power on the crest of the people's anti-shah revolution, these circles are, on account of their class limitation and narrowly understood corporate interests, increasingly losing their link to the masses, which see

Ali Khavari (b. 1923) joined the Tudeh Party in 1942. He was elected CC First Secretary, People's Party of Iran, in 1983.

the widening gap between their legitimate aspirations and the government's actions against these aspirations. *The regime in the Islamic Republic is unable to resolve the nation's acute political and socio-economic problems.* It is trying to suppress the people's growing unrest and sees the war as a means of keeping the situation under control and throttling the people's political and class aspirations.

A further major motive for continuing the war, which is costing our people and country dear, is the personal prestige of Khomeini, Iran's chief spiritual and political leader, who links the end of the war with the removal of Saddam Hussain from power and the dismantling of the Baath Party in Iraq.

By and large it may be said that Iran's ruling circles cannot create normal socio-economic and living conditions for the people and are unable to govern the nation without barbarous repressions evocative of the despotic practices of the Middle Ages and without foreign political gambles and wars.

The Persian Gulf is one of the planet's key strategic areas. It has almost two-thirds of the non-socialist world's reserves of oil and gas. Iran, which abuts on the USSR and is the largest nation in the Persian Gulf, is for various reasons — political, economic, and military — attracting the attention of the imperialists, notably of the USA, which has long been wanting to be the predominant power in the region. Two political lines converge here as in a focus: *the policy of peace and friendship pursued by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and the course followed by US imperialism of igniting wars and interfering in the affairs of other nations.*

Washington's neoglobalist ambitions and the actions of its strategic ally, Israel, have played a large part in precipitating the Iranian-Iraqi conflict and in keeping it going to this day: they see it as an advantage. Henry Kissinger, a former US Secretary of State, once said that the only thing he regretted was that in a war only one of the sides can suffer defeat. He was wrong: so far both are losing out in favour of the USA.

The ruling élite in the USA is nostalgically looking back to the days when Iran was virtually a foreign-based US state, when 500 American corporations had subsidiaries there, getting three dollars' profit on every dollar invested, when only within a few years 13 billion dollars' worth of military hardware was sold to Iran to serve Washington's strategic interests in the region.

Imperialism's most bellicose circles, personified by the USA and its ally, Israel, are using the Iranian-Iraqi conflict to fuel tension, which diverts the world community's attention from the Israeli military's acts of aggression against Arab countries and from the plans that the imperialists are putting into effect relative to Afghanistan. By various subterfuges the USA is selling weapons to both belligerents and other states in the region, developing its network of military bases there, expanding its military presence in the Persian Gulf and the western part of the Indian Ocean on the pretext of guarding oil transportation routes or safeguarding US 'vital interests', and trying to revive the CENTO-type blocs and form the Washington-Tehran-Islamabad axis.

The neoglobalists are depicting their latest adventurist actions as dictated by concern for the safety of shipping and stabilising the situation in the region. The actual motivation for this 'concern' becomes clear when we recall, for example, press reports quoting Richard Murphy, Assistant Secretary of State of the USA, as saying that the determination to 'prevent' the growth of the Soviet influence and presence in the Gulf area had been the constant policy of the USA for decades.

The economic crisis, the impasse situation in the protracted armed conflict, and the mindless policy of the government that has linked the nation's destiny to a military victory have led the Islamic regime into a trap, into the web spun painstakingly and patiently by the USA and Israel.

Intending to use covert arms sales to Iran as a trump, the White House embarked upon the unsavoury game now known to the world as Irangate. The policy that created Irangate had earlier been conceived by Centcom¹ with its far-reaching neoglobalist objectives. The Irangate affair brought to light the role of the USA and Israel in the bloody war between Iran and Iraq. President Reagan's directives, now brought into the open by the world press, state explicitly that the purpose of the arms sales to Iran was to bring a more moderate, pro-US government to power. Moreover, Reagan had meaningfully noted that Iran held a key geographical position between the Soviet Union and the Indian Ocean.² Words of this kind are obviously needed in order to camouflage Washington's aggressive plans with reference to the mythical 'Soviet expansionism'.

But these cheap ruses did not prevent US imperialism's selfish designs from being definitively exposed. *Irangate was further vivid proof of the USA's perfidy relative to our region's countries and peoples*, whose national interests are no more than a pawn for the White House incumbent. Time and again the Arab states had seen for themselves that the ruling circles in the USA do not stop at betraying an ally if that suits their interests. For a long time Washington had expressly stated its support for the Persian Gulf nations, but the scandal over the secret arms sales to Iran dealt a crushing blow to its double-faced policies. The Arabs now have to think of a more determined defence of their own interests, not of reliance on an overseas patron.

Through the efforts of the USA the already *dangerous situation in the region has been further inflamed*. US warships are patrolling both sides of the Hormuz Strait: in the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea. Turkey, a US NATO ally dreaming of controlling the oilfields of Mosul and Kirkuk in Iraqi Kurdistan, likewise wants to get something out of the war. The situation is being also aggravated by the possibility that hostilities might spread to the territory of other countries, particularly of Kuwait.

The Iranian-Iraqi conflict has widened the split between Arab states and undermined their united actions against Israel's aggressive intrigues.

The war cannot be won by either of the belligerents. The conflict can only be settled at the negotiating table, otherwise its consequences will be unpredictable. The continuation of the hostilities, particularly in the present situation, is thus creating a grave threat to peace in the region and the planet as a whole.

Anti-war sentiments are hardening in Iran. Faced by the growth of these

sentiments, the exacerbation of the internal difficulties, the nation's total isolation on the international scene, and the impossibility of winning the war the regime will have, one way or another, to accept a political settlement of the conflict.

Apart from the masses in Iran, there are other forces thinking of the need to end the war for they are well aware of the perils it is posing. But they are bogged down in disagreements and a struggle for power and, for that reason, are unable to act boldly. Khomeini's attitude to the war is categorical, and as long as he is alive the decision will rest with him.

Meanwhile, the war continues. In addition to the colossal manpower and material losses it has brought our people millions of jobless, the degradation of the economy, a general crisis, a rising cost of living and inflation, hunger and poverty. Grim hardship has overtaken the Kurdish population in the country's western regions. Throughout practically all the post-revolution years the freedom-loving Kurdish people have been in a terrible plight, constantly plagued by armed attacks and repressive actions by the central authority.

As for the Iranian big businessmen and international imperialist arms dealers they are continuing to make fabulous profits. In this situation the USA is not ceasing to hatch plots aimed at continuing and extending the war and then launching a direct US armed intervention in the region.

All of Iran's peace forces, including the Communists and other progressives, see their duty in widely explaining the gravity of the loss being inflicted by the war and its threat to peace. Our party started this work as soon as Iranian territory was liberated from the invaders in July 1982, showing the people the horrors of the war and its consequences.

The call for peace has both tacit and open support among the people in Iran. Opposition to any continuation of the war is growing. Desertions from the firing lines, emigration, evasion and concealment of youth from mobilisation, demonstrations in towns, and the dissemination of leaflets in the streets and at the workplace are only part of this anti-war activity.

But the movement has problems as well. Fragmentation among the progressive forces is as damaging for organised manifestations of the people's will as the repressions by the government. Further, it must be noted that the government is still able to play on the religious feelings of a considerable section of the population, to send hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of young Iranians into the fire of battle as cannon fodder. In the course of only six months in 1986 more than 110,000 schoolchildren were sent to the bloodthirsty firing lines, from which few return. Many of them are 12- and 13-year-olds, whom the people bitterly call 'disposables'. In most cases they do not understand the difference between a school playground and the battlefield.

The People's Party of Iran and the Fedayeen Organisation (Majority) continue to call for *a cease-fire and an end to hostilities, for negotiations based on respect for each other's sovereignty and independence, for the withdrawal of troops to internationally recognised borders, and a settlement of all conflict problems by political means*. The denunciatory propaganda conducted by us and other left-democratic and progressive forces is showing the anti-people intentions of the Islamic Republic's rulers, the

demagogic character of their calls and slogans. It is showing the terrible effects of the war and telling world opinion the truth about the situation in Iran and on the battlefields.

The peoples of the planet are extending warm support to the Iranian peace fighters. The peace-seeking efforts of non-aligned countries are steadily gathering momentum. At their conference in Zimbabwe (1986) they passed yet another resolution demanding an end to the war between Iraq and Iran. The UN Security Council has urged a cessation of the war time and again. In July 1987, on the initiative of its five permanent members it adopted a resolution demanding that Iran and Iraq forthwith announce a cease-fire, the termination of hostilities on land, at sea and in the air, and promptly withdraw their armed forces to internationally recognised frontiers. Both sides were requested to cooperate with the UN Secretary-General in the mediation efforts to achieve a comprehensive, just, honourable, and mutually acceptable settlement of outstanding issues on the basis of the principles of the UN Charter and universally acknowledged norms of international law.

On this occasion as well, the Iranian leadership, insisting on a military victory with fanatical obstinacy, refused to heed the voice of the international community.

The USA took an ambivalent position. In words it supported the resolution and urged the UN member-states to press for its implementation, but in fact official spokesmen of the US administration made it clear that Washington had no intention of abandoning the course towards increasing its military presence in the Gulf. At the close of July 1987 the US government decided to send warships and deck-based aircraft to escort reflagged Kuwaiti tankers. A fleet of 15 warships was concentrated in the Persian Gulf. This patently provocative action on the part of the USA created additional complications for the fulfilment of the UN resolution. The left hand is doing the opposite to what the right hand had voted for.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries continue to insist on a peaceful settlement of the conflict by negotiations. In a talk with the Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati, the Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Andrei Gromyko said: "A single day of war is worse than five years of negotiations." The Soviet Government statements of January 8 and July 3, 1987 express a sincere desire to help stop the destructive war between the two neighbouring countries. The communist and workers' parties of the world, including Arab countries, have repeatedly urged a halt to the senseless bloodshed.

The People's Party of Iran and all the other Iranian peace forces are grateful to the fraternal parties, countries and international organisations for their solidarity and attach great significance to this solidarity as a vehicle determining future developments. But today this solidarity is often displayed when there is a new outburst of fighting at the front or towns are massively bombed. There must be unflagging attention and determined protests on the part of all the peace forces against this cruel and senseless war.

¹ For details, see Hamid Majid Mussa, "What Makes Centcom Dangerous", *WMR*, No. 7, 1983. — *Ed.*

² See *Newsweek*, November 24, 1986, p. 31.

British Democracy as Viewed by Two Britons

Where's The Justice?

Tony Gifford — member of the House
of Lords, Great Britain

Lord Gifford (b. 1940), member of the Labour Party, barrister, QC, is famous in Britain and elsewhere for intervening on behalf of striking British miners, civil rights champions in Northern Ireland and Chile, victims of the fascist dictatorships in Portugal and Greece and opponents of the apartheid regime in South Africa. He was a founder of the first Community Law Centre in Britain that provides free legal aid to those who need it.

During his recent stay in Prague Tony Gifford was interviewed by a *WMR* journalist.

In your recent book *Where's the Justice?* you say that "freedom under Mrs Thatcher's government has been predominantly the freedom of those who have money to make more". What makes you think so?

I HAVE been lucky enough to work with many communities in Britain which suffer injustice — Black people, women, political activists, the unemployed . . . And my assessment of the direction of the present Tory policies comes from that experience and of course my general socialist belief.

I was to trying to analyse the word 'freedom' and I refused to allow it to be a word claimed by the right. The ultra-capitalism represented by Mrs Thatcher cannot genuinely be described by the word 'freedom'; over the last six years legislation which protects people against exploitation has been repealed, the currency is allowed to flow out of the country without any restraint and those who have are allowed to increase their riches.

I would question some of the statements that Britain is a rich country. In central London today there are hundreds if not thousands of people who are sleeping in cardboard boxes, under the bridges, begging in the streets. It is a rather new phenomenon. There have always been people on the margins of society, but there have usually also been various forms of social provision — hostels, shelters and like provisions for those in need. All those services have been drastically limited by the policies of the

Government in centralising power, in taking away resources from local government institutions, and everything is streamlined in order to further the free market and to reject any form of socialised economy.

In these conditions can British people still believe in social justice, in the rule of law?

British people are not anarchic. They would wish to live under a system of just laws. But in recent years those who are politically militant have increasingly found themselves confronting the law and see it necessary to do so. One obvious example are the campaigners in the peace movement demonstrating and campaigning outside the bases, invading the bases, cutting down fences. And there are other examples in the industrial movement . . .

Authorities often accuse women in Greenham Common and other peace activists of representing a threat to law and order. What is your view of it?

It is very much a question of whose law and whose order. They are certainly a threat to order as Mrs Thatcher would wish to define it. According to her it would be a threat to order when serious-minded women are lying in the road in front of these huge lorries that carry missiles, or surrounding the base with a human chain.

If the defence policy of Britain was considered to be legitimate then no doubt people would call for measures to be taken against those who sabotage it. What is interesting is that the peace activists have not been charged with the serious offences against the state, which would be available. It is a very serious offence to enter a military installation, the penalty is up to 14 years in prison. But they don't use these laws because they don't believe the jury would find the defendant guilty. And when they have tried to use security laws to imprison activists they nearly always failed because juries have acquitted them. That is the reason they prefer to use small legal operations, to eject women every day (and they come back in the night), to bring them before local courts which imprison these activists for a week.

