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Under the banner of Lenin, along the road chartered by Lenin

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This is a report from the 26th congress of the CPSU, which we attended as the delegation from *World Marxist Review*. We have written this in an effort to convey to the reader a living testimonial of those who were there. It is hard to present so soon our impressions in systematic form, we are still under the impression of the atmosphere at the congress. This is an effort to relate what we felt and thought in those memorable days.

From the very first day of the congress everything clearly showed that it was an epochal event of worldwide significance. Moscow was the center attracting the world's revolutionary forces: the congress was attended by 123 delegations from the communist, workers', national-democratic and other parties and organizations. Hundreds of journalists covered the work of the congress, and no other channels of communication hummed in that period like the "Moscow-world" line.

The congress was a demonstration of the triumph of Leninist ideas, an expression of the class solidarity of fighters against imperialism, and national and racial oppression, and for peace, democracy and socialism.

We find it highly meaningful that the report of the Central Committee to the congress, which was delivered by General Secretary of the CPSU CC Leonid Brezhnev, opened with a section on the present-day international situation and the CPSU's foreign policy. That is quite natural because the struggle under way in the world arena is over the main issue of our day: war and peace. That is the problem which was a keynote of the congress. Leonid Brezhnev emphasized: "If there is peace, the creative energy of the peoples backed by the achievements of science and technology is certain to solve the problems that are now troubling people."

If there is peace . . . The efforts of imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place, have darkened the clouds on the international horizon. The aggressiveness of imperialism has markedly increased; tones which are far from peaceable stridently ring in the speeches of its political leaders, including the new U.S. President. Such is the background, and it helps to bring out in even great-

er relief the Soviet Union's alternative line, the stand taken by the 26th congress of the CPSU. We closely followed the whole report, but found that it does not contain even a hint of any intention to sharpen the confrontation, not even a semitone of threat addressed to anyone. From first to last, Leonid Brezhnev's speech was permeated with the idea of peace, of concern for strengthening and deepening détente, including a military détente, and determination to carry on the struggle to relax and improve the international atmosphere.

In his speech of greetings at the congress, General Secretary of the CPUSA Gus Hall said: "This report is a kind of compass, a charter of struggle for peace and détente in the 1980s. It is permeated with the spirit of anti-imperialism and proletarian internationalism."

Lenin's party has elaborated its Peace Program, worked out by the 24th and 25th congresses of the CPSU, even more broadly and consistently. There was a hush in the hall, periodically broken by bursts of applause, when Leonid Brezhnev announced the new Soviet proposals designed to safeguard peace and détente and check the arms race. They at once went round the world, and so we shall confine ourselves to the briefest reminder of the main points. These are proposals for an extension of the zone of confidence-building measures; a settlement of the Afghan problem in the context of the question of security in the Persian Gulf; further negotiations with the United States on limiting strategic weapons and the deployment of new submarines; a moratorium on the deployment of new medium-range nuclear-missile weapons in Europe; the establishment of a competent international committee to issue a call for averting a nuclear catastrophe. Finally, the proposal to call a special session of the Security Council with the participation of the top leaders of states to look for ways of improving the international situation and the statement of willingness to have a USSR-USA summit meeting. What an impressive — and what a realistic — working action program!

One can well understand the stormy applause of unanimity that met the words of comrade Fidel

Castro, First Secretary of the CP Cuba Central Committee, in his speech of greetings to the congress, when he said: "In a situation in which the danger of war once again arises, when the shadow of aggression and the threat of intervention looms over the peoples, the Soviet Union and its glorious Communist Party, which you represent, once again stand as the hope of the world, as the guarantee that the imperialists will not manage to realize their claims to domination and force submission to their brazen arrogance."

In our conversations during the congress with foreign communists we naturally asked them what they found to be the most essential in its work, and we discovered that it was this problem of peace that always came to the fore.

Michael O'Riordan, General Secretary of the CP Ireland, said: "The demand for peace and the security of nations ran, like a red thread, through the whole work of the congress. It is backed up with the CPSU's new concrete initiatives. As an Irish communist I find them of great interest especially now that attempts are being made to undermine Ireland's moral spirit and to induce her to take a stand which in Europe represents the interests of U.S. imperialism."

Yusuf Dadoo, Chairman of the South African Communist Party, declared: "It would be simply inconceivable to ensure lasting global peace without the self-sacrifice, steadfastness and vigorous efforts of the CPSU, without the Soviet Union's great and historic achievements in every sphere of life."

