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feature

Into what are the Pentagon and NATO prodding Europe?

PROBLEMS OF THE DAY

At a session in Brussels in mid-December 1979 the NATO Council passed its first-ever decision to produce and deploy in some West European countries new systems of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles called Eurostrategic (108 Pershing-2s and 464 Cruise missiles) capable of reaching Soviet territory in four minutes.

The *WMR* Commission on Problems of Peace and Democratic Movements set up a study group consisting of CC Alternate Member of the Polish United Workers' Party and member of the *WMR* Editorial Board Wieslaw Klimczak, representative of the Communist Party of Belgium on *WMR* and member of the Editorial Council Robert Francis, Central Executive Committee member of the CC Communist Party of Canada and member of the *WMR* Editorial Council Peter Boychuck, and *WMR* staff member Vladimir Lober to look into where the ruling circles of the old world are pushing Europe, in the context of the dangerous plans of the Pentagon and NATO that are being developed and adopted.

The following is a summary of the group's findings.

Once more about the 'Soviet military threat'

The assertion that in Europe today the Soviet Union has achieved military superiority over the NATO states was the keynote of the propaganda campaign to win approval for NATO's plans. While recognizing the existence of a certain global strategic arms balance between the USA and the USSR, the ruling circles of the Western countries deny that this balance exists in tactical nuclear and conventional armaments between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty on the European continent. In the capitalist West it is alleged that Soviet medium-range missiles, particularly the new missile called SS-20, have the whole of Europe within range while NATO (without taking into account the U.S. strategic weapons coming under SALT-2) disposes of totally inadequate nuclear missile forces and thus leaves Western Europe 'defenseless.'

The study group finds that these allegations have nothing to stand on.

There is no justification for separating regional components of armaments from global, or the balance of armed strength in Europe from the global balance. Far from being isolated, the military potential concentrated in Western Europe is closely linked to that of the USA. Moreover, through the NATO system it is the direct continuation and reinforcement of that potential and depends on it.[1]

The arguments offered by the proponents of the Pentagon plans deliberately ignore the huge significance of the U.S. system of theater basing in the overall military-strategic balance of strength. For many years the USA and its NATO partners have been engaged in building up a system of bases encircling the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty nations. Aircraft capable of carrying nuclear weapons to Soviet territory are deployed at these bases. U.S. warships, including aircraft carriers with nuclear weapons-carrying aircraft, cruise constantly near the frontiers of the socialist community. Theater-based forces in Central Europe include American medium-range missiles, the Pershing-1 missile among them, with a range of 750 kilometers. In the FRG alone there are more than 7,000 U.S. nuclear weapons units with the corresponding means of delivery.[2]

The NATO propaganda machine deliberately ignores the fact that in Europe there are British nuclear forces spearheaded against the Soviet Union and also French nuclear forces which, the corresponding circles admit, are likewise targeted on Warsaw Treaty nations. Altogether, the U.S. theater-based nuclear armaments and the nuclear weapons of Britain and France add up to nearly 1,500 variously based missiles and nuclear aircraft.

The Western countries say that in Central Europe the Warsaw Treaty has 180,000 troops more than the NATO states.[3] However, behind the smoke screen of rhetoric about a reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, and arguments over their actual numerical strength which has long been the cause of a stalemate at the Vienna talks, the U.S. armed forces in the FRG have been increased in recent years. In 1977-1978 their numerical strength was augmented by 34,800 effectives.

Bourgeois propaganda takes for granted the fact that the North Atlantic bloc has a huge military potential. According to the latest statistics printed in the press, NATO's armed forces are currently at 5,000,000 effectives, of whom more than 3,000,000 are in Europe. The NATO command has 70 divisions, more than 11,000 tanks, over 3,000 aircraft, and large quantities of other military hardware. In Western Europe alone there are over 8,000 U.S. nuclear warheads and upwards of 3,000 delivery vehicles.

NATO strategists have a specific use for the

notorious myth about the Soviet Union building up its military strength, the battered story about the Warsaw Treaty nations seeking military superiority, the talk about 'efforts' over and above the defense requirements of the socialist countries — they want to halt the process of military détente and prevent any utilization of the real possibility of proceeding with disarmament opened up by the signing of SALT-2 by the USSR and the USA.

NATO 'modernization' concept and the Pentagon's actual aims

NATO ruling circles seek to justify the decision to produce and deploy new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe with the assertion that in order to restore the balance of strength Western Europe must be 'modernized' and given additional weapons.

The study group sees this as a downright falsehood.

It is not true that the USA and the other NATO states have not modernized their armed forces, including their nuclear forces. On the contrary, during the past 10-12 years NATO's conventional and nuclear forces have grown both numerically and in quality. The number of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles deployed in Western Europe has been almost doubled. Tactical aircraft, tactical missile systems and ground nuclear artillery have been entirely renewed.[4]

It would be wrong to reduce the substance of NATO's present plans solely to the modernization of armed forces. In fact, they are planning to deploy qualitatively new American nuclear weapons (Cruise missiles and Pershing-2s), which are to be aimed at the Soviet Union and designated for strategic tasks that have nothing in common with defense.[5]

No analysis of the armed forces of an individual nation or group of countries can be confined to one type of armaments or arm of the service. War is conducted with all available forces and armaments: motorized infantry, tanks, missiles, artillery, aircraft and so forth. Of course, in the structure of the armed forces of each of these military groups there are peculiarities and distinctions springing from their specifics, geographical location and military concepts and doctrines. However, many Western military experts and institutions agree that all in all there is an approximate balance between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty forces.[6]

In the West there is plenty of talk to the effect that the purpose of the decisions of the NATO Council session in Brussels is to safeguard the security interests of the West European members of NATO as distinct from the security interests of the USSR and the USA. It is asserted that formerly the USA's West European NATO partners were protected by U.S. strategic missiles, but that now with the signing of SALT-2, a situation might arise in which the USA would refrain from using its strategic weapons to defend Western Europe in order to avoid a Soviet strategic nuclear strike. In that case, the spokesmen for the American plans contend, Western Europe would be 'defenseless' against Soviet medium-range missiles and for that reason it should accept the new American missiles.

The postulates underlying this formulation of the question are false.

Even if it is assumed that the so-called U.S. nuclear umbrella and strategic forces are a guarantee of European security, these forces by no means disappear with the signing of SALT-2.

The theory that Western Europe would be 'defenseless,' is based on a deliberate disregard of the powerful U.S. theater-based nuclear forces and also of the British and French nuclear forces.

A special point that must be made is that the so-called new U.S. nuclear weapon is not independent relative to the USA's strategic nuclear weapons. This is a replenishment of the U.S. arsenal of intercontinental missiles with the latest strategic medium-range nuclear missiles.

The calls for the 'modernization' and 'replenishment' of the NATO nuclear potential clearly show that it is the USA's intention not to 'restore equilibrium' but to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union. Since there is a certain balance between the USSR and the USA in strategic intercontinental missiles — this is mirrored also in SALT-2 signed in Vienna — the USA wants superiority over the USSR on a regional level. In spite of the commitments undertaken at the Brezhnev-Carter meeting in Vienna to refrain from seeking military superiority, the USA is trying to augment the 22,000 nuclear weapons units deployed in Asia, Europe, and other regions with an additional potential for delivering these warheads deep into the Soviet Union.

The decision to deploy new systems of U.S. weapons in Western Europe cannot hide the intention to create an arsenal of first strike missiles[7] deployed close to the territory of the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty nations, the intention to use the advantages of a faster delivery of nuclear weapons from West European bases compared with the flight of intercontinental missiles.[8]

By aiming Cruise and Pershing-2 missiles at strategic targets in the Soviet Union from the territory of Western Europe the U.S. strategics are making the West European nations the first target of a retaliatory strike. In its efforts to gain advantages in circumvention of SALT-2 the Pentagon in effect turns its NATO allies into American nuclear hostages, for by counting on reducing the danger of retaliation against the USA in the event of a nuclear strike from West European countries at the socialist-community states it places Western Europe in jeopardy. As seen by the Pentagon strategists, a 'Eurostrategic nuclear war' will allow achieving global aims without the risk of destruction to the USA. This, the study group feels, is a dangerous delusion.[9]

Peace must be preserved

While intimidating the man in the street with the non-existent 'Soviet threat,' the capitalist West de-

liberately ignores the fact that it is the Soviet Union which is seeking to bring down the level of military confrontation, that it has been more active than any other nation in looking for ways to military détente. The population of the capitalist countries has not been told that it is none other than the Soviet Union which put forward more than a hundred proposals on disarmament, including proposals on freezing the armed forces level of the negotiating countries for the period of the Vienna talks, on banning the development and manufacture of new types and systems of mass annihilation weapons and refraining from the first use of nuclear and conventional weapons.[10]

In recent months Europeans and the whole of mankind witnessed dramatic developments in the USSR's peace drive. Wishing to meet its Western partners halfway in order to bring about military détente, the Soviet Union announced early in October, after consultations with the other Warsaw Treaty members, a unilateral withdrawal of up to 20,000 Soviet troops and 1,000 tanks and other military hardware from the GDR[11] and expressed its readiness to reduce the number of medium-range nuclear missiles deployed in the western part of the USSR, if no more weapons of this kind are deployed in Western Europe. To achieve a practical solution to the question of these weapons, Leonid Brezhnev proposed last November that talks should begin without delay. Early in December, shortly before NATO's Brussels session, the Committee of Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministers appealed at its meeting in Berlin to the ministers of the NATO countries to reconsider the situation obtaining in Europe and take no action that could complicate this situation.

The appeal remains unanswered. Although some sober-minded politicians in Western Europe considered it unwise to make a decision on the deployment of the missiles before the talks with the Soviet Union began and yielded some results, a different point of view prevailed in NATO: to begin the talks only after NATO approved the plans for the manufacture and deployment of the new U.S. missile systems.

This 'armament before talks' formula is presented by the supporters of the Pentagon plans as almost the only realistic way to military détente, since, they allege, NATO's decision is merely 'a statement of intent' whose realization will depend on the outcome of the talks. Other 'arguments' are also used to justify the nuclear missile plans. It is alleged that there is nothing to worry about, as three to four years will pass between the decision to manufacture the missiles and their actual deployment. If it would be possible within this time span to agree with the Soviet Union to reduce armaments, then they say, there would be no need to deploy the new missiles.

In the opinion of the group such reasoning holds no water:

The balance of strength on the European continent can and must be maintained not by building up armed forces and stepping up the arms race, but by ending this race. What is needed to safeguard peace is not 'additional armament for the purpose of disarmament,' but a steady lowering of the level of nuclear and conventional weapons confrontation on the basis of reciprocity and equal security.

Mass production of Cruise missiles will trigger off a new round of the arms race. As for the subsequent talks on limiting these weapons, experience has shown that the imperialist circles interested in manufacturing new types of weapons and improving these weapons have enough leverage to pressure politicians, which will protract negotiations and, in the long run, new weapons systems will be added to the arsenals.[12]

Since the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries advocate military détente in Europe based on the existing balance with equal security of the sides maintained, the decisions of the NATO Brussels session, changing this balance to the detriment of the USSR and its allies, eliminate all grounds for negotiations. Although in the communiqué of its session the NATO Council did propose talks with the Soviet Union, these talks are totally different from the kind of talks proposed by the socialist countries. The main difference is that the Soviet Union has proposed that such talks should be held only if the present situation is maintained and no U.S. missiles deployed in Western Europe, while NATO wants to negotiate on the basis of the missile-deployment plans already approved in Brussels, that is from positions of strength. But, as it has been repeatedly stressed by the Soviet Union, to hope to negotiate with it from positions of strength is wishful thinking. The USSR will allow no one to talk to it in this manner.

Western propaganda is trying to give the impression that the implementation of the NATO plans will involve no radical political change, that it is quite possible to live according to the 'two supports' formula, that is, continuing détente while intensifying NATO's military effort.[13]

It is obvious that the decisions of the NATO Brussels session, which are a challenge to the peoples striving for peace, security and deliverance from the growing burden of arms expenditures, and which cynically ignore the vital interests of Europeans, above all those of the NATO countries, are bound to affect the further course of the disarmament talks and the relations between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. It is felt that a qualitatively new military-strategic situation in Europe will compel the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community to take additional measures to strengthen their defense potential.

While being strongly opposed to NATO's nuclear rearmament, 'the USSR, all the socialist countries, and the peace forces the world over,' says the CPSU Central Committee's resolution on the 110th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, 'are making every effort to maintain détente as the leading trend in international relations and to complement political with military détente.'[14]

Mankind now finds itself at a crossroads. The issue at stake is whether it goes along the path of mutual trust and cooperation among the peoples, or

it takes the road of mutual distrust and fear, the road of the arms race and brinkmanship.

The members of the group stressed that in the new and more difficult conditions the socialist-community countries will not downgrade their effort to achieve peace, détente and a lessening of the military confrontation. As before, they will resist all attempts of the militarist and reactionary forces to change the balance of strength in their own favor, escalate the arms race and interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries. They will continue to support in every way any initiative aimed at promoting trust between countries and cutting back armed forces and armaments in Europe.

Together with the socialist countries, the communist and workers' parties have greatly contributed to the struggle against the stockpiling of nuclear weapons in Europe. Directly or through their representatives in the parliaments of a number of countries these parties have urged the working people to launch vigorous action against the deployment of new American missiles, as this would not only jeopardize the national independence of the West European countries but would also increase the material burden pressing on the working people.[15]

Some social democratic parties in the NATO countries — the Party of Labor of the Netherlands, the Belgian Socialist Party, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement and the Republican People's Party of Turkey — have been opposed to NATO making any decision before talks with the Soviet Union. The parliamentary groups of the social democratic parties of Denmark and Norway have criticized the program for 'modernizing' tactical nuclear forces.[16]

The broad movement of progressive public opinion is playing an ever bigger role in the struggle against the arms race, for peace and genuine security. After the Brussels session of the NATO Council, the mobilization of various social, political and religious forces against the dangerous plans of the Pentagon and NATO has reached greater proportions than ever. Anti-imperialist demonstrations, rallies, meetings and marches have taken place throughout Europe, including the NATO countries. Prominent politicians, members of parliament, religious and trade union leaders, public organizations, national peace movements and progressive parties have raised their voices to protest against the new round of the arms race, which will inevitably be triggered by the deployment of the new mass destruction weapons in Europe, and have supported the Soviet peace initiatives stated by Leonid Brezhnev.[17] Together with the socialist-community countries and the communist and workers' parties of capitalist countries, they are fully resolved to prevent the warmongers from depriving the nations of their basic right — the right to live in peace.

1. The study group drew attention to an interview given to the newspaper *Unsere Zeit* (November 15, 1979) by the Chairman of the Defense Commission in the lower house of the Dutch parliament Klaas G. de Vries, a social democrat: 'In NATO it is wrongly believed that when we compare the balance of strength we should consider the problem not as a whole but in individual regions. Since the Americans already have strategic weapons that can strike Soviet territory, the NATO European partners should not have such weapons.'

2. It was noted by the study group that the question of theater-based U.S. forces had been the subject of long negotiations during the preparations for SALT-1 and SALT-2. The Soviet Union repeatedly stressed that as far as it was concerned the theater-based U.S. nuclear forces come under the category of strategic, for they can strike Soviet territory while Soviet medium-range missile systems cannot reach U.S. territory. However, the Americans refused to discuss this question.

3. Participants in the discussion spoke of the slanted interpretation of data, of the juggling, falsifications, and exaggeration of the military potential of the Warsaw Treaty nations, particularly of the USSR. All this was needed to conceal NATO's preparations for aggression and inflate the 'threat from the East.' This is also borne out by statements made by Erhard Müller, former lieutenant commander of the Bundeswehr intelligence arm, who defected to the GDR at the close of 1978 (*Neues Deutschland*, December 11, 1979).

4. When the situation in the so-called European theater was analyzed, it was underscored that four more U.S. nuclear battalions made their appearance within a short span of time. Phantoms, which are essentially strategic bombers designed to carry nuclear weapons, are being continuously modernized. The previous generation of rockets was replaced with Pershings (108 of which are based in the FRG). Now they want to replace these with the more powerful Pershing-2s. Moreover, the USA has placed at the disposal of the NATO command in Europe five submarines armed with Poseidon missiles with a total of between 600 and 800 warheads.

5. It must be taken into account, the group pointed out, that the present U.S. Pershing-1 missiles deployed in the FRG are to be replaced with Pershing-2s that have a range of 1,800 kilometers, which means that they can be launched from the FRG into Soviet territory.

6. This was confirmed by none other than the NATO Secretary General Joseph Luns in an interview given in October 1979 to the Dutch *Avro* radio and television corporation. He noted that 'if we consider all types of armaments in general, we shall find an approximate parity of strength between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.' This is also the finding in a new report by the London Institute of Strategic Studies.

7. In support of this point the study group cited *The Washington Post*, which reported that military circles contend there should be no further talk that in the event of war tactical nuclear weapons would be used against Soviet troops only for defensive purposes and that it should be explained that the medium-range missiles for Europe, the funds for whose development were allocated by the Senate Armed Forces Committee, would be used for a first strike against installations in Warsaw Treaty countries. The first strike, the newspaper specified, should be aimed at Soviet units and armaments in Eastern Europe.

8. As the study group emphasized, the new U.S. missiles can reach Soviet territory from West European bases in a matter of minutes. This greatly increases the risk of an accidental nuclear clash. Suffice it to recall that the error which some months ago signalled a combat alert at the U.S. missile center was discovered only after a lapse of six minutes.

9. In its analysis of this problem the group cited an article by Gus Hall in *Daily World* on November 8, 1979. It stated in part: 'In today's world there will be no regional wars. To expect the Soviet Union to limit its retaliation to the European areas while U.S. missiles are being launched

from Europe is a serious self-deception. The 600 new missiles will not spare the people of the U.S. And they will not add to the defense of Europe. Any illusion about nuclear war is the most dangerous of all illusions. The cost of such illusion could be the extermination, the incineration, of the human race.'

10. Members of the group quoted in this connection an editorial in the *Morning Star* (February 21, 1978), which says in part: 'Once again the myth of a Soviet threat to our security is paraded before us to justify pouring billions into the coffers of the merchants of death. Of course the Soviet Union has powerful military forces. That is no secret. But what the government and the media manipulators would like to keep as a closely guarded secret is the fact that no other country has striven so consistently to bring about universal disarmament. In the Soviet Union, there is no class of capitalist arms kings to benefit from military spending.'

11. A TASS report said that in accordance with the Soviet government's decision, made after consultations and agreement with the other Warsaw Treaty member states, the first Soviet units (1,500 troops with arms and combat equipment) began to leave the GDR for the Soviet Union on December 5, 1979 (*Pravda*, December 7, 1979).

12. The members of the group pointed out that a commercial battle is raging to deploy new U.S. missiles in Europe. To build nearly 600 new U.S. rockets for that purpose is a tremendous deal for the military-industrial complex. During the initial period of the project it will cost the U.S. taxpayers some $4,000 million.

13. At a session of the NATO Council, held to mark the 30th anniversary of that alliance, its Secretary General Joseph Luns said that while following the course toward détente it is necessary to continue the NATO 'defense' policy, providing for a constant rise in military spending. This idea is echoed in the communiqué of the NATO Council session in Brussels, which speaks about some 'parallelism' of NATO's 'military efforts' and a search for understanding in the field of armaments control.

14. *Pravda*, December 16, 1979.

15. According to NATO plans, the FRG's military appropriations are expected to reach DM 60,000 million in the near future. Britain spends almost £10,000 million on arms. Italy's military spending is far in excess of four trillion lire.

16. Together with the broad social movement, this has influenced to some extent, the positions of the governments of the above-mentioned countries at the Brussels session of the NATO Council. For instance, the Netherlands postponed for two years a decision on the deployment of these missiles on its territory and Belgium postponed it for six months. Besides, Norway and Denmark objected to the Pentagon plans at the NATO session and Turkey expressed reservations.

At the same time, the leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Italian Socialist Party have supported approving the decision on new types of missiles before talks are held. On the whole, the social democrats' stand on the Pentagon and NATO plans is of a dual nature. The members of the study group stressed that it is impossible simultaneously to back political détente and decisions leading to a higher level of military confrontation.

17. The World Peace Council at the extraordinary session of its Presidium bureau in Helsinki which ended on December 20, 1979, strongly denounced NATO's Brussels decisions as the most serious danger to peace, détente and the future of humanity. The Council called on all peace forces to intensify the campaign against the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Europe and to make 1980 a year of mass action for military détente.

Hallmarks of socialist cooperation

Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal
First Secretary, Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, President of the Presidium, MPR People's Great Khural

Next year will see the 60th anniversary of the people's revolution in Mongolia. During these 60 years the Mongolian people may be said to have stepped across centuries in their historical development. Once one of the most backward semi-colonial nations of the East, it has become a rapidly developing socialist state. Not a trace has remained of the dismal feudal past, of the disinheritedness and poverty of the people.

The striking changes that have taken place in the life of our country are part, and a result of the historic process of the liberation of all oppressed nations that commenced after the Great October Socialist Revolution. The 1921 people's revolution in Mongolia was victorious because it fused with Soviet Russia's struggle against foreign intervention, the establishment and strengthening of Soviet power and the granting of national rights to the peoples of Siberia and Central Asia.

Under the direct impact of the Great October Revolution and almost simultaneously with the liberation of the Mongolian people, Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey shook off the colonial yoke and took the path of independent development. The entire further course of world development showed that the national-liberation movement was indestructible and that its successes were closely linked to the growth of the world's first socialist state.

The victory of the Soviet Union and other peace-loving forces over the fascist aggressors and the formation of the socialist world system opened a new phase of the liberation of oppressed nations from colonial bondage. The emergence of scores of nation states in place of the former colonies and semi-colonies spelled out the collapse of imperialism's colonial system.

The liberated nations play a growing role in the modern world. Having achieved political independence, they received the possibility of following

the road of progress, participating in the settlement of international problems and taking a stand against imperialism. Considerable headway is being made along this road by socialism-oriented states. Socio-economic and political transformations and broad economic, cultural and political cooperation with countries of the socialist community form the foundation of their advance.

However, the aspiration of the developing nations for economic independence and social progress is encountering strong resistance. The forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism are impeding the development of the new independent states, artificially keeping their peoples in a state of backwardness and poverty. According to the latest statistics, in the developing nations nearly half a billion people are jobless, three-fourths of the population live below the poverty line and 800 million people are illiterate.

Justifiably, the peoples of these countries are fighting the neo-colonialist policy of plunder and exploitation and are demanding a new international economic order. This has the understanding and support of the peoples of the socialist community, including the Mongolian People's Republic, which has broken entirely with the imperialist system of economic slavery and dependence.

People's Mongolia has extensive experience of struggle for economic independence, for the creation and development of its own independent economy. The equitable economic relations between Mongolia and the USSR, providing the first-ever model of such relations, are among the decisive factors of this struggle. Complete equality, fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance are the hallmarks of the relations prevailing in the socialist community and they ensure the optimal ways for levelling up the development and promoting the economic progress of all its member states.

History has proved that just principles of relations between peoples can be implemented in full only under socialism and in the policy of socialist states. 'For the bourgeoisie,' Lenin wrote, 'the proclamation of equal rights for all nations has become a deception. For us it will be the truth that will facilitate and accelerate the winning over of all nations' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, p. 27). This proposition expresses the substance of exisiting socialism's force of attraction for nations seeking to reshape economic relations with developed capitalist countries in order to ensure their own economic independence and progress.

The example of Mongolia has convincingly demonstrated that the Marxist-Leninists not only proclaim they want full equality for the peoples of all countries irrespective of their level of economic development but act on their words. They seek to attain such equality by remoulding the system of relations between countries and extending every possible assistance to economically backward nations.

Lenin wrote that the relations of the world's first socialist state with weaker partners on the international scene should be founded 'on a complete break with the barbarous policy of bourgeois civilization, which has built the prosperity of the exploiters belonging to a few chosen nations on the enslavement of hundreds of millions of working people in Asia, in the colonies in general and in the small countries' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 424). Theoretically substantiating that peoples who have liberated themselves from colonial tyranny could bypass capitalism, he noted that backward nations could achieve progress if they were supported by the victorious proletariat of the Soviet republics.

As soon as it was proclaimed, the Soviet state pursued a policy toward oppressed nations, including Mongolia, that was diametrically opposite to that of the imperialist powers. Following the triumph of the people's revolution, Mongolia and Soviet Russia established political and economic relations hitherto unknown in the practice of relations between big and small nations. Based on complete equality, mutual respect for sovereignty, fraternal cooperation and disinterested assistance. these relations evolved into a powerful factor spurring the eradication of the economic and cultural backwardness inherited from the past and Mongolia's advance along the road to socialism, bypassing capitalism. This was the prototype of the new international links that were developed and enriched in the relations between countries of the socialist world system.

Pre-revolutionary Mongolia had an economy based on natural extensive livestock breeding. There were not even artisan handicrafts worth speaking of, let alone industry. It was only after the people's revolution that Mongolia, assisted by the Soviet Union, built up its own industry, modern transport and communications systems and construction capacities.

In the course of socialist construction there was a further rapid expansion of Mongolia's industry, which now includes fuel and power, metal-working, mining, light and food industries. Agriculture was mechanized and industrial methods were introduced in other branches of the economy.

Mongolia is now an agrarian-industrial nation. Statistics for 1978 show that industrial output accounts for 70 per cent of the nation's total product and 27 per cent of the national income. Since 1950 the growth rate of industrial output has averaged about 10 per cent. Particularly high rates of growth have been registered in the output of electric power, coal, cement, timber, woolen fabrics, footwear, meat and butter.

Economic cooperation with and assistance from the USSR and other countries of the socialist community are having a beneficial influence on the economic development of Mongolia, which has now set its sights on becoming an industrial-agrarian nation.

Mongolia's achievements eloquently bear out the strategy of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, which adheres firmly and consistently to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our party has always regarded the continued

strengthening of the socialist community's unity, the further deepening of integrational processes and effective use of assistance from fraternal countries as the solid guarantee of Mongolia's steady economic and cultural development.

For small and industrially less developed countries of the two socio-economic systems — capitalist and socialist — the enlistment of funds from without is an objective necessity. The financial and labor resources at the disposal of these countries are proving to be inadequate for ensuring rapid economic growth.

Any orientation on total economic autarchy, on 'self-reliance', which the Chinese theorists had only recently been recommending as a panacea to countries working on the task of surmounting economic backwardness, would in fact signify an artificial slowing down of economic growth, an enormous deceleration of technological progress. A strategy aimed allegedly at safeguarding national sovereignty would boomerang against the national independence of nations lagging behind in economic development.

As a matter of fact, in China the euphoria over 'self-reliance' has lately dimmed visibly, giving way to unprecedented activity by its political leaders who have travelled over half the world in search of credits and advanced technology. By trying to impose this concept on other socialist countries the Maoists sought to undermine their alliance and cooperation, notably their cooperation with the Soviet Union. From malicious fabrications and attacks in which they used this 'theory,' they soon went over to an open political and economic rupture, flagrant interference in the internal affairs of some socialist countries and direct military threats and armed gambles. The experience of Mongolia, Vietnam and other socialist countries neighboring on China demonstrates the pernicious character of the influence of Peking's great-power, chauvinistic policy on peaceful socialist construction in these countries, for it compels them to divert vast resources from the national economy into defense.

Close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CMEA nations, the internationalist posture of these nations and their all-sided assistance and support have enabled Mongolia to make considerable headway in economic growth. The CMEA countries have set up an unprecedented mechanism for foreign economic relations which combines cooperation and mutual assistance and opens up every channel for the rapid enlargement of the economic potentials of industrially less developed countries.

Long-term credits are an important way of using external resources for economic development. In addition to making maximum use of its own material resources, Mongolia continues to rely on credits from fraternal nations.

The long-term credits granted by fraternal socialist countries are enabling Mongolia to finance capital construction on a growing scale. Under the third five-year plan (1961-1965) these credits amounted to 47.1 per cent of the total investments channeled into Mongolia's economy, under the fourth five-year plan (1966-1970) they added up to 50.3 per cent, and under the fifth five-year plan (1971-1975) to 49.8 per cent. Thanks to these credits Mongolia has in the past 10 years invested half again as much capital as during the entire period of the fifth five-year plan. The Soviet Union and other CMEA countries grant Mongolia long-term (10 years on the average) credits at a low interest rate (2-3 per cent), and these are repaid with output from enterprises built with these credits or with traditional exports.*

A very significant role is played in Mongolia's socialist construction by mutually beneficial trade with fraternal socialist countries. Long-term foreign trade has become an effective factor of the successful implementation of socialist transformations in the economy, the shaping of an optimal national economy and the steady rise of the people's living standard. Throughout our republic's existence trade with the USSR has stimulated the development of livestock breeding and other branches of the Mongolian economy and gone a long way toward enlarging Mongolia's export potential. The Soviet Union purchased Mongolian goods at prices above those prevailing in the world market, sold it consumer goods at much lower prices and gratuitously annulled its commercial debt.

After Mongolia was admitted to the CMEA, booster prices were established for its staple export commodities and it was given commodity credits. As a result the commodity structure of Mongolia's exports is undergoing significant changes: the proportion of ready-made products in relation to raw materials is growing. Whereas in 1960 manufactured goods amounted to 26 per cent of Mongolia's exports, in 1978 they reached 64 per cent.

Scientific and technological progress now plays an exceedingly important role in the economic development of all nations. Access to present-day scientific and technological achievements can be a potent factor helping the less developed nations to end their backwardness and speed up progress.

The socialist community makes wide use of this important lever for levelling up the development of all the fraternal countries. CMEA countries with a higher level of industrialization make modern technologies and scientific and technical docu-

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* Credits to developing nations in the capitalist world present an entirely different picture. The Western powers grant them state loans mainly for a shorter period and at a higher interest rate and demand repayment in hard currency. In recent years there has been a hardening of the terms on which credits are extended by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The interest rate has risen from 5-6 per cent in the mid-1960s to the present 8.5 per cent. Moreover, the ruling circles of the imperialist powers use credits as a lever for economic and political pressure, for violating the sovereignty of the new states over their natural resources, disorganizing their economic and social policy and economic development plans. At the other pole, the CMEA's International Investment Bank has in recent years reduced its interest rate to 3-5 per cent and established an especially favorable rate for Mongolia (0.5 per cent).

mentation available to Mongolia and gratuitously help it to set up and equip a large number of research centers and train scientific cadres. Thanks to assistance from the USSR and other fraternal countries Mongolia has, in terms of scientific and technological potentialities, outstripped nations that had its level of economic development. In 1975 it had 18 scientists per 10,000 of the population.

These are only some facts illustrating the significance and advantages of the new international relations for economic progress in formerly backward countries.

But the most eloquent indication of the results of these relations are the dramatic changes in the material and cultural life of the people. In terms of the well-being and cultural level of the population, Mongolia occupies one of the leading places in Asia. In the period 1971-1975 its per capita growth rate of real incomes was 17 per cent. A point to be noted is that this was achieved with a relatively high rate of population growth (about 3 per cent) and stable or reduced consumer goods retail prices and service tariffs.

In 120th place in the world for the size of its population (upwards of 1,500,000), Mongolia holds fifth place for per capita meat output and 11th place for the output of wheat. It is among the countries that are successfully resolving the problems of promoting education, health protection and cultural advancement. In terms of 10,000 of the population, it is ahead of some developed capitalist countries for the number of pupils in general education schools (2,357), students (125), doctors (21), and hospital beds (103).

Mongolia's fraternal and equitable relations with other countries of the socialist community give the peoples of liberated nations a sure bearing in the struggle for a new economic order that would rule out exploitation and dependence. This is a cardinal aspect of the international significance of Mongolia's development as a member of the socialist community.

The Mongolian experience gives the lie to the theory dividing the world into 'poor' and 'rich' nations regardless of their affiliation to different socio-economic world systems. This theory is also spread by the Maoists in an all-out effort to discredit the assistance rendered by the socialist community to the developing nations and prod the latter toward conciliation with the imperialist powers. The Chinese leaders thereby camouflage their actual objective, which is to form a still closer alliance with the imperialist powers on an anti-communist and anti-Soviet basis, tie China to them politically and economically and achieve their great-power, chauvinistic ambitions relative to developing nations.

Any attempt to bracket socialist countries with the imperialist powers is absurd and reactionary. It can only prejudice the national interests of the liberated peoples. The socialist countries bear no responsibility whatever for the grim consequences of the colonial past, do not exploit the wealth of Asian, African and Latin American nations, and have nothing to do with the calamities that have rained down on the people of these countries as a consequence of the crises of the capitalist economy. The economic relations maintained by socialist and capitalist states with developing nations differ radically. The former extend economic assistance in the most diverse areas without pursuing mercenary or expansionist aims, while the latter use every loophole to further their own interests, making 'aid' the cover for neo-colonialist forms of exploitation. The former create the conditions for building vital and promising industries, while the latter have their sights on harnessing the emergent economic structures in the developing nations to the interests of the imperialist monopolies. The former are guided by the principles of socialist internationalism, humanism and social progress, while the latter bring nations that had been tyrannized for centuries new chains of dependence, new unresolvable socio-economic problems.

Assistance from socialist to developing countries is assistance to a friend and ally in the struggle against a common adversary — imperialism — in the struggle for a happy future.

After Mongolia became a member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance its economic cooperation with fraternal countries rose to a higher level consonant with its new stage of socialist construction, the stage of completing the material and technical basis of socialism.

During the first few years of Mongolia's participation in the CMEA we concentrated on creating the relevant economic prerequisites for expanding bilateral and multilateral cooperation. The CMEA countries launched joint projects in surveying for natural wealth, studying effective ways of boosting farm production, developing the infrastructure, building up a scientific and technological potential and improving and coordinating economic planning in Mongolia. The building of new industrial centers in Darhan, Choilbalsan and later, in Erdenet through the joint efforts of the Soviet Union and other CMEA countries is a vivid example of productive cooperation among fraternal nations.

By 1970 over 500 mineral deposits had been opened in Mongolia. On this basis the Comprehensive Program for Socialist Economic Integration defined Mongolia as a promising region where CMEA will conduct intensive geological studies in order to meet the requirements of the socialist community in some fuels and minerals over a long term. An international geological expedition has been conducting surveys in eastern Mongolia gratuitously since 1976. Approximately 90 per cent of the territory of our republic has been surveyed thanks to assistance from fraternal nations.

In Mongolia the transition from extensive to efficient transhumant livestock breeding requires large investments and considerable work to irrigate pastures, build watering places and premises for livestock and organize feed stocks. In only the period 1969-1978 we used Soviet assistance to build 38,400 premises for livestock, over 20 pedigree and dairy farms, 17 combined feed factories and

other large projects, more than 20 tractor and farm machinery repair works and workshops, dozens of mechanized threshing floors and so forth. During the past 10 years we have built irrigation systems on 8,000 hectares of land with Soviet assistance. Mongolia is receiving considerable assistance for agricultural development from other socialist countries.

Today socialist economic integration is the basic orientation for deepening Mongolia's economic cooperation with the CMEA countries. While being a powerful factor of the dynamic economic growth of socialist-community nations, it ensures a higher growth rate in the less industrialized CMEA countries. Mongolia, which is still in the category of such countries on account of the specific conditions of its development, has from the outset of socialist economic integration received special treatment and been given advantageous conditions of cooperation. This was stipulated in the Comprehensive Program: 'Within the framework of the general problem of the gradual drawing together and levelling up of the economic development of the CMEA countries special attention shall be given to ensure the accelerated growth and efficiency of the economy of the Mongolian People's Republic.' The special measures relative to Mongolia and the concrete ways and means of carrying them out, as provided for in the Comprehensive Program, are an example of how major problems are resolved within the framework of socialist integration in keeping with the principles of socialist internationalism. These special measures are entirely consistent with the strategy of the MPRP's economic policy for the period of the consummation of socialist construction. They help to transcend the objective difficulties encountered during the country's development and allow making effective use of its large natural resources in the interests of the entire socialist community.

Membership in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and support and aid from the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries have enabled Mongolia to considerably enhance the efficiency of social production and speed up its economic development. The growth rate of the national income averaged 1.1 per cent in 1961-1965, 4.3 per cent in 1966-1970, 6.7 per cent in 1971-1975 and 5.7 per cent in 1976-1979.