More and more people are seeing a distinction between the ideals of law and the reality of law as it is being used by the ruling classes to entrench their position of power. When there is a major upsurge of opposition to their policies they respond not by making any concession towards the democratic legitimacy of that protest, but by trying to criminalise it, by arresting the protestors, by fining trade unions for contempt of courts. So that by many ways the representatives of the people are being battered by the law.

It is important to show for instance who is trusted with administering justice in Britain. The system of recruitment of judges favours the privileged. Two-thirds of the judges went to private school and that means

that they come from the two per cent of the population who can afford private education. They belong to a very sheltered environment, rarely see ordinary people, don't have to face the real problems from the street.

You had the occasion to represent and defend the striking British mine-workers. What conclusion do you draw from this experience, from the general assessment of the stage of the trade union movement?

I would like to start by paying tribute to the courage of the miners in their resistance to Thatcherite policies. They were effectively the only element in the trade union movement to stand up and refuse to be cowed, to be intimidated. The pressures were enormous. The fear of losing your job in a country where there are 3.5 million unemployed is a real fear. People know that if they are made redundant or they are sacked they are unlikely to find another job and therefore they tend to accept the policies which are imposed on them.

But miners resisted for 12 months and though in a practical sense they lost, I think in a deeper sense they won, because no one would forget that they stood for certain values. They struggled to show that the interests of the workers in enterprises as a whole must be placed above the inhuman logic of market forces. If they had not resisted the trade union movement would be in a much worse state than it is.

One has to accept still that the trade union movement is on the defensive, there was insufficient solidarity shown to the mine-workers and the same was true of the lack of solidarity shown to the print-workers who were confronting press baron Murdoch. The new laws have been very effective in demobilising trade unionists. These laws have taken away the basic rights of the trade unionists to organise. It is illegal now to picket, to demonstrate solidarity for strikers . . . The strike has always been a breach of contract, something which exposes workers to dismissal. The trade unionists are afraid of the penalties which can be in terms of the sequestration of their funds. There is no protection legally.

International instruments do not give comprehensive protection either: The European Convention on Human Rights² says that every person has a right to belong to a trade union. But when the Government refused that right to the people who worked in the Government Communications Headquarters, the European Human Rights Commission³ rejected their claim. People are allowed to be in trade unions but they are not allowed to do anything effective to pursue trade union objectives. International Covenants on Human Rights and the ILO Conventions are not directly effective in the UK as they are not made part of the British law.

I think that the threat to trade unions is partly in the legal machinery and partly in the economic strategies which are being adopted. I don't think that an industrial working class movement has had to face such massive unemployment before, unemployment as a very concrete and deliberate instrument of government policy. People accept worse conditions of work and limited trade union rights rather than risk the humiliation of unemployment.

What are the roots of the violations of civil rights, of the injustices in British society?

The roots lie in the political and economic conditions in British society. The remedies for social injustice are to be found in political struggle rather than mere legal change.

For instance, in Britain now thousands of workers are made redundant because of the closing, the selling of an enterprise in order to manufacture in another country — that is profoundly unjust. But the courts in the UK can do nothing about it. The laws of capitalism allow employers to open and close businesses without any sanctions except some derisory redundancy payment to the workers.

Thus, if a factory closure is threatened, the advice that I as a lawyer would give to the worker who came to see me would be not to employ the remedies of the law, but to agitate and to act through industrial mobilisation to fight against that injustice.

Or to give another example — we have laws against racism, against discrimination. They are necessary, but they will not in themselves overcome attitudes which have been deeply rooted in the history of imperialism. Generations of British people were accustomed to believe themselves to be superior as colonisers of a great part of the world and that mentality persists in the education process, in the legal system, in the civil service. Blacks are not treated as equal members of the society. And a large-scale fight against that is the concern of all progressive organisations and they also themselves must confront the likely presence of racism in their own ranks.

Ethnic minorities, on their side, are beginning now to show us that they are not going to accept second-rate status. For instance, I consider significant that within the Labour Party, of which I am a member, there are emerging a number of Black members who are likely to be elected at the next elections. There is a debate as to whether there should be an officially recognised Black section within the Labour Party, and I support that demand.

As a figure connected with the anti-apartheid movement, the movement for human rights in Namibia and South Africa, how would you assess its impact on Western public opinion?

First of all, I'd like to make quite clear my position: the struggle in Namibia is for national independence, the struggle in South Africa is for liberation from a system of oppression which has been described as an international crime.

We shouldn't give support to a certain tendency in South Africa (and outside too), which describes this problem in terms of a civil rights issue and therefore something that ought to be settled within the framework of that state.

As far as Western public opinion is concerned, I think my answer might have been quite different five years ago. Now we can see very considerable advances in the United Kingdom and in the United States. The movement

against the apartheid regime is broad, it includes Labourists, Liberals, Christians . . . This movement doesn't accept the claims of the South African authorities that they are promoting the values of the free world. People are demanding comprehensive economic sanctions, which frankly speaking may have an adverse effect on the British economy, because the UK is very much linked to South Africa historically. But we can't get away with just economic sanctions. We have to concentrate both the political effort and solidarity effort.

How would you characterise the interconnection between the problem of human rights and that of peace and disarmament?

There is a profound connection between human rights and the issues of peace and disarmament. I see two particular connections. One is that the most supreme human right of all is the right to live and to have the expectation that your children will live. And that is under threat because of the building up of armaments which can destroy millions. Secondly, it must be a democratic right of the people of a country to have military defence under their democratic control and not under the control of other interests. And here also there are serious threats to the right to demonstrate, to express the popular will. A new law has been passed which gives the police complete control over marches and demonstrations, including those of peace movements.

Still, the peace movement in Britain has become a mass movement. It succeeded in persuading the Labour Party to adopt a nuclear disarmament manifesto. Another party — the Liberals — has a strong anti-nuclear component in its policies.

We are being treated to a propaganda drive with a strong hysterical anti-communist theme, which is designed to frighten people into believing that their security as individual citizens will be under threat if this policy of nuclear disarmament is implemented. And we have major US spokesmen brought into this effort in an attempt to prevent the British people from voting for a nuclear disarmament policy.

I think that if we look at the realities it is far more frightening for Britain to be the forward base of the American nuclear machine with these enormous installations which are scattered all around our country and the hideous weapons that they contain.

How would you define the responsibility of a democratic lawyer in the world today?

I can start with an analogy from the field of medicine. The role of medical people is both to cure disease and to prevent its causes. Now the lawyers are much more primitive. They do not want to tackle the worst injustices. On the contrary, they minister to those who are responsible for the injustices. Even those lawyers who are concerned with helping the oppressed tend not to think further into the causes of their injustice.

I think they should be showing to the community the roots of the injustice, exposing the unfairness of the system, working with mass

campaigns. Lawyers also should be looking beyond national frontiers and be active in denouncing violations of international law. For instance, there has been far too little exposure in my country of the lawlessness of the United States aggression against Nicaragua. Or let's take the case of Grenada, a Commonwealth country invaded. The reactions were left really to the base, to smaller progressive organisations. In short, I'm convinced: a democratic lawyer has a major responsibility to fight injustice at home and abroad.

¹ Tony Gifford, *Where's the Justice?*, Penguin Books, London, 1986.

² The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms was signed by capitalist countries of Europe in 1950. — *Ed.*

³ The European Commission on Human Rights with headquarters in Strasbourg, France, is an international body established by the member states of the European Convention on Human Rights. The Commission looks into complaints of Convention breaches. — *Ed.*

... And They Call It A Majority

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

IN the British general election held on 11th June, 1987, the Tory party led by Mrs Thatcher won a parliamentary majority of 101 seats.

This huge Tory majority in seats is smaller than in 1983 but still substantial. However, it is a majority produced by the electoral system rather than massive popular support.

The Tories got 13.8 million votes, 42.3 per cent, Labour 10 million, 30.8 per cent, and the Alliance (Liberal and Social Democratic parties) 7.3 million, 22.6 per cent. Some 75.4 per cent of the electorate voted. Thus *the Tory majority is achieved with less than half the vote.*

This is not a new phenomenon, in fact, no post-war government, Labour or Tory, has had 50 per cent of the vote. This election revealed the further break-up of the traditional two-party electoral system more than any massive backing for Thatcher.

Indeed, in previous times, the Tory 43 per cent of the vote would not have been enough for even a small majority. In 1959 Labour lost with 43.8 per cent. Thus the major electoral reason for the Tory majority of members in Parliament is the existence of *two* opposition forces, Labour and the Alliance.

Further evidence of the misrepresentative nature of the Tory majority, and even more so of the increasing divisions in society, is shown by the distribution of the votes. In major cities of Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Bradford and Leicester, the Tories have no parliamentary seats at all. In Scotland the Tories had the support of only 24 per cent of voters and in Wales 29.5 per cent. In the South East however

(excluding Greater London) the Tories got 55.6 per cent of the vote. In Greater London the figure is 46.5 per cent.

In the pre-election period we should note that the Tory aim was to completely marginalise Labour as part of the objective of destroying socialism as a political force in Britain. This failed.

The Alliance's declared aim was to overtake Labour in the popular vote and thereby claim to be the main opposition; it too failed.

The Labour share of the vote went up in every region, including the South East, mainly at the expense of the Alliance. However, Labour is still well below the 36.9 per cent of the vote it won in 1979. A survey in *Marxism Today* suggests that Labour consolidated its support in those groups which were already its main base: semi-skilled and unskilled workers, council tenants, unemployed and trade unionists. But many of the groups in which Labour is strongest are declining as a proportion of the electorate.

The overall result has fuelled the demand for a change in the first-past-the-post system to one of *proportional* representation. Neither Labour nor Tory support this democratic demand. It is strongly supported by the Alliance parties, the Communists and the Greens. There is, however, likely to be increased support in the Labour party for this. It is essential if the Tory stranglehold is to be broken. Hitherto Labour has been content to aim for a parliamentary majority based on a *minority vote* as with previous Labour governments.

In its first comment on the 1987 election, the Communist Party said: "The result of the election is a further indictment of the first-past-the-post electoral system, which gives the Tories 60 per cent of the seats with less than 43 per cent of the votes. Electoral reform is now an urgent issue and an essential part of the movement against Thatcherism."

What The 'Critical Artists' Want

Gerd Deumlich — Presidium and Secretariat member, German Communist Party Board

IN the course of a parliamentary debate on cultural policy, Chairman of the CDU/CSU group Alfred Dregger wistfully recalled the "high-spirited times" when "the ambitions of artists and the state were still identical". He had the following instruction for present-day workers in the arts: "There are no ironic intonations even in Haydn's Kaiserquartett Variations . . . Goethe, Mozart and Durer were definitely not 'critical artists' in the

Gerd Deumlich was born in 1929 into a working class family. From 1946 to 1968 he was a member of the Communist Party of Germany, and since 1968 has been a member of the German Communist Party. As a young man he was a member of the Union of Free German Youth, where he held a number of leading posts. He has been a member of the GCP Board and of the Board Presidium since 1969, and has been Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper *Unsere Zeit*. Since 1973, he has been a member of the GCP Board Secretariat.

modern sense of the term."¹ Dregger, a diehard reactionary, must truly detest the present-day 'critical artists' if he waxes so nostalgic over the past. It is no more than a piece of self-deception. Intellectuals in Germany have always backed humanistic and progressive ideas, even in the periods of darkest reaction and, of course, since the FRG came on the scene. It is this kind of democratic tradition that seems to impel reactionaries nowadays to regard any statement by workers in the arts for progressive and humanistic ideals as the greatest danger in our changing world.

Political activity by critical minds in our country is, however, still far from being an established trend, and they are variously influenced by expectations falling short of achievements, and even by reverses, such as the return to power in the FRG of a right-conservative government after more than a decade of social-democratic and liberal rule, or by the imperialist line of confrontation, which tends to jeopardise the gains of détente.

There were old and new names among those who opposed the right-wing coalition during the electoral campaign in the run-up to the Bundestag elections in January 1987, with some workers in culture supporting the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SDPG) and others, whose numbers had grown, the Green Party. Some highly authoritative persons backed the Peace List, an electoral alliance which also included members of the GCP. But this intellectual spectrum lacked some of the well-known people who had earlier campaigned for the SDPG and had been a part of its electoral team. Hans Magnus Enzensberger² declared, for instance: "I am not voting in the elections." At the same time he made some ironical remarks on the general habit of bewailing the depoliticisation of the arts.³ Dieter Lattmann⁴ said that "contemporary writers are fleeing into a new world of fantasy" and "are put out by the challenging problems of the day". He is concerned with the writer's responsibility: "It would be a bad mistake for too many of them to fall once again into the old German habit of staying away from politics, because there is now a concentration of power in the depths of the state system of cultural institutions, in the mass media, such as publishing, with a play of market forces and a mounting tendency of political influences to trample on the individual. If that is to be resisted, there must be more, not less, cohesion."⁵

Illusion and Reality

Those words are not just a futile warning, but the right conclusions from important developments. A Mass Media Trade Union was set up in late 1985, following some long preparations. It includes the Union of Printworkers, the Union of Journalists, the Union of Writers, the Union of Radio and Television Workers, and also the main unions in music, drama, the figurative arts, etc.