Rigoberto Padilla, General Secretary of the CC of the CP Honduras, said: "At the 26th congress of the CPSU, the Soviet Union reaffirmed its urge for peace and, simultaneously, unflinching determination to defend the gains of the working class and to help the peoples threatened with the danger of counter-revolution in their struggle for democracy and independence."

Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP Israel, and Faik Warrad, First Secretary of the CC of the Jordanian Communist Party, emphasized the great importance for their region of the idea of calling an international conference for a settlement in the Middle East.

It was said at the congress that although the relations between states have always been called international, that is, relations among nations, they have become such in content only in the socialist world, where they directly involve millions upon millions of people as they carry on their economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation, fulfil long-term goal-oriented programs, deepen socialist economic integration within the CMEA framework, and exchange diverse experience in building the new society. The 26th congress of the CPSU, which was attended and addressed by the leaders of all the ruling parties of the countries of the socialist community, demonstrated its cohesion, strength and influence in world affairs.

The report contained the well-grounded conclusion that the international working class has entered the new decade with a confident step and that

its vanguard, the communist movement, has multiplied its ranks and strengthened its influence among the masses. The congress emphasized the unchanging nature of the CPSU's Leninist line in the international communist movement: deep respect for each fraternal party's independence and creative potentialities, a readiness to cooperate in the collective quest for answers to intricate and controversial questions; an irreconcilable stand on the fundamental differences with reformism, sectarianism and left-wing adventurism and, by contrast, fraternal solidarity with all the revolutionaries standing up for the vital interests of the nations.

Every congress of Lenin's party is a new historical milestone in the advance of the Soviet society to communism. The present congress approved the *Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and the Period up to 1990*, in the preliminary discussion of which upward of 121 million people had taken part. The key questions of economic and social development were treated at length in Brezhnev's report and also considered in detail in the report delivered by Nikolai Tikhonov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and speeches by the delegates.

What does all this amount to?

Here is a characteristic view expressed by George Edward Jackson, National Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand: "The Soviet Union sums up the results of impressive achievements and lays confident plans for the five-year and even ten-year period. These plans are focused on concern for the people's interests, for raising their living standards. This is fresh evidence that socialism is the most effective system of progress in social relations."

The congress reaffirmed the continuity of the CPSU's economic strategy: "Everything for the sake of man, everything for the benefit of man." This is also evidenced by the data characterizing the planned and attained growth of the working people's incomes, of the social consumption funds, housing construction, development of the network of institutions in public health, education and culture, the sphere of trade and the services. As we heard the speeches by delegates from various parts of the country, we saw the consolidated state targets being translated into reality in the republics and regions, in the towns and villages, at the factories and on the collective farms.

Pondering these facts, we noted at least two specific aspects of the approach displayed in the work of the congress.

First, there were the well-reasoned, theoretically and materially well-grounded methods used in programming and analysis. This helped to sum up in greater depth the results of the 1970s and to draw all-round conclusions concerning the peculiarities of the 1980s. One is impressed by the highly precise formulation of the party's economic propositions: transition to a mainly intensive way of development; in the sphere of agrarian policy, to elaborate a specific food program; to advance all the sectors of

the economy to the forefront of science and technology; to improve the economic mechanism and methods of economic management.

The other feature of the work at the congress: we were highly impressed by its democratic character as expressed in the free and self-critical discussion of the most intricate and outstanding problems, omissions and shortcomings. Two of us work in the capitalist world, where the bourgeois press frequently claims that socialism will admit to nothing but success. For those who still believe such nonsense we could list dozens of examples of concrete discussions in the Palace of Congresses at the Kremlin of various shortcomings, and anyone can see this for himself by reading the documents of the congress. The communists' straightforwardness, frankness and realism are rooted in their close ties with the masses, and these qualities nurture the people's trust in the party's policy.

We do not have a knowledge of life in the Soviet Union from hearsay, but none of us had ever attended a CPSU congress before, and this was the first occasion on which we saw the collective face, the generalized living image of the whole party. We heard these figures in the reports: the CPSU has 17,480,000 members, of whom 43.4 per cent are workers, and 12.8 per cent collective farmers; 5,002 communists were elected delegates to the congress, and we saw and heard them from day to day. Even the superficial observations were of much interest. We saw a colorful kaleidoscope of national costumes: the congress was attended by men and women from 66 big and small nations. Many of them wore orders and medals; among the delegates there were 727 Heroes of the Soviet Union and Heroes of Socialist Labor, and 97 per cent of the delegates had won awards at one time or another. Over a quarter of the participants were women.

