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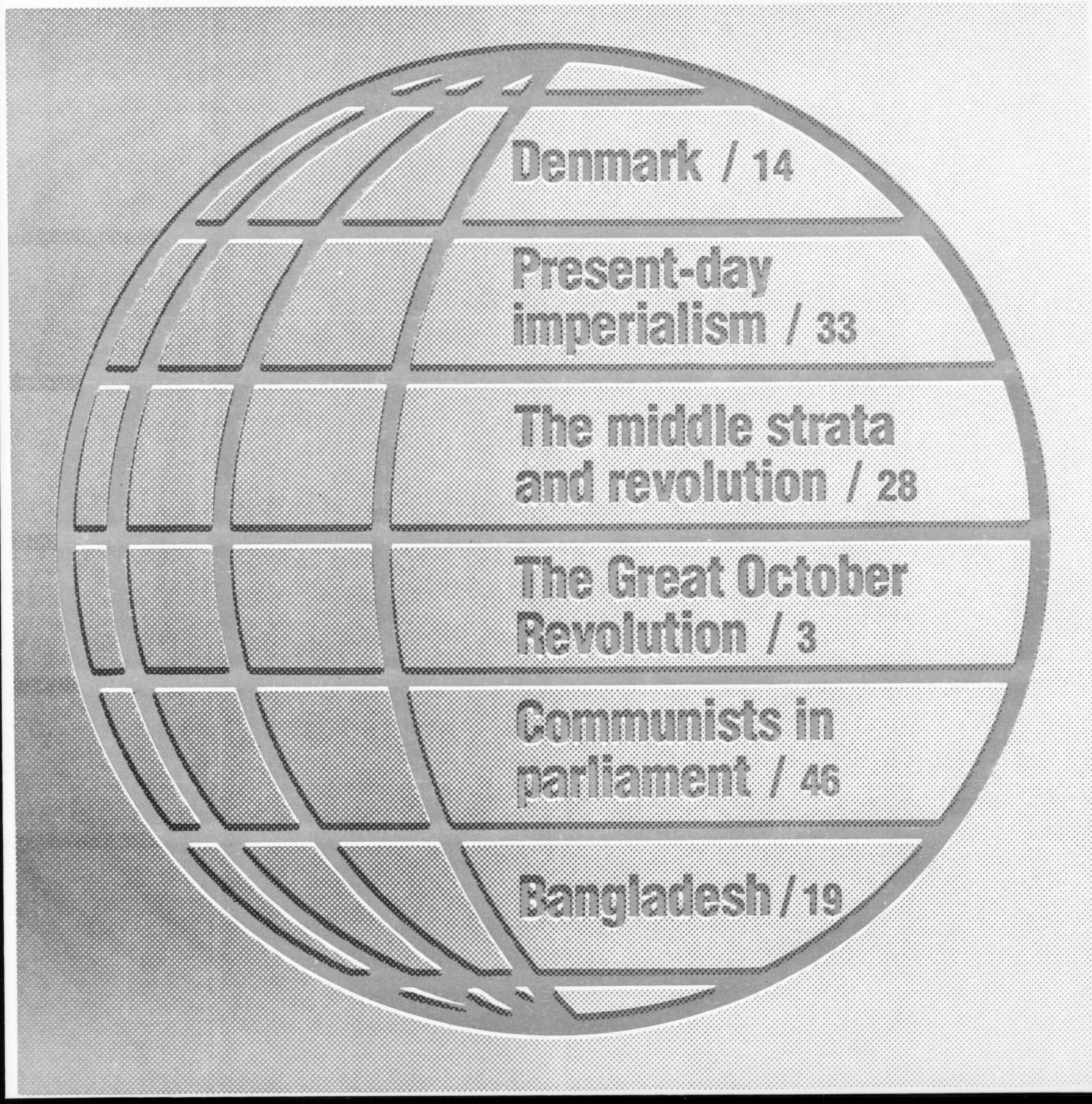

Workers of all countries, unite!

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Peace and Socialism
REVIEW

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November 1979, Vol. 22, No. 11

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feature

The Great October Revolution and our experience

Just over two years after the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out its outstanding international significance both in the sense of 'its effect on all countries,' and in the sense that, considering 'the historical inevitability of a repetition, on an international scale, of what has taken place in our country,' it must be admitted 'that certain fundamental features of our revolution do possess that significance.' For decades the validity of the ideas and the experience of the October Revolution for the revolutionary movement has been one of the central questions in the theory and practice of the emancipation struggle of the working class.

That is mainly the question being considered in the short articles presented below which have been received in connection with the 62nd anniversary of the Great October Revolution. They reflect the experience of the communist parties and the revolutionary forces acting in different national situations and in the new conditions of the modern world.

THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM

Ib Nørlund
CC Executive Committee and Secretariat member, Communist Party of Denmark

Sixty-two years ago, the working-class movement in our country welcomed the first triumphant socialist revolution in history. For the masses of working people, that was an event foreshadowing liberation from the social calamities and the ravages of war capitalism held in store for them. No wonder then that at the time the accomplishment of the proletariat of Russia was called in our country a revolution of peace among nations.

An extraordinary congress of the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark, held in January 1918, adopted a resolution of solidarity with the Russian revolution. Even the reformist leaders did not dare to come out against that revolution. But they did their utmost to keep the resolution from being made public, a fact which is in itself noteworthy and instructive. It emphasizes that the different attitudes of the October Revolution and its experience clearly express the divergence between the revolutionary and the reformist lines in the working-class movement.

A similar situation developed in other countries, Everywhere the victory of the October Revolution necessitated a radical renewal of the proletarian strategy of struggle for socialism, and a break with the policy of accommodation and conciliation pursued by the Second International. In Denmark, this soon led to the formation of the Communist Party, whose 60th anniversary we are marking virtually at the same time as the current anniversary of the October Revolution. This proximity of anniversaries is something of a symbol of the close ties between the political activity of the vanguard of the Danish working class and the world revolutionary movement. Our Program says: 'The Communist Party of Denmark is an independent and sovereign party, and a contingent of the world communist movement, and as such it connects the struggle of Denmark's working people with the peoples' worldwide struggle against imperialism, and for peace and socialism. It regards the internationalism of the working class as the crucial force in realizing the world's continued advance from capitalism to socialism.'*

The basis of internationalism, which is a necessary characteristic of the political strategy of the Danish communists, consists both in an understanding of the community of vital interests of the international working class, and in an awareness of the universality of the fundamental laws of social development and revolutionary struggle paving the way to socialism. In this context, the experience of the October Revolution in invaluable. It is a practical embodiment of the scientific theory evolved by Marx and Engels, and creatively developed and enriched by Lenin in the 20th century. This theory is scientific precisely and above all because it shows the general uniformities of the socio-historical process which make headway through all the peculiarities of its concrete expression in the specific conditions of time and place.

In the experience of the October Revolution and the subsequent development of the socialist state it created, we clearly see these basic uniformities governing the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism. This also applies directly to the point at which the one social system gives way to the other, and the subsequent socio-economic development in the conditions of the new formation, and the transformative international political role of socialism.

The October 1917 Revolution marked the actual beginning of the formation of socialism. Later on, in the 1930s, during the crisis which rocked world

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Kommunisternes program. Copenhagen, Forlaget Tiden, 1976, p. 74.

capitalism to its foundations, the socialist Soviet Union carried out is first five-year plan, which put an end to unemployment. In the course of the liberation struggle against fascism, it was the socialist Soviet Union which gave the Resistance forces hope and assistance. It brought about the rout of Hitlerism, a monstrous outcropping of imperialist reaction. During the cold war period, which treatened to plunge the world into a nuclear disaster, it was the socialist Soviet Union which secured recognition of the principles of peaceful coexistence as the guiding line in international relations. Today, as the crisis of capitalism becomes ever more intractable, the stable and steady growth of production and the rising living standards in the socialist countries demonstrate the superiority of the new system.

Throughout this whole period, social-democratic parties were in power in many countries, including Denmark, but nowhere have they put through social transformations amounting to a transition to socialism.

In the ongoing controversy over the ways to socialism, the experience of the October Revolution is, consequently, being contrasted with the experience of reformist opportunism. Social practice shows on whose side the truth lies. It is quite clear that none of the opportunist propositions, in which the objective uniformities of the struggle for socialism are replaced either by empty visions or by 'convenient' short-term conceptions, have stood the test of time. By contrast, the viability of the ideas and experience of the October Revolution have been vindicated by the whole course of modern history. That is why for us, communists of Denmark, these ideas and this experience continue to be fully meaningful in the elaboration of a strategy leading to society's socialist transformation. It goes without saying that we do not seek to obtain any ready-made recipes for political action or something like a hard-and-fast scheme of revolution. We are sure that the schematic approach is just another variant of opportunist policy. We regard the October Revolution as the most eloquent demonstration of the truth that in the search for the road to socialism one can hope to succeed only when a creative revolutionary strategy, taking into account local specifics, rests firmly on the knowledge of the objective laws governing the change of social system which the Marxist-Leninist science has gained.

THE REVOLUTION MUST BE ABLE TO DEFEND ITSELF

Americo Zorrilla
CC Political Commission and Secretaruat member, Communist Party of Chile

The general uniformities of transition from capitalism to socialism are manifested in the peculiarities of revolutinary processes. One of these consists in the need for revolutionary power to solve basically identical problems in order to defend and consolidate itself,

These problems crop up during the extreme intensification of the class struggle caused by the development of the revolution. The exploiter class, being fatally wounded and full of hatred, redoubles its energy and seizes on every possible means in an effort to regain its power and privileges.

The dialectic of revolution versus counter-rovolution expresses itself in the aggravation of this inevitable contest, which besides, increases the conscious revolutionary resistance of the masses and gives fresh impetus to the dynamics of the revolutionary process.

The October Revolution was the first proletarian revolution to defend itself successfully and to put down counter-revolution. This achievement was closely linked with the theoretical, political and practical organizing activity of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party. Its study is relevant because the world revolutionary process is growing in breadth and depth, making new gains. More and more peoples are rising now to fight for real independence, democracy and social progress.

The problem of defending the revolution and its gains is no short-term task, nor is it limited in time. It is a standing task. Countries building or advancing independently to socialism should always be vigilant in view of the enemy's intrigues.

Experience has shown that the revolution has to face a threat from two organically connected sources: the desperate resistance of home reaction, and overt or covert, armed or non-armed intervention by world imperialism. Lenin stressed that after the suppression of internal counter-revolution there persists the danger and hostility coming from international reaction. Hitler's aggression against the Soviet Union, imperialist aggression against Vietnam and the recent Chinese invasion of that country, the blockade of Cuba and the provocative maintenance of the U.S. base at Guantanamo are cases in point.

Imperialism internationalizes counter-revolution, and this makes international solidarity a requisite of defending the revolution. In the turbulent years following the October Revolution, during the civil war and foreign intervention, Lenin spoke highly of the assistance rendered to Russia's embattled proletariat byt the movement in many countries under the slogan 'Hands off Russia.'

In defending their revolutionary processes, peoples now draw on the invaluable support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, of the international working-class movement, of the democratic and progressive forces of the world. The example of Cuba, Vietnam, Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan and other countries is evidence of favorable changes on the international scene and the new possibilities that the forces of solidarity have today. An important factor guaranteeing these countries' victory over foreign intervention inspired by imperialism was international solidarity. In Nicaragua, the people's heroic just struggle under the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front was backed by such strong international solidarity that the U.S. imperialists' intention to intervene was cut short. Intentions of this nature persist,

and so the peoples must step up their vigilance.

Generalizing the Bolsheviks' experience, Lenin spoke of 'a conclusion that is very significant to us and should guide us in all our activities — *the class that can lead the mass of the population must triumph historically*' (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 177). Lenin associated a revolutionary power's capacity for defense with the political ability of the working class to unite the masses behind itself, as well as with the people's realization of the purpose of the struggle. It follows that the problem is global. To solve it properly, it is necessary to harmoniously combine the formation of agencies and means for the defense of a proletarian state founded and supported by the masses with a correct general policy of the revolutionary vanguard toward the economy, alliances of the working class with the non-proletarian masses, social and ideological problems, international relations and so on.

In the matter of defending the revolution, the right solution of the military problem is decisive. From the October Revolution on, all victorious revolutions have found the right solution in each particular case. In the case of revolutions that were temporarily defeated, such as the Chilean revolution, the military problem was one of the weak points. It is by no means simple. There are no magic formulas for its solution, such as can be mechanically applied in any country. It should not be forgotten, however, that at a definite moment the fate of the revolutionary process hinges on the solution of this problem. The path of the revolution cannot be foreseen in every case. This means that the proletarian vanguard must prepare the working class and people to fight counter-revolution in every sphere, including the military one. To defend the revolution, it is indispensable to be able to use every form of struggle.

Accordingly, and irrespective of how work is carried on among the democratic-minded elements in the armed forces of the old state and how their actions are combined with the militancy of the proletariat and the masses, every new revolutionary state must tackle the issue of forming a standing army if it is to defend itself successfully.

The bitter lessons of defeated revolutions, including the Chilean revolution, indicate that temporary victory for reaction results in flouting national interests and values, selling out the country to a greedy imperialism, imposing a fascist dictatorship that suppresses democratic freedoms and basic human rights, and bringing indescribable hardships on the people.

Defending the revolution is a thoroughly patriotic and democratic task. This was demonstrated by the Great October Revolution and other victorious revolutions of our time.

OCTOBER AND THE DEMOCRATIC WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

Benjamin Degen
Political Bureau member, Swiss Party of Labor

The victorious revolution in faraway Russia and its staunchness in the war against the invaders encouraged the working class of Switzerland to move on to more militant forms of struggle for its economic and social interests. The fact that Lenin lived and worked as an exile in Switzerland for years likewise played a part in radicalizing our working-class movement. Lenin strongly influenced the thinking of a wide range of social-democratic and trade union leaders of our country. And while the left wing of the Social-Democratic Party (SDP) did not aim at overthrowing the government, it helped the working class to fight, ignoring the right-wing leaders' reformist guidelines.

Contrary to the reformists and under the direct impact of the Russian revolution, a general strike was called in Switzerland in 1918. It was a big success for the workers; the working day was reduced from 11 to eight hours and the undemocratic majority electoral system, which had invariably put the bourgeois parties at an advantage, gave way to proportional representation. True, political equality for women — a key demand — could not be won and women were not granted suffrage until 50 years later.

The year 1921 marked an important milestone in the development of the working-class movement in Switzerland, when, after the split in the SDP because of differences over the attitude to the Third International, its left wing set up the Communist Party of Switzerland.

During the great economic crisis that began in 1929 and cost 100,000 people their jobs, more and more workers realized the significance of the Soviet five-year plans. While the West was paralyzed by the crisis, the Soviet Union was developing its economy according to plan. A comparison of the two systems brought it home to our workers that war and crisis are not calamities willed by God but products of the capitalist system.

When World War II broke out the Swiss Bundesrat outlawed the CPS under nazi pressure. Most workers were called up. They followed the progress of the Wehrmacht's blitzkrieg in Poland and the West with deep concern. And when, in June 1941, Germany wantonly attacked the Soviet Union the Swiss workers reacted unanimously. In contrast with top-ranking officers of the Swiss General Staff who expected the Soviet Union to fall apart in three or four months, the workers felt certain that the Soviet state would hold out. The workers' sentiment made the right-wing social democrats desist from their anti-Soviet propaganda. Social-democratic newspapers and publishing houses began to publish realistic articles and pamphlets on what had been achieved under the first three five-year plans. *Warum ist Russland so stark?* (Why Is Russia So Strong?), a book brought out by the Basel *Arbeiterzeitung*, gained immense publicity.

While the war was still on (1944), members of the outlawed CPS and a group of left-wing socialists founded the Party of Labor, which won a large vote in the first postwar elections (1947).

The intensifying cold war led to a new split in the

Swiss working-class movement. Many workers were misled by the anti-Soviet campaign of right-wing SPD and trade union leaders. Up until the Vietnamese people's victory over the foreign invaders, these leaders hoped that the West would win. 'The Americans in Vietnam are also defending our freedom,' they declared.

In recent decades, the thinking of the workers who had succumbed to this mood has changed deeply. One reason for this was youth and student unrest in 1968 and the 'new left' movement which it brought into being. Developments at home and abroad compelled the social democrats to reappraise many aspects of their position. The idea of peaceful coexistence began to gain ground as the sole alternative to a third world war. More and more workers came to see that problems can be solved peacefully only with Soviet participation.

As travel to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union expanded hundreds of thousands of workers had the opportunity to witness the vast construction going on in the socialist countries. They satisfied themselves that workers there did not fear the future, that young people were studying and working, and that life was improving from year to year. This has been taking place against the background of the deep crisis of the West, and it makes the workers increasingly confident of the possibilities of socialism even though the standard of living in, say, Switzerland is still higher than it is in the socialist countries, as is the quality of many products.

It is now safe to say that the greater part of the organized working-class movement takes an essentially correct view of the October Revolution. Everyone is aware and acknowledges that Russia could not have been industrialized but for the October Revolution, that nazi Germany could not have been defeated without rapid industrialization, and that the democratic working-class movement could not have survived in the absence of this victory.

What communists have always known is being realized by growing numbers of young people, trade unionists and social democrats. Today they, too, admit that the one-time colonies could not have been transformed on revolutionary lines but for the victorious October Revolution and that without October the people's revolution would have been unable to triumph in Cuba, nor could Vietnam have won the war. However, anti-Soviet propaganda still prevents numerous members and supporters of the SDP from appreciating the Soviet Union's home and foreign policy. On the other hand, the conviction that there is no reasonable alternative to what was accomplished at Helsinki has spread wide. Peace in Europe can be safeguarded only by fully implementing the Helsinki agreements. International security calls for efforts to bring about general, complete and controlled disarmament.

Had our bourgeoisie been sure that the majority of the Swiss working class are hostile to the fundamental ideas of the October Revolution, it would not spend tens of millions of francs every year for anti-Soviet campaigns. Similarly, Maoist, Trotskyist and other 'leftist' groups of splitters would not hold forth day after day about the Soviet Union allegedly having 'betrayed the ideals of October.' There is every reason to say that today class-conscious workers appreciate the significance of the Russian revolution more than ever before.

VERDICT ON OPPORTUNISM

Polychronis Weiss
CC member, Communist Party of Greece

The Great October Revolution has an outstanding role in the growth of the political activity of the working people in Greece, and in its people's liberation struggle. Under its influence the revolutionary movement in our country has acquired a totally new quality. Even before the epoch-making victory of the proletariat of Russia, the working people of Greece were in the process of trade union and political unification, but this was a slow and difficult process. It was given a resolute impetus by the Great October Revolution, and in November 1918 our working class already set up its own militant Marxist-Leninist party. The ideas of the October Revolution and the example set by the Bolsheviks showed the forward-looking representatives of the Greek proletariat the way of effective struggle for the working people's emancipation from the capitalist yoke. Throughout the six decades of our party's struggle, these ideas and this example have provided reliable guidelines in its strategy and tactics, and its organizational and ideological work.

For us, the Great October Revolution is not only a piece of history, but also a source of ever meaningful revolutionary experience, and an example of profound knowledge and translation into life of the uniformities of social development. Of course, the political line of the Communist Party of Greece is being formulated in accordance with the conditions of our national situation and in the light of the requirements of the present period. We do not at all expect that the practice of revolutionary movements in other countries can provide us with some kind of ready-made recipes for success. That is why, while constantly looking to the experience of the Great October Revolution, we have never blindly copied it. We have always borne in mind Lenin's warning that a dangerous mistake for revolutionaries is latent in a mechanical imitation of historical models. However, while seeking independently and creatively to formulate our party's line and making it politically more effective, the CP Greece's Central Committee continues, as it did six decades ago, to find much that is useful in the rich experience of the October Revolution and its architects, the Bolsheviks.

Of exceptional importance for our party is the experience of the struggle carried on by the Bolsheviks and the CPSU against reformist and opportunist conceptions and deviations, and Lenin's theoretical and practical contribution to this struggle. This is especially so since one of the problems faced by the working-class and democratic move-

ment in Greece in the recent period stems from the ideological and political activity of the right-revisionist leadership of a group which operates in the country under the name of 'Communist Party (Internal).' Its leaders do not regard the bourgeoisie, but the CP Greece, as their main enemy, and their fire is mainly levelled at a political target in the form of our Program and the principles of its strategy.

These revisionists trot out all kinds of arguments to show that their platform differs from our party's stand in that it is 'truly democratic' and 'truly Greek.' As evidence of their democracy they advertise their adherence to bourgeois parliamentary procedures, and their allegedly national, 'truly Greek' character they associate with their repudiation of the principles of proletarian internationalism and readiness to join in the loudest anti-Soviet and international anti-communist campaigns. They want to impose on the working class and the other working people of Greece some kind of 'third way' political line, which, they claim, runs midway between social-reformist accommodation to the bourgeois order, and the 'dogmatic' stand of the Leninist communists.

Our party's ideological work, on the one hand, and the opportunist leaders' splitting policy, on the other, together with the latter's resistance to the unity of the left-wing forces and the slanderous attacks on our party tend to accelerate the release of the democratic and left-wing forces from their influence. But one still has to reckon with the fact that there are some, especially among the intelligentsia and the middle strata of the working people, who entertain illusions about the possibility of some way to socialism which is not based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and who accept the revisionists' false idea about 'renewing' the party and the communist movement. They are not numerous: in the 1977 parliamentary election, the splitters in a bloc of diverse groups won only a tenth of the number of seats won by our party.

Still, we regard the struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and against right-wing and 'left-wing' opportunism as an important task on whose fulfillment depend the strengthening of the left-wing forces' unity and their growing influence in national life. It is not our purpose at all to 'excommunicate' all the members and supporters of the 'internal' party from the common front of struggle for democracy and socialism, but to help most of them to get rid of their delusions, which are being spread by their revisionist leadership.

In our dispute with the revisionists, we have good reason to say that we have on our side not only the strength of the scientific arguments of Marxism-Leninism, but also the most convincing verdict of historical practice. After all, among the other truths which the living history of the October Revolution first proved once and for all is undoubtedly the truth that the claims to find a 'special' road to socialism in obviation of the objective uniformities of the revolutionary development of the class struggle only go to benefit the ruling bourgeoisie.

THE BRITISH COMMUNISTS' STRATEGY

Bert Ramelson
WMR Editorial Council member, representative of the CP Great Britain on the Journal

British communists assert that Britain's road to socialism will be its own road. This means that both the forms and content of struggle for socialist transformation in our country will reflect the historical traditions and the concrete national current situation. Our assumption is that it is possible to achieve in Britain the transition to a socialist society without civil war or foreign intervention.

An assessment of the historical significance and experience of the 1917 October Revolution is exceptionally important in elaborating this strategy. Indeed, a crucial element of our strategic assumption of these new possibilities and prospects of the struggle for socialism in Britain is derived from an analysis of the global changes which that revolution brought. Our strategy reflects the historically new balance of class forces that has taken shape on a global scale as a result of the revolutionary breach effected by the working class and toiling masses of Russia in a world system totally dominated by capitalism.

Of course, the world keeps changing. Of course, the Britain of the last quarter of the 20th century is not the Russia of the early 20th century, or for that matter, the Britain of the first quarter of the 20th century. The CPGB regards an evaluation of these changes, an understanding of these changes as a necessary premise for making its political approach more effective. The task, however, is not only to grasp what is new with regard to both time and place. It is equally important to be constantly aware of the general principles of revolutionary struggle, which should certainly be adapted to the specific features both with regard to time and place, but their essential characteristics are of universal application. In avoiding dogmatism, we must guard against throwing out the baby with the bath water. And it is precisely by comparing the October Revolution's experience with the present conditions of the struggle for socialism that one is convinced that whatever the diversity of forms and roads of the revolutionary transformation of society, this process is ultimately governed by the principles brought to light by Lenin's theoryof socialist revolution, a theory first put into effect by the working class of the tzarist Russian Empire.

The strategic line of the CP Great Britain is based on the assumption that every socialist revolution is unique in its specific aspects; that there are no universal blueprints or models on which it can be patterned. That is why, we believe, there can be no question, either in Britain or anywhere else, of any mechanical copying of either the tactical methods, organizational structures or forms of revolutionary action that led to the victory of socialism in other countries. This assumption, however, does not contradict the fact that any genuine road to socialism implies the application of some general and common principles embracing a number of fundamen-

tal propositions. Thus, our Program refers to the basic principles of winning state power by the working class and its allies. It emphasizes that 'for social revolution and the transition to socialism . . . state power is critical' and points out that without a change in the present class nature of the state there will inevitably remain the situation we have witnessed for over half a century in which governments (including Labour governments) come and go, but the state apparatus and institutions of power remain in the service of the monopolies.*

Similarly, the Program believes that a party basing itself on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and organized specifically to realize the socialist revolution must play a leading role in the working-class struggle. We regard this as an imperative and indispensable factor of the transition to socialism. An intrinsic feature of such a party is a democratic and centralized structure ensuring its ability to act unitedly and to quickly react to events. Close relations and solidarity with the international communist movement is yet another important and essential feature of such a party.

Questions concerning the state's role in the socialist revolution and the characteristics of the party necessary for carrying it out are known to be among the basic problems of revolutionary theory and strategy. The fundamental answers to these questions given by the British communists are the result both of continuous analysis of the present-day class relations and political realities, internally and internationally, drawing on the experience that our party has accumulated over the almost 60 years of its existence and struggle.

The development of international capital integration is an example of how even the far-reaching changes in the world class and political balance of forces, far from challenging, in my view, confirm some of the basic Marxist-Leninist concepts. Theoretical discussion in the revolutionary movement has once more turned to a long familiar problem. It is the question of the international synchronization of the transition to socialism.

Both on the eve of the October Revolution (in connection with the slogan for a United States of Europe) and after it (in connection with the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty) this problem faced the Russian Bolsheviks as a burning issue. The question they had to solve boiled down to this: should a people first and foremost rely on their own revolutionary initiative or put their basic strategic stake on joint and simultaneous action by the working class on the scale of the whole of Europe?

In fact, the same question emerges in the present problem of the attitude to be adopted to the Common Market and its political institutions by the revolutionary forces. It is a much more political than economic problem.

The CPGB is against Britain's participation in the Common Market not only because it is at odds with the national interest. It is also a class stand for we believe that it is an obastacle to the working people's struggle for a socialist Britain. We believe that it is a dangerous illusion to expect that the political structures of the Common Market could become an instrument for uniting the progressive, democratic forces and ensuring their joint and effective action for the overthrow of the power of the monopolies in Western Europe or at least for clearing the road to such transformations. On the contrary, the Common Market, with all its political and economic machinery, can only obstruct the revolutionary movements within the national framework and serve as an instrument for their suppression.

This position of the CPGB also has a solid theoretical basis. It is pivoted on an analysis of present-day capitalist reality, which fully confirms Lenin's law of uneven economic and political development under imperialism. From that also follows Lenin's conclusion that socialist revolutions not only can but simply must unfold on a national rather than an international basis. The birth of the socialist Soviet Union was a practical demonstration of that cardinally important idea. Our party's present policy with respect to the EEC is a concrete elaboration of the same Marxist-Leninist proposition on the paramount importance of national revolutionary initiative.

IDEAS WHICH UNITE MEN

Jitendra Sharma
Delhi State Council member, Communist Party of India; General Secretary, Delhi State Committee for Peace and Solidarity

The October Revolution not only ignited the flames of revolution in Europe but also roused to struggle for national liberation the peoples oppressed by imperialism on other continents. It gave the liberation movement in India invaluable experience which now helps the working class and other progressive forces in our country to find the necessary guidelines in the struggle for social progress.

The Great October Revolution created a state which, for the first time in history, proclaimed proletarian internationalism as the principle of its foreign policy. For the peoples of Asia and Africa, this principle is not an abstract one because the Soviet Union's solidarity with their liberation struggle has been an important factor in ensuring their victory over colonialism.

The peoples of Asia and Africa face the task of liberating themselves from exploitation by the imperialist monopolies. Here again, the Soviet Union's solidarity is of tremendous importance for us because it arranges economic relations with developing countries on the basis of equality and disinterested assistance. That is genuine internationalism.

The socialist state which sprang from the October Revolution has keynoted its foreign policy with concern for ensuring peace for all nations. The peoples have no more important task today than that of averting war. Realization of this task gave rise to the movement for peace, which has become a

**The British Road to Socialism*, London, 1978, p. 46.

mighty force in our day. It is not a pacifist but a militant and vigorous movement which is closely connected with the revolutionary renewal of society.

In our country, the peace movement is sensitive in responding to all international developments. It always comes out in support of the just struggle of the peoples for a deep democratic restructuring of the world system of political and economic relations, against the imperialist dictates, and for each nation's right independently to choose its own way of social development.

In India, it is our singular good fortune that most of the political parties in the country are involved in this movement. There may be occasions when some issue is not accepted by some section of Indian political opinion, but up to now all the major parties have cooperated within the framework of the peace movement on all the key issues and have taken part in all its mass campaigns. One example is the broad unity of the democratic forces which was demonstrated through our organization of the International Conference Against Apartheid, and for the Liberation of Southern Africa.

Another example of exceptional importance is the solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam expressed by all the parties in our country, and the virtually nationwide condemnation of the Chinese aggression. The emphasis in the statements on the issue may have differed but that does not change the overall picture. Broad political circles in India welcomed the overthrow of the criminal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime in Kampuchea and demanded that India should recognize the new Kampuchean government.

The Indian peace movement is fully alive to the dangers posed for peace by the arms race, and welcomed the signing of SALT-2 by the Soviet Union and the United States in Vienna. While being important in itself, it also creates new and favorable opportunities for developing détente and improving the overall international climate. We regard the signing of the Treaty as an important and well-merited success for the Soviet Union's foreign policy, whose foundations were laid by the October victory of the working class and the other working people of Russia.

To put an end to war, to give people peace and pave the way to socialism, all of these were interrelated elements of the Bolshevik program, which was realized by the October Revolution. Historically, the first triumphant socialist revolution took place in conditions of war. For decades, bourgeois ideologists claimed that the strategy of the revolutionaries seeking a socialist transformation of society was allegedly a strategy oriented upon war. Actually, the strategy of the October Revolution has a profoundly anti-war character. It is a strategy which united all those who not only wanted peace, but were prepared resolutely and selflessly to fight for it. And not only by words, but also by deeds. Today, the great importance and value of this experience are quite obvious.

AFRICA'S PROGRESSIVE FORCES: THEIR CHOICE

Facine Bangoura
Deputy General Secretary, Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization

The African peoples, like of course, all the other peoples of the world, have never been reconciled to foreign domination. Even in the periods of their history when Africans were forced to tolerate foreign domination, they resisted it, but the resistance was more of an undercurrent, because in the epoch of imperialism's undivided rule the forces were much too unequally matched.

The October Revolution created new conditions which enabled the peoples in the colonies to go over to active struggle for liberation. Thus, one could say that it not only triggered off the explosion of the popular struggle but also catalyzed the process of winning independence, for instance by the African countries in the 1960s. I think that that is above all the historical significance of the Great October Revolution for the peoples of Asia and Africa.

Close cooperation of the socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union, with the young states, which had got rid of the colonial yoke, helped them to consolidate their gains. Today, the African peoples are storming the last bastions of colonialism and apartheid. We know that we can rely on our friends, the socialist countries, and the Soviet Union in the first place, which has always given assistance to the national-liberation movement.

There is also another essential point which is important, in particular, for my country, Guinea. Before the October Revolution, before the establishment of the world's first socialist state, the peoples fighting for their independence had no other way of development except the capitalist way, which did not release the working people from oppression and exploitation. The very existence of the Soviet Union, which sprang from the October Revolution, created the objective conditions for choosing an alternative to the capitalist road.

For the young African states, and for the Guinean People's Revolutionary Republic, in particular, the socialist choice, first made by the Soviet Union, and its social and economic achievements, provide an inspiring example for advancing to the construction of socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage. Only a remodelling of our society's socio-economic structures on socialist lines creates the prospect for the emancipation of the peoples which have thrown off the colonial yoke from every form of oppression. Guinea has chosen this road because it most fully meets the aspirations and hopes of the peoples liberated from colonial oppression.

Of tremendous importance for us are the principles of internationalism, which were proclaimed by the October Revolution, and which are being consistently practised by the Soviet Union, the principles of mutual support of the progressive forces of the world. Relying on the close relations which have taken shape between the young states and the

socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union, we can fight more successfully for asserting our political independence and for establishing new and equitable economic and trade relations with the imperialist powers. That, we believe, is one of the key aspects of the internationalist solidarity of the progressive movements of the world.

Close cooperation between the socialist countries, the democratic forces of Western Europe and the countries which recently rose to independence through wars of liberation has resulted in the establishment of a world anti-imperialist front, Among the movements constituting an important part of this front is the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, which is explicitly anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-racist.

The strength of internationalist cooperation lies in mutual support. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries support the progressive movements of the developing countries. We respond by strengthening our solidarity with the socialist countries.

The internationalism of socialist foreign policy

Lubomir Strougal
CC Presidium member, CPCz, Chairman,
Government of Czechoslovakia

In our day, foreign policy is one of the most important spheres of state activity of the socialist-community countries. It includes steps and initiatives related to major problems bearing on the interests of all nations. The contest between the two social systems — socialism and capitalism — and the class struggle between labor and capital are expressed in the clash between the two foreign-policy trends in international affairs, which are poles apart; namely, the line of socialism for peace, peaceful coexistence, détente and disarmament, and for a consistent solution of the global problems ever more acutely facing mankind, and the line of imperialism for building up military strength to resist the law-governed development of the revolutionary process and to maintain the positions and privileges of monopoly capital.

Bourgeois propaganda has been trying hard to denigrate the foreign-policy line of socialism, constantly inflating fears of some 'Soviet menace' and 'aggressiveness of communisn,' seeking to have the nations accept the myth of some 'danger' allegedly posed by 'Soviet expansionism' and socialist foreign policy. The whole course of historical development over the past decades has shown these inventions to be flimsy and false. In this context, I think, the 62nd anniversary of the Great October Revolution provides a good opportunity for recalling some of the basic principles of the foreign policy which sprang from the socialist revolution in Russia, and how these principles are being translated into life in the day-to-day practice of the countries of existing socialism.

The founders of scientific communism regarded the international policy of the working class as one of the mightiest factors in the development of the world revolutionary process. The key principles of this policy which they formulated stemmed from the class interests of the proletariat and set the goal of creating the most favorable conditions for the proletarian revolution, whose victory, they believed, would lead to the emergence of a worldwide socialist system that was free from exploitation and national oppression. In their *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, they said: 'In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to.' In the most concentrated form, the substance of the international policy of the working class is epitomized in this slogan: 'workers of all lands, unite!' and in proletarian internationalism.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution turned the communist foreign policy of the working class into a *state policy* for the first time in history. The idea of Soviet Russia's solidarity with the peoples of all countries was already vividly expressed in Lenin's Decree on Peace and the other early foreign-policy documents of the Soviet government. Since then the character and the class tenor of the USSR's foreign policy have been determined by the main principles of proletarian internationalism: revolutionary solidarity, the unity of the workers of the world, harmonization of national and international interests, the unity of will and action of communist and workers' parties, and unification of the forces of socialism, and the working-class and national-liberation movements in the fight against imperialism, and for peace, national independence, social progress, democracy and socialism.

With the formation of the socialist community, proletarian internationalism and socialist internationalism — its highest form — provide the basis for the emergence of an integral system of international relations of a new type. These relations are characterized by close cooperation in tackling domestic and international problems, with scrupulous observance of equality, respect for sovereignty and independence, and non-interference in any country's domestic affairs, for, as the founders of scientific communism wrote, 'an inter-

national alliance is possible only among nations whose existence, autonomy and independence in internal affairs are, consequently, included in the very concept of internationalism.'

Here, one should bear in mind that history handed down a hard legacy to the communists of all the socialist countries, including Czechoslovakia. For ages, the exploiter classes which were in power fanned strife among the peoples and implanted nationalistic preconceptions. An outstanding achievement of the communists of the socialist-community countries is that the old relations of alienation, hostility and mistrust have given way to relations to friendship and brotherhood of equal nations both in internal life and in their relations with their neighbors.

These new relations did not take shape all at once. They sprang from the common struggle against the nazi invaders and fascism, and for national liberation and social emancipation. They were developed on the basis of international cooperation and assistance, notably assistance from the Soviet Union, for without such cooperation and assistance it would have taken immensely greater efforts and sacrifice for people's democracy to advance to socialism. They implied joint defense of the revolutionary gains of the working class and all the other working people in face of any attempts by the overthrown exploiter classes and imperialism to reverse the tide of history.