The additional special measures to help speed up economic growth and promote efficiency in the economy envisaged by the Comprehensive Program were extended also to Cuba and Vietnam by CMEA decisions in subsequent years. The implementation of such measures has thus become part of CMEA practice and is evidence of the strength of the socialist social system and of the advantages of economic cooperation among fraternal count ies.

A point that must be made is that all this does not imply a belittlement of the significance of Mongolia's own efforts or of the selfless work of its people. Our party has always oriented the people on the maximum mobilization of all national resources, of all internal potentialities for the further growth of the economy. A correct combination of external and internal factors of economic growth was what ensured the successful, dynamic and steady economic development of socialist Mongolia. The enormous significance of our republic's economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and all the other members of the integrating socialist community lies precisely in the fact that it helps to enlarge our own potentialities for economic growth.

The objectively conditioned development of socialist economic integration proceeds under the guidance of the communist and workers' parties of fraternal states which determine the rates and direction of this process. Regular contacts between fraternal parties and countries at all levels and periodic meetings of their party and government leaders are of inestimable importance for expanding cooperation and promoting socialist economic integration.

The meetings held in 1979 by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, with leaders of fraternal parties and countries had wide international repercussions. As in previous cases, a number of fundamental problems of bilateral and multilateral cooperation were considered at the latest Crimea meetings. Special attention was devoted to important questions of long-term economic cooperation among socialist countries, to questions of deepening international specialization and cooperation of production for the benefit of the economic development of each country and of the socialist community as a whole.

The possibility for coordinated and planned regulation of national economies is built in the nature and economic laws of the new social system. Socialist economic integration allows for implementing the strategy of interrelated economic growth, which gives our community immense advantages in the competition with capitalism. In terms of strategy, the comprehensive approach to tasks being carried out jointly is becoming predominant at the present stage of cooperation among fraternal countries. The drawing up of long-term special programs of cooperation, amplifying and concretizing the Comprehensive Program for Socialist Economic Integration, is of fundamental significance in this context.

These programs, which mirror the readiness of the CMEA countries to use their natural and production resources for the common interest, make it possible to select the best ways and means of satisfying society's demand for various commodities through the expansion of production in individual countries and through cooperation. Moreover, these programs substantially expand the possibility for carrying out current tasks of cooperation in harmony with long-term aims, for maintaining the needed balance in development within the national framework and the implementation of major structural changes by common effort within the entire integrating community.

The fulfillment of long-term special programs for

cooperation will unquestionably play a large role in the economic development of all the CMEA countries. For the Mongolian People's Republic this form of cooperation opens up new potentialities for major advances in building the material and technical basis of socialism, developing industrial capacities, and speeding up the rates of economic growth. All the basic orientations of the existing special programs, which embrace the energy, fuel, raw materials and food industries, and also agriculture and transport, are decisive for accelerating Mongolia's economic development and for giving it the possibility of making a larger contribution to the common economic potential of the socialist community.

The joint Mongolian-Soviet mining and ore concentrating complex at Erdenet, which uses a large copper-molybdenum deposit, is a vivid example of the enormous significance of combining the efforts of fraternal countries to help Mongolia develop its natural resources. When this enterprise begins working at full capacity it will roughly double the nation's export resources. Further, Mongolia cooperates with the GDR, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia in surveying for individual kinds of minerals on Mongolian territory with the aim of their subsequent joint development. Under special programs measures are being worked out to step up livestock breeding and grain production through the comprehensive development of considerable areas of the nation's arable land.

With the triumph of the 1921 people's revolution Mongolia started out on the untrodden path of transition from feudal backwardness to socialist progress without going through the painful capitalist stage. Experience has borne out that all the successes and victories won on this path by the Mongolian people under the leadership of their People's Revolutionary Party are the fruit of the new, genuinely equitable, fraternal relations between People's Mongolia and the first socialist country and later with other socialist states. In close political and economic alliance with the USSR and other fraternal countries Mongolia has passed through all the stages of the formation and development of the socialist world system. Every new stage in the consolidation of cooperation among the socialist countries was a stage of Mongolia's economic growth, of its cultural progress and the consolidation of its sovereignty. Mongolia's revolutionary gains and socialist reality and the vast prospects for its future development are linked to fraternal mutual assistance among CMEA nations. By contributing to the development of international socialist economic cooperation, the Mongolian people are facilitating the further progress of their country and helping to increase the might of the community of socialist nations.

National democratic forces challenge exploitation and repression

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The united front of national-democratic forces and hence the problem of allies of the working class have invariably been in the focus of attention of the Communist Party of Turkey.* The Turkish communists proceéd from the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the extensive experience of the international communist and working-class movement, creatively applying this experience to the concrete conditions prevailing in Turkey.

Today Turkey is feeling the further aggravation of the economic, social and political crisis gripping capitalist society. This is a fact neither the Turkish bourgeois press nor foreign imperialist media can ignore. As a means of resolving this crisis the imperialists and the Turkish capitalists cooperating with them want Turkey to have closer ties with imperialism, demanding a halt to industrialization and the transfer of a larger than ever share of the crisis-generated hardship to the shoulders of the people. The recommended 'solution' is by no means a new one. Far from it. It was precisely because Turkey had tried to conform to the desires of the imperialists that led it into the present social-economic impasse, which is a product of the crisis of the capitalist system.

As the Communist Party of Turkey sees it, the present crisis can be resolved through a progressive democratic revolution that would end the domination of both international imperialism and the Turkish monopoly bourgeoisie cooperating with them and pave the way for socialism in Turkey. The party is faced with an historic task: on the basis of the experience of everyday struggle to show the revolutionary perspective to the masses and win over the overwhelming majority of the people to the effort to achieve that perspective. This task can be carried out mainly by forming a united front of national-democratic forces.

Social base of the national-democratic front

As in other capitalist countries, the factor that determines development in all spheres of society's life in Turkey is the irreconcilable contradiction between labor and capital. But in addition to this,

*This article continues the discussion of problems of democratic anti-imperialist fronts (*WMR*, November 1978, May, June, July, August and September 1979).

there is in our country an important contradiction between foreign imperialist circles, the Turkish monopoly bourgeoisie cooperating with them and the landowners on the one hand, and the people on the other. The combination and interaction of these two contradictions objectively make it possible to rally the majority of the nation around the working class.

History has charged the working class with the mission of being the vanguard in an alliance of national-democratic forces. The fact that in Turkey the proletariat forms a much smaller proportion of the total population than in the industrialized capitalist countries is no obstacle to the accomplishment of this mission. 'The strength of the proletariat in any capitalist country,' Lenin wrote, 'is far greater than the proportion it represents of the total population. This is because the proletariat economically dominates the center and nerve of the entire economic system of capitalism, and also because the proletariat expresses economically and politically the real interests of the overwhelming majority of the working people under capitalism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 274).

The change in the world balance of strength in favor of socialism and revolutionary movements further accentuates the vanguard role played by the Turkish working class in the revolutionary process. Moreover, it has a strong core — the industrial proletariat, which is growing numerically and developing qualitatively. This is a mature core with a great revolutionary potential. Owing to the communist party's mounting influence in recent years the struggle of the working class has become increasingly political. It is more organized, conscious and universal.

In Turkey there is a large social base on which the proletariat can and should rely in its revolutionary struggle. It must use this base to form an alliance which is so essential for the fulfillment of its historic mission.

The worker-*peasant* alliance must be the bedrock of the national-democratic front. Today the peasants constitute more than half of the country's population. Although their numerical strength is steadily shrinking, they continue to be an important factor in the economy and retain their role as the proletariat's chief potential ally.

Of course, the peasants are not yet very active politically. However, this does not lessen their revolutionary potential. The Turkish countryside is rent by contradictions inherent in a capitalism dependent on imperialism. In addition, the condition of the peasants is adversely affected — chiefly in the eastern and south-eastern regions of the country — by survivals of feudalism and landed proprietorship.

The purchasing prices established by the bourgeois government are hurting the poor, land-hungry peasants, profiting the big agricultural enterprises and making the rich peasants richer. It is ruining the rural workers, the masses of small and middle peasants. The countryside is experiencing a process of intensive class differentiation.

The peasants are coming out against the monopolies and the state. Reduced to extreme poverty the farm laborers, of whom there are more than a million, are waging a mounting struggle against the rural bourgeoisie. The aspirations of millions of small and middle peasants are in conflict with the interests of the big agricultural capitalists, landowners, the local and foreign monopolies and the banks.

Of course, large segments of the peasants are still politically influenced by the reactionaries. But there is evidence that the situation is changing. A democratic cooperative movement of land-hungry, middle and some sections of the well-to-do peasants is rapidly gaining momentum. Although there are contradictions owing to the domination of capitalist relations, the movement tends to be anti-monopoly. How this tendency develops depends on close militant unity of the working class and its vanguard, the communist party, with the working peasants and on the enlistment of the middle peasants into the struggle.

The anti-feudal, anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggle of the peasants is merging with the anti-capitalist struggle of the agricultural proletariat. The objective conditions are taking shape for an alliance of the working class with the poorest, land-hungry and middle peasants, while at the present stage also with the lower sections of the rural bourgeoisie.

That is why it is especially important that party organizations should work in the countryside today, invigorating the peasant committees and organizing the rural poor on a wide scale. The peasant masses must be shown that their only alternative is to unite with the working class and fight for the changes envisaged by the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and anti-feudal program advanced by the Communist Party of Turkey, party of the working class.

The second force which must be taken into account when we speak of the social base of the national-democratic front consists of the *middle sections*. The vast experience of the international communist, working-class and national-liberation movements bears out Lenin's assessment of the role these sections play in anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly alliances. This is also confirmed by the experience of our party, which attaches major importance to drawing this socially heterogeneous majority of the urban population into the national-democratic front. Turkish communists comprehensively analyze the structure of the middle sections, ascertain the demands of all the contingents making up this social group and look for an individual approach to each of them.

In Turkey, as distinct from the industrialized capitalist countries, such traditional middle sections as artisans and small shopkeepers hold an important place. However, they too are affected by monopolization. The small producers are either ruined or become dependent on the monopolies. Intellectuals, including engineers and technicians, are losing their privileges. Young people are

finding that the opportunities for getting an education are narrowing. As a result, some of these groups are drawing closer to or merging with the working class.

Among some groups belonging to the middle sections, especially artisans and small shopkeepers, this process has given rise to conservative religious tendencies. Small proprietors losing their class positions tend to lean toward extremism. Some of them gravitate toward fascism, or extreme 'leftist' terrorism.

Undoubtedly among the middle sections there is also a progressive trend spearheaded against the monopolies and the imperialists. These progressive groups in the middle sections increasingly find that their aspirations are close to those of the working class. Moreover, a growing number of workers by brain, including students, teachers, engineers and technicians, now realize that their interests cannot be reconciled with capitalism.

Another important aspect of the problem bearing on the organization of a national-democratic front in Turkey is determined by the profoundly revolutionary character of the connection between the struggle of the working class and the *Kurdish national movement.*

There are several million Kurds in Turkey. Survivals of feudalism in Kurdish areas, chauvinistic oppression, and national discrimination are exacerbating capitalist relations and bringing untold suffering to the Kurdish people. Millions have no land to till, are unemployed and live in abject poverty. The process of class differentiation in the Kurdish regions in Turkey is accelerating.

These factors are turning the Kurds into one of the main forces in the fight for democracy. They have resolutely rejected the policy of forcible assimilation, which the Turkish chauvinists are seeking to achieve. Class battles are becoming increasingly acute in the Kurdish areas. The Kurdish peasants are stepping up their struggle against survivals of feudalism and the landowners. The mounting national movement of the Kurds is acquiring a distinct social hue. By resisting national oppression and discrimination the Kurds are contributing to the fight against enemy number one of the whole Turkish people, namely international imperialism and the Turkish monopoly bourgeoisie cooperating with it.

The Communist Party of Turkey points out that the Kurdish people can shake off national oppression and win freedom from brutal exploitation only through a closer alliance with the working class of the whole country. For its part, the Turkish working class, which wholeheartedly upholds the principle of self-determination of nations, can and must win over the overwhelming majority of the Turkish Kurds to the national-democratic front.

The Turkish communists believe that the exploitation of the country by international imperialism and further monopolization of Turkish capitalism continue to aggravate the contradictions within the capitalist class. The national *non-monopoly, especially the middle bourgeoisie* is a victim of relentless competition with the monopolies. It has its own objective interests springing from the desire to save the national market from domination by imperialist monopolies. The position of this section of the bourgeoisie has prompted us to regard at least a part of it as a potential force of the national-democratic front.

The aggravation of class contradictions has also influenced processes developing in the *army*. Among the military there is growing discontent with the pro-NATO militarist circles. The Communist Party of Turkey stresses that the patriotic elements in the armed forces must be won over to the side of the national-democratic front.

The task is to win over the majority

The Turkish Communist Party considers that in the struggle against the imperialists, the Turkish monopoly bourgeoisie cooperating with them, the landowners and the militarists it is possible to bring down the anti-people dictatorship and establish a progressive democratic government of the people. The Program of the Communist Party of Turkey says: 'The national-democratic front unity will play an historic role in achieving this aim.'* The Communist Party is the only party among the other political forces called upon to form the anti-imperialist democratic front that has openly proclaimed its principal goals.

It is doing its utmost to rally all the national-democratic forces to the struggle to end imperialist oppression, secure Turkey's withdrawal from NATO and dismantle the U.S. bases in our country. It calls for a non-bloc foreign policy, the uprooting of economic and political domination by Turkish and foreign monopolies and the nationalization of all big industrial enterprises, mines, banks and foreign trade. A cardinal task of the front is also to industrialize the country with the formation of a public sector, remove all reactionary survivals from agriculture, and enforce a democratic agrarian reform.

To effect these fundamental changes, to grant the full range of democratic freedoms to the working class and all other working people, to abolish national oppression and privileges and to fulfill general democratic tasks there must be a progressive democratic government. Attainment of these goals will not yet mean the eradication of the fundamental contradiction of capitalism. However, this would create the material conditions for transition to socialism.

Turkey had two revolutions in the 20th century. But they were bourgeois revolutions and did not remove the question of an intermediate phase, which in our party's view is essential for transition to socialism. In the process of struggle at that phase we shall unquestionably go beyond the framework of a bourgeois-democratic revolution.

To secure the first, democratic phase, which we call a progressive-democratic revolution as distinct

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**Tukiye Komünist Partisi, Program,* Istanbul, 1978, p. 18.

from the bourgeois-democratic revolution, our task is to win the support of the majority of the Turkish people. As Lenin put it, this implies 'the majority, and not simply a majority of the workers alone, but the majority of all the exploited' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 476). It is therefore, not a question of gaining a parliamentary majority of 51 per cent. The Communist Party of Turkey wants a majority headed by the working class, an effective organized majority of the whole of the people, while isolating the handful of finance barons and landowners.

Such a majority, capable of suppressing any counter-revolutionary action of the class adversary, can in the view of our party, only be formed if a creative policy of alliance of the working class with other anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist forces is conducted at all stages of the revolutionary process. Further, the communists proceed from the assumption that regardless of the road the revolution may take, the national-democratic front will become a fighting organization capable of accomplishing and defending the revolution.

In working out the strategy and tactics of the national-democratic front, an important question arises. It is: for how long should the working class go along with its allies? Should it not break off its relations with them as soon as the progressive-democratic revolution has been accomplished?

In reply to this question we should make it absolutely clear that the policy of alliances conducted by the working class is not transient, it is not dictated by situation considerations. In appraising the present epoch and in tackling the problems confronting the country the Communist Party of Turkey proceeds from Marxist-Leninist theory, which shows that today the struggle for democracy draws close to and interweaves with the struggle for socialism. We are convinced that for most of the proletariat's allies socialism spells out real emancipation. However, the task is to open their eyes to this.

The party maintains that the political conditions for a socialist revolution can be created only in the course of the struggle for a progressive-democratic government. This struggle alone can help remould the thinking of the masses. It would be wrong to confuse this phase with the socialist revolution. But all shifts in the alignment of forces that may occur as a result of anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly changes will lead to further unity of the working class with its allies. The socialist revolution will triumph as a result of the vast majority of the people uniting with the working class.

Our ultimate goal is socialism and we do not conceal this from our allies. We frankly declare that as far as we are concerned the progressive-democratic revolution is only the first phase of an all-embracing revolutionary process that must finally lead to socialism.

However, experience has shown that we cannot count on mustering a national-democratic front overnight. Bearing this in mind, the communist party is taking a differentiated approach to the various organizations and groups it would like to win for united action. In our view, the conditions in Turkey are ripe for united working-class action and for a policy that would reflect the aims and requirements of the broadest democratic forces.

Working-class unity of action

Unity of action of the working class as the vanguard of the revolution, is an indispensable condition for the creation of a national-democratic front. If the working class is split, it cannot secure leadership. The party's prime task is to prevent this from happening.

In Turkey the numerical growth of the working class leads to a growth of the number of workers of peasant origin and from the middle sections. The crises accompanying the establishment of capitalism catalyze the growth of semi-proletarian sections around the working class. Their status being close to that of the working class, these elements bring petty-bourgeois vacillations into the struggle of the proletariat, and the ruling circles are quick to use this to split the working class.

Relying on the support of the bourgeoisie, the yellow trade union leaders, conciliators of all hues and reactionary and fascist groups are splitting the trade union movement. Two-thirds of the organized labor force are affiliated to two big trade union confederations — DISK and Turk-Ish. The remainder is scattered among over 600 trade unions. It should be mentioned that the bourgeoisie has been trying to split the DISK for some time. The right-wing leaders of the bourgeois-reformist Republican People's Party and some of the reformist trade union leaders are engaging in divisive activities. However, despite the existing splits, individual trade unions have been displaying an increasing tendency toward united action on a class basis. This is seen for instance, in the united actions by the workers of the metal-working, glass and petrochemical industries.

Fighting in the underground over a period of many years, the Communist Party of Turkey unites in its ranks the most class conscious and most militant members of the working class. It is gradually developing into a revolutionary alternative for working people who have turned away from the bourgeois parties. To build up working-class unity the communists must constantly work in the midst of the proletarian masses and do their utmost to strengthen the party.

In making a realistic appraisal of the current situation in the Turkish working-class movement the communists should take as their point of departure the existence of several parties influencing various sections of the working class. It is essential to bear in mind that bourgeois reformist illusions still have a hold on a sizable segment of the working class, that they therefore have not yet been completely overcome. The Republican People's Party spreads social-reformist ideas in the working-class movement. This party being affiliated to the Socialist International, its right-wing social democratic leaders play no small part in this effort.

To a very large extent the struggle to wrest the working class from bourgeois influence and unite it

is compounded by, as I have already noted, the fact that the CPT operates underground, while the legally functioning left forces are divided. The latter are the Turkish Workers' Party, the Turkish Socialist Workers' Party and several other parties and groups using left slogans. We communists have been trying to overcome the split through united action with both workers' parties in the interests of the working class. This is an immediate task — not a task of the remote future.

The communists have never appraised one party or another solely on the basis of its social structure or its size. That is why in referring to the TWP and TSWP, it is necessary to take into account the changes that have occurred in them in the last few years. Pursuing a difficult and winding course since they were founded, they have on many problems become oriented on positions based on ideas of scientific socialism.

It should also be mentioned that while the leaders of the TWP and TSWP are sometimes biased against proposals advanced by the CPT, none of the two parties denies the need for united action and for the creation of a front to fight international imperialism and the Turkish monopoly bourgeoisie. Experience has shown that when this line is translated into practice all forces cooperating in pursuit of its aims benefit from it.

At the same time, the communist party regards as a necessary element of its policy of united action with the workers' parties, the ideological struggle both against right and 'left-wing' opportunism and sectarianism, because they subvert cooperation. The Turkish communists believe that such cooperation is a factor which contributes to unity, a factor that helps rally ever broader democratic forces.

United action by the broadest democratic forces

The concrete political task today is to uphold democratic positions against the attacks of the reactionaries. To accomplish this we must invigorate the democratic movement and the struggle waged by the people. The movement will open further opportunities for an onslaught on the positions of the imperialists and monopolies and help prepare the starting points for the progressive democratic revolution. The first step of this movement should be united action by the broadest democratic forces. This movement will not be identical to the national-democratic front. Its composition will be wider.

The political program for united action should set urgent, though limited aims. The fight for these aims will help unite the broadest forces. Today these aims may include:

— resistance to imperialist and NATO pressure, to reactionary actions against democratic freedoms and the growing threat of fascism;

— opposition to the attempts of the monopolies to shift the burden of the economic crisis onto the shoulders of the working people;

— action against national oppression of and discrimination against the Kurdish population and against Turkish chauvinism;

— promotion of peace and military détente, disarmament, and steps to stop the imperialist provocations organized with the help of the ruling classes of Turkey in the Aegean Sea and in Cyprus.

What parties and other political forces, though remaining outside the national-democratic front, may nevertheless join in united action for these aims?

That this question is extremely difficult is evident from the problems linked to winning the cooperation of the RPP, whose policy is conspicuously influenced by bourgeois-reformist ideology and by the pro-monopoly stand of its right-wing leadership. The RPP leaders have rejected the idea of a progressive-democratic revolution. They are opposed to the creation of a national-democratic front. The communists must also take into account the heterogeneous social composition of the RPP, which has been in power for nearly two years. Various trends and forces — from supporters of imperialism and the monopolies to social democrats — are represented in it. However, since the RPP is generally speaking opposed to extreme reaction and since its left wing leans toward democratic aims, there is an objective possibility for drawing it into united action on individual concrete issues.

Then, it is both possible and necessary to involve individual contingents of the Kurdish national movement in the fight for democracy in Turkey. The communist party has declared that it is prepared to undertake united action against national oppression and discrimination with any forces that sincerely wish to work for these goals.

Petty-bourgeois revolutionaries should not be ignored either. What is meant are people who oppose Maoism and are not affiliated to any sort of terroristic groups used by the reactionaries.

Our experience shows that progress toward united action can be made only by uniting the masses in class battles. The women's and peace movements open big opportunities for cooperation between various trends. The anti-imperialist, anti-fascist youth unity is highly promising. This is corroborated by the joint actions of communist, socialist and Kurdish young people.

The communist party wants united action at all levels. There have been for instance, many cases of joint actions by the communists, socialists and other democrats against fascist raids and assassinations. On the other hand, the CPT made an attempt to secure united action by offering to form a bloc with the two workers' parties, Kurdish democrats, the left wing of the Republican People's Party and all other democratic forces at the interim parliamentary elections held on October 14, 1979. Its offer having been turned down, it proposed joint action during the election campaign. This offer succeeded to a certain degree. In Istanbul and other electoral districts joint election rallies were held. In their addresses the speakers urged electors to unite against the reactionaries and fascists.

The mounting struggle against the deployment of nuclear weapons in Western Europe, against the reactionary Demirel regime which enjoys the sup-

port of fascist elements, against terrorism and repression is another instance of united action. In the course of this struggle it proved possible to take concrete steps to organize united action by the Communist Party of Turkey with the Workers' Party, the Socialist Workers' Party and some groups from the Republican People's Party.

Every time the communists succeed in realizing their proposals for united action, the extreme reactionaries immediately respond by sharply intensifying their activities. This shows that the Turkish ruling circles fear unity of national-democratic forces.

The communist party is sometimes accused of attempts to impose its will on other political forces or to secure a 'privileged positon' when it urges united action. These charges are totally unfounded and farfetched. The party has always respected the organizational independence and equality of its political partners. At the same time it demands respect for its own rights. It shall never abandon the road leading to the establishment of proletarian hegemony. It is working among the masses precisely for this purpose, strengthening its ties with them and marching together with and at the head of the masses. This is why it seeks united action.

As a party driven underground, the Communist Party experiences difficulties in achieving such action. However, experience has shown that these difficulties are not insurmountable. The communists have managed to cope with them by successfully combining illegal activities with legal work.

The communists do not regard criticism of their party as an obstacle to united action. Of course, if this is objective criticism and not slander. They will defend freedom of propaganda and freedom of action within the framework of cooperation. However, insofar as questions of ideology are concerned, they shall make no concessions whatever. The ideological struggle between the communists and their allies will be continued on a principled basis. Of course, it should be conducted in forms that would not prejudice united action. It has always been and will always be communist policy to engage in comradely discussions on any questions with all who are prepared for united action.

The communists are doing their best to remove the subjective factors which had a negative effect in the past and gave rise to differences among the forces prepared for united action. Recent developments give us the right to be optimistic about the future.

The Communist Party of Turkey is working to create a national-democratic front of the people. It regards the creation of the front as a historic national task. This is a struggle for liberation from the yoke of imperialism, for peace and freedom. This is a fight against reaction, against the exploiting system, for a progressive democracy which will pave the way for socialism.

Anti-imperialist potential of a continent

Enrique Rodriguez
Executive Committee member, Secretary, CC Communist Party of Uruguay

'Something new is going on in Latin America.' For some time past this has been the feeling both on our continent and in international quarters. World opinion about the nature of Latin America's political and strategic problems was reversed first by Cuba and then, in a somewhat different sense, by the Chile of the Popular Unity period.

The upheavals of the past decade in Africa, with its big problems and revolutionary processes, have claimed and are bound to continue claiming attention the world over.

Nor is Europe at rest. Political zigzagging in West European countries has ended in the center right strengthening its hold in several countries through electoral victories. This causes concern to all revolutionaries. Careful analysis of the deep social changes that have occurred in the region helps proletarian parties to readapt their strategy and tactics rapidly.

We should all remember Lenin's words that no revolutionary struggle follows a smooth course. This is also borne out by developments in Latin America, which do not really come as a bolt out of the blue. One can appreciate the admiration aroused by the popular revolt in Nicaragua, which led to the crushing defeat of that brutal dictator Somoza, and to the formation of a National Reconstruction Government. But we are still hardly in a position to see all the implications of the Nicaraguan phenomenon and its impact on the continent. What is certain is that the Nicaraguan events cannot be assessed in isolation from Latin American realities or the earlier trend of political processes. Otherwise there would be no avoiding a one-sided view of the facts and an underestimation of the factors for the people's triumph and of its peculiarities and prospects. The leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front stressed in the very first days after victory that the Nicaraguan revolutionary process was by no means a model for other realities. Fidel Castro, whose experience and knowledge give particular weight to his opinion,

emphasized this in his rousing speech on July 26, 1979.

For all the diversity of situations and processes, the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean have one feature in common. They are all fighting against U.S. imperialism and transnational corporations, the main oppressors of the people, and against their partners and accomplices, the domestic finance oligarchy and big landowners. This fight is and will go on expanding, occasionally taking the most unexpected forms.

We speak of the need to study both Latin America's experience prior to the Nicaraguan revolution and the events accompanying this revolution because we would like the lessons of these events to be learned and the contribution made to the common cause thus far to be properly appreciated, so that ways to new victories over imperialism can be found.

'The forms of social and political development in Latin American countries are as varied as the extent of participation of various sections of the people in the direct implementation of political and social changes,' declared the Havana Conference of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean as far back as 1975. 'Nor is the class content of this development the same everywhere. *Nevertheless, it is invariably evidence of a new reality on our continent in which the possibilities of forming democratic governments opposed to imperialism and pursuing a progressive social policy are increasing*' (my italics — *E.R.*). Somewhat later, Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of our party's Central Committee, wrote an article reflecting the spirit of the Havana Declaration and amplifying its ideas. 'There are objective prerequisites for this great movement of peoples and governments,' he pointed out. 'We can look forward to a trend toward the aggravation of all the contradictions and antagonisms of the material basis' of capitalism. The revolutionary movement in Latin America, Rodney Arismendi went on,has two closely interconnected aspects: one is the potentially advanced character of the revolution, and the other is the growing diversity of approaches. It is safe to assume that the ways of leading the masses both to the socialist revolution and to the democratic stage of the national-liberation movement would vary more and more.

Five years have passed since then. In the light of the present situation on our continent, can the words about a 'new reality' and the 'diversity of approaches' be said to have proved correct. Let us turn to the facts.

The first South American country on which a fascist regime was imposed was Brazil, where the democratic government under Joao Goulart was overthrown in 1964. Yet, in 1979, an unprecedented political breakthrough came about in Brazil. This was preceded by major industrial strikes (May 1978) that shook the nation to its foundations. They went hand in hand with massive campaigns and other actions by students, intellectuals and the church for a political amnesty, a free press and free speech and the repeal of the fascist laws and decrees known as 'institutional acts.' Nor should we forget that the masses voted in two elections for a 'permitted' opposition. This was also a form of struggle. By now a law on amnesty has been enacted; a public debate is under way on the issue of legalizing the heroic communist party, and Luis Carlos Prestes has returned home.

Another instance is Bolivia, where reaction staged a bloodbath in 1971, brought down the democratic government under General Torres and set up a fascist regime. In 1979 free elections took place there, and the Democratic and Popular Unity Front which includes the now legal communist party, won the largest number of votes. The November 1979 military coup and subsequent events showed that reaction lacks a broad social and political basis and is isolated both at home and throughout the continent and secondly, that the workers, students and other progressive social sections are determined to prevent a fascist comeback.

The rest of the continent's southern tip is also stirring. The so-called fascist counter-offensive was a typically counter-revolutionary operation intended to form an effective bloc of states that would make the region a paradise for transnationals, a strategic reserve of the Pentagon. However, it failed in Uruguay, Argentina, Chile and Paraguay, primarily on account of internal resistance, which is a permanent factor in these countries.

In Chile and Uruguay the revolutionary and progressive forces remain active in spite of continuing repression, tortures and other crimes. Contrary to reaction's repeated claims, these forces have not been destroyed. This fact alone shows that fascism has not won the battle and never will; all that it can do is perpetrate more crimes. The growing economic and social crisis to which Chile and Uruguay have been reduced by fascist dictatorships, the setbacks of these regimes' partners and closest patrons, and the confident if slow advance of anti-dictatorial coalitions involving large population groups and the traditional democratic parties compel the rulers of both countries to talk of a political way out of the situation. All this benefits the anti-fascist forces, which are searching for a path to unity and are sure to find it.

Nor does the situation in Argentina enable imperialism to incorporate that country into a fascist bloc without difficulty and suppress all political or trade union activity as it has done in Chile and Uruguay. Strikes are staged by the workers and the democratic parties opposing the "Chicago boys'"[1] economic plan, as well as curbs on freedoms.

As for Paraguay, world opinion knows not only of the traditional brutality of the Stroessner regime but of the fact that a vigorous and flexible political opposition has been active there for decades. We regard the release of the communist leaders Antonio Maidana, Julio Rojas and Alfredo Alcorta as tremendously significant.

However, this description of the situation in the south of the continent, which was and still is fraught with the danger of fascism, is anything but a full assessment of the processes taking place in Latin America.

Let us take a look at Peru. Some may see events there as a typical example of democratic forces on the retreat. I believe however, that it would be wrong to affirm that things in Peru were reversed in 1979 or that nothing has happened there. Classes and strata that are objectively allies of the proletariat were able to engage in socio-political activity. One result was that the left won 33 per cent of the vote in the elections to the Constituent Assembly and that the fraternal communist party strengthened its positions. The Peruvians are more revolutionary than before 1968.[2]

And surely the populist victory in Ecuador, whose new government's first foreign policy act was to recognize socialist Cuba and the National Reconstruction Government of Nicaragua, is a change for the better.

Even before that, the Dominican regime restored bourgeois democracy, which allowed the communist party to hold its congress openly.

Mexico is carrying out a 'political reform.'[3] The communist party fought its way to legality; communists as well as members of other left-wing organizations were elected to parliament for the first time. President Jose Lopez Portillo embraced Fidel Castro as a sign of friendship between the two nations. Viewed against the background of the cool reception accorded President Carter in Mexico, this was a self-explanatory political action.

An extremely important factor for the victory of the Nicaraguan people was the solidarity of the governments of Panama, Venezuela, Costa Rica and other countries, which took a stand against the obscene provocations of the tyrant Somoza at a time when he still hoped the United States would go to his rescue.

In Colombia reaction makes dangerous attempts to impose a disguised form of fascism. However, the communists' courageous struggle and flexible policy of broad alliances, and the domestic political climate itself are stemming the fascist assault.

Anti-imperialist developments in Jamaica, Grenada and other Caribbean countries, and the Puerto Ricans' fight for independence show that there is a desire for freedom all over the continent.

The course of the people's revolution in Nicaragua has undoubtedly affected the whole continent. This was seen in the October events in neighboring El Salvador. There, a preventive military coup was brought on by an upsurge in the popular movement which assumed diverse forms and was about to sweep away the Romero dictatorship. The important thing is however, that another brutal dictatorship fell, that powerful popular actions were translated into a demand for democracy and that there are now greater opportunities for a democratic national-liberation revolution.

Like Guatemala, Cuba and the Dominican Republic in the past, Nicaragua today is a touchstone (with a different political dimension, of course) of the effectiveness of the various forms of struggle reflecting the irreconcilable contradictions between imperialism and the peoples.

The Nicaraguan rising which brought the people freedom, revealed many serious conflicts that had been coming to a head for a long time in a seemingly calm situation, created by repression, the threat of intervention under the aegis of the Organization of American States and lavish promises from the Alliance for Progress.

Fidel Castro noted this obvious fact in his speech on July 26, 1979. 'What we might call a great democratic, anti-imperialist liberation front has formed quietly in Latin America around the Sandinistas' struggle,' he said.[4]

History has its subtleties and its irony. In 1954 the U.S. committed a crime against Guatemala on the initiative of an extreme reactionary, John Foster Dulles, by overthrowing that country's democratic government under Colonel Jacobo Arbenz. During the Bay of Pigs invasion and the crisis in October 1962, President Kennedy tried to drown the Cuban revolution in blood. Later, in 1965, the USA invaded the Dominican Republic on President Johnson's orders. In all three cases U.S. imperialism used the OAS as a cover for its criminal practices.

Yet the people's revolution in Nicaragua prompted the very same OAS to adopt a resolution which seems incredible in light of the interventions I have listed and of more recent acts of the same nature justified by the Monroe Doctrine.[5]

Nobody doubts that this time too, the USA would have liked to do what it did in 1954, 1962, and 1965. The whole world knows that invasion forces stood by to 'save the lives of American residents in Nicaragua' (the relevant statement was prepared in advance).

It was known that the USA would back Somoza by every means, but when the OAS met as a result of 'great maneuvers' by the USA, Paraguay was the only country to vote against condemning the Somoza regime. The Uruguayan fascists abstained. In these circumstances, the USA found itself compelled to join the majority thereby virtually recognizing the government formed during the Sandinistas' armed struggle. It was a devastating defeat for the White House, a new Vietnam, Iran or Watergate for the USA.

Such is the chronology of events in Latin America. It had its ups and downs but on the whole it is encouraging. But while we are rightly satisfied with these promising changes, it would be shortsighted of us to consider that the battle for freedom in Latin America or at least for its immediate goal, the destruction of fascism, is won. Still less reason do we have for imagining that our victory is irreversible. It would be more than dangerous to draw conclusions of this kind. All who are fighting realize this. Neither the Sandinistas, nor the democrats and anti-fascists of Brazil, Bolivia, Peru, El Salvador and other countries have lost vigilance. Indeed, though imperialism and reaction have been forced into retreat, they still have enormous economic, political and military power. And while they have lost the historical initiative, we must not forget that in the past they succeeded in regrouping and mounting a fascist counter-offensive, that they continue exploiting fraternal nations and may well try new stratagems to nullify the gains of the democratic forces.

I think many useful lessons can be learned from this stage of intensive struggle that has the unique peculiarities and subtleties typical of the national revolutionary process in any country. Besides, experience contributes to the Leninist concept of leading the masses to the revolution. This is a tactical problem of enormous theoretical importance. The course of the various processes I have mentioned and the obstacles in their way offer analysts ample and amazing evidence.

The limited space of an article prevents me from dealing with this subject in detail. Besides, I believe it is for those who have achieved success in revolutionary struggles to describe their tactics. What is said in this article can only serve as a supplement to the analysis of the new situation in Latin America.

There are permanent key factors for the most unusual political situation on the continent. What I mean is that at a certain juncture non-proletarian social forces and governments, which include a more or less reformist or compromising bourgeoisie and moderate or even conservative political leaders, find themselves on the side of the popular movement, helping isolate the once omnipotent 'master of the region' and fighting effectively against him.