But some of the important social features could not be discovered from appearances: one had to guess whether the person before you was a worker, an engineer, a collective farmer, a scientist or a builder. And that is not surprising, for 94 per cent of the delegates were men and women with a higher, or incomplete higher and secondary education.

The preceding congress of the Soviet communists drew the fundamental conclusion that the CPSU had become a party of the whole people, while essentially remaining a party of the working class. The dialectical meaning of this assessment became more fundamentally clear to us when we heard that the working class is not simply the most numerous class in the country, but already consists of the majority of the working people, and that 59 per cent of those who joined the party over the past five years were workers. This gave one a remarkable feeling: without neglecting the depth and complexity of the problems, the congress expressed the consciousness of the working class, spoke its language, and lived its life.

Here are some other views we heard from guests at the congress.

Saifuddin Ahmed Manik, acting General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP

Bangladesh, said, "The role of the CPSU in the life of the Soviet society is great and continues to grow. We have spoken with many comrades at the congress — workers, collective farmers — and these talks brought out very well the organic proximity of the party to the people, and of the people to the party."

Rene Urbany, Chairman of the CP Luxembourg, declared: "The Leninist party's great internal strength depends not only on the fact that the USSR is a great power, and the CPSU a party with millions of members. But that is not all. Its internal strength springs above all from the fact that the party's projections are realized in practice, that the country and the people are living better and better, whereas the capitalist system is paralyzed by its inability to tackle its problems."

Peter Symon, General Secretary of the Socialist Party of Australia, said: "I think that four words can depict the face of the CPSU at its 26th congress: frankness, firmness, constructiveness and confidence. Frankness in the analysis of international and internal problems. Firmness in rebuffing any attempt at anti-Soviet pressure on the part of imperialism. Constructiveness of the new proposals for strengthening peace and plans for the country's development. Confidence that, faced with difficulties and problems, the communists will triumph."

We witnessed an event which is bound to play a great part in modern history and provide a fresh impetus to the noblest and most vital human activity: the struggle for peace and the liberation of the peoples, for social progress. Like all the participants in that event, we felt a fresh surge of inspiration and energy.

We have seen the face of the party carrying high its Leninist banner in the worldwide family of communist and workers' parties.

We have seen that the Soviet people are closely united round their party, its Central Committee and its General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, whose activity is an embodiment of the unity of the struggle for peace and revolutionary transformations in the world.

We have seen the great people of a peace-loving power engaged in persistent labor to open up prospects for a radiant future for the whole of mankind, the communist future.

Classes and Nations

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The dialectics of theory and politics in Leninism

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The problem of the interrelation of Marxist-Leninist theory and the Communist Party's policy in the proletariat's class struggle is particularly meaningful in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, a period of profound social changes in the history of mankind. This is due above all to the fact that the tasks which the working class and the whole of progressive humanity set themselves today are exceptionally important. The transition from capitalism to socialism and communism is not taking place in one country or in a small group of countries, but on a planetary scale, and this irreversible social process creates a new historical situation in the world producing many hitherto unknown problems in the sphere of theory and politics. Along this road, the column of social development is highly "stretched out:" the CPSU and the Soviet people are effecting the transition from socialism to communism, while a group of socialist countries, including Bulgaria, are building a developed socialist society; in other countries, only the foundations of the new social relations are being laid; and in still other countries the first steps are being taken with an orientation toward socialism. The communist parties in the capitalist countries are tackling their programmatic tasks in new conditions. At the same time, the world as a whole is faced with global problems: the need to avert the threat of thermonuclear annihilation, and the energy, raw material, food and ecological problems.

The victories of scientific, existing socialism and the unprecedentedly massive nature of the communist movement are accompanied by the danger of the lowering of the theoretical level and an underestimation of the role of theory itself. In his work *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin drew attention to this danger, when he said: "Those who have the slightest acquaintance with the actual state of our movement cannot but see that the wide spread of Marxism was accompanied by a certain lowering of the theoretical level" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 369). Today, the individual party and our movement as a whole may have to face such a danger.

The communist movement is, by its very nature, international, and today this feature is ever more pronounced. Hence the special importance of this idea of Lenin's: "... an incipient movement in a young country can be successful only if it makes use of the experiences of other countries. In order to make use of these experiences it is not enough merely to be acquainted with them, or simply to copy out the latest resolutions. What is required is the ability to treat these experiences critically and to

test them independently. He who realizes how enormously the working-class movement has grown and branched out will understand what a reserve of theoretical forces and political (as well as revolutionary) experience is required to carry out this task" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 370). That was written in 1902. One can well imagine the theoretical potential and political experience it takes today to master the whole wealth of experience of the world communist movement.