Life itself has shown very well that the closer our cooperation and the greater our interaction in solving national and international problems, the greater and more tangible our successes.

The principles of the international solidarity of socialist-community countries have stood hard tests and have proved themselves to be durable at the most difficult periods of our history. The Czechoslovak working people recall with gratitude the fraternal socialist countries' international assistance during the deep internal crisis in our country in 1968, when the right-wing and anti-socialist forces, relying on support from abroad, mounted a broad and concerted attack on the revolutionary gains of the working class and the rest oof the working people. Thanks to the fraternal socialist countries' international assistance this attempt at counter-revolution was frustrated, the socialist system defended and the conditions created not only for a gradual consolidation of relations, but also for a fresh upswing in every sphere of social life in Czechoslovakia.

The historical experience of existing socialism is now embodied in the system of treaty-based relations between the socialist-community countries, which provide for joint solution of a broad range of economic, scientific, technical, social and cultural problems, joint defense of the socialist gains and fraternal mutual assistance. Thus, the Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance emphasizes that the parties, 'expressing their unbending resolve to advance along the road of building socialism and communism, will take the necessary measures to defend the peoples' socialist gains, and the security and independence of both countries, seek to develop all-round relations among the socialist-community states, and act in a spirit of consolidating their unity, friendship and brotherhood.'[1]

From year to year, the inter-state relations within the socialist community increasingly bring out the internationalism of our economic ties. The formation of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and the elaboration and implementation of the Comprehensive Program for Socialist Economic Integration have become a key factor in strengthening the material basis of the socialist system. This has increased the potentialities for solving complex economic problems, so enabling the whole socialist community and each country individually to develop their economy more rapidly and to secure, through a conjunction of the advantages of socialism and the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and the international division of labor, fresh successes in satisfying the material and spiritual requirements of citizens and society.

The new stage of economic relations among our countries is no longer characterized only by the classical trade ties and exchanges of goods, although this is a sphere which tends to grow and expand from year to year. Production cooperation and specialization, joint elaboration and solution of key scientific, technical and technological problems are an ever more important aspect of our cooperation. The importance of this new type of relations has been brought out more strongly in the recent period, when the world was hit by a heavy energy and raw-material crisis that is rooted in the long-term plunderous policy of imperialism with its fierce exploitation of the mineral wealth.

It would be naive to say that we have not been affected by the crisis. The difficulties which have risen in the international economic situation have also confronted us with a number of difficult problems. This applies especially to maintaining the high level of consumption of oil and oil products achieved, and ensuring a steady increase in our energy capacities. The socialist-community countries are pooling their efforts to tackle these problems. There is, for example, the joint construction of the Soyuz gas pipeline, which, in particular, will help to increase natural-gas deliveries from the USSR's eastern regions to the socialist countries of Europe. An extensive joint program has been worked out to develop nuclear energy, joint work is proceeding on the development of new sources of energy and the elaboration of the most progressive technological methods for the use of traditional fuel and raw materials, etc. Increasing importance attaches to the drawing up and implementation of long-term programs for cooperation in vital areas of the economy, science, technology and social progress. Here, our international economic ties are given a profound scientific backup which is characteristic of the developed socialist society. All of this helps to lay a reliable foundation for the planned development of the economy and for raising the working people's well-being now and in the future.

The spirit of creative cooperation is now evident at every level of our ties, and in every sphere of our economic, scientific and cultural activity. This is expressed in the exchange of delegations and experience, in the coordination of work-plans, in the strengthening contacts between towns, regions, districts, enterprises, schools, farming cooperatives, theatres, creative unions and citizens of our countries. Joint action in defense of peace and international security, and against the aggressive plans of imperialism, assistance to the revolutionary forces and support of the national-liberation movements have become a key area in which the international solidarity of the countries of triumphant socialism is most vividly expressed.

The basic principles and main lines of socialist foreign policy stem from the very nature of the socialist system. While being in substance a class policy, the foreign policy of socialism also has a generally democratic and generally humanistic character, serving the vital interests of all the peoples. Having emerged under the banner of struggle for national liberation and social emancipation, for peace and peaceful coexistence, and for the progress of all humanity, socialist foreign policy embodies Marx's hope that 'the alliance of the workers of all countries will ultimately eradicate all wars.'

In our day, this prediction has acquired a practical content. Credit for the fact that the European continent has entered into the longest period of peaceful development in its history should go above all to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, because it was the achievement of the Russian and — more broadly speaking — of the whole Soviet people and the alliance of the workers of the world, of which the socialist community is an important embodiment, that have become a powerful barrier in the way of the forces of reaction seeking to start another war.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist-community countries are a reliable bastion of peace. They have come out resolutely against anyone encroaching on the peaceful life of the peoples, and have been doing everything to avert the danger of war. The Warsaw Treaty Organization has an important role to play in working out and coordinating the socialist-community countries' foreign policy. The Warsaw Treaty states' Political Consultative Committee works out the socialist countries' common concerted line, and adopts documents and displays initiatives containing a comprehensive program for the struggle for peace, for further advancing détente, for backing up political détente with military détente, and for converting détente into an irreversible process. The Warsaw Treaty countries' declaration issued in Moscow in November 1978 says: 'Supreme wisdom today does not lie in whipping up the arms race and increasing the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, but in delivering mankind from the threat of a new war.'[2] The socialist community has become the decisive force which determines the course of present-day international politics, and the chief motive force in the democratic restructuring of international relations, and the creation of political, economic, cultural, scientific and technical prerequisites for world peace. The propositions and principles of peaceful coexistence are embodied in bilateral and multilateral treaties between a number of socialist and capitalist countries, in numerous UN resolutions, in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This has established in international law a number of new principles and rules which are designed to maintain and strengthen peace, command respect for existing borders, defend the revolutionary and liberation movements, and prevent the imperialist export of counter-revolution. This enables the peoples to determine the line of their development on their own, without pressure from outside, on the strength of the balance of internal forces and the outcome of the class struggle.

The events of the recent period show very well that the socialist-community countries are the mainstay of the world revolutionary process and of the peoples' anti-imperialist struggle. This is expressed in the international solidarity with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam during the Chinese aggression, and the all-round assistance being given by the socialist community to the peoples of Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Angola. At the present stage, this solidarity tends increasingly to assume the form not only of diplomatic, material and technical support for the fighting peoples, but also of direct assistance in training personnel, organizing education and public-health systems, and building industrial complexes, schools and hospitals in the young states. The socialist countries give the developing countries every assistance in their struggle for the establishment of new international economic relations based on the principles of equality, non-interference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage.

The cooperation of the socialist and the developing countries, and the CMEA countries' economic and technical assistance to the newly liberated countries, which are based on the common vital interests of socialism and the national-liberation movement, provide yet another striking example of the internationalism of socialist foreign policy.

The Vienna meeting of Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and President Jimmy Carter of the United States and the signing of the historic Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty between the USSR and the United States was this year's central event in the socialist-community countries' line of détente and disarmament. There is no doubt about the importance of the Treaty for the nations' present and future. It is no exaggeration to say that today the attitude to SALT-II is the most important touchstone of political realism for statesmen in the capitalist countries, a watershed between those who seek to develop international cooperation, and those who reject peace and cooperation in an effort to slow down the process of progressive change.

We believe that the results of the Vienna meeting create favorable conditions for a more resolute advance to concrete negotiations on a whole complex of the socialist countries' proposals bearing on disarmament in nuclear and conventional weapons and measures aimed to strengthen trust between states.

On June 19, 1979, the Presidium of the CPCz Central Committee, and the Czechoslovak government declared that they wholeheartedly welcome the results of the Vienna Summit. Czechoslovakia regards the conclusion of SALT-II as an exceptionally important step in averting a world nuclear war, improving the climate not only in relations between the USSR and the United States, but also in international relations as a whole, and creating the conditions for arms cuts and gradual disarmament.

We believe that it is especially important to reduce the danger of armed confrontation in Europe. That is precisely the purpose of the proposal for a conclusion between the Helsinki signatories of a treaty on the non-first use of nuclear and conventional weapons against each other, that is, a kind of multilateral non-aggression pact.

Concrete progress at the Vienna talks on troop and arms cuts in Central Europe would be an important contribution to a military détente. We hope that the conclusion of SALT-II will provide an important impetus in this direction as well. Czechoslovakia, for its part, is fully resolved to continue making an active and constructive contribution to this endeavor. But it is, of course, necessary that all the other participants in the negotiations should be guided by such a desire.

Today, no realistically-minded person can doubt that it is impossible to strengthen and advance political détente without progress in the field of disarmament. In a speech addressed to the working people on May Day of this year, Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CPCz Central Committee, President of Czechoslovakia, said that it would be useful to adopt a document in the United Nations to definite the governing principles of cooperation among states in their efforts to attain disarmament. He stressed that the states should commit themselves to take a constructive approach to disarmament talks and seek to create a favorable international atmosphere for the earliest achievement of the desired progress in this field which is vital for all mankind.[3]

The fundamental idea expressed by the CPCz General Secretary, President of Czechoslovakia has been elaborated in a draft Declaration on International Cooperation for Disarmament, which Czechoslovakia has circulated among all the UN members.

The draft starts from the incontrovertible fact that disarmament can be achieved, and peace, international security and all-round economic, social and spiritual progress in human society ensured only through effective, constructive and systematic cooperation among all the members of the international community, regardless of social system or membership of political and military alignments.

We hope that our proposals will help to elaborate measures promoting the creation of a favorable international atmosphere for solving the problems of disarmament.

The changing balance of forces in favor of socialism has made for positive shifts in the international situation and opened up the prospect for a radical improvement of the international political climate. But the socialist countries have no illusions about the anti-popular substance of imperialism and its aggressive urges. In working out and coordinating their joint foreign-policy line, they combine dedication to their class tasks and political realism, their principled and consistent efforts to attain their strategic coals and flexibility in tactics, their firm rebuff to the aggressive policy of imperialism and realistic analysis of the concrete situation.

Let us bear in mind that the conditions in which the socialist-community countries have to conduct their foreign-policy line are far from easy. In our policy, we have to face both direct resistance and counter-attacks by imperialist reaction, which wants to maintain and extend the sphere of capitalist influence, and covert resistance, 'erosion' and efforts to undermine the ideological and organizational principles of existing socialism from within. The theory and practices of Maoism create serious obstacles to the attainment of the foreign-policy goals of the working class, namely, peace, peaceful coexistence, disarmament and social progress.

It is not right to underestimate the resistance and the activity which is hostile to socialism on the part of imperialism and its henchmen. What is especially dangerous is an underestimation of Maoism and sponsorship of Peking's hegemonistic policy. Those of us who have lived through Munich and the Second World War know well and remember what the policy of connivance at and encouragement of the aggressor leads to. We have good grounds to declare that the policy of conniving at Maoism is just as dangerous: it reeks of Munich.

Our adversaries on the 'left' frequently accuse Czechoslovakia and the other socialist-community countries by alleging that our policy of peace and peaceful coexistence is incompatible with the international tasks and goals of the revolutionary struggle. Conversely, bourgeois politologists argue that the practical implementation of the principles of proletarian internationalism, as expressed in socialist foreign policy, produces tension in relations among countries with opposite social systems. Both place their stake on fanning nationalistic emotions and seek to contrast the working people's national interests and their class interests, to split away the national-liberation movement, individual revolutionary contingents and socialist-community countries from each other, and from the USSR in the first place.

The realities of the past six decades, the experience of the USSR, and the experience of socialist development in Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries carry a different message: they provide

convincing evidence of an indissoluble organic interconnection between national and international interests in the foreign policy of the socialist-community countries.

We resolutely oppose any contrasts between national and international interests, and any expressions of national narrow-mindedness and shortsightedness. Our starting point is the common stand of the international communist movement, according to which 'Marxist-Leninists are both patriots and internationalists, they reject both national narrow-mindedness and the negation or underestimation of national interests, and the striving for hegemony.'[4]

With the confrontation of the two social systems, no progressive movement can develop successfully without, in one form or another, relying on the assistance and support of the USSR and other socialist-community countries. On the other hand, support for the foreign and domestic policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state by all the revolutionary forces strengthens their positions in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

Socialist Czechoslovakia's foreign policy embodies the humanistic internationalist ideals for which the Czechoslovak communists and all the working people carried on a hard class struggle in the pre-Munich republic and a selfless fight against fascism in the period of occupation.

Our people, taught by the bitter experience of Munich, supported the communists' line for a radical re-orientation of Czechoslovakia's foriegn policy upon a firm fraternal alliance and cooperation with the USSR.

That was a truly happy choice. As a result of it, the inviolability of the Republic's borders was reliably secured for the first time in the history of the Czechs and the Slovaks, producing a sound guarantee of Czechoslovakia's state sovereignty and independence, and enabling the working people creatively to realize in tranquility their plans for building a developed socialist society. Reliance on the socialist community of nations, and the coordination of policy and action help us to multiply Czechoslovakia's contribution to the shaping of an atmosphere of just and lasting peace, to the development of economic, scientific and technical exchange, and exchange of genuine cultural values with all nations.

The successes in consolidating détente and developing peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation which spring from the letter and spirit of Helsinki give us a sense of well justified optimism. Despite all the obstacles and difficulties, we shall continue to work unsparingly, in common with the USSR and all the other countries of our community, in asserting the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence, to exclude for ever the threat of another world war from the life of humanity. We Czechoslovak communists regard this as our duty to our own people, and as our international duty.

1. *Rude Pravo*, May 6, 1970.
2. *Rude Pravo*, November 24, 1978.
3. See *Rude Pravo*, May 2, 1979.
4. *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969*, Prague, 1969, p. 37.

Programmatic tasks and the concrete situation

Jørgen Jensen
Chairman, Communist Party of Denmark

For the communists of our country, this is a jubilee year. Sixty years ago, in November 1919, the Communist Party of Denmark emerged from the crucible of the mounting class battles, under the direct impact of the October Revolution in Russia. Today, looking back over the past decades, we can say this with pride: having beaten back the attacks of its class enemies, and having overcome the danger of opportunism within its own ranks, the Communist Party of Denmark has maintained its Marxist-Leninist positions and has become an active participant in the working-class struggle, the champion of the working people's interests, taking a consistent stand for strengthening the international communist movement on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

However, having reached this important milestone in our party's history, we reflect not only on the past but, above all, on the present and the future. We do not regard the anniversary as an occasion for self-glorification, but as an opportunity for summing up and giving thought to what the communists can and must do to fulfill the tasks set out by the CPD Program adopted by the 25th Party Congress.

The Danish communists' immediate aim, the program says, its to establish 'an anti-monopoly democracy under which the people will have new and broader democratic rights and will use them to put through measures aimed to undermine the power of big capital.' Their ultimate ideal is 'transition to a socialist society in which the working people not only command definite political positions but also the whole of economic and state power.'

There was a time when bourgeois ideologists and social-democratic reformists echoing the former claimed that capitalism in Denmark was a specific

phenomenon that was free from economic upheavals and social distress. They pointed to the high living standards attained in the country, and the systems of education, public health and social security which were better than those in other capitalist countries.

But that was not due, of course, to any 'virtues' of the Danish capitalists, but to the fact that, as the world capitalist system moved into the imperialist stage, capitalism in our country developed in favorable conditions. At that time, the Danish capitalists, for instance, extracted additional profits because of their advantageous monopoly position on the dairy and meat products market. Lenin said that this turned them into ' "prosperous " satellites of the British imperialist bourgeoisie, sharing their particularly easy and particularly fat profits' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 23, p. 135). The Danish bourgeoisie also battened on the exploitation of the colonial peoples. The traditional policy of neutrality did not burden its state budgets with military expenditures. All of this gave the capitalists room for economic and social maneuver and enabled them to make some concessions to the working people in an effort to damp down the mounting working-class movement.

But the myth of some 'welfare state' ensuring crisis-free development was short-lived. From the mid-1960s on, the economic and social realities dispelled the widespread illusion in the West about Denmark being a model of 'Scandinavian socialism.' It was becoming ever more obvious that, contrary to what the reformists were saying, Danish state-monopoly capitalism was developing in strict accordance with the Marxist-Leninist theory.

As in other countries of state-monopoly capital, economic power in Denmark is being increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few capitalists. Thus, in 1973, 10 per cent of the population held 60 per cent of all the national wealth, but today the figure is edging up to 70 per cent. In that same period, the profits of the industrial monopolies increased by 72 per cent.

But while the state-monopoly system has secured a steady growth of profits for big business, it is incapable of guaranteeing the stability of economic structures. Thus, in 1978, industrial output grew at only 1 per cent, and this year it is not expected to exceed 1.5 per cent. At the end of last year, the balance-of-trade deficit came to about 16 billion kroner. Economists are most concerned with the country's external debt, which has reached 56-60 billion kroner (50,000 kroner per head), and which now comes to 10 per cent of Denmark's total earnings. Since last year, prices have gone up by roughly 10 per cent.

Unemployment has become the country's number one problem: in December 1978, for the first time in the postwar period, it exceeded 200,000, that is, over 10 per cent of the active population. Denmark leads the European Economic Community in the growth of unemployment among young people (just now, 40 per cent of persons between the ages of 17 and 25 are jobless).

Denmark's entry into the Common Market has largely aggravated the crisis phenomena. Of the many facts which bear this out, let me cite only one: within a year of Denmark's entry into the EEC, the price of real estate rose by 115 billion kroner, which is 15 billion more than the state budget.

A Political Manifesto adopted by the CPD's National Conference in November 1978 said: 'The crisis has been going on for several years now. For years, we have been misled by assertions that it could be overcome if we did not make such great demands and trusted the leaders to solve all the other problems. But unemployment has been growing, prices have been going up, and living standards going down. The social system is sick.'

The crisis phenomena gripping every sphere of economic and social life in Denmark have in a sense brought out a fact which the social-democratic leaders now in power have tried to conceal, namely, their orientation upon the interests of big capital, and their refusal to defend the working people's interests. This became most evident in August 1978, when the social-democratic leadership, headed by Anker Jørgensen, agreed to set up a coalition government with the bourgeois Venstre party, which has an explicitly right-wing orientation.

Analyzing the factors which produced such a parliamentary combination, the CPD showed that this was political cooperation dictated by the socio-economic policy of the right wing of the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark (SDPD). It has deliberately decided to intensify the exploitive element in governmental programs by its emphasis on an 'incomes policy,' now one of the most widespread forms for shifting the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working people. Faced with resistance from the victims of this policy, the social-democratic leaders were induced, by the very logic of the social contest, to seek ways of direct cooperation with the reactionary wing of the bourgeoisie. As for the Venstre party, it agreed to enter into a coalition with the social democrats in hope of using them to put pressure on the trade unions for the benefit of the monopolies.

This unnatural symbiosis aroused anxiety and criticism in the ranks of the working-class and trade union movement, and among the left-wing forces and organizations in the country. The communists said the SDPD leaders' consent to cooperate with Venstre was kowtowing to big capital. A warning about the dangers of such a policy was issued by the leadership of the Central Association of Danish Trade Unions. A joint meeting of a number of parliamentary parties adopted a statement saying that cooperation with a bourgeois party would make it impossible for the SDPD to take effective action on important problems like unemployment, housing, taxation and the budget.

This assessment was borne out by the government's very first programmatic document, which provided for rigid economies in government appropriations, an indirect-tax increase, the shelving of some projects, including the construction of the economically important bridge across the Great

Belt. The government's plan showed clear signs of monopoly capital's fingerprints.

That was only the beginning. The next act followed at the height of last summer. At the end of July, using the complicated energy situation, the Venstre party decided to increase pressure on its coalition partners and demanded that the social-democrats should agree to a review of the cabinet's whole financial policy. This entailed, above all, a further slice in government and municipal spending, including spending on social needs, and also an actual cut in the working people's wages. This posed the threat of even greater unemployment.

As they had repeatedly done in such instances, the social-democratic leaders yielded once again. It is true that in an effort to cover up their surrender, they proposed a 'compromise' plan. But even Jørgensen, their leader, arguing the need to limit spending and to right the country's balance of payments, had to admit that these measures were to be subsidized through higher prices for some goods and services or another tax increase.

As the communists have predicted, the coalition government's purpose is to conduct a tougher 'incomes policy.' Our task is to get the government to resign.* At the same time, we should not stop putting forward concrete proposals aimed to limit the harm this policy has been inflicting on the working people's interests.

It is wrong to claim that there is no possibility of advancing. Success can be achieved even in the present conditions, but this requires the creation of a majority in the Folketing that could effectively oppose the coalition's reactionary goals. The struggle in parliament should go hand in hand with extra-parliamentary action. This is possible, because, as we have repeatedly seen in the recent period, the working people are beginning to realize the need to resist the government, which is retreating under pressure from reaction.

While urging the masses to active struggle against monopoly capital and its servitors, the CPD has put forward an alternative program for combating the crisis and its effects. It is based on the conclusion, which is written into the CPD Program, that the 'crisis of the Danish society is a crisis of the state-monopoly system. The power of big capital inevitably produces the want, fear and hopelessness that we observe today.'

The people's struggle, which will unite many into a well-knit force, can alter the situation. 'However,' the program says, 'if the people's progress is to be stable, there is a need for the working people to change the very basis of society, to create a socialist society.' On our way to this goal, we are now working, as the 25th Congress's Political Manifesto says, to secure 'a democratic way out of the crisis which, in contrast to reactionary agreements, is based on a consideration of the working people's requirements, instead of securing profits for big capital.'

It is impossible to find a way out of the crisis that meets the working people's interests without exposing the social-democratic leaders' demagogy, especially because, since the SDPD's agreement to overt political cooperation with the bourgeoisie, this demagogy has assumed even more elaborate forms. One of its key elements is the proposal that 'economic democracy' should become a component part of the 'incomes policy.'

We must not allow the social democrats and their allies to give big capital all kinds of help behind a screen of talk about 'democracy.' We need economic democracy, but that is possible only under socialism, because socialism, and it alone, is a truly democratic economic system.

While fighting for a socialist future, we must curb the privileges of big capital here and now, and that is the thrust of the communists' economic policy. Its chief elements are defined by our party's program. They are: democratic nationalization and democratic planning, a fight against inflation and the balance-of-payments deficit, state steering of foreign trade, a democratic taxation policy, a state regime of economies, creation of potentialities for developing agriculture, a new fisheries policy, and a national and democratic energy policy.

The communists urge an extension of the people's democratic rights by assuring the workers of the right to bargain and the freedom to strike. We insist that Denmark's withdrawal from NATO and the EEC is a key prerequisite for extending democracy.

We regard as of paramount importance the plank in our program which says that such a policy can be secured only if the democratic state is vested with the power of decisive intervention in the social economy. The state must take over the key positions of big capital not simply through 'étatization,' but through democratic nationalization. Above all of the banks, the key industries and the energy sector.

We know that it is not easy to implement such plans, but in our day-to-day work we seek to rally the working people in the struggle for the goals set out by our program. On the success of this struggle also demands the success of the advance toward anti-monopoly democracy. The communists' struggle in the trade unions for an influence on the working people, and for the establishment of production councils, and their demands for a commission for the affairs of trusts, and a review of the joint-stock company laws, all of these add up to a struggle for curbing the power of the monopolies, a struggle to democratize the economic order.

Experience shows that the 25th Congress's proposals for an alternative policy are still valid. The struggle to realize them goes on, leading to a sharp confrontation with big capital. But that is only natural: the communists' alternative affects its privileges. A ceiling on rents meets the interests of the tenants, but hits at the speculators. A reform of the tax system for fairer taxation is a blow at big capital. Regulation of imports, which will inevitably have an effect on the opportunities for transfer-

*At the end of October when this *WMR* issue was sent to the printers the Jorgensen government resigned and unscheduled parliamentary elections were announced. — *Ed.*

ring capital abroad, will limit the opportunities open to the monopolists. We are prepared for such a confrontation.

Our experience of six decades, our successes and our difficulties in the past and present show that the gains of the working class and all the other working people result from joint action by all the exploited and oppressed. The same experience teaches us that the attempts to split the ranks of the working people are part and parcel of the policy of preserving the system of big capital's class domination. That is why our party's program resolutely emphasizes that 'unity and joint struggle are the way to create a force transforming society that is capable of ensuring a democratic swing and effecting a socialist revolution.'

We realize how difficult it is to achieve such unity in a country where the working-class movement has long been developing in the midst of two contending antagonistic trends: the reformist, which seeks to preserve the existing society, and the revolutionary, which wants to break it up. Being realists, we understand that for historical reasons reformism has long remained the dominant trend in the working-class movement in our country. Finally, we also recognize that it is hardly possible in the foreseeable future to do away with the cardinal contradictions between these trends and, consequently, to achieve unity on *all* the issues.

That being so, it is necessary to work for unity around our daily problems, relying on the community of interests of the working class and all the other working people, who are equally exploited by monopoly capital. Our way is one of joint action, unity in action. The sharpening and deepening both of the general crisis of capitalism and of the crisis of capitalism in Denmark show the ideological impotence and political futility of the reformist approach, and help to create the premises for advance along this road.

But the success of a joint-action policy largely depends on our ability to identify the areas where cooperation is possible and promising, and on our ability to formulate the right slogans to reflect the interests of the broadest possible sections of working people. The effectiveness of this approach is exemplified by the communists' attitude to the Europarliament elections in June 1979. Our initial position was that the champions of the 'Europe of trusts' regard the Europarliament as an instrument for swinging integration processes toward supra-state political unification of the Common Market countries, and that its goal is further to promote the interests of the major West European monopolies. The election returns, it was emphasized at a Plenary Meeting of the CPD Central Committee in mid-June of this year, were a defeat for the 'Europeanists.' The elections showed that the Communist Party had been right in refusing to nominate its own candidates.

The electoral struggle, which was carried on in cooperation with other opponents of Western Europe's economic and political integration on a capitalist basis, brought out the ideological strength and consistency of the CPD, and created the possibilitie for consolidating and extending the joint action which had already been inaugurated in the course of earlier campaigns against Denmark's subordination to integrated West European capital. It also confirmed the realistic nature of the Communist Party's line of cooperating with its class brothers within the SDPD.

We have sought and will continue to seek joint action with the social democrats, refuting by deed the assertions of dishonest opponents who refer to our resolute condemnation of social-reformism in order to create an impression that the communists regard the SDPD as their 'chief enemy.' It is big capital that has been and remains our chief enemy. Indeed, it is in order to defeat it that we tell the workers who follow the social-democratic leaders and believe in their promise to pave the way to a socialist society with reformism that the interests of the working people can be protected only through an open confrontation with capital.

Of course, the social-democratic leaders' collaboration with the bourgeoisie within the present coalition government creates a new situation, and produces fresh difficulties. But, on the other hand, such an overt compact with capital helps to open the eyes of many of those who support the policy of the social-democratic right-wingers. We warn rank-and-file social democrats and SDPD functionaries that by approving the SDPD leaders' cooperation with the Venstre party, they share the responsibility for the shift to the right in Danish politics, and for the further sharpening of the crisis, so helping to fortify big capital's economic, political and social positions, and harming the interests of the workers.

The difference of opinion on the class nature of society, and the crucial impact of class contradictions on the struggle for democracy, détente, peace and socialism, we say, should be no obstacle to cooperation between the communists and the social democrats. The ever-growing demands in industry and the higher schools for an end to the power of big capital and for a way out of the crisis that would strengthen the positions of the working class and promote the development of democracy show very well that the CPD's line for joint action has good prospects before it.

We communists devote much attention to the problem of the trade union movement, an influential force in our country. The key feature of the trade unions in Denmark, which bring together 90 per cent of all wage-workers, is that they have a unitary character and, for that reason, are not formally connected with any political party. It is true that the top-echelon leadership is in the hands of men who have social-democratic ideas, which naturally leaves an imprint on the trade unions' stand. But one must note that in the present acute situation, trade union leaders have been making statements condemning the SDPD's coalition with the bourgeois party. Of course, time alone will show how sincere their indignation is. However that may

be, such a stand opens up fresh opportunities for radicalizing the trade union movement.

While resolutely and consistently criticizing the reformist attitude of the trade union leadership, we insist that the unitary character of the trade union movement should be further strengthened. Working-class unity is the principal prerequisite for enabling it to display its full strength both in the struggle for solving current problems, and for attaining long-term goals. The communists regard the trade union movement as one of the most important organized forces which has a prominent role to play in transforming society.

The Danish communists actively seek contacts with all the political forces which may not accept socialist ideas but which advocate a democratic way out of the crisis that will be a fair deal for the people. Experience shows that this initiative of ours is not only bold but useful. It helps us to spell out the policy alternatives in concrete terms and creates positions for the CPD in acting as initiator and guiding spirit in unifying the forces against the coalition government.

Further ideological and organizational strengthening of the Communist Party, extension and deepening of its ties with the masses, and enhancement of the communists' influence on social and political processes are a necessary condition for success in the anti-monopoly struggle. The way ahead is not an easy one. All these 60 years we have been fighting in difficult conditions. The CPD has been under constant and fierce attack in hostile campaigns carried on by the reactionary political forces, which are frequently supported by the right-wing social-democratic leaders. All manner of slanderous inventions are circulated about the CPD's stand on various international problems and about its attitude to the socialist world.

The repression machine of the bourgeois state is geared against the Communist Party. One could cite many examples of hostile acts against the CPD by the police authorities and the secret services, including telephone tapping, the bugging of flats, and continued surveillance of the activity of the CPD, a party functioning legally with official permission.

Still, we have advanced. In the past several years, the CP Denmark has succeeded in markedly consolidating its positions. The number of primary party organizations has gone up to 230, and of district organizations, to 43. Its membership has been growing. The best young people have been joining its ranks. Is it not a remarkable fact that one of our comrades has for the first time been elected Chairman of Denmark's National Students' Union, and that a communist is now Rector of the University of Copenhagen?

Ten years ago, there was no communist in Parliament, but now the communist group in the Folketing consists of seven deputies. Ten years ago, we managed to have five or six of our comrades elected to the municipal councils, but now 65 communists are members of local self-administration organs.

The party newspaper *Land og Folk* has a growing circulation. Its annual festivals, including the one held at the end of last August, are a striking demonstration of the growing ties between the communist press and the masses of Denmark.

The Danish communists are firmly convinced that their activity on a national scale is a part of the process which is transforming the world, and which is the content of the epoch, the process of worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism inaugurated by the October 1917 Revolution in Russia. Our entire experience shows that the internationalism of the working class is inseparable from the struggle for the interests of the working people in our country.

The party's general line, as mapped out in the CPD's Program, has proved to be effective. Its analysis of the social system has been borne out by developments. The ways of struggle indicated by the Program are realistic. The task is constantly to give deep thought to how to apply it at every given moment and in each concrete situation. By their painstaking day-to-day effort, the communists of Denmark, fired with revolutionary optimism, have been working hard to secure fulfillment of the noble tasks set by our Program.

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The difficult path of Bangladesh

Mohammad Farhad
General Secretary, CC Communist Party of Bangladesh

Our party adopted the program and strategy of the national-democratic revolution in Bangladesh at its Second Congress six years ago and thus set the goal of achieving socialism along a non-capitalist path of development. Today, we continue to work to implement this long-range goal and strive to turn the country's social development toward a progressive path. Many events have taken place since the Second Congress. The past years were not very favorable for us. All these years the party has conducted a hard struggle, often with unexpected turns, to change the conditions of our people's life and secure a better future for the toiling masses.

Only two years after the emergence of independent Bangladesh in the course of the armed liberation struggle certain opportunities arose in the country's politico-economic conditions for carrying forward the party's strategy. This is how the Second Congress assessed that situation: 'As a result of achieving independence, Bangaladesh has freed itself from the unequal economic and military pacts with imperialism, especially with American imperialism, in which it was entangled during the Pakistani regime.

'In the sphere of international relations an independent and non-aligned policy has been adopted. Friendship as well as economic, trade and cultural relations have been established with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

'All local banks and insurance as well as jute, textile and sugar industries and a major portion of foreign trade have been nationalized. The properties owned by the Bengali capitalists in these fields have also been nationalized. The government has limited the capital investment in industries in the private sector to 35 lakh (3.5 million taka).[1] In the case of private industries, collaboration with foreign capital has been prohibited. As a result of these measures the path of unbridled development of capitalism has been closed. A state sector has developed in the national economy which plays a leading role in the whole economy.'

The Congress also noted the significance of the measures taken by the Mujibur Rahman government, such as restriction of land holding to not more than 100 bighas (33 acres) per family, tax relief to owners of land up to 25 bighas, an end to the ijaradari system, a most odious form of fettering rent, etc.

An important political development in those years was that the then ruling party, the Awami League, under the leadership of the founder of the Bangladesh Republic, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Communist Party and the National Awami Party (NAP) joined in a United Front.

But already at that time negative phenomena were beginning to show and in the later period they grew to great proportions. The economic situation remained critical. The economy was greatly ravaged by the war, natural calamities and crop failure. It became very difficult to regain the prewar level in agricultural and industrial production. The situation was worsened by the rise of the price of fuel and other goods in the international market and by inflation. Of course, there were certain failures and mistakes of the government. Corruption and profiteering among the bureaucrats, the rich and traders became intense. Corruption was rampant within a section of the ruling party itself.

All this multiplied the burden of crisis in the lives of the people. The real incomes of the people, particularly the toiling people, began to dwindle, while the cost of living increased. The forces opposed to the country's independence and progress were trying to take advantage of the situation. Imperialist agents, followers of Maoist China, extremists and reactionaries were together trying to create a situation of lawlessness in the country. They were directing their campaign mainly against the Soviet Union and neighboring India. They also attempted to create a situation of terror in the country by encouraging gangsterism, looting banks, attacking police stations and even openly issuing the threat of a civil war. The United Front was under attack from the extreme right and left. A section of the ruling party also started creating problems in the way of activizing the Front. It even wanted to disband it. As a result, the Front could never become active.

After the Second Congress the party was faced with hard and ominous problems. A new turn in the situation came in 1974, when a number of negative phenomena in Bangladesh's socio-economic development manifested themselves with special force. I mean, first of all, the activization of the reactionary bourgeois and pro-bourgeois elements.

A section of the Bengali capitalists were with the ruling party, the Awami League. They supported the liberation war, though from their own class outlook. True, the Bengali capitalists were not very powerful, only some of them had 100-150 million taka (present value, 250-300m. taka).[2] Many of them were owners of jute, textile and some other industries. It is safe to say that they became capitalists with state money: 70 to 80 per cent of invested capital came from government sources. So, the

Bengali capitalists were not powerful enough to protest against nationalization all the more so that the people supported this measure. As the state appointed capitalist-managers at the nationalized industries, they lived fairly comfortably, looking for new sources of private income. Corruption became the chief source of enrichment. Through the embezzlement of state money at least 30 per cent of the $4,000 million received by Bangladesh as foreign aid in the first four years of independence was pocketed by a few privileged persons. Corruption led to the development of bureaucratic capital, and a nouveau riche class has grown. This trend continues even today.

Within a short period, the section of capitalists who supported independence and were in the Awami League became quite powerful. They took full advantage of the opportunities for business enterprise that existed outside the nationalized sector, specifically in trade and commerce. They were encouraged by corruption and the drive for profit among a section of Awami leaders. On the other hand, the policy pursued by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and other similar institutions, which were the main source of the country's external assistance, suited the nascent capitalist class.

International capital and the Bengali capitalists were pressuring the government and this began to bear fruit: from 1974 the government started making concessions to private capitalist business. Private investment in some industries of the nationalized sector was allowed in the name of 'specialized industry,' and a few nationalized factories were declared 'specialized' and were returned to private owners. The ceiling of private investment was raised to 30 million taka. The prohibition of collaboration between domestic and foreign capital was lifted. At the same time, a section of Bengali owners, bureaucrats, and some political leaders connected with power were interested in making nationalization unpopular, and nationalization was gradually losing popularity. This was because — through the efforts of bourgeois managers and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie — production was not increasing in spite of continued government subsidies.

Objectively it was not only nationalization that was losing popularity. So were the government-proclaimed measures in agriculture. No drastic change occurred there and the 'ceiling' introduced for land holding did not bring the desired effect. Dispossession of land continued and in the face of hunger poor peasants sold whatever holdings they had to usurers and rich peasants. The rural masses were hit hardest by natural calamities. To this were added the failures and mistakes of the authorities, profiteering and corruption within the government's administrative machinery. The cumulative effect was a disastrous famine in July and August 1974, which, according to official figures, took a toll of 27,500 lives. The actual figure was several hundred thousands. The relief operations of the government were not equal to the situation.