The Mass Media Trade Union wants to put an end to the power of the monopolies in the press and publishing, on radio and television, and its establishment is a strong response to those who have been conducting a reactionary policy in the mass media and who want to limit the sphere of union political activity. No wonder the right-wingers were irritated when it

was set up. There were also many slanderous attacks on the Communists' role in this matter. But its establishment reaffirmed that democratically-minded workers in culture do not feel that they have been driven into a corner. On the contrary, *they have been trying to join in the social struggle in various ways*. There was much excitement, for instance, over Günther Wallraff's literary report on the ruthless exploitation of Turkish immigrants in the FRG. Within a short time, its printing went up to one million copies.

The varied response helps to detect many cultural events which reveal both the potentialities and the difficulties faced by democratic culture in our country, inducing a sense of social protest and acting as a source of constant anxiety for the ruling circles, which respond in various ways, and mainly resort to the instruments of power, censorship and slanderous attacks on intellectuals. The sudden fits of 'affection' for the intelligentsia are a sign of obvious confusion. During the Bundestag debates on cultural matters, Dregger declared with a phoney enthusiasm: "It would be 'nice' if all of us — workers in culture and politics — are equally united in a minimal patriotic and democratic consensus".⁶ But that is no more than wishful thinking: such illusions are quickly dispelled by the changing realities.

Everyone with rank and name in literature and the arts in the FRG rejects the 'spiritual-moral turnaround' preached by the right-conservative coalition. Big capital wants to use it as the recognised incarnation of its ideology and of its own interests identified with those of the society as a whole. One major bourgeois paper once put it quite frankly: "The whole purpose is not just to alter some items in the budget or tax rates . . . but to transform the social climate, social norms and values."⁷ CDU politician Lothar Späth, who is something of a specialist in the field of cultural policy, has no doubt that any state assistance to the development of the arts must ultimately serve to consolidate the social system.⁸ The CDU/CSU group in the Bundestag has declared, moreover, that it is "able and entitled to determine and control the trends in our culture".⁹

Past and present experience shows that *the intelligentsia in the FRG is largely in opposition to the ruling circles*. The ignominy of fascism and the guilt of German Capital in starting World War II are much too great to make most intellectuals knuckle under in absolute obedience, even in its 'Christian-democratic' guise. So while the views of many intellectuals can hardly be regarded as consistently progressive, and while their thinking is under the influence of bourgeois illusions and anti-communism, they still turn out to be involved in the great battles of our day.

Can Politics Be Ignored?

The intelligentsia's alarm over the threat of nuclear war and its resolve to safeguard life in the face of the threat are an important political factor of our day. There is interest in and approval of the new thinking in the nuclear age, which springs from the socialist philosophy of peace. The West German delegates to the Moscow International Forum for a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Humanity (February 1987) took

part in all the numerous discussions on the possibility of a constructive solution for mankind's vital problems.

Anti-fascism is the basis of the consensus of various trends in our country's spiritual life. On the 40th anniversary of the liberation from fascism, in the spring of 1985, there was an unprecedentedly sharp polarisation between broad strata of the population, with their anti-fascist mentality, and the circles of the big bourgeoisie still clinging to the past. It has been a key task of the 'turn to the right' policy to regain the lost ground. There has been talk of a 'renewal of the national consciousness', which essentially means recognition of the continuing imperialist domination that has not been broken by the period of fascism. Nor was there any due recognition of the lessons of history, which alone can help to break with the past.

It is now being said that loyalty to one's country allegedly implies acceptance of the whole of its past, while the crimes of fascism, which tried to wipe out entire nations, are being minimised and presented as just another 'fall from grace' as it often happened in history, while fascism itself is said to be no more than a natural reaction to the 'Bolshevik threat'. A whole host of reactionary historians have been marshalled to falsify history, but that has met with resolute resistance on the part of progressive intellectuals, workers in culture, anti-fascist resistance fighters and the democratic public generally. President Richard von Weizsäcker has himself come under fire from the right for having put the historical record straight and paid due tribute to the anti-fascist resistance by Germans, notably the Communists. That has been a point of great irritation for the reactionaries. Even the sparse truth which one finds on the matter in the text books is claimed by historians, writers, in films and on television as giving the Communists better treatment than they deserve. It is not surprising that the rightists were irritated over the sensational appearance of a progressive historical feature film about Rosa Luxemburg, which was produced by Margarethe von Trotta, despite the attempts by the authorities to assert the reactionary version of history.¹⁰

In line with the present attitude of the powers that be, Dregger wants workers in the arts not to upset "the precarious balance between politics and art . . . in their works", on the plea that "those who have written fine novels . . . do not yet qualify as being competent to pass judgement on strategic questions".¹¹ The exponents of the most adventurous line in the policy of imperialism say that because workers in culture were among those who initiated the peace movement in the FRG, helped to develop it, and found their own original forms of action.

While the efforts to turn the republic into one of the pillars of US global strategy have continued, the peace movement has succeeded *in changing the public climate in the country*. It has done so not only through its pickets and human chains round US military bases, but also by their mass concerts in halls and stadiums arranged under the slogan 'Artists for Peace'. This has had an appeal to millions of men and women who had up to then stayed away from politics. West German and international forums of writers, among whose sponsors was also the Union of Writers of the FRG, likewise gave a noticeable impetus to the peace movement, which is now based on

associations of scientists, teachers, physicians, psychologists, lawyers, journalists, information specialists, etc., and also peace initiative groups at major enterprises. They were in a sense preceded by the 'Artists for Peace' group, which was organised in 1981 by actors in the FRG and other countries.

The large-scale West German and international peace festivals had a two-fold effect: on the one hand, they sparked off initiatives for staging a great many local concerts, exhibitions, and so on, and involved many more workers in the arts; and on the other, they created an atmosphere of cooperation and solidarity between professionals and amateurs in the various genres, and that helped to go beyond the boundaries of traditional cultural life. The outcome was the appearance of new verse, songs, and pictures expressive of the urge for peace. 'Peace orchestras' were set up by musicians (for instance, in Stuttgart). Anti-war plays and films were produced.

In terms of aesthetic criteria and political orientations, this kind of 'peace culture', as it is often called, has a great many faces. There are heated debates over the approach to be taken to 'art for peace'; the idea is that there should be no oversimplification, with emphasis on a high standard in form and content in the light of the earlier political and artistic development. Back in the 1960s, for instance, the artist Carlo Schellemann organised a mobile picture exhibition, then an unusual form of protest against the plans for the Bundeswehr's nuclear armament. Dieter Süverkrüp, who has written many political songs, recently recalled his earlier appearances in the 1960s, when there were only a handful of songwriters and performers: "Gradually, as social development proceeded, other colleagues adopted our views . . . Much has already been done to enable many of those who create works of art — from high literature to simple songs — to deal actively with present-day topics, without ignoring the issues on which mankind's survival depends."¹²

Whence the Threat to Culture?

The urge to sort out the problems facing mankind has generated a vibrant dialogue among workers in culture and at their meetings with representatives of various political trends, including the Communists. Cooperation between artists does not at all rule out diversity of views reflecting the breadth of the alliance which the peace movement represents.

Along with the build-up of armaments, the FRG government has shown much zeal in 'safeguarding the values of culture in the event of war'. That has drawn protests from prominent scholars specialising in the theory and history of culture, protection of works of art, and archaeologists. Many of them had hoped that the Federal government would not take the dangerous step of deploying US nuclear missiles, but their hopes were dashed. At a recent congress of these specialists, one of its initiators, Professor Hassler declared: the policy "oriented towards US interests poses an unprecedented threat to Europe's ancient culture. Those who

claim to be 'the vehicles of culture', keepers of tradition and paragons of morality are ever more obviously becoming a threat to the culture of the world and to world peace."¹³ The much-vaunted 'protection of the values of culture in the event of war' is developing into a farce, a swindle to lull the country's population, where "missile silos are gradually coming to outnumber the church spires",¹⁴ and where it is the United States that has the first-strike nuclear missiles at its disposal, despite the fact that it has failed to ratify the 1954 Hague Convention on the protection of cultural values in the event of armed conflict.

The expert warnings by scientists and scholars about the dangers of militarising space and the calls issued by hundreds of top scientists, such as those at the Max Planck Institute or the Siemens laboratories, to refuse to take part in research under the SDI project *have induced many more workers in culture to come out in defence of peace*. Authors, actors, film-makers, songwriters, singers, musicians, and even whole orchestras have joined in the scientists' demands to prevent the militarisation of space. They believe that it is their duty "to put their heart and soul into supporting the scientists' efforts and driving home to public opinion the need to reject 'star wars' ", Renan Demirhan, a Turkish actress who lives in the FRG, told journalists recently. For a period of years now, workers in various art genres have added much colour in their own ways and forms to the wide spectrum of peace initiatives, including the Easter Peace Marches. A big concert was staged in the square before the famous cathedral in Cologne during a congress of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. They have come to realise that involvement in political action should be more than sporadic, that there is a need steadily to make the movement more conscious and organised, and so in 1985 set up their association 'Art Workers in Action'.

There are other objectives linked to the struggle for peace and disarmament as well, such as the numerous acts of international solidarity with South Africa, Nicaragua and Chile. *The voice of art helps to enhance political, moral and material support for the anti-imperialist liberation movement*. One important aspect of international solidarity and, simultaneously, of direct resistance to what is an insult to human dignity in the FRG is giving foreign workers living in the country access to the values of culture. Ever more attention is being given to this effort by democratic workers in the arts.

The movement against nuclear energy in the FRG has brought together a wide range of different forces unanimously rejecting the nuclear programme of the Federal government and the energy concerns. The movement culminated in a major two-day open-air festival at which well-known rock groups, satirists, and other performing artists appeared before an audience of 120,000. Their protest was aimed against the building of a plant to re-process nuclear fuel at Wackersdorf. It was the Communists who had helped to expose its actual designation, which is to be a centre for the manufacture of West Germany's own nuclear weapons. The festival was also an important stage in the struggle for democratic

rights: in order to organise it, efforts had to be made to overcome resistance from Bavaria's government headed by Franz-Josef Strauss, which had intended to ban it.

For Humanism and Progress

The apologists of capital keep holding forth about the 'freedom of art' which is written into the Constitution, but in actual life it has to be defended against ceaseless overt and covert attacks and attempts to limit it in every way by the stamping out of humanistic and progressive ideas. There is such frequent resort to the most refined censorship, defamation and intimidation that only the most naive people can believe them to be accidental. That is a special and simultaneously typical feature of the existing state of things in our country, but fortunately such actions are not accepted without demur; they are met with political resistance, are sharply satirised and contested in the courts. The resistance is successful where the protest is not confined to individual and isolated actions. The strength of solidarity is manifested, for instance, in the political patronage by prominent workers in the arts for men and women who suffer from the Berufsverbot ('ban on professions'). Such facts are a reflection of the growing comprehension that the attacks on the constitutional rights of the Communists (and they are the ones who are mostly involved in such cases) are tantamount to a malignant tumour which may fatally affect the democratic rights and freedoms of all.

The FRG is a visual example of the crisis of capitalism permeating and interweaving every aspect of life in the society: economics, politics, ideology, morality and culture. A harmful effect is certainly exerted on culture by phenomena like the flooding of the FRG with the material and spiritual products of US business, or the smuggling of reactionary ideas into our art.

It is perfectly obvious that the destructive effect is being amplified *by the close connection between the economic crisis and the crisis in culture*. The mass unemployment, which has now lasted for years, has hit scientific and cultural institutions, and the education system. It is no longer sporadic, but a constant statistical item among teachers of higher and secondary schools. Budgets and staffs are now being reduced as a matter of course in theatres, museums, libraries and other cultural institutions. In some of them, the trade unions have organised resistance and joint action by workers in the arts with industrial workers and employees, and that has not only imparted an unusual social edge to their protest, but has also met with a wide response, as it did, for instance, when the protest was dramatised in staged performances. Workers in culture are no longer as isolated as they used to be, and industrial workers and civic organisations have voiced solidarity with them in the various cities, as they did, for instance, during the struggle in defence of the jobs of printers and journalists, and workers of publishing houses, radio and television. Such actions were, of course, held on a massive scale only in a few cases, but they help to spread trade union methods of struggle to the offices, where class thinking and action are far from being traditional.

In 1987, West German trade unions once again demanded the introduction of a 35-hour working week with full pay. Its main purpose is to create new jobs and resist the mass unemployment. But there is also an important cultural and political problem: *any success in reducing working hours brings out the question of how to use the leisure time*. The trade unions should strive to spread their social and political gains to the sphere of culture, but there are two real obstacles in the way.

First, capital has conducted its strategic line of privatising the mass media, while commercialising the sphere of rest and leisure. The idea is to turn it into a buffer against the development of democratic culture. Second, the goal is to switch to flexible working schedules, instead of regulating working time through collective contracts, and it should be facilitated by the spread of individualism and illusions about flexible working schedules giving people more freedom to do what they want to do and satisfy their cultural requirements.