The general trend toward a sharpening of the international ideological struggle against the bourgeoisie and the spread of the communist movement suggest that "it has as yet far from settled accounts with the other trends of revolutionary thought that threaten to divert the movement from the correct path" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 369), to say nothing of the need to resist the attempts by bourgeois ideology, "left" and right revisionism to extend their influence. Let us recall that in this context Lenin insisted on a "strict differentiation between shades of opinion," and warned: "The fate of Russian Social-Democracy for very many years to come may depend on the strengthening of one or the other 'shade'" (*Ibid.*, p. 370). In our day, the caliber of the dangers threatening to divert the movement to the wrong path is much more explicit than the "shades" appearing in the revolutionary movement, and this danger requires timely theoretical and political responses.

Finally, the problem is meaningful also because the new stage in the development of the international communist movement is characterized not only by a high level of political maturity, activity and independence of the parties, but, as Leonid Brezhnev has noted, a strongly expressed need for theoretical and political intercourse, for a comradely exchange of opinion, information and experience. Accordingly, it is ever more important for the communists to consider what is indisputable and what is controversial in our theory; in which spheres of social life and struggle concessions and compromises can and cannot be made; how, on the basis of what has been achieved in the course of the whole history of our doctrine and movement, one has to cope with the unusually great complex of new contemporary phenomena, processes, trends, etc.

Addressing the international theoretical conference in Sofia in December 1978, Todor Zhivkov said: "We Bulgarian communists have always attached the utmost importance to the theoretical groundwork of our movement . . . For 90 years now

questions of revolutionary theory have been featuring on the agenda of the revolutionary struggle and work of the BCP, and our foremost concern has been the concern for theory, for studying it profoundly, developing and applying it creatively, and safeguarding it from distortions and misinterpretations."

I

Let us emphasize that the interrelation of theory and politics is not only an important problem, but that it is also of fundamental significance for the Marxist-Leninist party at every period of its development.

The activity of such a party relies on a theory which, Lenin said, necessarily "combines the quality of being strictly and supremely scientific (being the last word in social science) with that of being revolutionary" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 1, p. 327). The scientific explanation of the world, together with its revolutionary change is an organic unity for the communists, the two parts of it being indivisible, for they are determined by the very nature of the struggle for communism. Genetically, the theory of communism was the first to emerge, having been created on the basis of science by Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin. Only on the basis of this theory can a communist policy be formulated and implemented.

The theory of scientific socialism does not emerge as a national conception. It is international by its subject-matter, by its range of processes and phenomena and its whole substance. Marx and Engels did not create some German scientific socialism, and Lenin did not create some Russian scientific socialism: they elaborated the theory of scientific socialism, which is universal and supranational.

But with politics things are different. In his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Marx wrote: "It is altogether self-evident that, to be able to fight at all, the working class must organize itself at home as a class and that its own country is the immediate arena of its struggle. In so far its class struggle is national, not in substance, but as the *Communist Manifesto* says, 'in form'."¹ This means that the political process, as the most important means in organizing the forces of the proletariat, begins within the national framework on the basis of an international doctrine, and that politics is a peculiar concretization of this doctrine (including its political component) in this or that social reality, in the light of the specifics and originality of national development. Of substantial importance for an understanding of this aspect of the interrelation between theory and politics is Engels' explanation of the need "to form in each country a proletarian party with a policy of its own."² This party is faced with the task of working on the basis of theoretical ideas and the views of scientific socialism to liberate the working class from the influence of bourgeois politics and ideology, to pull it out of the orbit of bourgeois political life and launch it upon its own orbit.

The peculiarity of the relation between theory and politics remains in the subsequent period: theory — in content and form — continues to be supranational, international; but the communist party's policy being international in its most profound content, principles and goals, continues above all to be a national policy, because the political struggle is being carried on against the bourgeoisie of that country, for a solution of the class contradictions within the national boundaries, within the boundaries of modern states. The Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the common experience of the communist doctrine, crystallized in a theory, are being concretized in politics even today.