These tragic events had a strong impact on the country's political life. In the autumn of 1974, the Central Committee of our party declared that 'the government has failed.' The main reason for that failure was the crisis within the Awami League. The people were losing confidence in that party, though the personal image of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was still there — the people held the Awami League, not Mujib, responsible for the grave situation. But in their minds the question remained: why couldn't Mujib control his party, why wasn't he stricter with his associates? We called upon him to form a firm, devoted government with really honest, efficient and progressive members to take steps to solve the fundamental problems in the socio-economic area and, to that end, to bring about necessary politico-constitutional and administrative reforms.

Early in 1975, following the adoption of the rather controversial 4th Amendment to the Constitution, the political system in Bangladesh underwent certain changes. The parliamentary form of government was replaced by presidential rule and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman became the President of the Republic with broad powers. The power of bureaucrats and the rights of judiciary organs were sliced, and political governors were installed as heads of district administrations. At the end of February, the President banned all political parties, including the Awami League, the Communist Party and the National Awami Party. Instead, a single national party was being formed — the Bangladesh Krisha Sramik (workers' and peasants') Awami League (BAKSAL). What did the new situation spell out for the country and for our party?

At first people began to hope that Mujibur Rahman was trying to bring about a change. But all their hopes were dashed when they saw that all those whom they considered responsible for their miserable plight found comfortable posts in BAKSAL's central organs. From our party only one person was included in the Central Committee of BAKSAL, and from the NAP, five. All Awami League leaders, except Mr. Tajuddin, who was considered to be honest by the people, were included in the BAKSAL committees. Even within the Awami League there were doubts about the one-party system and the change of government from a parliamentary form to a presidential one. A good section of the public wondered whether the President was heading for authoritarianism.

In the army there was a feeling that Mujibur Rhaman treated them as a step-father. If the paramilitary forces (Rakkhi Bahini) raised by him were well equipped and glamorous, the army people had certain difficulties. Problems of pay and allowances, uniform, and various facilities for the army were not satisfactorily resolved. The servicemen who had participated in the liberation war were aware of the political and economic situation. Besides, the fact that a section of the Awami League became rich overnight did not escape their attention.

After its Second Congress the Communist Party

could operate normally for about a year. Over that brief period the party grew stronger and its membership doubled. To develop the ideological standard of the comrades, we set up a party school named after Lenin. Efforts were made to organize party cells in villages and build up party organizations at mills and factories. Party work was carried on on a broad scale among peasants, students, intellectuals and women. While upholding the policy of unity with Sheikh Mujib and his followers, we continued the struggle against the negative aspects of the ruling party's activities. We have always been with the people. During the severe famine in 1974 the party gathered in a considerable amount of grain, which, just as the government's aid, was delivered by Soviet-made helicopters to the disaster areas. At the same time we relentlessly carried on the struggle against the conspiracies of the extreme left and right reactionaries, i.e., Maoist and imperialist agents.

All these activities of the Communist Party and those of other parties came to a halt after the formation of BAKSAL. Only the Maoists and right-wing reactionaries continued to launch clandestine anti-government actions. The situation of confusion caused by the perturbations in the political system was used by the enemies of independence and progress for their conspiratorial activity.

An entirely new political situation emerged after the coup staged on August 15, 1975, by a group of army officers. Mujibur Rahman and members of his family were brutally killed. On the same day martial law was imposed throughout the country, all political activities and BAKSAL were banned. One of the top leaders of the Awami League, Khandaker Moshtaque Ahmed, came to power.[3]

Although Kh. Moshtaque Ahmed was believed to be a colleague of Mujibur Rahman, the communists and other democratic forces have always considered him to be a pro-imperialist, rightist and reactionary. And he proved to be such during his brief rule. Already on November 3, 1975, he was toppled in another coup. The army officers who organized the killing of Mujib and supported Moshtaque had to leave the country.

The killing of Mujibur Rahman and a series of coups that followed created a situation of lawlessness in the country. The major political upheavals inflicted great damage on democratic and progressive parties. Following the August events of 1975 a direct onslaught was launched against the Awami League. On the night of November 3, 1975, the last day of Moshtaque's rule, the League's outstanding leaders Tajuddin, Mansoor Ali, Syed Nazrul Islam and Kamaruzzaman were executed without trial in the central prison of Dacca. An intensive political campaign was launched against the Communist Party. In the conditions of raging reaction communists were reorganizing and activizing their work all over the country.

On November 7, 1975, Major-General Ziaur Rahman came to power through a military coup. He was known as a fighter for the freedom of Bangladesh. The Mujib government had appointed him Army Deputy Chief of Staff. Taking part in the coup were also the ultra-left National Socialist Party and the rightist reactionary communalist forces.[4] Every grouping tried in vain to bring the situation under its control. Gradually Ziaur Rahman consolidated his position. Later he became the chief military administrator (1976) and then, the President.

In the summer of 1976 the government promulgated a Political Parties Act. The government declared its intention to re-establish the multi-party democratic system and lift martial law at an appropriate time. Twenty parties, including even the previously banned communalist parties like the Muslim League and Jamaat-i-Islami, received permission to operate legally. The Communist Party was also allowed to function legally. Despite the restrictions, we tried to explain to the people our political views and our program in the changed situation. Considering the complexity of that situation, we avoided direct confrontation with the government, but of course, we openly criticized its anti-people policies. Maoists and other reactionaries persistently instigated the government against us and launched a propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union and India, blaming them for all the problems and sufferings of the people and the country. Some activities of the government and those of the Maoists and reactionaries evoked deep anger among our comrades and followers. We warned our comrades against provocations and called upon them to carry on their activities with more patience and prudence. But despite all that, the government declared our party illegal on October 14, 1977. It was banned on the pretext of complicity in the October 2, 1977, abortive coup, which we condemned. Moni Shingh, President of our Central Committee, and I were arrested.

This repressive step of the government could not, however, isolate our party because the people and the democratic circles were aware of our role in social life. The demand for lifting the ban on our party and our release from prison was becoming louder and wider. Various friendly parties in our country joined in this demand. The CPSU and other fraternal communist and workers' parties supported our struggle. The government had to reckon with public opinion in the country and abroad. Comrade Moni Singh was released from prison in April 1978, and, after a written petition filed on my behalf, the Supreme Court of Bangladesh ordered my immediate release, rejecting the government's charges against me. I was freed two months later. We built up a movement for lifting the ban on our party. Thousands of people all over the country supported this movement. In November 1978 the CFB was legalized.[5]

In June 1978 a presidential election was held in the country. The Nationalist Front formed by Ziaur Rahman, which consisted of the parties and groups supporting him, nominated him as its presidential candidate. Another candidate was General Osmani (ret.), whose image in the country was that of an honest and democratic leader. He was nominated by the Democratic United Front consisting of the

Awami League, General Osmani's Janata Party, NAP (M) and other organizations. Though at that time our party was banned, we formally joined the latter Front. It was important for us to take part in the election also because our comrades received the opportunity of demanding a legalization of our party in the Front's platform. General Osmani polled a considerable number of votes (4.4 million), but the victory of Ziaur Rahman in the conditions of martial law was inevitable.

When the parliamentary election was first scheduled for December 1978, all political parties outside the government raised the slogan of boycotting the election to pressure the government to ensure a free and fair election and meet certain democratic demands, like the release of political prisoners, abrogation of the martial law, Ziaur Rahman's resignation from the army and the formation of a civilian government.

The boycott movement won a few concessions. The communists, for instance, received the right to publish their organ *Ekota* (Unity), got back their party headquarters located in the center of Dacca, which had been taken over by the government during the formation of BAKSAL. A number of our comrades, arrested after the coup of August 15 and especially the coup of November 7, 1975, were released.

We decided to participate in the parliamentary election when the president declared he would accept the above-mentioned demands of the democratic forces. The NAP and some other parties also decided to participate in the election. But the Awami League continued the boycott. Its line of reasoning was that participation in the election would lead to the materialization of Ziaur's plans and prove before the world that his was a stable government. In the end, the Awami League also, though unwillingly, decided to participate in the election. The lack of understanding on the boycott issue and the sectarian line of the Awami League made it impossible to create an election alliance of progressive and democratic parties. As a result, we fought separately.

It is only natural that after all that turmoil, only a month after we resumed our activities as a legal party, and with the lack of unity in the patriotic camp, we could hardly hope for good results in the February 1979 election. Our party did not win a single seat, though in three precincts we fared fairly well. Of the 300 seats, 207 were won by the ruling party — the Bangladesh Nationalist Party. The Awami League became the major opposition party in parliament (39 seats). At the very first sitting of the parliament the martial law was lifted and Ziaur Rahman resigned from the army. But all the decrees and ordinances proclaimed under the martial law were incorporated in civilian legislation through the adoption of the 5th Amendment to the Constitution voted for by the governmental majority in parliament. The communists and other patriotic parties consider this amendment to be undemocratic.

Our main criticism against Ziaur Rahman's government is that, although Ziaur Rahman himself was a freedom fighter, most of the people in his party were opposed to our independence. Ziaur Rahman included in his cabinet representatives of big business and the big bourgeoisie, pro-imperialist elements and advocates of ties with Arab reactionaries. To satisfy the local Islamic groups, he amended the Constitution and excluded one of its basic principles — secularism. The role of Mujibur Rahman, the founder of Bangladesh, is not yet honored. The authorities continue to label the democratic opposition parties as 'foreign agents' and declare that no 'foreignism' will be allowed in the country.

Capitalist development is being encouraged in the economic sphere. At first the ceiling for private investment was raised to 100 million taka, but now there is no ceiling at all. Although we have a 'mixed' economy, preference is given to private investment. Foreign investment is being invited with facilities for a repatriation of profit and capital. On the whole, the government has not abandoned the policy of nationalization, but the list of enterprises being returned to private owners is growing. No steps have been taken to introduce profound reforms in agriculture or any other sector of the economy. There has been a constant food deficit, which was especially bad this year after a severe drought. The prices of necessities, including food, are sky high. The number of educated unemployed is increasing. In the rural areas, the number of agricultural laborers is increasing at a very high pace. Masses of people live in sub-human conditions, while a handful of persons live in luxury.

The country is placed in dependence on foreign aid and the government is making no serious efforts for real self-sufficiency.

It is true, however, that the ruling circles declare for détente, world peace, peaceful coexistence and friendship with all countries on the basis of equality; they have not scrapped the Declaration of Friendship with the Soviet Union signed by Mujibur Rahman in 1972 and the 25-year Treaty of Friendship, Peace and Cooperation with India. Yet anybody can see that in their foreign policy the ruling circles tilt toward the Islamic countries rich in petro-dollars, to Western countries, including the USA and to China. Bangladesh has remained in the non-aligned movement, but it does not oppose imperialism as resolutely as it did in the past. The government supports the position of the Palestinian people, but it has not condemned the Carter-Begin-Sadat collusion. It has not so far, recognized the legitimate government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

We are continuing the struggle against the anti-people and reactionary policies of the Ziaur government. At the same time we are trying to show the people, from Marxist positions, the root causes of the socio-economic crisis and point out to them the solutions of their problems. We must not ignore the fact that the forces to the right of the government are trying hard to revert the situation in their favor. They have contradictions with the government on

certain issues and feel that Ziaur Rahman has betrayed the main objectives of the coup of August 15, 1975. We, for our part, feel that Ziaur Rahman is leading the country away from the objective for which its independence was won — the establishment of an exploitation-free society. We are fighting not only against the anti-people, reactionary policy of the government but also against the right-wing reactionaries and Maoists. And this tireless struggle has never ceased for a single day.

Our country has travelled a difficult path since the winning of independence. Communists and all democrats underwent many severe trials. Now our party is preparing for its Third Congress. At that congress we shall make a self-critical report and analyze the lessons of the past to prepare for the future. In the light of the changed circumstances, the congress will adopt a document on the party's strategy. In view of the valuable experience accumulated in the last six years, our strategy document will be more realistic and scientific. I believe that after the Congress the Communist Party of Bangladesh will emerge still stronger as the party of the Bangladesh proletariat and a reliable unit of the international communist movement.

1. At that time one dollar equalled 7.28 taka. — *Ed.*
2. One dollar equals 15.31 taka (1979). — *Ed.*
3. Later he formed his own party, the Democratic League. — *Ed.*
4. Reactionary political forces adhering to the principle of religious intolerance. — *Ed.*
5. On the communists' struggle for the legalization of the CPB see Matiur Rahman, 'What we want for Bangladesh,' *WMR*, June 1979, p. 53. — *Ed.*

Lenin's cultural-policy principles

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HSWP EXPERIENCE

The period in our nation's life since liberation has coincided with the period of building a new, socialist society, which is marked by a mass cultural advance that is unprecedented in Hungary's history.

We had to start from afar, overcoming the hard burden of material and spiritual backwardness. Out of a population of roughly 10 million nearly one million were illiterate, and the Horthy counter-revolutionary regime deprived of historical vision even those who were able to obtain an education.

In the 25 bitter years which followed the defeat of the first Hungarian proletarian revolution, this regime was a major drag on the process of awakening of the consciousness of the working class, the poor peasantry and the progressive intelligentsia, even if it could not entirely prevent it. The country's spiritual life was infected with the poison of nationalistic ideas. Left-wing intellectuals in the arts were brutally persecuted, while bourgeois humanist writers did not receive any support: many of them ended their days in concentration camps. The regime tried hard to keep the people, laboring under the burden of daily cares, fenced off from the great works of world and national culture.

After 1945, when the fascist state apparatus had been destroyed as a result of the Soviet Army's liberation struggle, rehabilitation of the economy, satisfaction of the people's elementary vital requirements and the struggle for power became our primary task. Simultaneously, the Hungarian communists announced and started a cultural revolution.

All of the working people's advances in that direction over the more than 30 years of the People's Republic are undoubtedly an organic part of our present socialist reality and a condition for our further development. But that does not mean that progress has been uninterrupted, or that our advance has been a triumphal march.

We made a mistake when we failed to take into account the specific features of the development of culture, having forgotten Lenin's warning that 'a cultural problem cannot be solved as quickly as political and military problems' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 78). In a voluntaristic frame of mind, we made haste and overrated our achievements, failing to carry on a sufficiently consistent struggle against bourgeois influences and frequently confining ourselves to administrative measures of 'suppression.'

After the shock of 1956, our party made a concrete analysis of the situation and re-established Lenin's principles in every sphere of life, including cultural policy. We did not allow ourselves to exaggerate the mistakes we had made or to ignore the epoch-making achievements of our cultural revolution.

Since then, not only our way of life, but life itself has changed in the country. This will be seen from the much higher level of people's consciousness and their growing sense of political and personal responsibility. People have begun to react more sensitively to mistakes, and when exposing shortcomings, they demand their earliest elimination and object to any efforts to 'play safe,' an attitude which slows down the building of the new society. They display a much greater readiness to act and to secure the necessary improvements.

1

We regard the party's policy in the sphere of culture not as some narrowly viewed autonomous sphere of activity, but as a component part of our whole policy.

In the socialist society, the multiplication of material goods is not an end in itself, but a means of boosting the people's well-being and culture, and creating a rich and meaningful life for the individual's harmonious development. Indeed, the task of the cultural revolution is to provide the members of society with the riches of culture of the highest standard, alongside the provision of material goods.

When we were getting down to realizing the party's guidelines, which had been formulated on the basis of Lenin's cultural-revolution principles, many Hungarian intellectuals, especially those working in the humanities, had all kinds of doubts, some draw in their horns, while others openly opposed us. We gave strength to the hesitant by a thoughtful and humane attitude and meaningful ideas. At the same time, we could not display indecision where action had to be taken in accordance with the full stringency of the law. This applied to workers in culture who had earlier served the cause of socialism but had subsequently, whether consciously or mistakenly, begun to come out against it and attack the established order. Let us bear in mind that, because of our political propositions, we did not believe — and this is highly important — that administrative measures, inevitable in certain conditions, had some kind of absolute force, and that they had to be appled regardless of the circumstances. What has remained absolute in our principles is our faith in the people, and our conviction of the truth and power of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

An essential feature of the HSWP's policy in the sphere of culture is also a requirement which Janos Kadar defined at the April 1978 Plenary Meeting of the party's Central Committee as 'mutual tactfulness.'[1] The party clearly saw that it could win over the intelligentsia only if it managed, while consistently criticizing and equally rejecting both right and 'left' trends, not to alienate a single person (including those whom it had earlier to fight), a single worker in culture whose honor and talents could serve the people and socialism.

A national conference of the HSWP in 1957 emphasized: 'It is the duty of every party member to strengthen the party's combat positions in scientific and cultural life, and to fight for the purity of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.'[2] We got down to fulfilling this task in the spirit of the party's overall policy.

From our experience we realized that the new ideology cannot arise and spread by fiat. Voluntaristic declarations about the wholesale introduction and monopoly status of Marxism-Leninism could merely be an obstacle to the fulfillment of vital ideological tasks. After all, administrative measures can damp down opposite opinions and wrong views up to a point, but they cannot shape a world view that people will accept as their own. So that was also no way to secure genuine ideological unity of those who had creative energy.

In the main, we won the battle against right-wing and sectarian views, and their influence was markedly narrowed down, but to this day we have to reckon with the possibility of their revival and expression in new forms. Only ten years ago, 'true Marxism' and 'a better socialism' were the chief slogans by means of which revisionism flexibly adapted itself to the changing circumstances. Today, 'radical reformism' no longer seeks to revise Marxism but openly rejects it and goes beyond the framework of Marxist-Leninist ideas. It has no program for building socialism; it has brought nihilistic rejection to the fore, but frequently it also tries to present the theoretical propositions of bourgeois liberalism as the criteria for a 'renewed' ('radically renewed!') socialism.

Nationalism is still one of the most inveterate enemies we have to face in the ideological battles. Its invariable features are the effort to contrast patriotism and internationalism, the minimization of the importance of internationalism, the separation of patriotism from the tasks of building a socialist society, and the ignoring of the class struggle when explaining the nation's erstwhile tragedies and triumphs.

This view, which mystifies one's own national past and scorns the national feelings of others, clearly runs counter both to genuine, socialist patriotism, and to internationalism. We must understand and explain to others that the foundation of actual problems can have an edge against the people's interests if the ways for their solution are sought outside the context of socialism, the class struggle and social progress.

Nationalism is an ideological and political trend which will be found both in the right-wing and in the 'left-wing' opposition. Its impact is largely due to the fact that nationalism invariably tries to use for its purposes man's finest and noblest features: the sense of responsibility and love for one's nation, for one's country.

The development of socialist patriotism, which is closely connected with internationalism, implies a struggle against any expression of petty-bourgeois indifference and national nihilism. Advance is equally made difficult by the individual's self-removal from the life of society and seclusion in a personal world, and indifference to the destiny of mankind as a whole.

Our party has always made a point of not rejecting the trends pulling us back into the past with a stroke of the pen (as dogmatism insists on doing), but of creating an ideological atmosphere in which the negative trends would be isolated by means of telling criticism, and actual problems solved creatively. In other words, we favor discussions whose purpose is not to defeat but to convince our opponents, assuming that they could be right on some points (if they are truly right in anything). Such an approach has required of Marxists a principled and resolute struggle against various anti-socialist theories, attitudes and conceptions in the light of the changing situation. To the intricate questions which history keeps posing before us one has to find answers that correspond to the new historical situation.

Our party's line on the freedom of culture is just as clear. In our practical policy, we apply Lenin's view of the freedom of culture, and this leads to a genuine flourishing of creative effort in the whole of the country's spiritual life: scientific establishments and art ateliers, publishing houses, theatres and film studios, radio and television.

In accordance with this view, the guiding principle of the party's policy in the sphere of culture is the creation of preferential opportunities for initiatives serving the ideas of socialism and promoting the country's socialist development. But in the process, we do not reject the creative effort of artists and workers in culture whose work still contains some elements of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. We do not accept their ideas and say as much in our arguments with them, in our critical statements (and let me add in parenthesis, this could be done much more consistently). But while conducting our ideological polemics with them, we pay tribute to their talent and artistic capabilities, and to the aspects of their creative effort which benefit society.

We have already passed the first stage of the cultural revolution: we have broken down the bourgeoisie's monopoly in the sphere of culture. The task of the present, second stage is to inculcate in the people a capacity and skill for active communion with culture, a capacity for the fullest possible perception of the available cultural values. Our main task at the third stage will be to make communion with culture and participation in culture a habit, a necessary element of human life.

We have good ground to assert that in the past several decades all the doors in Hungary have been flung wide open to give the masses access to the humanistic values and the most important works of world culture, whatever their origin. As a result, we now have millions of citizens who are connoisseurs of works of national and world art.

In the process of shaping the socialist national culture, we had to find a common tongue with broad circles of creative intellectuals and scientists and with those who use the fruits of culture. Sensitively reacting to the contradictions which emerged, we had to practise consistnetly Lenin's principles of democracy in culture and the constant multiplication of its values.

While combating false views, we have perseveringly sought opportunities for broad alliances with the creative intelligentsia, assessing on its merits every 'yes' which could result in unity on fundamental issues. The party's flexible and circumspect policy had a considerable role to play in the fact that many of those engaged in the creative sphere who had but recently kept aloof and turned their backs indifferently on social life began to display an interest in our policy and to cooperate with us in socialist construction. What is more, some of our erstwhile opponents have now become our allies and, we hope, will become our associates tomorrow or the day after tomorrow.

We Marxists have repeatedly had differences with prominent Hungarian workers in literature and art. We have never abandoned our standpoint for tactical motives, even when we were aware that there would be those among these men and their followers who would look askance at us for some time to come. But after all, there is such a thing as a 'good quarrel' and a 'bad quarrel.' That quarrel is good in which personal attitudes do not prevail, and which helps seriously to comprehend actual problems under discussion. Under the impact of convincing arguments, this kind of quarrel inevitably gives way to relations of mutual understanding and accord.

In our cultural policy, we do not recognize unprincipled condescensions, and do not brush off the mistakes of the past or the consequences of sectarian distortions and responsibility for this. The party has quite clearly displayed a readiness for self-correction and self-purification within the framework of socialism; having critically assessed the past, it clearly showed what could be developed from that past, what should be accepted as a useful legacy and what should be discarded. It was not only the party as a whole but every communist individually that had to perform this critical work. As a result, many artists and writers, expressing their feelings and their concern for the destiny of the common cause, made a noticeable contribution to the party's cultural policy aimed at combating the old right-wing and 'left-wing' deviations and counter-revolutionary influences. We did not demand of anyone to repent, but that is why, perhaps, some prominent hungarian writers decided that it was their duty to make known to world opinion that they had unbreakable bonds with our socialist society.

Still, our most convincing arguments were provided by the changing reality itself, as reflected in the works of literature and art. The representatives of the socialist, realistic trends in our art sought and continue to seek to reflect the new phenomena in the life of our socialist society. Indeed, the greatest values in our culture today are the works of literature and art which provide an answer, from the socialist standpoint, to the questions which reality itself poses, be it a question of Hungary's present or past. Culture — and art and aesthetic activity within its framework — helps to shape and enhance the socialist quality of life within the boundaries and on the scale on which they themselves develop toward the socialist view of social relations.

The further development of the cultural revolution largely signifies a more consistent improvement, than in the past, of the quality of aesthetic values. At the same time, the efforts to overcome mediocrity and drabness must go hand in hand with a further differentiation of the values being created within the framework of a socialist content, and an even greater openness of culture for assimilating new topics and problems, constructive development of vibrant Marxist thought, and a capability for creative discussion. Besides, the demand for higher quality in socialist culture, in

ideological and educational work, in science and public education is now ultimately a socio-political demand, considering that in the current struggle between labor and capital, between socialism and capitalism, the competition between the two different ways of life — the socialist and the capitalist — acquires ever greater importance.

3

The principles of our cultural policy have stood the test of time. It is impossible here to review all of these achievements, so I shall deal with only some of the general features of the development of Hungarian art.

Following the big upswing in the early 1960s, our culture in the 1970s was marked by new, more intensive and deep-going, even if, perhaps, less visible, qualitative changes. Their substance is the people's communion with all the achievements of the cultural revolution.

Today, one after another, many workers in art, including the 'deans' of the our literature, have joined in the creative endeavor in the field of culture. Their creative efforts have produced major works, whose importance we are, perhaps, still not always able duly to appreciate. In every sphere of culture, a young generation of creative intellectuals is engaged in a vigorous and interesting effort, with a steady growth in numbers and general significance of the young. Although our creative intellectuals differ in ideological and theoretical positions, virtually all of them support the policy of the HSWP and the basic principles and goals of socialism. Apart from everything else, this has led to a marked growth in the social prestige of literature, the fine arts, the theatre, music and the cinema.

Our art is taking shape in changing historical conditions, at a time when questions like 'What is to be done?' and 'How to advance?' are being formulated in a new way in the life of society. These questions have arisen in every revolutionary epoch, and our task would have been an easy one if we had had clear-cut and ready-made answers. But we have to find the answers ourselves, and sometimes at the price of error, and this means being the actual 'makers of history' in the Marxist-Leninist sense of these words.

The new epoch of the construction of society on socialist lines requires that art should take a mature approach and display great skill. After all, the most intricate and unknown social relations become the subject-matter of aesthetic comprehension, including the whole range of ties between the individual and society, the new interconnections between revolutionary transformations and the everyday forms of life, industrial and technological development which goes hand in hand with a socialist renewal of humanistic values, radical changes in the countryside and in the structure of the working class, and many other complex processes under way in society. This activity under socialism involves every contingent of the creative intelligentsia — politicians, scientists and artists — and all of this is reflected in the fact that durable ties between politics and science, between politics and art, ties which release men's creative energy, are taking shape and growing stronger in society, even if this process does entail some difficulties.

Marxism-Leninism comes to be established as the predominant ideology in the spiritual life of our socialist society, a process which is closely connected with the further growth in the role of Marxist aesthetic criticism, on which largely depend the discovery, preservation and flourishing of talents. Nor is it right to assume that art will be found on the one side, and criticism, on the other. Artists who create the spiritual values and critics taking the Marxist approach must act in a common front, 'on the same side.' Only then will they be able to lead the masses into communion with genuine cultural values, while simultaneously helping the greatest possible number of artists to understand socialist ideas, accept them for their own, and realize the truth of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Criticism should not whisper, it should convince. It does not create a work of art instead of the artist, but it can create a spiritual atmosphere which greatly enhances the creative energy and productivity of the masters of art.

It has become common knowledge over the past two decades that the HSWP's policy in the sphere of culture includes three approaches to the artist's creativity: support, tolerance (or patience) and, whenever necessary, prohibition. The meaning of these approaches lies in a fundamental ability to evaluate cultural phenomena and to distinguish what is true and what is false within them.

In our practical policy we have now and again, of course, applied prohibition. However, because of the strength of the socialist system and its certainty of its truth, such an approach has never been the main one for us. We make no secret of the fact that we have banned and will continue to ban works preaching 'wolfish ideas' and fascism, inciting to war, fanning chauvinism, attacking the foundations of our people's system, containing anti-humanistic and nationalistic ideas and expressions of the racist ideology. We also seek to push into the background works which 'pollute' the cultural environment, works which are aesthetically substandard, which reveal their authors' poor taste, and so on.

We display tolerance and patience, but by this we do not mean indifference to the guidance of culture, or neutrality with respect to the corresponding phenomena. Such an approach is necessarily complemented with Marxist criticism, asserting our ideas and carrying people (the creators and the broad masses) closer to the truth.

But our main task is to give active support to phenomena in the sphere of culture which, while having a high ideological and aesthetic standard, are also marked by a clear-cut socialist orientation. We constantly have this line of our activity on our agenda, and when we speak of the principle of 'support,' this does not, of course, mean support for individuals, but for principles and works. In art,

there is no room for 'protocol,' as there can be no room for 'duty genuises.'

One has to emphasize in this connection the responsibility in the creative process of social institutions like publishing houses, editorial offices, studios, all kinds of juries and so on. Their activity requires a fresh and attractive atmosphere in which the progressively-minded, socialist worker in culture should feel at home, learning from his own experience that such organizations exist precisely for him, and that all the advice and remarks addressed to him are not interference by some incompetent outsiders, but are a real hand of assistance.

Petty tutelage and captious interference have disappeared from our policy in the sphere of culture; creative institutions have become independent. At the same time, the broad masses and the creative intelligentsia itself require more efficient guidance of cultural processes. One will now rarely hear complaints about real and valuable works of art being shelved. But the dissatisfaction is now even stronger whenever there is laxity in assessing a work.

At the present stage in the development of socialism, we must take a more critical and self-critical attitude to our practical policy in the sphere of culture. Summing up the results of the fulfillment of the decisions of the 11th Congress of the party and preparing for the 12th Congress, we cannot say that the state of things in this area is entirely good. We have no miraculous guarantees, independent of our own activity, that in the immediate and distant future the development of culture and art will run steadily along a straight line. Equally, we have no immunity to any possible mistakes in critical assessments and the elaboration of future decisions. Everything depends on us, on how well and thoroughly we are able to use the accumulated experience, how fundamentally and unpretentiously we analyze the new reality and draw the right conclusions on that basis.

4

Ideology permeates the whole of culture. In the present epoch, truly vast and ever growing potentialities are being opened up to culture. But at the same time, its responsibility to the people and to the whole world tends to increase. In such conditions, special importance attaches to a principle of cultural policy like the clarity and popularity of the formulated goals and standpoints. In this sense, we must make use in the sphere of culture of the same propositions by which we are guided in the whole of our socio-political practice: socialist democracy, development of the collective socialist consciousness, active socialist patriotism, and solidarity with the Soviet Union, the friendly socialist countries, the communist movement and all the progressive social movements of our day.

In the recent period, especially since the 11th Congress of the HSWP, the development of socialist democracy, which is created by the people's power, by socialism, has acquired great significance among the forces nurturing our cultural revolution. Our daily experience confirms that democracy will be successfully exercised and developed only when a growing number of competent and well-educated working people take part in governing and controlling general affairs. At the same time, one should not forget that every creative element in culture is an essential source of joy, both on work-days and on holidays, and that it reduces the apartness between people and strengthens the ties between them.

A Leninist democratic policy in the sphere of culture implies the unity of freedom and responsibility in the artist's activity. This principle is connected with the realization of the dialectic relation — with the socialist education of the masses and the shaping of socialist public opinion — and, simultaneously, with ensuring the active role of the public in developing socialist culture, a role which tends to grow together with the growth of the culture of millions.

We oppose both those who reduce socialist democracy to the level of bourgeois democracy, and those who try to 'protect' us from the refreshing influence of democracy, forgetting that the strength of the socialist power comes from the support of the whole people. Nor do we allow anarchy to be a substitute for democracy. Those who go in for anarchist escapades try very hard to spread their views in the sphere of culture, especially among the young. These efforts of theirs do not, of course, jeopardize the stability of our social system, but they do have some influence on individual young artists, hampering their understanding of the true meaning of life and creativity.

Everyone knows that in the process of social development many questions tend to arise which are hard to comprehend and which remain without an answer for some time. Any attempt to exorcise them by means of empty catchwords or moralizing produces nothing but a sense of uncertainty and disappointment. In particular, the dynamism of our people's life and the change in the habitual conditions of life bring to the surface some new forms of petty-bourgeois views and 'ideals' alongside the old ones. Unless we can conduct a competent dialogue with those, especially young people, who share these veiws but yearn to work, unless we join them in seeking answers to the existing questions, and unless we consummate this quest with joint action, cynicism, even nihilism, and anarchic forms of behavior are bound to appear.

Summing up, one could say that in the existing conditions, with the most difficult concerns for satisfying the elementary vital requirements behind us, and with hundreds of thousands of working people yearning for culture and high art that would speak to them in a pure and understandable language, our party has a good right to demand of every worker in literature and the arts that he should provide the people with spiritual nutriment of the highest quality. This is a necessary condition for making communion with culture a key and vital

requirement of the masses, serving the individual's all-round development and helping to bring out everyone's multi-faceted endowments.

World culture helps to realize the truth of Marxism-Leninism and to gain a deeper understanding of it, because, as Lenin put it, Marxism did not emerge away from the highroad of the development of civilization, but as 'the legitimate successor to the best that man has produced' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 23). On the other hand, the truth of Marxism-Leninism helps to master world culture, because it teaches one to think in terms of world categories, to comprehend genuine and abiding values, and to understand mankind's true perspectives.

Two decades ago, we believed that despite our successes 'we face more outstanding tasks than before,' and that 'we still have to travel over a long and steep section of our ascent.'[3] Looking back on our way, one could say that the section of the path ahead is perhaps not as steep as before, but then it is not smooth either. The party and the people still need to overcome a great many obstacles and to cope with the complex tasks which are posed by develped socialism. Our descendants will perhaps also take the same view of things. That is why we can wish them to seek to use the achieved level as a basis for rising over and above it.

1. Az MSZMP KB 1978. aprilis 19-20-i ülesenek dokumentumai. Kossuth Könyvkiado, 1978, old. 45.
2. Az MSZMP hatarozatai es dokumentumai 1956-1962. Budapest, Kossuth Könyvkiado, 1973, old. 87.
3. Az MSZMP hatarozatai es dokumentumai 1956-1962. Budapest, Kossuth Könyvkiado, 1973, old. 270.

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exchange of views

The middle strata and the revolutionary movement

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The working class and bourgeois democracy

Why are the most diverse forces — from the bourgeoisified élite of the working-class movement to reactionaries — today resuming their efforts to clothe the bourgeois state in the toga of 'pure democracy?' Why are they transforming it into an incantation against socialist ideals, against existing socialism? Engels noted that when the moment of revolution comes 'pure democracy' may acquire an importance 'as the extreme bourgeois party' and as the final sheet anchor of the whole bourgeois economy. 'At such a moment,' he wrote, 'the whole reactionary mass falls in behind it and strengthens it; everything which used to be reactionary behaves as if it were democratic.'[1] The unity of reaction behind the shield of 'pure democracy' (i.e., the form of bourgeois rule that evokes the greatest confidence under given circumstances) in order to win time for reorganizing and regrouping its forces and mounting counter-attacks — a phenomenon shown by Engels when he analyzed the revolutions of the 19th century and to be observed in the national revolutions of the 20th century — has today become international.

It would be futile to try and find in developed capitalist countries economic processes and social changes that could lead to a 'resurgence' or 'rejuvenation' of bourgeois democracy, and to a relaxation or even surmounting of its 'all-embracing contradiction.' This contradiction between political equality and economic inequality (in other words, between universal suffrage and capitalist power, which, with citizens formally enjoying equal rights, ultimately gives preference to those who are economically stronger) is compounded under the impact of growing monopolization. It has been confirmed time and again that monopoly capitalism tends toward reaction, toward unchallenged domination. Monopolization, the combination of economic and political power and bureaucratization that is linked with it, are more and more insistently posing the question: In what manner can one obtain protection against the ubiquitous power of the state and monopolies, which strive to entangle the entire body of society in a web of diverse relations of dependence, depriving it of the possibility of moving?

The twofold nature of bourgeois democracy has never been more obvious than it is today. On the one hand, it remains a form of domination by capital. On the other, the class struggle and the actual balance of strength compel capital to exercise its political rule in the framework of democratic norms. This explains what otherwise might appear to be nothing less than hypocrisy: the selfsame forces that support bourgeois democracy as a form of capitalist class domination and counterpose it to the other democracy, to socialist democracy, lean over backwards in their effort to undermine, limit and nullify bourgeois-democratic rights.

The stronger the working class and the influence of existing socialism, the more the bourgeoisie and

monopoly capital are forced to make do chiefly with the 'second method of rule' (i.e., maintain their power by concessions, verbiage and promises), and the more hazardous become the attempts to employ the 'first method of rule' (i.e., denial of reforms), the more obvious is reaction's striving to make a virtue of necessity. In blowing its own trumpet the bourgeoisie uses even the democratic gains wrested from it. It seeks to benefit by the successes of the working-class movement, using them to nurture the illusion that bourgeois democracy gives adequate scope for a just order worthy of man, that the only thing wanting is somewhat to extend and transform it. The greater the threat to bourgeois domination, the more tenaciously those who hold power and benefit by it endeavor to subordinate the working-class movement to the bourgeois rules of the game. For itself, reaction does not feel bound by any rules. It not only cheats constantly but, where possible, ignores the rules altogether.