Needless to say, nobody expects a section of the bourgeoisie or any of the governments controlled by it to become adherents of socialism or consistent anti-imperialists overnight, or expects the economic and class bonds linking imperialism and these governments to slacken. We must not delude ourselves. Forming broad alliances is important as a means of eradicating fascism, cutting short imperialist plans and protecting the national patrimony. But the class interests of labor and the bourgeoisie have always clashed and will continue to clash on the long road we have yet to travel.

Five years ago the balance of power was far less favorable to us. The wounds inflicted by the fascist coups in Chile, Uruguay and Bolivia were not healed yet. The situation created in some countries since then seemed unthinkable at the time, above all in Nicaragua (to take the most revealing example), for the Somoza tyranny was regarded as the mainstay of U.S. domination in the region.

It is a peculiarity of the history of Latin American countries that their social and economic structures contain the embryo of contradictions. And while these structures naturally vary from country to country, they are all characterized by dependence on U.S. imperialism and by survivals of the pro-capitalist period, especially in agriculture. The deepening of this contradiction has resulted in the so-called structural crisis.

'Though capitalism became — to one degree or another — the dominant economic system, and a number of Latin American countries attained a medium level of capitalist growth, and in some of them features of monopoly capitalism are appearing,' says the Havana Declaration of Communist Parties, 'economic dependence determines on the one hand, the preservation of the old structures and, on the other hand lays its imprint on the capitalist process.'

The formation of the capitalist mode of production, which reached a medium level, was accompanied by persevering class struggles on the part of a numerous industrial and agricultural proletariat showing a high degree of organization, staunchness and political awareness. The peasants, students, middle strata and intellectuals made common cause with the proletariat, if not in an entirely organized fashion. They joined repeatedly in struggles and played an important role in them along with some segments of the church and the armed forces, especially in the recent period.[6] All these events, which were so different, bore the imprint of popular involvement. They were indications of the élan of the anti-imperialist struggle, which occasionally shows an anti-capitalist trend. It is struggle that has enabled the people to gain revolutionary experience.

The more than 50-year existence of communist and workers' parties in practically every country of the continent, parties which reaction has been unable to destroy even by brutal methods, is in itself indicative of the relatively high social and political level of Latin American society as a whole. All this constitutes the real anti-imperialist potential of the continent.

Rodney Arismendi defined the universal character of the crisis of Latin American society as follows: 'This is not only a socio-economic crisis but also a historical one, increasingly affecting the political, legal, ideological and moral superstructure.'[7]

Ours is the historic epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, of worldwide victory for Marxism-Leninism. Socialism is the goal of the Latin American communists but the struggle for this goal is inseparable from the struggle against imperialism, primarily the struggle to overthrow fascist dictatorships.

At a time when the balance of political and social strength is tilting in our favor and the revolutionary process has reached a relatively high level, it is plainly wrong to speak of 'small' countries or parties. 'Small' countries, parties, and movements lacking a mass basis may emerge on the historical scene and become protagonists of events that will shake the continent. All the signs are that this necessitates the existence of a sensitive, wise and thoroughly committed revolutionary vanguard. When the situation calls for it, this vanguard should be able to engage promptly in armed or peaceful political action with the backing of a united people, in order to isolate and defeat the enemy and to crush him altogether, as in Nicaragua.

The reactionaries, including the venal oligarchy, while making some concessions because they dread a turn for the worse, will try to regroup in a bid to re-establish their threatened domination by exploiting the class fear and anti-communism of reformists and liberals, as they have done time and again in the past. It is safe to forecast that the revolutionary process will be anything but smooth wherever the class struggle intensifies rather than slackens. Nicaragua for one, is a target of political blackmail aimed at profiting by the economic difficulties and

hunger inherited from the Somoza regime.

There are also other factors and forces that have influenced developments in Nicaragua and still do. It will be recalled that both the Socialist International and the International Union of Christian Democrats took a definite stand on the events in that country. To the extent that they helped isolate the Somoza regime and identified themselves with the anti-fascists their attitude could be welcomed. Botht the SI and the IUCD will remain on the Nicaraguan political scene and uphold views differing from those of the progressive and revolutionary forces. Some politologists, taken unawares by the new trend of events, are as frightened as they were in the initial period of the Portuguese revolution, when they feared that things might 'go too far;' others overestimate the role of bourgeois democratic parties. Actually they all want to minimize the heroism and devotion of the Sandinistas and the armed people of Nicaragua, of the communists and other left-wing forces, the workers and students and the democratic public of other countries fighting fascist dictatorships.

The people's revolution in Nicaragua and the liberation processes in other Latin American countries have given rise to numerous theoretical and political debates on a variety of issues. Truly revolutionary events are unfolding on the continent. The future will produce new proof of this.

1. High-ranking officials in the economy and finance ministries of Chile, Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay trained by the Chicago School of Economics.
2. When a progressive military government under Velasco Alvarado came to power. — *Ed.*
3. A reform enabling political parties, the communist party included, to step up their activity. — *Ed.*
4. *Granma*, July 28, 1979.
5. Proclaimed in 1823 in response to the aggressive ambitions of the Holy Alliance, the Monroe Doctrine has been used by the USA in the imperialist period as an instrument of political and economic expansion and a means of resisting the national-liberation movement in Latin America.
6. Latin America has been a volatile continent ever since the beginning of this century. The Mexican revolution (1910-1917), Sandino's struggle in Nicaragua, strikes and risings in El Salvador and Chile, the march of the 'Prestes Column,' the National Liberation Alliance in Brazil and the Popular Front in Chile (1930s), the people's revolution in Bolivia (1952), the Cuban revolution's celebrated victory and the Bay of Pigs, Popular Unity in Chile and the latest feat of the Sandinistas are all landmarks in the epic history of the continent. Also important is the vast experience gained by the masses in countries where populist-like movements and governments have come into being (Peronism in Argentina and Varguism in Brazil), the highly unusual military coups in Peru (1968) and Boliva (1970), the heroic resistance to the fascist regimes in Chile, Brazil, Paraguay, Guatemala, El Salvador and Haiti, and the 15-day general strike in Uruguay (1973).
7. *Boletin del Partido Comunista de Uruguay*. No. 4, 1977.

110th Anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Lenin

COMMUNISTS WRITE AND SPEAK ABOUT LENIN AND HIS TEACHING

The following pronouncements on Lenin and Leninism are by prominent Marxists belonging to the galaxy of communists who stood at the cradle of the Marxist-Leninist parties in their countries and whose dedicated work resulted in the international communist movement becoming the most influential force of modern times. These pronouncements give a better understanding of the mainsprings of communist strength and the great role played by revolutionary theory, by Lenin's teaching in the struggle for the democratic and socialist aims of the working class.

This selection has been prepared by the *WMR* Commission on General Problems of Theory.

In this issue *WMR* carries articles on the Leninist style of work.

Our March issue will offer a correspondence *WMR* Round Table on the significance of Lenin's legacy today.

Johann Koplenig (Austria)

The teaching of Marx and Lenin is now the motive force the world over. That explains why imperialism and reaction are uniting against the victorious world outlook of the proletariat. They are aided by the right-wing leaders of the Socialist Party of Austria, who declare that Marxism is outworn and outdated.

In this situation it is our duty to tell the Austrian working class in lucid, clear-cut terms that renunciation of Marxism signifies renunciation of socialism, because without the teaching of Marxism, which has been tested by history, there is no road to socialism and hence its triumph is inconceivable.

(From the concluding speech at the Conference of the Communist Party of Austria on 'Austria's Road to Socialism,' 1958)

Victorio Codovilla (Argentina)

The correct strategy and tactics evolved by Lenin and the Bolsheviks during the preparations for the October Revolution continue to serve as a model for the world revolutionary movement, for all the communist and workers' parties of the world, including our party. We constantly keep in mind Lenin's counsel that the lessons of the October Revolution should be applied not mechanically but creatively, with account of the specific features of each country and of the situation in the world at the given time.

We should never forget Lenin's behest that for the success of the working people's revolutionary struggle it is imperative to constantly enhance the role of the party as the vanguard of the proletariat and the whole people, and to be guided by the immortal Marxist-Leninist teaching and the principles of proletarian internationalism.

(From the report to the Seventh National Conference of the Communist Party of Argentina, 1967)

Georgi Dimitrov (Bulgaria)

We communists are people of action. The practical task before us is to wage a struggle against the onslaught of capital, against fascism and the threat of an imperialist war, a struggle to depose capitalism. Precisely this *practical* task makes it mandatory for communist cadres to be armed with *revolutionary* theory, for theory gives cadres the strength of orientation, lucidity of prospects, confidence in their work and faith in the victory of our cause.

But genuine revolutionary theory is implacably hostile to any emasculated theorizing, to any barren game of abstract definition. *Our theory is not a dogma but a guide to action,* Lenin said on several occasions. Precisely *such* a theory is needed by our cadres, it is needed as daily bread, air and water.

Those who really want to shed our work of dead schematism, of ruinous scholasticism should burn them out with red-hot irons by *practical* effective struggle together with and at the head of the masses and by *untiring effort* to master the great, productive and omnipotent teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

(From the concluding speech on the report to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, 1935)

Harry Pollit (Great Britain)

Marxism, developed by Lenin under new conditions, under the conditions of imperialism, is a scientific theory developed on the basis of working-class experience. The utilization of this scientific theory and its application to the conditions obtaining in each country will ensure the victory of the working class in its long struggle for a new society.

(From the article 'Marxism and the Labour Movement in Great Britain,' 1958)

Bela Kun (Hungary)

While its roots are in the past, the proletarian revolution finds its task projected into the future. Lenin is the hero of this future, the foundations of which the proletariat is laying today. The proletariat is building its future with free hands, which have as yet, not grown out of the habit of wearing shackles; with hands that sometimes move with uncertainty, but nonetheless move freely. Indeed mankind is now accomplishing the leap, forecast by Engels, 'from the realm of need to the realm of freedom.'

Lenin is the first, the very first leader of those people who are now beginning 'to make history themselves.'

(From the Foreword to Lenin's book *The Road of Struggle,* 1918)

Ho Chi Minh (Vietnam)

Lenin opened a new, truly revolutionary epoch in the colonies.

He was the first to condemn emphatically all the prejudices relative to colonial peoples that have entered the flesh and blood of many European and American workers. Lenin's theses on the colonial question, approved by the Comintern, sparked a revolution in the true sense of the word in all the oppressed countries . . .

It was only Lenin's skillful approach to colonial questions that stirred the most backward masses of the people in the enslaved countries. His tactics on these questions, employed by communist parties throughout the world, continue to draw what is finest and most active in the colonies into the communist movement.

Lenin's solution to the extremely complicated nationalities question in Soviet Russia and the practical implementation of that solution by the communist party are the most potent instrument of inspiration in the colonies.

For all the oppressed and enslaved peoples Lenin is the turning point in the painful history of their oppressed existence, the symbol of the new, bright future.

(From the article 'Lenin and the East,' 1926)

Huberto Alvarado (Guatemala)

There can be no real knowledge of Marxism-Leninism if it is approached scholastically rather than creatively. It is no easy task to comply with Lenin's demand that Marxist theory be applied with due regard to reality in the country concerned. There are numerous pitfalls on this road. The experience of the socialist system and the world communist movement indicates, however, that the only correct road is the one which Marx and Engels took and along which Lenin continued.

(From the article 'The Guatemalan Revolution and Lenin's Ideas,' 1970)

Ernst Thaelmann (Germany)

In all countries the international proletariat has accumulated vast experience and drawn valuable lessons. This entire experience has borne out the Marxist teaching, by which Lenin and the Bolsheviks were guided, that there is no other way to the liberation of the working class and the building of socialism than that of proletarian revolution under the leadership of the communist party, the way that on November 7 led to the first historic victory of the working class.

(From the article 'Ten Years of the Soviet Power and the International Working Class,' 1927)

Wilhelm Pieck (GDR)

Lenin continued the work started by Marx in all fields of scientific socialism and the political and economic struggle and organization of the proletariat. He upheld the science, founded by Marx and Engels, against subsequent opportunist distor-

tions and, drawing upon the experience of struggle of the international working class, developed it in conformity with the new stage of capitalism. He armed the proletariat of Russia with this science and led it to the victory of the socialist revolution. Thus, the science of the liberation of the proletariat and all other exploited people has become a great material force that is changing the world.

(From the article 'Leninism: Victorious Banner of the Peoples in the Struggle for Socialism,' 1956)

Ajoy Ghosh (India)

With the passage of time the significance of Lenin, his work and his teaching have grown further still. The speedy course of history has made him not merely a historical personality; he has become more alive than ever for a huge and ever growing number of people in all the countries of the world. Every day Leninism shows that it is correct, ever more distinctly showing its wealth and its inestimable role as the guide to action.

In paying tribute to the genius of Lenin, we note that one or another aspect of his gigantic work and immortal teaching has been mirrored in different parts of the globe and at different times. The people of India and the peoples of other newly-independent nations of the formerly oppressed continents of Asia and Africa remember again and again what Lenin taught and what he did for their liberation. It would be no exaggeration to say that no personality towers so majestically and no teaching illumines the road for the peoples of these regions of the world that had once been 'outside history,' so vividly as Lenin and Leninism.

(From the article 'A Great Day in the History of Mankind,' 1960)

Antonio Gramsci (Italy)

Lenin, as anybody who ever met him can testify, showed that he was the greatest statesman of modern times, a man who had infinite influence among the people, stirred their enthusiasm and awakened their sense of conscious discipline; a man whose powerful intellect enabled him to lead all of the world's social forces that could be used for the benefit of the revolution; a man who easily discerned and paralyzed the most refined intrigues of bourgeois statesmen.

(From *The Sovereign of Today* and *Prison Notebooks*, 1929-1935)

Lenin was deeply national, and his Europeism was equally profound.

(From *Prison Notebooks*, 1929-1935)

Palmiro Togliatti (Italy)

Everything that Lenin carried out interests and directly affects, in both theoretical and practical terms, the working class and peoples of the whole world, from the more or less developed capitalist nations to colonial and semi-colonial territories, from the old European West to Asia, Africa and the two Americas . . .

Lenin's titanic activity is reflected in his fundamental writings, in his classical works of philosophical and political thought. Nobody can do without studying these works if he wants to understand anything of what has happened during the last 50 years and what is happening now. In these works the revolutionary activist will find the necessary guidance not only to understanding but also to acting and advancing in any new situation. But the most important thing is that Lenin's activity is mirrored in innumerable practical decisions aimed at settling invariably difficult problems, many of which are painful and of historical significance. Each decision, as we can see from the explanations he himself gave, is supported by considered judgments, to which dogmatism and schematism of all kinds are alien, for they always go into the substance of the matter, and by an enlargement of these judgments and thus show the core and substance of the task that has to be fulfilled. For that reason it must be said that his work will always be instructive, not because he gave good formulas for all occasions but precisely because he had contempt for preconceived formulas and, when necessary, rejected them so as in every case to restore the true Marxist method of creative quest while observing the main thing — fidelity to the principles of the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

(From the article 'Lenin and Our Party,' 1960)

Tim Buck (Canada)

The Communist Party of Canada relies, confidently, on the consistent use of the inexhaustible treasury of revolutionary inspiration and tested scientific guidance in the teachings of Lenin, to ensure that we and the advanced sections of the working class will be ready to put the stamp of the working class upon the days in which twenty years are embodied.

(From the book *Lenin and Canada. His Influence on Canadian Political Life*, 1970)

Julio Antonio Mella (Cuba)

The principal hallmark of the revolutionary is his clear understanding of the cause he is fighting for and his complete fusion with it. The ideas inspiring him become a dynamic generator of social energy. For this devotion to ideas ignoramuses usually call revolutionaries 'fanatics.' For their part, motivated by hatred and fear, the reactionaries smear the name of revolutionary. In our age no man has been villified more by the reactionaries than Lenin. But there was no man who was ethically more up to the ideal of the brilliant, exalted and heroic than the great leader of the Third International.

(From the article 'Train Professional Revolutionaries,' 1926)

Jose Carlos Mariategui (Peru)

The practice of Marxist socialism today is the practice of Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is the revolutionary method in the epoch of imperialism and monopolies. The Socialist Party of Peru accepts it as its method of struggle.

(From Program Principles of the Socialist Party, 1928)

William Z. Foster (USA)

The struggle of the working class, involving the protection of the workers' interests under capitalism, the abolition of the capitalist system and the establishment of socialism, is a highly complex matter. The revolutionary science of this struggle is Marxism or in our day, Marxism-Leninism, which represents the sum total of the lessons learned by the proletariat and its allies in their worldwide, century-long battle against the exploiting classes. The historical progress of a given labor movement is to be measured directly by the extent to which it has mastered and absorbed the principles of Marxism.

(From the book *History of the Three Internationals*, 1955)

Abd al-Khaliq Mahjub (Sudan)

The great teaching of Lenin, which has armed the working class and the peoples of the whole world for the struggle against imperialism, today raises and leads to victory a mighty reserve of the socialist revolution — the national liberation movement. The triumph of Lenin's teaching in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the swift development of the struggle for independence in Asian and African countries have placed imperialism in a position where step by step it is retreating under pressure from the forces of democracy and socialism.

(From the article 'Be Like Him,' 1965)

Maurice Thorez (France)

The works of Lenin are a treasure-store in which you constantly find new material for reflection and see new aspects of political problems.

Had we not studied Lenin how would we have transcended all the difficulties and obstacles that we encounter on our road to socialism?

(From the book *A Son of the People*, 1950)

Lenin lives in the minds and hearts of French workers, as of the working people of the whole world.

He spent a few years of his life in Paris. He knew France well, and French working people constantly study his concrete assessments of our working-class movement, the advice that he gave leaders of that movement and his remarks about our country's life. Lenin's brilliant ideas about the struggle of the working class against capitalism in all countries, his teaching, which is of international significance, strongly influenced the orientation of the struggle of the French proletariat and the destiny of communism in France.

The unprecedented successes of democracy throughout the world, which have changed the balance of strength on an international scale, are today facilitating the liberation struggle of the working class of France. They enable the French working class to map out with greater confidence its road to socialism — a road which, as Lenin pointed out, may be different in each given country.

(From the article 'Under the Banner of the Immortal Lenin,' 1956)

Klement Gottwald (Czechoslovakia)

Leninism emerged on the international scene at the same time that it emerged on the broad political arena generally — at the beginning of the present century . . . It was only Leninism that opened the eyes of hundreds of thousands of social-democratic workers. I still remember my excitement when I read my first book by Lenin. It was *The State and Revolution*. For me this book was a discovery in the true sense of the word: it was as though a new world had been opened for me.

(From the article 'To Social Democratic Workers on the Theory of Lenin,' 1935)

Lenin's teaching helps us to find the answer to the most important issues confronting us, and it is an answer that allows us to act in any situation in the interests of the working people, in the interests of socialism.

(From the article 'To Socialism in Lenin's Way,' 1949)

John Marks (RSA)

Theoretical training of the Marxist-Leninists gives an added dimension of perception to the liberation struggle, strengthening its strategy and tactics, and broadening its outlook from the limits of nationalism to the glorious perspectives of socialism and the militant unity of the workers and oppressed peoples of the entire world.

Lenin foresaw that the movement of the working class in the developed capitalist countries and the national liberation movement of the hundreds of millions of oppressed colonial peoples would inevitably merge into a single mighty stream of world revolution.

The victory of the October Revolution and all its far-reaching consequences have fully vindicated that brilliant prediction. This is the guarantee of the final defeat of imperialism and the advance of all humanity to a better future.

(From the article 'The October Revolution and the National Liberation Movement,' 1967)

Sen Katayama (Japan)

The specter of communism is haunting Japan and the ruling classes are infuriated, having recourse to every possible means in order to wipe the communist movement and the communists from the face of the earth, but in vain. Japan's ruling circles now admit that communism is a powerful force. Marxism and Leninism have sunk strong roots among the masses. The powers that be can no longer tear down the red banner of the Communist Party of Japan . . . The workers of Japan will defend that banner at the price of their lives.

(From the article 'The Birth and Development of Marxism in Japan,' 1933)

LENIN'S STYLE OF WORK

Facts from Lenin's biography

Lenin's colossal work in theory and practice has become of historic importance not only because

the events it was linked with radically changed the course of history. His style of work as such is of inestimable value. If it is not understood, neither will Leninism be appreciated and understood. Nadezhda Krupskaya, Lenin's wife, wrote:

'When we study Lenin's method of work, we get a better insight into Lenin himself and the significance of his work . . .'

Indomitable energy

Lenin left a vast heritage. The Central Party Archives of the CPSU Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism has over 30,000 manuscripts of Lenin's books, pamphlets, letters and documents. Over 9,000 have been published in the 55-volume edition of the *Collected Works*, which appeared in the Russian language in 1958-1965 and was later translated into several foreign languages.

Even when the pressure of political work was tremendous Lenin did not give up writing. In 1905, directly in the wake of the developments of the first Russian revolution, he contributed over 60 articles to the newspaper *Vperyod*. He summed up the first lessons of the revolution and assessed the obtaining situation in *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, which also appeared in 1905. While in hiding immediately after the events in July 1917, he drafted and completed five articles in a single day, writing of the changes in the political situation and outlining the new tasks in this connection. On July 6, 1917, they were published in *Listok Pravdy*. In the period from February to October 1917 he wrote a large number of works, covering over 1,700 pages, which today make up four volumes of the *Collected Works*.

During the first year following the establishment of Soviet power, although Lenin had his hands full with political matters relating to the build-up and defense of the world's first socialist state (work in the Council of People's Commissars, Party Central Committee, All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the congresses of Soviets and the Seventh Party Congress), he wrote prolifically, producing nearly 1,400 pages of which three volumes of the *Collected Works* now consist.

In the space of just over five years, when he was the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, he drew up, even according to incomplete data, over 5,400 documents and edited nearly 500. Counting the documents that have been lost, he personally drew up over 6,300. During the same period he presided over 624 meetings of the Council of People's Commissars, the Defense Council, and the Council of Labor and Defense.

His working day was packed. Take April 22, 1920, his 50th birthday. On that day he worked on the minutes of the Council of Labor and Defense and Small Council of People's Commissars of April 21, 1920, and signed the decisions these bodies adopted and the decisions of the Council of People's Commissars of April 21, 1920, sent telegrams to the Red Army Liaison Department, the Revolutionary Military Council of the Turkestan Front and several other addresses, and a cable to the Central Fuel Department; read a letter from G.V. Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, on the situation in Poland and recommending a policy of peace with respect to that country (on that letter he made an annotation approving the recommendation), a translation of an appeal issued by the Central Executive Committee of the Polish Socialist Party for a peace treaty between Soviet Russia and Poland, a report from I.N. Gukovsky, the Russian Federation's trade representative in Estonia, on progress in the talks on the purchase of oil and a note from L.A. Fotiyeva, secretary of the Council of People's Commissars; he received Maxim Gorky, with whom he discussed the country's development and the role of the intelligentsia in that work; had a talk with Kayurov, deputy chief of the Fifth Army Political Department and with Serebrov, a worker, on the food situation. The only reminder that Lenin had of his birthday was from a bulletin of the Stockholm bureau of the Russian Telegraph (News) Agency issued on the occasion. On the margin he made a note: 'To be filed.'

When Professor Foerster, who in 1922 was invited as a medical consultant for Lenin, was asked whether Lenin's resumption of his duties as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars in October 1922 had worsened his health, he replied: 'Complete abandonment of all work would not have held up the course of his disease. Work meant life for Lenin, and idleness meant death.'

Confidence in the masses

Lenin always regarded as absurd and odious the contention that only the 'upper classes' could lead the political struggle and administer the state. He wrote: 'Ideas become a power when they grip the people' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 130), and noted the inexhaustible revolutionary potential of the masses.

He always had a high opinion of the role the masses played in developing new forms of struggle for socialism and for socialist construction. He was the first to grasp the historic significance of the Soviets — bodies of genuine government by the people set up through the revolutionary creative initiative of the masses in 1905. The Soviets determined the specifics of Russia's transition to socialism. In the initiative of the masses, the early 'Communist subbotniks' (voluntary work on Saturdays which Lenin called a 'great beginning'), he identified shoots of the future, rudiments of the communist attitude to work.

He believed that any literate worker or peasant who knew life and had practical experience could engage in revolutionary activity, or in organizational and managerial work. When he learned at the Third Party Congress that there was only one worker in the Petersburg committee, he was furious. Addressing the congress, he said:

'I could not sit quietly, when they said that there were no workers fit for work as members of the committee.'

Once, when a group of workers who had been assigned to work at one of the people's commissariats asked Lenin for permission to return to

their jobs at the factory, pleading that they could not cope with their administrative duties efficiently, Lenin replied:

'I have had no previous experience in the administration of the state. But the Party and the people entrusted me with this work and I must live up to their confidence. I propose that you should do the same.'

He pointed out:

'Difficulties may crop up at the start, due to inadequate training. But the art of practical government, which has been monopolized by the bourgeoisie, must be mastered' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 342).

He maintained that the party's ties with the masses were the condition for its strength and invincibility. To maintain these ties meant:

'Live in the *midst*.
'Know the *moods*.
'Know *everything*.
'Understand the mass.
'Find the approach.
'Win its absolute trust.
'The leaders should not break away from the masses they lead, i.e., the vanguard should not break away from the entire army of labor.'

Receiving visitors consumed much of Lenin's time as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. It is a pity that no exact record was kept of the visitors received by Lenin. But even incomplete data indicate that on the average he received between 17 and 20 visitors every week. The progressive American journalist Albert Rhys Williams said that Lenin's reception room was 'the biggest in the world.'

Lenin attentively read letters from the working people. He demanded swift and effective action on their complaints. There are many letters, notes and instructions written by Lenin in connection with applications, requests and complaints addressed to him. He demanded follow-up reports on what had been done.

His profound knowledge of the masses and understanding of their interests and aspirations enabled him to chart a policy to which they invariably responded.

Noting that Lenin's stand on the Brest Peace was justified in every respect, the progressive British journalist M. Philipps Price wrote that his strength both then and later, stemmed from his ability to make an accurate assessment of what the Russian workers and peasant masses thought. It seemed as if he knew the opinion of deputies representing thousands of regional and district Soviets even before another All-Russia Congress of Soviets was convened.

Unwavering adherence to principles

Lenin's principled approach to everything was the outcome of his total devotion to the cause of the revolution. In this lay the strength even his opponents and enemies had to recognize. For instance, the Menshevik Dan deplored:

'. . . There is not another man who works for the revolution 24 hours a day, who thinks of nothing but revolution and who sees revolution even in his dreams. You can't get the better of a man like him.'

History has shown that Dan's assessment was not unfounded. Lenin inspired the whole party with his faith in the revolution and with his fidelity to principles. In the long run, the party threw out the conciliatory leaders.

Lenin combined his principled attitude with ready sympathy and kindness. The American journalist Louise Bryant wrote that in an argument Lenin could mercilessly criticize his opponent, but at the same time he was uncommonly human and warmhearted. He wanted everybody around him to be happy.

He would never deviate from his class position or sacrifice his principles for personal sympathies. In December 1917 Charles Dumas, the French socialist whom Lenin knew from the days of his exile in Paris, but who adopted a social-chauvinistic stand during the First World War, asked Lenin to receive him. In his letter to Charles Dumas Lenin wrote:

'I deeply regret that we can have no personal relations because we are divided by such profound political differences.'

In writing about Lenin, Anatoly Lunacharsky remarked: 'He hated his political enemies. He had no personal enemies. He hated classes, not personalities.'

Although Lenin rejected 'unity for unity's sake,' which the social reformists wanted to impose upon the party, he recognized the possibility of compromise, including agreements and alliances with other parties, but not to the detriment of principles. He was uncompromising over the norms of party membership, recognition of the provisions of the party program, the aims and tasks of the party and the banning of factionalism. In December 1917 he wrote a 'Draft Resolution of the Central Committee, Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (Bolsheviks), on the Expulsion of S.A. Lozovsky from the Party,' which read in part:

'Joint work in the ranks of the same party is impossible with a man who negates the socialist tasks of the proletariat after the proletariat has secured political power.'

In contrast to this, he welcomed an alliance with those who could take part in society's socialist transformation and in the building of socialism. It was this principle that was the cornerstone of the Bolshevik platform for the Fourth (Unity) Congress of the Party and the bloc with the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries in 1917-1918.

Lenin's principled attitudes were seen also in his daily conduct of government affairs. N.A. Semashko, who was People's Commissar for Public Health, gave an insight into Lenin's contribution to the work of the Council of People's Commissars. He wrote:

'Usually many chairmen would rob the speakers of their ideas, taking something from one and something else from another to submit a proposal that would unite as many participants as possible. Lenin worked along different lines. He would set a sharp-

ly defined task, and not a compromise. The speakers only provided him with the facts for substantiating his own proposal.'

Lenin paid special attention to verifying compliance with adopted decisions. This was a distinguishing feature of his style of work. He wrote:

'*To test men and verify what has actually been done* — this, this again, this alone is now the main feature of all our activities, of our whole policy' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 33, p. 226).

He always tried to verify compliance with decisions personally, doing his utmost to see that they did not remain on paper. For instance, in August 1920, on his initiative the Council of Labor and Defense adopted a decision on surveying and drilling in the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly. Today this is one of the biggest sources of iron ore in the European part of the USSR. As Lenin's contemporaries used to say, he did not 'take his hand off the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly.' His interest in the undertaking helped to obtain the necessary funds and equipment. In the spring of 1923 the first samples of iron ore were produced. Although economic difficulties, and in later years the war, prevented large-scale development of these iron ore deposits, the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly is now one of the nation's main producers of ore for the iron and steel industry.

Efficiency and collective leadership

Lenin attached great importance to the party responding quickly to changes in the political situation. He regarded a quick response to new conditions and the ability to take advantage of new possibilities as a precondition of success. In referring to the role of the Decree on Land, adopted immediately after victory was secured over the bourgeoisie, he wrote:

'. . . The Russian proletariat *won the peasantry* from the Socialist-Revolutionaries, and won them literally *a few hours after* achieving state power' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 30, p. 265).

He was a master of quick analysis of the political situation, which formed the basis for a sound party tactical line. For instance, he was among the first to see a new upswing in Russia's revolutionary movement. Proceeding from the new conditions he proposed new organizational tactics — he advanced the idea that to extend the base for party work 'everywhere illegal cells should be surrounded with a network of legal cells.' As a result of numerous meetings with the peasants and letters received from them he realized that as soon as the Civil War was over they would not accept the temporary relations enforced by 'war communism.' Therefore, late in 1920-early in 1921 he elaborated the fundamental principles for a new economic policy that determined the strategy in the building of socialism in a country with a multi-structural economy.

Efficiency was a distinguishing feature of his statesmanship. It took him very little time to determine the outstanding tasks of the day, to grasp the big questions, never forgetting about the little things. He regarded slow and sluggish work as a weakness of the state machine that was taking shape. He was unfailing in combating inefficiency. In many official documents he reprimanded the bodies concerned for bureaucratic practices. Lenin himself frequently offered quick and effective solutions. For instance, under his personal guidance an advanced method of peat extraction with the help of suction dredges was introduced into practice in record time, despite the fact that the economy was in a state of dislocation at the time.

He always warned against excessive haste in the handling of important matters, especially in legislation. He wrote:

'In legislation you must display the utmost caution. *Look before you leap!*'

The principle of collectivism was always an inherent feature of Lenin's style of work. Only his opponents resorted to methods such as dictation, intrigues and factionalism. After the Mensheviks were defeated on fundamental questions at the Second Congress, they had recourse to undemocratic practices to take over the central organs. Usurping power, they ignored the will of the party and trampled party democracy underfoot. In the fight against the Mensheviks Lenin adopted the only correct line. He counterposed the congress — the party's supreme collective body — to the degenerate central organs. The struggle against Menshevism became a struggle for the convocation of a party congress. The party gave its support to Lenin's course. Thus, party principle prevailed over parochialism.

Lenin constantly referred to the role played by the Central Committee as a body of collective leadership of the party, to the role of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissars. Although he was vested with broad powers in the party and state apparatus, he never took decisions on his own, if a collective decision was called for. In the autumn of 1921 he was given some papers to sign. In this connection he instructed the staff of the Secretariat of the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Labor and Defense to find out: '(1) Does Vladimir Ilyich have the legal right to sign (these papers — Tr.) individually, without the Council of People's Commissars and Council of Labor and Defense.' Thus, he did not wish to overstep the principles of collectivism, even with respect to the right to signature, to say nothing of the right to take decisions.

He submitted to decisions, if he was in the minority. But 'if the matter was of cardinal importance,' L.A. Fotiyeva recalled, 'Lenin would continue to defend his view, acting within the framework of party and government norms. He would refer the matter to a higher body, to the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, to the Politbureau, to a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, and sometimes even to the party congress.'

Lenin opposed 'playing the game of collectivism,' the propagation of consultative bodies, such as commissions, etc., because they bred irres-

ponsibility. In a telegram to A.P. Smirnov in August 1918 he wrote:

'I am very much afraid that in Saratov you are playing a game of board meetings, when work requires energy and expediency on the part of the executives.'

On Lenin's proposal many administrative commissions were disbanded on the eve of the 11th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). In the Political Report of the Central Committee he said:

'A few days ago the commissions were overhauled. It was found that there were one hundred and twenty of them. How many were necessary? Sixteen. Instead of accepting responsibility for their work, preparing a decision for the Council of People's Commissars and knowing that they bear responsibility for this decision, there is a tendency to take shelter behind commissions' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 308).

In Lenin's view the abolition of superfluous elements in the administrative machine was to assert the 'main principle of administration in keeping with the spirit of all the decisions of the Russian Communist Party and the central Soviet government bodies to the effect that a definite person is wholly responsible for the supervision over a definite field of work.'

Political realism

Political realism was intrinsic to Lenin. He was able to assess a situation soberly, to see all the options springing from a given set of circumstances. His political realism helped to avoid false optimism or pessimism in the face of sharp historical reverses.

Defeats did not make Lenin pessimistic. He inspired others with confidence. He was able to learn positive lessons even from battles that were lost. Referring to the defeat of the first Russian revolution he wrote:

'Before the armed insurrection in December 1905, the people of Russia were incapable of waging a mass armed struggle against their exploiters. After December they were no longer the same people. They had been reborn. They had received their baptism of fire. They had been steeled in revolt. They trained the fighters who were victorious in 1917, (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 373).

From a scientific analysis of the actual situation he would elaborate bold plans for the building of a new society. These plans amazed bourgeois politicians and civic personalities. Lenin set a term of 10-15 years for the fulfillment of the plan for the electrification of Russia and a term of one or two decades for the execution of the cooperative plan.

When H.G. Wells, the English science fiction writer, was acquainted with Lenin's plans, he wrote:

'Super-imagination alone could help conceive the accomplishment of such projects in Russia. No magic mirror I looked in helped me see that Russia in the future, but the short man in the Kremlin is endowed with such vision.'

And Lenin's plans were carried out within the set limits.

His political realism is also seen in his concrete analyses of concrete situations. Albert Rhys Williams recalled that once a group of workers came to Lenin and proposed that their factory should be nationalized. Lenin asked whether the workers knew where to get the raw materials from, whether they knew the bookkeeping, whether they had worked out the methods for expanding production and finally, whether they had a market for their products. When they answered in the negative, he explained that before they learned how to organize production on their own, before they acquired the necessary experience, it would be premature to nationalize their factory, though in principle nationalization was essential.

'Strong as truth itself'

All those who knew Lenin intimately invariably mentioned his personal modesty. He always vigorously protested against attempts to over-emphasize the importance of his personality or to place him in an exclusive position. In describing Lenin's response to the press reports about his wounds in 1918, Vladimir D. Bonch-Bruyevich wrote that he said:

'I am like anybody else. All our lives we have been fighting hero-worship of a single man. We have long settled the questions about heroes, and now we have another case of hero-worship again!'

Lenin's way of life was no different from the spartan way of life of his contemporaries. G. Lansbury, a British Labour Party leader who visited Soviet Russia, wrote that Lenin shared all the privations of those days when fuel, housing and even food were scarce. To be a revolutionary leader then meant that he had to shoulder a heavier burden of labor and discomfort.

Lenin resolutely resisted all attempts to provide him with better living conditions than other people. When he received gift food parcels, he sent them to children's homes (orphanages).

At the same time, he constantly displayed concern for others. Being attentive toward people was inherent in him. Although he was under extreme pressure of work as a statesman, he found the time to write notes (he wrote several hundred) and to issue orders by word of mouth about helping one comrade or another, about sending them on holiday, or to the doctor for treatment, or about improving their housing.