From this standpoint, the theory of Marxism-Leninism ranks above politics, in scope of subject-matter, depth and scale of categories, in stringency of logic and mutual tying in of these categories. In other words, theory is a peculiar basis on which politics unfolds. Politics is the medium through which theory is connected with concrete social forces, with the spontaneous working-class movement; by means of politics, theory raises the working class to the level of a science, to the height of self-consciousness and self-cognition. That is why Lenin was absolutely right when he said that "without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement ... the role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, pp. 369-370).

This hierarchy of theory and politics is expressed in a number of factors which may be said to limit the potentialities of political practice.

According to theory, communism is not an ideal to which reality will have to adjust itself, but the real movement,³ which prompts the need for each Marxist-Leninist party to proceed from the actual, and not the desired development of society (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 1, p. 296). The founders of our theory held that ideas are realized in the life of a given people only to the extent to which they meet its requirements; the forms and means of the proletariat's struggle will be found in the reality itself, they cannot be invented, they need to be discovered, studied, organized and directed. This means that in its political activity and struggle the Marxist-Leninist party must firmly and undeviatingly adhere to Marx's theoretical view that the development of society is a law-governed historical process, and to take account of the fact that changes in society cannot be arbitrary and do not depend on the "will of the authorities," but are effected in consequence of the operation of objective laws. Such a party does not believe that it is strong because it can perform everything it has decided upon, but because it gains a correct apprehension of the objective processes and is well aware of what it has to do, of what it can and cannot achieve in politics and elsewhere.

At the same time, real changes in society are effected by people's practical power and energy, through social action which, for its part, depends on the organization and consciousness of the mas-

ses, which the communist movement has to raise to the level of scientific knowledge, if it is to achieve the desired effect. The involvement of the masses in politics, into conscious and organized struggle for the common class interests, and their participation in political life, which is organized, guided and led by the party, is the only possible way for the self-cognition of the working class and its constitution into a practical political force. Here, the dialectics of theory and politics stands out in bold relief. On the one hand, theory opens up for politics a field of action. On the other, without politics, theory cannot reach the masses, take possession of them and become a material force, and however correct and brilliant theoretical and other ideas and intentions may be, they remain no more than an intellectual product which cannot be translated into the practice of life without politics. In other words, the limits opened up by theory do not at all signify an underestimation or limitation of the role of politics.

Conversely, while determining the fundamental solution of the basic problems of the proletariat's class struggle, theory imposes on politics a responsibility for the adoption of concrete decisions. There must be no underestimation of this responsibility. Everyone knows, for instance, that the fundamental recognition of the possibility of compromises in politics does not at all make it clear when one should compromise. Furthermore, whereas theory provides the fundamental solution of the "international — national" problem, which is of special importance for the communist movement, its concrete formulation, depending on the course of circumstances at a definite historical moment, is realized in politics. Whereas theory solves the problem of power and the ways of winning it, together with the methods to be used in putting through peaceful and non-peaceful forms of revolutionary struggle, continuity and innovation in the party's activity, etc., in politics these decisions are concretized, which implies responsibility for concerting these with both the requirements of theory and its principles, and the requirements of life, with the whole concreteness and specifics of practice.

Consequently, the theory of Marxism-Leninism is the party's view of the movement as a whole, from the moment of its origination to its ultimate goals, a world-view which distinguishes the communist party from other political forces operating in the working-class movement. What is decided and determined in politics is what has to be done at each concrete historical moment, how effectively the decision being taken serves the interests of the movement as a whole, the vital interests of the working class and its struggle for socialism. In this context, politics has a tremendous responsibility for taking the correct decisions with respect to what is temporary and situational in the communist movement. Let us recall what Lenin said on the eve of the October Revolution, an idea, we think, which applies not only to the Bolsheviks, namely, that "history will not forgive revolutionaries for procrastinating when they could be victorious today

(and they certainly will be victorious today), while they risk losing much tomorrow, in fact, they risk losing everything" (Coll. Works, Vol. 26, p. 235).

However partial a characterization of the theory-politics relation, there is a need to emphasize, with an eye to the purposes of the present article, that the theory of Marxism-Leninism is the most profound cognition of reality, of objective laws in their interaction within an integral whole, and the basis for foresight in politics, in planning and programming of social activity. Without this a Marxist-Leninist party's policy is inconceivable. At the same time, theory presents the class ideal of social life toward whose realization the party's political activities are oriented, the intellectual basis on which broad masses of people are united round the working class against the capitalist class. In this way conditions are shaped without which Marx and Lenin believed there could be no revolution, let alone a successful one.⁴

Let us note that the theory-practice relation undoubtedly remains meaningful for the theory-politics relation, for in the former case there is no doubt at all that priority goes to practice as the basis, goal and criterion of cognition. This refers both to theory as human intellectual activity, and to politics as practical steps and actions. Here again one should not forget that it is practice which shows where — in the light of the eventual result and goal of the movement — we are right, and where we are not, both in the sphere of theory and in our daily political actions. It is especially important to note that theory is not only a most profound truth but also the way to it. Marx said that the "investigation of truth must itself be true; true investigation is developed truth."⁵ This is of fundamental importance also in politics where deadends will be frequently discovered.