Under these conditions the place and role of the struggle for democracy in the fight for socialism becomes the key question, although it is not 'fundamentally new' as some quarters try to portray it. Beginning with the *Communist Manifesto*, the keynote of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin is that the working class can approach the socialist revolution, win allies, lead them to the revolution, and triumph only if it links every step of its movement and further development to the democratic demands enunciated most resolutely and most consistently. This is borne out by the history of movements that have actually remade the world. The way to the socialist revolution lay mostly through democratic reforms: anti-fascist, anti-imperialist or national-democratic. The further development of the revolutionary movement and the steady radicalization of its demands has made it possible to traverse a longer road with allies than the latter were initially prepared to embark upon, win new allies, and pave the way for socialism. Anti-imperialist strategy is likewise aimed at arriving at the socialist revolution through the stage of democratic reforms in order to speed up the movement to socialism with the aid of democratic demands implemented in their most radical and consistent form.

How is the question of the role of the struggle for democracy in the fight for socialism put in the context of the need to win the middle strata as allies of the working class? Lenin wrote: 'One should know how to *combine* the struggle for democracy and the struggle for the socialist revolution, *subordinating* the first to the second' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 35, p. 267). Is this still a pressing task? Or is the struggle for democracy now becoming almost identical with the struggle for socialism, turning into a self-contained 'strategy of democratization?' From this follows the next question: Has the stand of the working class, of its revolutionary movement, undergone a fundamental change relative to bourgeois democracy?

It is said that even in bourgeois society the working class fights most consistently for democracy. This is indeed the case. It will be borne in mind that bourgeois democracy owes its cardinal achievements, including universal suffrage, to the working-class struggle. However, the substance of what we are saying lies not only in this. Since capitalism turned from a progressive into a reactionary system and brought the monopolies to power, the destiny of bourgeois democracy has proved to be closely bound up with the working class. It is none other than the working class that defends its achievements against various forms of bourgeois reaction. It is none other than this class that defends and develops the finest traditions of democracy, traditions that are now alien and even burdensome to the reactionary bourgeoisie.

However, the reverse does not follow from this: the destiny of the working class itself is in no way linked to bourgeois democracy. On the contrary. Its liberation, the abolition of exploitation of man by man, presuppose the extirpation of the relations of property and power on which bourgeois democracy rests, no matter what shape it takes. Consequently, the liberation of the working class presupposes not the preservation or 'perfection' of bourgeois democracy through the addition of 'new freedoms,' but a qualitatively new democracy, for the first time a democracy of the ruling majority and, thereby, a revolutionary advance in social development.

Here, too, the basic issue is that of property. It is the key to understanding the functions and prospects of democracy. In the course of its struggle the working class comes to understand that although the level of democracy and freedom in the selfsame bourgeois social system depends on many factors, chiefly on its own strength, on its ability to safeguard its interests, on its influence among the middle strata of society, it is determined in the long run by the relations of property and power. Possible distinctions in the extent of democracy in the bourgeois system are by no means inessential; they are of the utmost significance for the conditions of the struggle and life of the working people. However, qualitative distinctions arise only when fundamentally new relations of power and property are established.

The task, set by Lenin, of linking the struggle for democracy to the struggle for socialism remains urgent in revolutionary practice, but in the following subordination: 'the first to the second.' It is topical because the present condition of the working class poses it with a dual task: first, to defend bourgeois democracy against the reactionary bourgeoisie, and second, to move beyond the bounds of that democracy, for the roots of evil and oppression lie in bourgeois relations. Any deviation from this subordination of democratic to socialist tasks ultimately leads to the subordination of the working-class movement to bourgeois relations, to adaptation to these relations. More, experience shows that rights and gains can be consistently upheld within the framework of bourgeois democracy only to the extent that a consistent struggle is waged against capitalism, which falsifies, emasculates, limits and imperils democracy.

Two approaches to the alliance with the middle strata

But is this formulation of the question of subordinating the democratic to the socialist not fraught with harm for alliances with the middle strata, in which petty-bourgeois notions of democracy predominate? Experience shows that the possibility for durable alliances springs from objective contradictions in society and depends on how acute these contradictions are. In other words, the concrete question always arises: For what purpose and how far can somebody advance side by side with the working class under diverse conditions?

In this context let us briefly review the present situation in Austria. For a growing section of the peasantry (its proportion in the total population has dropped to 15 per cent), the material conditions of life depend on allowances from public funds, i.e., from the state and its various institutions. However, decisions on allowances are passed without the involvement of the bulk of the peasant population but with the participation of the agricultural monopolies, whose representatives not only hold key positions in the highly-organized cooperatives but also subordinate these cooperatives to the interests of the monopolies.

For most of the peasant population the question of democracy has mainly two specific aspects: (a) safeguarding the interests of the small and middle peasants in the cooperatives and, (b) defending and developing the autonomy of rural communities against pressure from the state-monopoly finance apparatus. Obviously, both these aspects can be resolved only by ousting the monopolies and ultimately depriving them of political and economic power, in other words, by acting together with the working-class movement, which has broken with all forms of class collaboration and 'social partnership' and acts resolutely against the state-monopoly system.

There are no common interests among the intelligentsia worth speaking of, for it is itself not a social entity. The condition of each of its groups is fundamentally dissimilar. One of them, which supplies most of the bureaucratic élite, is integrated into the state-monopoly system and seeks to limit (and does limit) democracy as far as possible. The condition of a numerically much larger but heterogeneous group is entirely different. It is oppressed and impinged on by the state-monopoly system and suffers from that system together with the working class, but in many respects differs from the latter. Lastly, there is a distinct large and numerically growing group of white-collar workers, whose objective condition and place in the process of production are drawing closer to those of the working class, with whose interests it is most closely linked but has many interests of its own. However significant these distinctions may be in details, the greater part of the last two segments of the intelligentsia faces the same situation as the working class: a wide gulf between its actual role in the social process of reproduction and its real influence on decisions that in various ways, directly or indirectly, affect it and concern the evaluation of its labor and use of its qualifications, the results and social purport of its activity, and frequently even the meaning of its life. These decisions are taken by a few, more often anonymous agencies. However, they are influenced by the struggle which, in the first place, the working class wages against the existing system. Hence the coincidence of interests, and the possibility and need for joint action by the intelligentsia and the workers, which by no means signifies that these segments of the intelligentsia 'inevitably' accept the socialist consciousness. Many activists of so-called civic initiative groups belong precisely to these strata, and it is precisely in these strata that debates are going on about 'new forms of day-to-day democracy,' 'basic democracy,' and the formation of 'democratic cells.' All of this and also the 'irritation with politics' widespread in intellectual circles are evidence of their disenchantment with society. The intelligentsia painfully feels its undemocratic essence, although more often than not it fails to see the roots of its undemocratic substance.

In my country a growing number of intellectuals is coming round to the conclusion that far-reaching social changes are needed. One cannot fail to see this as a symptom of the crisis of capitalism. At first they often succumb to various pseudo-socialist fads: the illusions that society can be changed gradually without any leap and without any risk; desperation breeds anti-authoritarian anarchist aspirations to destroy everything within sight; ultra-radicalism, which today preaches that revolution is necessary, and tomorrow — because that revolution has not been accomplished — urges betrayal of the working class, its 'integration' into the system.

A mistaken understanding of the functions and substance of the state is the common denominator underlying these misconceived ideas. To some the state seems to embody evil that should be removed immediately. Others ignore the character of the state as the organized vehicle of coercion by the ruling class. The ultra-radicals cannot understand that the state-monopoly system has deeply echeloned armor-plated defensive lines; the 'élite' can do nothing against it; its elimination involves a persevering struggle by the working class and its allies up to a decisive outcome.

The crucial element of our formulation of the problem is that the state is a force that uses diverse means to regulate, discipline, discriminate against and oppress not only the working class but also the bulk of the people belonging to the middle strata. It is a sort of heart-and-lung machine of big capital, in the interests of which all the other classes and strata are subjected to blood-letting. True, the extension of the state's social functions makes it possible to camouflage its class character. But, at the same time, situations arise more and more frequently that bring large segments of the population into conflict with the state in one way or another. As a matter of fact, many of the specific problems linked to this, for instance, the crisis of the system of education or

culture, the miserable state of public health, the conversion of dwellings into a commodity, the disparity in prices of farm produce, are seen solely as individual social problems until systematic 'all-round exposure' by the revolutionary party of the working class and their own experience bring the masses around to understanding the major inter-relations in society and the mainsprings of these inter-relations. Consequently, at each stage of the development of social contradictions the issues must be raised, in line with specific requirements and interests, in such a manner as to lead to a decisive conclusion: the need for abolishing the state-monopoly system and changing the state's class character. This implies that in any situation the working class should uphold its common interests with its potential ally against the common adversary.

An antipodal stand leads to a growth of petty-bourgeois influence. It cannot be denied that on this basis, too, it is possible to form relatively broad and durable alliances, but only at the price of a weakening of the forces able to transform society. An example of this is the Austrian social-democratic movement. During the lifetime of two generations it spoke of winning over the absolute majority of the population to socialism and the solution of the basic problems of the nation's social development. For almost ten years it has had the support of the absolute majority, but it has not kept its promises. Today the social democrats declare that they cannot take any steps toward socialism and must rest content with a somewhat broader social democracy, for otherwise, they claim, they will lose the majority. Such is the price, they say, of alliance with the middle strata.

How to dispel petty-bourgeois illusions

Does this mean that in all cases the alliance with the middle strata negatively affects the aims of the working-class movement? By no means.

Without an alliance with the middle strata the working class unquestionably cannot break the state-monopoly system. But it is also indisputable that one of the mainstays of this system among the masses consists of petty-bourgeois illusions about the possibility of resolving society's basic problems and fundamentally renewing and extending democracy without changing the relations of property and power, without eliminating the domination of monopoly capital. The history of the working-class movement teaches us one and the same lesson time and again, namely, concessions to these illusions do not ensure a more prolonged or a more tranquil and safe road to the socialist goal. They give rise to a different goal: correction and patching up of flaws in the existing system. The working class has been able to cope with its class adversary only when a considerable section of the middle strata sheds its delusive hopes for a 'compromise,' for the settlement of social problems 'in the interests of everybody.'

The working class can lead a large proportion of the middle strata along the road to socialism only if its party can dispel the petty-bourgeois illusions that lead away from the class struggle and the revolution. Petty-bourgeois influences constantly affect the working-class movement in countless ways. The proletarianized middle strata add their own prejudices to it. Illusions can be created even by the consessions wrested by the working-class movement. For instance, the winning of universal suffrage is known to have generated the belief that power can be won only through elections.

Highly organized state-monopoly capitalism can be brought down only by circumspect, inventive and flexible struggle for institutions and organizations, for bridgeheads and for every possible position. When we speak of the struggle for the institutions of bourgeois democracy we should not forget the following. From the indisputable fact that to some extent they mirror the balance of class forces the mistaken conclusion may be drawn that as a result of further changes in the balance of strength all these institutions without exception can be changed fundamentally by giving them 'other functions.' From the circumstance that in resorting to undisguised coercion, reaction is compelled to be more circumspect, the conclusion is sometimes drawn that coercion has already played its role in society's life. This conclusion disregards the situation, which Antonio Gramsci described with the formula: The state — dictatorship + hegemony.[2] The working class must establish its hegemony, its political, ideological and moral leadership in order to put an end to dictatorship. However, it cannot be ended if it is imagined that it does not exist at all.

The sham alternative of 'bourgeois democracy or no democracy' is advanced and imposed in order to prevent the middle strata from adopting the socialist ideal and force the working class to adapt itself to bourgeois notions. This is not only a sham alternative; it has been falsified because bourgeois democracy is not called by its proper name — they prudently prefer to speak of 'democracy generally,' 'simply of democracy.' To illustrate how this method is used, let us quote the words of Bruno Kreisky, Chairman of the Socialist Party of Austria, spoken at that party's latest congress: 'Today, everywhere in Europe, with the exception of the communist East, democracy has triumphed again, becoming the dominant form of state power.'[3]

What does it mean to succumb to the pressure of those who smear existing socialism as 'undemocratic' and take for democracy only the unbroken domination of capital? Those who make such concessions gloss over or conceal only one 'minor point': the actual historical alternative is capitalism or socialism. They obscure or ignore the distinctions between bourgeois democracy, which, however 'perfect' it may be, is marked by a tendency toward bureaucratization and monopolization, and socialist democracy, which, however 'imperfect' it may be claimed to be, is marked by an ever more direct and all-embracing exercise of power by the working people. As a result, it becomes easier fraudulently to elevate bourgeois democracy to the pinnacle of 'pure democracy,' to contrapose it to

socialist, genuine democracy, and depict it as a 'model' for the latter.

The glossing over of democracy's class character creates the soil for all sorts of illusions, for instance, that it is possible to build a 'thoroughly democratic' superstructure on the reactionary, state-monopoly basis, or to give the bourgeois state a 'broad, massive democratic basis,' or that the advance toward socialism under bourgeois democracy by means of gradual changes does not require a stringent curbing of bourgeois influence, including the influence of the big bourgeoisie.

In the long run any adaptation to bourgeois democracy leads to the invention of a 'fundamentally new socialism' that is fitted into its narrow bed. In this framework there is no room either for the experience of existing socialism, the actual conditions for building the new society to replace the old, or for the objective factors determining what freedoms and what degree of democracy are possible in each specific case. In the final analysis, 'pure democracy' requires a pure ideal.

Dialectics of class alliances

All models of capitalism's evolutionary, gradual transformation into socialism have one and the same specific: the theoretical assumption that it is possible constantly and gradually to enlarge the alliance of the working class with the middle strata without any convulsions, crises or serious setbacks. In the history of genuine revolutionary movements this theoretical assumption has never been confirmed in practice. More, it comes into conflict with the fundamental law of capitalism — uneven economic and political development — a law which governs not only the relative dynamic of development of different capitalist countries but also the processes taking place in them. Further, this assumption is contested by the fact that among the middle strata there is no shortage of examples of utter devotion to a just cause, self-sacrifice, selflessness, and courage, but more frequently there is irresolution and an inclination to side with and adapt to the strong.

Since in their present quest for a 'fundamentally new,' 'more democratic' way to socialism some theorists are now returning also to Austro-Marxism, it would be useful to recall that when the 'way to gradual democracy' in Austria ended in failure after the civil war of 1934, Otto Bauer wrote: 'To secure the transition from the capitalist to the socialist mode of production it is vital to crush the resistance of the capitalists and big landowners to expropriation. It is necessary to smash the entire economico-ideological mechanism of domination by which the capitalist class influences and subordinates to its interests the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants, intellectuals, and even some segments of employees and factory workers.'[4]

The idea that in their totality the middle strata automatically submit and are linked to capital is unquestionably wrong. It is an element of the fatalism implicit in even the best variants of Austro-Marxism. Further, it is self-evident that complete unity of the working class and its firm hegemony relative to other segments of working people may be achieved only under socialism. All this suggests the important conclusion that the winning of the middle strata to the side of the working class or their neutralization depends largely on the extent to which it becomes possible to counter the diverse forms of coercion exercised through the mechanism of class domination, and on the extent to which it becomes possible to weaken and break the existing relations of dependence, lay bare and paralyze the covert functions of the apparatus of coercion and then smash it.

Thus, there are no guarantees that the middle strata already acting together with the working class to achieve specific aims will not somewhere and at some time stop, turn away or even defect to the side of the adversary, to the side of the 'strongest.' One thing is certain and it is that if at any stage of its struggle the revolutionary party moves away from the socialist ideal, relaxes its work in explaining to the middle strata — on the basis of their own experience — the class character of democracy and the state and also the limits which capitalist rule places on democracy and the implementation of their interests, if it renounces these efforts it will become impossible to go beyond these limits, and stagnation and vacillation will become inevitable. Precisely this vast experience is summed up in the key propositions of the classics of Marxism-Leninism: the working class can approach the revolution, lead its allies to it, and triumph only in the event that it links every step of its advance along this road to the most resolute and consistent democratic demands.

It is sometimes asked whether further development, in particular, the transition from democratic, anti-monopoly reforms to the socialist revolution and the 'social regrouping' this requires will not inevitably narrow down the alliances? History shows that this is not so. In the period from February to October 1917 in Russia the Bolsheviks advanced along the path of politicization and activation of the 'lower strata,' stirring formerly 'apolitical' groups, radically advocating the interests of the intermediate strata, and, at the same time, emphatically dissociating themselves from petty-bourgeois ideology. This enabled them to avoid the danger of the petty-bourgeois wave swamping the revolutionary movement. The growing strength of the most determined, vanguard elements carried with it those who lingered or vacillated. The proletarian line paved the way for itself into the middle strata who had begun to move. In an entirely different situation, in Czechoslovakia at the close of 1947 and in early 1948, when reaction attempted to intimidate the middle strata by alleging that 'civil freedoms' were threatened, to pull them over to its side, and push the nation onto the capitalist road, the Communist Party responded by accelerating the advance toward socialism. It appealed directly to the masses, to direct democracy, demanding from openly class positions further nationalization and a land reform and putting for-

ward democratic demands in their most consistent form.

In view of the great diversity of the democratic traditions of political institutions and of the specifics of the social structure in one country or another it would be absurd to expect to give any ready-made recipe for the conduct of the struggle for democratic rights. Nothing can relieve the revolutionary party of the obligation to work out, together with the masses and with account of national specifics, concrete slogans calling for a further advance toward socialism. A further advance in the direction of socialism is possible only to the extent that a solution is found for the problem formulated by Lenin — combining the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism, and subordinating the first to the second. 'In this,' Lenin wrote, 'lies the whole difficulty; in this is the whole essence' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 35, p. 267).

1. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 381.
2. Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*.
3. *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, May 20, 1978, Dokumentationssonderbeilage, p. 2.
4. Otto Bauer, *Zwischen swei Weltkriegen?* Bratislava, 1936, p. 194.

Present-day imperialism: theory and practice

INTERNATIONAL THEORETICAL SYMPOSIUM

The *WMR* Commission on Class Struggle in Developed Capitalist Countries together with the Polish Institute for the Study of Contemporary Problems of Capitalism has held an international symposium in Warsaw to consider some specifics in the development of imperialism at the present stage. Those who took part in the symposium were: *Andrzej Lawrowski*, Director, Institute for the Study of Contemporary Problems of Capitalism; *Tadeusz Kolodziej* and *Longin Pastusiak* of the Institute; *John Pittman*, CC Political Bureau member, CPUSA; *Bert Ramelson* (CP Great Britain); *Ahmed Salim*, (CP of the Sudan); *Hugo Fazio*, CC member, CP Chile; *Emile Habibi*, CC Political Bureau member, CP Israel, CP representative on the Journal; *Gherman Diligensky* of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations, USSR Academy of Sciences; *Francisco Melo*, Executive Editor, Portuguese edition of *WMR*; *Massimo Micarelli* of the Gramsci Institute (Italy), and *Heinz Jung*, Deputy Director, Institute of Marxist Studies in Frankfurt-on-Main (FRG).

The views expressed by the participants in the symposium are presented here in an abridged form and have been grouped by the key problems discussed.

Viability of Lenin's ideas

Prominent in the discussion was the assessment of the importance of Lenin's doctrine on the nature and specifics of imperialism in comprehending its modifications in present-day conditions. Its participants unanimously emphasized that although Lenin's classic work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, was published over 60 years ago, the fundamental conclusions and judgments it contains are being borne out by the developments in the modern world, while Lenin's advice on the key aspects of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary movement are meaningful to this very day.

Bourgeois and reformist apologists of capitalism assert, *John Pittman* said, that monopoly capitalism has changed so radically that it has lost all similarity with the 'old,' 'classic' imperialism, which was analyzed by Lenin. They refer to the far-reaching processes of economic integration and the emergence of transnational monopolies which allegedly eliminate the ground for competition and contradictions. They claim that the scientific and technical revolution automatically ensures universal affluence and makes social revolution unnecessary. They suggest the following conclusion: Lenin's analysis of imperialism, which may have been right in the past, is not 'out of date.'

Drawing on the experience of his own country, Pittman gave numerous facts and drew conclusions which show that the uniformities governing the development of U.S. capitalism are characterized, even today, by the phenomena described by Lenin like aggravation of the class struggle and deepening of the crisis of capitalism in consequences of the mounting basic contradiction under state-monopoly capitalism between the social character of production and the private appropriation of the fruits of labor; the continued social polarization of society which is attended with the adoption of anti-monopoly positions by new strata of the population; and the changing positions of national capitalism under the impact of the uneven development of the capitalist countries.

The viability of Lenin's ideas, *Francisco Melo* said, has been fully borne out by the April Revolution in Portugal. It did away with the Portuguese brand of state-monopoly capitalism and dealt a crushing blow at the monopolies, thereby opening up a socialist perspective for the people. The events in a country involved in NATO's military-political system, fettered by the transnational monopolies, and tied to the world capitalist market by loans and credits, show that the forces of social and economic progress are inexorable. Transition from capitalism to socialism, as Lenin anticipated, has become the basic law of our epoch.

For all its specific features, Melo said, the Portuguese revolution has also confirmed another fundamental thesis of Lenin's political strategy, according to which the question of power is the chief issue in a revolution. After all, the complexities of the class contest in Portugal are connected, in particular, with the fact that major socio-economic transformations were carried out in the country before a state apparatus corresponding in character to the achieved gains had been set up. The progressive forces were unable to establish a revolutionary power. The Portuguese Communist Party says that this was a grave miscalculation, which enabled the reactionary and conservative circles to create a strong basis for mounting resistance to the further development of the revolutionary process.

The monopolies and the state

The discussion at the symposium showed that none of the theoretical propositions and propaganda tricks of the ideologues of imperialism can alter the fact that the root of all the problems eroding the basis of bourgeois society will be found, as Lenin discovered, in the growing power of the monopolies, which is predetermined by the continued concentration of their strength and the ever greater subordination of the state to the interests of private capital.

The concentration of production and centralization of capital continue to be one of the basic features of imperialism to this very day, *Bert Ramelson* said in the central thesis of his statement. The ever faster emergence of giant enterprises is now characteristic of all the economically developed capitalist countries. In Britain, he said, this process has gone especially far. In 1970, for instance, the share in net output of the 100 largest manufacturing enterprises came to 41 per cent, as compared with 33 per cent in the United States. Before the First World War about 2,000 of the largest enterprises accounted for 50 per cent of manufacturing output compared with the present figure of less than 150. Analyzing the concentration in industry, Ramelson noted that since the late 1950s at least half of the increase in concentration resulted from mergers.

The ruling circles, *John Pittman* said, seek to camouflage the fact noted by Ramelson. Referring, for instance, to the existence in the United States of roughly 10 million enterprises of different types and size, they claim that the United States is a 'free competition paradise.' But the dominnat role in the country's economic life is played by 100 major monopolies. They establish the prices, lay down policy on wages, and dominate the sphere of credits and monetary circulation, and fiscal policy. It is the major industrial-financial magnates that ultimately determine the line of political processes in the United States and Washington's foreign-policy concepts.

This combination of contradictory elements — competition and monopolization — is characteristic of present-day imperialism. This confirms Lenin's idea that 'the essential feature of imperialism, by and large, is not monopolies pure and simple, but monopolies in conjunction with exchange, markets, competition, crises' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, p. 464).

The participants in the symposium considered in detail the role of the bourgeois state in the monopolization of capital. Today, *T. Kolodziej* said, there is evidence, in particular, of a growth in the role of the state sector. It is formed both through a nationalization of existing private firms, and as a result of direct participation by the state which plays the leading role in the emergence of new industries. The former approach is used above all in industries where there is stagnation or a slowing down of technical progress, which harms private enterprises. In that case they are helped through nationalization with payment of compensation. The latter approach is used in the 'super-modern' industries (electronics, aviation, space), because the monopolies are frequently not inclined to bear the tremendous costs of research whose ultimate results are problematic.

Kolodziej illustrated this with an analysis of the state of things in the public sectors of the British and French economy and showed that the activity of the nationalized industries is not geared to the interests of society. He dwelt, in particular, on the artificial preservation of relatively low prices for goods and services in these industries on the plea that there is a need to contain inflation in the private sector in order to make the country 'competitive on the world market.' But, Kolodziej added, this line of argument is true only in part, because the decline in the profitability of the state sector tends to reduce the accumulations which could be used for the new investments required for its development.

In this way, he went on, the nationalization of some industries in the highly industrialized capitalist countries is designed not to oust the private sector, but to create conditions favoring monopoly capital. This aim is also served by the provision to the monopolies of low-cost services (by the nationalized industries in the infrastructure), and by innovations and inventions (by the nationalized 'super-modern' industries). Quite naturally, the monopoly bourgeoisie does not object to that kind of nationalization.

It would be wrong, however, *Ramelson* objected, to underestimate the positive political importance of nationalization in the economy. In Britain, for instance, it was effected not only for the sake of the monopolies' economic interests mentioned by Kolodziej. Public ownership of British steel, coal, energy and the railways was the direct result of pressure from the working-class movement.

This shows that nationalization is not always carried out in the interests of the ruling class. Even when it is used to promote private capital, the enterprises or industries brought under public ownership eventually become an arena of the working people's struggle against the monopolies. That is why, Ramelson said, the nationalized sectors of the capitalist economy can and must be actively used in the fight for deep social changes.

In principle, *Gherman Diligensky* said,

nationalization is directly connected with the weakening of capitalism. It can be both the result of a balance of socio-political forces in this or that country which is unfavorable for monopoly capital, and of its economic weakness, say, a shortage of private investment reserves. In the United States, for instance, or in the FRG, the state sector has not developed on the scale on which it has in the economically weaker states.

Melo agreed with this but draw attention to the fact that nationalization, for its part, can become a powerful instrument for eroding the power of monopoly capital. This will be seen, for instance, from the experience of the Portuguese revolution. The economic power of monopoly groups was undermined by the nationalization of the main sectors of the economy when, as a result of the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the emergence of a new, democratic situation, state-monopoly capitalism lost its political positions. Together with the two other key gains of the revolution — worker control and the agrarian reform — nationalization became not only a response to the attempts by reaction to re-establish the dictatorship, but also helped to strengthen democracy and advance the revolutionary process.

Analyzing the specifics of West German capitalism, *Heinz Jung* draw attention to the fact that the private-monopoly model of its development is predominant in the FRG. This prevents complete transition to state-monopoly forms of regulation. In the FRG the state mainly has the function of financing the process of concentration and monopolization, and also of overcoming the grave disproportions in the economy, which the monopoly mechanism of the movement of capital inevitably engenders.

Jung emphasized that it would, of course, be wrong to fail to take into account the evolution of the economic mechanism of monopoly capitalism. Thus, from 1966 to 1969, with the installation in office of the social-democratic government, attempts were made to step up the development of state elements within the system of regulation, including the sphere of education and science. But even then the reforms met the interests of monopoly capital, because a lag in these spheres could undermine the competitiveness of West German imperialism.

However, one cannot but state at this point that this line, having acquired its own dynamic, ultimately combined with inflation to induce a reduction in capitalist accumulation and a distortion of proportions in economic developments. Having reached a dead-end, the FRG government, impelled by the oil and energy crisis of 1973, undertook a strategic re-orientation. It abandoned the Keynesian program for a fiscal and political enlivening of the purchasing power of the masses.[1] Nor did it adopt any government development programs. It decided to stimulate private investments.

The trends noted by Jung, *Kolodziej* remarked, apply not only to the FRG. The bourgeoisie accepts nationalization only when the latter helps private business to get rid of unprofitable enterprises, companies and whole sectors of the economy. Otherwise, the monopolies resist plans for nationalization, and insist on a restoration of private ownership wherever nationalization has been put through. This involves not only the nationalized enterprises and companies which had belonged to private capital. In Italy, for instance, there is a stubborn demand for a transfer into private hands of state enterprises set up with the use of public funds, like the largest industrial concerns ENI and IRI.

Kolodziej said that the hope is not so much to extract immediate benefits as to win back, in the state sector, positions which could make it possible to direct its development in such a way as to prevent it from clashing with the interests of private capital.

Jung drew attention to the fact that as a result of the growing trend toward a restoration of private ownership, even moderate structural concepts written, say, into the SDPG programmatic documents have met with resistance from monopoly capital and the conservative political forces closely allied with it.

Ramelson asked: but can capitalism be stabilized by fully re-establishing the free-market mechanism, that is by eliminating the state sector? After all, it has reached a state when state intervention has become an economic and political imperative, ruling out any possibility of realizing the principle of full market freedom. That is one of the most acute contradictions of present-day capitalism. It is becoming ever more pronounced from year to year, and testifies to the crisis of bourgeois political economy.

While showing that imperialism has no historical prospect before it, *Diligensky* said, we must not forget, however, that present-day capitalism is not yet fully worked out. Thus, there must be the closest attention to the attempts by ruling circles in the capitalist countries to stabilize the capitalist economy at the expense of the working people. This is expressed in their deliberate policy of maintaining a high level of unemployment, in cutting back social spending and depressing real wages. Whatever the form of the anti-crisis policy of state-monopoly capitalism, it inevitably boils down to intensifying the exploitation of the working people, and efforts to get them to shoulder the brunt of the economic burdens.

The use of scientific and technical progress for rationalization in ways ensuring maximization of profits for the monopolies by worsening the social and economic conditions of wage-workers is one of the newest forms in the exploitation of workers, employees and intellectuals, *Jung* said. The renewal of constant capital at an ever higher technical level makes for a growth in labor productivity and a buildup of production capacities, which naturally intensifies the trend toward redundancy.

In countries where economic development is slow and where, in consequence, there are very limited possibilities for employing jobless working people in other sectors, this process causes a rapid growth of unemployment. Thus, since the end of the 1974-75 crisis, the number of unemployed in

the FRG has not dropped below the one-million mark.

The arsenal of methods used by the ruling classes and the state they control for suppressing the working people's resistance to the policy of exploitation, *Ramelson* said, is truly vast. One of these is the notorious 'incomes policy,' which has been increasingly used in the recent period. The monopoly circles and the parties catering for their interests resort to demagogy and downright deception in an effort to prove that a 'social contract' between the workers and the state is not just necessary but even useful for the working people, meaning that the workers should voluntarily agree to a depression of their living standards in exchange for promises of full employment which is known to be impracticable under the the power of the monopolies.

In the political plane, the ruling classes encourage authoritarian tendencies. Many democratic rights won by the workers in the period when capitalism had been forced to make some concessions are being legislatively rescinded. In Britain this involves an effort to deprive the trade unions of the right to make lawful use of their strength.

Internationalization of capital

The symposium considered some aspects of the internationalization of capital in present-day conditions. The crystallization of multinational or transnational monopolies began in the 1860s-1880s, but after the Second World War it acquired new qualitative and quantitative parameters. Together with the export of capital, it is now an attempt by the economically developed capitalist countries to overcome the contradictions which are immanent in imperialism.

Because transnationals, *Ramelson* said, are beyond the control of the state, they can, in pursuit of maximum profit, frustrate their home state's economic strategy, create balance of payments problems, have a negative effect on the structure of the economy, and alter the budgetary expectations and pricing policies. They increase the anarchy inherent in capitalism by reducing still further the interventionist capacity of the capitalist government, thereby aggravating the crisis and reducing the state's effectiveness in pursuing a policy designed to achieve restabilization. That, Ramelson said, is the cause for the failure of the Keynesian methods and the growing popularity in bourgeois scientific and government circles of Milton Friedman's monetarist theory.[2]

It is true that the ruling classes of the capitalist countries keep claiming that they are capable of controlling the transnationals. Attempts are even being made to work out some 'code of behavior' for them. However, experience shows these claims to be unfounded. This will be seen from the insuperable difficulties which arise in any attempt to apply anti-monopoly legislation in practice.

Hugo Fazio gave an example of Latin American countries to show the mechanism by means of which imperialist capital penetrates the developing regions of the world. He pointed to the spread of old and the emergence of new forms of dependence of Latin American countries on imperialist capital, North American capital in the first place. Fazio also analyzed the new phenomena arising from the stepped-up activity of the transnational corporations in Latin America and the Caribbean, and the large-scale penetration by finance capital of countries in the region, and also their huge external debt and growing technological dependence.

In 1978, he said, capital totalling a record $20.46 billion flowed in Latin America. The main form of foreign-investment activity today is the influx of finance capital, chiefly as credits. In the recent period, these have grown much faster than direct investments. Thus, from 1972 to 1976, direct investments went up by 40.1 per cent, and loans by 411.6 per cent. In the subsequent period, this trend has continued.

The Latin American countries are badly in need for foreign credits to cover their large balance-of-payments deficits. In the first eight years of the current decade, these totalled over $65 billion. As a result, the Latin American countries' external debt in the first seven years of the decade more than quadrupled.

Any form of foreign-capital activity, Fazio said, tends to act as a heavy drain on funds from the region. From 1974 to 1978, the servicing of credits alone took $35.1 billion, which was much more than the volume of direct investments in that period. Besides, there are other channels along which imperialist capital siphons off funds into its banks, so enriching the international financial oligarchy and the transnational monopolies, on the one hand, and creating serious obstacles to the accumulation of capital in the countries of the region, on the other.

In conclusion, Fazio stressed that imperialist capital operates in Latin American countries not only as an external but also as an internal factor. In these countries, it joins with the strongest groups of the national bourgeoisie, which has in many instances developed into a local financial oligarchy, and also with the latifundists. Under the impact of this process, in a majority of the most economically developed countries in the region there is an ever more active formation of a 'dependent state-monopoly capitalism.'

Fazio's idea about the dangers arising from the coalescence of transnational and local capital was elaborated by *Ahmed Salim* in the light of the situation in the Arab region. Imperialism makes active use, for instance, of a redistribution of petrodollars, i.e., the funds obtained by the ruling élite in the oil-producing countries of the region from the sales of oil. The resultant vast monetary reserves are involved in the world monetary system and, appearing on the world monetary market, are integrated with the reserves of the giant monopolies and the big capital of the leading imperialist powers. The communist parties of the Arab countries, he went on, are convinced that petrodollars are an instrument of neo-colonialist infiltration, which hampers the advance of the revolutionary process.

It is the strategic goal of neo-colonialism, he said, to tie the developing countries' economy to the world capitalist market, and petrodollars are only one of their instruments. The main thing, however, is to prevent these countries from accumulating the capital they need for stable economic development, and also to carry on a drive against the state sector in order to wipe it out. The imperialist powers seek to slow down industrialization, on the one hand, and to encourage the development of one-crop, agrarian economies oriented upon export, on the other.

The international capitalist division of labor, he went on, cannot guarantee equality for the developing countries in the world economy. Being tied to the capitalist market, they remain victims of blind market forces and the laws of capitalist exploitation, and are forced to submit to the terms of inequitable economic and trade relations.

Reality refutes current bourgeois theories claiming that developing countries can ensure economic growth by taking the capitalist road and relying on foreign financial support coming from the capitalist centers in the form of subsidies, loans and joint-stock capital. Programs worked out in such conditions are usually limited and are implemented under the control and in the interests of foreign monopoly groups. As a result, the volume of profits repatriated from developing countries is many times greater than the volume of imported capital. Besides, developed capitalist countries obtain farm produce and raw materials from developing countries at artificially depressed prices while selling their own manufactured products at overstated prices.

Thus, to this day there continues to exist the unjust international division of labor which imperialism imposed in the colonial period and which is being maintained in the new conditions by the economic power of state-monopoly capitalism. That is why it is not right to separate the prospects for the newly-free countries' independent economic development from their choice of one of the two antagonistic ways of social development: the capitalist or the socialist.

It was emphasized in the discussion that it is not only U.S. imperialism that engages in external expansion. *Jung* said that FRG monopoly circles regard the winning of external markets and obtaining access to sources of raw materials as virtually an obsolute condition for the accumulation of capital. That is why from the very outset, the development of state-monopoly capitalism in the FRG was centered on a stimulation of exports and foreign investments and ensuring competitiveness through a monopoly internationalization of production.

Collective colonialism, *Ramelson* said, is making itself increasingly felt in the recent period, as will be seen from the policy of the EEC. France, a founding member of the Common Market, has tied its former colonies to the EEC. Following Britain's entry, many of its former colonies also became associated with the EEC. There are also the partially successful attempts by the Nine to take a common stand against the OPEC countries following the flare-up of the oil crisis. The Common Market countries are now seeking to synchronize their regional policy to enable the West European imperialist powers to maintain the above-mentioned great gap between the prices for their manufactures, on the one hand, and the raw materials coming from their former colonies, on the other.

Capitalist integration

The shaping of transnational monopolies and the build-up of their economic and political power stimulate the state-monopoly form of integration, whose supreme expression is the formation of interstate capitalist associations. Within their framework there is an exceptionally contradictory process of adaptation by the national economies and economic structures to the biggest markets produced by regional economic complexes. A specific feature of this process is the combination of the urge for cooperation and integration, on the one hand, and the inevitably growing contest both within these complexes and between them, on the other.