He was especially concerned about the health of his associates. When their physical condition gave rise to anxiety he insisted that they be sent for treatment, making this compulsory if necessary. For instance, he proposed that the Central Committee pass a special decision making it binding on 'Comrade Menzhinsky to go on leave and to take a rest until the *doctors* issue him a *written* certificate of health.'

Lenin's style of work and his personality have left a deep imprint in the minds of the peoples, in history and in culture. Here are only some of the opinions of Lenin by his contemporaries:

'Straightforward, strong as truth itself,' 'man of

relentless logic,' 'a fearless mind and keen insight,' 'the very embodiment of continuous action,' 'man of unexcelled energy and will power,' 'inhuman capacity for work,' 'devoted to principles, implacable in struggle against enemies and outstanding courage,' 'thoughtfulness, tactfulness, daring and broadmindedness.' P. Vaillant-Couturier, one of the founders of the French Communist Party, wrote:

'Lenin is the ideal image of the new man. For us he was a forerunner of the man of the future.'

Sources: V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works; Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, Biographical Chronicles*, Vols. 1-9, Moscow, 1970-1978; *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, A Biography*, Moscow, 1970; *Memories of V.I. Lenin*, Vols. 1-5, Moscow 1968-1969; *How Lenin Prepared His Works*, Moscow, 1969; *Treasury of the Great Ideas of Leninism*, Moscow, 1968; *Living Forever, Recollections of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin by His Contemporaries*, Moscow, 1965; *Captain of the World, Writers of the World About V.I. Lenin*. Moscow, 1976; E.B. Genkina, *V.I. Lenin, the Statesman, 1921-1923*, Moscow, 1969; M.P. Iroshnikov. *V.I. Ulyanov (Lenin), Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars*, Leningrad, 1974.

Prepared by the *WMR* Department of General Problems of Theory.

DOCUMENTS

On the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth

The CPSU Central Committee has adopted a resolution 'On the 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.' A titanic thinker and scholar, a true leader of the people, an ardent revolutionary and the founder of the Communist Party and the world's first socialist state, the document says, Lenin dedicated all his vigorous and heroic life to a great and lofty cause — the struggle for the social emancipation of the proletariat and all oppressed people, for the happiness of working people everywhere.

Having come forward in the worldwide class struggle as a devoted and staunch follower of Marx and Engels, Lenin comprehensively developed their revolutionary doctrine. Possessing a unique talent of scientific prevision, a talent which enabled him to grasp the essence of events and phenomena of his day and creatively apply the dialectical materialistic method to analyses of new historical conditions, he enriched all the component parts of Marxism with fundamentally important propositions and moved it into a new stage of development.

His teachings on imperialism, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the party, the class allies of the proletariat in the struggle for democracy and socialism, the inseverable link between social emancipation and national liberation and the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, have become a priceless ideological-theoretical and methodological weapon in the arsenal of revolutionaries in all countries. His ideas of the defense of the socialist homeland are of major significance. The science of the ways of building socialism and communism was the crowning achievement of his theoretical work.

A theoretician of genius, the greatest strategist and tactician of the world proletariat, Lenin mastered to perfection the art of leading the revolutionary struggle and communist construction.

Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, the document notes, were destined to fulfill the great mission of preparing and leading history's first victorious socialist revolution and combining the theory of scientific socialism with the broadest practice of the popular masses.

For millions of oppressed and exploited and for all working people, Leninism has become the symbol of the world's social renovation and the revolutionary banner of our times. All the outstanding revolutionary events of the 20th century are associated with the name and teachings of Lenin. There neither is nor can be Marxism without the amplification introduced by Lenin. Leninism is the Marxism of the present epoch, an integral, coherent and constantly developing doctrine for the international working class.

The unfading significance of Leninism, the resolution says, is that it profoundly and accurately enunciates the interests of the working class and all working people and the requirements of worldwide social progress, makes it possible to work out the correct answers to pressing, vitally important questions of our time, to adopt a bold and creative approach to current problems and to give a scientific understanding of the prospects for social development. The extensive ideological legacy left by Lenin, the revolutionary-critical spirit of his teachings, his consistency and firmness in safeguarding the fundamental principles of Marxism against all opportunistic distortions and his entire life are an inexhaustible fount of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action for the present-day international communist, working class and national liberation movements.

Lenin's greatest service to history was that he formed a new type of proletarian party — the living embodiment of the inseparable unity of scientific theory and revolutionary practice, the leader and source of inspiration for the socialist revolution and the building of a new society. In following the path indicated by Lenin, the Soviet people, led by the communist party, have successfully brought about their country's socialist industrialization, collectivized agriculture, accomplished a cultural revolution and set an example of a just settlement of the nationalities question for the rest of the world. Within an extremely short span of time the USSR was turned into a powerful socialist state. The Soviet people have upheld the gains of the October Revolution against domestic counter-revolution and foreign intervention. Their victory over fascism in the Great Patriotic War has had a tremendous revolutionizing impact on the destiny of all mankind. The building of a developed socialist society, in which the new system's creative potential and truly human essence unfold ever more fully, is the epoch-making result of the work of the CPSU and the Soviet people in translating Lenin's ideas into life.

The resolution deals at length with the role of

Leninism in the world revolutionary process and the social progress of the peoples. The course of history and the great transformations that have radically changed the face of the contemporary world provide ever new evidence of the correctness and indestructible strength of Lenin's ideas. Under the banner of Leninism, socialist revolutions have triumphed in a number of European, Asian and Latin American countries. The socialist world community, united on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, is in the vanguard of social progress. It is the world's most dynamic economic and political force and the bulwark of peace and international security. Life has borne out Lenin's prediction that as it proceeds in various countries, socialist construction will show a diversity of forms and methods while remaining based on the general laws governing the establishment and development of socialism.

The international communist movement, at the source of which Lenin stood, has evolved into the most influential political force of our times. Today too, the ideological-theoretical, political, and organizational principles developed by Lenin, the document says, underlie the activities of the revolutionary parties of the working class and help them to fight and win. The CPSU holds aloft the Leninist banner of proletarian internationalism and stands for the cohesion of the international communist and working-class movement and for unity of action by all anti-imperialist, peace-loving forces.

Under the direct impact of Lenin's ideas and the ideals of the Great October Revolution and under the influence of the inspiring example of world socialism's development, the national liberation movement has won stirring victories. In their drive to put an end to backwardness, achieve economic independence and build a just society, many newly-independent states turn to Marxism-Leninism and the experience of existing socialism.

The document notes that the CPSU and other fraternal parties creatively develop Marxism-Leninism by exhaustively analyzing the processes of society's life. In the past few years the treasure-store of Marxism-Leninism has been augmented with the teaching on developed socialism, which has substantially enriched and specified our notions of the laws governing the establishment of the new socio-economic system and of the ways of building communism. A conclusion of immense theoretical and political importance is that in the process of building a developed socialist society the party of the working class simultaneously becomes the vanguard and party of the whole people and that the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat grows into a state of the whole people, as well as the proposition that the Soviet people is a new historical entity. The decisions of the 23rd, 24th and 25th congresses of the CPSU, the party's program documents, and the works of Leonid Brezhnev and other party leaders are an outstanding contribution to revolutionary theory.

In the Soviet Union, the resolution says, the program for the further development and deepening of socialist democracy and perfecting the Soviet state and the entire political system of developed socialism is being successfully implemented. The new Soviet Constitution — the Fundamental Law of the world's first state of the whole people — is a notable document of creative Marxism-Leninism, an amplification and concrete embodiment of Lenin's teaching on the power of the people. The steadily expanding political and labor activities of the broadest sections of the people and their participation in discussing and deciding all public and state affairs confirm Lenin's conclusion that 'living, creative socialism is the creation of the popular masses themselves.'

Following Lenin's behests, the CPSU critically evaluates what has been attained, directs its efforts toward solving urgent problems, frankly reveals drawbacks and mobilizes communists and all the working people to make the most efficient use of all the opportunities offered by developed socialism and inculcates a solicitous and committed attitude to everything created by human labor. The party educates all citizens in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism and fosters a communist attitude to work and public property, political vigilance and irreconcilability to bourgeois ideology.

Leninist standards of party life and the principles of party leadership are unswervingly observed, inner-party democracy, criticism and self-criticism are promoted consistently and ever higher demands are made of every member of the CPSU. As the scope of creative activity widens and its tasks become more and more complicated, and as increasingly larger numbers of people are drawn into the conscious making of history, the role of the communist party, the leading and guiding force of society, grows steadily.

The resolution deals at length with the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism and peaceful coexistence, which Lenin put forward and scientifically substantiated and which are now implemented in Soviet foreign policy. Today, as in the past, the CPSU and the Soviet government are bending every effort to consolidate the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, assist and support peoples fighting imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism, strengthen peace and international security, end the arms race and achieve disarmament. The CPSU put forward the Peace Program and has been working tirelessly to implement it. The conclusion of a number of treaties between the socialist and capitalist countries, the development of mutually beneficial cooperation between them and the success of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe have led to a deepening of détente.

At the same time, the document notes, the positive changes taking place in the world meet with violent resistance from imperialist reaction. Militarist and reactionary circles are intensifying their attacks on détente, seeking to change the balance of strength in their favor, stepping up the arms race,

and trying to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and suppress the peoples' liberation movements. The leaders of China, who have been pursuing a great-power hegemonistic policy hostile to the cause of peace and socialism, are a direct accomplice of imperialism. While exposing the reactionary essence of this policy and showing the incompatibility of Maoist ideology and practice with scientific socialism, the CPSU invariably stands for the normalization of government-to-government links and good-neighborly relations and mutually beneficial cooperation between the USSR and the PRC.

The appeal of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the growing prestige and influence of existing socialism meet with savage resistance from the class enemy. The bourgeoisie and its spokesmen, as well as opportunists and revisionists of every stripe are intensifying their struggle against communism and falsifying Marxism-Leninism in order to strip it of its revolutionary essence and find 'contradictions' between the theory of scientific socialism and the practice of its implementation in socialist countries. They are seeking to minimize the historic significance of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the advances of socialism and to discredit the socialist way of life. The communists respond to the intrigues of imperialism and its accomplices by closing ranks on the international scene, tirelessly fighting bourgeois ideology, revisionism, dogmatism and nationalism, and safeguarding the purity and creative development of Marxism-Leninism.

The resolution maps out a vast program of measures devoted to the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth.

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viewpoints

Leading force of socialist democracy

Zdzislaw Zandarowski
Secretary, CC PUWP

Thirty-five years of people's rule have fundamentally transformed Poland, which now embodies the aspirations of many generations of fighters for freedom and social justice.

The 1970s saw Poland enter a new stage of its history — the building of a developed socialist society. We created a socialist state in which power belongs to the working people and the party's leading role is a fundamental principle enshrined in the Constitution. Our industry is entirely dominated by socialist relations of production. The socialist sector is steadily expanding in the countryside, and relations between individual farms and cooperatives are growing closer. In other words, socialist principles operate throughout the state and in every sphere of the economy.

We realize, of course, that while we have made headway, the process of shaping and perfecting the new social system has not ended. Lenin pointed out that the socialist transformation of society is a long process of historic change comprising several stages.

The present stage confronts us with important tasks. In the economic sphere we must ensure the undivided dominance of socialist relations of production in town and countryside. In the social sphere the task is to draw all working classes and strata closer together. In the ideological sphere we must foster socialist patriotism and internationalism more vigorously as elements of social consciousness, heighten people's sense of duty, improve civic discipline and spread the principles of socialist human relations as widely as possible. In the political sphere the task facing us is to pave the way for transforming the state of the proletarian dictatorship into a socialist state of the whole people, giving every scope for the initiative of the masses and making them more aware of their civic responsibility within the framework of socialist democracy, whose content is steadily growing richer.

One of the main laws governing the development of the socialist social system is that society promotes and perfects every aspect of the new type of democracy. In accordance with this law, the working people participate directly in the management of public affairs and the solution of problems of the whole country as well as their particular region, city, village or enterprise and play an active role in political and other public activities.

On assuming the leadership of the struggle to revive the Polish state and effect socialist changes, our party formed the democratic system of working people's rule. The institutions of socialist democracy created in the formative period of people's Poland served as the basis on which the effort to perfect the forms and methods of the people's participation in the management of public affairs continued. In the process the party adhered to fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles and the Soviet experience. Along with this, it used our people's traditions and the achievements of the working

class and progressive organizations and movements.

The result is an effective system of socialist democracy, encompassing political and other organizations, representative institutions and self-management bodies in industry, the countryside and residential neighborhoods, and diverse forms of discussion, consultation and public control.

The organs of state power, the administrative apparatus controlled by them, the allied parties, the public organizations and the self-management bodies recognize the PUWP as the leading force of socialist construction. The party draws up the program of society's political, social and economic development and the principles of the home and foreign policy of the people's state, determines the main lines of activity of every component of society's political system and unites them in one mechanism reliably serving the interests of socialism.

The successful functioning of the socialist democratic system depends largely on the ideological, political and organizational unity of the party in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism, and on how close the party's bonds are with the working people. Hence it is a duty of the PUWP to continuously perfect and enrich inner-party democracy and on the other hand, to raise its own role in the people's life. This is the only way to provide favorable conditions for wide democratic discussions of the main lines of further socialist change, the expression of public opinion and control over the execution of decisions.

In terms of ideology, political program and social composition, the PUWP is a party of the working class. The numerical and qualitative growth of the working class is the most important result of the changes in the social structure of Poland. Today the working class is not only the largest class but a class of educated, politically mature people possessing a high degree of social consciousness who work in modern industry. They form the core of our party: of the more than three million communists, 46 per cent are factory workers and over four per cent are retired workers. The party membership includes the most active and authoritative peasants and intellectuals. Most of our intellectuals are of working class or peasant descent. They have grown up and received an education under the new social system and this has had a decisive impact on their political consciousness and ideological position. The numerical strength and personal composition of the PUWP enable it to influence every sphere of public life directly and to articulate the interests of the working class as well as those of other strata.

Being the principal political force of the country, our party considers it very important to create conditions for making democratic institutions more efficient. This means above all, perfecting the party's own working methods according to the Leninist standards of party life. The frankest discussion of problems before making decisions and the most strict discipline in carrying out these decisions are principles applied by every echelon of the party. Experience has shown that the promotion of inner-party democracy helps improve the functioning of party branches, strengthen relations between the party and the masses, and further the moral and political unity of society.

The role of inner-party discussion as an effective means of arriving at optimal political and economic solutions is increasing. The party also uses on a growing scale various forms of consulting the whole of society on fundamental socio-economic problems. 'Thanks to the party's enhanced leading role,' said Edward Gierek at the Seventh PUWP Congress, 'we have in recent years introduced new forms of socialist democracy by adopting the method of consulting the working people on key socio-economic decisions. We regard this as an important prerequisite of careful and far-sighted appraisal and correct decision-making.'

Proposals from workers, peasants and intellectuals are drawn upon to amend decisions of the party Central Committee and local committees, as well as of government bodies. This enables the party to take account of the experience of the masses, unite them around itself and draw non-party people into public activity.

A noteworthy aspect of our socialist democratic system is that the PUWP cooperates with allied parties: the United Peasant Party and Democratic Party. The responsibility for the destiny of the state rests chiefly with the PUWP, which has worked out the program of building socialism and is the leading force of the people. The allied parties recognize this leading role and participate in the fulfillment of national tasks, concentrating on specific issues and operating among specific social strata. The UPP is active among the peasants — along with the PUWP. It exerts considerable influence on the joint framing and implementation of an agrarian policy intended to reorganize the countryside on socialist lines and expand agricultural production. The DP is active among handicraftsmen and some groups of intellectuals. In carrying out political and educational tasks, both parties combine the particular interests of various social groups with the interests of the entire nation. This makes for greater UPP and DP autonomy and initiative and for closer unity of action between them and the PUWP. The allied parties make a valuable contribution to socialist construction.

Based on the principles of alliance, the party system in Poland rules out competition between parties and makes it possible to organize a more effective political activity and guarantee the harmonious functioning of the state. Some specific forms of inter-party cooperation have developed: work on the Central Conciliatory Commission of the PUWP and in the Allied parties; the adoption of common decisions by their leading bodies; conferences and other meetings of representatives of party committees at diverse levels; joint activity in the People's Unity Front and in economic and other organizations. This system has stood the test of time and become an important factor strengthening the

people's unity. Even so, we work to perfect it on the same principles as have hitherto guided us.

The PUWP provides every opportunity for unhampered public activity. We have nearly 70,000 professional, ideological, educational, scientific, cultural and sports organizations and associations at national, regional and local levels. They ascertain public opinion and the people's requirements and interests, put forward public demands and make estimations. This enables party committees and government bodies to adopt effective political decisions that encourage the people's initiative and help them realize that the affairs of the country are a common concern of them all.

We attach particular importance to the trade unions. With 13 million members, they are the largest public organization and comprise all categories of working people employed in the national economy. Their main concern is to meet the interests of the workers and other working people in the broad sense of the word and see to it that their living and working conditions improve steadily. The unions supervise the proper application of the Labor Code, which sets out the socialist principles of the right to work, see to the enforcement of industrial safety regulations and concern themselves with all of the working people's everyday problems. They mobilize the working people for the fulfillment of plan assignments and help to create the material prerequisites for raising the living standard. They watch over the application of the principle of unity of civil rights and duties and are the main organizers of emulation in labor and the movement of production innovators and inventors. The unions play an increasing role in encouraging, paving the way for and organizing productive participation by working men and women in economic management.

The party also does much to develop and strengthen the Federation of Polish Socialist Youth Leagues, which operates under its ideological and political leadership. This is an important channel through which the party influences the rising generation, who form the majority of our 35-million-strong nation. This generation, which is the most educated section of society and has attained maturity under socialism, brings important values into the nation's life. All the greater therefore, is the need to steadfastly mould young people's attitude to life and their class consciousness. As young people have little political experience, peddlers of anti-communist ideas pay special attention to them.

The place of the youth movement in our political reality is also determined by the fact that the PUWP recruits new members from among young people. This is why the party makes a point of drawing young people into social decision-making. The proportion of young men and women in government bodies has grown of late. Over 16,000 youth league members (15 per cent of deputies) have been elected to local people's councils and over 1,000 (17 per cent of deputies) to provincial people's councils. The ideological and organizational strengthening of the youth movement and the party's appreciation of the requirements and aspirations of the rising generation encourage young people to be more active in politics, production and other public affairs. We set young people important and difficult tasks, for we see them as our partners in the implementation of the program of building a mature socialist society.

With the socialist democratic system making progress, a number of self-management organizations have come into being. Their high status and vast functions in the economy have been formalized by the Constitution. Self-management in our country has long-standing traditions, but it is only under socialism that it has acquired a new class content and become an institution enabling every social group to participate in the exercise of power.

The PUWP sets great store by the proper coordination of the activity of various government and self-management bodies, which encourage the masses to participate in the management of public affairs as well as helping to strengthen relations between the population and the state, thereby fostering socialist democracy. We think highly of this contribution to closer unity of the working people and closer socialist human relations.

The role of worker self-management, which has existed for more than 20 years, is growing. Conferences, which are the leading self-management bodies at industrial enterprises, consist of members of the PUWP local committee, trade unions and the Polish Socialist Youth League, the chairmen of scientific and technological societies and workers elected by the factory personnel. The worker self-management presidium operates under the guidance of the first secretaries of the PUWP committees of the enterprises and combines concerned.*

Performing important functions of socialist democracy, worker self-management assures wide discussion of tasks set the work collectives and provides ways and means of carrying them out. It is a sphere in which national interests and the interests of work collectives really merge and occasionally confront each other. In self-management bodies, it is the party and its every member that uphold the interests of society, seeing to it that the enterprise production plan meets them as fully as possible and that the personnel fulfils the plan as part of a national task.

While the place and role of worker self-management in the political system of society are clear, it still encounters many obstacles. Some economic executives prone to technocratic and bureaucratic practices bypass self-management bodies or curtail their right of decision-making on the plea that 'prompt' and 'flexible' action is needed. While promoting one-man managerial responsibility in the economy, our party combats misconceived attitudes to self-management. We realize that self-management is a form of democracy still in the making and we are searching for the most effective

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*For a more detailed description of worker self-management in Poland see *WMR*, January 1980.

ways of establishing the principles of socialist democracy in production.

Peasant self-management in Poland takes the form of cooperatives and peasant circles. The peasants' agricultural production cooperatives and specialized (fruit and vegetable gardening, dairy farming, supply and marketing, credit and savings) cooperatives have over eight million members. The peasant circles, which use machinery and other farm implements in common and resort more and more to collective tilling of the land, have about three million members.

Rural self-management contributes to the further socialization of production and labor, helps establish closer relations between individual farms and the state and stimulates the development of socially important lines of production. It plays a notable part in transforming the socio-political consciousness of the rural population and in providing it with better living and cultural conditions.

Party policy serves the socialist reorganization of the countryside by advancing peasant self-management. More than 1,000 new agricultural production cooperatives sprang up between 1975 and 1978, which is evidence that the party has been following a correct policy. The more than 750,000 rural communists (including about 270,000 individual peasants) play an appreciable role in peasant self-management. Upwards of 37,000 party members head self-management bodies in the countryside, giving their activity a socialist character and helping them implement the party's agrarian policy.

We devote much attention to self-management in residential neighborhoods because they are another important sphere of party education of the masses. The party builds up its territorial organizations, which group communists engaged outside the production sphere, in public utilities, as well as communists assigned to party work in residential neighborhoods. The self-management bodies elected by the population of urban districts and other communities have ample powers. They exert a direct influence on public utilities, the distributive industry, the service sector, rest and recreation facilities, cultural amenities, public order and the solution of educational problems. Through these bodies, citizens cooperate to a greater extent with the local authorities, and this helps meet the population's requirements. Last year there were elections to urban self-management committees; over 250,000 people were elected.

The party's leadership of public organizations is in the nature of general political guidance. In line with the principle 'The party is where there is a communist,' party members operate as direct exponents of PUWP policy and form party groups in some of these organizations. The party sees to it that its members ensure implementation of its line among the masses through their attitude, views and personal example.

The People's Unity Front is the broadest interaction platform of all the echelons of socialist democracy. Its foundation is the alliance of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people. The idea of establishing the Front dates from the period of unification of left-wing democratic forces around the party of the working class in the struggle to liberate the country from nazi occupation and consolidate people's power. In the present-day political structure of our society the Front is a sphere of cooperation between the PUWP and allied parties on the one hand, and non-party people on the other, in carrying out a common socialist construction program. Operating within it are all the public organizations and such Christian organizations as the Pax group, the Snak circle of Catholic deputies, Christian public associations and Catholic intellectuals' clubs.

Campaigns for the election of deputies to the Sejm and to people's councils are organized according to programs drawn up within the People's Unity Front. The principle of basing these programs on the decisions of congresses and national conferences of the PUWP has proved to be perfectly sound. Candidates for election to the Sejm or people's councils campaign as Front representatives. The chief function of the Front is to foster the activity of every member of society aimed at meeting the basic interests of the people and the state and at solving major problems in the advance toward socialism. We consider that the Front fulfills its mission well and work to strengthen this mass alignment.

The experience of people's Poland indicates that each social system creates its own power structure and appropriate forms of public life. Leonid Brezhnev formulated the universal development law of socialism and socialist democracy as follows: 'We now know not only from theory but from years-long practice that just as genuine democracy is impossible without socialism, so socialism is impossible without steadily developing democracy. We see the effort to perfect our socialist democracy primarily as a continuous drawing of more and more working people into the management of all public affairs, as further promotion of the democratic principles of our state, as the provision of conditions for the all-round development of the individual.'*

Socialist democracy differs qualitatively from its bourgeois counterpart with its so-called political pluralism, which is in effect, dictatorship exercised by major groups of monopoly capital and military-industrial complexes that have fused with the political machinery of the state. The very substance of our system of real people's rule is a rejection of liberal bourgeois and revisionist theories of the 'interpenetration' or 'assimilation' of socialist and bourgeois democracy.

The essence of socialist democracy is aptly expressed by our party's principle of activity, 'Everything for the people and with the people's aid.' Under the new social system, to promote democracy is to perfect the system of people's rule, bring the masses into the management of public

*L.I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Vol. 5, Moscow, 1976, pp. 546-547 (in Russian).

affairs on a mounting scale and increasingly satisfy their rights and requirements as collective owners of the means of production. Thus it is the exact opposite of nominal bourgeois democracy, or the mechanism of 'the free play of forces' and the safety valve making it possible to defuse public discontent. Ours is real and effective democracy enabling all citizens as builders of socialism to increasingly influence the country's fortunes.

In anticipation of the Eighth PUWP Congress the results of the past decade and the national development program for the 1980s were discussed all over the country by the party and the people. The CC Theses for the Congress were discussed on thoroughly democratic lines, in the form of nationwide consultations on the program.

Steps to perfect socialist democracy were among the major themes of the discussion. This means, according to the Theses, that the interests and aspirations of the workers, peasants and intellectuals should find increasing reflection in the policy and working methods of the state. It means gradually widening the range of problems on which the working people's representative bodies and self-management should show initiative, make decisions and organize their implementation. It also means creating more and more favorable conditions for the people's most active participation in public life. Accordingly, 'the party expects public organizations and the local authorities to step up their activity and show greater independence in raising and discussing with working people problems worrying them.'

The PUWP is most definitely against regarding democratic procedure as a mere accessory of decision-making. A flippant or indifferent attitude to the experience of the masses and a scornful view of the need to consult them still occur at some administrative and economic levels. The party wants the desire to heed public opinion to become a habit with leading cadres. We often stress that democracy must be learned by representatives of state power and every citizen.

We are building a developed socialist society. We have already provided opportunities for greater use of the advantages of the socialist political system to increase the people's participation in the effort to achieve the goals of the current stage of social progress.

The main factor for increasing the national income and hence improving the standard of living in today's external economic conditions is to raise the productivity of social labor and the quality of output, that is, the efficiency of management. It is a task whose fulfillment hinges on the effort of all working people. Their initiative, commitment, self-discipline and sense of responsibility are the main potential source of the country's steady economic advance. This is both a reason for our effort to carry forward socialist democracy and a consideration linking the present with the future.

Further advances in perfecting the mechanism of working people's participation in government and the functioning of organs of state power and self-management bodies under the communists' leadership will make for stepped-up effort by the masses and bring about further headway in socialist construction.

Anti-crisis policy and the class struggle

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The world economic crisis of the mid-1970s[1] has brought into bold relief state-monopoly capitalism's historical limitation and the anachronistic nature of the economic, social and political pillars of its social structure. This springs not only from the scale of the purely economic convulsions — the economic fiasco and the tragedy-laden social calamities of the 1929-1933 crisis are still unsurpassed as an 'achievement' of capitalism. But in contrast to the Great Depression of the early 1930s, from which a section of society emerged with the illusory hope that the anti-crisis measures of the bourgeois state would be effective, the latest crisis leaves very little room for such hope.

The definitive impact of the basic antagonistic contradiction — that between the social character of production and the private capitalist appropriation of its results — cannot be eliminated by the most modern (in terms of technical organization and equipment) forms and methods of prognostication and programming, by the state increasing its already extensive intervention in economic life by means of fiscal, credit and monetary regulations, or the powerful material and production apparatus available to state enterprise. Anti-crisis policy is proving to be impotent, and not only to overcome the traditional cyclical disruptions of the reproduction process. The problems arising from the efforts to remodel the structure of production, chiefly with an eye to its energy and raw-material requirements, are becoming ever more acute. Increasingly glaring sectoral and regional imbalances are to be observed in economic development. A disastrous situation is taking shape in the ecological sphere. All of this,

together with the chaotic state of monetary and financial relations, testifies to the futility of state-monopoly regulation in face of the elemental movements of the international capitalist money market.

The mechanism of market self-regulation of price formation, on which the apologists of free enterprise had pinned such great hopes in the 1960s, has broken down. Prices have for all practical purposes ceased to respond traditionally to the movement of the economic cycle. Car manufacturers have been jacking up their prices despite the obviously declining demand. The monopolies have responded similarly to overproduction in the steel, chemical and electrical engineering industries, preferring to cut back production and resort to massive layoffs. Robert Lekachman, an authoritative U.S. economist, says: 'When large corporations can choose to sell less at higher prices, monetary and fiscal policies work very slowly, if at all, and with tremendous waste and loss of output.'[2] The monopolies reject the complaints that their pricing policies are 'destructive,' arguing that they have been forced on them by objective circumstances. They claim that scientific and technical advances and sharpening competition has compelled them to plan increases in investments (into research and development and into re-equipment) in advance, and to include 'tomorrow's' costs into current pricing. These attempts to maintain an inner-monopoly balance clash with the spontaneous movement of the capitalist market. The result is that the efforts of the capitalist state to correct economic development on a national scale are frustrated.

In the 1970s capitalism showed that it was totally unable to resolve pressing socio-economic problems of social development. So-called structural and technological unemployment is becoming increasingly stagnant in the wage labor market, compounding the traditional forms of current unemployment whose proportions are determined by the depth of the cyclical diminution in production. That is precisely why the high level of totally unemployed has remained stable, apart from minor seasonal fluctuations. At the close of the 1970s official statistics in the USA and the FRG recorded numbers of jobless as large as those at the height of the 1974-1975 crisis. In Britain, France, Japan, Italy and other countries the number of officially registered unemployed in 1978 was even markedly higher than the 1975 figure. This shows that the capitalist labor market has been steadily losing its cyclical elasticity.

The socio-economic contradictions of state-monopoly capitalism are also being aggravated by the sharp complication of the processes of labor power reproduction. The scientific and technological revolution produces qualitatively new criteria of the socio-economic conditions of life and work. Introduction of scientific, technical and technological innovations at capitalist enterprises appreciably increases the demand on the general educational and skill standards of wageworkers. The forms and methods of capitalist rationalization now being practised are closely bound up with intensified exploitation and growing expenditure of physical, nervous and mental energy on the part of workers. At the same time, the growing pace of everyday life due mainly to urbanization, the deteriorating environment in the industrialized countries and the disruption of the ecological standards of human existence upgrade the emotional and psychological stress factors. The working people's requirements for better education, better housing and transport facilities, rest and recreation, and accessible and qualified medical services are growing rapidly. Many components of the value of labor power can only be ensured on a social basis, because the demands for education, medicare, an improved environment and cultural and everyday services obviously cannot be met rationally within the framework of the workers' incomes (wages and paternalistic handouts by the employers).

For those reasons, the social infrastructure, which is that part of the nonproduction sphere designed to meet the new collective requirements of the working people, has risen steeply in importance. Meanwhile, bourgeois social policy treats the social infrastructure as a stepchild, and this is not contested even by the most rabid apologists of the capitalist system. The monopolies want the state to take care of the social infrastructure. But being a 'corporate capitalist,' the state pursues a social policy which ousts the priorities of the workers' social requirements in favor of priorities like direct and indirect subsidies to the monopolies, growing outlays on the maintenance of the state machine and financing the aggressive requirements of imperialist foreign policy. In the face of mounting inflation and the energy, monetary and financial upheavals, the governments of developed capitalist countries pursue a policy of 'social demolition,' freezing expenditures on social needs at a low level or even reducing them. This produces a new form expressing the basic contradiction of the capitalist system: the growing discrepancy between the social character of the new requirements of labor power reproduction and the private-capitalist form in which the products of labor are appropriated.

This has created a situation, which has been assessed identically by Marxists in various countries who have contributed to *WMR:* the crisis of the material conditions of expanded capitalist reproduction, which is being increasingly determined not only by cyclical but also by constant factors, interweaves with the sharpening socio-economic crisis which, at root, is also chronic.

The crisis of economic and socio-economic development inevitably develops into an extremely acute socio-political crisis. The working-class struggle against unemployment and the growing cost of living, for higher wages and larger budget appropriations for social needs is increasingly directed not only against the capitalist entrepreneurs and their associations, but also against the governments (because of the state's ever more extensive intervention in economic and social life). That is not new, but never before has the organized

working-class movement made such resolute demands for urgent changes in governmental economic and social policy for the benefit of the working people.

The crisis of the 1970s has made the social condition of a large section of white-collar workers, intellectuals and small producers more unstable than ever before, a factor that has objectively created the basis for their social community with the working class, advanced class polarization and enhanced the negative attitude among proletarianized members of the middle strata to the state-monopoly capitalist system. The growing energy, raw materials and ecological difficulties are expressions of the crisis and substantially enlarge the sphere of antagonistic relations. Capitalism's inability to provide rational solutions for such problems has aroused protests among large sections of the population, because these problems are of concern to the whole of mankind and bear on the destinies of civilization.

These processes bring out most clearly the futility of the hopes entertained by the ruling circles of capitalist society for 'social peace.' Neither the notorious 'incomes revolution,' nor the demagogic noises in the 1960s and early 1970s over the 'proletariat's enrichment' through the purchase of 'people's shares,' investment certificates and so on, has had the desired effect. As a result, instead of 'social partnership' the class conflict between labor and capital is deepening and growing sharper; instead of a 'people's capitalism' and 'deproletarization' there is growing instability in the social condition of the middle strata and the petty bourgeoisie, which extends the front of anti-monopoly struggle; instead of the 'welfare state' there are mass movements against the existing system. There is every reason to say that state-monopoly social policy has fallen short of its goals. For the first time since World War II capitalism is faced with such a maze of contradictions in social development, and for the first time the state-monopoly system of regulation has so patently shown its ineffectiveness.

In social terms, the world crisis of capitalism is all-embracing. It has affected the interests of *all* the classes and strata of bourgeois society. For the working people the crisis spells out a sharp intensification of the chronic insecurity of existence; for the middle strata and the petty bourgeoisie it brings growing instability of their material condition and the actual prospect of proletarization; for the monopoly bourgeoisie and the government and party spokesmen of its corporate interests it means the erosion of the economic and socio-political pillars of the system.

Nevertheless, this all-embracing negative impact of the world crisis has not produced a common response to the obtaining situation. The reason for this lies not only in the different interests of the various classes and strata, but also and most importantly in the antipodal interests of the two chief antagonistic social forces: labor and capital. The world crisis is polarizing and intensifying the clash of these interests, turning the struggle for a way out of the crisis into violent class conflicts.

The crisis has confronted the industrial and finance oligarchy with the immediate prospect that huge sections of the population will lose whatever faith they have in the credibility of the existing social system.

In this situation, the theorists and practitioners of state-monopoly policy feverishly cast about for an answer to the burning question worrying people: 'What is to be done?' This casting about for a way out of the crisis has a two-fold purpose. There is a clear aspiration to oversimplify the problem and to divert public opinion from trying to find out what 'is rotten in the state of Denmark,' that is, to cover up the root causes of the crisis which spring from the very nature of capitalism. For that purpose attempts are being made to fragment the crisis into separate components and to reduce the causalities to short-term, accidental, secondary, extraneous or even subjective phenomena. Thus, the neo-liberal U.S. economist Sumner M. Rosen and the British professor Richard Kahn among others, believe that the energy crisis was sparked by OPEC machinations.[3] The British bourgeois economists Henry Phelps Brown and Alec Cairncross declare that the growth of world prices for energy and raw material commodities and the excessive trade union demands for wage increases are the chief generators of inflation.[4] Now and again the monetary and financial crisis is regarded as a problem of technical organization springing from the obsolescence of the Bretton Woods system (this is the view of the one-time director of the European branch of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, A. Karasz).[5] The growth of chronic mass unemployment is frequently said to have resulted from the baby boom of the 1950s and 1960s (General Motors President Thomas Murphy), while one of the basic causes of the failure of state-monopoly economic policy is said to be an incorrect interpretation and application of Keynesian theory.[6]

These oversimplified views of the crisis are frequently supplemented with oversimplified notions about the prospects for ending it. These boil down to assurances that the 'sick man will get well himself.' Those who assert that the economy will revive automatically claim that the existing socio-economic system has a latent self-regulating market mechanism for revival, so that the role of the state should be confined to indirect stimulation of aggregate demand, which is said to be an adequate condition for the normal functioning of the capitalist economy.

But the situation which arose in the latter half of the 1970s makes nonsense of such notions. Authoritative groups of bourgeois-reformist, bourgeois-liberal and even conservative scientists and spokesmen for business, party and government circles have sounded the alarm. They have refrained from oversimplifying the complexity of the situation and have not proposed any easy ways out of the crisis. Values and guidelines are being quickly reappriased. The 'ideology of planlessness,'

so widespread in the 1960s and early 1970s and based on neo-Keynesian notions about the effectiveness of tax, budget, credit and monetary methods for operative economic regulation, has been rapidly losing its influence.