II

The theory-politics dialectics is exceptionally complex: its mastery and application are the crucial condition for the successful activity of a Marxist-Leninist party. Here mistakes and immaturity carry a high, too high a price, as will be seen not only from past experience, but also from the generally known facts of our own day.

There are many potential and actual situations in which an underestimation of theory and mistakes in it have an effect on politics, while incorrect policies have a grave effect on theoretical activity. There is much in history to show that the actual and potential mistakes harming the party are highly diverse, but if one were to generalize these situations one could identify two of the greatest dangers connected with opportunism: blind worship of theory, on the one hand, and of politics, on the other.

By providing a correct generalization of historical experience and current practices and an in-depth knowledge of reality, and the goals, means and methods of the proletariat's class struggle, theory serves as the basis for directing the political process and the mass struggle by the Marxist-Leninist par-

ty, and for its creative activity. In the period in which the Great October Socialist Revolution was organized and carried out, Lenin brilliantly showed that the political process is a continuation, concretization and specification of general principles with an account of the specific features of the social and political reality. Lenin acted on the basis of Marx's doctrine, adopted the fundamental views of his theory and at the same time — and precisely for that reason — advanced both in theory and in politics. Besides, Lenin did not regard theory as a recipe or a manual telling one what to do and what not to do in politics, but as the basis of the political activity of the party which has at its disposal reliable instruments for foresight, but does not have a knowledge of everything in advance; even its collective intellect cannot anticipate all details. One has the vaguest notion of some concrete events in the future, while other events are clarified only after one engages in a serious battle (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 480). But Lenin was always prepared for the most unexpected change of forms in the struggle against the class enemy and was master of all the means of this struggle without exception. He emphasized that history "is always richer in content, more varied, more multiform, more lively and ingenious than is imagined by even the best parties, the most class-conscious vanguards of the most advanced classes" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 95).

Unfortunately, this dialectics of theory and politics is not always duly taken into account, despite the great and highly valuable experience accumulated by the parties and the international communist and working-class movement. Absolutization of theory and its conversion into a dogmatic prayer-book, result in grave errors and miscalculations in politics, and in a sclerosis of political thinking and action. Lenin unambiguously pointed out the need for a creative approach to theory: "Our theory is not a dogma, but a guide to action, said Marx and Engels. The greatest blunder, the greatest crime, committed by such 'out-and-out' Marxists as Karl Kautsky, Otto Bauer, etc., is that they have not understood this and have been unable to apply it at crucial moments of the proletarian revolution" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 71). Let us recall that Kautsky, who assumed that history had to develop in accordance with his text-book or the German model, lacked the "theoretical" and spiritual forces to accept and recognize the October Revolution as legitimate.

Such mistakes are not only a part of history. They are also epitomized by Maoism. Here we find the lesson of attempts to enshrine Maoist theory as holy scripture and, making use of the power of politics and political power, to recast, reform reality in the name of that theory according to Maoist postulates. The events are too well known to be underestimated. The Peking leaders have gone so far as to pursue a hegemonistic policy with respect to the rest of the world, to engage in downright aggression against the peoples of Southeast Asia, and practise wild anti-Sovietism.

One of the first and main reasons for the emergence of the Maoist line was the degeneration of the correct and objective requirement that Marxism-Leninism should be concretely and creatively applied to the country's specific conditions into an attempt to Sinicize Marxism-Leninism, and to establish Maoism as the infallible and invariable theoretical recipe for every eventuality. We are not naive and we know that the socialist revolution and the socialist society in the USSR and in France, Bulgaria and Belgium, China and Italy, Cuba and Yugoslavia, Angola and Vietnam, Poland and Albania, and so on, and so forth, have developed or will develop in different ways, that they had or will have their own specific features, and constitute in their aggregation a real social diversity. But we Marxists also know that if these are true socialist revolutions and socialist societies, they must — necessarily — have a common social substance, common uniformities and common goals and ideals.