Ramelson recalled that it was the British transnationals that led Britain into the EEC, for they realized that entry would enable them to transfer investment funds into Western Europe's rapidly growing markets. As for the FRG, France and Italy, which are far behind the United States and Britain in the establishment of transnationals, their goal was to ensure a framework of activity going beyond the existing state borders, so as to facilitate operations by their monopolies in the West European region.

Pittman agreed with the analysis of the causes inducing the leading capitalist countries to take part in the process of integration, but drew attention to the fact that, far from having been eliminated, competition within 'the integrated region' has, in fact, been intensified. After all, he said, the lifting of tariff barriers is abandonment of only one instrument of the competitive fight. The difficulties in framing a common agricultural policy, the contradictions in the coal and steel policy, in the demarcation of fisheries zones, the disputes over North Sea oil, all these exemplify the fierce rivalry among the EEC countries' monopolies. It is inter-imperialist contradictions, Pittman exphasized, that prevent the Common Market countries from working out a common policy of state intervention to ease the crisis in this region, which is a key one for the future of capitalism.

Still, for all the contradictions and rivalry which spring from the drive for profits, *Ramelson* remarked, national groups of West European finance capital are also united by their common interests. At certain stages, such common interests tend to prevail. These are expressed in the urge to increase the EEC's economic and political weight so as to stand up to U.S. and Japanese monopoly capital and recarve imperialist spheres of economic influence in favor of the West European monopolies. These interests will also be discovered in the intention to use integration to stabilize the social and political

condition of their countries and to put pressure both on countries within economic groupings and those remaining outside.

The task of the Marxists is evidently to determine, at every stage of historical development, which trends take the upper hand, those of integration or disintegration. It is especially important to understand this now that increasing importance attaches to discovering the roots of the current aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism and finding a democratic way out of it.

The current crisis, *Massimo Micarelli* said in this context, was largely caused by the structural changes in the capitalist system and in the international division of labor. He cited as examples the monetary chaos, the inflation, the rising prices of raw materials, the growth of the organic composition of capital through the priority development of industries making instruments of production, the decline in the rate of profit, the internationalization of capital, and the negative impact of automation and rationalization on the working people's social and economic condition.

At the same time, Micarelli said, the political mechanisms which used to actuate the cold war have been gripped by an ever deeper crisis. There is a growth of inter-imperialist contradictions, and also of the contradictions between the developing countries and the neo-colonialist powers.

The changing structure of international relations is of the utmost importance, he went on. The number of countries involved in them has increased, and what is most important, there is a growing urge on the part of all countries to play a part in world affairs and to work for the establishment of a new order in world trade creating more favorable conditions for the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Western Europe, he emphasized, has an important part to play in the struggle for such relations. It can play a new and positive role in the world if the various forces — the working class and its allies, communists and socialists — take the road of socialist transformations in the light of the traditions and specifies of each country, and efforts to ensure the full flourishing of democracy and all the freedoms.

The above-mentioned problem and the need to escape from the crisis throw a new light, Micarelli said, on the role of the EEC and its agencies. Thus, he said, it is necessary to vest the European Parliament with political power to enable it to solve, on a genuinely democratic and multinational basis, monetary, financial and energy problems, problems arising from the restructuring of industry, from agriculture, ecology and research.

He expressed the view that, relying on the working people and their parties, capitalist associations and transnational monopolies can be deprived of their freedom of action in a united Europe. The establishment of the European Parliament and the enlargement of the EEC, Micarelli said, would make it possible to have a serious review of the EEC's policies and main orientations.

Some of Micarelli's ideas were criticized by other participants in the symposium. *Ramelson*, in particular, cast doubt on his assertion that encouragement of all the West European capitalist countries to enter the Common Market could create some kind of instrument for a 'synchronic socialist transformation' in Western Europe. He resolutely stressed that no amount of attempts to democratize the EEC could change its role as an instrument of the most powerful transnational private corporations and state monopolies. The reactionary forces could use it to paralyze action in any individual EEC country as soon as it reached a stage of development at which the question of restructuring society on socialist lines became meaningful.

Melo also expressed his disagreement with some of Micarelli's assessments. He recalled that the Portuguese communists resolutely opposed their country's association with the EEC, for adaptation of Portugal's socio-economic structures and labor legislation to those of the EEC members would amount to a restoration of state-monopoly capitalism, a review of the Constitution, and would, on the whole, pose a threat to the revolutionary gains and the democratic regime.

The moves by reaction aimed to involve Portugal in the Common Market and the extensive propaganda for a 'European choice' are attended by attempts to erect all kinds of obstacles to the development of relations with the socialist countries, and by relapses into anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. Melo asked: Have we any right to forget about such harmful consequences of capitalist integration?

In present-day conditions, *Ramelson* remarked, the transnationals are a factor which adds to the unevenness of development. Britain offers an indicative example in this respect, he said. The intensified export of capital by the monopoly associations tends to narrow down the potentialities for internal investments, so slowing the growth of production and the gross domestic product. At the same time, this export of capital helps to build up the economic potential of British transnationals on the world markets.

A direct consequence of this is growing anarchy in the operation of the economic structures of world capitalism and aggravation of its crisis on a national and a world scale. The centripetal forces, expressed in the trend toward regional state integration, run into contradiction with the mounting competition between national and transnational corporations, that is, with the centrifugal forces.

Indeed, *Pittman* said, the contest between the centrifugal and centripetal trends is not a new phenomenon in the history of capitalism. So long as the exploiter system does not face a direct threat, so long as the revolutionary process has not put the question of its existence on the order of the day, the capitalists carry on a life-and-death struggle against each other. But as soon as capitalism is threatened, they act in a common front against the working class and its allies. It is precisely the urge to develop the centripetal trend and to resist the centrifugal

trend that led, for instance, to the establishment in 1973 of the Trilateral Commission, a special organ for popularizing the ideas of cooperation and joint action by the imperialist powers. The decision to set it up (and it includes leading representatives of financial, industrial and government circles of developed capitalist countries: United States, Canada, West European countries and Japan) coincided with a period of U.S. imperialism's glaring crisis in economics, politics and ideology, and was an attempt to counter that crisis.[3]

One should bear in mind, *Longin Pastusiak* said, that these attempts to coordinate the imperialist powers' political and economic acts are being made in a situation in which the position of the United States as leader of the Western world has been sharply weakened. Thus, in 1950, the United States accounted for 52.6 per cent of the capitalist countries' industrial output and 47.1 per cent of their gross domestic product. By 1977, the figures had dropped, respectively, to 41.2 and 38.9 per cent. The gap between capitalist Europe and Japan, on the one hand, and the United States, on the other, began gradually to narrow down. To this was added a number of superimposed internal crises in the United States: the economic, the energy and the raw materials crises. The aggressive war in Indochina undermined the moral and political prestige of the United States all over the world, including the capitalist countries. Following the Watergate scandal, many facts came to light of abuse of power by the CIA and the FBI, and also international graft to which leading U.S. corporations resort.

Ideological contest

In the face of the economic, social political and moral upheavals in the capitalist world, and of the mounting crisis in imperialism's neo-colonialist policy, its ruling circles seek ever more insistently and subtly to adapt their ideology to the changing world. A consideration of the various aspects in the development of imperialist ideology and propaganda in present-day conditions, it was emphasized at the symposium, is highly important for the communists in elaborating their tactics of anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggle.

The task of forcible spiritual 'integration' of the working people with capitalist society, *Andrzej Lawrowski* said, is now being tackled by bourgeois ideology on a broad front. It is in the past several decades that a number of bourgeois theories has been developed in an effort to prove that present-day capitalism is not a system based on exploitation, but a social system governed by democratic mechanisms, a system which promotes the withering away of class conflicts, and the only system which ensures not only the stabilization but also the further development of society.

But faced with the grim reality, Lawrowski said, bourgeois theorists are themselves forced now and again to review their ideas. Thus, we find them ever more frequently admitting the fundamental fact that the capitalist world is going not just through another stage of cyclical fluctuations, but a deep crisis of its whole structure. Bourgeois scientific circles are highly alarmed over the fortunes of the capitalist monetary system. The successes of the forces of social and economic progress in Asia, Africa and Latin America are being admitted. Against this background, the fact that imperialist ideology has no positive ideals, and that bourgeois socio-economic theories are in crisis becomes ever more obvious.

One must see *Jung* said, that alongside the theses which are common to imperialist propaganda as a whole, the ruling circles of each imperialist power work out their own specific line. Thus, the main line in the ideology of West German imperialism at the present stage is the spread of the idea that a 'social market economy' has emerged in the FRG, an economy which is recommended as a model to the other West European countries and the developing countries.

During the latest elections to the Bundestag, for instance, the SDPG leaders campaigned under the 'German model' slogan, claiming that since their installation in office they have managed successfully to combine the principles of the 'market economy' with provision of social guarantees for the working class. Their aim, in particular, is to try to give the West German working people the illusion of being involved in structuring a 'new Model' of capitalism and, by massaging the national pride, to tie them ideologically to their reformist conceptions and policies.

Diligensky characterized present-day imperialism as an integral system of economic, political and spiritual domination by monopoly capital, and drew attention to the need to study the impact of the scientific and technical revolution and new forms and methods of state-monopoly regulation on the development of class relations and the class struggle. Thus, changes in the technico-economic sphere predetermine the modification of methods of class domination by the monopoly oligarchy. Whereas in the relatively recent past, its main form was economic coercion, backed up with coercion from the ramified system of the bourgeois repression machine, the importance of control over the working people's thinking now tends to grow.

One of the main lines of the social strategy of capitalism is to insinuate the 'consumer society' ideology into the public consciousness. Seeking to expand markets for maximizing profits, capitalism distorts the natural development of the material and spiritual requirements of the working class and all the other working people, one-sidely orienting them upon the products of mass material and spiritual production. Meanwhile, bourgeois propaganda seeks to channel this process in such a way as not only to create the basis for growing sales, but also, and above all, to divert the working people's attention from the vital problems in their social and economic condition. As a result, the character of the basic class antagonism in the capitalist society is falsified.

The practice of revolutionary struggle, *Melo* emphasized, exposes the unscientific substance of

bourgeois, right-reformist and other opportunist conceptions which clash with the objective facts. Thus, the example of the Portuguese revolution shows the groundlessness of the claim that détente and peaceful coexistence signify an abandonment of the class struggle and hamper the peoples' advance toward their liberation.

Developments in Portugal prove the untenability of the models by means of which an effort is made to paralyze the struggle for deep socio-economic transformations and to establish a 'strategic equilibrium between spheres of influence.' The danger of the calls for regional or 'geopolitical' unity is becoming ever more obvious: reaction and the forces objectively helping it use these calls to undermine the line of loyalty of proletarian internationalism, and the alliance of the Portuguese working people with the international working-class and national-liberation movement.

In the opinion of *Lawrowski*, the efforts to undermine the unity of the international communist movement and to induce political disorder and ideological pluralism in the socialist countries are an important element of the foreign-policy conception of U.S. imperialism in present conditions. It is embodied in President Carter's all-out campaign in defense of 'human rights,' which was designed to help Washington act as keeper of the capitalist order and bourgeois ideas behind a screen of democratic and humanistic slogans. There is no doubt that this dirty campaign was regarded as a kind of antidote to the growing influence of socialism and a weapon against the mounting struggle for social justice.

Simultaneously, *Ahmed Salim* added, the Washington advocates of democracy want their loud campaign to divert the attention of world public opinion from the fact that the United States is a country with imperialist traditions that has actively defended the world colonial system, and that now suppresses national-liberation movements, and the rights and freedoms of whole nations. People in Africa well remember, he went on, that in the United Nations the United States has repeatedly voted against resolutions condemning the racist regime in South Africa and Rhodesia, and opposed genuine independence for Namibia. In the Somali-Ethiopian conflict, Washington, in effect, sided with Somali, although it was that country's leadership that unleashed the aggression against Ethiopia. The CIA financed groups hostile to the Neto government in Angola and supplied them with mercenaries and weapons.

The avowedly imperialist policy pursued under the 'defense of human rights' banner, *Emile Habibi* said, is epitomized by the U.S. support of the Begin-Sadat deal, which contradicts the vital interests of the people of Israel and the Arab peoples, and deprives the Arab people of Palestine of its legitimate rights. The separate Egyptian-Israeli treaty is a plot organized by Washington to continue the occupation of the territories seized by Israel, and to realize the Zionist plans for setting up a 'Greater Israel.' It is a part of the strategy of U.S. imperialism envisaging the cobbling together in the Middle East of an aggressive military bloc designed to replace CENTO and SEATO, which were wound up under pressure from the peoples. The U.S. strategists' idea is that Israel and Egypt should become gendarmes protecting U.S. interests in the Middle East, the Persian Gulf area and Africa, and ensuring the security of U.S. military bases, which are aimed against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

As for the United States itself, the prominent U.S. political leader Andrew Young admitted that there were hundreds and perhaps thousands of political prisoners in the country. Is Washington entitled to talk about 'civil rights' after the exposure of the unconstitutional activity of the CIA and the FBI within the United States itself and abroad?

The step-up by the bourgeois mass media of the anti-Soviet and anti-communist hysteria will now be seen not only in the United States but also in other capitalist countries, including Britain, *Ramelson* said. This is a part of an orchestrated campaign which stems from the capitalist world leaders' fear of the consequences of the sharpening economic, social, political and ideological crisis. The purpose of the campaign is to divert the working people's attention from the positive aspects in the development of the socialist community and to lead them away from the class struggle. The interests of the working people in the capitalist countries call for a resolute fight against the vicious attacks by imperialism.

Impact of world socialism

Analyzing the specific features of present-day imperialism, the participants in the symposium emphasized that it now has to exist and act in a world in which a world socialist system has taken shape and is on the ascendant, in a world which is almost completely liberated from colonialism. Ours is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale. Its characteristic features are the mounting competition and confrontation between the antagonistic social systems, an intensification of the class struggle and consolidation of the unity of the three main streams of the world revolutionary process.

In *Ramelson's* opinion, the main influence exerted by the socialist community on world developments is that it aggravates and deepens the general crisis of capitalism. There were economic crises even before 1917. However, the model of their cycle has now changed. The phase of recession tends to become longer and deeper, while the upward phase tends to grow shorter and fails to lead to a complete emergence from the crisis.

The emergence, strengthening and enlargement of the socialist market, *Habibi* said, has a tangible effect on the development of countries, which, having thrown off the colonial yoke, seek to achieve economic independence. This fact is having an impact not only on the progressive-minded social strata in developing countries, but also on the elements which are inclined to support the socialist

way of development. Equitable relations with countries constituting the socialist market induce these people to seek a radical change in their economic relations with the imperialist states through genuine independence.

One must take into account the fact, *Diligensky* said, that the contest between the two world systems — socialism and capitalism — which constitutes the definitive feature of our day, cannot but modify these general features of imperialism, which were first analyzed by Lenin in his classic works. Take the feature of imperialism like inter-imperialist struggle for marketing outlets, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence, a feature which has been fully confirmed by historical development. In earlier periods, this struggle naturally led to wars between imperialist powers. At present, one could evidently assume that this uniformity has largely faded. The chief factor which has determined this modification is the fact that the existence and strengthening of the world socialist system makes imperialism variously limit and tone down the concrete forms of the contradictions existing between its individual centers and individual national imperialisms, although these are highly acute.

One of the key features of the April Revolution in Portugal, *Melo* said, is that, while resulting from the persevering struggle of the Portuguese people, the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, it was carried out under the progressive development of the world balance of forces between socialism and capitalism. The abolition of the Salazar dictatorship would have been impossible without the change in the world balance of forces, of which the main factor is the socialist community, its economic, political and defense potential and the ever greater influence of socialism on world processes. That is what tends to deepen the general crisis of capitalism, promote fresh victories for the national-liberation movement and the mounting struggle of the working class and all the other working people in the capitalist countries.

In present-day conditions, imperialism is forced to reckon with the existence of the Soviet Union and of the whole of the socialist community, which is the decisive force in the struggle for peace. Détente, which rests on the political, economic and military strength of existing socialism, is of special importance for the whole international development. The socialist countries' consistent policy of peaceful coexistence ties the hands of the most aggressive circles of the imperialist powers, prevents them from starting another world war, and makes hopeless their attempts to use force against the developing countries.

1. Keynes formulated a theory of 'regulated capitalism' based on active intervention by the bourgeois state in the economy and provision of high profits for the biggest monopolies through larger taxes and greater intensification of the workers' labor. His idea was to avert economic crises by regulating the money supply and consumption. — *Ed.*

2. The U.S. economist Milton Friedman is the leading exponent of the monetarist trend in bourgeois political economy. He believes that free enterprises and the free play of the capitalist-market forces can ensure normal reproduction without extensive interference by the state, whose functions should be limited to regulating the money supply. — *Ed.*

3. For details on the Trilateral Commission, see John Pittman's article: ' "Trilateralism" — U.S. imperialism's new scenario,' *WMR*, May 1978, p. 104. — *Ed.*

In memory of Agostinho Neto

The international revolutionary movement has suffered an irreparable loss. The untimely death has occurred of Comrade Agostinho Neto, Chairman of the MPLA — Party of Labor, President of the People's Republic of Angola, prominent statesman and political leader of Africa.

Agostinho Neto was closely involved in the history of the dedicated struggle for independence by the peoples of the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, Angola in the first place. He was a founder of the Anti-Colonial Movement, and then of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which under his leadership united the country's patriotic forces.

Following the proclamation of the independent People's Republic of Angola, Agostinho Neto became its President. Under his leadership, the young Republic advanced along the road of progressive socio-economic transformations and opted for the socialist orientation. At the MPLA's First Congress in December 1977, Agostinho Neto announced the establishment of the Angolan working people's vanguard party, the MPLA — Party of Labor.

Agostinho Neto was in the front ranks of the fighters for peace and friendship among nations. He was elected member of the Presidium of the World Peace Council, and was awarded the international Lenin Prize 'For Strengthening Peace among Nations.' His forward-looking political and humanistic ideas were also expressed in his poetic writings, and his poems are known all over the world.

Agostinho Neto enjoyed well-merited prestige and sincere respect in the international arena. Firmly and consistently, he pursued the policy of cooperation with the socialist-community countries, and stood up for the anti-imperialist content of the non-aligned movement. Under his leadership, the People's Republic of Angola gave utmost support to the liberation movements in the South of the African continent in their fight against racism, colonialism and imperialism.

The radiant memory of Comrade Agostinho Neto will always remain with the communists and with all those who cherish the ideals of peace and social progress.

Archenemy of the Latin American peoples

Jose Gomes
CC member, Brazilian CP

Julio Laborde
CC member, CP Argentina

Carlos Nunez Anavitarte
CC alternate member, Peruvian CP

In the recent period, the transnational corporations have come to play a markedly growing role in world economics and politics. This is due above all to the vast development and internationalization of the productive forces under present-day capitalism. The step-up in their activity is also a peculiar response by imperialism to the important political changes in the world, and an attempt to stem or, at least, to slow down the process of radical change in the balance of forces in favor of socialism.

This is expressed, in particular, in the fact that the transnationals seek to impose their own 'new' international economic order, which is designed to bolster the positions of capitalism in the Third World, and to perpetuate the developing countries' subordinate status in the world capitalist division of labor.

This policy was one of the main reasons for the aggravation in the 1970s of the contradictions between the centers of imperialism and the Third World countries, notably, Latin America, the most important area for the investment of foreign capital.

In a study of the transnationals' activity in Latin America much importance attaches to Lenin's idea that a country's political independence is not in itself a barrier for imperialism. He wrote: 'Finance capital is such a great, such a decisive, you might say, force in all economic and in all international relations, that it is capable of subjecting, and actually does subject, to itself even states enjoying the fullest political independence' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 259). That is the basic problem faced by the countries in the Latin American region, with the exception of Cuba.

Latin American realities refute the bourgeois-reformist idea that an open-ended international economic system capable of sending a flood of investments across national borders is the best guarantee for stable economic growth in the Third World countries and the developed capitalist countries. It shows that the transnationals, far from being the motive force of socio-economic, scientific and technical progress, and the only reliable stake for the future, as their advocates seek to convince world opinion, in fact operate as the archenemy of the Latin American peoples which is responsible for the worsening of their living conditions and the plunder of their natural resources.

'Economic colonialism,' a concept connected with the transnationals' plunderous policy, has a direct bearing on our continent. International finance capital, that of the United States in the first place, has intensified its control over the main spheres of economic and financial activity with the support of the local big bourgeoisie, the latifundist and reactionary governments. As a result, national sovereignty in many Latin American countries has not, after all, been fully developed.

The transnationals, chiefly U.S. transnationals, which are the backbone of neo-colonialism, have struck deep roots in the economy of the continent. Latin America accounts for over 80 per cent of the foreign investments concentrated in the Third World, with their main stream going above all into the major countries with a large domestic market. As a rule, a sizable part of the investments comes from the United States, although one must note that in the recent period their volume has somewhat shrunk. A report issued by the UN Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) said: 'The United States continues to be the main source of capital going to Latin America and the Caribbean. But there is a marked reduction in the U.S. participation with a corresponding growth in the activity of other developed capitalist countries.'[1] These processes have been going forward in an atmosphere of sharpening inter-imperialist struggle for control of raw material sources, cheap manpower, marketing outlets and strategic points in the region.

The sphere in which foreign-monopoly capital is being invested has also been changing. In the 1960s, almost 60 per cent of U.S. direct investments went into the extractive industry and the services. But by the mid-1970s, the volume had been somewhat reduced: by 7 per cent in mining, and by 3 per cent in the public services. Investments in agricul-

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We continue publication of items prepared on the basis of an international exchange of opinion held in Prague on one of the key problems in the theoretical and practical struggle of the revolutionary forces in Latin America: assessment of the level of development of the productive forces and the relations of production in the region (see *WMR*, June and August 1979).

ture were also down by 1 per cent. In the mining industry there was an influx of investment only into the working of bauxites, nickel and other key minerals. However, the reduction in the influx of foreign capital into some sectors of the economy does not at all mean that the region is being gradually released from foreign control. In some countries, the transnationals have been increasing their investments in agriculture as well, buying up lands and setting up agro-industrial complexes. They frequently control the purchase and delivery of machinery and equipment, the credit system, and the marketing of agricultural produce required by the United States and Western Europe.

Manufacturing has become the main sphere of foreign investments on the continent. In 1977, it accounted for nearly 60 per cent of U.S. investments. But in countries where intensive urbanization, the growth of the middle strata and other factors have led to an expansion of the domestic market, the transnationals have also intensified their penetration into the traditional sectors of the economy (the light and food industry).

By the mid-1970s, U.S. corporations alone are said to have accounted for up to 40 per cent of the continent's industrial production, including nearly 90 per cent of the output in the chemical industry, and 80 per cent of metal-working and engineering. One ECLA report says that 'the biggest countries in the region are tightly tied to the international market of private capital. A system of relations differing radically from the old one has arisen and operates on that basis . . . the governments have been forced to introduce a new system of ties which were largely under the control of the transnational corporations.'[2]

The growth of economic dependence has gone hand in hand with a sharp extension of imperialist exploitation in the region. Today, more than one-third of the Latin American countries' export earnings goes to pay for the repatriation of profits and the servicing of their external debt. In some countries the proportion is even higher: over 50 per cent in Brazil and Mexico, 60 per cent in Peru, and 55 per cent in Panama. From 1966 to 1976, $2.5 billion of net profits 'migrated' to the United States alone. On the other hand, according to the Inter-American Development Bank, the Latin American countries' external debt has been growing by 25 per cent a year, which means a doubling of the debt every four years.

In the recent period, the loans made available to Latin America have been growing faster than direct investments. In 1972, U.S. bank credits came to 45.2 per cent of U.S. direct investments, in 1975 to nearly 50 per cent, and in 1976 to 65 per cent. Investments went up by 40.1 per cent and credits by 411.6 per cent. That is one of the means used by the international financial oligarchy to fortify its control over Latin America's economy and policies, and is one of the factors intensifying the contradictions in the region.

Lenin said that the 20th century marked the 'turning point from the old capitalism to the new, from the domination of capital in general to the domination of finance capital' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 226). In recent decades, the relative and absolute strength of the U.S. financial oligarchy has sharply increased. Never before have the big financial centers had such crucial and obvious power in deciding the policy of the state. Their global expansion has now assumed unprecedented proportions.[3]

Imperialist financial groups use highly elaborate methods in plundering the Latin American countries, which are frequently illegal even from the standpoint of traditional bourgeois law. Studies by well-established economists show that the transnationals' real profits are on average three times higher than the officially reported figures. Such camouflage is achieved mainly through a manipulation of overhead costs, which are either understated or overstated, depending on the circumstances. In the former instance, foreign companies located in our region sell or 'export' goods at low prices to enterprises which may be in other parts of the globe but which belong to the same transnational group. In the latter instance, subsidiaries buy goods and equipment from the parent company at overstated prices, and this helps them to conceal the size of their profits, which are later exported through various channels.

The transnationals also use the plunderous method of effecting the bulk of their investments through funds constituted outside the parent companies, i.e., through re-investments, credits obtained in the countries where investments are made, and other resources.

The imperialist monopolies also have an extremely negative effect on the 'import substitution' process in our region. The infiltrate the most promising industries in this or that country, and are least of all concerned with their industrial development. They are motivated above all by their yearning for profit, because the rate of profit in, say, manufacturing is only slightly lower than it is in the oil industry.

Imperialist investments in the industrial sectors of the economy do not lead to a reduction but to an increase in imports from the developed capitalist countries: the imports of equipment, technology, goods and raw materials from the metropolitan countries and the transnationals' subsidiaries have been growing.

The imperialist monopolies, seeking to dull our peoples' vigilance, frequently operate behind the cover of national laws designed to regulate their activity. The system of mixed companies resulting from the establishment of new or the merger of existing imperialist and local private or state enterprises is widespread. It helps to cut the outlays on organizing production, while providing some guarantee against nationalization. Mixed companies are actually based on the principle of cooperation with the local bourgeoisie, and this helps to extend the basis of imperialist power in Latin America. This system is broadly used in the areas of the state sector which are the most profitable and which evoke a heightened interest among the

transnationals. It is used in the metallurgical and chemical industries, in engineering, in transport and also in industries connected with the extraction, refining and marketing of oil.

The infiltration of big private (foreign and local) capital into the state sector frequently occurs in a veiled form: enterprises attracting private companies are converted into mixed joint-stock companies, with the result that a sizable percentage of the stock passes into private hands (whether through the stock market or in other ways).[4] On the other hand, a large number of enterprises which are officially registered as national are in fact controlled by foreigners. At the same time, many transnationals, which are represented in Latin American by companies like Bunge y Born (Argentina), enjoy the privileges of national capital.

Under the scientific and technical revolution, the most rapid application of scientific and technological achievements is of tremendous importance for independent and stable development. But the imperialist monopolies use these achievements to maximize profits and tighten their hold on the dependent countries. Most frequently they operate along two lines: first, through their affiliates, subsidiaries or associated enterprises, and second, through the conclusion of various licencing agreements with local companies — both state and private — on the provision of technical specifications, patents, trade marks, projects, etc., and also through a mechanism like the extension of the right for the sale of strategic goods and modern equipment. In either case, everything runs within the framework of 'technology transfer,' i.e., ostensibly conventional technical aid, instead of the inequitable trade which reduces the country's capacity for independent decision-making, and which intensifies its dependence.[5]

Modern technology calls for sizable investments, but it can be used only over a relatively short period. When the imperialist centers realize that some equipment is obsolete they seek to extract the maximum profit from it and so send it to dependent countries with a low technical level, cheap manpower, and an abundance of valuable raw materials. The latest technology is used only by some transnational affiliates and subsidiaries where, for various reasons, there is a need for greater efficiency. Besides, local companies are frequently forced to pay high prices for the supplied technology, which puts them at a disadvantage with respect to companies from developed capitalist countries.

The transnationals' investments have undoubtedly accelerated Latin America's evolution along the capitalist way. Lenin pointed out that 'the export of capital influences and greatly accelerates the development of capitalism in those countries to which it is exported' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 243). However, this development occurs mainly through fierce exploitation of the peoples, and more intense dependence and distortion of their countries' economic and social structures. What is more, it is becoming ever more uneven, chiefly because the bulk of direct foreign investments goes to a limited number of countries and individual sectors of their economy.

International financial organizations of imperialism, like the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Atlantic Development Group of Latin America, the Council of the Americas, and the Trilateral Commission have an important role to play in these processes and, consequently, in intensifying the exploitation of the continent.

The IMF, set up on the basis of the 1944 Bretton Woods agreements, officially had the goal of regulating monetary and settlement relations among states. Actually, it was designed to put economic and political pressure on dependent countries and to promote the expansion of imperialist capital. It is dominated by the United States. Another agreement adopted at Bretton Woods was that which envisaged the establishment of the IBRD. IMF membership is a necessary condition for joining the bank, most of whose stock is under US control. According to its management, the IBRD, before extending a credit, studies the economic conditions and possibilities, potential resources and problems of the applicant country.[6] In other words, its duty is to provide the corporations with information, and to extend loans when this does not harm the transnationals. For its part, the Inter-American Development Bank was set up by the Organization of American States (OAS) in 1959 to finance the U.S. Alliance for Progress aid program, i.e. to neutralize Cuba's revolutionary influence. This bank has the same functions as other credit institutions under U.S. monopoly control.

The Atlantic Development Group of Latin America (ADELA) is a powerful instrument of imperialist penetration of the continent. Its establishment was suggested at a NATO parliamentary conference in 1961 and was supported by Nelson Rockefeller and other prominent spokesmen for international private capital. It is designed to use methods covering up its true purposes in order to resist our peoples' urge for liberation. Thus, it requires that local capital should join foreign capital in every investment. Experience shows that ADELA extends loans on such hard terms that any enterprise or institution accepting them in fact surrenders to this octopus.[7]

The Council of the Americas is another international outfit with virtually the same economic and political power as the U.S. State Department. It was set up by David Rockefeller and includes over 200 transnationals with the greatest influence in Latin America. It controls between 70 and 90 per cent of U.S. investments in the region. It is responsible for the Track-II operation which destabilized the Popular Unity government in Chile, and has a great influence on the activity of the OAS.[8]

One of the most refined inventions of international finance capital is the Trilateral Commission, which was set up in 1973 on Washington's initiative for the purpose of 'renewing the international system.' The Trilateral Commission has

good grounds for calling itself an organ of private U.S., Japanese and European initiative with the right of considering questions of mutual interest. Its recommendations boil down to encouraging the establishment in the developing countries of enterprises for the primary processing of raw materials, and a review of customs tariffs to fling wide open the gateway for a growing flood of manufactures from the member-countries. It pressures developing countries into agreeing to broader operations by foreign companies within the limits laid down by the IBRD. In other words, the Commission has a very concrete program, which is to organize the primary processing of raw materials for the more extensive use of cheap manpower; to eliminate restrictions on manufactures from the imperialist centers, which is bound to undermine the national economy; and give the transnationals a free hand in their operations. Thus, the Commission, despite the fact that each of its members has its own interests and plans, seeks to establish common control of the less developed countries.[9]

Imperialist investments in Latin America and the Caribbean not only help to plunder their natural resources, but also influence balance-of-payments deficits, intensify economic and technological dependence, and lead to inequitable trade in which goods supplied by local enterprises carry low prices, and goods coming from the metropolitan countries, high prices. They also have an important role to play in establishing political control over most of the Latin American governments.

Indeed, it is this dependence on imperialism and the highly reactionary role of the landowner oligarchy and the big bourgeoisie in alliance with the transnationals that have plunged our countries into backwardness and poverty.

In 1970, according to ECLA data, 40 per cent of Latin American families lived in poverty, which means over 110 million people without the means to satisfy their basic needs. In the recent period, ECLA experts believe, the number of poor families in the region has sharply increased due to the slow-down in the rate of economic growth.[10]

Tens of millions of unemployed, a high level of illiteracy, poor hygienic conditions, acute housing problems and a disastrously high rate of child mortality (in Latin America it is 300 times higher than the U.S. rate), all of this is a concrete and tragic result of the imperialist 'aid' and the ruling classes' anti-national policy.

These factors also explain the existence of a most acute objective contradiction between the interests of imperialism and the bulk of the population in the region. The transnationals' plunderous policy is aimed against the working class, the peasantry, the middle strata, the intelligentsia and large sections of the local bourgeoisie. That is why the anti-imperialist struggle has been developing and spreading on the continent from year to year. It naturally, has its ups and downs, but even the failures and defeats ultimately help to raise the anti-imperialist consciousness and to gain experience and understanding of the need to unite in a common front of forces acting against international finance capital. The mass struggle can evidently bring success only when the working class, led by the Marxist-Leninist parties, wins leading positions in such an alliance, an outcome favored by the new world balance of forces and by Cuba's inspiring example.

The establishment of regional organizations like the Andean Pact (1969) and the Caribbean countries' multinational shipping company, NAMUCAR (1975), testify to the depth and scope of the resistance to the imperialist plunder of the continent. The emergence of the Latin American Economic System in 1975 (LAES), which includes socialist Cuba, but not the United States, is undoubtedly of tremendous importance. It is designed to promote the Latin American countries' economic cooperation to protect their interests and accelerate national development. The state sector, which has been markedly developed in many countries, including oil, transport, metallurgical, petrochemical and other enterprises, has a big part to play in the anti-imperialist struggle. The communists not only defend these enterprises, which could become an important instrument in safeguarding national resources, but also carry on a struggle for the workers' broadest participation in their management.

The existence of the world socialist system, the Soviet Union in the first place, has accelerated the emergence of new specific conditions favoring a rupture of the chains of dependence on imperialism. Through trade, technological and industrial cooperation with the socialist community, some countries have succeeded in strengthening their state sector, and this helps them to expand production and facilitate planning, and increases their industrial and energy potential. Economic and trade relations with the socialist countries have an equitable and mutually advantageous basis, helping to diversify sources of financing and to repay debts with deliveries of traditional goods or the products turned out by the plants built with the aid of these countries.

One great achievement of the communist parties of Latin America is the fact that over a half-century ago they pointed to the factors slowing down the development of the productive forces on the continent, so bringing out the main causes for our peoples' poverty. The First Conference of Communist Parties of Latin America, held in Buenos Aires in 1929, pointed out that the main cause of stagnation in the region was dependence on imperialism and the backward socio-economic structure characterized by the domination of the landowner oligarchy.

The decades of struggle against imperialism and reaction, and the victory and consolidation of the Cuban revolution have enriched the Latin American communist parties' anti-imperialist conception, which the Havana meeting in 1975 expressed as follows: 'The struggle for democracy for the popular masses, for vital structural reforms, and for the transition to socialism is inseparably linked with the fight against the monopolies and imperial-

ism, which not only control our wealth, but also support and help the oligarchies and the oligarchic government.

'Since U.S. imperialism is our main and common enemy, the strategy and tactics of revolution in Latin America for those whose final objective, like ours, is socialism should be anti-imperialist in character.'[11]

1. CEPAL. *Notas sobre la economia y el desarrollo de America Latina*, No. 270, 1978, p. 2.
2. *The Economic and Social Development and External Relations of Latin America*, E/CEPAL/1024, March 15, 1977, p. 18.
3. See Victor Perlo, 'U.S. finance capital,' *WMR*, April 1978, p. 126.
4. *Economia de los paises latinoamericanos*. Moscu, 1978, p. 184.
5. *Problemas de economia*, No. 49, 1977, pp. 13-14.
6. Naum Minsburg. *Inversiones Extranheras y Dependencia*, Buenos Aires, 1975, p. 145.
7. Naum Minsburg. Op. cit., p. 150-154.
8. *Granma*. June 13, 1978.
9. For details see John Pittman, '"Trilateralism" —U.S. imperialism's new scenario,' *WMR*, May 1978, p. 104.
10. CEPAL. *Notas sobre la economia y el desarrollo de America Latina*, No. 286-287, 1979, p. 3.
11. *Information Bulletin*, No. 12, 1975.

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the Party

Communists in parliament

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On June 2, 1975, 30 communist deputies elected to the Constituent Assembly took their seats in the old amphitheatre of Sao Bento Palace. This opened a new page in the history of the PCP and a new front of struggle, parliamentary struggle.

In accordance with the revolutionary laws and the pact concluded between the Armed Forces Movement and the political parties, the Constituent Assembly had a mission of exceptional importance, namely, of framing a new Constitution. But it soon became clear that the right-wing parties, which for a time relied on the support of the Socialist Party (SP), were trying not so much to frame a Constitution as to convert the Constituent Assembly into a rostrum for contesting the legality of the revolutionary measures and the organs of power produced by the revolution, a tuning fork of reactionary campaigns, an instrument capable of weakening and undermining the revolutionary process, and preventing the consolidation of the main gains of the revolution.