All of that confronts the working class with this two-fold challenge: trade union activity and objectives *should go beyond politics and economics to the sphere of culture*. Many songs, verse, sketches, graphic works and special revues are devoted to the trade union struggles. Artists have often helped many of the factory collectives in various parts of the FRG, which came against the shutdown of enterprises, mass layoffs and lockouts. That is what happened in Hattingen, where steelworkers fought against the closure of steel mills, and also in Oberhausen, Rheinhausen, Sulzbach-Rosenberg, in the Saar and other places where there is mass resistance to the destruction of jobs. The whole population displayed solidarity when faced with the threat of entire districts being impoverished. There one could find workers in the arts in front of factory gates and at solidarity concerts, which gave important moral support to the workers and their families, and which gave artists new experience.

The fight for jobs is one of the central topics of the annual Ruhr Festival, a mass cultural event arranged by trade unions. Assurance of the right to work has a direct effect on the people's way of life, which is why it is so important to conduct a cultural policy meeting the interests of the working class. The prerequisites for this will already be found in trade union programmes and in actual practice.

The processes under way in West German society confront the GCP with definite demands in the sphere of culture. Our party has been working out *its own course*, acting as champion of our humanistic and socialist traditions, taking account of the country's national interests and the prospects for democratic and social progress. In all the battles over our culture, the party has voiced the wants of the working class, which it regards as one of the crucial reasons for the need of a socialist future in the FRG.

One of the strands in the battles for peace, jobs and democracy is the struggle in defence of culture, against the forces of destruction, against cultural pessimism and decline, and for the assertion of humanistic principles of art and literature in the working people's hearts and minds. The political significance of this activity largely depends on the creative potential and social consciousness of workers in culture, and their

Communist colleagues have an important role to play in the various creative genres. The activity of the working class movement and of the Communist Party is coming to play a crucial role in imparting vigour to culture with a democratic and socialist content.

Our party has made a contribution to the development of progressive culture and is helping to shape a sense of perspective, foresight and steadfastness among artists. Our party continues to learn a great deal, believing that, while the formation of this culture is only at its beginnings, it is a tremendously inspiring factor in the struggle for social progress.

¹ *Deutscher Bundestag, 10/99. Plenarprotokoll vom. 9, November, 1984, pp. 7174-7178.*

² A progressive poet and novelist. — *Ed.*

³ *Der Spiegel*, No. 4, January 19, 1987.

⁴ A progressive writer. — *Ed.*

⁵ *Die Feder. Zeitschrift der IG Druck und Papier für Journalisten und Schriftsteller*, No. 12, 1985.

⁶ *Deutscher Bundestag* . . .

⁷ *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, October 1, 1982.

⁸ *Bühnengenossenschaft*, No. 12, 1985.

⁹ Informationsdienst 'Woche im Bundestag', No. 23, 1986.

¹⁰ The film was awarded the *WMR* prize 'For Peace and Socialism' at the 25th Karlovy Vary Film Festival in Czechoslovakia (see *WMR*, No. 10, 1986) — *Ed.*

¹¹ *Deutscher Bundestag* . . .

¹² *BWZ, Programmzeitschrift für Funk und Fernsehen für die 2. Märzwoche 1987.*

¹³ *Kultur gegen Kreig*, Köln, 1986, p. 21.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

Passing The Buck

Julián Marín — journalist, Costa Rica

ANY observer of the scene in the United States since the end of last year can hardly deny that the Iran-Contra scandal has been something of a disaster for the White House. *Time* magazine says that "If the US were a parliamentary democracy, the Reagan government might have fallen".¹ It remains a fact, nonetheless, that Reagan has kept his head above water by the will of his powerful masters.

It is a curious spectacle, however, to see how the Iran-Contra scandal is being presented by the bourgeois mass media in the United States and other capitalist countries, the same media which had always rooted for the President and applauded his infamous actions. These are the very same media that have backed the 'star wars' project, and approved Reagan's order for the US invasion of Grenada; they applauded his order to bomb Libya, and they have justified his criminal policy against the Nicaraguan people. But these are also the same media to which we owe, even if partially, the lifting of the veil of secrecy behind which the US administration has tried to conceal the truth about the Iran-Contra scandal. Indeed, Reagan looks like a man bitten by his own dog.

Why? The reasons are probably many, but one was pinpointed by the well-known columnist Hugh Sidey, who said that the Iran-Contra mess has

sparked off a journalistic war, which "may in the end prove as important as the political inquest."² Washington is now crawling with reporters out to win the Pulitzer prize.³ The loud noises have come from the rivalry not only between the reporters, but also between their employers. However, the frankness with which the bourgeois mass media have depicted the regime that feeds them appears to be most illuminating. The scandal has been variously labelled as 'Iranscam', 'Iranmess', 'Iranmuck' and other equally contemptuous terms, all of which testify to the newspapermen's extreme discomfiture over the whipping they have had to administer themselves because of their earlier commitment to Reagan.

How did the idea of this reeking venture originate? A part of the answer was given by the conservative London *Economist*: "By getting done the things the President in his heart wanted done, he (Lieut.-Colonel Oliver North. — J.M.) made himself indispensable."⁴ It went on to explain that the idea was to link up Project Recovery, designed for the covert supply of weapons to potential accomplices in Iran, with Project Democracy, the ridiculous code-name given to the covert supply of weapons to the Nicaraguan Contras.

The sinister figure of Oliver North, Reagan's handyman on the National Security Council, was the President's dream come true, and while he had to dismiss the ill-starred Marine officer, as soon as the scandal broke, that did not prevent him from dubbing him a 'national hero', as a mark of his personal sympathy for the latest man to be dismissed from the White House. Garry Wills, the author of several books on US presidents, says that Reagan loved government as the derring-do of secret agents, of private heroics on the kind of mission he felt he had himself participated in when informing on fellow-actors during the Communist witch-hunt in Hollywood.⁵

In order to understand Reagan's role in the scandal, one has to take a closer look at the activities of Oliver North, who was the embodiment of the dreams and ambitions of his boss. North is the incarnation of the Rambo-type superman who had the backing of a powerful force: the President of the United States himself. The Tower Commission's report, widely quoted in the 'big press', presents North as some kind of fanatic who had at his beck and call aircraft and ships, private companies and bank accounts, and direct contacts with the governments of South Korea and Taiwan for the purpose of raising money for the contras. He even went so far as to threaten heads of state, as he did in the case of Costa Rica. According to the Tower panel's report, North told the Iranians a fanciful tale about Reagan's praying 'one whole weekend' over whether to recognise the Islamic revolution and admit that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein must go.⁶ The President told the Tower Commission the stories were 'absolute fiction', and the White House took the cue and began denying the existence of a peculiar gift that Reagan had sent through North to the Iranian Ayatollah Rafsanjani. It was a Bible autographed by the President, with a message which spoke of Iran in the same terms as North did later. The existence of the gift had to be acknowledged when Rafsanjani showed the President's autograph to members of the press corps.

Reagan and his team (almost all of whom, except the boss, have now lost their jobs) have so mucked up the ill-fated operation that US public opinion has been gradually losing confidence in the head of the US administration. Cartoons of the US President have appeared in many countries showing him with a big, bulging nose like that of the fairytale character who loved to tell lies. Reagan has kept covering up the deliberate lies by pleading 'loss of memory'. "What did Reagan forget, and when did he forget it?", is the cruel joke that had been making the rounds for more than two months when the Tower Commission first interviewed him on January 26.⁷ He then confirmed that "some time in August [1985] he approved the shipment of arms by Israel to Iran". On February 11, however, he changed his story after conferring with his Chief of Staff. Then, on February 20, Reagan changed his story again and declared: "I don't remember — period."

These answers are so patently false and contradictory that dozens of public opinion polls showed the popularity of Reagan and his team plummeting. One paper said that their 'explanations' had duped very few US citizens, and published a photo of a demonstration in front of the White House with one placard saying: 'Obey the Law!'

One February issue of *Newsweek* carried a report on the Iran-Contra scandal with this caption over Reagan's picture: 'Going Nowhere Fast'. An issue of *Time* also with a portrait of the president on its cover, carried an article entitled: 'Can He Recover?' A leader in the *Economist* asked: "Is this the nadir or merely one in a descending order of ever lower points in the fortunes of the Reagan presidency?" *Newsweek* also asked whether the new White House Chief of Staff Baker "can . . . help save what's left of the presidency". *International Herald Tribune* carried numerous articles and cartoons on the Iran-Contra scandal. One journalist asked: If Reagan gave arms to the Iranians in exchange for hostages and these arms were used to kill Iraqis, what's an American life worth?⁸

Some cartoons depict the President as the naked king in Andersen's fairytale, and that is to some extent borne out by Senator Tower, who said that Reagan "clearly didn't understand the nature of this operation, who was involved and what was happening".⁹

One columnist said that "While the world around him has changed, Ronald Reagan remains the same. Over Christmas he wore a necktie that played 'Jingle Bells' when he pressed a tiny switch". Some congressional leaders came away from meetings with Reagan wondering if he had understood the issues they had raised. Maine Republican William Cohen said in *Time* that US congressmen were amazed to see the President demanding Congress furnish him with a report describing a plan that had been "formulated and perhaps executed either in or within a few feet of the Oval Office".¹⁰

The report issued by the Tower Commission, that had been appointed by the President himself, has turned out to be truly fatal for him, although what it said was assumed to be merely the tip of the iceberg. No wonder the mass media appeared to heave a sigh of relief after the pathetic press conference in late March, simply because the President accomplished his not very lofty mission of handling himself competently for thirty minutes.

The administration's team has, in fact, gone to pieces, and that includes Chief of Staff Donald Regan, ostensibly the President's right-hand man. The Chief Executive alone has kept his footing, and hardly anyone will now be so bold as to risk putting his stake on the President, although some think he should be kept in office simply to prevent the whole system from being totally discredited.

If the United States had a parliamentary form of government, the crisis would undoubtedly have been much graver. But under the US system, the head of state wields much power, and so we find that he who has at his disposal perhaps the world's mightiest weapons and who is in a position to push the button is wholly incompetent even to his own friends and swiftly losing the respect of those who had once put their trust in him.

Reagan is the product of a propaganda that has fallen into its own trap. Garry Wills says that "there was no edifice of policy solid enough to tumble, piece by piece, its props being knocked out singly or in groups. The whole thing is not falling down: it was never weighty enough for that. It is simply evanescent". Wills says that the incumbent administration did not solve any problems, but created them; it did not lead the country forward, but back. Reagan loves government as ceremony and majesty. The rituals of his office were the things he liked best. He gave out medals and awards enthusiastically and generously: "the military granted more medals for Grenada than actually troops landed there . . . Heroic government, on the epic scale, was his favourite movie."¹¹

It is hard to find anyone in the world who was more shamelessly engaged in self-advertising than Reagan, and not only over the past eight years, but ever since he had acted the cowboy in grade B films. In the 1980s, he was unrivalled in propaganda make-up and political posturing. The facts now show that, together with those who were building up his image, he has fallen into the same trap he had laid as a catcher of hearts and votes. The mass media, which had but recently set up Reagan as the prototype of respectability and a cherished symbol and embodiment of 'democracy', the mass media which had fiercely smeared socialism, communism and all things revolutionary, suddenly began to splutter. Thus, in the FRG, a country where the temperature of psychological warfare is especially high, a public opinion poll showed that 49 per cent of the citizens believe that Mikhail Gorbachov is the world leader who has been doing most for peace and disarmament, while only 9 per cent thought the same of Reagan.¹²

In the face of such facts, the US mass media have changed their tack, and have tried to restore the gloss on the President's dimmed image. But it is not so easy to dupe public opinion, especially now that the Iran-Contra scandal is gathering momentum. Having realised that it can no longer deny Reagan's part in breaking the law, bourgeois propaganda has unashamedly begun to assert that the laws were not written for the President. He himself declared, after the Big Seven summit in Venice, that he had committed no breach of the law. And it looks like he can get away with it.

Even the mighty bourgeois propaganda machine has been unable to save Reagan from the loss of his artificially built-up image, just as it has failed to conceal the truth about the viable policies pursued by the Soviet Union. As

the US President scans the daily paper with less than fulsome praise addressed to him by the spiritual lackeys of his own class, he should perhaps think again about trying 'to pass the buck'.

¹ *Time*, March 30, 1987, p. 24.

² *Ibid.*, December 8, 1986, p. 19.

³ A prize annually awarded by Columbia University for fiction, drama, music and various categories of newspaper work from funds left for the purpose by Joseph Pulitzer (1847-1911), a US editor and newspaper proprietor. — *Ed.*

⁴ *The Economist*, March 7-13, 1987, p. 42.

⁵ See *Time*, March 9, 1987, p. 23.

⁶ See *U.S. News & World Report*, March 9, 1987, p. 18.

⁷ See *Newsweek*, March 9, 1987, pp. 17, 18.

⁸ See *International Herald Tribune*, December 5, 1986, p.4.

⁹ *U.S. News & World Report*, March 9, 1987, pp. 14-15.