Newsweek wrote: 'But the inflationary surge of the '70s has exposed glaring weaknesses in classic theory . . . Put plainly, the real world can no longer be crammed into the old theoretical framework.'[7]

Complex measures of state-monopoly regulation and *comprehensive* programs of economic development (on a national and even international level) are being demanded in increasingly categorical terms. Theoretical and practical preparation for restructuring the mechanism of economic and socio-economic state regulation is being stepped up.

What specifically characterizes these trends? What is proposed by the bourgeois theorists and practitioners of economic policy who are most far-sighted (from the standpoint of their class interests) and increasingly alarmed over the future of the existing system?

'Economic planning,' which the bourgeois community regarded only a few years ago as a synonym of socialism, is now coming into vogue even in the United States, the classic country of 'free enterprise.' Influential U.S. economists (John K. Galbraith, Robert Lekachman and Robert L. Heilbroner, among others) insist on the idea of 'planned economic growth,' with state regulations playing a much greater role. The most essential elements of these recommendations were formulated by Galbraith, and could be summed up as follows: a change in the unequal status of the planning and market factors of the economy in favor of the former; nationalization of the weakest elements of the market system; socialization of the military-industrial complex; and a centralized incomes and wages policy.[8] At the height of the 1974-1975 crisis, these ideas were partially written into a bill on balanced growth and economic planning put before the U.S. Senate by Senators Hubert Humphrey and Jacob Javits.

The expansion of world economic ties, the growing interdependence of the national components of the capitalist market and the opposite centrifugal process resulting in ever greater unevenness of the economic development and greater inter-imperialist rivalry have induced many of those who suggest that the crisis should be overcome through planned reorganization of economic development to propose decisions on an international level. The need for such an 'international' approach has been advocated among others, by Professor Charles P. Kindleberger of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who believes that national limitations are what make credit and financial instruments ineffective in overcoming inflation and recession.[9]

Such assessments reflect the further growth of the deep-seated internal contradictions of state-monopoly capitalism, contradictions which defy solution (and that is the most important point, because the dialectics of any social process implies the existence of contradictions as such). The objective requirements of the development of the productive forces are ever more obviously limited by the narrow framework of the existing relations of production, on the basis of which bourgeois theorists and practitioners intend to plan a restructuring of the system of state regulation. This tends to aggravate to an extreme the socio-historical situation in which some of the fundamental characteristics of capitalism begin 'to change into their opposite, when the features of the epoch of transition from capitalism to a higher social and economic system had taken shape and revealed themselves in all spheres' (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 265). The main strategic task of those who advocate the urgent use of plan instruments in the mechanism of anti-crisis state regulation is to stem this historically inevitable process of transition to socialism.

Of course, it is highly unrealistic to advocate economic planning on a national and even interstate scale without providing for a radical change in property relations. But that does not at all mean that it is altogether unrealistic to expect the capitalist state to go on in its economic interventionism to nationwide planning. The capitalist state expresses the corporate interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie, which is why in light of these interests, it pursues a more far-sighted economic and socio-economic policy than individual entrepreneurs and their associations, who are usually guided by purely conjunctional considerations. That is why there is growing resentment among bourgeois strategists with that section of businessmen whose one object is 'to fill its purse à tout prix,' as Engels put it.[10]

It is more probable that in its effort to escape from the bog of chronic crisis the capitalist state is able in definite circumstances (increasing difficulties in the supply of technical and raw materials and energy, a sharpening socio-political situation, etc.) to move from indicative to imperative programming. It is quite obvious that within the dualistic structure of state-monopoly capitalism, each of its constituent parts (the monopolies and the state) retain a capacity for relatively independent development. The state's anti-crisis policy cannot fully meet the interests of the various groups of monopoly capital. What is more, it frequently conflicts with the immediate material interests of individual groups of the monopoly bourgeoisie (as in the clash of interests between the Washington administration and those of the U.S. oil monopolies). That is why these trends in the development of anti-crisis policy meet with definite resistance, like factional activity by individual monopolies and their lobbies in the legislature, resistance to any attempts to introduce imperative nationwide planning and other methods of directive state regulation.

It would be absurd of course, to regard these attempts as elements of 'anti-monopolism.' On the contrary, one must emphasize the decidedly pro-monopoly nature of anti-crisis state regulation because it protects the *collective* class interests of the

monopoly bourgeoisie, interests that are not always or in every way identical with its individual-group interests.

The class tenor of the present-day trend in the development of state-monopoly capitalism has only one meaning: through the legislative and executive system of the capitalist state as a 'collective monopolist', the ruling class seeks to ensure above all the needs of capitalist accumulation, which excludes 'every diminution in the degree of exploitation of labor, and every rise in the price of labor, which could seriously imperil the continual reproduction, on an ever-enlarging scale of the capitalistic relation.'[11]

Indeed, the calls of the advocates of directive methods of anti-crisis state regulation are aimed precisely at ensuring this main condition of capitalist accumulation. Galbraith and Lekachman want a rigid system of constant state control over wages, a system designed to make trade union demands 'commensurate' with the governments' planning directives.[12] The U.S. economist Arthur Okun has proposed a plan for providing 'real wage insurance' with government incentives (tax cuts on social security) to monopolies and trade unions abiding by the planned guidelines on wages.[13] Professor William Nordhaus of Yale University has even recommended tax sanctions against monopolies which agree to raise wages over and above the established planned ceilings, whether under pressure from the working class or for competitive considerations.[14]

Such recommendations, which could be or have been made the basis of the practical activity of the ruling class, merit the closest attention on the part of the working class and democratic movements, for this is not just an important aspect of social cognition helping the masses to discover new trends in the development of state-monopoly capitalism and to bring out the anti-social nature of the recipes for a planned reform of bourgeois economic policy. The proletariat and its militant vanguard — the communist and workers' parties — shun this kind of contemplative criticism. The exchange of views on various aspects of capitalism's crisis in *WMR* began with an article by William Kashtan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, who wrote: 'The communists are not weathermen, who only record atmospheric phenomena or try to forecast changes in the weather ... We are active participants in the socio-economic process and strive to influence its development effectively. Our task is not merely to note the appearance of new conditions but to decide how to act in crisis conditions so as to be able to take yet another step toward our ultimate goal — the replacement of capitalism by socialism.'[15]

This active social stand characterizes the activity of the communist and workers' parties as they formulate and put forward anti-crisis programs for economic and social transformations. These programs, reflected in the exchange of views, testify to the Marxists' scientific and therefore realistic approach to formulating the principles of anti-crisis policy. The communist and workers' parties openly declare that any attempt to solve the crisis problems within the framework of the existing system are no more than palliatives and ultimately abortive because they leave intact the *main* condition from which crises spring: the system of capitalist relations of production. That is why they emphatically reject the principles underlying the anti-crisis programs and measures proposed by the ruling class.

The communist and workers' parties take a highly constructive attitude to anti-crisis policy. To reduce it to political gloating — 'We told you!' — is to slander the revolutionary vanguard of the working-class movement. Indeed, the Marxists are justifiably proud of the fact that their scientific understanding of the laws of social development has enabled them to anticipate the inevitable slide of the capitalist economy into the bog of a chronic crisis. But they are not at all inclined to feel satisfaction at the chronic crisis gripping virtually all the countries of the Western world. The communist and workers' parties, articulating the vital interests of the working people, are nevertheless clearly aware of the national character of the social calamities stemming from the crisis. As they look into the future they do not forget the lessons of history, for historical experience eloquently says that crises are fraught not only with a sharp curtailment of bourgeois-democratic rights and freedoms, so hampering the working people's struggle for their vital interests, but also with phenomena like fascism (one need only recall the takeover by Hitler and his clique in Germany at the end of the Great Depression in 1933).

That is why the anti-crisis programs of the communist and workers' parties are aimed not only at solving the problems of economic and socio-economic development, but also at ensuring extensive democratic transformations of bourgeois society's political and social structure. Unity of all the democratic forces is a key prerequisite for such transformations.

The anti-crisis programs proposed by the communist and workers' parties and the trade unions in developed capitalist countries insist on a limitation of monopoly power through *nationalization* and *planning* with *genuine democratic administration* of social production, accounting and distribution. This three-fold conception of anti-crisis programs is of fundamental importance. While regarding state-monopoly socialization of production as full material preparation for socialism, the Marxists are aware that state property under capitalism, when controlled by the monopoly bourgeoisie, does not change the social nature of that social system and has virtually no substantive anti-crisis effect.

At the same time, the communists and workers' parties believe that the nationalization of private-monopoly property under pressure from and with systematic control by the working class creates the conditions for undermining the economic and political power of the finance oligarchy and facilitates the struggle of the proletariat and other working people for a way out of the crisis. This struggle for nationalization of the basic means of production

is closely linked to the movement for other democratic and anti-capitalist changes, notably the practical implementation of Lenin's slogan of worker control and to the proletariat's struggle to limit the power of finance capital at every level — from the enterprise to the transnational monopolies and the state apparatus, which is of special importance considering the development of state economic and social programming and regulation. This comprehensive control exercised by the working class with broad participation by all the other democratic sections is designed to become the basis for a transition to a new economic and social policy protecting the true interests of the whole people. It is important to create these key conditions for democratizing economic administration not only for combating the anti-social consequences of the crisis but also for continued social development leading to the replacement of capitalist relations of production which generate crises, with a new social order. It was not accidental that Lenin saw worker control as 'a step toward socialism,' a step which the proletariat can make even before political power passes to the working people.

The anti-crisis programs of the revolutionary working-class movement are not universally applicable schemes. Based on fundamental propositions of scientific Marxism, they are most concretely tied in with the specific conditions of the given country and while setting out long-term goals for radical social transformations, take into account the day-to-day economic, social and political interests of the working people.

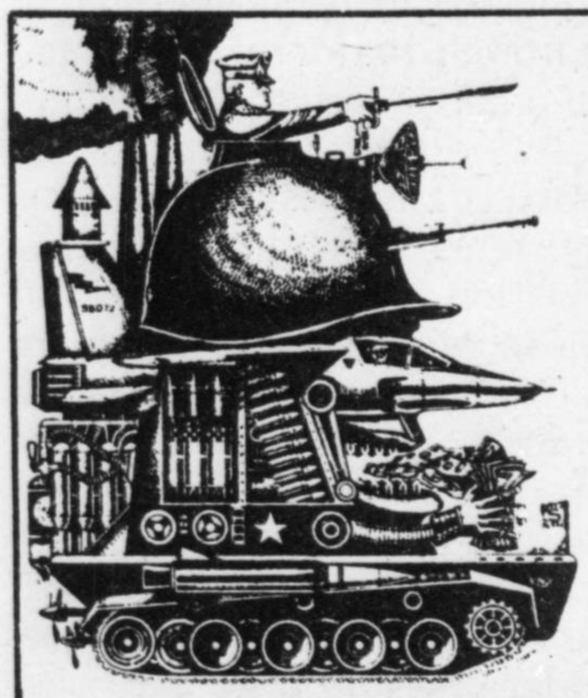
The communist and workers' parties and the trade unions present their considered anti-crisis programs for broad popular discussion to obtain addenda and amendments. The Marxists do not regard these documents as the ultimate truth, but seek a creative dialogue not only with the social democratic parties and the many trade union federations influenced by them, but also with all other political and social organizations capable of joining in a broad general democratic movement for pulling Western society out of chronic economic and social crises.

It is the mass nature of this movement that provides the chief condition for success in this hard struggle for radical transformations of the crisis-ridden social system and for socialism.

1. This article is another instalment of our series on the crisis of capitalism (*WMR*, January, March, May, June, July and November 1978, and February, August, September and December 1979).

One of our next few issues will present a review of the materials of an international symposium on 'Capitalism on the Threshold of Further Economic Convulsions. A Comparative Analysis of the Severe Capitalist Crises of the 1930s and 1970s.' Held in Prague, the symposium completed its discussion in *WMR* of the crisis of the capitalist system. Since this theme has not been exhausted, *WMR* intends to look into it again.

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3. R. Kahn. 'Oil and the Crisis' — In: *Crisis 75 . . .?* London, 1975, pp. 34-38; S.M. Rosen. Introduction. — In: *Economic Power Failure: The Current American Crisis.* Ed. by S.M. Rosen. New York, 1975, pp. 1-44.
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5. A. Karasz. 'Crisis and Reform in the World Economy.' *The Review of Politics*, April 1977, pp. 131-156.
6. T. Murphy. 'Unemployment. A Strong Economy Without Inflation.' *Vital Speeches of the Day*, March 15, 1977, pp. 329-333; *Problemes economiques*, October 29, 1975, pp. 4-7.
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9. C. Kindlebertger, *The World in Depression 1929-1939*, London, 1973.
10. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 457.
11. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 621.
12. *Monthly Review*, No. 10, 1976, pp. 25-35.
13. *Newsweek*, May 17, 1976, p. 51.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *WMR*, No. 1, 1978, p. 70.



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the Party

Report at first hand

THE PARTY GOES TO THE POLLS

Portugal's communists in the election campaigns of late 1979

On December 2, 1979, Portugal held mid-term elections to the Assembly of the Republic, or parliament, and on December 16, local elections. The Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party has made a political evaluation of the election returns that will undoubtedly find reflection in *WMR*. But the PCP's activity during the election campaigns was interesting in itself, for in the short time such a campaign lasts, the party makes an extraordinary effort, and its organization, the validity of its slogans and the correctness of its programs are put to the test. The following is a report by our correspondent who visited Portugal shortly before the elections.

Election arithmetic

Early last November the election campaign had not yet got off to a start, not formally anyway. The campaign for elections to the Assembly of the Republic was scheduled to begin at midnight, November 10, and the local election campaign — on December 4. However, you had only to go into the streets to be caught in a battle of slogans and appeals on posters, streamers, house walls, fences and sidewalks. The symbols of diverse parties leap to the eye. They include those of two opposed alliances, the right-wing alignment calling itself the 'Democratic Alliance,'[1] and the Alliance for Popular Unity formed by the communists and the Portuguese Democratic Movement.

What is the place held by the election campaign in the activity of the PCP and how does the party carry it on? We believe these questions, which the *WMR* correspondent put to several Portuguese comrades, are of fundamental importance. They concern the working-class party's conception of parliamentary practice and its use of the opportunities offered by the Western bourgeois democratic system. Portugal, while differing in some respects from the 'older' democracies of developed capitalist society, is linked to them by many bonds, to say nothing of the fact that it is a NATO country.

The above questions have always received a great deal of attention in Marxist-Leninist political theory and practice. Lenin analyzed them in detail. 'The democratic republic and universal suffrage,' he wrote, 'were an immense progressive advance as compared with feudalism: they have enabled the proletariat to achieve its present unity and solidarity, to form those firm and disciplined ranks which are waging a systematic struggle against capital' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 486). Lenin defined in many articles the Bolshevik tactics in the elections to the Second, Third and Fourth State Duma. 'People in our country,' he wrote, 'are only too often prone to regard the election campaign as a struggle for mandates, i.e., for cosy seats in the Duma. As far as the class-conscious workers are concerned, this campaign is primarily, and more than anything else, a struggle for principles, i.e., for fundamental views, for political convictions. This struggle, which is being waged before the masses and which draws the masses into politics, is one of the principal advantages of the representative system' (Vol. 18, p. 323).

The propositions formulated by Lenin have prompted some contemporary 'critics' of Leninism to allege that his approach was prompted entirely by conditions in tsarist Russia, where the Duma (parliament) played a strictly ancillary, subordinate role and that therefore Lenin was not interested in the outcome of elections but only in the opportunities they provided for party work among the masses. From what these 'critics' say, this approach is 'inapplicable' under today's developed bourgeois democratic system.

Anyone who really knows Lenin's writings will realize that these 'critics' are unfair, to say the least. Of course, Lenin always had specific conditions in mind — this is a characteristic of Leninism — and clearly saw the difference between tsarist Russia and Western bourgeois democracies. But he insisted on all true communists approaching elections from a principled, class position, on harmony between the party's electoral platform and the party program, and on open electoral tactics. At the same time he did not in any way minimize the importance of the proportion of party members elected to parliament even in the conditions of tsarist Russia. However, he saw the main task as bringing the fundamental significance of 'election arithmetic' home to the people (Vol. 11, p. 292). This approach is still valid even though the conditions in which communists carry on their election campaigns (as in West European countries) are entirely different from those prevailing at the beginning of this century.

The stay in Portugal was brief and so made it impossible to live through the campaign in common with the party. But it helped form an idea of the nature of the campaign, grasp the communist ap-

proach and learn something, if not as much as would have been desirable, about the everyday effort the communists were making in the pre-election battles.

I. CARLOS COSTA

Carlos Costa, member of the Political Commission and Secretariat of the PCP Central Committee who was in charge of the party's election campaign, received the *WMR* correspondent in the CC building erected after the April 1974 revolution in the heart of one of the capital's poorest neighborhoods. It hummed with activity. You could feel that time was pressing and that it was an important moment in the life of the party and country. The appointment had been made for the previous day but just when the interview was to have started Costa was called to the President of the Republic for talks. In the end it did take place and lasted three hours, which were snatched out of a very busy day. Costa spread out on his desk tables with columns of figures and maps marked in different colors and proceeded to reveal the significance of 'election arithmetic.'

Two campaigns

A distinctive aspect of the present situation, Costa said, is that there will only be an interval of two weeks between the mid-term elections to the Assembly of the Republic necessitated by a protracted government crisis and the regular elections to local government bodies. This means that two election campaigns are going on that intertwine and ultimately coincide.

The important thing for us is that we will campaign in different elections under one symbol, APU (three interlocking rings). This is easier for voters, especially for those who cannot read or write, and there are many of these in Portugal. In the previous elections in 1976, in which we campaigned as the PCP at the parliamentary level and in the Alliance for Popular Unity at the local level, some voters misunderstood the action and there were even cases of communists refusing to vote for our local candidates.

Why are the hammer and sickle not our symbol? It has regrettably been propagated in our country by 'leftists' and provocateurs posing as 'communists' and 'Marxist-Leninists.'

As far as our party is concerned, the election campaign is a highly important politico-ideological battle. For the first time, thousands upon thousands come into contact with us and our propaganda. The previous elections showed that where we won a larger number of votes we also won a larger number of new members. Of course, election campaigns are not the most important thing in the party's organizational work, let alone a substitute for it. But they inevitably become an important factor in this work, one on which we must concentrate. We have reason to affirm that the party's efficiency as organizer in any given district determines the number of votes cast for the PCP and vice versa. We feel sure that after the elections our party will have hundreds of better trained cadre members.

The current campaign is unprecedented in scale. APU has nominated 352 candidates (including reserve candidates) for the 250 seats in the Assembly of the Republic. We are planning our campaign according to the situation in each district (the color map shows what we can expect and where). We want to hold mass rallies involving up to 15,000 people in each, hundreds of meetings with 100 to 200 participants and thousands of small ones. We plan to go from door to door to spell out our program, circulate party documents and present our candidates.

Local elections are still more important and more exacting in terms of the party's organizational work.

Local government

From the point of view of the organization and status of local government, present-day Portugal differs greatly from any other West European country. As a matter of fact, the law on local self-government was drafted in 1975 by the communists. First of all, deputies to our local assemblies are closer to the people — one deputy is elected by 103 voters on the average.

Lower administrative divisions, known as *freguesias* (parishes) and totalling 4,042, are grouped in *concelhos* (districts), which total 305. The district municipal authorities, that is the assembly and the chamber, have ample powers, particularly in the financial sphere. It is very important that they have their own budget and in this respect do not depend on the party in power. District and parish meetings are open to the public. This means that right-wing deputies are exposed to pressure even where they are in the majority, for voters may demand why they do not back reasonable proposals.

This year APU has nominated 54,120 candidates for election to 65,500 seats at all three levels (elections are to be held in parishes, which in turn will elect their executive *juntas;* municipal assemblies and municipal chambers who will elect district executive bodies). No party is contesting all seats. The APU candidates have been registered in all 305 municipal districts. Of the 4,042 parishes, elections will take place in 3,719 (the others, which have fewer than 200 voters each, will elect assemblies directly by a show of hands, in 1980). APU and the voters' groups associated with it have put forward their lists of 2,343 parishes, where 88 per cent of the voters live. This is a tangible advance, for in 1976 APU nominated candidates in only 1,117 parishes.

Thus the party has tremendous new opportunities for organizing work and for extending this work to areas where its positions are weaker, especially in the North. We are certain that after the elections party organizations will spring up in many parishes and there will be one or two communists in almost all parishes. Of course this will be important, above all politically.

Work among the masses in the preliminary campaign that we launch primarily in the more backward areas centers on drawing up voters' lists and APU electoral programs for every district and every parish. On the basis of general guidelines set out by

the party programs, the CC's commission on local government works out standard programs for industrial and agricultural areas and for districts, where the chief problem is say, public utilities, the health services or education. These programs are used at the local level, at thousands of meetings involving the whole population, for drafting specific programs. We give people an accurate idea of problems. This means an enormous effort for the political enlightenment of the masses.

Party of the working class

I have said that the PCP has its biggest problems in the North. Not that the party is weak there. In fact, we have fine, seasoned cadres in the North. The problem lies in objective historical distinctions that have to do with the property system. You know — your journal has written about it — that the dominant form of property in the South was big estates and that therefore the bulk of the rural population was made up of farm laborers. By contrast, the North was a region of small holders and tenant farmers, but for a long time even the tenant farmers had imagined they were working for themselves. The influence of the Catholic church is much stronger in the North than in the South. The working class is reinforced by farm laborers in the South and by small holders in the North. In the South this is hereditary, while in the North it is of recent origin. However, the North — say, Braga or Aveiro, not to mention Oporto — has its own areas of hereditary workers and our party is stronger there.

To make the PCP a real mass party in the North we must simultaneously accomplish three tasks. To begin with, we must win the working class. This is a big task. So far we win trade union elections but not political ones. The workers are aware of their class interests but have yet to identify themselves with the party of this class. Secondly, we must improve our work among the peasants, for virtually all workers of the North have relatives in the countryside. This explains why the election campaign is so very important in even the most remote and backward parishes. In the third place, the PCP cannot become a mass party in the North if it is not joined by more believers. We have many now but need more. We maintain that there is no religious problem in Portugal — there are communist and non-communist Catholics and non-Catholic communists.

In the latest elections, we registered the greatest gain in the North. We are now looking forward to a new increase.

Are we campaigning among the middle strata? Certainly. But our chief concern is still the working class, both in industry and agriculture. We uphold primarily the nationalized sector and agrarian reform, which determine the country's development trend. But we also stand up for small and medium traders and manufacturers, and in our election propaganda show that the policy of the latest governments has been ruinous for these sectors.

As regards the workers, many of them vote Socialist of course. We deny however, that the Socialist Party is a working-class party like those of some West European countries. The SP was founded in 1973 in West Germany, and imposed on Portugal from outside with an eye to splitting the ranks of fighters for democracy and the Armed Forces Movement. After April 25, 1974, it was joined by many who were sincerely against the dictatorship but fell for anti-communist propaganda designed to prevent people from distinguishing between fascist dictatorship and the dictatorship of the proletariat. That party is a medley of rightists and leftists.

A political alliance with the SP in defense of democracy against the right-wing parties is possible and necessary. But this is not a problem of working-class unity, for in Portugal it is achieved at the trade union level. We are carrying on our election campaign accordingly, that is exposing the right-wing parties as fascist parties and the SP as an inconsistently democratic party always inclined to come to terms with the right. We show that the PCP is the only party of the Portuguese proletariat and other working people.

Some people in other West European countries accuse us of dogmatism. But our only 'dogma' is Portuguese reality. We merely strive to apply Marxism-Leninism to the conditions in which the Portuguese revolution is developing.

Carlos Costa, it seemed, spoke not so much about specific actions in the election campaign as about the basic principles and evaluations of the political situation underlying the party's work at any time, not just before elections. But precisely this method gave us a clear picture of the PCP's approach to the elections. To quote Lenin: 'For the class-conscious proletarian, election tactics can only be an adaptation of his general tactics to a particular struggle, namely, the election struggle; under no circumstances does this imply a change in the principles of his tactics, or the shifting of the "center" of these tactics' (Vol. 11, p. 457).

Our talks in Oporto and Evora, in the party centers of the North and South, clarified this picture still more.

II. EMIDIO RIBEIRO

In Oporto, the main city in the North, the communist party headquarters is crowded into two small houses. But what strikes you there are small posters on the walls announcing a '20,000-conto campaign.' Also there are pages torn from an exercise book giving the sums donated for the construction of a new building for the party and the names of the donors. I asked Emidio Ribeiro, a member of the Oporto regional leadership (a young man of 31 with 10-years seniority in the party), about the fund-raising campaign.

Oporto — city and district

One conto is one thousand escudos, which means that our target for July 1980 is 20 million escudos. We have already collected 6 million since last July when we started. This campaign reflects the party's growth in our district. On April 25, 1974 there were perhaps not more than a hundred communists, but

three years ago their number shot up to 10,000, and now we have 20,000. This rapid growth shows that we have big opportunities before us, but it also poses new problems. For instance, not every locality has a party organization in which new party members could work.

We seek to turn the election campaign into a mass political struggle. The main directions for the campaign were outlined, on the basis of the party's general line, at a district conference, after the problems facing the district had been analyzed.

Most of the 100,000 unemployed in the district are young people. Many were fired by capitalists for taking part in strikes or some other struggles, others lost their jobs when factories were no longer able to operate in the face of the credits policy ruining small and middle entrepreneurs, a policy imposed on Portugal by the International Monetary Fund. Pensioners find themselves in a poor plight (it would be more accurate to call them 'persons retired for reasons of old age,' as almost half of them in the Oporto district either get no pension at all or receive only 1,300 escudos, the minimum wage being 7,500 escudos). Women are not better off — they still do not receive equal pay for equal work, and day care centers and kindergartens are extremely scarce — they are the first to take the blows of inflation.

We say that to elect APU candidates means that in a future parliament Oporto communists will propose the abrogation of the law on dismissals adopted under the Socialist government, the law which gives factory owners a free hand. They will propose also a cut in the rate of interest on credits for small and middle entrepreneurs and evolve measures to improve the conditions of pensioners and women, and many other things. All this has been recorded in the APU election manifesto.

Concrete measures are proposed also in the program presented in rural parishes. (We were told about this by *Mario Rodrigues*, 28, director of the newspaper *A Tierra*. The *WMR* correspondent met with him in a small party canteen.) Oporto is a wine-making area, he remarked. This year our crops are as good as everywhere in Europe and the price of wine has dropped so low that an empty 500-litre barrel costs twice as much as the quantity of wine it can hold. Farmers cannot afford it. In our election campaign we demand that the government should guarantee the price of wine and give the producers the right to sell it directly to consumers. At present it is marketed through big wholesale middlemen who rob the peasants. There is still another problem. The communist party has become the main force among tenant farmers and the most important thing to do now is to try and unite them and small holders in one movement. It must be explained to them that in the long run their interests are the same. Farther north, where there are no tenant farmers, the party works mostly among poor small holders.

On the very first day of the election campaign we shall have mass festivals in all the 17 districts. During those festivals, which will include performances by actors, APU candidates will be introduced to the voters and 75 trucks plastered with posters will run in three successive columns through all the districts. We also plan to hold 500 large meetings within three weeks. One such meeting in Oporto, scheduled for November 17, will be addressed by Alvaro Cunhal. We expect it to be attended by tens of thousands. Of course all this will require an immense organizational effort on our part.

Our party apparatus

We have only about 60 full-time functionaries in the district. Therefore, the main portion of the work will be done by activists who devote their free time, including weekends, to the party.

PCP commissions function in every district of the Oporto region (many of them have no full-time functionaries), but not in every parish of course (in Greater Oporto all parishes are covered by the commissions). Besides, there are PCP committees by professions. These supervise the work of party branches at enterprises in the metal industry, the textile industry, in the service system (including railway and city transport) and also among teachers and professionals. Our activists go from door-to-door, talking to people, keeping a record of their suggestions, which are subsequently reflected in programs for the parishes.

The situation is more difficult in the rural area, and the APU has presented its lists of nominees in all the 377 parishes where elections are held (187 in 1976). The trouble is that in many small and remote parishes there are no party members at all. How do we solve this problem? For instance, we learn that in one of the parishes the PCP had won three votes in the election of a right-wing dominated junta. We go there to discuss local problems with people in the streets or in cafés. There is always someone who is displeased with the right-wing administration. When we explain our program to him, there are good chances that he will agree to stand as one of our candidates.

I have some experience of this sort. Once I was told by a friend from Baiao that in a neighboring parish a group of decent people were running for the CDC. They thought that by supporting the CDC they could fight the local rich landlords associated with the CDP. My friend knew one of these people and we left for the Valadares parish. As we began to talk to them we realized that they had no idea what the CDC really was. So we explained that it did not differ from the CDP. They now run for the APU, and two of them joined the communist party.

. . . And concerning our new building, Ribeiro concluded, you may be sure that we shall have it soon.

We were eager to meet rank-and-file PCP members after the workday, but unfortunately, we could not stay in Oporto late into the night. Still, we managed to have one such meeting at the headquarters of the Ribeirinhas PCP organization. The Ribeirinhas zone consists of four parishes in the old city center from which the city itself had developed,

and the name Portugal originated from the city's name. With our indefatigible escort Armando Varejao we strolled through a neighborhood inhabited mostly by workers. The tenements reflected the general poverty, but the people, despite their preoccupied look, were very friendly.

At the Riberinhas headquarters we saw several people, all of them busy with their work. *Antonio Rocha*, a member of the PCP commission in the Se parish, is a garment salesman and a trade union delegate. That enabled him to help out at the party organization after lunch. He had looked through the name index to decide which party members' advice he would need in setting up committees for APU election support and was now drawing up the list of communists who would be on duty to carry on his trade union work.

Alexandrina Soares, a milliner who runs her own business. Nearly a month ago she had closed her operation to devote all her time to party work. That evening she was reviewing what should be done before the official inauguration of the election campaign. There was a lot to do: print advertisements, hire transport, rent assembly halls and bring in the needed furniture. She is also active in the door-to-door rounds.

Maria Arminda Martins, 23, professional typist, and *Manuel Antonio Martins*, former trade official, both unemployed. They do what more experienced comrades ask them to do. The great amount of work with index-cards, lists, advertisements, etc., requires the aid of every party member.

Sergio Vinagre, the only full-time party functionary in the zone, member of the secretariat of the PCP commission in Greater Oporto, told those present what would have to be done in the zone when people came back from work in the evening. Party meetings would be held in two parishes, Sao Nicolau and Miragaia. A youth meeting would be held here at the headquarters to discuss preparations for a congress, due in two days on November 10 in Lisbon, which would decide on a merger of the two communist youth organizations. A few working groups would plan measures for the next few days. Work at the headquarters would continue late into the night.

In Oporto we saw the communists at their daily unspectacular but important work: planning their election campaign, appealing to various sections of the people, winning them over patiently and persistently. That showed us the main thing: the character of the election campaign was determined by the character of the party for which, as Lenin wrote, an election campaign is 'a big, public, mass event, . . . a *practical* test of the various answers given to the *fundamental* questions' of revolutionary tactics (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 12, p. 98).

III. ANTONIO JOAQUIM GERVASIO

In Evora one finds himself in the heart of 'Red Alentejo,' a region of the agricultural proletariat and battles over the agrarian reform. There the communist party is a powerful force. APU posters and streamers are conspicuously predominant in the region. But the reactionaries are also active, hoping to to take advantage of the popular discontent with the Socialist Party over the years of its rule. In Alentejo this discontent is most acute, for the province was hit the hardest by a law designed to kill the agrarian reform — the Barreto Law, named after its author, a minister in the Socialist Party government.

The Church too, joined the election battle. In a printed notice, put up on the cathedral doors, the local archbishop first appealed to all Catholics, all 'people of good will,' to take part in the election, and not to yield to the temptation to abstain from voting (abstention had hit mainly the right-wing parties). Further the call: 'Vote for any party or any alliance giving you the best guarantee that they will administer the country properly and work effectively for the public weal.' (So far so good.) Then the admonition: 'Do not vote for any party or alliance which in its theoretical and practical programs preaches atheism and materialism. Do not vote for any party or alliance which denies the existence of God and neither respects, nor protects, nor asserts the rights of the Church, religion, family, man and life.' And the last word: 'Vote for the restoration, building-up, continuation and advancement of a Portugal which was born, grew up and matured in the hospitable arms of the Catholic Church. Evora. Oct. 13, 1979. Archbishop David of Evora.'

Nevertheless the joint forces of political reaction and the Church will not oust the PCP from its position as the leading political party in Alentejo. A guarantee of this is the party's entire activity, its election campaign and the work of its activists described below by Antonio Joaquim Gervasio, a member of the Political Commission of the PCP Central Committee, who is in charge of the Alentejo regional organization.

Ties with the masses

I have already written in *WMR* about our party's election campaign That article was about last year's municipal elections in Evora.[2] And now the campaign is carried on in our traditional style I would say, since there is no sense in changing tested and effective methods, which can only be further improved. We combine mass rallies and meetings with personal contact with individuals in order to have close ties with the population. As many as 613 measures on preparations for the local elections have been carried out with 39,300 people taking part.

This work is supervised by the PCP commissions set up at all levels: provinces, regions, districts, parishes, factories and professional sectors; and also commissions for women, young people and pensioners.

The door-to-door rounds are of special importance for our province — 40 per cent of its population is illiterate. Many do not attend meetings for various reasons. It has to be explained to them what they are voting for and for whom. They like our activists to visit them, seeing that they are remembered and respected. Just one example. A few days

ago, on November 3-4, we conducted a door-to-door campaign in the Beja district which involved 2,000 party members. We managed to raise 140,000 escudos for the election campaign and distributed 5,000 copies of documents. In one village with a population of 1,000 our comrades spoke to every person and only four of them refused to donate money. In another village half of the 8,000-population was asked for donations and only six persons refused. You should remember that a peasant will not part with his money for nothing.

Our election campaign is already showing results. Since it was started the party has been joined by 150 people in Alentejo. Today there is not a single parish in the province without a party member, but still there are parishes with very few communists.

The most valuable result of the current campaign is that by taking part in big and small measures many PCP organizations have discovered themselves, as it were, turned to the masses and established close contact with them. Many young people have joined the PCP. It is likewise important that new PCP organizations are set up at factories and in parishes where party members had not been united. In the Luz parish there was not a single party member a month ago, when we only started the campaign for drawing up the APU lists. Today there are 16 communists. After the elections a party organization will be formed in that parish.

Another result of our work among the masses is that the small leftist groups, previously very active and dangerous as they used to break up the left-wing vote, are practically non-existent.

On November 11 our campaign for election to the Assembly of the Republic will begin officially by mass festivals in all the district centers. Then the communists will break into groups to distribute documents among people in their homes. The festivals are not organized especially for communists. Communists are among the masses, with the working people. We have big meetings and concerts especially for women, young people and pensioners, and also for small holders. Now the latter also come to us. They have made the first step. The next will be when they vote for the APU.

Today (November 9) I shall speak at a meeting in the town of Pias, Beja region. You said you wanted to know the gist of my speech. Well, here it is.

'Useful voting'

I shall begin by explaining the significance of the elections, their role in the country's political development. Then I shall tell them the elections are taking place in a situation which is different from what was to be observed in 1976, that the Portuguese people are faced with a right-wing challenge.

I shall explain also that only two types of alliance can exist in Portugal today — the left and the right. The Socialist Party should make its choice. Either an alliance with the communists for the defense of democracy, which will spell out the end of the rightists, or alliance with the rightists, which will put the lid on democracy. The Socialist Party tries to steer a middle course, but it is sagging under the weight of the past, the years when it was in power and was opposed to democratic forces and the working-class movement, when it catered to reaction, monopolies and landowners, and helped the right-wing governments to remain in power. I shall attack the right-wing parties, which are mainly responsible for the crisis, as enemy number one. But I shall stress at the same time that ours is a principled criticism of the Socialist Party.

Then I shall dwell on 'useful voting,' a term widely used in the election struggle in Portugal. It means voting for democracy. Therefore, votes cast for the Socialist Party are not useful — after the election it may swing to a right-wing alliance, as was the case when it formed a government with the SDC. To vote for the Socialist Party is to vote for uncertainty, though of course, it is better than to vote for a right-wing bloc, for a return to fascism. To vote for the leftists would be politically wrong. It will be just as useless, because it will bring none of their deputies into a government but will help the right-wingers in their struggle against communists.