Lenin specifically emphasized that "in nature and in society all distinctions are fluid and up to a certain point conventional" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 69). That is the root both of potential creativity and erroneous conclusions and actions. But also there is no doubt that it is possible to avoid such manipulations of theory, provided it is treated as scientific theory.

First of all, no "nationalizations" of the theory of scientific socialism are admissible. This was pointed out by Engels in his analysis of the theoretical qualities of the German people and the German communists' contribution to the communist movement. Any claim to enclose theory within a "national framework" and to compile a special theory for any one country shows that the wrong way has been chosen. Each party and nation introduce into the theory and practice of socialism something of their own, enriching and developing them, but scientific socialism has been and will continue to be an integral theory for the scientific explanation and revolutionary socialist reconstruction of society.

Furthermore, there is a need to keep scrupulously clean the ideology and principles of theory, to combat any departures from it that could distort or pollute the theoretical potential of scientific socialism. Neither theoretical sclerosis nor rehashes of generally known truths are admissible, to say nothing of diplomatic silence when alien ideas and criteria are being introduced into scientific socialism. This calls for the theoretical struggle, and we have a lot to learn from Marx and Lenin, who totally shunned the attitude of diplomatic silence when rotten theoretical views demoralizing the parties tended to spread within the movement. The political advisability of theoretical polemics is, of course, a highly important consideration, but of equal importance is the requirement of timely resistance to erroneous theoretical generalizations and theses. There is danger and harm in the underestimation of both.

Everything needs also to be done, we believe, to

prevent respect for theory developing into dogmatic fanaticism, and any attempts to ossify it. Our theory is strong because it is true and capable of developing. It has no need of deification, but must exist and operate in an atmosphere of discussion and analysis of the new; there is a need to get hold of the objective truth without preconceptions, on the basis of evidence and arguments. There is a need to verify every theoretical thesis through criticism; without such verification, time-serving and incorrect propositions may easily be allowed in theory.

Finally, one should never forget that mistakes in theory lead to mistakes in politics in accordance with the objective logic of its relation to the latter. When recognizing anything as being true in theory, we regard this theoretical proposition as being universal, generally valid, and so undertake to take it into account in our policies, with all the possible consequences that may ensue. That is why the criteria of what belongs to theory and what does not, what has theoretical value and what has not, should be clearcut and should operate without fail.

III

Equally dangerous today is another departure from the theory-politics dialectics, namely, the faith in the omnipotence of politics and the conversion of theory into a handmaiden of the political interests and goals.

At the sharp turning points of history there is a heightened need not only for theory and the elaboration of new problems but also for the solution of the urgent problems of politics. What is more, with the sharp and intense class contest, efforts are concentrated on practical work, and this quite naturally gives a preponderance to political approaches and aspects in the party's activity. The need arises to settle matters and act without delay, evaluating the concrete social situation and using the advantages of the moment for moving forward in the revolutionary class struggle. In consequence of this, the illusion frequently arises that politics is everything or virtually everything. All the more so since an element of coercion is latent in the very nature of the political process, in people's political life and this is manifested in everyday reality, while in politics the power of the masses, of millions of people is used for practical operation. That is what apparently suggests that politics is omnipotent.

The main feature of this erroneous approach is manifested in the priority given to the specific situation at the expense of the uniformities, to the part at the expense of the whole, to the concrete at the expense of the general. Let us recall the social-democratic maxim: "Movement is everything, the goal is nothing." Our maxim is different: at various stages of the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie, the communists always stand up for the interests of the whole movement. Lenin had the unsurpassed ability to advance toward the ultimate goal regardless of any political ups and downs, compromises and mishaps, which could not be avoided, and he never sacrificed the interests of the struggle as a whole. He was a brilliant master of

political compromises that were appropriate for the revolution. He never connected them with the abandonment of any principle of Marx's doctrine, of any truth established in the theory of scientific socialism, and never neglected any theoretical position.

Time has shown that Lenin was right, and it has also brought out the negative effects of the approach based on faith in the omnipotence of politics arising from an underestimation or neglect of theory.

First of all, the communist party cannot pursue a correct policy without theoretical consistency and creativity, without loyalty to the ideas and principles of scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism. Bourgeois or petty-bourgeois parties seek to take power for the sake of power itself, which is why they are prepared to accept any international combination. For us, power is the means for attaining the ideals and goals of scientific socialism. We cannot accept compromises at the expense of the vital interests of the working class and the masses. Any departure from the class stand in analyzing, evaluating and taking decisions will inevitably lead the party to deviate from the correct political line.