In order to prevent the right-wing forces from achieving these goals, the PCP and its deputies had urgently to master various aspects of the parliamentary struggle. Lacking experience in this specific field,[1] the Portuguese communists turned to the experience of the fraternal parties and the international communist movement.

For its part, the experience of parliamentary struggle gained by the Portuguese communists over a period of four years, has, we feel, enough merit to be studied. But the important thing to emphasize is that its true value can be shown only in the context of the PCP's overall political activity, and this for two reasons. The first is an objective reason, and it is that the representative institutions (the Constituent Assembly, and then the Assembly of the Republic) were used by reaction and the right-wing forces mainly as the initial line for operations against the gains of the revolution, the democratic system and the Constitution. The second reason, which is subjective, is that in accordance with its general line, the Portuguese communists' parliamentary activity has from the outset developed in close and constant connection with the struggle of the working people and the mass movement. A characteristic feature of life in Portugal is that large-scale parliamentary battles always reflect and frequently trigger off major class battles, the political and social clashes in the country.

Over the past several months, the right-wing forces have somewhat modified their tactics. In the Constituent Assembly period, they demanded that it should function as a parliament in defiance of the revolutionary laws, but now they want parliament to be in a subordinate position, arguing that 'the Assembly of the Republic has ceased to be the center of political life.' The reactionary forces now have no confidence in parliament, seek to stir up dissatisfaction among the people with respect to it, to discredit its activity, and by every means to prevent opinion from keeping in touch with the activity of the Assembly of the Republic.

On the strength of their four-year experience in parliament, the Portuguese communists have drawn this clear-cut conclusion: parliamentary successes always largely result from the successes of the mass movement. But there are also good grounds for the conclusion that parliamentary struggle can become

a powerful means for explanatory work among the people. The Portuguese communists directly involved in parliamentary work have invariably concentrated on the question as to the limits and the forms in which the connection between the mass struggle and parliamentary activity is, and should be, effected. This will be seen from the main events which have characterized Portugal's development since the Constituent Assembly opened.

Constitutional entrenchment of revolutionary gains

That attempts by the right-wing forces to divert the Constituent Assembly from the goal before it were gradually cut short. The parties represented on the Assembly ultimately had to get down to a serious discussion of how the country's fundamental law should reflect the deep political, economic and social transformations the revolution has carried out.

Let us recall that the people and the revolutionary-minded military men did not wait for the Constituent Assembly's decisions to change the state of affairs in the country. The framing of the Constitution went hand in hand with the development of the revolution. Despite the fact that the left-wing military men were weakened after the events of November 25, 1975,[2] there was a sustained and powerful mass movement in defense of the main gains of the revolution, which still enjoyed considerable support among the military. Thanks to the loyalty of the people and broad sections of the military to the revolutionary goals, favorable conditions took shape under the existing balance of forces for framing the Constitution and for giving constitutional force to the main gains of the revolution. Here, the PCP had a very important and generally recognized role to play, for by then it enjoyed tremendous influence among the working people and had unique experience in the mass struggle both before April 25 and since.

The communist deputies and all those who supported the revolution faced this difficult task: the favorable balance of forces taking shape in the country had to be carried into the Constituent Assembly, with a tireless search for precise formulations, convincing arguments, and irrefutable evidence which would help to produce a left-wing majority in the Assembly, and this implied above all mutual understanding between the communists and the socialists.

Successful fulfillment of this task called for firmness in standing up for principles, the ability swiftly and boldly to expose before the masses the Socialist Party's tendency to give way to the right-wing forces, and also flexibility on anything that did not cut across principle, and an ability to find and propose compromise decisions to the socialist deputies, and to stand up for these. Let me stress that to some extent the fulfillment of this task was promoted by the makeup of the Socialist Party's parliamentary group, which then had a more left-wing orientation than its parliamentary group in the Assembly of the Republic.

From their experience in the Constituent Assembly, the Portuguese communists learned that the mass movement cannot have any direct reflection in a representative body like the Constituent Assembly, or the present Assembly of the Republic. Let us recall that Lenin sounded warnings against the tendency to underestimate the role of parliamentary struggle, and pointed to the important role of mediation which can be played by a group of deputies fully committed to the revolutionary process. This was fully borne out in Portugal's concrete conditions and was very valuable to us.

The text of the Constitution was, quite naturally, influenced by the political makeup of the Constituent Assembly (on which the right-wing parties were broadly represented, but where the Socialist Party had the largest group, and the socialists and communists were in a majority). The text shows traces of the vacillations, concessions and compromise decisions found in the course of the ten months of sharp and stormy debate. Still, it quite definitely expresses the stand of the revolutionary popular forces and the military, and their role in the origination and establishment of the new system. The Constitution reflects the abolition of the dictatorship and condemns fascism, emphasizes that the abolition of the monopolies and latifundia is irreversible, and formalizes nationalization, the land reform, workers' control at enterprises, the working people's democratic rights and freedoms, and decolonization. It clearly proclaims the way to socialism.

Three qualitatively distinct factors helped to achieve this result:

first, by the start of the institutionalization stage, the Portuguese revolution had already carried out major political and socio-economic transformations;

second, the framing of the Constitution was backed up with broad mass action aimed to consolidate the revolutionary gains and put through structural changes, notably the land reform;

third, the Portuguese communists were aware of the great importance of work in the Constituent Assembly by a group of deputies dedicated to the revolution, steadfast, seasoned, well-trained and flexible, and tirelessly working for the constitutional entrenchment of the revolutionary gains.

Our group's line

Twenty-three days after the promulgation of the Constitution, the country held its first elections to the legislative bodies in which the right-wing parties, opposing the Constitution, suffered a defeat.

As in the Constituent Assembly, the socialists and the communists are in a majority also in the Assembly of the Republic: 147 out of a total of 263 seats. But the balance between the two parties has somewhat changed in favor of the PCP, as the number of its deputies went up from 30 to 40, while that of the SP fell from 116 to 107.

When the Socialist Party, as the party which won a majority in the elections, was invited to form the government, it ignored the voters' explicit wish and preferred the 'homogeneous minority government'

formula. As the PCP had anticipated and warned, this was only nominally a homogeneous socialist government, and practice showed that it was actually in alliance with the right-wing forces and acted as their instrument on almost every occasion.

In order to justify their decision and the policy they intended to pursue, the socialist leaders asserted that concessions had to be made to the pressure from the reactionary forces so as to ease the political situation, deprive the right-wingers of arguments, and avert an anti-democratic plot. With this 'theory' as a screen, they continued and stepped up the policy of restoring the positions of the capitalists, latifundists and imperialists begun by the last provisional government, in which the Socialist Party and the right-wing forces already prevailed. The SP government passed legislative enactments limiting the working people's constitutional rights, depreciating real wages and promoting the growth of unemployment.

The working-class and the popular movement responded to this policy with broad acts of resistance and protest. As a result, the socialist government found itself in isolation from the left-wing forces, complications and difficulties arose within the Socialist Party, and the number of its supporters among the electors further declined in the local elections in December 1976, when the communists and their allies scored marked successes, while the socialists lost nearly 500,000 votes. In the Assembly of the Republic, the communist deputies actively expressed the interests of the protest movement against the anti-workers and anti-peoples line of the Socialist Party government, exposing it in all their speeches and interpellations, and tabling bills designed to cut short that line.

The 40 communist deputies make up 15 per cent of the total number of deputies in the chamber. In accordance with constitutional and procedural norms, they are organized in a parliamentary group. The communist deputies take part in the work of all the special standing commissions of the Assembly, and are chairmen of two of these: on constitutional affairs, and on agriculture and fisheries. The communists are also deputy chairmen on two other commissions: on labor, on internal administration and local authorities. On the Presidium of the Assembly of the Republic, one of the deputy chairmen and one of the secretaries are communists.

The social makeup of the PCP's parliamentary group, which includes six women (the highest percentage of any other group) looks as follows: 19 deputies (47.5 per cent) are industrial workers; 4 (10 per cent) are office workers; 17 (42.5 per cent) are intellectuals. Of the 40 communist deputies, 15 are members of the PCP Central Committee, and 5, of the Political Commission.

The parliamentary group's work was oriented by the Eighth Congress of the PCP in November 1976, which said that 'the PCP has fought and will continue to fight any stand or measures aimed against the interests of the working people and the country, the freedoms and other gains of the revolution. At the same time, the PCP will support all positive measures serving to consolidate democracy and advance toward socialism ... In the Assembly of the Republic, the PCP will not be in constant opposition to the government. It will make persevering efforts to enable the communists and the socialists (who together constitute a majority) to reach an agreement aimed to elaborate and adopt progressive laws helping to solve national problems.'

This line enabled the PCP's parliamentary group to act resolutely against the Socialist Party government's policy, while reaching an understanding with socialist deputies on legislation. This was expressed, in particular, in the adoption of the important law on elections to local organs of power. The communists and the socialists acted together against the first attacks on the land reform and the self-managed enterprises, which were launched by the reactionary forces in the Assembly of the Republic. The possibility of reaching an understanding and agreements with the socialists on the parliamentary level, and especially on legislation, arises from a definite autonomy of the parliamentary groups and is not directly connected with the state of relations — now more, now less tense — between the two parties. In this, as in the rest of Portugal's political life, the mass movement has a big part to play, and mass opinion on the laws being adopted has a substantial impact on the stand of the socialist deputies. (In this sense, the situation in parliament does not differ from that at the enterprises, in the trade unions and the municipal councils: even where relations between the communists and socialists leave much to be desired, partial agreements are always possible, and there is almost always a possibility of achieving a mutual understanding on concrete issues.)

The Portuguese communists take this into account in their parliamentary activity. We have never abandoned the search for agreements with the socialist deputies to obtain support for our legislative initiatives, we have never refused to support legitimate initiatives by the Socialist Party's parliamentary group, and have always tabled amendments and proposals to modify measures cutting across the people's interests. We have never given up the idea of setting up a united front with the socialists in order to frustrate the reactionary proposals of the right-wing parties. Even when faced with an alliance between the Socialist Party and the right-wing forces we have invariably done our utmost to tone down the most negative aspects of the framed legislation.

'Legislative counter-revolution'

The counter-revolutionaries' first major provocation in parliament, which the socialist minority government had to confront at the end of 1976, was an attempt to make it approve anti-popular bills for a development plan and a budget for the coming year.

The government and the Socialist Party were forced to start negotiations with the PCP. Despite its resolute opposition to the government's policy, the PCP decided to engage in a dialogue. As a result of

the hard negotiations, an agreement was hammered out on the adoption of a plan law which on the whole safeguarded the gains of the revolution and the interests and living conditions of the working people and the poorest sections of the peasantry. In this way, the one-party socialist government stood its first test in parliament. It was clear that the socialist government did not need the support of the reactionary parties to stay in power if it was prepared to pursue a line in accordance with the Constitution.

The Socialist Party did not succumb to the rightists' demands for a nominal division of seats on the government, but it accepted the demand for a review of the Constitution. That was the real meaning of the government bills laid before the Assembly of the Republic relating to issues on which the reactionary forces exerted the greatest pressure: nationalization, land reform, farm tenancy, working people's commissions and control over management, and compensation to the big capitalists and latifundists.

The communist deputies described all of this as a 'legislative counter-revolution,' because it entailed the use of juridical instruments in order to prepare — in clear breach of the Constitution — a general drive on the revolutionary gains.

The PCP prepared for the parliamentary battles in the course of which it had to face an actually constant alliance between the Socialist Party and all the right-wing forces. It mounted a broad campaign to expose before the public the counter-revolutionary substance of the new bills, and their anti-constitutional nature, which was hostile to the interests of the nation. The party carried out extensive mobilization of the working people, staged rallies, meetings and manifestations attended by hundreds of thousands of men and women. In the Assembly of the Republic, the communist deputies refuted every proposition of the counter-revolutionary bills line by line. They tabled and stood up for the various amendments, forcing discussions, pointing out the contradictions and discrepancies in the bills, and making the government withdraw its proposals.

While some counter-revolutionary legislative proposals were approved by parliament with the vote of the two right-wing parties and the socialists allied with them, a number of other, even more dangerous bills were rejected as a result of the large-scale mass action and the efforts of the communist deputies.

Assessing the role of the socialist government in the legislative counter-revolution, the PCP Central Committee reached the following conclusions: 'Considering that the Socialist Party government's policy serves as an instrument for re-establishing the power of monopoly capital, there is no sense — in the event that this policy continues in the future — in the PCP parliamentary group's supporting the government at difficult moments in face of possible attacks by the SDP and the SDC.'[3] On December 8, 1977, the one-party socialist government fell.

The Assembly and the government

We find that the questions arising from the relations between the Assembly and the government acquire ever greater importance in the present political situation, and last year a large part of parliamentary activity was connected with precisely these matters. Three governments resigned in the course of 1978, two of them under decisions by the Assembly of the Republic, and one, of its own accord. Within parliament, there was a succession of three situations: the first corresponded to the period of the majority government, that is, the government of the Socialist Party in alliance with the reactionary Social-Democratic Center; the second, to the period which saw the resignation of the Nobre da Costa government, which exceeded its power; and the third, to the period of the right-wing minority government headed by Mota Pinto. It is worthwhile to analyze each of these situations to understand the most acute problems of the present day.

The coalition of the Socialist Party and the extreme right-wing parliamentary group of the SDC, which provided the basis for the second government of Mario Soares (January-June 1978) turned out to be unstable, as the PCP had predicted. It lasted for less than six months, without solving any of the major problems in the country, and merely compounding them. But as regards the Assembly of the Republic, the coalition introduced a new element: a government basis with a majority emerged within parliament. The coalition parties were tempted to use this in order to limit the democratic nature of parliamentary procedures. But having met with resolute resistance from the communists and other deputies outside the coalition, they did not have time to do much harm in practice. The parliamentary majority was prepared to approve everything the government put before the Assembly of the Republic, including bills reflecting the harmful demands of the International Monetary Fund. But (again because it was short-lived) this majority did not manage to convert the Assembly of the Republic into a docile instrument ratifying any governmental legislative initiative.

At the final stage of the coalition, some cooperation was again arranged between the communist and the socialist deputies, which reflected and stimulated joint action by democratic forces outside parliament. This cooperation was expressed in initiatives aimed to defend democracy in face of the growing aggressiveness of the reactionary circles and was consummated in the passage of a law banning fascist organizations.

This was fresh evidence that despite the policy of concessions to the right-wing forces and alliance with them pursued by the Socialist Party leadership, the socialist-communist majority in the Assembly of the Republic provides an adequate base for adopting just laws, and that this majority is an important obstacle in the way of the schemes of reaction. The right-wing forces are aware of this fact. That explains their campaigns against the Assembly of the Republic, their stubborn efforts to keep parliament in a secondary role in the country's

political life, and their attacks on the principle of proportional representation.

When the SDC broke up the coalition, the Soares government fell. The PCP and other political forces believe that the way out of the crisis lay in general elections to the Assembly of the Republic, but this was complicated by the fact that the juridical instruments for an election had not been prepared: a census law was being considered in parliament, while the electoral law had yet to be brought into conformity with the Constitution. The PCP then decided to propose through its parliamentary group the convocation of an additional session of the Assembly of the Republic, while simultaneously firmly rebuffing any attempts to undermine the institution of President. The PCP specifically drew the attention of the democratic forces to the fact that the absence of an electoral law could lead to grave breaches of democracy in the country. It proposed that a definite period should be set for the passage of a census law, and presented electoral bills.

The start of the work of the Assembly of the Republic in accordance with the PCP proposal became a factor stabilizing the situation, and that was exactly what the reactionary forces did not want. That is why they labelled the PCP initiative as being nothing short of a 'parliamentary coup.' The Assembly approved the census law and the electoral law, which was backed by the PCP and the SP, joining forces on that occasion, in order to safeguard the principle of proportional representation and genuine democratic elections against moves by the right.

The parliamentary escapade of the 'independent' Nobre da Costa government, which succeeded the second Soares government, boiled down to a discussion of the government program, its rejection by the Assembly of the Republic and the government's subsequent resignation. The Nobre da Costa cabinet, staying on as a caretaker government for two months after its resignation, won notoriety for pursuing a policy of arbitrary acts, violence and broad abuse of power aimed mainly against the land reform, and the enterprises which had been restarted by the working people with the participation of the state. This policy induced the PCP and the communist deputies to insist most firmly on the following two points: first, the competence of a government which has handed in its resignation should not go beyond the framework of current affairs; and second, the Assembly of the Republic must control the activity of the outgoing government.

The Moto Pinto government, which stayed on for six months, claimed to be 'non-partisan,' though in fact it was even more blatantly right wing, having been formed on the political basis of the SDP and the SDC, under the leadership of the former, and with the support and participation of other reactionary groups and big business organizations. That was a government which did not in any way meet the will of the people as expressed in the latest elections to the Assembly of the Republic. It got a vote of confidence in parliament only because the Socialist Party abstained in the voting. Thus, the socialists enabled the right-wing forces to remove them from power, and gave them the green light in government, so shouldering another and even graver responsibility before the people.

Analyzing the Moto Pinto government's activity, the PCP Central Committee pointed out its five main features: that government tried to create a situation actually clashing with the Consitution; it extended the policy of exploiting the working people and ruining the middle strata; it intensified the drive against the land reform and nationalization in order to re-establish the latifundia and the monopolies; it violated the working people's rights and attacked the mass media; it encouraged external intervention in the country's domestic affairs, conducting a policy of joining the Common Market, submitting to the IMF, and further increasing dependence on NATO. The PCP Central Committee showed that the Moto Pinto government's line was identical with the plans and schemes of the reactionary forces, and stressed: 'The policy and activity of the Moto Pinto government has to be considered in the context of the reactionary forces' strategy and their efforts to eliminate the democratic system.'

As with the Nobre da Costa government, whose policy was resisted by a broad and powerful popular movement, the Moto Pinto government from the outset faced a protest movement and struggle by the working people. That is what decided its fate.

With the people and for the people

It is impossible to describe every aspect of the activity of the PCP parliamentary group, but mention must be made of the work in special standing commissions, which are almost always an arena of tough legislative struggle. The communist deputies believe that they must give constant attention to this sector of parliamentary activity.

The communist deputies have numerous and diverse contacts and ties with the working people and their organizations, with various associations of other social strata, and with the people as a whole. These contacts are effected above all through the party and also directly. The communist deputies continue to be members of their party organizations, and are involved by them and the leading organs in party work with the masses: manifestations, meetings, rallies, explanatory talks, assemblies, festivals, personal contacts with the people, etc. In addition, the parliamentary group organizes, on its own initiative or in response to invitations, visits to enterprises, collective production units, ports, schools, hospitals, villages and various districts, in order to gain an insight into the state of affairs in the localities and then to carry on their activity in parliament with a full knowledge of the situation. The parliamentary group has adopted the rule of agreeing to any meeting to which it is invited. The communist deputies have already held over 500 such meetings in Sao Bento Palace.

The Assembly Charter establishes, in pursuance of the Constitution, the principle of consultations for all those who want to learn about the legislative process and the working people's rights. But as a

rule, the PCP parliamentary group consults directly with the masses and broadly explains the content of its actions and the proposed bills before actually tabling a bill. Thus, during the preparation of the agricultural cooperatives bill, we held preliminary consultations with the members of more than 100 cooperatives. For the latest festival of our newspaper, *Avante!*, the parliamentary group issued a *Parliamentary Handbook*, giving an account of its two years of work in the Assembly of the Republic.

The whole of our work is based on close ties with the people and with various strata of the population. But the forms of our contacts with the people are still far from perfect, and we seek constantly to improve them.

In parliament itself, our group arranged 179 speeches during preparations of the agenda, and also tabled hundreds of motions in the course of the discussion and the passage of bills. Exercising its functions of control, the parliamentary group addressed over 200 interpellations to the government and initiated the adoption of 13 government decrees. The parliamentary group tabled 47 bills; ranging over all the key aspects of life; nine of them have been enacted into law.

In the early period of the Assembly of the Republic, the Socialist Party and the right-wing parties were eager to have the parliamentary proceedings broadcast live on TV and radio during major debates, like those on the government program, the budget, interpellations, etc. But gradually their interest in live broadcasts began to wane. Now the proceedings are almost always recorded, in shorter and shorter versions, and broadcast at inconvenient viewing hours. This has a simple explanation. The communist deputies have brought to parliament the characteristic features of our party's political activity. The PCP does not confine itself to exposing the anti-people's, anti-constitutional, and anti-national substance of the policy of restoring the positions of the capitalists, latifundists and imperialists. In contrast to this policy, the PCP presents a clear alternative couched in the spirit of scrupulous respect for the Constitution, and defending the interests of the people and the country. In view of the obvious fiasco of the policy conducted by the last few governments, the Portuguese people are becoming increasingly aware of the justice of the alternative proposed by the communists.

1. The preceding representative organ in the country's history, the Parliament of the First Republic, wound up its activity a half-century ago following the military coup of May 28, 1926, and the establishment of the fascist regime. None of the First Republic deputies lives to see the convocation of the Constituent Assembly.

2. The scattered actions by individual army units under the influence of leftist psuedo-revolutionaries that day were used by some military circles to remove not only the leftists from command posts in the armed forces but also those who had consistently worked for the advance of the revolutionary process. — *Ed.*

3. SDP — Social-Democratic Party; SDC — Social-Democratic Center — *Ed.*

New experience

OUR INTERVIEWS

COMMUNISTS ON THE SHOPFLOOR

Roger Bertrand, Albert Szureck, workers, members of the Liège Federal Committee, CP Belgium; delegates, General Federation of Labor of Belgium.

The Cockerill plant where you work is the biggest metallurgical enterprise in Belgium. What are the specifics of the communists' work at such a plant? What is now central to its party organization?

Roger Bertrand. The Communist Party section at the enterprise has about 130 members. Grass-roots organizations have been set up in the main shops: the pig iron, rolling and other sectors. There is a liaison committee which meets once a week, and a section committee which organizes and steers the communists' work in accordance with the party's political line.

In the recent period, the class struggle at the plant, as throughout the country, has been centered on problems arising from the economic crisis. The employers, the owners of the plant are very well aware that the existence of trade unions uniting 90 per cent of the working people is the 'main inconvenience' for them in their relations with the personnel. This is a mighty force, and the employers seek to weaken it and to erode the trade unions. How is this being done? First, by systematically inducing the working people to develop a kind of 'guilt complex,' suggesting that they are responsible for the plant's economic difficulties. The employers hope that this will breed a sense of involvement that is common for the employers, the employees and the workers in the 'saving' of the enterprise and an urge to take part in solving the problems. By inducing such a psychological climate, the employers seek not only to neutralize and confuse the trade unions, but also to convert them from an adversary into an ally.

Because they have not managed — and will hardly manage — to do this the employers have tried to set up outfits parallel to the trade union. They begin with something that looks very innocent. Say, a committee is set up to collect proposals. Proposals about what? About anything that is in some way connected with the life of the enterprise. Of course, the management would like these proposals not to clash with its policies. But even if they

do clash, the initiators of the 'proposals box' will manage to give every initiative a taste that is insipid in class terms. The main thing is to give the working people an illusion that they have common interests with their employers.

What is wrong, say, with trying to make the plant a cleaner place? For this purpose, a committee is set up from among representatives of the management, engineers and workers, headed by hand-picked men, so that the committee — and that is the whole point — becomes an organ which is not controlled by the trade unions. Having started with a drive to 'decorate' workplaces, it gradually begins to take an interest in more important social information which it does not obtain through the trade unions, but bypassing them. If some supplier of information from among workers or team leaders suddenly has second thoughts and refuses to continue his informative functions — something that happened at the plant some time ago — he gets a heavy cut in wages under some pretext.

This employers' policy of 'infiltrating' the working class is thoroughly considered. It is facilitated by inadequate class vigilance among our socialist comrades. To resist this crafty tactic, which is backed up with duly orchestrated and powerful propaganda, there is a need for new methods and means, notably, our own organs of broad information for the working people, our own journalists. The counter-measures which the trade unions and our party can take in this sense are incomparable with the potentialities open to the bourgeoisie.

Albert Szureck. The Liège Federation of the CP Belgium carries on explanatory work among the working people through the party section at Cockerill and its branches concerning the sources and character of the crisis and the mechanism of capitalist exploitation, exposes the self-seeking acts of the owners of the plant, and shows why it should be nationalized. Unfortunately, this kind of propaganda and agitation comes only from the communists. The social democrats' and the left-wing Christians' propaganda activity does not as a rule go to the root of the existing situation.

This adds importance to the problem of carrying the mass of workers to the right class positions. In concrete terms, this is done, in particular, at workers' meetings, where the communists — and they are well known — seek to defend these positions in the most lucid and well-argumented way. Another form of struggle is the propaganda of the party's political ideas through leaflets, posters and other printed matter. Of course, much depends on which sector of the enterprise the communists work in. Things are easier where there are active party branches respected by the workers. But they do not exist everywhere.

Communists holding responsible trade union posts have been doing a great deal. However, in this case there is an understandable need for greater caution. The very fact that a leaflet has been offered, for instance, may draw sanctions from the management and an official 'call to order.' The same thing may be done by the trade union, if in one's work one goes beyond the limits of its slogans. In our capacity as trade union delegates, i.e., direct representatives of the working people, we must stand up for their demands in the way in which they are formulated today. But as communists we seek to work in accordance with the party's line to prevent these demands from remaining within the limits allowed by the capitalists, and to invest them with ever more tangible elements of struggle against the capitalist system itself.

The GFLB is on the whole closely connected with the Socialist Party and is controlled by the social democrats. This constantly has an effect on everything. But on some issues, especially those relating to the struggle against the employers' attempts to shift the burdens of the economic crisis chiefly on the working people's shoulders, the trade unions tend to be ahead of the Socialist Party. Quite naturally, we support this trend, because it helps to politicize the working-class movement. As delegates of the GFLB and naturally in pursuance of the trade union decisions, we make use of our party's arguments in our explanatory work with the people.

Characteristically, such arguments very rarely evoke objections on the part of rank-and-file working people. Of course, there are disputes over some problems, like the nationalization of the enterprise, and this is largely the effect of bourgeois propaganda. But the mass of workers are quite receptive to the arguments refuting established notions. And that is a source of optimism.

DOCUMENTS

VIETNAM

Draft of new Constitution

The three-year work of a Commission for drafting the Fundamental Law of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has been successfully completed. The new Constitution, said a resolution of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, is the Constitution of a socialist state, a people's state, set up by the people and for the people. The draft elaborates the basic provisions of the 1946 and 1959 Constitutions. The latter has been in effect for 20 years, 10 of which went into beating back the U.S. aggression. The Vietnamese people's victory in the struggle for their freedom and independence, and the reunification of the country, their successes in rehabilitating the economy, and their advances in science and culture, have ushered in a new phase in the development of an independent, united and socialist Vietnam. At this stage, the need arose for a new Fundamental Law reflecting the political line of the socialist revolution as defined by the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

The Communist Party, the draft Constitution stresses, is the vanguard and militant headquarters of the Vietnamese working class equipped with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. It is the only guiding

force, and the basic and decisive factor of all the victories of the Vietnamese revolution.

The draft Constitution determines the broad range of political and socio-economic rights and duties of citizens, which are guaranteed by the state. It formulates the principles of Vietnam's foreign policy aimed to strengthen friendship and cooperation with the socialist-community countries and to develop relations of peaceful coexistence with states belonging to the other social system. These principles also include active support of the peoples' struggle against expansionism and great-power hegemonism, and against every form of racial discrimination and oppression.

The new draft Constitution was put before the people for nationwide discussion.

NETHERLANDS

Analysis of unity problem

The problems of uniting the left-wing forces, the communists and the socialists in the first place, were an important item in the work of a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CP Netherlands which considered the results of the party's activity in fulfilling the decisions of its 26th Congress. The plenum's documents note that the growth of mass action against the government's social policy makes it incumbent on the communists to discuss with fellow-fighters in the working-class movement the elaboration of a common program and a search for new ways to shape socio-economic policy that would meet the working people's interests, instead of being designed, as it now is, to serve the transnationals and to finance growing expenditures on weapons. Some progressive-minded economists also joined in the discussion and set forth ideas close to the Communist Party's proposals for protecting the working people's living standards in the fight against the crisis. The country's left-wing forces are coming out against any depression of the people's living standards and interference in collective bargaining, against the closure of enterprises, and for the establishment of ceilings on the incomes of the rich strata of the population, and a halt to the arms race.

In a report at the plenary meeting, Henk Hoekstra, CC Chairman, CP Netherlands, pointed to the broad consensus in the working-class movement on stepping up the fight against the ruling circles' socio-economic policy, and emphasized the need for this consenus to be expressed in a search for a common alternative. Even if there are differences in the working-class movement, he said, one should bear in mind that the main differences are between us and the right-wing forces. He drew attention to the urgent need to overcome the divergent views between the working-class parties and organizations on the shaping of a progressive left-wing majority to confront the right-wing forces.

The establishment of such a coalition requires, above all, cooperation between the communists and socialists, which will be successful only if it is linked directly with the people's needs, requirements and actions.

It was noted at the plenary meeting that the communists are prepared for a discussion, for a serious and positive comparison (notably, on radio and television) of their ideas and those of the other participants in the negotiations on the broadest possible range of questions relating, in particular, to the left-wing opposition, the elaboration of alternatives to the government's policy, and the formation of a progressive coalition. It was also said that the differences existing in the working-class movement should be overcome by means of compromise on tactical matters, but with strict observance of the party's general strategic line. There must be a common will for the negotiations that will be conducted across the boundaries separating its participants. Only then will a way be found for advance in framing a socio-economic policy meeting the workers' demands.

Some of the critical attacks on the party by various forces, including social democrats, were shown to be untenable by the speakers at the plenary meeting. But it was emphasized that the communists do not insist that 'the party is always right.' In some spheres of activity the party has achieved considerable successes (the struggle on the shopfloor, recruitment of new members, and some areas of propaganda), but in others there is a need to improve its work (establishment of new party sections, rational use of its forces, and more intense activity by its executive organs). It was said that the chief problem is not to increase the volume of work, but to improve its quality. This adds particular importance to the discussion of the draft of the CPN's new program, which formulates the principles of party life and the tasks of the communists' struggle for democracy and social progress.

On the whole, the plenary meeting gave a positive assessment of the party's work in fulfilling the decisions of the 26th Congress, and noted the heightened activity of the communists in the struggle to unite society's democratic and progressive forces.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESS

NEW AGE

Initiators of mass action

Mass action organized by communists in various states of India are given regular coverage by the *New Age* weekly, the central newspaper of the National Council of the Communist Party of India.

Communists launched militant action, defending the rights of small ethnic groups and tribes in the state of Rajasthan, writes the weekly, who protested against the seizure of their land and orchards by feudals and usurers. Hired thugs killed two of the most respected local communist leaders. Armed policemen were moving from village to village terrorizing the tribes and arresting the movement's leaders, including communists. To arouse the masses in the struggle against lawlessness, plunder and

terror, a huge demonstration of protest was held in Udaipur. It was led by communists. Speaking at the meeting, Secretary of the local CPI organization Viswanathan demanded the immediate release of the representatives of the tribes, an arrest of the murderers and an end to the evictions of people from the land which belonged to them.

In another state, Tamil Nadu, *New Age* reports, communists and representatives of other parties, unions and organizations took part in a hunger-strike in protest against the atrocities started by the right-wing forces.

The 'Great Satyagraha' is a term meaning massive strikes, picketing of governmental offices and other forms of struggle. The paper describes a Satyagraha action launched in the Union Territory of Delhi. The Delhi unit of the CPI decided to participate in the civil disobedience movement, the aim of which is, first, to curb the reactionary activities of the paramilitary semi-fascist religious organization Rashtria Swayamsewak Sangh, second, to defend India's secular-democratic setup, and third, to consolidate the country's unity. The group of communists who staged a demonstration near the Parliament house was headed by Prem Sagar Gupta, Secretary of the Delhi Council of the CPI.

Two thousand peasants, students, young people and women attended a meeting in the Kokrajhar district. The meeting was addressed by Dhaneswar Raibarman, leader of the local CPI organization. He demanded drastic measures against the price rise and the eviction of peasants, and measures to guarantee the rights of national minorities and tribes, the participants in the mass action, the weekly writes, insisted on the confiscation of surplus land and its fair distribution among the landless. They demanded also that the peasants be provided with farm implements and fertilizers and that saw mills be nationalized. The meeting demanded that tribal people should get preference in government employment and that plans be drawn up for the socio-economic development of their areas, jobs be created for women and weaving factories be built for the purpose.

The selfless actions of the volunteers who had responded to the call of the CPI, the All-India Youth Federation and the All-India Students Federation and helped to eliminate the consequences of the cyclone and floods in the Prakasam district of Andhra Pradesh, have been highly appreciated by the public. Communists mobilized hundreds of people and formed about 20 groups, each consisting of 10 to 15 volunteers. Their work involved great risks, writes *New Age*, but the communists, especially youth, carried on that difficult and unpleasant work and liquidated the possible hotbeds of epidemics. This earned them considerable appreciation from all circles, including those who are politically opposed to the CPI.

New Age always carries regular reports on the mass actions organized by the local CPI committees.

QUESTION — ANSWER

STRATEGIC LINE CONFIRMED

Dear Comrades,

I should like to know how the decisions of the latest Congress of the Italian Communist Party are being realized. Will you describe, in particular, the work of the joint Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the ICP (July 1979), which, according to press reports, evoked broad public response in Italy.

Andreas Georgiou
Nicosia, Cyprus

The July Plenary Meeting is the most important event in the party's life since the ICP Congress in the spring of 1979. In the course of a frank and constructive discussion, the communists made a critical analysis of the party's activity in fulfilling the Congress decisions, and also the situation which has taken shape in the country after the June 3-4 parliamentary elections, in which the returns testify to some reduction in the number of votes cast for the ICP.

In his report, Enrico Berlinguer, ICP General Secretary, emphasized the need to remain loyal to the principles of the ICP's general strategy, and expressed the conviction that abandonment of these principles could result not just in a weakening of the party's positions among the electorate, or in temporary reverses, but in a defeat of a historical character which could have a grave effect on the whole Italian working-class movement, of which the ICP has been and remains the most important part. He noted that despite the serious trials, the party has emerged from the events of the recent period still strong and united, while its positions in parliament and the country enabled the communists to advance their struggle in defense of the working people's interests, for social transformations, and for participation by the working-class movement in running the country.

At the same time, the ICP General Secretary and speakers at the plenary meeting noted that in assessing the election returns it is not right to minimize the importance and meaning of the loss of votes. It would also be wrong to concentrate attention exclusively on this loss and to confine the party's tasks to winning back the lost votes.

Now and again, the whole problem is being boiled down to the following: considering that the communists have lost 4 per cent of the votes among some sections of the people, notably the young, and considering that this loss is tantamount, as it were, to criticism of the ICP from the left, and also to criticism of the conception of democratic unity, the situation should be corrected by abandoning this conception and pursuing a policy limited to the framework of a left-wing alternative. It was noted at the plenary meeting that this line of argument is erroneous, because putting elections and election returns at the center of the Italian communists' political concern, and determining the political line,

and even the strategy depending on the latter, would be tantamount to adopting a social-democratic approach. This would ignore the other aspects of the political, social and ideological struggle characterizing the history, life and successes of the ICP, a party which intends to transform society and to abolish capitalism in a democratic way, but which is aware that this way is not confined to electoral struggle alone.

The ICP attaches much importance to re-establishing and strengthening its positions among the electorate. At the same time, it was emphasized at the July plenary meeting, the party's line cannot be determined by this task alone. It needs to be elaborated with an eye to all the factors in the internal, European and international situations.

Over 4 million citizens, it was said at the plenary meeting, failed to go to the polls in the June 3-4 elections, and this is a sign of the weakening ties between the political parties and the electorate, especially young people, a sign that had been in evidence in the past and that is also observed in other areas of social life. This testifies to the growth in the number of those who are disappointed and have lost faith in the possibility of change, people whose aspirations meet with no response in the policies of the parties. The communists regard this as an alarming signal for their party as well. The plenary meeting pointed out that those who failed to vote for the communists (refrained from voting, cast an unfilled or invalid ballot, or voted for another party) in this way expressed a more or less conscious criticism of the ICP's policy or of some of its aspects, or expressed distrust or disillusionment with it. In this context, some aspects of the party's activity were subjected to self-critical evaluation.