What I call useful voting is voting for the APU, for the PCP, democracy, nationalization, agrarian reform and defense of the revolutionary gains of April 25. The right-wingers and Socialists keep saying that it is no use voting for the PCP since very few deputies will be elected. Do not vote for the APU they say, when it is clear that its candidates will not win in your region. To this we say: voting for the APU is useful in any case, since the purpose is not only to elect deputies but also to win many more votes. Indeed, a million votes for the APU will be a powerful factor in the struggle for democracy.

I shall use facts to prove that in the past three years the forces that formed governments have done all they could to destroy democracy. But they have failed — the strong mass movement stood in their way. And in conclusion, I shall remind them that the forces wishing to preserve the gains of April 25 outnumber those wishing to liquidate these gains.

As you know, election returns cannot be predicted. The Portuguese electoral system gives the odds to a party that polls the largest number of votes, bringing it additional mandates. Previously it was the Socialist Party, now it may be a reactionary alliance (that is why the right-wingers have formed a bloc). But if the right-wingers do win the elections and come to power, they will face the massive opposition of the people. The outcome of this is hard to foretell, for the Portuguese revolution has many new specifics and many problems which you will not find in textbooks.

The *WMR* correspondent left Lisbon in the morning of November 10; the first of the two campaigns — the election to the Assembly of the Republic — was scheduled to commence at midnight. It was clear that this campaign, like the local elections that will follow, will produce new methods of work and face the party with new problems. The party will be learning to solve these problems in the day-to-day

revolutionary struggle, including election battles. It will resolve them in the interests of the April 25 revolution, the interests of the working class and all the working people of Portugal.

Lenin wrote in connection with the elections to the Second Duma in Petersburg: 'A mere repetition of the word "class" is not sufficient to indicate the role of the proletariat as the vanguard in the *present* revolution. Expounding our socialist doctrine and the general theory of Marxism is not sufficient to prove the leading role of the proletariat. This requires, in addition, the ability to show *in practice*, in analyzing the burning questions of the *present* revolution, that the members of the workers' party are more consistent, more unerring, more determined and more skillful than all others in defending the interests of *this* revolution, the cause of its *complete* victory' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 11, p. 293).

The PCP is capable of this. Even a brief study of its cadres, their devotion to the party cause, enthusiasm and deep conviction show that this is a party with a revolutionary creative potential. Whatever the outcome of the December elections, the election campaign as it is understood and conducted by the Portuguese communists, will result in furthering the consciousness and militancy of the working people and consequently, strengthening their party — the PCP.

Upon his return to Prague the *WMR* correspondent waited eagerly for the outcome of the elections. Were the forecasts of the Portuguese comrades accurate enough? Were his own impressions right? Now the election returns have been studied. The majority of seats in the Assembly of the Republic have been won by the 'Democratic Alliance,' which had polled less than half of the votes. It came out on top on account of the peculiarities of the election system. The splitting tactics of the leftists gave reaction additional mandates. The Socialist Party suffered a crushing defeat. The APU, on the other hand, increased the number of its seats in parliament from 40[3] to 47 (considering the decrease in the total number of seats, this is equal to winning 10 new seats in the previous parliament). More than 1,100,000 people voted for the APU — a powerful force which no government can afford to ignore.

The local elections have confirmed the trend which began to take shape during the elections to the Assembly of the Republic: a wider political polarization of society, consolidation of the right-wing forces, a sharp decline in the Socialist Party's popularity and advancement of the communists and their allies.

The communist party clearly realizes the dangers of a reactionary majority in parliament. The PCP and all who hold dear the gain of April 25 are now confronted with still harder problems. But the party will be solving these problems with wider support from the Portuguese working people.

Interviews by *Vsevolod Rybakov*

1. It comprises the Social Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Center, and the Popular Monarchic Party.
2. Antonio Gervasio, 'Resisting Enemies of the Revolution,' *WMR*, May 1979.
3. In the 1976 elections the PCP acted independently, while the Portuguese Democratic Movement urged people to vote communist.

New experience

OUR INTERVIEWS

COMMUNISTS SPEAK ABOUT THEIR PARTY

In terms of your party's practical and theoretical work what, do you feel, is valued most by the people and enables the party to enlist new members? What helped you personally to make up your mind to join the party? These questions were put to communists in Northern Ireland by a *WMR* correspondent who visited Belfast. Their replies follow.

Martin O'Connor
electrician

We have lately had the opportunity to form new party branches in, among other places, Belfast itself. I am secretary of the North Belfast branch. In it the average age is 23. All of us became communists because we found that the communist party is the only organization that has never gone back on its promises. It cannot be charged as other parties can, of hypocrisy, an undemocratic structure or a lack of activity. Political opportunism is alien to it. This is exactly what is bringing it the support of a steadily growing number of working people in my country.

I'm saying this from personal experience, too.

Like many of my comrades, I came to the Communist Party of Ireland from the youth movement. I joined a group that functioned as part of the Republican movement, whose proclaimed aim was to struggle for Ireland's independence. Some ten years ago this was not only the sole youth organization in the country's north, but also an organization that claimed it was pursuing socialist aims. When I joined that group I believed that I would fight for my country's liberation from both British imperialism and Irish capitalism.

But I soon saw the true face of the Republican movement. It had nothing to do with socialism, and those of its members who proclaimed themselves 'Marxists' were actually leftists, Trotskyists or Maoists. From what they tried to preach one could see that their policies were not scientific. Besides, they knew nothing about the working class for they came from a different environment.

However, after breaking with the Republican movement I could not remain on the sidelines of politics. I can say that I became a Marxist long before I studied Marxist literature. I was led to it by my experience of life. When in a society that boasts of its 'good deeds' you know families living in poverty, when you see aged men and women dying of cold because they cannot afford the fuel, when before your own eyes people are thrown out into the street because they cannot pay their rent on time, when electricity is turned off in the homes of people who should be helped, you physically feel the injustice of the existing order. You get the feeling that you want to change this order.

After I joined the communist party I realized that there was much I had to learn in order to act for the people, for the happiness of the workers and their children, as real communists were doing. I had to learn the fundamentals of Marxist philosophy and internationalism. I had to rethink a good deal of my thinking about the state and revolution. So, my initial period in the party had to be spent in a good deal of reading and studying, and trying to learn from people in the party about what was actually happening.

I am now fully convinced that I made the right choice. While other political organizations in Northern Ireland are in an impasse, the influence of the communist party, regardless of the fact that it is still small numerically, is growing steadily.

Lillian Murphy
factory worker

In the factory where I work there are only five women. We began to fight for equal pay with men and we spoke to the men about it. We did not at once get their support. Many had the fear they would lose their jobs, which was of course very real, because of the mass unemployment in the country. But we did not lose hope. I spoke to the men again and again about the injustice of the situation and promised that if we got their support they could always count on us supporting them.

After futile negotiations with management, the five of us went on strike. They gave us two hours to think it over. When we told them we would not go back to work they took us off the payroll. But we stayed at the factory until the whistle blew to go home and came back the next day. That day the men decided to go on strike a half-day with us. We had a half-day strike each week and eventually got our equal pay.

The party teaches us solidarity and unity. This active stand of the communists opens people's eyes to the fact that the communist party acts for the working class. I was convinced of this myself when I went to work in an aircraft factory in 1940. There, as I soon learned, all the shop stewards and workers' committee chairmen were communists. It was not at all hard to link this to the fact that the factory workers were getting a fair deal as far as working conditions and wages were concerned. This is what finally made me decide that my place was in the communist party.

The communists at our factory are fighting unemployment and pressing for better working conditions and housing. For instance, I was elected secretary of a tenants' association, and that in a district strongly influenced by Protestant organizations. But even there, as you can see, the communists are trusted and valued as honest and able to do much for ordinary people.

While working on day-to-day requirements we do not forget our country's main problem, that of civil rights, of the prospects of struggle for a new society.

When I am asked if I'm ever sorry I took this difficult road, I reply that my whole life shows that I had chosen correctly. To be a communist means to live for others.

Sean Morrissey
Education Officer for Ireland, Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union

Before joining the communist party I belonged to various political organizations. I read a lot about the problems confronting working people, and works by James Connolly and other outstanding personalities of the labor movement. Also, I learned about international problems and the substance of imperialist policy. Gradually, as I read about socialist ideas and practice, I came to the conclusion that my path was with those who shared the socialist world outlook. True, there are many parties that proclaim socialist principles. For that reason I had to determine which was really socialist. For about two years I studied the attitude of the communists and the program of the communist party. And I made my choice.

It would be hard to tell about the entire range of the work the Irish communists are doing. But I should like to mention a new form of our work that has proved effective. I refer to the Community Organization of West Belfast, where the ruling circles have kindled particularly strong religious divisions. In it the communists have welded together hitherto irreconcilable Protestants and Catholics — ordinary people living in different districts as though in different countries but equally exploited by the capitalists. Our example was followed in other districts of Northern Ireland. Today there are about 500 community organizations, whose work is coordinated by our Community Organization of Northern Ireland.

Of course, this does not imply that in working to develop a community consciousness we forget that there is a fundamental distinction between it and class consciousness. Our aim is to develop community consciousness to a level which will allow the people to see that the present socio-economic system is reactionary and conflicts with their interests. The road to this lies through traditional forms of social struggle, through struggle for full employment and a higher living standard. When we explain the actual reasons for unemployment and the worsening living conditions to the workers, we show them that vital problems can be resolved not by patching up contradictions but by funda-

mentally changing the present socio-economic system.

The party's strength lies in its ability to bring this truth home to the people.

DOCUMENTS

FRG

LINE OF STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

At its plenary meeting in Düsseldorf the Board of the German Communist Party considered some crucial problems in light of NATO's endorsement of the plan to modernize its nuclear missile arsenal in Western Europe. An appeal was adopted to all peace-loving citizens of the FRG, stressing that the NATO decision to deploy in the Federal Republic a large proportion of the new nuclear missiles to be targeted on the Soviet Union is a serious threat to the people of the FRG and imperils European security and the entire process of détente. Moreover, the GCP Board noted that this decision would lead to stepping up the arms race with the resultant increase of unproductive spending and to a growth of the war danger, and exposed the lie that NATO has to 'reinforce its armaments' in the face of the 'military threat' from the USSR. The GCP called upon all peace-loving citizens of the FRG to unite in a struggle to prevent the materialization of the NATO decision. The appeal formulated the most pressing demands of the day: prevention of the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in the FRG; withdrawal of all other types of nuclear weapons from the country; readiness to take part in a European conference on military détente and disarmament; a reduction of the military budget.

Another document passed by the plenary meeting — a resolution on the GCP's participation in the Bundestag elections in the autumn of 1980 — likewise marks out the struggle against the realization of NATO's dangerous plans as one of the basic directions of the GCP's work. In all the federal lander, this document says, the party will put forward lander lists and nominate its candidates in the constituencies. In the election campaign the party will closely tie in the above-mentioned line of struggle with the tasks of democratizing social life in the FRG. The GCP will make every effort, the resolution says, to unfold an extra-parliamentary struggle and strengthen unity of action and democratic alliances in order to meet the demands of the working people and the youth, prevent a further shift to the right and create a political climate in the Federal Republic that would preclude a choice in favor of Strauss and, at the same time, give greater freedom of action for all democratic and social movements.

Further, the document says that the GCP will conduct a vigorous election campaign with the aim of showing that its policy is the democratic alternative to the policy of the Bonn parties, persuade the population of the need to vote for GCP candidates, win greater influence among the masses, chiefly among workers and young people, strengthen the party by attracting new members and win more readers for the newspaper *Unsere Zeit*.

The GCP Board instructed the Presidium to prepare and convene a party congress in Cologne and begin a drive for funds to pay for the election campaign.

The Board approved the report of the GCP Chairman Herbert Mies, 'For a Democratic Alternative and Against the Nuclear Arms Race and a Further Shift to the Right,' as the basis of the party's political line in the election struggle.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESS

WEG UND ZIEL

Drafting a new program

In an article in the monthly *Weg und Ziel* Franz Muhri, Chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, discusses the need for a new party program.

What does this need stem from? Above all, from the fact that the communist party has to have a program meeting the requirements of the present changed situation. The party has produced political and ideological theses which reflect its firm ideological foundations. However, these cannot replace a party program as such. The party has developed concepts bearing on the economy, social policy and culture. The time has now come to reassess these concepts and on their basis draft a new program, which would set forth existing problems in greater detail and with greater clarity.

Further, Muhri notes that the program should record the experience acquired by the party and the latest developments. In particular, it is essential to assess capitalism in Austria, which in 1975 was hit by a cyclical crisis and the crippling crisis of the entire state-monopoly system. These developments were not reflected in the ideological theses. The new program should also record the communist view that 'social partnership' is a specific form of domination. In addition, there are quire a few elements in international life, in the development of capitalist states and Third World countries and in the socialist world that will be mirrored in the new program. It has to state the communist concept of Austria's road to socialism and of a socialist Austria more comprehensively. Here the latest experience of the world communist movement must be taken into account. The concept of democracy will form an important component of the program. These are only some of the points that must be dealt with in the new program and show how much it is needed.

The article notes that in terms of theory and practice the program will be of great significance for the party. It will further cement the party's political and ideological unity. It is no easy task to draft a program, and it is therefore proposed that the draft should be published before the party holds its 24th Congress, that the discussion of the draft should be continued after the congress, and that an extraordinary congress should be convened to adopt it.

O MILITANTE

Enlisting new members

In connection with the Portuguese Communist Party's routine re-registration of its members, the party theoretical journal *O Militante* has published statistics on the PCP's numerical strength and social composition. By the time the Ninth Congress was held there were 164,713 members, 57.3 per cent of whom were factory workers; one in three communists was under 30; women made up 20.5 per cent of the membership; there were 9,014 branches operating in the country.

The Portuguese Communist Party re-registers its members regularly. The journal urges using the present re-registration for a campaign to enlist new members. *O Militante* writes that explanatory work during the elections had given communists the opportunity for meeting many new people who, while not being in full agreement with them, appreciated their views. Broad possibilities for drawing new members into the party are opened by conducting a dialogue with these people to bring them closer to the party and explaining the party stand to them.

The journal also reports on the merger of two communist youth organizations — the Young Communist League and Communist Student League — to form a single organization, the Communist Youth of Portugal. The relevant decision was adopted by a national meeting of the two organizations in Lisbon. The new organization will be formalized at the First Communist Youth Congress to be held this year.

The national meeting, attended by over 1,300 delegates, summed up the results of the work of these two organizations and formulated the guidelines for young communists in the future. The delegates adopted a manifesto stating that the new big youth organization unites young factory workers, peasants, office employees and students who want to take an active part in transforming society.

THE STORY BEHIND THE FACTS

The papers and TV flashed the pictures and names of two men — the manager of a big industrial company in Britain and one of its workers, a trade unionist and communist.

The management of British Leyland produced a plan for the 'modernization' of production. Named the Edwardes initiative after Sir Michael Edwardes, Chairman of the Board, it strikes painfully at workers' interests because its implementation would spell out the closure of 13 factories and the dismissal of over 25,000 workers.

Derek Robinson has been working at the Longbridge plant in Birmingham for 38 years. The workers elected him Chairman of the Leyland combine committee. Together with three of his colleagues he produced a counter-plan — a plan for raising output at British Leyland — and demanded the dropping of the Edwardes initiative for the closure of factories.

The response of the company chairman was swift and resolute. He ordered the dismissal of the worker who dared to criticize industrial bosses. The workers closed ranks to defend Red Robbo.

(Excerpt from a press report.)

WORKERS DEFEND TRADE UNION ACTIVIST

In Richmond, a wealthy residential London neighborhood, there is a sumptuous mansion with a swimming pool. Among the several dozen luxurious two-three storey houses it stands out for its size and magnificence. A royal residence located nearby appears modest compared to it. A British colleague explained to me that the palatial home near the 'green' belonged to Sir Michael Edwardes, Chairman of the Board of British Leyland, a big British motor company. The very same man who tried to cope with his company's difficulties at the expense of the workers. The very same man whose weekly paycheck comes to £960 (!). Naturally, it was difficult for Sir Michael to understand the British worker, though both spoke English. However, the two were speaking the languages of opposing classes.

This clash of class interests surfaced when the BL management tried to strike at the trade union movement at its factories with the announcement that it was firing Derek Robinson. The shop floor leader was thrown out for signing, together with three other shop stewards, a pamphlet criticizing Edwardes' plan to close 13 BL plants and dismiss thousands of workers. This little green pamphlet, which became a best seller among British workers, frankly stated the aims of the shop stewards:

'We are determined to prevent the rundown of BL. . . . We are interested in the success of BL not its failure.'

The workers' representatives set forth in their pamphlet a plan for the development of BL, a nationalized company, providing for increased output of cars and for ways to strengthen the company's position on the world markets.

In a reply to a letter from our reader in the August 1979 issue of *WMR* we gave an insight into a powerful wave of strikes in Great Britain. Generated at the Ford works in October 1978, this wave swept across the whole nation and did not recede until the spring of 1979. As the wave mounted, the determined action of the working class, which demanded better living and working conditions aroused anxiety and anger among the ruling class. Margaret Thatcher, the Conservative leader, accused the strikers of 'bringing Britain to the brink of disaster.' She threatened that a Conservative government would deal sternly with them.

Capitalist mass media used every pretext to intimidate the man in the street with the bogey of 'communist strike leaders' and at the same time to discredit those whom they know to be the most consistent fighters for the working people's interests. For instance, one newspaper started its report about a strike with an account of a shop steward's visit to Berlin, capital of the GDR. An innocent reference at first glance, but the intention is that people should see it as meaning the 'hand of Moscow.'

Even the reputable *Economist* resorted to cheap yellow journalism techniques in an attempt to discredit Derek Robinson, the strike leader at BL in Birmingham. Without providing any proof it contemptuously brushed aside the workers' demands presented to the management by Robinson as 'nonsense.' Moreover, it did not miss this opportunity to stress that the person in question was a communist.

When I visited London last spring I asked what Ken Gill, communist, member of the TUC General Council and general secretary of a trade union of which many BL workers are members, thought of the case. He said that even in the opinion of a right-wing trade union official who attended the talks, these demands were 'absolutely justified.' Derek Robinson, Ken Gill said, was a very effective negotiator and even the employers had a tremendous respect for his ability.

The strike at BL was staged because the management of this nationalized company had cut the earnings of the workers, accusing them of falling short of 'productivity targets.' However, the Leyland combine committee headed by Derek Robinson proved that the workers had not been informed of the company's 'output targets' and therefore could not be held materially responsible for their non-fulfillment. When the management refused to reconsider its decision, 19,000 workers of one of BL's biggest plants laid down their tools. Derek Robinson remarked that the only language the Leyland management understood was that of force.

Several months later the announcement of the shop steward's dismissal came. That same day workers of the day shift at the Birmingham plant stopped work and demanded Derek Robinson's reinstatement, the night shift followed, and solidarity strikes were staged by workers at a number of other BL plants, reaching a peak of over 30,000 BL workers. Thousands of people, including workers from many other towns and cities of Britain and even France, took part in a protest march in Birmingham. Hundreds of people representing various trades, professions and political views signed letters and telegrams sent to Birmingham. One of these statements read in part:

'We, the undersigned conveners representing 59,000 Ford workers through the United Kingdom, express our opposition to and condemnation of the sacking of Derek Robinson by the British Leyland management . . .

'We are very concerned at the increasing trend of undemocratic practices which deny freedom of expression and constitute an overall censorship of a fascist nature in this country.

'We therefore call upon all in our movement to work for the reinstatement of Derek Robinson who, in his 38 years of employment at the Longbridge plant, has made a far greater personal contribution to the motor industry than those who have fired him.'

The trade unionists at BL regarded the firing of their communist comrade as an attempt to erode the workers' resistance to the plan the management had long been hatching. Under that plan the workers would be 'granted' a minor wage rise but deprived of many rights and privileges won in hard-fought struggles over a period of many years. Acceptance of this by the workers would have undermined the trade union movement at the shop floor level.

To step up their attack on the living standards of the working people the Conservatives must above all crush the shop floor trade union organizations, the shop steward movement in which communists play an important part. The *Morning Star* wrote: 'And of paramount importance here is the fight to defend the trade unions themselves.

'The Tories know that if they are to get away with their all-round attacks on living standards and democratic rights, the trade unions must be tamed.

'And if that is to be done, the Tories understand very well that the prime target must be democracy on the shop floor.

'Hence the vicious assault on the stewards at the state-owned British Leyland with the sacking of Derek Robinson.'

I met Ken Gill again in December 1979. As at our previous meeting we spoke of Derek Robinson.

'The attack on Robinson,' he said, 'is part of a campaign launched by major employers in support of what is now official government policy, that of undermining trade union organizations within industry. Clearly, workers' representatives like Robinson were a prime target in order to establish this new tough government-employer line against workers' representatives on the shop floor. It would have been defeated had there been unity among the unions to defend the workers' representatives. In my view it is necessary for the unions now to make it quite clear that they regard it as their prime duty to defend their representatives at the plant. It's no good having a general staff organization, if you don't have the troops. There is not the slightest doubt that the BL problems have been used as a pretext to open up the attack on the shop floor and, . . . on the whole trade union movement.'

The workers of Britain have resolutely raised their voices in defense of their leader and their trade union rights. They know that their strength lies in unity of the working-class movement, and in solidarity of the working people in other countries. The 36th Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain adopted an extremely important resolution calling upon the working class to show unity in repulsing the Tory onslaught on the trade unions.

'I am a victim of a vicious anti-union decision at the highest level,' Derek Robinson said. 'It is an attack on fundamental rights of trade unionists. The struggle is for basic trade union principles. . . . On my own, in glorious isolation, I am nothing. But with the support of factory members, the British and international trade union movement, we are invincible.'

The support mentioned by this communist worker is growing steadily. Fraternal solidarity gives confidence to workers upholding their rights in the struggle against the capitalists.

Vladlen Kachanov, London-Prague

exchange of views

Weapon of repression or guarantor of sovereignty?

THE ROLE OF THE ARMED FORCES IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF LATIN AMERICA

WMR has sponsored a wide-ranging exchange of views on this theme with the participation of representatives of communist parties on the Journal: CC alternate member of the Communist Party of Argentina Leonardo Paso, Central Committee member of the Brazilian Communist Party Jose Soarez, Central Committee member of the Communist Party of Chile Hugo Fazio, CEC member of the Communist Party of Colombia Alvaro Delgado, CC member of the Communist Party of Cuba Raul Valdes Vivo, CC member of the Dominican Communist Party Arsenio Hernandez Fortuna, CC member of the Communist Party of El Salvador Jaime Barrios, CC member of the Guatemalan Party of Labor Otto Sanches, CC alternate member of the People's Party of Panama Felix Dixon. CC member of the Paraguayan Communist Party Severo Romero, and also former officers of the armed forces of El Salvador and Chile Humberto Orellana and Jorge Silva. The speeches of the participants are given in abridged form. The paper presented by Alvaro Delgado is a brief summary prepared by a *WMR* research team on problems of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Delgado. The armed forces in Latin American states have undergone dramatic changes as a result of greater dependence on imperialism in all areas of society's life. In most countries they have become a force isolated from society and safeguarding unjust practices. Concepts such as 'national sovereignty,' 'defense of national frontiers,' and 'maintenance of democratic legality' have lost their initial meaning and become a screen covering and justifying repressions against democratic circles. Instead of these principles the armies act on the doctrine of 'continental defense against communism' and cooperation with the USA with the purpose of suppressing 'continental subversion' and combating the so-called internal enemy.

U.S. imperialism has exerted immense influence on the armed forces of Latin America states and has distorted their essence and mission to such an extent that in some countries they are virtually an occupation force dealing brutally with their fellow citizens. Nobody has any doubt that in Latin America the CIA and the Pentagon have had a hand in reactionary coups leading to the installation of military dictatorships and fascist regimes and are flouting human rights.

The scale and callousness of the repressions, murders and tortures are beyond belief. More than a million Latin Americans have been killed and tens of millions have been tortured or imprisoned in only the past 20 years. Since its assumption of power the military junta in Chile has annihilated nearly 30,000 people and incarcerated another 20,000 in prisons and concentration camps. In Nicaragua 50,000 people alone died in the period when the Somoza tyranny was in its death throes. Following the 1963 military coup in Guatemala over 30,000 people were killed or "disappeared.' In Argentina the wave of persecutions and political assassinations continues unabated: the number of so-called missing persons has reached 12,000. More than 6,000 persons, many of whom, chiefly communists, are in mortal danger, are held in prisons and military barracks in Uruguay. Nearly 500 members of the left parties were killed and more than 350 persons 'disappeared without trace' in El Salvador just in the period from May to October 1979 (before the Romero dictatorship was deposed). In Colombia, Paraguay and some other countries a hunt has been mounted for leading activists of the democratic movement. Secret documents that have been made public indicate that punitive organs of the continent's reactionary regimes are beginning to coordinate their actions in an effort to intimidate the masses and emasculate patriots of the will to fight.

Imperialism is fanning border conflicts between our countries, helping the most hated regimes on the continent and imposing bilateral and multilateral pacts such as the notorious Inter-American Treaty of Mutual Assistance, whose members made an abortive attempt to strangle the Cuban revolution.

The Latin American armies are growing steadily more dependent on U.S. arsenals, on credit organizations and on monopolies specializing in military hardware and ammunition. The Latin American states are being drawn into the rapidly accelerating arms race, which is holding back our socio-economic development. For instance, whereas in 1968 the region's military expenditures amounted to $2,200 million, in 1978 they exceeded $6,000 million. More and more military personnel are being trained at Pentagon schools in the USA, Puerto Rico and the Panama Canal zone.

Alongside these processes the anti-imperialist movement is gaining momentum, and this is seen also in the armed forces in which it is giving rise to progressive trends. Many military men clearly see that the installation of reactionary dictatorships

benefits a grasping handful of the upper military heirarchy that operates in alliance with the oligarchy. An officer's career no longer has the attraction it once held.

Many middle-echelon officers now come from middle and poor strata and while serving in the army they do not count on glory, have no hopes for the future and do not acquire a sense of personal satisfaction. They cannot condone the fact that the armed forces are denied the opportunity of acting for the benefit of society, the fact that the only function given them is to repress their own people. Their consciousness refuses to accept the militarist thesis that 'the people are the enemy of the army' and that the 'army is the sole social stratum personifying the nation.'

Developments on the continent show that military regimes cannot ensure a way out of the structural crisis observed in most of our countries, increase accumulations, guarantee national integration and settle or at least mitigate social antagonisms. The practices established by the military (for instance, in Guatemala and Brazil) are being eroded by the contradictions generated by the military themselves. The assumption of power by the Sandinistas and the establishment of a democratic system in Nicaragua are an example of the latest major reversal for the imperialist policy of force. Anti-imperialist sentiments are growing in other countries as well, notably in the Caribbean. However, this does not mean that there are no serious obstacles to democratization, with the participation of the military or despite them: let us recall the recent events in Peru and Bolivia.

Of course, U.S. imperialism has not renounced its gunboat policy, as is evidenced by the establishment of the Combined Command Headquarters in Florida, the holding of military exercises in the Caribbean, the growth of the U.S. military presence in the area, the reinforcement of the naval base at Guantanamo and the resumption of spy flights over Cuba.

All these threats are directed, naturally, not only at Cuba and Nicaragua, but also other countries experiencing a revolutionary spring or reaping the first fruits of democratization.

However, despite difficulites, the developments on the continent are ever more clearly indicating the alternative facing the military: to be with the people or with the oppressors; to fight for national liberation or defend imperialism and the oligarchy.

Orellana. After the failure of the Alliance for Progress, there has been a steep rise in Latin America of the number of military regimes of the most diverse shades. Almost all pursued one and the same aim, namely to restrain the popular movement and prevent progressive forces from assuming power. Nonetheless, anti-imperialist tendencies surfaced and began to spread in the Peruvian, Panamanian, Bolivian and Ecuadoran armies. This led a United States general to declare angrily: 'Who are we giving all these huge quantities of armaments? How can we guess those suppressing subversion today will not themselves become insurgents tomorrow?' And he added: 'However, we are taking a deliberate risk and will continue giving other nations military aid.'

This Pentagon policy was accompanied by an offensive on the part of transnational corporations and the encouragement of fascist sentiments in the armed forces of Latin America, particularly of El Salvador.*

The El Salvadoran armed forces consist of some 20,000 effectives. In addition to three services, the military command has the so-called security corps at its disposal: the national guard, the national police, the police of the Finance Ministry, the Customs and other units. All these organizations form the 'armed hand' of the oligarchy and imperialism and have discredited themselves by their participation in repressions.

In accordance with the Constitution, the 'armed forces shall be set up to defend the republic's territorial integrity and sovereignty, enforce the observance of laws, maintain public law and order, and ensure constitutional rights.' Moreover, in the Constitution it is also stated that the 'armed forces shall remain outside politics, being an institution subordinated to orders; in questions of service they shall not act independently' (Article 114).

Let us examine some of the provisions.

The Constitution stresses that the people are the proponents of sovereignty. It is quite evident that in most cases the El Salvadoran armed forces acted against the will of the people. If there were periods of so-called democratization in our country, they were the result of a long and bitter struggle by the working masses.

What observance of the law and guarantees of constitutional rights can one speak of? Suffice it to list the events of recent years to get a picture of the situation in El Salvador: repeated juggling of the results of elections won by the opposition; the shooting down of peaceful demonstrations; the burning of the offices of opposition newspapers; the constant 'disappearance' of people; the scandalous embezzlement and corruption practised daily by the military.

As regards the 'indifference to politics' in the armed forces, any affirmative assertion would to my mind, be simply absurd. How can a machine specially created to ensure the class domination of the bourgeoisie and engaged in compulsion stand aloof from politics?

The army acting in collusion with some civilian circles is the actual ruling force in the country. In fact it plays the role of a political party. The various official parties are only a screen behind which elections are rigged and a puppet is installed as president.

In El Salvador the military governments have time and again invoked the constitutional provision banning the propagation of anarchism and ideas conflicting with democracy (Article 157). Interpreting this provision in their own way and

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*Orellana made his speech before the Romero dictatorship was overthrown and a military-civilian government came to power. — *Ed.*

giving it an anti-communist slant, they use it to fight democratic forces.

Neither anarchism as a doctrine that has nothing to offer for the future, nor anarchy interpreted as disorder has anything in common with socialist ideas and the practice of existing socialism. Socialism is a fairer and more profound democracy than bourgeois democracy.

In the El Salvadoran armed forces there are two main trends. The first is progressive: its proponents are loyal to the Constitution, hold that its provisions have to be scrupulously observed, are devoted to their country and believe that the army should serve democracy in the broadest sense of the word. The second is reactionary: its proponents act jointly with the reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie in order to establish fascism in El Salvador. Moreover, as everywhere else, there is a large 'bog,' which is 'silent.'

I feel that in El Salvador the struggle for power will be grim, to say the least. It will pass through the forms demanded by developments and its outcome will unquestionably be in favor of the people. In order to win with the least sacrifice thought must constantly be given to how to bring at least a segment of the armed forces to the side of the people. It would be a mistake to believe that the army of El Salvador or Guatemala is inferior technically to the Somoza national guard.

Patriotic military personnel must be given the confidence that it is possible to move forward along the road of democracy, peace and national progress only in a solid alliance with the masses. As the events in Cuba, Vietnam, Angola and Nicaragua have demonstrated, unity and nothing but unity is the foundation for a successful struggle against imperialism and international reaction.

Silva. The victory of the Cuban revolution, particularly the circumstances that it took place in a country situated 90 miles from the center of the Pan-American system and imperialism's defeat in Algeria and Vietnam, where the war was conducted by non-classical, guerrilla methods, evoked serious concern among imperialist ideologues, who have since evolved a 'strategy of flexible response,' which provides for a series of measures in the event war breaks out (from 'nuclear to guerrilla or subversive').

For instance, the French military theorist Roger Trinquier writes: We ought constantly to bear in mind that in modern warfare the enemy is not a definite armed corps holding a definite territory, but a dangerous and well-armed underground organization, whose main purpose is to obtain submission from the population by terror.' Terrorists, he says, should be eliminated physically or tortured until they are broken mentally, for terrorists sometimes penetrate the very heart of a nation. He declares that any party supporting them should be regarded as an enemy. He advocates the creation of a large network of intelligence and police centers to keep the population under close surveillance and hold within controllable limits the actions of the masses in defense of law and against abuses of power. Latin American military personnel are being trained at U.S. academies in precisely the spirit of these conceptions.

Prior to the early 1960s the Chilean army performed mainly repressive functions, namely the liquidation of centers of social ferment if this proved beyond the power of the police. Since most of the actions were against working people, many in the military began to regard them as almost the main source of such conflicts. Discipline, unquestioning subordination and political ignorance did not allow military personnel to understand whether such actions were the cause or only the effect of certain events and phenomena. They felt that such an analysis was not in the province of their duties and confined themselves to a precise execution of orders.

In subsequent years, the attitude of the military toward the political realities in the country, toward progressive parties and public organizations changed in accordance with the letter and spirit of a new doctrine. Activists of these parties and organizations were regarded as troublemakers and if they did not stop their activities they were seen as internal enemies, a category that was soon extended to embrace large segments of the opposition. Simultaneously, the counter-intelligence stepped up its activities using officers, mostly junior officers freshly trained at U.S. academies, to spread the bogey of a 'communist danger' among the military. Purges were stepped up in the army to weed out all elements having any relation to left ideas; it became standard practice to fan fear of 'the intrigues of Cuban communism' and also of 'traitors of the nation and allies of Moscow.'

However, this still falls short of unifying the way of thinking among the military. The need for indoctrinating the population compels many of them to look for sources of information that would help them to perfect the tactics in this new kind of 'warfare' involving mainly a battle of ideas; they are beginning to study progressive literature, with the result that they are finding themselves asking questions and vacillating ideologically. It is therefore not accidental that some military, including senior officers, are accepting ideas which they had formerly opposed. There are now innumerable examples of this in Latin America.

This sort of ideological discord in the Chilean armed forces was what led to the victory of Popular Unity, despite the counter-measures taken by U.S. imperialism.

Immediately after the coup the junta did all in its power to isolate the military establishment from progressive ideas, to tie down military personnel with 'bonds of repression and blood.' It started what amounted to an actual war against many of its fellow citizens, henceforth called the 'internal enemy.' With its blessings, all people considered 'contaminated by Marxism' are tortured or killed; in the long run no person for any reason standing in the way of the dictatorship is safe against repression. However, despite all its efforts, the junta failed to uproot 'sedition' among the military.

The recent events in Iran and Nicaragua show that however powerful they may be at first glance,

the armed forces guarding dictatorial regimes are in fact not that strong. This does not mean that the revolution must be accomplished in struggle against the armed forces as a whole. It is axiomatic that without winning over at least part of the army there can be no serious struggle. The experience of Latin America shows that there are definite and quite tangible possibilities of increasing the progressive potential of the armed forces. This was quite clearly demonstrated by the events in Panama, Peru and to some extent, Chile.

Dixon. It should not be forgotten that in the military establishment itself there are serious and deep-seated contradictions that give rise to a concealed class struggle which after reaching a certain degree of maturity, leads to a crisis.

In most cases these contradictions develop into mutinous action that results in the emergence of a new, frequently reactionary administration. But it also happens that the presidential palace is assaulted by patriotic military motivated by a desire to remove from the national leadership the corrupt oligarchy which has entirely lost support from the people on account of its inability to rule within the framework of bourgeois democracy: and all this only to install another military-political regime. This motivation is frequently overlooked by the people's revolutionary forces, including our parties. They lose sight of the fact that as a rule, military-patriotic governments have no clear-cut ideological and political orientation.

The Panamanian communists have gained considerable political experience by taking part in the political process initiated by the National Guard. From the outset they correctly assessed its anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist patriotic tendencies oriented upon revolution and creating conditions for change in the interests of the masses. Back in 1970 the People's Party of Panama declared that a new type of serviceman had developed in the armed forces under the ideological leadership of General Omar Torrijos, who abhors the very idea of being an instrument in the hands of politicians on the payroll of the oligarchy. It is not fortuitous that it was Torrijos who, in a letter to U.S. Senator Edward M. Kennedy, expressed the feelings of these military men. 'When I was a captain,' he wrote, 'I once put down a student-led action sparked by serious reasons. I was wounded, and more severely than anyone else in my unit, but I came to realize that the death of young guerrillas did not mean either elimination or disappearance of the causes of disaffection that led them to protest by insurrection. After I read their program, I realized that had I not been in uniform I would have been on their side of the barricades. It was then that I made up my mind that should I ever happen to be in command of our armed forces I would wed them to the supreme interests of the country.'