¹⁰ *Time*, January 26, 1987, pp. 26, 27.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, March 9, 1987, p. 23.

¹² *Stern*, No. 12, 1987, p. 38.

surveys, letters, and diary

The Reader Wants to Know The CMEA Countries: Dovetailing The Plans

"I know that social and economic development in the socialist countries is regulated by plan, but considering that most of them are members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, there must also be some kind of international plan coordination. Is that so?"

Marcelo Torres (Spain)

We asked the International Institute of Economic Problems of the World Socialist System to answer this question.

PLANS are, indeed, coordinated internationally on a growing scale and with ever better methods. All matters of the CMEA countries' cooperation are settled on a planned basis, mainly through the agreement of national-economic five-year plans. The emphasis is on the five-year period

because these are the plans which have the key role within the system of national planning and economic administration in each country.

Plan coordination for the current five-year period (1986-1990) is based on the strategic decisions taken by the CMEA Economic Summit in 1984, bilateral long-term programmes for developing economic, scientific and technical cooperation, and the Comprehensive Programme for Scientific and Technological Progress of CMEA Member Countries up to the Year 2000.

Priority Lines

Setting the priorities for wider cooperation is the distinctive feature of its present phase. In accordance with the Comprehensive Programme, priority is given to industries and projects determining the pace at which the producer potential is qualitatively transformed. More than 1,500 types of new hardware, almost 500 advanced technologies, and over 400 new materials are to be developed by the end of the century on the basis of the programme. Some of these tasks are already included in the current five-year economic plans. The drafting and dovetailing of detailed programmes for 86 of the 93 problems covered by the Comprehensive Programme were, for all practical purposes, completed in 1986, and almost 80 per cent of the new projects are to be effected in the current five-year period.

The development of *mechanical engineering* is crucial to the re-equipment of the economy on the basis of the latest advances in science and technology, and the CMEA countries' cooperation in this field is aimed to increase specialisation and co-production of the key types of products, to raise their economic and technical standards and improve quality. The results of plan coordination show that a marked step forward has been taken. Mutual deliveries of engineering products from 1986 to 1990 are to go up by more than 40 per cent over the preceding five-year period. A larger share of these deliveries is to consist of products which determine and accelerate scientific and technical progress to the greatest extent: programmed numerical-control machine tools, computers and microprocessors, flexible production systems, equipment for nuclear-power plants, and so on. In this five-year period, deliveries of Soviet machinery and equipment to other CMEA countries are to go up by 50 per cent, and their deliveries to the USSR are also to grow at a fast pace.

The coordination of plans also included measures to enhance the socialist community's technological invulnerability and ways to organise the production of some goods now being purchased in the West. Thus, mutual deliveries of metal-cutting equipment will help to make a marked reduction in imports from the capitalist countries.

Developing the means of complex automation of production, including control devices and their batch output, is a key area of cooperation in the current five-year period. The basis for this work is provided by the fabrication of flexible production systems. More than 80 such systems are to be developed for various purposes by 1990. The application of advanced hardware and high technology will make it possible to raise labour productivity in mechanical engineering between 2 and 5 times. Work is

under way in most of these industries to introduce computer-aided design and computer-aided research. The annual average volume of mutual deliveries of integrated circuits and semi-conductor instruments is to increase by 50 per cent from 1986 to 1990, as compared with the preceding five-year period.

Priority is, furthermore, being given to *the resource-saving aspect of the technological renovation of the means of production*. The economic development strategy agreed by the CMEA countries envisages a 33-50 per cent reduction in material-intensiveness and energy-intensiveness of production by 2000. There is hardly enough space here to list all the agreed decisions, so we must confine ourselves to giving only a few examples relating to energy economies in transport in the current five-year period, such as the use of economical electric locomotives, development of diesel locomotives, trucks and buses fuelled by liquefied gas, and steam-gas plants to economise on fuel in transportation.

The provision of the CMEA countries with fuel and raw materials is directly linked to the problem of resource economies, and here much importance attaches, along with the marshalling of each country's own resources, to mutual deliveries of energy resources and raw materials. The coordination of plans has in the main helped to create the conditions for solving this problem.

Cooperation in nuclear energy will continue to expand. By the end of the century, the nuclear-power plant capacity in the CMEA countries (without the USSR) is to multiply more than sixfold over 1986, so that nuclear-power plants will generate as much as 30-40 per cent of the electric power produced there. A set of measures is to be worked out in accordance with the IAEA-approved programme establishing an international regime for the development of nuclear energy.

In the course of plan coordination for the five-year period, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Romania and the USSR signed a multilateral agreement on the building of a mammoth oxidised-ore concentration combine at Krivoi Rog in the Soviet Union.

In exchange for Soviet deliveries of raw materials and energy resources, the other socialist countries are to export to the USSR foodstuffs and consumer goods, structural materials, and machinery and equipment up to world technical standards.

The great attention being given to *accelerating the development of Cuba, Mongolia and Vietnam, the less developed CMEA countries, and making their economies more efficient* is yet another characteristic feature of plan coordination. It took account, first, of the tasks facing them in socialist industrialisation, and second, of the need for their wider participation in the international socialist division of labour. Measures along both lines have been mapped out collectively to assure these countries of faster economic, scientific and technical growth.

Last, but not least: the whole work of plan coordination for the current five-year period was marked by *greater emphasis on the social aspect*. It was decided, in particular, to deepen cooperation between the countries in turning out the products of the agro-industrial complex, to provide more raw materials to industries turning out consumer goods, including

foodstuffs, and to speed the development of the light, printing and wood-working industries. There is to be wider cooperation in the technical re-equipment and remodelling of enterprises, and the exchange of a wider range of goods along the channels of internal and frontier trade, and consumer cooperatives.

What Still Can and Needs to Be Done

The experience in economic cooperation and plan coordination has brought out the great advantages of the fraternal countries' planned economy and mutual cooperation, but not all the tasks set by the Economic Summit have been entirely fulfilled in the course of plan coordination. The mechanism of cooperation between the economic complexes needs to be improved, and its sizeable reserves tapped. One of the key tasks is *to turn plan coordination into the key instrument of economic policy coordination*. There is also the question of further widening the time span of coordination, so that the perspectives for economic progress run beyond the five-year period.

Hence the growing demands on analytic work and prognostication within the CMEA framework, on their content, on the forms in which they are realised and tied in with other forms of plan cooperation. About 40 joint prognostications of development in various sectors of the economy in the socialist community have been made in the recent period, but their application has been less than adequate.

As the Comprehensive Programme for Scientific and Technological Progress is fulfilled, integration in this field is to be further deepened and developed in new forms. That includes associations, enterprises and other economic organisations, with the establishment of direct ties between them. Such ties have already been developed to some extent, and that makes it necessary to agree plans on this level as well. The new, 'grassroots' elements of planning have yet to be duly reflected in the plan mechanism of cooperation. It is clear, however, that if associations, enterprises and combines are to be subjects of *national* planning, their status and role in international plan activity need to be modified accordingly. It is important, for instance, to invest them with functions relating to *plan coordination*, for it is a level of economic management where effective solutions can be found for many problems relating to implementation of agreements on specialisation and co-production, and to other spheres of the integration process.

Many CMEA country specialists are quite right in suggesting that it is also time to do more to perfect the monetary and financial system of their cooperation with each other. With the present multiplicity of foreign-exchange rates and coefficients, and the different levels of foreign-trade prices for the same type of products, it is hard to produce an authentic assessment of the economic efficiency of concrete integration measures. That is most keenly felt on the level of the basic economic units, which in many cases are entirely responsible for the end results of their economic activity. The solution of these problems is an important condition for making the plan mechanism of the CMEA countries' cooperation more efficient.

Facts Indict Capitalism

The US Constitution: A Record Of Unfulfilled Promises

September 17 of this year was a red letter day in the political and social calendar of the USA, being the bicentennial of the Constitution of the United States of America. The preparations were begun long in advance and grew in scale as the bicentennial drew nearer. Four years ago Ronald Reagan set up a special presidential commission to coordinate the strident public relations drive to laud the Constitution as a model of democracy and justice. The objective of this drive was that the American people should commemorate the Constitution's bicentennial in the belief that there was no skeleton in their historical cupboard and that the past was grand and the present and future were grander. But is that really the case?

FAR from having smoothed it out, the bicentennial of the US Constitution sharply aggravated the conflict that has been a distinctive feature of the nation's political life throughout its history. I am referring to the people's unceasing struggle to prevent the reactionary and retrograde forces from depriving them of their democratic gains. The text and structure of the Constitution bear the ineradicable stamp of this conflict.

The framers of the original draft, most of them men of wealth (plantation owners, slave owners, bankers, merchant princes, big landowners, and industrialists), worded it in such a way as to sustain the interests of the privileged strata in the first place, over the interests of the majority of the Americans. In particular, the document adopted by the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia on September 17, 1787 sanctioned slavery, genocide against the Indian peoples, the continued disenfranchisement of women, and so on. Hence the disappointment in democratic circles when they read the Constitution. They insisted on amendments that would legislatively institutionalise the people's rights and freedoms.

Thanks to the struggles of the farmers, artisans, and workers, the first ten amendments to the Constitution, known as the Bill of Rights, were adopted in 1791. The principles proclaimed in these amendments enlarged upon and complemented those proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, which say that "all men are created equal" and endowed "with certain inalienable rights", among these are "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness", and the right to abolish any form of government and institute a new one, i.e., the right to revolution. Together these comprised the body of promises that allowed Karl Marx to characterise the US Constitution as the "first Declaration of the Rights of Man", the declaration opening the way for one great republic to be established on the American continent. But the nation was only about to set out on this long and uphill road in the face of stiff resistance from the reactionaries.

A broad and savage attack on the Constitution came in the 1860s from the Southern slave-owning oligarchy. Exploiting the Constitution's provisions for the development and expansion of states' rights, it launched a war to smash the union and consolidate the entire country as a slave-holding state. Once again it was the democratic forces, the workers and farmers of the North and mid-Western states and the slaves themselves, who repulsed these attacks and protected the promise of rights and freedoms spelled out in the Constitution.

After winning the Civil War, which was the most destructive and bloody war in US history, the bourgeoisie had not only to reiterate the promises it had made previously but introduce new amendments adding new democratic dimensions to the Constitution. For example, the 14th Amendment (1868) and the 15th Amendment (1870) gave equal citizenship rights, including the right to vote, to the entire population of the USA, regardless of race, colour, or previous conditions of servitude. Such was the price that capitalist society had to pay for the people's aid to crush a slave-owners' counter-revolution and preserve the nation as a unitary state. However, an unrelaxing struggle has to be waged to this day for the actual implementation and extension of proclaimed rights (consider that in a country claiming to be called the most democratic women were denied the right to vote right until 1920).

The present reactivation of the forces of reaction and backwardness in the USA casts a shadow of grave danger on the principles of American democracy proclaimed in the Constitution. Appraising the danger posed by the Reagan administration, the 24th Convention of the Communist Party USA noted in its Main Political Resolution: "There is the whipped-up campaign against the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Attorney-General Edwin Meese's attacks against the powers of the Supreme Court and the demeaning of the Constitution are geared to prepare the people to accept violations of constitutional rights. The capitalist class lives by the rules of bourgeois democracy only if the rules and laws do not interfere with its drive for maximum profits. When these laws and structures become obstacles to the ruling class, the rulers become lawbreakers and violaters of their own laws." That is convincingly confirmed by what is happening in America today.

John Pittman
Political Bureau member,
Communist Party USA,
CPUSA representative on WMR

SAYING ONE THING AND DOING ANOTHER

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

This is the Preamble of the US Constitution. Its solemn wording is permeated with the ideals of equality, freedom and social justice. But words are one thing, while the reality is something else. The framers of the Constitution proclaimed it in the name of the whole nation when they had neither real nor formal authority to do so. Until the last moment this document was a closely guarded secret, while its ratification was organised to let only 100,000 persons, or less than 3 per cent of the population, take part.

To this day the people's participation in the realisation of constitutional rights remains extremely limited. About half the population of voting age has not been going to the polls in recent years. This is not surprising because anyway only persons protecting the interests of the wealthy usually get through to the elected legislative bodies.

The promise to "form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility" has in practice swung towards broadening the executive power and a growth of the prerogatives of the President and his administration that time and again transgress the principles proclaimed in the Constitution. During Reagan's tenure in the White House over 100 officials immediately associated with him were found in violation of laws, involved in corruption or in political and financial offenses. However, the Washington Astraea closes her eyes to this but brings her punishing sword down upon peace champions, dissidents, people belonging to ethnic minorities, and Afro-Americans. Nor has the United States acquired domestic tranquility. It is being constantly shaken by class collisions — strikes, risings by Afro-Americans driven to desperation, and mass political protests. More, the nation is engulfed in a riot of crime, with victims of robberies and muggings alone numbering 1,200,000 a year.

The 'common defense' principle has likewise been turned on its head. Militarist forces in the USA have converted it into an instrument for their aggressive policies, armed interventions and undeclared wars, into a factor for intimidating the American people with the mythical communist threat.