It was pointed out, in particular, that there should have been more circumspect action in the political plane and an effort to explain to the masses that despite the party's participation in the parliamentary majority, the communists were not responsible for the activity of the government, which remained under the control of the Christian-Democrats. Now and again no polemics were carried on with the CDP, and there was no timely and resolute condemnation of the incorrect behavior of various parties, chiefly the CDP and its ministers. Many speakers noted that a section of the citizens had entertained illusions that the communists' participation in the parliamentary majority would swiftly rid the country of its ills that resulted from the CDP's long rule.

During the consideration of the basic aspects of political and parliamentary life after the previous elections (June 20-21, 1979), questions were raised about whether the communists had been right in abstaining, in July 1976, in a vote of no confidence against the government, in subsequently taking part in forming the parliamentary majority, which included the ICP, and in withdrawing from it in January of this year. While some believe that these political decisions had been right, others say that we had erred from the start. Still others believe that the communists should not have withdrawn from the parliamentary majority. There are also other standpoints.

It was emphasized in Berlinguer's report that the ICP's withdrawal from the parliamentary majority became absolutely necessary for general political and inner-party reasons. The point is that by that time the majority had already virtually broken up, and it was necessary to maintain the party's independence, political role and future, and to avert the threat of its weakening or degeneration. The ICP's withdrawal from the majority enabled the party to invigorate its political activity and to strengthen its ties with the masses.

The discussion reflected the communists' urge to prevent the party from being involved in programmatic negotiations in the future on terms which in advance limited the makeup of the government. The party, guided by the country's interests, refuses to share with anyone the responsibility for a government composition which, in its view, does not meet the existing situation.

The plenary meeting pointed out that the communists should not assume that opposition is in itself a cure-all or that it divests the party of its obligations to tackle the country's problems or reduces these. To be in opposition means always and invariably to act in the light of the complicated and contradictory reality and the character of the crises bedevilling the country. It also implies the need to respond more sensitively to all the crisis phenomena and intricate situations, to set oneself concrete tasks to give a political ring to the protest of the masses and to support their demands without losing — and, in fact, intensifying — the constructive character of the ICP's policy in pursuing its political line.

The plenary meeting gave much attention to the problems in enhancing the effectivenss of the party's political line, which is based on the principle of democratic unity, and which is designed to transform economic, social and political life in such a way as to enable the country to take a new road of development and overcome the capitalist structure of society.

For over 30 years, the communists' theoretical activity and political struggle have invariably been based on the conviction that the emancipation of the working classes, progress and the strengthening of democracy, and the struggle for socialism require us to avoid divisions, confrontations and head-on clashes between the two socio-political blocs in the country and a shift to the right of the intermediate social and political forces, so averting the threat of the isolation of the working class. In the conditions of Italian reality this has always required the working-class movement and the other left-wing forces to conduct a dialogue with the Catholic-oriented masses and with the democratic forces which either support the CDP or are represented in that party.

An important question in the work of the plenary meeting was that of developing and strengthening the communists' ties with the working class and

with broad masses of other working people, notably, the most deprived strata of society. The Italian communists are faced with the task of increasing their influence on the workers and spreading it to other social strata, so as to establish positive sociopolitical ties with them. Attention was also drawn to the need to carry on political and ideological struggle aimed to induce the working people and representatives of the democratic forces supporting the CDP or represented in its ranks to adopt a unitary apprach for the sake of the common goals of renewing Italian society.

The plenary meeting noted that the party has not yet succeeded in finding the political, ideological, cultural and organizational forms of activity enabling it effectively to develop contacts with broad masses of young people so as to express their aspirations and organize their struggle. The June 3-4 elections showed that there is evidence of a shift in the ideological and political orientation of young people which may lead them away from traditions of the Italian left-wing forces. This calls for serious and persevering struggle to gain an ever deeper and more concrete understanding of young people's problems and achieve their practical solution, so ensuring a growing influence on them on the part of the Italian communists.

In conclusion, the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the ICP approved Berlinguer's report and called on all party organizations to build up their strength and extend their influence, starting an active propaganda and explanatory campaign among broad sections of society and coming forward with new political initiatives helping to solve the most acute problems and meet the most urgent demands of the working people and the other masses. The ICP's decision to go into opposition was reaffirmed in view of the present political stand of the CDP and the difficulties it has been creating. The meeting voiced the Italian communists' resolve to carry on their struggle within the framework of a policy of broad democratic unity for participation by the two parties of the working-class movement in the government.

The plenary meeting demonstrated the ICP's loyalty to its strategic line, which is aimed to transform society, and the communists' resolve to develop and improve their practical activity in implementing this line.

Antonio Boffi

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viewpoints

Peking's shadow over Asia and the world

To Huu
Political Bureau alternate member, CC Secretary, CP Vietnam

Who are they?

In a world swept by revolutionary change, they find it necessary to present themselves as revolutionaries. They use the banner of socialism and Marxism-Leninism as a cover. Actually, they have long since betrayed this banner and their people's revolutionary cause. There have been many renegades in the history of the international revolutionary movement, but hardly any of them have such a record of crimes as those committed by the reactionary clique in Peking's ruling circles.

It has plunged the Communist Party of China, once the vanguard of the country's working class, into a state of degradation. It has converted the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of bureaucrats and militarists. In its hands, the Chinese People's Liberation Army, once a revolutionary army, has become a weapon of aggression and struggle for power. This clique has undermined the socialist gains which marked the 1950s in China's history, and has forced the Chinese people to swerve off the road of socialist development.

Those who still have any doubts about the substance of the current changes in China should pay attention not to what the Chinese reactionaries have been saying but to what they have been doing at home, and in other countries. What, for instance, was, in fact, the 'greatest proletarian cultural revolution,' which they claimed to be the 'greatest revolution in history?' It was, in substance, a counter-revolutionary coup, a fierce struggle for power among Peking's ruling circles. It eroded the whole political structure of the socialist society in China, brought its economy to the brink of disaster, and destroyed a great many cultural values. It doomed the Chinese people to unheard-of privation and suffering in an atmosphere of savage terrorism and persecution, which within a matter of years led to the death of millions of people. The 'socialist society' established by Pol Pot and Ieng Sary in Kampuchea was nothing but an 'export product' of the 'cultural revolution' modelled in Peking. There over three million people were killed, and everything relating to culture, everything that was an asset in human life was wiped out.

Having taken the road of expansionism, the Pek-

ing reactionaries started their aggressive war against Vietnam. Resorting to the most savage and barbarous methods, they killed people and destroyed and burned everything in their way.

Who are they? Are they revolutionaries or counter-revolutionaries?

Consider those with whom they have entered into an alliance, and those against whom they are fighting. They have entered into an alliance with imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place, and with all the reactionary and aggressive forces to fight the Soviet Union, the socialist system and all the revolutionary movements. They claim with pride that China is an 'Eastern NATO' and have openly voiced a desire to join the Atlantic bloc.

One line runs through all their adventurous acts, starting from the 'great leap forward' and the 'cultural revolution' up until 'modernization.' Reactionary nationalism and great-power chauvinism have become the ideological basis of the Peking rulers' policy, whose long-term goal is to make them rulers of the world. The basis of their strategy, which is designed to attain this wild goal, consists of the following elements:

— the material basis: the 'four modernizations' plus one billion people;

— foreign policy: alliance with imperialism and all the other forces of reaction;

— methods: creation of a 'great chaos' in order to 'fish in troubled waters,' provoke an armed clash between the USSR and the United States in line with the Chinese feudals' traditional tactics of 'sitting on top of a high mountain and watching the two tigers fight.'

First objective of expansion

In order to implement their ambitious schemes for becoming the rulers of the world, Peking's ruling reactionary circles have designated Southeast Asia as the first target of their expansion. Here they start from the following factors:

— Southeast Asia is an especially important strategic region, a crossroads of important international routes, notably the sea route between West and East;

— Southeast Asia is a region rich in natural resources, many valuable types of raw materials, and a fertile soil;

— Southeast Asia, Indochina in particular, is a region which, once seized, could help the Peking expansionists to realize the vision of a southward drive which tantalized the feudal lords of ancient China. The fact that the imperialists suffered a defeat in the region could, the Peking rulers believe, make it easier for them to realize these plans.

The Chinese rulers have chosen this region as the immediate objective of their expansion also because they cannot push their drive in other proximate areas. In the north, they would have to deal with the Soviet Union, on the sea they would clash with Japan, and in the south-west, with India.

Peking's long-term plans include the idea that once it has established its domination over Southeast Asia, with its 300-million population, and relying on the billion Chinese, it would be able to establish control over South Asia, whose population falls just short of one billion, and then go on to conquer the whole world.

In implementing these schemes, the Chinese reactionaries resort to crafty and brutal methods, including those used by the imperialists in the past. Here are some of the most typical methods used by the Peking expansionists.

First, they make use of the 20 million Hoa,[1] who live in Southeast Asia, especially the capitalist compradors, and also outfits which they control and which are an instrument of Peking's policy. These forces operate as a fifth column and act on orders from Peking, depending on its requirements, either taking up arms against the authorities of the host country, or entering into negotiations with them. Now and again, Peking has used these elements as a bargaining counter with the United States, to put pressure on the governments of the states concerned, and wherever possible to topple existing governments as well.

Second, the Chinese reactionaries conduct the traditional policy of enticement and infliction of blows. They use economic, financial and military aid to draw the countries of Southeast Asia into their orbit. When this fails, they resort to pressure, now by witholding aid, now occupying frontier areas. Nor do they eschew subversive action with the help of the outfits at their disposal, and when that does not yield the desired results, they resort to armed aggression. There is also their 'aid' in building roads, which are, in effect, designed for acts of aggression against those they 'help.' Vietnam and Laos have learned a sad lesson from that kind of 'aid.'

Third, in order to divert attention from their expansionist intentions, the Peking authorities conduct slanderous campaigns against the policy of friendship, peace and cooperation pursued by the Soviet Union and Vietnam, spreading inventions about 'big hegemons' and 'small hegemons' in the hope of sowing mistrust and suspicion in Southeast Asian countries for the Soviet Union and Vietnam. On the other hand, they try hard to win favor with the ASEAN countries in an effort to isolate and weaken Vietnam, and then to annex it, and also Laos and Kampuchea.

Fourth, the Peking authorities, who had once issued the loudest calls for fighting the imperialists, so camouflaging their policy of compromises and deals with the U.S. imperialists, have now entered into an overt alliance with them. They have urged the U.S. authorities not to pull out their armed forces from Southeast Asia, making no secret at all of the idea that they should stay there to fight the revolution, Vietnam and the Soviet Union; they have begged the imperialists to agree to a division of spheres of influence in the region, or have sought to 'fill' the places the United States has had to vacate.

The reactionary Peking rulers' expansionist strategy in Southeast Asia is aimed against Vietnam. Their scheme is to take possession of Vietnam

so as to occupy the whole of the Indochinese peninsula and to convert it into a bridgehead for further expansion in Southeast Asia. The goal of their policy with respect of Vietnam over the past 30 years has been to use it to eliminate the U.S. encirclement, while playing the Vietnam card in bargaining with the United States. At the same time, they have sought to draw Vietnam into the orbit of their policy, which is aimed against the Soviet Union and the whole socialist system.

They are now trying to refute this. They have made diverse claims, notably that China gave Vietnam 'disinterested assistance' while Vietnam has allegedly proved to be 'ungrateful and has forgotten the aid of others.' In defiance of the facts, they have kept saying hypocritically that 'China, for one, does not need a scrap of Vietnamese territory.' But the men in Peking cannot answer hundreds of questions which naturally arise in the minds of the Vietnamese and other peoples of the world in view of various incontrovertible historical facts.

For instance, why did the Chinese leaders urge the South Vietnamese people, after the signing of the 1954 Geneva Accords, to abandon the struggle for liberation, and tried to persuade them 'to take long shelter and to wait for the right moment!' Why did they protest against the uprising of the people of South Vietnam in 1959 and 1960?

What was their purpose in inviting the Working People's Party of Vietnam to call a conference of 11 parties? Was it not to set up some kind of 'new Comintern' with the CPC at its head, to oppose the Soviet Union and the international communist movement?

What induced them to try to persuade Vietnam to reject assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries?

What did they have in mind when they said: 'If you don't touch me, I'll not touch you,' just when the Americans were beginning to bomb North Vietnam?

Why did the Chinese leaders oppose Vietnam's proposal to set up a peoples' peace front in support of Vietnam in its struggle against U.S. aggression, a front with the participation, among others, of the Soviet Union and China?

Why did they not support Sihanouk at once, upon his overthrow by Lon Nol?

What was their purpose in mooting the idea of calling a conference of five states and six sides to 'carry on a struggle against Japan,' just when the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea had to concentrate all their efforts on the fight against U.S. imperialism, the worst and most immediate enemy?

How can they explain the fact that after the signing of the Shanghai communiqué[2] they sought to maintain the Thieu regime in South Vietnam?

What was the reason for their dissatisfaction with the liberation of South Vietnam, an event the whole world welcomed?

Five lessons

Having realized the futility of their attempts to push Vietnam onto the road of counter-revolution, China's rulers started hostile acts against it. These became most evident from the day of South Vietnam's liberation. It was precisely at that very hard moment for Vietnam that the Peking hegemonists made attempts to annex it. Here their acts were equally brutal and crafty. They used the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to start a war along Vietnam's south-western border. Simultaneously, Peking stepped up the subversive activity of its Hoa henchmen and the imperialist agents remaining in Vietnam, ordering them to provoke rebellions. That was when aid to Vietnam was stopped in order to destabilize the Vietnamese economy.

The aggressive war started by the Chinese reactionaries against Vietnam on February 18, 1979, was the high point of their series of hostile acts against our country. Having analyzed all the circumstances of that war, we have reached the following conclusions.

First, it was a large-scale aggressive war and not 'a punitive measure limited in time and space for the purpose of defense,' as the Chinese authorities claimed in an effort to justify their criminal acts. Having started the war, they expected to destroy a large part of the Vietnamese regular army, to force us to withdraw our troops from Kampuchea and to send them to the north of Vietnam so as to create the conditions for stepping up the activities of the remnants of Pol Pot's army. They sought to bleed white our party and state in order to enable counter-revolutionary forces on our territory to start a rebellion and establish a reactionary power, initially in the frontier provinces. They also planned to destroy important units of our economy to hamper the building of socialism in Vietnam. They had hoped to 'wash their face clean' after the total defeat in Kampuchea and to demonstrate their imaginary might to the countries of Southeast Asia. They expected their victory to be a gift to imperialism in exchange for technical assistance from it, for the purpose of realizing the 'four modernizations.' Finally, the intended to probe the possible response on the part of the Soviet Union and world opinion, and to extend their military operations and go on to annex Vietnam, if their troops did not meet with any serious resistance.

But the Chinese aggressors suffered an ignominious defeat, and they did not succeed in attaining the above-mentioned goals, apart from the fact that they destroyed numerous economic installations, plundered or ruined cultural values, and killed many civilians in our frontier regions.

The Chinese aggressors suffered a major defeat which is fraught with serious consequences for themselves. This has further sharpened the struggle for power in Peking's ruling circles and had a negative effect on the prospects for the 'four modernizations' program, which, as it is, faces tremendous difficulties in view of the growth in military expenditure. The Chinese rulers found themselves in greater isolation in the world than ever before. The defeat of the Peking reactionary group was, in effect, a fiasco for the deal between China, the United

States and Japan, which had hoped to weaken Vietnam and to prevent the growth of the revolutionary movement in the countries of Southeast Asia.

On the other hand, the outcome of the war was a major victory for the Vietnamese people and also a victory for the socialist countries and for the whole of progressive mankind. It was made possible by the Vietnamese people's dedicated struggle, the resolute, powerful and timely support on the part of the Soviet Union and other socialist states, and solidarity on the part of broad world opinion. The Chinese people's action against the Peking authorities' unjust war also had a role to play. Our party and our people are deeply grateful to the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries, the international communist movement, and all the friends of Vietnam in all the countries of the world who gave our people active support and assistance in its fight against the Peking reactionaries' aggression.

Second, this war fully exposed the treacherous, counter-revolutionary, aggressive and expansionist substance of the policy pursued by China's ruling circles. In the course of the war, their acts were exceptionally brutal and barbarous. They were an expression of brutality in the spirit of Shih Huang Ti,[3] which is comparable only with the brutality of the nazis and the U.S. imperialists. They systematically devastated the areas which they were forced to leave. All of this showed the peoples of the world the true face of the Chinese leaders, who wear a revolutionary mask. The Peking reactionaries were severely condemned by the peoples of the world and found themselves in total isolation.

The Vietnamese people's brilliant victory in beating back the Chinese aggression enabled us more clearly to understand that while China's territory is vast and its population is much larger than ours, and it has a numerous army, China is not so strong after all. Peking's far-reaching ambitions fall short of its potentialities and capabilities. They are limited. China has many weak spots. But we are also aware that China is a great power with a considerable potential. Besides it is Vietnam's immediate neighbor, and its rulers can create definite difficulties for us. Still, because of our correct political and military line, our constant readiness to fight a people's patriotic war under the slogan: 'While destroying the enemy forces, safeguard the life of the people and defend the Motherland,' and the support of the Soviet Union, all the socialist countries and other revolutionary streams, because of all these factors, the Vietnamese people not only scored a victory over the 600,000-strong Chinese army, but will undoubtedly be capable of defeating the Chinese aggressors' million-strong army if they risk another military gamble.

Third, in face of the Peking reactionaries' aggression, the peoples of the world rallied in a united front of solidarity with Vietnam on the basis of the socialist community. Men of good will reacted swiftly, tempestuously, powerfully, and in due time. This response was diverse in form and effectiveness. This was a new form in which the progressive and revolutionary forces of the world united. The tide of solidarity with Vietnam and condemnation of the aggressors drowned out the Peking reactionaries' lying statements, paralyzed the propaganda efforts of the imperialists, and helped those who had a vague idea of the Peking ruling circles' policy to understand its true essence. In the worldwide movement of solidarity with Vietnam, fighting against the Chinese aggression, exceptional importance attached to the resolute and timely support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which met all of Vietnam's material, technical and moral requirements.

Fourth, despite the grave defeat, the Peking reactionary rulers have not abandoned their attempts to annex Vietnam. Having been forced to conduct negotiations, they are preparing for more large-scale military operations, engage in armed sorties in Vietnam's frontier areas, and incite rebellions within our country. They have maintained constant tension along our northern border, depriving Vietnam of tranquility and the possibility of engaging in economic construction, and have been actively preparing for another armed attack on Vietnam in order to conquer it. If the Chinese rulers start a new war against Vietnam, its scale will be much larger and the attack front much broader. Our party calls on the people to be on the alert and to be prepared for rebuffing the aggressor at any time. We have been taught vigilance by the centuries of our struggle against the feudals in the north.

Fifth, in the Peking rulers' strategy, the schemes for occupying Vietnam are organically tied in with the urge to annex Laos and Kampuchea. Over a period of six months, they suffered three defeats: the regime of Peking's henchmen Pol Pot and Ieng Sary was overthrown; the armed gangs which Peking had hoped to use to effect its dark plans with respect to Kampuchea were wiped out, and the Peking rulers' schemes for inciting the reactionary forces to subversive action and rebellion against the democratic people's Laos designed to convert that country into another 'democratic Kampuchea' were exposed. The victories of the Vietnamese, Laotian and Kampuchean peoples have materially altered the balance of forces in Southeast Asia and in Asia as a whole. As a result, the revolutionary positions of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have become stronger than ever before.

No calm in the storm

In our country, men of the older generation have spent more than half of their lives in wars of liberation. Two or three generations in many families have fought the enemy arms in hand. Women who are 60 today have had to see their husbands go to fight the French colonialists, their sons to fight the U.S. imperialists, and their grandsons to fight the Peking expansionists. That is why the people of Vietnam cherish the idea of lasting peace.

Following the liberation of the south of the country, the whole Vietnamese people got down with enthusiasm to peaceful construction and converted the whole country into a site of socialist construction. However, 'the sea needs calm but there is no

calm in the storm.' In the four years since the liberation of South Vietnam, the Chinese authorities started two wars against our people. That is why the Vietnamese people are now forced once again to take up arms in defense of their country. As before our slogan 'Nothing is more valuable than freedom and independence' remains in force.

The people of Vietnam now face two strategic tasks, namely: to build socialism and to defend the socialist Motherland.

These two tasks are organically interconnected because only the building of socialism and development of the economy will make it possible to defend the country, and only vigilance and combat readiness will help us defend our revolutionary gains.

We are quite certain of our victory in the fight against the Peking expansionists. Our confidence rests on a strong basis. We have in mind the Vietnamese people's strength, the cohesion of the peoples of the three countries of Indochina, the might of the Soviet Union, of the other socialist countries, and the three revolutionary streams of our day. Our faith in our own strength springs not only from the present, but also from the deep past, from our people's 4,000-year history. In the past 20 centuries, the Vietnamese people beat back over 10 major invasions by the northern feudals, and in its modern history our people overthrew the yoke of the Japanese militarists, scored a victory over two imperialist powers, and finally, in the latest battle, frustrated two aggressive wars started by the Chinese expansionists.

The balance of forces between revolution and counter-revolution tends to change with the emergence of Chinese great-power expansionism and its alignment with imperialism and other forces of reaction in the world; on the one side, there are the socialist countries, the national-liberation movement and the movement of the working class and the other working people in the capitalist countries, the forces for peace, and on the other, imperialism, the reactionary regimes, and Chinese great-power expansionism.

In these circumstances, we believe, the revolutionary and progressive movements in the world will have to carry on a resolute struggle against imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, and other reactionary forces, of whom the Chinese great-power expansionists, acting hand in hand with the U.S. imperialists, are the most important.

The new arrangement of revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces in the contemporary world, we believe, requires a greater effort in building up a front of the peoples of the world to fight imperialism, headed by the United States, and the Peking reactionaries, and for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Life has shown that in the present situation the struggle against imperialism will be limited unless there is a simultaneous struggle against the Peking reactionaries, coalescing with imperialism and allied with it.

In the present conditions, the peoples of Southeast Asia also face the vital task of fighting against Chinese great-power expansionism and the imperialist forces vying with each other for influence in the region. The prime goal of this struggle is to turn Southeast Asia into a peaceful, independent, free, neutral, stable and prosperous region of the world.

Peking's reactionary rulers are enemies of all the nations in the region. The crafty methods by means of which they seek to involve the ASEAN countries in a fight against the peoples of Indochina can only produce a temporary effect. They may manage to deceive some official leaders, but they cannot mislead millions of sober-minded people. We are sure that the peoples and governments of the Southeast Asian countries will see through Peking's expansionist schemes with respect to them and will resolutely resist these.

The people of Vietnam put a high value on the actual unification of the peoples of the world in a common front of solidarity with their struggle against the Chinese aggressors. To make our struggle a success it is highly important for the fraternal socialist countries, all the communist and workers' parties, together with the revolutionary and peace-loving forces of the world, to strengthen and extend this front.

1. Ethnic Chinese living in other countries, chiefly in Southeast Asia. In 1966, there were 400,000 of them in Burma, 2,750,000 in Indonesia, 435,000 in Cambodia, 3,315,000 in Malaysia, 1,400,000 in Singapore, 2,600,000 in Thailand, 450,000 in the Philippines, 860,000 in South Vietnam, and so on. Since then, natural growth and the influx of new immigrants from China has raised the Hoa total from 12 million to 20 million. — *Ed.*

2. The official communiqué on the talks held by Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai with President Nixon in February 1972 — *Ed.*

3. Shih Huang Ti, the first emperor of the Ch'in dynasty, which ruled China in the third century B.C. with unexampled despotism and extreme brutality. — *Ed.*

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The way to genuine democratic change

Jose Soares
CC member, Brazilian Communist Party

Brazil is going through one of the hardest periods of its history. The aggravation of economic and financial problems has deprived millions of Brazilians of their means of subsistance, and poverty has assumed appalling dimensions. There is a deepening of the already tremendous disproportion in the development between the central and southern regions, where the whole of economic life is concentrated, and the rest of the country, including vast territories in the north-east, north and west, which are the most backward zones.

Two studies by the Getulio Vargas Foundation (*Subsistance Wage and Income Distribution in Homogeneous Microregions)* say that 30 million Brazilians now live in 'absolute poverty.[1] Another study notes that 70 per cent of the able-bodied population in the country's north-east is partially unemployed.[2] Even a major industrial center like Sao Paulo, which accounts for up to 40 per cent of the national income, presents a sad picture: 52 per cent of its 8 million inhabitants and 73 per cent of its 3 million suburban inhabitants constantly have to eat less than their fill. From 1960 to 1975, child mortality there went up by 45 per cent, the main cause being malnutrition. The sharp drop in real incomes has forced poor people to send their children (aged between 10 and 14 years) to work. Adults themselves have to seek additional jobs to feed their families. This state of affairs is one of the causes of growing gangsterism and the increase in 'new crime' involving offenders whose average age is 16 years, instead of 25, as it was before. Sao Paolo and Rio de Janeiro are now regarded as the most dangerous cities in the world.[3]

All of this results directly from one of the worst polarizations of wealth and poverty in the world. In 1976, the share of the national income going to 80 per cent of the population was 33 per cent which was 12.6 per cent down on 1960, while that of the other 20 per cent increased from 54.4 per cent to 67.0 per cent. The incomes of the rich 5 per cent went up from 27.7 per cent to 39.0 per cent, that is, over and above the share going to 80 per cent of the population.[4] Two years later, 96 million Brazilians had an annual income of $200; 22.8 million, $1,000; and 1.2 million, $50,000.[5]

Faced with the growing and massive discontent, many of those who are directly responsible for the government of the country now have to admit that millions of Brazilians are suffering a real tragedy. At a seminar held by the Banco do Brasil and the *Jornal do Brasil,* Lucio Assumpcao, president of the Açominas Company, said that 'the government's primary task should be the elimination of absolute poverty.'[6] The president of the Parana Development Bank, Luiz Antonio Fayet, declared: 'Brazil is a giant with an empty stomach.'[7] For his part, the present Minister of Finance, Karlos Rischbieter, who was at the time president of the Banco do Brasil, urged the need for all citizens to take part in realizing an economic policy aimed 'to eliminate absolute poverty and end a situation in which the brunt of the inflation falls, as it now does, mainly on the shoulders of those who have to work for a living.' He stressed: 'It is not enough to increase wages for a fairer distribution of incomes. The first thing that needs to be done is to declare a war on absolute poverty.' In another statement, he said: 'Poor people will also be found in Switzerland and in the United States. But there is no poverty over there. In Brazil, beggars make up nearly 40 per cent of the population.'[8]

What is the cause of the country's predicament? It is above all the flimsy development 'model' imposed on Brazil after the 1964 coup, for it promotes operations by foreign monopolies, accelerates the centralization and concentration of capital and production, induces plunderous accumulation through sharp cuts in wages, the elimination of thousands of small and middle enterprises, development of export industries and neglect of the domestic market.

The policy of the military dictatorship, which has opened the floodgates for foreign capital, is well described by the following Central Bank date for the 1968-74 period. On December 31, 1974, foreign investments in Brazil (for a period of over 50 years) totalled $6,027 million, with 60 per cent of them made from 1968 to 1974, that is, the period of the highest economic growth and the notorious 'economic miracle.' These figures show very well that the dictatorship caters for imperialist capital. Another key aspect of foreign investments is that more than 80 per cent of them go into manufacturing.[9] The transnationals control 99.8 per cent of the motor works, 100 per cent of the pharmaceutical factories, 74 per cent of the production of electronic equipment and household electrical appliances, 78 per cent of the office equipment, 64 per cent of the alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks and tobacco products, 60 per cent of the automobile spare parts, 59 per cent of the machine-tools and other machinery, and 61 per cent of the petrol sales.[10] Foreign capital has strong positions in foreign trade and the

manufacture of goods for the domestic market, and owns much real estate. The transnationals also have an important role to play in agriculture: they own large-scale agro-industrial complexes, and millions of hectares of land, notably in the Amazon River basin, where they take part in the felling and processing of timber, the extraction of minerals, and in fulfilling an ambitious government plan aimed, according to the technocrats, to 'provide the whole world' with cereals and meat.

The transnationals' profits are usually higher than those of local private companies, and are nearly double those of state companies.[11] From year to year, they have been building up their strength and influence, so accelerating the denationalization of industry. A U.S. Senate subcommittee, chaired by Frank Church, reported that from 1966 to 1970, more than one-half of the new subsidiaries in industry originated through a takeover of national firms or the purchase of a controlling interest in their stock.[12]

The transnationals have also been building up their positions through mergers with local private and state capital, a trend that has been intensified over the past several years. The Figueiredo government intends to hand over to private owners (and through them to foreign owners as well) a large number of state companies like Petrobras and Vale do Rio Doce, the biggest enterprises in the oil and mining industries.

This policy has intensified Brazil's dependence on the imperialist powers and international financial agencies. According to the Central Bank, in December of this year the external debt will exceed $43 billion.[13] The Center for the Study of Monetary Problems and the International Economy expects it to be even higher — $48 billion. The net debt alone will come to $38.5 billion, while its servicing will come to 68 per cent of the total annual export. By 1980, the net debt is expected to reach $46 billion and the payments to 69 per cent of the total export. Longer-term estimates give truly astronomical figures: $186.5 billion (net debt) and $42.5 billion (interest payments).[14] To meet these debt obligations, the country will have to expand its exports considerably and to slice imports, while seeking new markets. This will sharpen relations with importing countries, which, like the United States, will have to raise their customs tariffs or reduce their purchases of goods in Brazil. The country has to make tremendous outlays on the purchase of modern equipment and raw materials abroad, and this goes to increase the costs in manufacturing, which makes it uncompetitive on the international market. Inflation has been rising at a fast rate, averaging nearly 50 per cent a year. The trade deficit has gone up to $2 billion. The key industries are working at half capacity. All of this naturally produces growing difficulties in the economic and social spheres.

The government seeks to shift the brunt of the crisis onto the shoulders of the masses. The Brazilian people have responded to this policy by increasing their resistance. Thus, in 1974, the only officially allowed opposition party — the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB) — inflicted a crushing defeat on the ruling National Renewal Alliance (ARENA) by winning a majority in 16 out of the 22 states, the first major victory over the dictatorship. In the 1976 municipal elections, the regime was dealt yet another blow, above all in the major industrial centers, despite the limited nature of the elections and the repressions which swept the country in 1974 and 1975. These elections showed that the working class is against this dictatorship. It became clear that in the direct elections of governors and the re-election of two-thirds of the Senate in 1978, the ruling party would lose control of parliament and suffer a defeat at least in three key states: Rio de Janiero, Sao Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul. That is why the government took steps further to curtail civil rights. In April 1978 it cancelled the elections of governors and of one-third of Senators, still further reduced the representations of states with the largest number of electors in favor of states with a politically-backward population, introduced a statute on a simple parliamentary majority for amendments to the Constitution, and so on.

But these new anti-democratic measures did not break the people's will for struggle. On the contrary, they extended and intensified resistance to the dictatorship, having caused discontent even among some ARENA leaders and army officers. The November 1978 elections were held in a tense atmosphere. Despite the repression, the Brazilian people inflicted yet another defeat on the regime. In the election to the Senate, the MDB received 5 million more votes than the ARENA party. The opposition also increased its representation in the Chamber of Deputies. Only because of the newly introduced restrictions did the ruling party manage to maintain a majority in the Congress.

A Political Resolution of the May 1979 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party emphasized: 'Despite the restrictions imposed by the regime, the electoral campaign and the elections themselves helped broadly to mobilize the masses. Overcoming every difficulty, the democratic movement paved the way for a discussion of national problems, which has promoted a growth of the people's consciousness and the raising of its unity, organization and militancy to a higher level.'[15]

The Figueiredo government took over in a situation which differed markedly from the old one. The dictatorship's new policy has brought some changes into the country's social life. For instance, in place of Institutional Act No. 5, which gave the head of state extraordinary powers, it adopted the present 'guarantees' which make it possible to declare a 'state of siege' and an 'emergency.' BCP CC General Secretary Luiz Carlos Prestes said that the present government wants to continue the policy started by Geisel known as a policy of 'slow, safe and gradual liberalization.' It seeks to adapt itself to the new situation created by the growing pressure of the masses, the workers in the first place, and also

to the new situation in the world, which is marked by advancing détente.[16]

The Political Resolution says: 'The past several months have been marked by important victories scored by the opposition over the military-fascist dictatorship. The regime continues to retreat in the political plane. This confirms the trend favoring the struggle of the democratic forces and the popular movement.

'The working people's strikes and manifestations together with the latest defeat of the regime in the November parliamentary elections were the main political events in that period, which ensured the success of the democratic forces.'[17]

Of great significance were the strikes this year, especially the strikes by Sao Paulo metalworkers — the proletariat's largest strike in the 15 years of the dictatorship — which gave an impetus to action by other contingents of working people. The strike involved over 200,000 persons. However, the government not only ignored the strikers' legitimate demands, but sent its troops against them and removed their legitimate trade union leadership, thereby demonstrating the falsehood of its intention to 'examine the question of raising the Brazilians' living standards by increasing incomes, and their fairer distribution between various districts and citizens.'[18] President Figueiredo declared that 'the struggle against inflation is incompatible with the fixing of wages well above the high cost of living. This is essentially the approach reflecting the interests of the élite . . . and it goes to benefit only a minority which uses illegal strikes as instruments of pressure . . . My government . . . standing on guard of the existing legislation, cannot reconcile itself to such actions.'[19] He reiterated this in a speech on May 1, openly supporting his Minister of Finance, who believed that the fight against inflation needs some 'belt-tightening.'

A Letter to the People signed by 34 trade unions and reflecting the indignation over the new government's anti-labor policy says: 'The Brazilian working people are concerned over the interference in the affairs of the ABCD company's trade unions and the use of police to suppress the strike. Such acts expose the government, which has been holding forth on the need for democratic change, are at odds with statements by its spokesmen, and threaten to frustrate the efforts to democratize the country. . . . Just now, the whole people expresses solidarity with the metalworkers and other contingents of working people forced to resort to strikes, their legitimate weapon. The whole people resolutely insists on the recognition of the right to strike . . . We urge the public to muster all its forces in support of the metalworkers and other working people on strike.'[20]

The unity and resolve of the working class and broad strata of the population, the political opposition, students, intellectuals, women's organizations, the Catholic Church, which opened the doors of its temples to strikers, and of influential circles in the ruling ARENA party forced the government to retreat and maneuver, and eventually to act as mediator in the negotiations between the removed leaders of the metalworkers' trade unions and the Sao Paulo Federation of Industries. These negotiations went on for over 40 days and were very difficult, because they were held within the framework of the anti-labor corporativist legislation copied from Mussolini's 'labor statute.' Luiz Inacio da Silva, the metalworkers' leader, assessed their result as follows: 'We have scored at least four major victories: we have realized that the working people can fight and organize strikes; we have broken down the employers' resistance; for the first time in the history of the Brazilian trade union movement, we have had the removed leaders invited to take part in the negotiations; and we have insisted they should once again head our trade unions.'[21]

The country is now going through a real upswing in the people's struggle, which is expressed not only in the intensification of the strike movement, but also in the fact that the working people are attending more meetings and demonstrations. Thus, the latest May Day manifestation in Sao Paulo, organized by the metalworkers, involved over 100,000 men and women from 56 trade union associations, an event which is unparalleled in the history of Brazil.

'Successes in routing fascism in the conditions which have taken shape in our country can be achieved only through growing mobilization, organization and unity of broad masses of people,' Prestes declared. 'It is not right to resort to gambles, to use movements without massive support, or regard strikes as the only form of struggle by the working class and other contingents of the working people. The anti-fascist forces must understand that only through action well prepared in advance (strikes, manifestations, marches and other forms of protest) is it possible to advance in organization and unity, in raising the level of the political consciousness of broad masses of people and opposition circles . . . Democratic freedoms cannot be won on one's knees; there is a need to fight and use the struggle to raise the level of organization and unity of the working class and other anti-fascist and opposition forces.'[22]

What sort of program has the government put forward to overcome the grave situation now facing the country? When taking over, its ministers said that the main tasks were to combat inflation, to stimulate agricultural production, and inject 'health' into the economy, that is, to lower the rate of industrial development, to meet external-debt obligations, to encourage private capital, and to transfer large state enterprises under its control; but now, in face of the strident need to fulfill the obligations on the growing external debt, they say that the primary task is to combat the energy crisis. This new line has been designated as a 'war plan,' which seeks to increase the production of alcohol as a substitute for some of the petrol over the long term, to extend the prospecting for oil, and the refining of oil, and to use the country's hydro-power resources on a broader scale.