Romero. Although the military-police dictatorship has been in power for a long time, the Paraguayan communists have never identified the army with the Stroessner-led cabal of venal generals and officers who, for all their protestations about the national interest and 'national independence,' bear the full responsibility for the plunder of national wealth, crimes and the incalculable crooked deals: repressions, horrible tortures, kidnappings and arrests, drug traffic, embezzlement on a large scale, graft and so on.

In the Paraguayan army there are many fine officers who are loyal to patriotic, national traditions, which manifested themselves most fully in the war against the triple alliance (Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay) and in the Chaco war. In both these conflicts, which Paraguay neither sought nor wished, our officers and men fought under the slogan 'Victory or Death.' This slogan has been besmirched by the Stroessner generals and officers, who have sold out to the enemy of our people — U.S. imperialism.

Many Paraguayan officers share the indignation and protest over the fact that Stroessner has given asylum to Somoza. The corrupt military with Stroessner at their head will unquestionably be isolated in the army and sooner or later, share the lot of Somoza: they will ultimately be consigned to the dustbin of history. The communists believe that when this takes place there will be a provisional military-civilian government, whose strength will lie in unity between all patriotic forces aimed at putting democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist reforms into effect.

Soarez. I believe that when we speak of the military establishment's class nature we should emphasize the following: first and foremost its heterogeneity — the difference between the rank and file and the officers, between the lower and middle echelons of command and the top brass who, in effect, champion the interests of the ruling classes; the growth of contradictions in its ranks as the resistance put up by the working class and the whole people intensifies; the impact of the present anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic stage of the Latin American peoples' struggle with account of the movement for democracy in countries with terrorist or fascist dictatorships, i.e., the growing role of the democratic and national-liberation struggle which is capable of rallying large sections of the population, including a sizable part of the bourgeoisie.

In this our point of departure should be that the sooner the broadest possible sections of the people achieve unity in action, the quicker will the armed forces realize that the vital interests of the nation must be defended and that it is important to act jointly with the people in pressing for democratic, anti-imperialist demands.

It is not enough merely to denounce the crimes of the military or criticize the treaties they have concluded against the national interest. What is needed is that they should be constantly shown that they have a role to play in the anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist struggle.

Hernandez Fortuna. I think that our guests, the officers from El Salvador and Chile, did not accidentally stress the exclusiveness of the armed forces. It is a well-known fact that the demarcation between civilians and the military has always been used by imperialism and reaction for turning the army against the people. As I see it, this weapon can

be wrested from the rightists only when servicemen realize that defense of national sovereignty is not the prerogative of the armed forces alone.

I believe that in countries (at least in the Dominican Republic) where even part of the military are still far from adopting patriotic positions it is imperative that there should be universal military service, that patriotic civilians should be conscripted. This would eliminate the contradiction consisting in the fact that on the one hand, civilians do not know how to handle arms and on the other, servicemen are denied political rights (naturally, these rights must be fought for). This is the only way to make sure that servicemen get a genuinely patriotic and not an anti-communist education, as is the case today.

Another demand which, I believe, should be vigorously supported is the right to regard as criminal the orders of the high command if such orders contravene the constitution and legislation. One cannot say (even using bourgeois legal terminology) that the given society is democratic if one of its chief institutions has been placed outside the sociopolitical process and functions on the strength of rigid authoritarianism, that may at any moment be turned against the whole nation.

Fazio. It has been said here that a sizable segment of Latin American officers are of middle class (mostly upper middle class) origin. This is also true of my country. But this is not enough for an assessment of the Chilean army's role today or in the past. Its class character is revealed in an analysis of its social role as an institution which, in most of our countries, is at the disposal of imperialism and the oligarchy and is closely linked to the Pentagon. The Chilean armed forces can be democratized provided they are purged of fascist elements who have usurped top command posts, and rid of the influence of imperialism and the oligarchy.

As Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile put it, 'in future, under the new, democratic regime, the soldiers, NCOs, middle-ranking officers and quite a few top commanders could and should give their knowledge and experience to the institutions of national defense.' That is why, Corvalan added, 'we are not advocating a mere return to the barracks. We want to see the armed forces guarding national sovereignty and linked to the people and to the big work of ensuring progress in Chile. This is the foundation on which the new national security concept must pave its way. Allegiance to the ideals of democracy, democratic traditions and the nation's democratic goals must become an essential element of military training. This will create a new relationship between the armed forces and the people.'

Valdes Vivo. U.S. imperialism's first military intervention at the close of the last century, which robbed the Cuban people of their victory over the Spanish colonial regime, resulted in the disbandment of the Liberation Army that had fought for independence. A new, neo-colonialist type of army was formed in Cuba to serve U.S. interests (it was at that time that the United States received the 'right' to establish a naval base at Guantanamo). The military under General Batista, who assumed power in 1952, imposed a military dictatorship on the country. A group of young patriots led by Fidel Castro rose against the tyrant, who was supported by U.S. imperialism. They heroically attacked the Moncada barracks, and then came the landing from the yacht *Granma*. In the course of the struggle Castro gave much of his attention to refuting the then current view that nothing could be done without or against the army. In the struggle for power he used Marxist-Leninist propositions as the guide to action. His efforts were not in vain. The 25 months of hard-fought revolutionary war resulted in the formation of a workers' and peasants' army. This experience was subsequently repeated in Nicaragua.

The Cuban revolutionaries' humanitarian treatment of the Batista soldiers taken prisoner helped to win a section of the army to the side of the opponents of the dictatorship. I am referring to revolutionary humanitarianism, to the quest for means that could be instrumental in bringing out and moulding — within the imperialist institutions of subjugation — a conglomerate of forces (both among soldiers — former workers and peasants — and among patriotic officers) capable of joining the people in the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation.

Paso. I should like to draw attention to two important aspects of the problem we are discussing. The first is the differentiated social composition of the army; the second is its ideological education, its reactionary, specifically anti-communist, conservative and biased training.

On the other hand, the army is also influenced by other (outwardly diverse) factors, the chief of which are: the existence and strengthening of the socialist world; the progressive, popular, general-democratic and liberative traditions both in society as a whole and in the military establishment; the struggle of the people in general, and of the working class in particular; the dominance of the transnationals in every area of life; the country's dependence on imperialism.

These elements are what give rise to contradictions in the armed forces and to two trends in their ranks: the reactionary (essentially anti-national) and the progressive (in some cases, even anti-imperialist). It follows that blind anti-communism has no social basis today and that it is not only possible but necessary to draw civilians and servicemen closer together. Many servicemen (in Argentina, as well) believe that their past experience has been abortive and that new realities have arisen in the world that tend to prevent the spread and assertion of reactionary ideas. Hence the importance of defining the platform for such a drawing together. The Communist Party of Argentina formulates it as follows: return to a normal constitutional life with the prospect of renewing democracy and drawing up a minimum program for socio-economic development aimed at modernizing the

economy and ensuring its independent functioning.

Orellana. I must say that the problem of the army is an extremely intricate one, as I have seen from my own experience. When I began to ponder the role accorded to the military, I asked myself: 'But am I not a traitor?' Other 'buts' appeared later: but how correct is the stand that I take? but am I not in opposition to the others?, etc. Of course, as one's eyes open to things, many other truths dawn upon him. That is why it is so important to understand what servicemen think about and the line of their reasoning, what headaches torture them.

In conclusion I think we must subscribe to the idea that every effort should be made to encourage democratization in the armed forces for this is a step, however small, toward severing a part of the military from the exploiting classes.

Silva. It is generally assumed that it is very hard to go to the military with progressive ideas. Such contacts can have far-reaching repercussions. I remember for instance, our instructor, a Brazilian army colonel, warning us about this during exercises in Panama. He told us how the command once had problems with officers who worked on some summer projects jointly with students. In the political debates that they had with each other, the officers proved to be totally unprepared. The command went so far as to recall them to prevent them from 'disintegrating morally.'

Something of the kind also took place in Chile. It is not accidental that the repressions hit quite many air force officers who under the Allende government had attended evening courses at the State Technological University. Their contacts with teachers and students were the decisive influence turning their thinking toward more progressive ideas. I believe the crux of the matter is that while imperialism and local reactionaries are intensively indoctrinating the military, the democratic, progressive forces take a generally passive stand.

The exchange of views demonstrated the great significance and topicality of the problem discussed. It was noted that this problem is especially meaningful today, when the Pentagon and the local reactionaries linked to it are trying to modernize their military doctrine and adapt it to the 'spirit of the times.' They are bent on neutralizing the influence of progressive ideas in the army, totally isolating the armed forces from the people and, using the metaphor of Marx and Engels, depriving them of the ability to lay siege to the coffers of the bourgeoisie. With this aim in view the military and the right-wing circles are stepping up anti-communist propaganda, seeking to make it a sort of 'professional' military ideology. So-called anti-subversion publications are issued in large editions, as are special 'officer's libraries,' books by military 'experts' on anti-communism, as well as 'exposures' of communist parties concocted in the military and secret police departments; conferences and seminars are held to coordinate actions and improve the methods of dealing with patriots.

The explanation for the growing aggressiveness of the military is, as the participants in the round table emphasized, that its spokesmen take their cue from the Pentagon doctrine of 'continental defense against communism,' which aims at evolving more effective methods of 'counter-insurgency' warfare, i.e., way and means of suppressing the Latin American peoples' liberation, anti-imperialist movement. On the pretext that 'international communism' can gain a foothold in any country and apply the strategy and tactics of revolutionary war, they speak of the need for defense against the 'hegemonistic and expansionist ambitions' (Pinochet) of the Marxists or call for the establishment of a 'continental defense system' against 'Marxist aggression' (Argentina's military junta member Graffina).

Specific 'counter-insurgency' warfare measures are adopted at conferences of the OAS commanders-in-chief. For instance, the latest, 13th conference in Bogota (November 1979) even discussed a 'plan for joint struggle' against 'communist subversion,' one of whose points says that the military should assume power whenever and wherever a so-called political vacuum takes shape. Most of the delegates supported the idea that the principal mission of the armed forces is to eradicate communism which they allege, is misleading the working people and inspiring the guerrillas. The conference considered ways and means of improving combat training which, in addition to purely military disciplines, should include 'ideological and tactical training of officers in the face of international communism and in connection with the military's special role in society.' This was official confirmation that the accent has been shifted to the ideological aspect of training; this is in contrast to the traditional emphasis on 'professionalism' and on the army's 'indifference to politics.' But the Bogota meeting had some other hallmarks. Amid the incantations about the need to 'combat the guerrilla movements and communist infiltration,' there were voices representing realistically-minded, patriotic military circles who maintain that the working people's actions are the result of the poverty, hunger and inhuman conditions in which the overwhelming majority of the population on the continent lives. Also significant is that some countries (Bolivia, Nicaragua, El Salvador) did not send delegates, thereby eloquently expressing their attitude to the conference.

This is what prompts all democratic, revolutionary circles — in the armed forces as well — to press for the democratiization of military institutions, for the establishment or intensification of links between the military and the people. Such being the case, the participants in the exchange of views noted, enormous significance attached to well-argumented criticism of the bourgeoisie's pro-imperialist views about the role of the army in the political life of Latin America and the elaboration of a correct and flexible dialectical attitude to the military. The experience of victorious revolution, notably of the Great October Socialist Revolution, is evidence that this is the only way they can be won over to the side of peace, democracy and social progress.

Political shifts in the Middle East: roots, factors, trends

1. SUMMARY OF A DISCUSSION

In the past two years the political situation in the Middle East has undergone important changes linked mainly to the revolutionary processes in Afghanistan and in Iran. The importance of these changes and the interaction of the various underlying factors were examined by an international study group set up by the *WMR* Commission on Problems of the National Liberation Movement in Asian and African Countries. The group included *A. Galavig* (CC member of Tudeh — People's Party of Iran), *Kemal Kervan* (representative of the CP Turkey on the Journal) and *R. Akhramovich* (professor, Afghan scholar, USSR). Below is a summary of the most important views advanced at the discussion.

The political situation in the Middle East, relatively stable until recently, was used by bourgeois propaganda for the claim that the national liberation movement could be called anti-imperialist only when and insofar as the colonies and semi-colonies fought for state sovereignty. Subsequently, according to this logic, there was no longer any cause for an anti-imperialist struggle. This 'theory' has been refuted by events in the Middle East, showing that the countries in this region are not at all immune to the operation of the general laws of the world revolutionary proces. It is from this angle that the study group considered the situation in Afghanistan and Iran, and also in Turkey.

These countries have one fundamental feature in common, even if the extent to which this is true may differ. It consists in the fact that over a more or less protracted period the ruling classes — semi-feudal landowners and the top strata of the national bourgeoisie — made extensive use of the economic potentialities of these nations forcibly to implant capitalism in economic life *from above* for their own benefit.

In Afghanistan the monarchist regime took some measures back in the 1930s to promote the country's capitalist evolution. In the postwar period such measures became more systematic, as the state's entrepreneurial and regulating role in the economy, mainly in its non-agricultural sectors, was intensified. Some state regulation of economic life, far from hampering, in effect promoted the development of private enterprise, even if this was not very rapid.

The abolition of the monarchy, which gave way to a pseudo-republican regime, virtually had no effect on socio-economic policy. That was the situation in which the April 1978 Revolution was accomplished.

The implanting of capitalist principles of economic activity from the top in Iran was much more pronounced, especially after the early 1960s (the shah's agrarian reform and other measures designated as the 'white,' i.e., bloodless 'revolution'). Economic development in Iran proceeded in close structural connection with the world capitalist market, which meant that the Iranian economy, notably its leading industry — oil — was geared to the interests of the multinational monopolies. There was a coalescence of the landowner-bourgeois élite in the country with the military-industrial complexes of the United States and the other imperialist powers.

The contradictions between the monarchy and its imperialist allies on the one hand, and the masses on the other, were brought to white heat by the despotic and repressive nature of the shah's regime, Iran's conversion into an economic, financial and military appendage of imperialism, its ever broader involvement in the system of neo-colonial exploitation, and the capitalist content and dependent nature of its socio-economic development. Those were the main causes of the anti-monarchist explosion in February 1979, the study group emphasized.

The use of the state mechanism and budgetary instruments for laying the foundations of capitalist enterprise was evident in the 'purest' form in Turkey. Initially, that is before the Second World War, this development accorded with the national interest, but as the ruling circles took a pro-imperialist orientation, it was subsequently geared to the economic and political goals chiefly of the propertied classes. Characteristically, the formation of capitalism in its state forms affected almost exclusively the 'urban' spheres of the economy, whose development the national bourgeoisie could not undertake. The process of capitalist transformation in the countryside, which began mainly after the Second World War, ran only to the extent to which it was advantageous for the big landowners.

In Turkey, the combination of a fairly developed 'urban' capitalism and the ugly landowner-capitalist structure in the countryside, the worsening material conditions of life for broad sections of the working people and the continued enrichment of a rich minority, a virtually undisguised dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie serviced in the past few years by the local reformists, and the pro-imperialist orientation of the ruling circles, the great Turkey chauvinism cultivated by these circles, the oppression of the national minorities (Kurdish and others) produced a tight knot of deepening contradictions that objectively could lead toward the creation of a revolutionary situation.

The bourgeois-state programs in Turkey, the 'white revolution' in Iran and a mixture of the two

in Afghanistan (before the April Revolution in 1978) were merely different methods for implanting capitalist relations. The formation of capitalism in the feudal and semi-feudal structures in its Middle East variant, the members of the group said, had specific features.

First, the development of capitalism in these countries virtually entailed no break-up of the pre-capitalist relations in the countryside (Afghanistan), or this was inadequate and belated (Iran and Turkey). Hence the specially painful nature of this policy for the masses and the extreme acuteness of the social contradictions.

Second, because the implantation of capitalist relations generally ran well ahead of the development of the productive forces, whose backwardness was directly proportional to the extent feudal and semi-feudal survivals were retained, this process necessarily had to rest on economic ties with developed capitalist countries. The strengthening of these ties not only led to heavy economic dependence, but also became the basis for the use of Iran and Turkey in imperialism's military-strategic system (Turkey's membership of NATO and CENTO and Iran's of CENTO), something that induced the growth of anti-imperialist attitudes among large sections of the population.

There is no doubt that the erstwhile rulers of Afghanistan and Iran 'owed' the revolutions in these countries to their anti-people socio-economic policies, which were in line mainly with the interests of the exploiting élite and in Iran's case, their more or less overt pro-imperialist course. These revolutions, differing in character, motive forces and political leadership, testify to the collapse of the programs for capitalist development under the control and with the assistance of the feudal-bourgeois state, and of the attempts to find some optimal variants for capitalist transformations.

Capitalist development, the study group emphasized, 'implanted' from the top or 'conventional,' is in most of the economically backward countries — yesterday and today — inevitably attended by deepening social inequality and class contradictions, and a steady slide into the dead end of economic dependence on the centers of imperialism. As a social system, capitalism, in the final count, is incapable of solving the diverse and complicated problems of the peoples rising from colonial and semi-colonial oppression. This is a historical lesson of tremendous political importance and it has been further corroborated by the revolutionary developments in the Middle East. It can be used by the revolutionary-democratic forces in the fight for a progressive, anti-capitalist, socialist orientation of development in their countries.

The deep-going political changes in the Middle East have borne out the proposition that a revolutionary situation arises in any country only in the period of national crisis affecting both the masses and the ruling circles. But the forms of revolution and the scale on which the masses take part in it depend on the 'maturity' level of the crisis. It is always based on definite socio-economic and political factors and relations of exploitation carried to an extreme and on the political consciousness of the masses. At the same time, these 'universal' factors intricately interact with those which constitute the national (regional) specifics.

The participants in the study group noted that even if this local specific has no marked role at the stage of the maturing of the national crisis and the revolutionary situation, it may subsequently determine some of the more essential elements of the revolutionary process (for instance, political leadership, role of the working class, petty-bourgeois masses in town and country, and the army). Factors like national relations in the given country or the religious beliefs of the population are the 'material,' the character of whose political use depends on the stage of the revolution, the alignment of socio-political forces, and so on. In this connection members of the group gave comparative characteristics of the situation in Afghanistan and Iran.

The pre-revolutionary development of both countries had a few features in common, but there were some important distinctions which made for the different types, the achieved results and the key goals of the two revolutions.

First of all, there is a marked difference between the level of socio-economic development in the two countries, which has affected the alignment of political-class forces. In this respect, Afghanistan on the eve of the revolution clearly lagged behind Iran. Despite the emergence over the past 15-20 years of some industries, the Afghan working class was still small. The same applies to the bourgeoisie. The feudals and the peasants continued to be the main social classes. However, their deep antagonism had no adequate political expression. The cultural backwardness of the peasant masses and other sections of the working people, crushed by savage medieval exploitation, virtually ruled out the possibility of their extensive political organization and mobilization for the struggle for social emancipation.

In these conditions the human material for the revolutionary coup could be supplied mainly by the various elements of the state-political superstructure. There is good reason why the urban non-aristocratic intelligentsia, rather that part of it which proved to be capable of uniting politically on the basis of the working-class ideology, became the social core of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, which was set up in 1965. There was also good reason why the PDPA took the line of making the army the chief instrument of the revolutionary coup paving the way for the revolution proper, that is, the implementation — with reliance on and with the participation of the masses and in their interests — of deep-going progressive transformations in every sphere of social life. This experience of the PDPA is of practical and theoretical interest.

There is no doubt that the social composition of the officer corps, recruited mainly from among the non-aristocratic intelligentsia, affected the army's

stand. Besides, even before the April Revolution, Afghanistan was independent politically from imperialism, mainly due to its traditional economic and political ties with the Soviet Union. This fact inevitably influenced the army's political behavior, for it was much less subject to imperialist influence than, say, the Iranian army. Now, with the takeover by the People's Democratic Party and the start on deep progressive transformations, the country's independence has been given an *internal social* basis. The imperialist circles are well aware of this qualitative change and this fuels their hatred for Afghanistan's new leadership.

The level of Iran's socio-economic development was much higher, due in particular to the existence of a large oil industry and the much earlier and more intensive development of capitalist relations. A fairly numerous working class, with a political vanguard — the Tudeh Party, or the People's Party of Iran — took shape on the basis of the oil and other industries. The national bourgeoisie and the urban petty-bourgeois strata also had their political organizations. Despite the different status of these classes and strata, including the intelligentsia, in the system of social relations, their political aspirations were largely characterized by a common anti-monarchist tenor. The bulk of the peasantry, whose condition was markedly worsened by the shah's agrarian reform, also had similar aspirations.

The broad use of powerful repression organs — the police and the counter-intelligence and army services — and also direct support from U.S. imperialism enabled the despotic regime to keep this opposition down for a long time. All 'subversive' parties and organizations were banned. The communists were most fiercely persecuted, as a result of which the PPI had to operate in the strictest secrecy.

In this situation the Moslem clergy had the greatest potentialities among all the forces of the anti-shah opposition. The objective conditions in Iranian society and some subjective factors prevented the shah from pursuing the same repressive line against the clergy — whom he even feared — as against his purely political opponents. The spread of the ideas of national independence through the mosques and religious meetings met with a broad response among the population and enhanced the traditional moral and political influence of the Shiite clergy. That section of it which campaigned under slogans put forward by Ayatollah Khomeini not only expressed the aspirations of the masses but also, to some extent, became the actual organizer and leader of the anti-monarchist and anti-imperialist struggle.

The religious slant of this struggle, which was determined by concrete historical conditions, did not of course, mean a removal of the role of any of its chief motive forces: the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, students and women.

The working class and the urban poor were the main element of these social forces. At the most critical moment, when the shah moved the full might of the military machine set up with U.S. aid against the unarmed masses in the streets, and when many believed that the game was won, the working class resorted to work stoppages and general strikes, its own formidable weapon. These ushered in a new stage in the movement, which before then had gone forward mainly in the form of street demonstrations. The strikes, unremitting and uncompromising and ever more politically pronounced, hit the main industries, the oil industry above all, transport, trade, education and even the government machine, paralyzing the anti-people regime.

The peasantry also joined actively in the struggle. The disinherited peasants and farm laborers expelled the men who managed the estates of the shah's family and other big landowners, fought the gendarmes, took over the land and machinery and set up their own organs of administration. The peasant movement became an important element in this nationwide storm, which swept away the Iranian monarchy. The mass of unemployed, consisting mainly of ruined peasants who had migrated to the towns and were responsive to anti-shah slogans, also played a big role in the fight.

The urban petty bourgeoisie (artisans, traders, and lower and middle-rank government officials), which suffered from the open door policy, foreign capital domination, rising taxes, corruption and the regime's economic and political arbitrariness, was quickly aroused. Virtually the whole of Iran's intelligentsia, the students in particular, were in the front ranks of the anti-monarchist and anti-imperialist movement.

As for the national bourgeoisie, the middle bourgeoisie especially, it steadily moved into opposition to the shah as the mounting economic influence of the foreign monopolies and the country's submission to U.S. imperialism made its business increasingly more difficult. However, since the fall of Mossadegh in 1953, the Iranian bourgeoisie never managed to assume the role of leader in the movement for political change.

But why did the virtually nationwide struggle against the shah and his foreign patrons not involve the main contingents of the army (with the exception of some Air Force units) in the anti-monarchist movement? The study group said that this was due to a number of factors, including the Americanization of the officer corps, which was handpicked for personal loyalty to the shah, who gave the military many material privileges; the strict surveillance of the secret police and the CIA over the military units; the constant brainwashing of the soldiers in the spirit of fidelity to the monarchy, coupled with anti-democratic and anti-communist propaganda.

In addition to its domestic function of protecting the anti-people dictatorship, the army was built to enable monarchist Iran to carry out its 'subimperialist' mission, to police the region in the interests of the imperialist powers, chiefly the USA. The collapse of the shah's regime showed the futility of this 'invention' which the imperialists tried and are still trying to use for their experiments not only in Iran.

A very broad front of national forces came out in Iran under the banner of anti-monarchist and anti-

imperialist revolution. The political and ideological differences and contradictions between them were not of material importance at that stage in view of the immediate common goal of overthrowing the monarchy and removing imperialist domination. With the fall of the shah, when the question of building a new Iran came to the fore, this political heterogeneity resulted in the emergence of innumerable groups and platforms of the most diverse stripe. Still, two main lines — the revolutionary and the reformist-conciliatory — stand out in this broad and motley spectrum of trends.

The working class, the poor peasantry, a segment of the petty and patriotic wing of the middle bourgeoisie, progressive intellectuals and the students support, variously of course, the main demands of the revolutionary line, in whose determination and propaganda the left-wing revolutionary-democratic organizations and the People's Party of Iran have had and still have an important role to play. This spells out a fundamental restructuring of the state apparatus and the army, democratic freedom for all progressive forces, the removal of the imperialist presence in the economy and the development of the public sector, nationalization of big private property, improvement of the life of the working masses, abrogation of all the treaties and agreements imposed on Iran by imperialism and the pursuance of an anti-imperialist foreign policy in the non-aligned movement.

It is mostly the liberal bourgeois circles that have pursued another line, which starts from the need to display so-called moderation on all these and other issues. This naturally hampers any clear-cut orientation of social development in the interests of the majority of the people, especially since there is evidence of a tendency on the part of the liberal bourgeoisie to actually collaborate with reactionary and pro-imperialist forces on a number of issues.

In this muddled situation, the question of the potentialities and limits of the clergy's progressive impulses remains highly important because concrete conditions have placed it in a key position on the political scene.

Some of Iran's religious circles have undoubtedly displayed a capacity for action within the stream of the objective requirements of the anti-imperialist struggle and social progress. The Iranian revolution has to its credit measures like the abrogation of the shah's agreements with the oil consortium, the closure of U.S. military and intelligence bases, Iran's withdrawal from CENTO, recognition of the PLO, the rupture with Israel, the economic boycott of Israel and also of Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa, and nationalization of private banks and insurance companies, of the energy, mining and aircraft industries, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the automobile and shipbuilding industries and a number of enterprises in the food and light industries. The study group believes that the very logic of the Iranian revolution and the steps already taken can to some extent influence the character of the leadership's subsequent policy.

It has already been pointed out above that in Iran, Islam has played the role of a unifying banner against the monarchy and imperialism. In a way it has even pushed the nationalistic aspect of the struggle into the background. The forces which raised this banner are to some extent still maintaining their progressive potential, although they cannot be regarded as the undisputed champions of the people's vital interests.

In Afghanistan, the nature of the revolution, its economic and socio-political goals, clear-cut from the outset, and the leadership of the PDPA have given a different role to part of the religious circles. The reactionary forces are trying to use religion as a weapon of counter-revolution, and in some instances they have been successful. Why? Because of the simple fact that the social consciousness of part of the population has yet to rise to a clear understanding that the revolution brings social liberation. At the time of the revolutionary coup the national crisis was not acute and the situation in which the working people and other masses join in active struggle for understandable and profoundly comprehended goals had yet to materialize. This consciousness is shaped only in the course of social-economic transformations, carrying real changes into the life of the masses.

Of course, the participants in the study group emphasized, this is not a swift process. Moreover, its development in the right direction requires not only deep-going socio-economic changes, but sustained and purposeful politico-explanatory work, which must not lose touch with or abstract itself from the actual level of mass consciousness. On the contrary, this work implies the rational use of habitual notions, including the social categories of Islam.

The latter is not any kind of coherent theory, not some integral philosophy, for it contains a great many propositions which can be variously interpreted. Albeit difficult, it is fully realistic (and the experience of Soviet Central Asia is highly instructive in this sense) in some way to enlist Islam into serving the revolution and the building of a new life, considering in particular, the fact that among the clergy there are not only retrogrades but also more or less progressive elements, so as to wrest from the influence of political reaction those who still follow it.

The multinational make-up of the population is also a significant factor influencing the development of the political situation in the country. It is this that is motivating the ceaseless attacks on internal and external reaction against the Afghan revolution and thereby creating a highly tense situation. Anti-Pushtu attitudes among the ethnic minorities are being fueled and used for counter-revolutionary purposes. In this situation it is of special importance to achieve real national unity and equality, whose institutional forms can be diverse.

One of the chief goals of the Afghan revolution is to put an end to national oppression and discrimination. This is being promoted by radical socio-economic reforms throughout the country, what-

ever the national make-up of the population in the various districts. The revolutionary leadership's cultural policy is also of great importance. School education, book publishing and radio and television broadcasts now cover five languages. All of this is aimed at ending national discord, uniting the Afghan people, consolidating the revolution and halting counter-revolutionary activities.

The nationalities question is also highly acute in Iran, where over half of the population consists of Azerbaijanis, Kurds, Baluchis, Turkmenis and Arabs. Under the monarchy all these ethnic groups were oppressed and discriminated against economically, politically and culturally and, of course, they were active in fighting against the monarchist, pro-imperialist regime. It is quite natural too, that in the new Iran they seek to assert their national rights and deliver themselves from discrimination in any form. The maintenance of the old situation cannot but have destabilizing political consequences.

The People's Party of Iran, like some of the other revolutionary democratic parties and organizations, the study group emphasized, is determined to uproot national oppression. It stands for the right of the ethnic minorities of Iran to cultural and administrative autonomy within the framework of an integral Iranian state.

The April Revolution in Afghanistan and the abolition of the monarchy in Iran are influencing the situation in other countries of the region. From this standpoint, the study group examined some aspects of the situation in Turkey. However, the editors have left out the analysis of the questions raised in this connection because they are dealt with in detail in the present issue of the journal, in an article by I. Bilen 'National Democratic Forces Challenge Exploitation and Repression.'

In summing up the discussion it was pointed out that the will to change the existing situation was growing among the masses. This is limiting the ability of the ruling classes to run the country the old way and has opened new opportunities for the progressive forces — a development that is being promoted by the international situation.

In concluding the analysis, the study group noted the unquestionable link of the socio-political changes and trends in the Middle East to the global revolutionary process, to the continued consolidation of the positions of world socialism, to the mounting struggle of the working class in the developed capitalist countries and to the development and deepening of the national liberation movement. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are showing a growing urge for genuine social and economic progress. They have stepped up their struggle against neo-colonial exploitation and taken a vigorous anti-imperialist stand. All of this fully applies to the Middle East.

2. IMPRESSIONS OF AN EYEWITNESS

This contribution from *Naim Ashhab*, Political Bureau member, Central Committee, Jordanian Communist Party, and member of the *WMR* Editorial Council, is based on personal observations and information obtained in Kabul, where he represented *WMR* at the International Conference of Solidarity with the People of Afghanistan.

The regime brought to power by the revolution of April 1978[1] under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan inherited a very sad legacy. An extremely backward agrarian country, Afghanistan had practically nothing that could be called an industry in the modern sense of the term. This also concerned communications, specifically motor roads, which only linked some of the bigger cities. The national income was less than $100 per capita, making it among the world's lowest. Yet Afghanistan has substantial potentialities for economic development.[2]

About 40,000 landlords owned roughly 70 per cent of the arable land. Some estates had as much as 8,000 hectares. The overwhelming majority of the peasants were landless.

The illiteracy rate was 95 per cent. Women were barred from all public activity; moreover, they were in effect, a commodity whose acquisition was barely disguised by paying dowries, which in some cases amounted to 0.5 million aghanis.[3]

There were no trade unions until after the revolution. But they still have only 71,000 members, which is due in particular, to an underdeveloped industry and the small proportion of workers in a population of nearly 15 million.[4]

No political parties were permitted. The authorities persecuted even the petty-bourgeois intellectual circles and groups that sprang up when the monarchy was still in power. It was only the PDPA, founded on January 1, 1965, that went on operating in strict secrecy despite the monarchist reign of terror and the repressions practised by the 'republican' regime of Mohammad Daoud, who took power in 1973. Its program documents called for the establishment of a society free from oppression and exploitation. The masses saw the PDPA as the only promise of deliverance from a medieval order.

Immediately after the April Revolution the new regime set out to eliminate the legacy of the past. From January to July 1979 a radical agrarian reform was carried out. Its first stage has been completed. Land has been received by nearly 300,000 peasant families.

Shackling debts were abolished,[5] with the result that poor, propertyless peasants were relieved of a debt totalling 33,000 million afghanis. The debt-cancelling Decree No. 6, issued on July 12, 1978, became one of the best known and most popular legislative acts. So did Decree No. 7 (October 17, 1978), which established a symbolic amount of dowry (according to the spirit and laws of the Sharia[6]), thereby ending a humiliating situation in which women were regarded as chattel purchased by the highest bidder.

With the aid of teachers and other intellectuals the revolutionary state launched a drive to wipe out illiteracy. In a short time it built new schools and set up literacy classes for nearly a million people. Plans for the next five years provide for the almost total abolition of illiteracy, that is, for the solution of an

exceedingly acute and difficult problem of the Third World.

The new state also proceeded to settle the nationalities question.[7] Its measures are intended to establish real equality among ethnic groups (by gradually raising them to the same socio-economic level), end all forms of national oppression and guarantee people of every nationality their inalienable rights, including the right to use their mother tongue and freely develop their national heritage and culture. This approach to the nationalities question is particularly important since attempts in the Middle East to solve the problem from a chauvinistic standpoint have invariably aggravated relations between different nationalities, as in Pakistan, Iraq, Iran, Turkey and also in Israel.

It took slightly more than a year to put these fundamental changes into effect.

They coincided with increasing imperialist and reactionary plotting against the Afghan revolution in the most diverse fields. Sinister forces opposed to the revolution are trying to undermine it and nullify its achievements before it can assert itself, and before the population has had the opportunity to appreciate the value and significance of these gains. What these forces dread most of all is the appeal of the example of new Afghanistan, its impact on the peoples of other countries of the region, who are in revolutionary ferment. How greatly the consolidation and advance of the Afghan revolution can influence the situation in the region is seen in, among other things, the wide spectrum of political forces rallying together to fight it.

The camp of enemies of the Afghan revolution extends from the CIA to the present rulers of China. It includes reactionary alignments operating in various countries of the region. Each of these forces plays the role assigned to it in acts of aggression.

The enemies of the Afghan revolution have been trying to use the nomadic tribes numbering about three million to secure their ends. These tribes inhabit areas bordering on Pakistan, freely moving with their livestock to Pakistan in winter and back to Afghanistan in summer. The enemies of the Afghan revolution recruit tribesmen to engage in subversive activities against new Afghanistan, taking advantage of their ignorance and dire poverty.

The 'orphaned' henchmen of the deposed shah of Iran, especially members of the bloodthirsty SAVAK secret service, are also involved in hostile activities against new Afghanistan. The imperialists and other reactionaries, who have readily given asylum to the exiled officers of the former shah's regime, including members of SAVAK, have rendered all-out support to their efforts to subvert revolutionary Afghanistan.

The Peking rulers for their part, are helping to arm and train saboteurs. They have joined in the propaganda against the new regime, and add their share to the spate of lies and false reports about the counter-revolutionary forces' alleged victories that have surged high in the recent period. Speaking generally, lies have become one of the favorite devices of the enemies of the revolution, who would like to minimize its strength and make believe that the people's power is losing control and that the masses are turning away from it.

Unable to find any pretext for acts of aggression either in the home policy of the new regime, or in its foreign policy of peace, especially toward neighbors, the forces conspiring against revolutionary Afghanistan resort to the banner of religion. This camouflage is in itself an indication of their historical failure. Nor is it easy, notably because it is in glaring contrast with their activities.

Indeed, how dare Sadat cover up his involvement in the struggle against new Afghanistan with the banner of Islam! This man who calls himself a 'faithful' Muslim in fact sells holy Muslim places in Jerusalem and other occupied lands of Palestine to the Zionist rulers of Israel, who desecrate these places and shamelessly flout the Muslims' sentiments. How can he pretend he is fighting Afghanistan under the banner of religion since, being intent on aggression, he is massing the troops he withdrew from the Sinai front after concluding the alliance with Israel on the border of Libya, a country whose regime eagerly upholds the precepts of Islam?