The ideal of 'general welfare' and the Constitution's assurance that the 'blessings of liberty' would be secured, can today only be seen as a mockery of the actual condition of tens of millions of Americans. While two per cent of the population control almost half the national wealth, one in every five persons in the country is underfed, one in seven lives below the official poverty line, and one in twenty has no shelter. As regards liberty, its blessings are distributed in the USA in roughly the same proportions: for the wealthy everything is allowed, while the unpropertied are confronted by judicial wrongdoing, police repressions, and racist terror.

"SERVANTS OF THE PEOPLE", WHO ARE THEY?

"All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives."

*Constitution of the USA,
Article 1, Section 1*

According to official statistics more than 50 members of the US Congress are millionaires. But these statistics give neither the actual number of millionaires there nor the size of the fortunes at their command because the figure is obviously understated. There are facts showing the composition of American legislatures: of the Senate's 100 members some two-thirds have close ties with the Pentagon and armaments corporations; of the 435 members of the House of Representatives only about ten per cent are women, Afro-Americans, and Hispanics.

Working class America is represented by less than one per cent of the legislators. A seat on Capitol Hill costs big money. At the 1986 mid-term elections the candidates for election to the Senate and House of Representatives spent a total of 1.2 billion dollars, in other words, from 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 dollars per elected legislator. Clearly, money of this kind can be spent only by people of great wealth. Besides, even they cannot cover their campaign expenses without subsidies from the 'political action committees' that play a major role in supporting candidates of the nation's two biggest parties, the Republicans and the Democrats.

Representatives of the 'third' parties or independent candidates cannot count on this aid. More, they have to contend with a mountain of additional discriminative restrictions. The difficulties that the Communist Party USA has to confront in the election campaign are particularly harsh. In many states there is still a ban on members of the Communist Party standing for election. Before nominating their candidate for presidential elections the Communists have to submit to the authorities of each state a petition signed by a fairly large number of voters and, in addition, have these signatures certified by municipal authorities who use every pretext for doubting the authenticity of the submitted documents.

"I DO SOLEMNLY SWEAR"

"Before he enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: 'I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.'"

*Constitution of the USA
Article 2, Section 1*

Many Presidents of the USA believed that the Chief Executive could do anything, even in violation of the law and the Constitution, if this was dictated by the 'national interest'. The most glaring example of unconstitutional actions, in which almost every US President was implicated, was the violation of the right to declare war. This right is exclusively the prerogative of the Congress. It has been counted that US armed forces have been used on foreign territory in more than 200 instances and only in five cases was war declared by the Congress. The other armed interventions were launched by Presidents. They include the wars against Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, the occupation of Grenada,

and the ongoing war by contras against Nicaragua.

The exposure of the swindle involving the sale of armaments to Iran and the use of the proceeds to aid Nicaragua contras clearly showed Reagan's and his administration's disregard for constitutional legality. This was noted by Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, in an article published in the newspaper *People's Daily World* on May 28 of this year. He wrote that the Iran-Contra scandals had turned into a tide of crisis that had now fused into a political crisis, a crisis of the presidency, and a constitutional crisis. The President's admission that he had acted deliberately and secretly in violation of the law and the Constitution, Gus Hall stressed, acutely raised the question of whether the President and his aides complied with the law or placed themselves above it.

A DEMOCRACY REQUIRING AMENDMENTS

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the Press; or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

*Constitution of the USA
Bill of Rights, Amendment 1*

This amendment prohibits Congress from passing laws that might limit the people's rights and freedoms listed in it, but it provides for no guarantees to ensure these rights and freedoms. Formally, this amendment establishes the freedom to profess religion and separates church and state, but in fact religious discrimination remains the day-to-day practice of the authorities and of employers.

Undeniable privileges over their fellow citizens are enjoyed by members of the Protestant community. Descendants of WASPs, white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, hold key posts in US business and political worlds to this day. They comprise the nucleus of the political élite controlling the most important areas of economic, political, and social life in the USA.

The principle proclaimed in the US Constitution that no law should be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the government has likewise not created the conditions to preclude transgressions of democracy. After Reagan moved into the White House the number of warrants empowering the FBI to instal listening devices in people's homes and in the offices of 'suspect' organisations has doubled. The constitutional right "of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government" is being constantly violated. Almost every day one hears reports of the dispersal of demonstrations sponsored by the anti-war, youth, and Afro-American movements. Hundreds of persons are arrested on charges of organising disturbances or refusing to obey orders to disperse. Many petitions addressed to the present administration remain unanswered. A deaf ear

was turned in Washington to the voice of the scientist Charles Hyder, who protested against the arms race with a hunger strike of many months practically on the doorstep of the White House. Nor have they heeded the calls to alleviate the plight of millions of disinherited Americans, who are homeless, hungry, and poor.



In the amendments comprising the Bill of Rights there are many other solemn declarations of the principles of freedom, equality, and justice. And yet, like the whole of American reality, the US Constitution is in need of one more, crucial amendment that would bring words into line with deeds. Of course, the imperialist bourgeoisie has disavowed the ideals of the US Constitution long ago. These ideals today belong to those who are with dedication standing up for real democracy and freedom for the entire nation, not for the handful of money barons and oppressors.

Programme documents of the Communist Party USA state that only the future just and really democratic society, which the Communists and all other progressive forces in the country are determined to build, will ensure to citizens the freedoms envisioned in the Bill of Rights and create the conditions for the maximum extension of democracy on the basis of the American people's democratic traditions and institutions. The real embodiment of the US Constitution, of the principles of freedom and democracy proclaimed in it, is still awaiting its hour. Today, on the bicentennial of their Constitution, the American people are sitting in judgement on those who impinge their legitimate rights and interests, spread terror and violence throughout the country, harass people for their political persuasions, and subject them to diverse forms of discrimination and oppression.

This material under the heading 'Facts Indict Capitalism' was prepared on the basis of information and documents received from the representative of the CPUSA on the journal.

Press Organs Of Fraternal Parties

Brief Survey*

Unsere Zeit — UZ

Press Organ of the German Communist Party (GCP).

Unsere Zeit (Our Time) is the central newspaper of the German Communist Party. Launched in 1969, it is published by the GCP Board.

* Continued from the August 1987 issue.

THE newspaper sees its task in authentically reflecting the collective approach of the Communists to all issues of political, social and ideological struggle. *UZ* is guided in its work by party decisions and operates in close contact with the standing governing bodies of the GCP, the Presidium and the Secretariat of the Board. The editor-in-chief and the editorial board are appointed by the GCP leadership.

UZ was launched when the GCP was emerging as a legal party. In April 1969 it appeared as a weekly and became a daily (five issues a week) on October 1, 1973. *UZ* strives to uphold the German communist press tradition begun by the legendary newspaper *Rote Fahne*, founded by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht during the November Revolution of 1918, and continued by *Freies Volk*, the central organ the Communist Party of Germany established in the western part of the country upon liberation from Nazism.

In accordance with GCP policy *UZ* coverage centres on the struggle for peace, disarmament and the social interests of the working people and on the drive to defend and broaden democratic rights and freedoms. We want our newspaper to contribute vigorously to joint action by the working class, the Communists and the Social Democrats in the first place, and to the development of democratic alliances and popular movements. Communists are not the only authors whose articles are published in *UZ*. Talks and interviews with trade union leaders, Social Democrats, Greens, Christian activists, non-Marxist scholars, members of the artistic community and athletes have been appearing increasingly often.

At the same time, *UZ* is our country's only daily, telling the truth about the Communists' position and activities, the only newspaper advocating socialist ideas and a socialist Federal Republic.

Extensive coverage of the energetic peace policy pursued by the socialist countries, of their accomplishments, as well as of the contradictions and difficulties in their development forms an important integral part of our work. This is an uphill struggle against the anti-communist inventions spewed by the mass media the big bourgeoisie controls.

UZ is printed and distributed (mostly to subscribers) by Plambeck und Co. Druck und Verlag, a commercial company with some of its shares being controlled by GCP members. A weekday issue usually numbers eight pages. This is a costly method of distribution, but it is relatively prompt and, nevertheless, more economical than any other. However, in our country it also involves a drawback: since we do not technically control the distribution procedure, we cannot guarantee regular delivery or rule out acts of political sabotage. Besides, many potential readers refrain from subscribing to our newspaper, fearing reprisals — the 'ban on occupations' and other forms of anti-communist discrimination.

The GCP's grassroots organisations are conducting continuous political work among *UZ* subscribers, and that includes canvassing for new subscriptions.

There is a separate subscription to the 16-page weekend edition of *Unsere Zeit* published Fridays. Many grassroots organisations of the party are active in its distribution, thus almost doubling its circulation compared to the weekday issues (55,000 and 30,000 copies respectively).

Subscription drives culminate in *Unsere Zeit* festivals. This year the seventh such festival was held in Duisburg, a working class centre in the Ruhr, from September 11 to 13. These are large-scale (some 350,000 participants) events at which the progressive working class and popular movement celebrates peace, solidarity with fellow workers (including foreign workers), internationalism, unity with the socialist countries, progressive culture and sports.

UZ editors represent all strata of the population, but we aim primarily at involving industrial workers in journalism. They get their practical training in our editorial office where they work side by side with professional journalists. Still, the lack of personnel is *UZ*'s biggest problem, along with the lack of financial resources. Both these factors make it much more difficult to improve the newspaper and its influence on the masses.

The editorial staff attaches great importance to contacts with subscribers and uses readers' conferences and letters for this purpose. We are working to have volunteer correspondents in as many communities and factories as possible, particularly in large centres. We expect these people to inform *UZ* about local events, about the attitude of workers to this or that issue, etc.

We also strive to maintain close and effective contacts with the hundreds of GCP newsletters published by grassroots party organisations at factories and in urban neighbourhoods (they usually appear once a month). Their total circulation is several hundred thousand copies, and they often feature interesting items *UZ* uses. In turn, *UZ* articles are sometimes reprinted in these factory and neighbourhood newsletters.

UZ has close ties with the press of fraternal parties, particularly in socialist and capitalist European countries. We are working to enhance and expand these relations — for example, we exchange invitations to communist press festivals and promote practical cooperation. In our opinion, there are many latent opportunities in this field.

Georg Polikeit

Unsere Zeit Editor-in-Chief,
Presidium member of the GCP Board

Al-Intisar

Press organ of the Egyptian Communist Party (ECP)

THE first issue of the newspaper *Al-Intisar* (Victory) appeared on October 8, 1973. As of today, 120 issues have been published.

The newspaper inherited its title from the periodical *Al-Intisar* which was published by the Communist-led United Front of Popular Resistance at Port Said. That organisation played a major role in mobilising the masses in the struggle against the French and British invaders after the tripartite aggression of 1956. The fact that the newspaper of the ECP bore the same title was a sign that the Egyptian Communists were fighting on. The date on which the first issue appeared was also significant: it was

published two days after the outbreak of the October War and symbolised the victories the Egyptian army had won over the Israeli aggressors by that time — the crossing of the Suez Canal and the strong offensive in the Sinai which forced the invaders to retreat.

Al-Intisar is published and distributed clandestinely. Should the ECP newspaper be found in anyone's possession, that person is detained by the police. In May 1986 the Egyptian Court of State Security sentenced several people who kept copies of the newspaper to a prison term of three years.

Underground conditions prevent *Al-Intisar* from appearing at regular intervals — on average, nine times a year. Marking its tenth anniversary, *Al-Intisar* noted in its issue No. 100, that in spite of the continued reprisals, it succeeded in reaching our comrades and the party's supporters and friends, thus proving its ability to fight on and win.

Al-Intisar is Egypt's only communist press organ which has appeared uninterruptedly for almost 14 years. The comrades who publish it have to work against great odds. Our central newspaper still lacks good printing facilities.

Each issue of the newspaper contains small articles on topical questions and reports on the situation inside the country and abroad. Besides, it usually features an article offering a political analysis of a key problem and presenting the party's stand on this issue. *Al-Intisar* publishes letters from readers, notes on the ECP's international ties and news from fraternal parties. Considerable attention is paid to highlighting the accomplishments of the socialist countries, first and foremost the Soviet Union. There are also items explaining the significance of the October Revolution in Russia both for the Egyptian people and for mankind as a whole. Virtually every issue covers the conditions in which the working people live and the action workers and peasants take. The ECP has created a broad network of correspondents — party members in different regions and organisations — who supply the paper with news.

Aside from *Al-Intisar*, we also publish two more newspapers. *Al-Waai* (*Awareness*) specialises in issues which are discussed within the party and reflects its democratic spirit. The other, *Hiat al-Hizb* (*Party Affairs*) focuses mostly on matters of party work.

In addition, the Communists control several legal periodicals and newspapers, but since the party is banned, they cannot appear on behalf of the ECP. These circulate widely and play an important part in educating both party members and the progressive public in general.

M. M. Kamal
Political Bureau member of
the ECP Central Committee,
ECP representative on *WMR*

WMR Ties

A *WMR* delegation attended in the observer status the first Consultative Meeting of representatives of the communist and revolutionary-democratic parties of Asia and the Pacific region, which was held in Ulan Bator under the keynote 'For Peace, Security and Good-neighbourly Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region'.



A *WMR* delegation, which included several members of the Editorial Council, visited the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee to see the progress of reorganisation, study the experience of party organisations and learn about preparations for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.