Fulfillment of all these tasks will certainly entail the adoption of new anti-labor measures, a freezing of wages, and a runaway growth of prices. In particular, the stimulation of agriculture is already doing no more than helping the monopolies, notably foreign monopolies, to enrich themselves. Production for export tends to increase the already large numbers of deprived Brazilians who are forced to roam the country in search of work, a fact even the Ministry of the Interior has had to admit in one of its studies, which says: 'One-third of the population, i.e., 40 million persons, are virtual immigrants, because they are forced to leave their native places in search of better living conditions and wages.'[23] A drop in the rate of industrial development, like the mechanization of the export industries, will accelerate the growth of unemployment. As for oil substitution, the well-known economist Celso Furtado believes that 'it would be an illusion to present alcohol to the public as some kind of alternative to oil.'[24]

In the political plane, society is further to be 'liberalized.' The mass struggle and the growing opposition forced the government to draft a political amnesty bill and to put it before parliament. It was limited and discriminatory, and drew sharp criticism from the most diverse sections of the population and political trends, ranging from the church to a section of the military. But despite the powerful movement for amendments to the draft, and the insistent demands for a broad, general and unconditional amnesty, the government's draft was passed by a small majority in the Congress.

The present situation in Brazil is characterized by two main aspects. On the one hand, the government has proved to be incapable of solving the main national problems: above all, to find a way out of the financial, economic and social stalemate. Following the grave government crisis, Mario Henrique Simonsen, who was responsible for a deflationary policy, a reduction of economic growth rates and a freeze on wages, resigned as Minister of Planning. He was replaced by Minister of Agriculture Delfim Netto, who had at one time headed work on plans for the 'economic miracle' that subsequently proved to be a fiasco. One can easily anticipate the outcome of his new mission although he has been making optimistic noises, claiming that the country will cope with the crisis on its own, and will advance even farther.[25] On the other hand, the working class and all the working people, the middle sections, the intelligentsia, the church, and the opposition political forces which disagree with the limited amnesty and the slow implementation of the policy of change, have been stepping up their action against the dictatorship.

The Brazilian communists believe that the changes which have taken place in the country, the growing opposition and the new content being acquired by the struggle of the working class and the rest of the people require that democratic circles should make further efforts to make these changes irreversible. In other words, there is a need for action that would further weaken the regime, make it even less capable of social maneuvering, and promote the buildup of forces to accelerate the overthrow of the dictatorship. This is the main task of the working class and of the whole of the opposition movement. That is why unity of the opposition continues to be the main demand, unity which is especially necessary now that the dictatorship has increased its pressure and has been moving to split it.

The Communist Party takes a positive view of the idea of organizationally formalizing the existing political trends, but believes that the optimal conditions for the emergence of new parties do not yet exist. The fascist-type laws, above all the law on national security, have yet to be abolished, and the discriminatory measures against the communists have yet to be lifted. The country has a Constitution which legalizes arbitrary acts, a reactionary 'labor statute,' and a corporative labor legislation, and organs of repression continue to exist. At the present time, there is a need to strengthen the unity that has taken shape within the framework of the MDB, which has become a major mass party uniting all the opposition trends. This is the best form of struggle for an extension of the amnesty, for the convocation of a constituent assembly and adoption of truly democratic legislation.

The communists have taken an active part in all the mass protest movements in Brazil. They supported the Gragoata Charter issued by the working people of town and country, which has met with broad response from the country. It urges more vigorous struggle for the unity of opposition forces.

In the battle for a broad democratic front, primary importance attaches to working-class unity, and the establishment of a united and independent trade union center, the crucial factor in uniting all the forces seeking deep democratic change. Prestes said that the establishment of a democratic system reflects the will of an overwhelming majority of the Brazilian people. This would create more favorable conditions for effecting the achieved democratic gains, for a struggle further to develop democracy, to enable all the working people, instead of a privileged minority, to enjoy the right to work and education, and access to sport and cultural values. The BCP, campaigning for democratic freedoms, has in mind the broadest democracy. It is working for the right to work, to strike, to education, and for the right of citizens freely to express their views and to present demands through a system of grass-roots organizations (at the enterprises, at the place of domicile, in the religious communities, trade unions, etc.), and to enable them to take part in solving both their own vital and major state problems. The communists want a democracy for the masses ensuring the establishment of a broad democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly front with a most active role in national politics. We are working not only for political democracy, but also for its extension to the socio-economic sphere, and for the involvement of more and more groups and strata in social life. This will pave the way for deep transformations which are so necessary for the

country's development, and will bring on the socialist perspective.

In the present situation, the communists reaffirm their readiness and firm resolve to work together with all the other democratic forces for an extension of the amnesty, consolidation of the progressive gains, free organizational formalization of the existing ideological and political trends, and legalization of the BCP, a necessary condition for holding elections and convening a constituent assembly.

1. *Jornal do Brasil*, September 24, 1978.
2. Ibid., September 10, 1978.
3. *Le Monde diplomatique*, January 14, 1979.
4. Ibid.
5. *O Estado de Sao Paulo*, January 1979.
6. Ibid., January 19, 1979.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., January 24, 25, 1979.
9. *Opiniao*, November 14, 1975.
10. *Le Monde diplomatique*, January 14, 1979.
11. *Opiniao*, November 14, 1975.
12. Ibid.
13. *Jornal do Brasil*, May 5, 1979.
14. Ibid., July 26, 1979.
15. *Voz Operaria*, June 1979.
16. *Movimento*, June 16 and 22, 1979.
17. *Voz Operaria*, June 1979.
18. *O Estado de Sao Paulo*, March 20, 1979.
19. Ibid.
20. *Jornal do Brasil*, March 26, 1979.
21. Ibid., May 17, 1979.
22. *Movimento*, June 16 and 22, 1979.
23. *Jornal do Brasil*, July 8, 1979.
24. Ibid.
25. *Jornal do Brasil*, August 16, 1979.

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the press

Communists' combat weapon

Below are the results of an exchange of views on 'The Mass Media in the Struggle for Democratic and Revolutionary Transformations, for Socialism,' within the framework of a correspondence round-table with the participation of Communist Party representatives and publicists from Portugal, Israel, Chile, Iraq, Greece and India.[1]

The final exchange of views was held in the *WMR* Commission on the Communist Press, Reviews and Bibliography. It was attended by *Peter Boychuck*, CC Central Executive Committee alternate member, CP Canada; *Felix Dixon*, CC alternate member, People's Party of Panama; *Georg Kwiatowsky*, representative of the German CP on the Journal; *Wieslaw Klimczak*, CC alternate member, Polish United Workers' Party; *Essop Pahad*, South African journalist; *Bert Ramelson*, representative of the CP Great Britain on the Journal; *Satiajaya Sudiman*, member of the leadership, CP Indonesia; *Bruno Furch*, representative of the CP Austria on the Journal; and *Emile Habibi*, CC Political Bureau member, CP Israel.

W. Klimczak, Chairman of the Commission, who opened the discussion, recalled, that now that tremendous efforts are being made to deepen and extend détente, ideological struggle, of which the mass media are an important instrument, has an ever greater role to play. Imperialism has at its disposal a vast propaganda machine geared against socialism, including ideological centers of 'grey' and 'black' propaganda, specializing in the hatching of spiritual subversions. Klimczak illustrated this with examples of hostile propaganda against Poland. He said that the propaganda campaigns in the bourgeois mass media over the recent period, like the loud noises over 'human rights,' inflation of the myth about some 'Soviet armed threat' and the blowing up of the so-called problem of Indochinese refugees, are aimed to slow down and undermine détente.

Everyone knows that the strategy of resisting the bourgeoisie's ideological attacks does not boil down to rebuffing these. Ideological struggle is a vigorous offensive if we do not confine ourselves to exposing the enemy's slanders, but force him to answer the questions we pose. Among these are peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, détente, and general and complete disarmament.

The struggle against our ideological adversaries, Klimczak emphasized, can be effective only if our criticism is concrete, when we pinpoint the sources and the men engaged in the noxious 'irradiation' of minds, and show *who* stands to benefit from this, as Lenin required us to do. The mass media are a most important instrument for exerting an influence on public opinion, which is why it is always important to find out who controls them and how they are used.

G. Kwiatowski supported and elaborated on this idea, and dwelt on the so-called freedom of the press in the capitalist countries. He stressed that in the West there was a growing concentration of mass

media. In the FRG, Springer's press outfit controls 86 per cent of the daily newspaper printing in the country; in Britain, 85 per cent of newspaper printing is controlled by 5 publishing concerns; in France, Robert Hersant, the newspaper magnate, owns over 20 per cent of the country's press, and in the United States 32.5 per cent of daily press printing is in the hands of corporations publishing 238 dailies. The monopoly of news, which is controlled by four major news services in the capitalist world — AP, UPI, Reuter's and France Presse — is even a more expressive testimonial to the concentration of the mass media in the West, and in effect amounts to 'information imperialism,' as President Urho Kekkonen of Finland aptly put it.

Bourgeois mass media love to talk about some kind of pluralism of opinion. But here is what it amounts to in practice, when it goes to the root of the capitalist system. Late last year, the deputy chairman of the German Publishers' Council issued a circular for his newspaper, *Kölnische Rundschau*, ordering that the newspaper should not report any of the demands of striking steel workers. Manfred Bissinger, the editor of *Stern* magazine, a man without any communist views, was dismissed from his post for criticizing the export policy of West German capital to developing countries.

If there is any freedom in the bourgeois press, it may be more aptly described as freedom to manipulate public opinion. That is why the German Communist Party's program demands, in accordance with the Constitution of the FRG, that all the democratic forces should have access to the press on an equal footing, that the big concerns in the public opinion industry should be in public ownership under democratic control.

Joining in the discussion, *Bruno Furch* said that a constant problem facing *Volksstimme*, the newspaper of the Austrian communists, is to enhance the impact of the printed word and to enlarge its readership. The CP Austrian has long carried on a struggle for democratization of radio and television, which are owned by the state. Press reviews on the radio and television used to quote the communist newspaper alongside the others (thus, statements by the CPA Chairman Franz Muhri have been quoted), but this was frequently done in a deliberately biased manner. The communists themselves were never allowed to broadcast. So people began to complain: why don't the communists themselves speak about the communists? The result is that nowadays communists are, from time to time, invited to participate in TV discussions, especially when their organizers want to put us at a disadvantage. However, our comrades have always acquitted themselves very well. Thus, in a TV discussion of the film *Holocaust* we succeeded in presenting the true, i.e., class view of the origins of fascism and racism, despite the efforts of its organizers to reduce the whole thing to a bourgeois, purely psychological explanation of fascism. This U.S. film, which has been shown on television in many West European countries, deals with the annihilation of the Jewish population by the fascists during the Second World War. It gives a truthful picture of the inhuman substance of nazism. But the film gives an incorrect and misleading interpretation of fascism, because its authors reduced nazism to anti-Semitism and racism, while ignoring its other aspects and saying nothing about the Third Reich's genocide with respect to non-Jews.

We insist, Furch said, that the communists should have equal studio time with other parties on radio and television. Incidentally, new legislation on the mass media is a question that has long been under discussion in Austria. One bill proposes a reform of the press law which has existed since 1922. This bill is liberal in many respects. In an effort to tone down some of the extremes, its authors, for instance, provide for judicial protection for victims of biased publications and public apology for biased reports. But these are no more than details which do not modify the main thing, namely, the owner's right to dispose of the mass medium he owns.

Under capitalism, *Peter Boychuck* said, the communist press is faced with the especially acute problem of confrontation with the powerful mass media. I agree with Comrade Furch that the search for the most effective ways of influencing audiences is especially important in this context. Our practice is based on Lenin's well-known view of the party press. We seek to concentrate the attention of our readers on what they will not learn from the bourgeois press: the struggle of the working class against capital, for peace and for social progress and socialism. This includes assessment and answer to misleading and lying news items and the publication of factual material suppressed by the capitalist media.

Let us note, Boychuck went on, that despite our party's legal status in Canada, there is also constant discrimination against its legitimate rights to express its stand in the big press. It is true that in the recent period we have managed to get the big bourgeois papers to carry short squibs about statements by our party's leaders, if only during political campaigns. Thus, during the campaign before the elections to the federal parliament (in April and May of this year) in which the communists took part, our General Secretary William Kashtan was allowed to appear on television for the first time in many years. But they gave him only three minutes for his statement. Meanwhile, the leaders of the three main bourgeois parties were given two hours of studio time for discussion.

The communist press in the capitalist countries faces a great number of problems, Boychuck continued. Apart from objective information, there is the need to explain the party's policy, to repel the attacks by capital on the working class, to struggle for strengthening détente, and to expose the slanders on existing socialism.

We are achieving more success by having our press concentrate on certain areas of paramount importance which can in turn influence other sections. Our *Canadian Tribune* comes out in frequent special editions, dealing with specific industries like auto, steel, construction and others based on

materials supplied by experts and workers on the job. Regular distribution at the enterprises of those industries has brought increases in the readership of our press, strengthened the influence of the party and is reflected in the more progressive and militant positions of the various trade unions.

Bert Ramelson described a similar form of activity and circulation of *Morning Star*, the paper of the British communists. How are the requirements of various strata of the population to be satisfied, if the paper is limited in size for financial reasons? *Morning Star*, for instance, publishes items addressed to this or that group of readers on definite days. Thus, there is a regular page for women, a page on problems in culture and a student section.

In addition, the editors try to establish in advance the topics which are of interest to this or that category of the population, and collect special orders for the paper from those to whom the material is addressed (although, Ramelson added, journalists seek to make these interesting to other readers as well). For instance, if the main item of its issue in preparation is to be a report on a strike, the sale of the paper is organized among pickets and at strikers' meetings.

Like the GCP and the CPA, our Communist Party's Program demands a democratization of the mass media.

From the outset, *Morning Star* announced that it would be guided by the policy of the Communist Party's executive. However, the paper's ideological task is much broader: it has to be a rostrum for all the left-wing forces in the country. And it has been one, publishing material written by non-communists and non-Marxists, who take a more or less left-wing stand. For all practical purposes, our newspaper is Britain's only daily which provides left-wingers with an opportuntiy for making statements in the press. Among its contributors are members of the left-wing of the Labour Party leadership, and trade union leaders. Our theoretical monthly *Marxism Today* and the journal *Comment* also encourages a dialogue with non-Marxists and non-communists.

The importance of such a dialogue was emphasized by *Bruno Furch*. The CPA's press seeks to combine a principled approach with flexibility, to avoid what might be called bludgeoning criticism, and to carry on the discussion in a respectful, comradely tone. We address our enemies as enemies, Furch emphasized, but we talk with socialist workers as comrades by class.

One of the prime tasks of *Al-Ittihad*, the Israeli communists' chief press organ in Arabic, is to give a resolute rebuff to anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, *Emile Habibi* stressed. It appeared 35 years ago as an anti-fascist, communist paper. Such it remains to this day. Our party connects the Israeli people's future and the future of the Palestinian Arab people with the victories of the world's first socialist country, with the achievements of the socialist-community countries. That is our avowed stand. That is why it is vitally important for us to combat anti-Sovietism in our region, where the problem is very acute. Besides, the fight against anti-Sovietism is an issue that bears on the very existence of the international communist movement. That is why we resolutely reject Maoism, and take a negative attitude to Eurocommunism.

Are there any difficulties in publishing our paper? No doubt. *Al-Ittihad* is a small paper, is published with the use of obsolete equipment, and is short of skilled journalists. Because of the small size of the paper we cannot earn much on advertisements and announcements. It is against the law to circulate our paper in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories (the authorities have repeatedly arrested those who did so). Despite the reprisals, hundreds of copies variously make their way into the hands of readers in the occupied areas, and it is frequently the only paper to reach the Arab villages. And it is very important in information and propaganda to have the first say! The bourgeois government is forced to react to our criticism and to respond to it, whether directly or indirectly, through its papers or parliament.

It is impossible for us communist journalists working in capitalist countries to over-estimate the experience of the press in the socialist countries, which have a powerful instrument for analyzing international affairs and social development; namely, the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. That is our asset. Whereas for the Israeli bourgeois papers, the opinion of U.S. papers like *The New York Times* is the ultimate truth, we think that the true reports are to be found on the pages of the newspapers in the socialist countries.

Essop Pahad dealt with the problems facing the progressive press in African countries. He said that the difficulties enumerated by the other comrades were being compounded for Africa by the heavy dependence on the imperialist news agencies which have a monopoly of the news. It is they, and not the Africans themselves, that report on events on the continent. Bourgeois journalists in the West reporting on the situation in Africa rush around for scoops, ignoring the positive changes in the development of independent African countries. Let us recall that this aroused general discontent among the developing countries and led to the appearance of UNESCO's historic Declaration on the Mass Media.[2] Among other things, they set up a non-aligned countries' information pool, which now involves over 60 news services.[3]

Radical changes in the field of information depend on radical changes in the social order. To show how the revolutionary press has been developing in Africa, take, for example, Ethiopia. I know the *Ethiopian Herald* well. Under the old regime, the paper supported the emperor and the policy of the imperialist powers. When I arrived in Ethiopia in 1978, I discovered that the paper had undergone a complete change both in form and in content. I read the articles and commentaries and saw for myself that the authors' approach to the problems, their language, style and categories of evaluating events were being shaped under the influence of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Progres-

sive changes are going on in the press of Angola and Mozambique, too.

As for my own country, let me say that despite the repression the Pretoria regime cannot muzzle the clandestine communist press in the RSA. Here is only one recent report: in early September, patriots in Johannesburg distributed in broad daylight thousands of leaflets to mark the 70th anniversary of the birth of Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, the leader of the national-liberation and working-class movement in South Africa.[4]

Most Latin American countries, *Felix Dixon* said, are in deep economic and cultural dependence on the imperialist powers, the United States in the first place. In this region, imperialism has conducted an exceptionally active propaganda activity (with the Maoists recently working hand-in-hand with the imperialists in their ideological acts). We believe that especially dangerous are the attempts to denationalize the culture of our peoples and to draw the Latin American countries into the sphere of the capitalist world.

The communists of Panama are engaged in an ideological struggle along a broad front. Here are some of its lines: against the continuing cultural colonization, especially in the Panama Canal Zone, against imperialist control of the press and art, against clerical obscurantism and against the subversive activity of CIA radio stations. This is not an easy struggle at all. But we do have some successes. In the 1940s and 1950s, we published clandestine newspapers *El Cholo, El Mazo* and *El Patriota* in small printings, and they acted as mass agitators. Today, the People's Party of Panama publishes its legal newspaper, *Unidad*, and we also have opportunities of contributing to the newspaper *Critica*. Our party's press advocates a deepening of the national-liberation process, which in the next few years should lead to a completion of the anti-imperialist and democratic revolution in Panama.

As a result of the internal changes in the country in the past few years, we have received access to various popular radio bulletins, not only in the capital, but also in all the provinces of Panama. We also have some access to *Radio Libertad de Panama*, a state radio station popularizing the present government's anti-imperialist policy. *Radio Habana, Cuba*, the radio station, which in the past 20 years has had a profound transformative influence on the thinking of many Latin Americans, is an example for conducting communist propaganda.

However, our country is still dependent on the 'news monopolies,' mainly the U.S. news agencies AP and UPI. It would be hard to do without the assistance of the socialist states in establishing a new and just information order, in the spirit of the UNESCO Declaration. Incidentally, the socialist countries broadcasting to Latin America could do a great deal to help our parties by increasing the volume of their broadcasts in Spanish. But it is quite clear that the information exchange with the socialist countries cannot be active so long as our party does not have its own mass media. We realize that the voice of the Panamanian people will be heard all over the globe when our people become the master of the mass media, and we are working to this end.

Essop Pahad remarked that from the exchanges in the correspondence round-table which have been published and from what comrades have said here it follows that each party decides, in the light of its own concrete experience, possibilities and conditions in which it has to operate, which methods are to be used in fighting the ideological adversary. Whereas, for instance, newspapers like *L'Unita, L'Humanité, Volksstimme, Unsere Zeit, Canadian Tribune* and *Al-Ittihad* are published and distributed legally, the communist press in the RSA and other countries where the Communist Parties have to work clandestinely has a much harder time. In this context, Pahad asked Sudiman about the condition of the communist press in his country.

S. Sudiman said that since 1965 Indonesia has been ruled by a reactionary military regime. Since then, the communist press has been banned. For the time being, we have not managed to arrange for the publication of a regular newspaper. It is true that since 1967 a Marxist-Leninist group of the party started to publish leaflets, and at the same time a clandestine monthly *Tekad Rakyat* (Resolution of the People), which is circulated in CPI organizations on the island of Java. In addition, we supply communists and their sympathizers with pocket-size pamphlets containing the works of Lenin, but regrettably in limited quantities.

We find out that our publications reach readers from reports by the police, who frequently discover them in the pockets of workers and students during its raids. They are published abroad. The main task of our clandestine press is to expose the policy of the regime, to fight imperialism and every form of opportunism, Maoism in particular, to strengthen international solidarity and to spread the truth about existing socialism among the masses.

Summing up the exchange of views, *W. Klimczak*, Chairman of the Commission on the Communist Press, Reviews and Bibliography, thanked all the participants in the discussion. He noted that it was, of course, impossible to deal with every aspect of the topic in detail, but the round-table and the discussion in the Commission yielded many valuable ideas from the current practices of the communist press. The comrades discussed not only general problems which are typical for communist publications, but also the specifics of the Communist Parties' work in various regions of the world and in different conditions. It was deemed appropriate for the journal to continue giving constant attention to the problems of the communist press and other mass media in the struggle for democratic and revolutionary transformations, and for socialism.

1. See *WMR*, No. 11 for 1978 and No. 5 for 1979.
2. This was adopted at UNESCO's 20th General Conference in November 1978 in Paris and is officially called the Declaration on Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace

and International Understanding, the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racism, Apartheid and Incitement to War. — *Ed.*

3. The trend toward independence in the field of information from the imperialist countries was also expressed in a decision taken by the 13 OPEC countries at their Vienna Conference in September 1979 to set up their own news service. — *Ed.*

4. On the clandestine communist press in the RSA see *WMR*, October 1979.

Professor Windell's right-rope act

The Foreign Policies of West European Socialist Parties. Edited by Werner J. Feld, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1978, 149 pp.

This book has a very promising title, but it deals only with the socialist and social-democratic parties of Britain, France, Italy, Portugal, Norway and Sweden, ignoring those of Austria, Spain, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Finland. Why is that so? The authors explain: 'We have confined ourselves to those countries whose external policies are likely to have a significant impact on international politics, because of either their size or location' (p. 3).

Many socialist parties of Western Europe will undoubtedly be surprised by this approach, but even it is not consistent in the book. After all, when it comes to size, Spain has more reasons to be on the 'U.S. list' than Portugal. Where it comes to 'impact' on international relations, one cannot quite understand why, say, the Belgian Socialist Party has been ignored, for one cannot at all say that it has a weak influence on international relations.

But let us pass over this more than unnatural selection and consider the content of this book. The chapters dealing with the individual parties contain generally known facts, which is why there is no point in considering them in detail. But the 'summation and conclusions highlighting the past and speculating on the future' (as the Introduction says) require a closer look, especially since the authors recommend their work to a fairly wide readership, namely, 'practitioners in international relations' (that is, evidently, professional politicians), scholars and the 'informed laymen' (see p. 3). These conclusions are presented in the articles written by Werner J. Feld, a Professor of Political Science at the University of New Orleans, and his colleague George Windell, a Professor of History at the same university.

Windell's article is entitled 'Socialism and Western Europe: the Past.' It starts with a reasonable statement: 'The specter of communism' from Marx and Engels' *Communist Manifesto,* the author says, 'has been converted to a reality in a large part of the world.' But there reason ends. From this article, the reader will obtain not so much an idea of the socialist parties' foreign-policy activity as a concentrated array of slanderous inventions, falsifications and distortions of Marxism-Leninism. Professor Windell makes great play with scientific terminology, but in the main merely echoes the ideas which had been spread about long before his day by more notorious enemies of the great revolutionary doctrine of our time. Windell tries to prove what cannot be proved, namely, that Marxism is obsolete. He pats the West European socialists on the head for having killed the spirit of Marxism and rejected the idea of revolution, and at once wrathfully attacks them for having given up Marxism to the Russian Lenin and his followers (see pp. 122-128).

Why is he saying all this? His aim is apparently to scare the European socialists and social democrats and to restrain them from cooperating with the communists, the need for which is dictated by the working people's vital interests in the struggle for peace, and against the arms race, for democracy and social progress. At this point, the professor even uses a different lexicon. He vents the cold war champions' pent-up spleen and poison on the socialist transformations in postwar Eastern Europe. He fears that something similar may take place in Western Europe, and hopes that the course of history may be changed by 'variations of Marxism,' of which he finds the social-democratic one most attractive because 'non-communist forms of Marxism,' he assures us, have become 'respectable almost everywhere in the West,' and because other variants now appear to be on the threshold of achieving a similar respectability (p. 135). He flatly claims that the working class in the industrialized capitalist countries 'no longer has revolutionary potential' (p. 132). But if one considers only the scale of the strike movement, the facts tell the opposite story: in 1970, roughly 12.5 million persons were involved in strikes in the leading capitalist countries, and in 1975 — 23.5 million, or nearly twice as many. Indeed, the strike action shook countries like the FRG, Sweden, Norway and Switzerland, which claimed to have achieved 'social partnership.'

While Windell's article seeks to keep the socialists from any possible radicalization and cooperation with the communists, and is replete with diehard anti-communism, Feld's chapter on the prospects for cooperation among the socialists of Western Europe in determining a common foreign-policy line contains some positive elements. He gives close attention to the attitude of the West European socialist parties to the European socialist countries and states that in these parties there is broad support for the efforts to continue the policy of détente, although it now shows 'somewhat of a downward trend' (p. 148). One has to agree with this balanced evaluation. Feld consid-

ers the changes in the international arena and draws the conclusion that 'détente policies toward Eastern Europe may be pursued with some vigor, policies to which no alternative is perceived' (ibid.).

Considering the activity of the Socialist International, the Confederation of Socialist Parties of the EEC, and the socialist parties' group in the European parliament (the second largest), that is, organs which are designed to coordinate action by the socialists, Feld sums it up as follows: the socialist parties of Western Europe still have no common foreign-policy platform. He notes that the parties' national interests and conditions of activity are much too different. In countries like Italy, France and Portugal, the socialists, he believes, are strongly influenced by the communists. The ideological distinctions between the socialist parties, the 'various shades of Marxism,' the different extent of connections with the trade unions, internal factionalism and, finally, differences in the national economic environment hamper the elaboration of a common foreign-policy program (see pp. 145-147).

This article brings out in full relief Windell's absurd anti-communism. It would seem that a book consisting of such different articles is a common enough 'pluralistic' bourgeois collection, where everyone has his own bit of space. But the point is that the Windells are not satisfied with an objectivist academic approach like Feld's. On the contrary, they stridently seek to drum into the heads of 'practitioners in international relations' and 'informed laymen' their pseudo-scientific nonsense and, as in this case, to show that some socialist parties could be of use to U.S. imperialism.

Bruno Furch

New books

Highlights of a Fighting History. 60 Years of the Communist Party USA, New York, International Publishers, 1979, 516 pp.

The publication of this book was timed to the glorious anniversary of the Communist Party USA founded on September 1, 1979. The party's General Secretary Gus Hall writes in the Foreword that the birth of the party was the product of the internal conditions that took shape in the country after World War I plus the electrifying effect of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the revolutionary actions of the working people of Europe. Throughout its history, the book says, the CPUSA has been carrying high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; it has been in the forefront of the struggle for the political, economic and social ideals of the American working class and all sections of the U.S. population that are subjected to racial and national oppression; and it has been defending the interests of the working people as a whole.

The book devotes much attention to the selfless struggle of U.S. communists against the forces of reaction and war, in particular against U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam, against the arms race, for peace and international security.

Herbert Mies, Willi Gerns, *Weg und Ziel der DKP, Fragen und Antworten zum Programm der DKP* (The GCP's Way and Goal. Questions and Answers on the GCP Program). Frankfurt am Mein, Verlag Marxistische Blätter, 1979, 163 pp.

In this book, Herbert Mies, Chairman of the German Communist Party, and Willi Gerns, a member of the Presidium of its Board, explain the basic propositions of the GCP Program adopted at its Mannheim Congress in 1978. In a scientifically argumented but popular form, which is frequently highly polemic, they answer the questions posed not only by communists and those who seek an alternative to capitalism, but also by the party's political opponents. Their answers set forth the GCP's strategy, tactics and goals and the objective and subjective potentialities for implementing the communists' program.

Janos Berecz, *Harc es együttmüködes. A tarsadalmi haladasrol es a nemzetközi enyhülesträl* (Struggle and Cooperation. Social Progress and the Détente). Budapest, Akademiai Kiado, 1979, 236 pp.

In this historical period of transition from capitalism to socialism, the author says, the way the struggle between the two world social systems runs and the means used to carry it on are of much importance for the future of mankind. He shows that the events in this or that part of the globe affect all countries, directly or indirectly. That is why one must know how to find one's bearings in the complicated phenomena and events of the international situation, and to have a correct understanding of the interconnection between the advance of the world revolutionary process and the problem of coexistence of countries with different social systems. The author analyzes the dialectical connection between the struggle for world peace and the ideological struggle, and emphasizes the importance of détente for social progress.

Georgi Karasimeonov. *'Sotsialna demokratsia' ili reformiran kapitalisym* ('social Democracy' or Reformed Capitalism). Sofia, Partizdat, 1979, 204 pp.

This is one in a series on 'Critique of Bourgeois Ideology and Revisionism' which is being issued jointly by publishing houses in socialist countries. The author analyzes the present-day views of social-reformists on matters like the class content of the bourgeois state and democracy, the role of reforms and democracy in the struggle for socialism, the substance of the struggle for political power, and the uniformities governing transition to socialism.

facts and figures

Indicators of progress

The Polish People's Republic now has a developed economy and a sizable scientific, technical and cultural potential.

When the rehabilitation of the economy was in the main completed in 1950, the bulk of the active population was employed in a technically backward agriculture. Today, over 6 million are employed in industry and building, and slightly over 1 million, in agriculture and forestry.

The national income has multiplied 6.7-fold over 1950, with industry having the leading role to play in production: in 1950 it accounted for 28.8 per cent, and agriculture for 56.7 per cent; in 1977, the figures were, respectively, 52.7 per cent and 13.7 per cent.

Poland ranks tenth in the world in *industrial output*, ninth in the generation of electric power, and the production of steel and cement, sixth or seventh in the manufacture of woolen and cotton yarn, fifth in the extraction of brown coal and phosphorus fertilizers, and fourth in the extraction of hard coal and the building of fishing vessels.

Poland's economic development is characterized by *high rates*. Industrial output is 14-times higher than it was in 1950. In 1976-1977, industrial output growth in the social sector averaged 8 per cent a year. Substantial changes have taken place in the structure of industry: from 1960 to 1977, the share of engineering, electrical engineering and electronics went up from 15.9 per cent to 33.4 per cent.

Agriculture continues to be an important sector of the economy. From 1950 to 1977, its gross output doubled (in constant prices), while the cattle population almost doubled. There is a growth of the material and technical facilities in agriculture.

Poland's economic progress has led to a *growth of the people's well-being*. From 1970 to 1978, the real incomes of the population increased by an average of 70 per cent, with 12 per cent of all incomes coming from social funds. From 1950 to 1977, the average net monthly wages of those employed in the social sector multiplied almost 8-fold. From 1960 to 1977, the consumption of goods and services by the population increased 2.8-fold.

In 1978, per head consumption was as follows: meat 71 kg (1950, 36.5 kg); fats 24.9 (9.7)kg.; eggs 218 (116). The same year sales were as follows: furniture 26 billion zloty (1970, 12 billion), radiotape recorders and tape recorders 805,000 (92,000), washing machines 871,000 (432,000), refrigerators 979,000 (373,000), and cars 224,000 (49,000).

Socialist Poland provides *full employment* to the whole of its adult population. This fact testifies to the real potentialities of socialism: from 1971 to 1975, nearly 2,000,000 new jobs were created with the growth in the number of persons of working age.

Sustained attention has been given to *public health and social security*. In the recent period, state appropriations in this area have been doubled. All Polish citizens enjoy free medical services, pay only 30 per cent of the price for medicines, while over 3 million pensioners receive these free of charge. The death rate in the country, especially child mortality, has markedly gone down, and the average life span has now increased by 20 years.

Pensions were increased in 1976. By 1980, state appropriations for pensions and allowances are to total 155 billion zloty, which is over three times more than in 1970.

Mothers and children enjoy special care in Poland. A lump-sum allowance of 2,000 zloty is paid to mothers for every new-born child. They are allowed a paid leave of 16 weeks with the birth of the first child, 18 weeks, with the birth of the second, and 26 weeks with the birth of the third child. In addition, they have the right to take a three-year leave without pay, with the reservation of their job, and with the entry of that period in their working record and a guarantee of their former wages.

The housing problem is being effectively solved. From 1950 to 1977 another 1,525,000 flats were built.

Important changes have taken place in *education*. Poland now has total literacy. Since 1978, it moved on to universal secondary ten-year education. In the 1977-78 academic year, schools and higher schools, and extramural education had an enrolment, respectively, of 7.3 million and 2 million persons. Skilled personnel are being trained at 89 higher schools. In the 35 years of the people's power, almost 1 million people have received diplomas of higher learning.

Under socialism, large masses of people have for the first time been given access to the *values of national and world culture*. For instance, in 1977 alone, 53.4 million of copies of fictional works (12.4 million of them translated) were published. The 117 theatres across the country had audiences totalling over 13 million. Every year, 18 philharmonic societies and numerous performing groups stage 20,000 concerts.

Poland's international prestige has been growing, for it is a member of the socialist community consistently pursuing a constructive foreign policy,

making an active contribution to the cause of peace, détente and the security of nations, and the progressive forces' struggle throughout the world. Poland is a founding member of the United Nations. Back in 1947, it motioned in the United Nations a proposal to ban atomic weapons. In 1957, it proposed the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe. In late 1978, the United Nations adopted, on Poland's initiative, its Declaration on Educating the Peoples in the Spirit of Peace.

IN BRIEF

FOR LEFT UNITY

Chile

In a call circulated in Santiago, Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the CP Chile, urged the establishment of an alliance including all the democratic trends. At the present time, he stressed, there is a basis in Chile for the formation of a powerful social movement and a broad alliance of democratic forces.

Guyana

A consultative meeting of representatives of communists, workers' and revolutionary-democratic parties and organizations of the Caribbean was held in Georgetown. As stated in its final communiqué, the participants unanimously declared that the activity of imperialism, effected in the recent period through the International Monetary Fund and other financial institutions, is the chief cause of the plight of the masses in the region. This urges the progressive movement to give more attention to work among the masses so as to explain the essence of the anti-imperialist movement, and to work for an independent way of development for the Caribbean countries toward socialism in close contact with the socialist community. The document emphasizes the need to strengthen the broad alliance of these parties and organizations with the progressive trade unions in the fight for the working people's interests, for national liberation and social progress.

India

A joint statement by the Communist Party of India, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and other left-wing parties has been issued in Delhi, emphasizing the need for the establishment of a government on the basis of the unity of left-wing and democratic forces. At a press conference in Delhi, C. Rajeswara Rao, General Secretary of the National Council of the CP India, noted with satisfaction the rapprochement between these forces which has been in evidence in the recent period.

Italy

A letter addressed to the Italian Socialist Party, signed by Enrico Berlinguer, General Secretary of the Italian CP, officially proposes a meeting between the two parties for a joint consideration of the most urgent and acute problems facing the country and for an in-depth comparison of their views on the policy and prospects of the left-wing forces in Italy and in Europe. In a reply letter, the ISP's Political Secretary Benedetto Craxi gave a positive reply to this proposal noting the importance of discussing political and programmatic problems within the framework of an improvement of relations between the two parties. A meeting between the leaders of the Italian Communist and Socialist Parties was held in the latter half of September.

Japan

Various aspects of joint action by the country's progressive forces were discussed at a meeting in Tokyo of representatives of the leadership of the Communist Party and the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo). The participants in the meeting emphasized the importance of these questions, considering the intensified drive by the authorities and monopolies against the working people's rights and interests and the intensification of militaristic trends in the country. The need was pointed out to accelerate the establishment in Japan of a united front of democratic forces.

Peru

The Peruvian Communist Party, the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Workers', Peasants', Students' and People's Front have decided to act in common and to nominate a common candidate for the post of president at the general elections next May. A declaration adopted by these parties, which was signed on behalf of the Peruvian CP by General Secretary Jorge del Prado, expresses readiness to invigorate in every way mass action for the people's rights, and vigorously to explain the program of joint action. These parties called on the other political organizations and groupings in the country to join the new bloc.

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