How zealously the CIA 'respects' Islam is only too well known. One wonders where these 'zealots' were when Afghanistan's feudal regime, now overthrown, brazenly trampled the spirit and norms of Islam underfoot, including the precepts of the Koran regarding usury, as the bitter legacy of debtors' bondage, ended by the revolutionary government, shows.

While trying to unite all reactionary forces for a holy war against new Afghanistan, which would mean forming an aggressive bloc endangering not only Afghanistan, the conspirators want at the same time, to divide Muslims of different denominations and set them against one another. This is happening in Syria, the Persian Gulf states and elsewhere. In Syria, efforts are being made to prod the Sunnite Muslim Brothers organization into taking a stand against the regime under Hafez Assad, an Alawite, to force him to join the Camp David bloc of traitors.

Not so long ago, Nasser was accused of 'opposing' Islam. Even Ayatollah Khomeini was declared 'godless' for his utterances against the shah. Furthermore, while the conspirators use a religious disguise, a vast and multiform campaign against all progressive anti-imperialist forces, from revolutionary Afghanistan to the communists, from Baathist Syria to the Qaddafi regime in Libya is unfolding. Shahpur Bakhtiar, the shah's last prime minister put in office through the efforts of the CIA and by the shah's will in a final desperate bid to save the throne, said early last August that he had begun a counter-campaign for a democratic, *secular* government in Iran, in place of the Islamic regime![8]

The point at issue is therefore, not Islam as such but who is trying to exploit it and for what ends.

In the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th, Islam often played a progressive role in resisting colonizers, foreign administration and occupation troops (that is, 'godless foreigners'). Such was the case in the Sudan, Indonesia, Morocco, Algeria and other countries, where the revolutionary

movements varied in scale and goals due to the difference in their social class composition.

The imperialists decided that after the abolition of the colonial system, that was a challenge to Muslim sentiments, they could try to give Islam a different trend by directing it against progressive social movements. To this end they used the reactionary regimes of some Muslim countries actively and not without success. It is not accidental that this reactionary trend is spearheaded against all democratic and progressive movements, including those taking place under a religious banner.

However, imperialism and reaction have been taken unawares by the rise in recent years of an entirely different, basically anti-imperialist trend. A case in point is the Qaddafi regime in Libya, in spite of its distinctive approach to other problems of public life. Then came the movement in Iran under Khomeini's slogans, which played a leading, objectively progressive role in overthrowing the shah and eliminating U.S. influence in that country.

This prompted imperialism and reaction into feverish efforts to block such developments. At the same time, they launched an anti-communist campaign (using even sermons in mosques) extending from Morocco in the west to the occupied Arab territories in the east, whereas they, apparently, have no intention whatever of fighting against the Israeli occupation.

The Afghan revolution tore a big hole in the web of prejudice and superstition in which the imperialists and reactionaries had been trying to enmesh Muslims. In the past these forces propounded the utterly false idea that scientific socialism, which is based on Marxist-Leninist teachings, is entirely unsuitable for Muslim countries. They smeared the experience of the republics of the Soviet East, alleging contrary to the facts that it had been imposed by the Russian revolution. They know that the consolidation and advance of the Afghan revolution will be a severe blow to their allegations and a new source of inspiration to the Muslim peoples, who, like other peoples, seek freedom and social progress.

The Muslims' religious sentiments have never been protected and respected as carefully as in Afghanistan today. The campaign of instigation and subversion against it will be defeated by the will of the people, whose revolutionary energy was released by the April Revolution. This is all the more so since the Afghan people are not alone: the whole of progressive mankind, primarily Afghanistan's powerful neighbor, the Soviet Union, is on their side.

The dawn of a new life is breaking over ancient Afghanistan, which was submerged in medieval darkness for so long. The outlines of the new society being built by the effort and energy of the masses stand out in increasingly bolder relief. This enrages its enemies, even though their rage is impotent. There is no breaking a people who have won freedom.

1. Called the Saura Revolution by the Afghans because it began on Saura 7, 1357, according to the Muslim solar calendar.
2. There are, for example, large commercial deposits of copper, coal and other minerals.
3. The afghani is worth roughly 1/40 of a dollar.
4. According to the preliminary data of a census held in the summer of 1979 (the first ever) Afghanistan has a population of 15,540,000. — *Ed.*
5. Loans at very high interest guaranteed by mortgaging land. More often than not, the mortgaged land was later alienated in view of the debtor's insolvency.
6. Sharia — body of formally established religious, ethical and legal precepts of Islam.
7. The population includes numerous national minorities: Tajiks, Uzbeks, Turkmens, Hazaras, Nuristanis, Baluchis and others.
8. *International Herald Tribune*, August 7, 1979.

A pamphlet on

AFGHANISTAN

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Book reviews

CONCORD IS OUR GOAL

Luis Corvalan, *Nuestro proyecto democratico*, Santiago de Chile, Edicion clandestina, 1979.

Thousands of copies of a collection of articles by Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, under the heading *Our Democratic Project* are being circulated underground to tell all Chilean democrats, and the people as a whole, the Communist vision of Chile after the fascist dictatorship is brought down. It shows why it is necessary to go over from general opposition to a mass struggle against the Pinochet regime. This can only be achieved if all anti-fascists and non-fascists coordinate their actions on a more effective level.

This book has evoked a broad response among the democratic forces in Chile. The detailed outlook for the country after the fall of fascism and the analysis of the most appropriate social and political system and the program of changes to be effected are not only a matter of Chile's future but the imperative of its present. A discussion of these questions would help to achieve understanding and draw into the struggle forces which, seeing no clear alternative, are now in passive opposition to the dictatorship.

In these articles Luis Corvalan proceeded from the prescripts of the May 1979 Manifesto of the Communist Party, which says in part: 'If all democratic forces, all anti-fascists and non-fascists, civilians and the military, join in active struggle, the vicious Pinochet regime will not last long.'*

What Chile needs is 'a new democratic, popular and national regime that would encourage and promote changes dictated by the objective needs of social progress,' Corvalan writes (pp. 6 and 7).* How progressive this regime will be, he goes on, will depend above all on the extent of the people's participation (the working class in the first place) in administering society and on the skill of its political leadership.

He recalls in this connection that in September 1976 the Communist Party of Chile addressed the country's democratic forces with three proposals: '*First*, to act together to overthrow the dictatorship; *second*, to achieve concord so that a new constitutional regime is soon formed and thereby avoid the risks of a resumption of struggles between the forces which can reach understanding; and *third*, to agree on forming a representative government consisting, for the most part, of members of the Popular Unity and Christian-Democratic parties' (p. 7).

The conditions exist for reaching agreement on these questions, the General Secretary stresses. He points out that significant successes have been attained through joint action, and the views on the future constitutional system and the immediate socio-economic program have drawn closer. However, he says, no understanding has been reached so far on a coalition government. The Christian Democrats do not want Popular Unity, especially communists, in this government. 'Their stance,' Corvalan writes, ' . . . is motivated by class interests and their doubts that a government independent of the will of the USA and the military élite can be formed in Chile. This stance takes no account of the people's ability to fight and ignores the new situation in the world today' (p. 30).

The Communist Party wants to win political power in alliance with all democratic forces, Corvalan writes. Nevertheless, being realists in politics, the communists 'are prepared to consider different variants and take any steps in the interests of the people, provided the Popular Unity parties hold common views' (p. 31). To bring down fascism is the main goal today. That is why, the General Secretary explains, 'we are ready to accept an agreement pursuing only this goal' (*ibid.*) This flexible approach of the Communist Party does not at all mean that it has abandoned its main path. The Communist Party will be seeking ways and means for forming a broad democratic and representative government in any situation.

The communists' policy of unity, the book says, particularly their course toward understanding between the Popular Unity parties, the Christian Democrats and all others who strive for national progress, is not merely the tactics of the day but a general strategic line. Although the building of socialism and communism is the ultimate goal of the communist party, Corvalan says, the goal on the agenda today is different. 'But at the same time,' he adds, 'we are convinced that the development of the productive forces and social, political and cultural progress will enable the Chilean people to set the task of building a new society' (p. 32). The communists believe that the broadest democratic forces can and should join in this process. 'I should like to stress it once more,' he writes, 'that we are not seeking allies only for today, only to reject them tomorrow. Far from it. Reality itself will lead to

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**Boletin del Exterior del Partido Comunista de Chile*, No. 36, 1979, p. 3.

**Ibid.*, No. 37, 1979 (All further quotations are from this edition).

socialism the forces which do not support it now' (*ibid.*).

The eradication of fascism will be one of the chief problems a new government will be faced with after the fall of the dictatorship. 'Fascism should be banned,' writes Corvalan, 'for it presents a real danger to democracy, to the people's rights and well-being' (p. 17). This thesis precipitated polemics among democrats. Many of those who want some form of 'pure' democracy are opposed to drastic measures against the fascists, who have plunged the country into disaster. They fail to understand that in a society with antagonistic classes the notion of freedom cannot be indivisible or absolute and the experience of the Allende government provides convincing proof of this.

Hence, the book stresses, the need to ban the criminal organizations which fascism brought to life and to bring about changes in the basis and superstructure that will rule out any resurgence of fascism.

Profound transformations, Corvalan points out, should be effected in the ownership of the means of production, as only then 'will the way be open to the country's progressive development, the vital needs of the masses will be satisfied, and their rights and freedoms will become more real, not formal' (p. 11).

Under the fascist dictatorship Chile's dependence on foreign capital has increased sharply, the more powerful groups of the finance oligarchy have grown stronger and there has been a greater concentration of property, including property in land. In view of all this, the book says, the Communist Party of Chile feels that 'the large enterprises currently owned by imperialism or the oligarchy should be returned to the public sector and that the peasants should regain the land which was turned over to the big landowners' (*ibid.*).

Corvalan considers some of the most urgent superstructural transformations.

He creatively applies the principles of Marxism-Leninism to his analysis of the present situation and in outlining the country's future course. Judging by the problems raised in the book and the solutions it offers, it is a valuable contribution to the dialogue between communists and all democratic forces, a dialogue helping them to assume common positions for overthrowing the dictatorial regime and providing possibilities for solving the pressing problems confronting Chile today.

Hugo Fazio

THE FAMILY IN POLAND

Wybrane problemy socjalistycznej rodziny. Pod redakcja Jerzego Piotrowskiego (Selected Problems of the Socialist Family. Edited by Jerzy Piotrowski). Warsaw, Kdiazka i Wiedza, 1979. 240 pp.

In socialist Poland, the PUWP and the state devote constant attention to the problem of the family. This has found reflection in many party documents, specifically in the decisions of the Sixth and Seventh PUWP congresses and of plenary meetings of the PUWP Central Committee. The Central Committee's Theses for the Eighth Congress re-emphasize that the family lays the groundwork for the civic attitude of members of socialist society, moulds their way of life and such important traits as patriotism and internationalism, and fosters ideological and moral principles and loyalty to socialist ideals.

The problem of the socialist family is the subject of many books published in Poland of late. Prominent among them is the book under review, whose approach may be described as encyclopaedic.

A brief introductory section sets forth the views of the classics of Marxism-Leninism on the family. It shows the functions of the family in previous socio-economic formations and the peculiarities of these functions in diverse social classes. The authors depict the evolution of the Polish family against the background of the social and economic changes brought about since the turn of the century, but above all since 1945, when a new Poland came into being.

Marxism-Leninism sees the family as the nucleus of society. Due to historical causes (Poland lacked independent statehood for a long time), this function of the family was of special significance in Polish society. But even today the family is important in this respect even though it can perform its function best of all by interacting with other institutions of the nationwide education system. The authors refer to a decision of the Seventh Party Congress (1975), which says: 'The party considers that for the socialist development of the country it is necessary to strengthen the family as the chief component of society.'

The book shows that this approach is taken invariably. It notes that the social policy of the party and the government has been particularly fruitful in the seventies, for it has resulted in improving the economic condition of the family and in increasing social security allowances, and taken further steps to really guarantee the equality of women, improve maternity protection and mother and child care, and perfect family law. The authors spell out the duties of party members in bringing up children and giving the family a larger role in socialist society in line with the relevant amendment to the party rules approved by the Seventh Congress.

This book is meant primarily for communists but has aroused widespread interest among all population groups, as the early appearance of a new edition suggests. It may also be of interest to foreign readers desiring to know more about humanism in socialist society.

Zygmunt Janik

Save the freedom fighters

On November 15, 1979, a racist judge in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, passed the death sentence on James Mange, aged 24, and imposed long terms of imprisonment ranging from 13 to 19 years on 11 other freedom fighters — members of the African National Congress (ANC) and its military wing Umkhonto We Sizwe, who were charged with 'high treason' as well as with participating in 'terrorist activities.'

By this trial the racist regime attempted, first to deliberately distort the nature of the revolutionary struggle in South Africa by portraying it as one in which the 'terrorists are fighting to kill the white people.' Nothing could be further from the truth, for these brave freedom fighters are part of the national-liberation movement which is fighting for a democratic non-racial South Africa. Second, the aim of the charge was to intimidate the patriots — both those who are carrying on the struggle and who are preparing to join it.

Throughout the months of ordeal in the racist court and prison the freedom fighters refused to be cowed into submission. They were caged like animals in a specially constructed maximum security court room. To make it easier to find the accused 'guilty,' the racist judge had ruled that an important part of the court proceedings should be held in secret. This the accused refused to accept. They wanted the trial to take place in the full view of the public so that the people would know why they were in court. When their demand for an open trial was refused, they dismissed their defense counsel and rejected the entire 'legal proceedings' as a travesty of justice. A South African newspaper (hostile to the aims and objectives of our revolutionary struggle) wrote: 'Never before in South African legal history can there have been such prolonged and steadfast defiance of both the political and judicial system from those arraigned before the court.'*

At the time of this writing, it was reported that Mange's mother had appealed against the death sentence. We should mobilize the maximum pressure to ensure that James Mange is not hanged.

The unceasing political trials going on in South Africa, the torture and murder of detainees and the latest treason trial and executions are all part of the pattern of barbaric repression which the racist regime has precipitated upon the oppressed people of South Africa. Therefore, as the ANC statement on the fascist sentences imposed on the 12 combatants points out, 'the maximum support must be given to the just struggle of our people led by the African National Congress in order to hasten the approaching end of racism and the dawn of people's power in our motherland as laid down by our people in the Freedom Charter.'

Essop Pahad
South African journalist

Sunday Express, November 18, 1979.

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facts and figures

The non-aligned movement: from Belgrade to Havana

The First Conference of the Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries (Belgrade, September 1961) laid the organizational basis for the non-aligned movement. Subsequently the member nations described it as a 'product of the world anti-colonial revolution and of the emergence of a large number of newly-liberated countries which, opting for an independent political orientation and development, have refused to accept the replacement of centuries-old forms of subordination by new ones. . . . This has been the substance and meaning of our strivings . . .'[1]

The conference stated the guidelines which the movement intended to follow. The Declaration adopted by it stressed that 'in our time, no people and no government can or should abandon its responsibilities in regard to the safeguarding of world peace,' and 'a lasting peace can be achieved only if . . . colonialism-imperialism and neo-colonialism in all their manifestations are radically eliminated,' that 'war between peoples constitutes not only an anachronism but also a crime against humanity,' and that 'the principles of peaceful coexistence are the only alternative to the cold war and to a possible general nuclear catastrophe.'[2]

The conference also put forward specific proposals bearing on other current international problems.

Prepared by the *WMR* Information Department.

It called for general and complete disarmament under strict international control.

The trend of the movement is also shown by the record of other non-aligned forums. A document approved by the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries (Cairo, 1964) said: 'Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism constitute a basic source of international tension and conflict because they endanger world peace and security.'[3] It described the struggle against them as a priority task of the non-aligned countries. Similar propositions are contained in the records of the Third Conference (Lusaka, 1970).

The Political Declaration of the Fourth Conference (Algiers 1973) said: 'The gains made by now in regard to East-West détente and the settlement of problems inherited by Europe from World War II are an important victory for the world's peace forces. The apprehensions aroused by the nuclear threat and the will of the peoples are leading gradually to dialogue winning the upper hand over confrontation.' For the first time in the history of the movement, the Algiers Conference urged reshaping international economic relations on the principles of equality and justice.

The Fifth Conference (Colombo, 1976) said in its Political Declaration that 'the policy of non-alignment plays a growing role in the changes coming about in the international situation.' It hailed 'progress in détente.' Referring to the Helsinki Conference, it expressed the hope that it would 'lead to a further lessening of international tensions and to progress in disarmament under effective international control.' At the same time, the Declaration stressed the need 'to adopt effective measures without delay for the convocation of a world disarmament conference.'

The Fifth Conference welcomed the victory of the peoples of Indochina. Its Declaration said that this victory was 'a big contribution to the struggle of the peoples of the non-aligned countries and other freedom-loving and progressive peoples.'

Participants in the conferences repeatedly condemned the Middle East policy of the imperialist powers, primarily the United States. They urged the full restoration of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine. The resolution on the situation in the Middle East adopted by the Algiers Conference sharply criticized the acts of aggression committed by Israel, condemned 'all those powers (especially the USA) which extend military, economic, political and moral assistance to Israel,' and demanded 'an immediate end to this assistance.'

The non-aligned countries have on more than one occasion backed the socialist countries' appeal to extend détente to every region of the globe, take specific steps to expand it, reinforce political with military détente and carry decolonization through to the end.

Ever since 1970, the heads of state who chaired the non-aligned countries' regular conferences have been empowered by these meetings to see to the execution of their decisions and speak for all member countries over the next three years.

The Algiers Conference (1973) set up a Coodinating Bureau, which meets to discuss current international problems and work out a common position for the member countries (other non-aligned countries may attend these meetings as observers). The Colombo Conference (1976) elected representatives of 25 countries to the Coordinating Bureau.

The 1970s saw the movement extend to new areas. It now includes as many as 47 African countries. In fact, barring South Africa and Rhodesia, it is fair to speak of Africa as a 'non-aligned continent,' especially as non-alignment is one of the main principles enshrined in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. At the three non-aligned conferences held in Africa (Cairo, Lusaka and Algiers), African states not only had a majority but took the initiative in bringing up a number of problems of the fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The Political Declaration of the Colombo Conference said that Africa had lent the movement a lasting anti-colonial and anti-racist content and spurred the developing countries' struggle for the reorganization of international economic relations.

By the time the Fifth Conference was called, the non-aligned movement had been joined by 27 of the 35 developing countries of Asia, as well as by seven Latin American countries (Cuba is a founding member). The Latin American countries in the movement include countries set on carrying out progressive social change.[4]

The movement, which comprises about 100 countries, has a heterogeneous composition. It includes feudal monarchies, countries following the capitalist road, socialism-oriented countries and a number of socialist states (the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Laotian People's Democratic Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Cuba). Naturally, distinctions in the socio-political orientation of the member countries make for differences in their approch to the problems confronting the movement. The contest between opposing trends finds reflection in, among other things, the movement's organizational structure. The First Conference stated that the non-aligned countries 'do not wish to form a new bloc and cannot be a bloc.'[5] Nevertheless, certain circles tried subsequently to turn it into a bloc as a counter to the 'two super-powers.' Progressive forces had to uphold the principle of non-alignment against repeated attempts to split the movement. At the Belgrade conference of foreign ministers of non-aligned countries (1978) an attempt was made to prevent the holding of the scheduled Sixth Conference in Cuba in 1979. Moreover, the meaning of Cuba's internationalist assistance to some African countries in resisting imperialist aggression was grossly distorted. However, the attempt failed.

The Sixth (Havana) Conference sat from September 3 to 9, 1979. It was the first non-aligned summit to be held in Latin America, on the soil of socialist Cuba.

Hoisted outside the Havana Palace of Congresses were scores of flags, including those of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Southwest Africa

People's Organization (SWAPO), which is leading the liberation struggle in Namibia. In Havana the movement admitted Bolivia, Grenada, Iran, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Surinam and the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front as full-fledged members. This increased the membership from 25 in 1961 to 95 in 1979.

The Sixth Conference resolved to raise the number of Coordinating Bureau members from 25 to 36. At present the Bureau represents 17 African, 12 Asian, 5 Latin American and 2 European countries. Its elected chairman is a Cuban.

In common with the Peking leadership imperialist circles tried to torpedo the Havana Conference and to isolate and discredit Cuba. The countries attending the conference passed a resolution condemning anti-Cuban acts. The very course of the conference was a confirmation of the high and well-deserved prestige Cuba enjoys in the movement.

The Sixth Conference adopted a Final Declaration composed of a political and an economic part.

The political part expressed satisfaction over the advances made in détente and stresses that 'the principles of peaceful coexistence should be the cornerstone of international relations.'[6] The conference 'welcomed the signing of the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the limitation of strategic nuclear weapons.'[7]

While noting progress in the elimination of survivals of colonialism, the heads of state and government who met in Havana also put on record that the imperialist powers had not desisted from attempts to undermine the freedom and independence of the developing countries and strove to shackle them with new forms of subjection and dependence. They described 'racism, including Zionism, racial discrimination and especially apartheid' as 'crimes against humanity and . . . violations of the United Nations Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.'[8]

The Final Declaration emphatically condemns the military support given by the United States, Britain and other Western powers to the racist regimes in Africa and stigmatizes their maneuvers as being designed to prevent the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and the indigenous African population of South Africa from exercising their right to self-determination and independence.

Regarding the situation in the Middle East, the conference denounced the Camp David accords and the separate treaty between Egypt and Israel as prejudicial to the inalienable rights of the Arab nation and the Arab people of Palestine and allowing for the continued occupation of Arab territories. It decided to form a committee within the Coordinating Bureau that is to make recommendations on the suspension of Egypt as a member of the non-aligned movement for flouting the principles and decisions of the movement.

With reference to the situation in Southeast Asia, the Declaration notes that the increased tension in the region is endangering peace. The conference emphasized that peace and stability in Southeast Asia could only prevail on the principle of respect for sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-interference.

The Declaration demands that the United States dismantle its military bases in Cuba and Puerto Rico because they are a theat to peace and security in Latin America. The movement hailed the Nicaraguan people's victory over the dictatorship of Somoza, an underling of U.S. imperialism and reaffirmed its support for the democratic forces of Chile in their heroic fight against the military fascist regime.

The Declaration sums up the principles and objectives of non-alignment approved by the Belgrade Conference (1961) and reaffirmed and carried forward at subsequent non-aligned conferences. These principles include national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; the unhampered social progress of all countries; struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism, specifically Zionism, every form of expansionism, foreign occupation, domination and hegemony; active peaceful coexistence of all countries; indivisibility of peace and security; non-interference in the internal or external affairs of other countries; establishing a new international economic order and promoting international cooperation on the basis of equality and the right of all peoples under colonial and foreign domination to self-determination and independence; unfailing support for national liberation movements.

The Sixth Conference discussed world economic trends and expressed deep concern over the further aggravation of the problems faced by developing nations. The economic part of its Declaration says that 'the struggle to eliminate the injustice of the existing international economic system and to establish the New International Economic Order is an integral part of the people's struggle for political, economic, cultural and social liberation.'[9] It points out that the economic and social progress of developing countries is accompanied, either directly or indirectly, by diverse threats, including the threat of armed intervention, or by recourse to strong pressure. The conference condemned these practices and confirmed the need to resist these threats. It reaffirmed the participating countries' resolve to step up the struggle for the national independence, economic liberation, free development, and economic and social progress of non-aligned and other developing countries as a natural continuation of the historical process which has resulted in the new states' national liberation and prompted them to seek new forms of international economic relations based on justice, sovereign equality and genuine international cooperation.

Shortly before the conference, the enemies of the non-aligned movement claimed that it would split and that it was at a crossroads, Fidel Castro, chairman of the Havana meeting, said in his concluding speech. But the movement had overcome all complications and could now say without hesitation that it was more closely united, stronger, more independent and more in harmony with the interests of its member countries than ever before.[10]

In line with tradition, the host country of the conference and its leader — Cuba and Fidel Castro — were put at the head of the non-aligned movement for three years, until the Seventh Conference, to be held in Baghdad in 1982.

1. *The Lusaka Conference.* Foreign Affairs Reports, Vol. XIX, Nos. 9-10-11, September, October and November 1970. Sapru House, New Delhi, p. 88.
2. Leo Mates, *Nonalignment Theory and Current Policy*, Belgrade, 1972, pp. 387-389.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 434.
4. Before the fascist coup in Chile (September 1973), that country was a member of the movement. In 1975 the Lima conference of the foreign ministers of non-aligned states condemned the Pinochet fascist junta, which had trampled democracy. This led automatically to the expulsion of the junta from the movement.
5. Leo Mates, p. 389.
6. *Review of International Affairs.* Belgrade, September 20, 1979, p. 35.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
9. *Review of International Affairs*, p. 44.
10. *Granma*, September 9, 1979.

A people in exile

FACTS ABOUT THE CONDITION OF THE PALESTINIAN ARAB PEOPLE

A hotbed of dangerous tension has now existed in the Middle East for over 30 years. One of the main causes is that the Palestine problem remains unresolved and a people stripped of homeland and national rights continue to suffer.

The crux of the problem is the Israeli occupation of lands that the UN resolution of November 29, 1947 had set aside for a Palestinian Arab state[1] and the expulsion of the overwhelming majority of the indigenous population from Palestine.

Before the formation of the State of Israel in May 1948 the Jewish settlers had 1,500 square kilometers of land, or just 5.7 per cent of the territory of Palestine. But in the first Arab-Israeli war of 1948-49, the Israeli troops occupied extensive territories set aside for the Palestinians: when the hostilities ended, the Jewish state had an area of 20,700 kilometers (78 per cent of the former mandated territory of Palestine). The remainder of the territory went to Jordan and Egypt.

Eighteen years later — in June 1967 — Israel seized the rest of the Palestinian lands by occupying the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip. Besides, as a result of the June aggression Israel annexed the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights.

All the Arab-Israeli wars were accompanied by massive expulsions of Palestinians beyond the borders of their homeland. But in this sense the 1948-1949 war and the June 1967 aggression were the most painful. As a result of the former, of the Arab population of 1,350,000 in Palestine 120,000[2] remained on the territory of Israel and 450,000 in the areas that went to Jordan and Egypt. The other *780,000 became refugees.* The second war forced roughly 350,000 of the 1,256,000 Palestinians on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip to leave their homes and emigrate.[3]

The occupation of Palestine and the forcible expulsion of the indigenous Arab population turned the bulk of the Palestinian people into expatriates, as will be seen from the following table.

Geographical distribution of the Arab people of Palestine

Country/region	1971 '000	1978 '000
Israel	370	450
West Bank of Jordan	705	800
Gaza Strip	370	455
Jordan	960	1,115
Lebanon	260	400
Syria	170	250
Kuwait	170	180
Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt	75	110
Persian Gulf Emirates	18	80
Latin America	105	120
USA	45	40
Western Europe	15*	60
	Total: 3,270	4,130**

*The FRG only.
**Including small (totalling about 70,000) Palestinian colonies in other countries.

Consequently, the lesser part of the Palestinians (about 40 per cent) now lives in what used to be Palestine (Israel, West Bank of the River Jordan and the Gaza Strip). More than half of them have taken up residence in various Arab countries, mainly neighboring on Israel. The others have been scattered across the world.

Palestinians in Arab countries (UNRWA camps in Lebanon)

A large proportion of the Palestinian refugees in the Arab countries live in special UNRWA camps.[4] These are, in effect, people without a homeland, wherever they live — Jordan, Syria or Lebanon — they have to face the same problems: unsatisfactory housing, chronic food shortages, lack of elementary services, recurrent epidemics, a high death rate primarily among children and so on. The psychological factor is also highly important: the people in the UNRWA camps keenly feel their total

dependence on external aid and international charities.

Because of the similarity of the Palestinians' condition in various Arab countries, we can confine ourselves to an examination of the conditions in one country. We'll take Lebanon as our example.

In the early 1970s there were 17 refugee camps in Lebanon. These had between 140,000 and 150,000 persons, or over one-half of the Palestinians in Lebanon in that period.[5]

All camps, without exception, are overcrowded. For instance, the Al-Karama camp near Beirut was planned for no more than 5,000 refugees, but its population now exceeds 15,000. The housing problem is compounded not only by the influx of more refugees and their families, but also by the settlement of poor non-Palestinians from Lebanon itself and other Arab countries: in the period under review UNRWA camps in Lebanon provided shelter for 11,500 Lebanese (including 5,500 refugees from Southern Lebanon) and 3,300 Syrians.[6]

Among the outstanding problems is that of education. The population of the camps is relatively young: over 60 per cent are persons under the age of 19. Refugees registered by UNRWA are provided only with a primary (six-year) education and a so-called preparatory (four-year) education. UNRWA's curricula have substantial defects. Because they are designed to train young Palestinians as 'useful member of Arab society,' they give much less attention to educating young people in a spirit of patriotism, notably, through a study of the national history of the Palestinian Arab people. There is a shortage of Palestinian teachers.

It is extremely hard to find jobs for refugees. In the period under review, only about 40 per cent of the UNRWA camp population in Lebanon had constant, seasonal or day work. Unemployment is especially high among young people: 73 per cent in the 15-19 age group and 56 per cent of the 25-29 age group are unemployed. Palestinians are offered mainly dirty and low paid jobs.

Occupied territories

In 1974 a special UN Committee pinpointed the following main lines of Israeli policy toward the population of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip: annexation of Palestinian lands and the establishment of Jewish settlements, demolition of houses, mass arrests, imprisonment, administrative deportation and economic exploitation.[7]

Since 1967 the Israeli government has been doing its utmost to 'assimilate' the occupied lands. As many as 50 Jewish settlements were established in the area in only the period of 1967-1973. By the end of 1976 the number had risen to 70. There are now 92 such settlements with about 10,000 inhabitants in the occupied areas; according to the official plan of the Likud government, in which extremists[8] have the final say, the number of settlements is to increase by another 196 by 1992.[9]

Israeli policy has generated growing resistance among the Arab population in the occupied territories. The discontent is being stamped out by brutal police measures, terrorism and intensified repression. It has been estimated that from 1967 to 1977 roughly 60,000 Palestinians went through Israeli jails; in 1978 they held about 5,000 persons.[10] World opinion has irrefutable proof of the inhuman treatment of prisoners in the torture chambers on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Administrative deportation is used by the occupation authorities mainly as a method to put down patriotic Palestinian intellectuals: artists, writers, journalists, poets, prominent political personalities and trade unionists; by now, over 1,500 persons have been forcibly expelled from the occupied territories.

In the recent period Israeli capital has extended its exploitation of cheap manpower in the occupied territories, for the advantages are obvious: wages are lower than those paid to workers of Jewish origin (in 1976 — by an average of 51.6 per cent), and the Palestinians have no trade union and social rights. Workers in the occupied territories live in extremely hard conditions: according to the newspaper *Al-Ittihad*, Arab families with small children are herded in pens on Jewish farms.[11]

Palestinian manpower is exploited by Israeli capital very 'efficiently': in 1976 the net profits of Israeli businessmen from the exploitation of Palestinian working people amounted to I£1,113 million, as compared to I£816 million in 1975.[12]

Arab minority in Israel

In the 30-odd years of Israel's existence as a state, the condition of the Palestinian population has undergone radical changes. The system of discrimination ranges over every aspect of the Arabs' life in Israel. Many Palestinians and even their children born after 1948 have no Israeli citizenship. The law designates them as 'hereditary expatriates,' that is, people without citizenship. This inequality frequently assumes downright insulting form. For example, only those who have done army service have the right to social security grants for the birth of a child. But it is well known that as a rule Arabs are not drafted into Israel's armed forces.[13]

The education system is shot through with discrimination. In 1974 Arab children over 14 had an average of 5.9 years of schooling, as compared with 8.5 years for Jewish children. This gap widened with the rise in education standards: today only 3 per cent of the students are Arabs, who account for 12-13 per cent of Israel's population. There are many times more illiterates among the Arabs than among the Jews (36.5 per cent and 9 per cent respectively in 1972). Everywhere Arab schools are extremely short of premises, teachers, study aids and equipment.[14]

Arab municipalities receive smaller appropriations from the state budget than Jewish municipalities. This will be seen very well from the following data published in March 1978 by the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality group in the Israeli Knesset.

	Population '000	Budget total (I£ mln.)	appropriations per head (I£ '000)
Jewish villages			
Beit Dagan	2.5	10.5	4.2
Binyamina	3.0	6.6	2.2
Zichron Yakov	5.0	12.0	2.4
Arab villages			
Iksal	5.0	1.4	0.3
Beit Djan	4.5	1.0	0.2
Ja Dieda	4.0	0.9	0.2

Source: *New Perspectives*, No. 5, 1978, p. 40.

The development of Arab villages is being blocked by the almost total absence of state aid: in 60 of 107 Arab-inhabited localities in Israel there are no permanent medical centers, and in 40 there is still no electricity.[15]

Arab migration to the cities has markedly increased in the past decade. This is the result of the Israeli authorities' persistent and purposeful policy of discrimination.[16] Arab peasants, who work about 20 per cent of the farmland in Israel and make up 32 per cent of the economically active rural population, receive only 2 per cent of the water for irrigation, while their technical facilities come to no more than 7 per cent of those available to Jewish farms.[17]

The flight to the cities is to some extent also due to discrimination in farm prices. For the same grade of tobacco for instance, a Jewish farmer is paid an average (with a special increment) 64 per cent more than an Arab farmer, and for olives and olive oil, 41.1 per cent more.[18]

The condition of Arabs in the cities is little better. Only 14 per cent are engaged in mental work (government officials and members of the liberal professions). Most are employed in non-skilled jobs. The average wages of an Arab worker in Israel, per capita, are only half of those paid to Jewish workers. They are denied many political and trade union rights.

Such are some of the facts about one aspect of the Palestine problem: a 'stateless' people created by the Israeli rulers' policy of expansion and racism. Continuation of this state of affairs can only lead to chronic tensions in the Middle East, with all the ensuing consequences.

Alexander Notin

1. This resolution abolished the British mandate in Palestine and established two independent states — Arab and Jewish — with 12,200 and 14,100 square kilometers respectively. The city of Jerusalem was to be turned into an independent administrative unit with a special international status.

2. Another 40,000 were evicted from their villages by the Zionist authorities after the establishment of the State of Israel. They stayed in Israeli territory, but in the eyes of the law they were regarded as 'absentees.'

3. Of these 900,000 lived in the West Bank and 356,000 in the Gaza Strip.

4. UNRWA — United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Middle East, set up under a resolution adopted by the 4th UN General Assembly Session on December 8, 1949.

5. The facts about the conditions in the UNRWA camps were presented by the journal *Ash-Shuun al Palastynia*, No. 36, 1974, pp. 47-73.

6. In the camps 90 per cent of the houses have one or at most two rooms, each occupied by an average of 4 persons; 60 per cent of the houses have no running water, 19.5 per cent no toilet, and only 58 per cent have primitive heating installations.

7. *Israeli Violation of Human Rights.* Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories. UN publications, 1974, pp. 30-44.

8. Menahem Begin and several cabinet members were involved in many of the notorious anti-Arab acts by the Zionist commandos. Begin headed the Irgun Tsvai Leumi (Nationalist Military Organization) which massacred more than 250 inhabitants in the village of Deir Yasin in April 1948.

9. *Al-Ittihad*, November 24, 1978. According to the Israeli press, government appropriations for the 'development of settlements' in 1979 totalled I£850 million as compared with I£540 million in 1978. Besides, it was decided to add another I£135 million to the budget to fund 1,400 Israeli families, which are to move into the West Bank within the next two years.

10. *Zo Haderech*, March 8, 1978.

11. *Al-Ittihad*, February 24, 1978.

12. *Al-Kitab al-Ihsaiy as-Sanawiy*, No. 28, 730.

13. Members of the Druse Arab minority and Bedouin tribesmen are sometimes admitted to the Israeli army.

14. In Israel, there is only one center for training Arab teachers, and 38 for training Jewish teachers.

15. Government authorities obstruct the building of new houses in Arab villages and do not allow villagers to enlarge their homes. Houses built in violation of this ban are demolished.

16. The main content and expression of this policy ever since Israel was established 30 years ago has been the unlawful and forcible expropriation of Arab lands. Even according to official statistics, by the late 1950s the Israeli authorities had deprived the Arab population of 80 per cent of its land (not counting the vast areas expropriated from refugees).

17. *New Perspectives*, No. 5, 1978, p. 40.

18. Sabri Jiryis, *The Arabs in Israel*, New York-London, 1976, pp. 215, 307.

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