A *WMR* delegation attended the Fourth Congress of Morocco's Party of Progress and Socialism.



Orestis Kolozof, a Political Bureau member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, visited the *WMR* offices in Prague to discuss the development of cooperation between his party and the journal.

the book scene

New Thinking and the Shortage of it in the West

Yuri Popov, Jean Ziegler, *East-West Dialogue. The Year 2000: End of the Human Race?*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1986, 183 pp. (in Russian).

I MET Professor Jean Ziegler some months ago in his small, book-lined study at Geneva University's Faculty of Economic and Social Sciences. He is well-known in Switzerland and many other countries as a scientist, as the

author of more than ten scholarly works on problems of developing nations and international politics, and as a political personality. He is a member of the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland and was a member of parliament from 1967 to 1983. As a member of the Bureau of the Socialist International he participates in the work of that organisation's Disarmament Advisory Council.

"The problem of global security is now in the focus of attention worldwide," he said. "I feel I have to state my position, in some way help to promote a dialogue between East and West, and put an end to the current mad situation in the world." With these words he explained what motivated him to accept the suggestion to join Yuri Popov, a Soviet economist, in writing a book to show that the arms race can have disastrous consequences for the whole of humanity.¹

The two men have known each other for a long time and this unquestionably made their work on the book easier. But the main thing was the similarity of their views about the role that intellectuals in the humanities have to play. "The new situation in the world," Yuri Popov says, "dictates the need to develop new thinking, a new vision of the modern world . . . The intelligentsia, because of its status in society, should set an example in the theoretical development and practical realisation of the new thinking" (pp. 172-173).

A noteworthy point is that this book is the product of the thought of persons representing the two principal historical trends in the working class movement. The broadening interaction between the Communists and the Social Democrats on questions related to security and disarmament is becoming a distinctive feature of the present period. Popov and Ziegler each have their own views about democracy, human rights, civil liberties, and many political events and processes on the international scene, for example, the situation in Afghanistan, and there was a fairly sharp polemic between them over quite a few issues. But they were in total agreement on the main thing — the striving to find points of contact, to identify common ground for action to prevent a nuclear disaster and bridle the arms race. "The new objective phenomenon," Yuri Popov notes, "is that the main ideological opponents, the advocates of different social systems, are also associates in joint efforts to save the human race from destruction."

The two scholars find Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative extremely disquieting. They agree that it is hurting the cause of peace even at its present conceptual-experimental stage. The SDI programme undermines the prospects for asserting new thinking in world politics because its aim is to prove that today total security can be ensured by armaments.

Popov and Ziegler see eye to eye on the consequences of the arms race for developing nations. It is estimated that the military spending of these nations amounts to at least 130 billion dollars annually, or about 20 per cent of the world's total. Moreover:

- undernourishment is affecting 28 per cent of the population in Asia, 13 per cent in Latin America, and 25 per cent in Africa, i.e., more than half a billion people;

- in the Third World countries 1,500 million people have no access to medical attention and 2,000 million have no dependable sources of water

(see pp. 6, 162-163).

Of course, the arms race is only one of the factors that created this situation. Popov sees its mainspring in the imperialist exploitation of developing nations, while Ziegler prefers to speak of a "universal unjust world order" (see p. 137). But both agree that hunger, the most dangerous diseases, and illiteracy can be wiped out worldwide if only 8-10 per cent of the annual spending on arms is switched to these purposes. "The struggle today for disarmament," they write, "is the genuine struggle against social injustice around the world" (p. 183).

A merit of this book is its candour, which allows comparing viewpoints about the prospects for détente, the anti-war movement, the causes of distrust between East and West on matters related to security, and the sources fuelling international tension.

Many people will find it hard to accept Ziegler's contention echoing the assertion that the USSR and the USA are 'equally responsible' for the arms race. In criticising this assertion, which reflects an outdated, inadequate perception of Soviet foreign policy, Popov points out that the development of new weapons was invariably initiated in Washington. Moreover, the 'equal responsibility' thesis enables the West European members of NATO to wear the mantle of neutrality while in fact continuing to increase their military budgets (see p. 21).

These arguments seem not to have dissuaded Ziegler. Will he reconsider his stand under the impact of what he had himself called "the remarkable peace offensive launched by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachov"?² Let us only note that the 'equal responsibility' thesis has lost much of its following. A public opinion poll has shown that in practically all West European countries most of the population now believes that the Soviet Union is making a bigger effort to curb the arms race than the USA and takes a negative view of the Reagan administration's policies. Jeane Kirkpatrick, a spokesperson of the American 'hawks', has anxiously called attention to this in *The Washington Post*: the USA's reputation is falling while confidence in the Soviet Union is growing in countries regarded as the USA's best friends.³

Ziegler is also known for his critical attitude to the foreign policies of the Reagan administration and of the governing circles in France and Switzerland. In 1985 he published a book with the sarcastic title *Long Live Power! Or a Riot of State Interests* in which he condemns colonialism in its old and new forms, denounces imperialism's actions against developing nations, and ridicules the hypocritical demagoguery about human rights used by the 'Western democracies' supporting anti-people regimes in the Third World. He responds negatively also to the Western 'psychological warfare' against the USSR. But there are obvious contradictions in his attitude. For instance, when Popov notes that hatred for socialism, for the Soviet people is preached in the USA and Western Europe (see p. 97), Ziegler replies with the assertion that in the West there is freedom of speech and thought, that each person is free to hear and see anything he wants (see p. 101). This well-known argument has a naive ring especially as the anti-Soviet circles in the USA, as indeed in other NATO countries, use it as a cover for militarist, chauvinistic propaganda.

"I, for myself," Ziegler says, "will never go to see a film as idiotic as *Rambo*. Nor shall I let my son do that" (p. 102). But hundreds of thousands of young people on both sides of the Atlantic rapturously absorb this sermon of anti-sovietism and violence. Have they 'freely' chosen Rambo as their idol or was this choice hammered into their minds for a definite purpose? "In our day and age," Popov writes reasonably, "no one should preach violence, hatred, and war in the name of non-existent absolute freedom and democracy in the press, in the arts, and culture . . . propaganda of hatred for other peoples, still more of war . . . has become one of the underlying elements of the global threat of thermonuclear catastrophe" (p. 101).

What then is the overall outcome of this dialogue? It has been unquestionably positive. "It is possible for people with diametrically opposite convictions to show respect and tolerance," Popov and Ziegler write in their joint conclusion. They recognise the urgent need to strengthen cooperation between the Communists and the Social Democrats within the framework of the world peace movement (see pp. 182-183). Popov underlines: "We came to agreement on the main thing: . . . awareness of the genuine threat of a thermonuclear holocaust and the desire to prevent it make all other problems secondary. We also came to the conclusion that not only discussions are important but also concrete united action" (p. 180).

These aspects of the dialogue were underscored by the Soviet press, which wrote highly of the book. But in the West, notably in Switzerland, the 'big press' thought otherwise. One newspaper sought examples of "Soviet censorship"⁵ (Ziegler has denied that there was any interference in the text by Progress Publishers). The weekly *l'Hebdo* of Lausanne preferred to draw attention to and relish the ideological and political differences between the participants.⁶ But a French newspaper charged the Swiss scientist with "contributing to a kind of propaganda".⁷

Indeed, in the West many people still have a political allergy to the policy of peace, cooperation, and détente. When I visited Professor Ziegler he showed me a few insulting letters that were sent to him. The authors of some of them are indignant about the very fact of his cooperation with a colleague in Moscow, while others cannot forgive him for having refrained from criticising the Soviet political system. One gets the impression that for these people every dialogue with the USSR must be accompanied by attacks on its social system. Every book deals with some specific subject. The Popov-Ziegler dialogue centred on the threat to humanity, a subject agreed upon in advance. As regards democracy and human rights in the USSR, the Soviet scientist made the reservation that he would willingly join in a serious discussion of these subjects but doubted very much that it would be published in the West (see p. 15). "I regret to say that he is right," Ziegler acknowledges. "Our joint undertaking with Professor Popov drew some very harsh criticism and caustic remarks . . . We have likewise to travel a long road to arrive at a genuine plurality of opinion and be more open to mutual understanding."⁸ Jean Ziegler repeated these words in some of his other publications. In an article carried by the information bulletin of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland

he wrote: "There are differences between the socialist parties, on the one hand, and the communist parties of the East and West, on the other. But the only clear option we see today is: either the left forces learn to live with their differences and unite in the struggle for general disarmament, a nuclear-free Europe, and an armaments-free outer space, or they will perish together in a nuclear conflagration."⁹

The awareness that there is a need for concrete steps towards détente, towards ending the arms race is gradually growing in the West. However, to quote Mikhail Gorbachov, they are still "short of realistic policy". This is undoubtedly due to them being short of new thinking. The Popov-Ziegler book proves that in international relations new thinking is the principal condition for humanity's survival in the nuclear age. Moreover, it brings one to the conclusion that more dialogue between the Communists and the Social Democrats not only on questions related to disarmament but also on other problems on whose solution social progress depends would help to pave the way to a better world.

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¹ It has been also published in English in Moscow; its German and French editions (with some changes and additions) were brought out in Cologne and Paris.

² *Tribune de Genève*, October 13, 1985.

³ See *The Washington Post*, May 25, 1987.

⁴ Jean Ziegler, *Vive le pouvoir! Ou les délices de la raison d'Etat*, Paris, 1985.

⁵ *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, September 30, 1986.

⁶ *L'Hebdo*, September 4, 1986.

⁷ *Quotidien Rhone Alpes*, August 28, 1986.

⁸ *VO Réalités*, October 23, 1986.

⁹ Jean Ziegler, "Les frères ennemis: socialistes et communistes", *PS Information*, No. 215, November 25, 1986, Berne, p. 11.

A Man With The Spark

Ahora sé que Sandino manda (Now I Know Sandino's in Command), Instituto de Estudio del Sandinismo, Managua, Editorial Nueva Nicaragua, 1986, 328 pp.

PUBLISHED in Managua, *Ahora sé que Sandino manda* is a book of recollections by 114 veterans of the Army for the Defence of National Sovereignty (ADNS), which was raised and until his death led by General Augusto Cesar Sandino. The Institute of Sandinist Studies assesses it as "a veritable compendium of lessons in morality, dignity and patriotism" (p. 14).

When these veterans — peasants, workers, artisans and shopkeepers, men and women — told their stories, which filled more than 100 cassettes, the liberative battles fought heroically by Sandino were already half a century old. The youngest of the narrators had been mere teenagers when they joined his army.

The five chapters and a supplement are a chronology of the Sandinist revolution up to March 1934, when the Somoza National Guard, after assassinating Sandino, began its ruthless hunt for Sandino's officers and soldiers, which ended as one of the worst atrocities in the history of Latin America.

The first chapter focusses on the struggle waged by Sandino together with the liberal forces defending the Constitution and ends with the betrayal by Jose Maria Moncada, leader of the Constitutionalist Army, who sold out to the US government and put Nicaragua under the US Marines' control. The second chapter covers the period of the war against the US invaders and their local puppets. The third chapter centres on Sandino's assassination, while the fourth presents the veterans' recollections of their leader and the fifth their views of the present stage of the Sandinist revolution. The book's title comes from the last chapter, in which one of the veterans summed up his thoughts of today's Nicaraguan reality in the following way: "Now I know Sandino's in command" (p. 301).

The book gives an emotional account of the Sandinist courageous resistance which many called sheer madness. Here is what Sandino wrote about his meeting with Moncada: "He sought to convince me of the need to capitulate, saying that it would be reckless to fight against the United States, this very powerful nation, . . . and that I would be able to do nothing with the 300 men under my command . . ." (p. 52).

In fact, it was 29 rather than 300 men who followed Sandino to the mountains to begin the second stage of his struggle, this time against the US Marines.

The eyewitnesses of those events vividly describe the privations they suffered in those years. Neither soldiers nor volunteers-internationalists, some of them holding senior ranks in the Sandinist army, had ever received any pay. Often they went about hungry, poorly dressed and barefoot. Wounds and diseases were treated with herbs and other folk remedies. They had to sleep in the open, which was especially trying in the region of incessant rains and bitter cold. Frequent marches, mostly at night, were exhausting but the veterans, looking back, make light of their privations and even joke about them.

Sandino taught his men to address each other 'brother' and to greet each other with a hug. He also taught them to help each other and himself was the first to do that. He taught them to be always optimistic.

The recollections set in relief the enormous importance of morale in the war of liberation. Sinforoso Gonzalez says: "For days on end we had nothing to eat. And when we attacked the enemy we fought even more courageously" (p. 174). Pedro Antonio Aràuz adds: "We began to fight with practically no arms an enemy a thousand times stronger . . . He had, perhaps, everything yet lacked the most important thing, morale and honour, which we had in abundance" (p. 182).

Sandino's army had in its ranks volunteers from virtually all the Central American countries, which confirmed the historical tendency towards the unity of nations in the region in their struggle for national sovereignty. Among Sandino's close associates was Farabundo Marti who was to head

in 1932 the people's struggle in El Salvador. As he faced the firing squad, he hurled at his executioners: "Long live General Sandino!". The veterans recall General Manuel Maria Giron of Guatemala, who was executed in Nicaragua, General Juan Pablo Umanzor of Honduras, assassinated together with Sandino, and Major Marcial Salas of Costa Rica. They also name other Latin American fighters, among them Venezuelans Carlos Aponte and Gustavo Machado (subsequently leader of the Communist Party of Venezuela), Peruvian Esteban Pavletich, Colombians Ruben Ardilla and Alfonso Alexander, and Gregorio Urbano Gilbert of the Dominican Republic.

Sandino cuts an impressive figure in the book as an outstanding military leader and politician and a human being. He wrote: "I am a worker but my ideals have reached broad horizons of internationalism . . . My greatest pride is to have come from the midst of the oppressed who are the soul and the nerve centre of our people . . . I am not a professional politician but just a worker. I have all my life been earning bread with a hammer in my hands" (p. 275).

Journalist Alfonso Alexander writes in his memoirs that Sandino dreamed about Latin America uniting to confront the United States. Esteban Pavletich points out: "Sandino was the trailblazer of the entire anti-imperialist, national and revolutionary struggle of the present century" (p. 277).

The book cites a passage from Sandino's ideological heritage: "You may be sure, quite sure, that in the long run we will definitely triumph in Nicaragua, leaving in this way a spark plug of the 'proletarian explosion' against all the imperialists on Earth . . . With the help of the workers and the peasants I want to forge a new Nicaragua. Let us organise them" (p. 293).

The veterans stress Sandino's combative determination and military abilities. On May 2, 1926, the Yankee Marines landed in Bluefields, Nicaragua. On May 6, Sandino, at that time a worker of the Huasteca Petroleum Co. in Mexico, left his job and went to Nicaragua. After visiting his family, he found a job at a San Albino mine in northern Nicaragua. As early as October 26, he led a miner's armed uprising. During the 'Constitutionalist' struggle Sandino waged a 'trench war' but he changed his tactics when direct actions against the Yankee army began. For six years he was at the US Marines' heels, sustaining minimal losses as compared to the heavy casualties suffered by the invaders. Seeking to suppress and decimate the Sandinists, the Yankees resorted to criminal methods (which have now been brought to 'perfection'), such as putting civilians to concentration camps, the destruction of crops and cattle, the execution of all suspected guerrilla sympathisers, the bombing of villages, bribery, torture, and even chemical warfare techniques — the poisoning of water wells.

Nonetheless Sandino's army extended its actions to ever new regions. When in January 1933 the invaders left Nicaragua, the Sandinists controlled the larger part of the country, from Puerto Cabezas and Cape Gracias a Dios on the Atlantic to the environs of Managua.

Implacable towards the enemy, Sandino was at the same time very

gentle and attentive towards his soldiers and the people. Nazario Ortega, one of the veterans, recalls: "Whenever one of us was killed he felt as if he had lost a son or a brother" (p. 278).

Feliciano García says: "He was a man with the spark which seemed capable of setting him on fire" (p. 282).

But should anybody have committed an ignominious act, especially toward women, there would be no mercy from the General.

Sandino loved music and sometimes sang himself. He was fond of joking, and was always surrounded by children and adolescents. Twelve- and fourteen-year-olds joined his army and the General personally trained them. They were known as the 'chorus of the angels'; some of them served as Sandino's personal guards and many were to become the best ADNS officers.

This moving book will be read with pleasure by everybody who wants to have a better idea of the Nicaraguan people and their heroic revolution.

Jose Guzman
Costa-Rican journalist

The Magic Power Of Technology: A Myth

Isidoro Gilbert, *La ilusion del progreso apolitico. Una respuesta a Rodolfo H. Terragno* (The Illusion of Apolitical Progress. An Answer to Rodolfo H. Terragno), Editorial Legasa, Buenos Aires, 1986, 248 pp.

THE author, an Argentine journalist and a Communist, exposes the fallacy of those who have blind faith in the omnipotence of technology and claim that it alone can 'modernise' Argentina, but ignore the relationship between backwardness and dependence.

The motive for the book, Isidoro Gilbert says, came from the analysis and conclusions made by Rodolfo Terragno, the author of 'Argentina, 21st Century'. Terragno is a well-known figure in the country and elsewhere and his book has had a strong impact on President Raul Alfonsín's party and government circles and on the leadership of the largest opposition party, the Peronists. Terragno's ideas undoubtedly have an appeal to those circles: he expounds ways of overcoming the country's perilous economic backwardness and turning it into an advanced power by the start of the next century.

In Terragno's view, the task of the developing countries' leaders is to pursue the course of technological evolution by facilitating the fastest possible introduction of the latest scientific and technical achievements in the economy and pressing the leading industrialised powers for more technology transfers. That will amount precisely to a "new international economic order", he argues, because one of the reasons for the unsatisfactory state of affairs now is imbalances in the spread of technological know-how and expertise. In other words, science is called

upon to close or at least narrow the technological gap between developed and developing countries — and social progress will follow automatically. When all is said and done, every discourse of this sort revolves around the central idea: science is the motor of history.

Gilbert puts his dispute with Terragno onto a concrete plane by asking the question, "Can a medium-developed capitalist country with a diversified economy, which depends on a major industrialised power and is going through the worst crisis in its history, do away with technological dependence on its own without shedding its overall dependence?" (p. 16). Gilbert's answer to this key question reflects the position of the country's left forces, which hold that drastic modernisation means first and foremost social change. What is needed is a revolutionary alternative to the plan of the government quarters and the pliant opposition, who do not go beyond tinkering with dependence and have opted for a way out without upheavals, without identifying the cause and culprits of backwardness, which at best will make the country look like a well-to-do servant of a prosperous master.

Today's dramatic downturn in the Argentine economy, unlike the previous one, is compounded by a new phenomenon, foreign indebtedness, which has badly aggravated dependence. The servicing of foreign debts (which Terragno says is a must) is gobbling up an increasing share of the export earnings.

It is virtually impossible in this situation to secure capital accumulation and simultaneously to boost profits to meet the obligations to the creditor countries. With all that, Gilbert observes, how can one even think, while remaining in the grip of dependence, of "giving the country free rein for progress"? (p. 215).

Such concepts of modernisation, preached by those who offer technological solutions to purely political problems, are just an attractive packaging for their desire to bolster dependent capitalism, to pull through the crisis and to stifle the idea that the country's adequate national and social development demands first and foremost an end to dependence.

The goals of modernisation within the framework of dependence have been officially formulated in the so-called Democratic Statute, a sort of gentlemen's agreement between the leading Argentine bourgeois parties, under which they rotate in power as the principal rule of the game. The ruling classes thus try, without violating the constitutional forms of government, to secure lasting hegemony and make up for the instability of democratic institutions, whose political fragility often resulted in military dictatorships rising to power.

Gilbert aptly notes in this context that "in concrete politics, their practical proposals are not something new: under the bipartisan system of political nepotism — or in the favourable conditions of 'national movement' — everyone will be able to enjoy the prerogatives of democracy strictly according to rank (meaning the degree of commitment to the capitalist mode of production)" (p. 226).

Terragno and his admirers view any proposal that does not fit into such an approach as nonsense. The alternative proposed by the working class and other progressive forces, which proceeds from the exceptional

importance of truly national and social democratic transformations capable of giving Argentina full independence and genuine modernisation, is rejected by them as an anachronism. Another favourite ploy of theirs is to invoke the bogey of assorted perils which, they say, will assail Argentina and the Argentines in the event of revolutionary change. Preaching apocalypse is far from the least used weapon in the armoury of psychological warfare employed by the foes of the working people.

Those myths also show that "in the minds of many intellectuals such fears are a sort of protective cover hiding their commitment to the private ownership of the means of production, their disregard for the real situation of millions and their individualism and living comforts, which they embrace like a philosophy" (p. 230).

Those who have fallen for the omnipotence of science perceive a future world to be free from class struggle and antagonisms between countries: they expect technological modernisation to do away with dependence and to replace workers with robots and computers. However, although such perceptions have no room even for the concepts of revolution and socialism, their authors energetically champion the involvement of the working class in plans to modernise capitalism through worker participation in the 'social pact'. Their zeal in preaching such ideas somehow does not tally with their own gloomy predictions that the working class is destined to shrink numerically, to play a smaller role in the overall spectrum of political forces, to have less say in social affairs, etc.

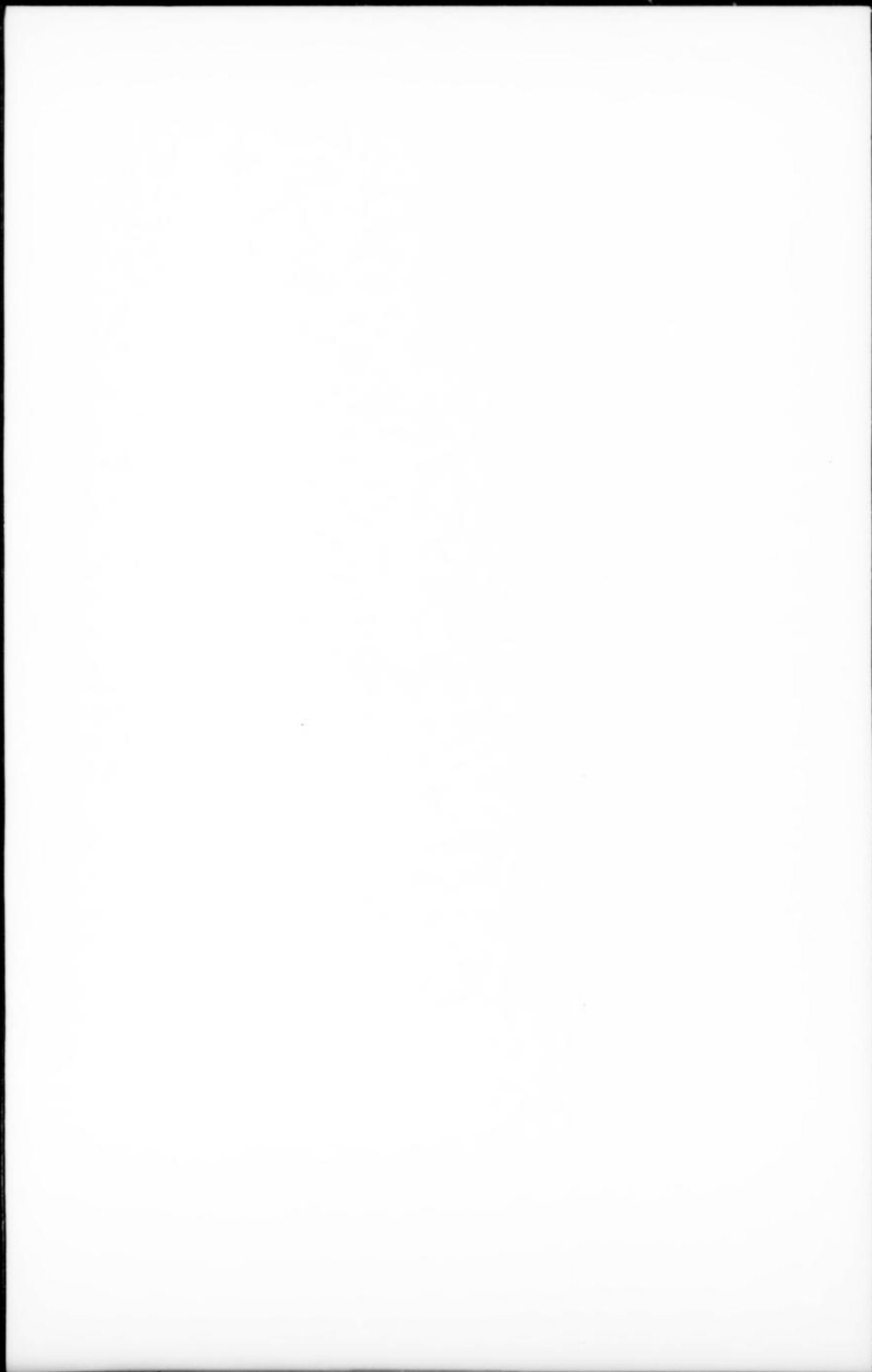
These gloomy prophecies, however, will hardly deceive anyone: eight general strikes and more than 600 stoppages in individual industries in Argentina in the past three years are eloquent testimony. Demands for pay rises merge more and more often with protests against the policy of dependence and with calls for a moratorium on foreign debt servicing. All that indicates a growth rather than a slump in the role played by the working class in the life of society.

An understanding of the relationship between scientific and technological progress and social change is intrinsic to the ideology of the proletariat. It means, in addition, that the more perfect production technology and human activity in general, the higher the development of society and man in their relations with Nature.

A rigorously scientific approach and journalistic presentation coexist in Gilbert's discussion of these and other problems. All the 18 chapters of his book are lively and factual reading; they cover many subjects of great theoretical importance with broad socio-political ramifications.

In our view, the author has coped well with his task, which he defines in the foreword as follows: "I hope that this work will offer a beneficial method to the Argentine Left, namely, a discussion of the prevalent ideas through the comparison of diverse points of view within a civilised collective approach that will rise high above petty grievances."

José María Lanao



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