Underestimation of theory by the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties could result in grave errors and even in critical situations in individual socialist countries. Underestimation of theory by non-ruling communist parties also results in grave errors, illusions and incorrect policies which are fraught with great complications.

Unless there is a constant study of social reality, one tends to lose sight of new social processes and phenomena, deep changes and trends determining the concrete course and the future of social development. No wonder, Kautsky and his associates failed to notice the new epoch into which the world was entering, the revolutionizing of the masses, the sharpening of the contradictions between the imperialist powers, and the imperialist character of the world war which had broken out. German social-democrats subsequently failed to assess Italy's experience in the takeover of power by Mussolini and to give the necessary and correct evaluation of the specific features of Germany in the early 1930s. The consequences are well known. Without theory, social movements and forces are short-sighted in the whirlpool of the revolutionary process and social change.

Revolutionary theory alone makes it possible to carry on an effective struggle against the bourgeoisie's ideological influence on the working class and all the other strata of the working people. Without serious theoretical work, mistakes can be made within the working-class movement which are considerable or which may appear insignificant at first sight but which are fraught with long-term consequences. Without theory it is impossible to study, evaluate and assess the experience of other countries and to formulate the necessary creative attitude to the socio-historical specifics of one's own country. Kautsky and his followers abandoned the dictatorship of the proletariat as a theoretical principle, together with other

Marxist tenets, and this deprived the parties of the Second International of their own face, so that the difference between them and the classical bourgeois parties became ad hoc, instead of fundamental; related to current issues, instead of basic questions.

In complex situations, politics which neglects theory is doomed to grope its way, and this inevitably leads to a loss of the class and historical perspective in realizing the social ideal of the working class. Whatever may be said now about the re-idealization of social-democracy, the state of affairs is the same: it remains remote from socialism as the actual implementation of the ideal of the working class, from scientific socialism. In this or that country, in this or that case, social-democratic policy can, of course, do something to ease the condition of the working class under capitalism, but it is incapable of ridding it of exploitation. That is all a movement that has abandoned theory for the sake of immediate political advantages is capable of doing.

IV

Creative and principled discussions on theoretical problems in each Marxist-Leninist party and the communist movement as a whole are undoubtedly the main condition for the normal and successful development of theory. It is common knowledge that Marx did his utmost to carry on discussion within our movement. His struggle against the erroneous views of Proudhon, Weitling, Bakunin, his critique of the Gotha Programme, his analysis of events in various countries, notably, the Paris Commune, produced truly creative discussion in the communist movement. Such was also Lenin's approach in his struggle against the errors of Trotsky, Bukharin, and before that, Martov, Plekhanov, Bernstein, Kautsky and others.

What are the characteristic features of this approach to theory, which is also so necessary today?

It is the most serious and profound research attitude to the new phenomena and facts in the life and activity of the party, of the working class and of society as a whole. It is intolerable, for whatever motives, to lag behind in comprehending the new processes and enriching theory with a knowledge of these, and enriching politics with the means for regulating these processes and governing them. It is an anachronism to regard our theory as something that is ossified. There is good reason why Marx saw questions where others saw answers. There is good reason why Lenin formulated the possibility of the revolution winning out in one individual country, while his opponents did not see the possibility of this and quoted Marx himself to back up their approach. This happened because Marx and Lenin analyzed the new phenomena and processes in society with their inherent insight on the basis of the dialectico-materialist methodology, comprehending the meaning of events while they were still under way, simultaneously elaborating their views and ideas, and the theory of scientific socialism. That is why we do not re-

quire self-complacency over what has been achieved in theory, not an urge to shed light on everything by means of its discoveries, but active interest in all the new elements in life, a tireless quest in theory together with the most serious and highly organized collective and individual efforts to develop it creatively.

Attempts to hush up mistakes in theory should not be allowed, and an irreconcilable stand taken against any deviations from the correct, scientifically substantiated development of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, let alone departures from the theory itself. Marx and Lenin never pulled their punches when it came to inaccuracies and mistakes in theory: they always called mistakes in and departures from scientific socialism by their proper names. But they also set an example of how to show respect for the party and the individual, while taking an irreconcilable attitude to errors and misconceptions in theory, and demonstrated that in scientific discussions there can be opponents but no enemies:

With respect to scientific facts and propositions, our stand must be clearcut, precise and open-ended. Things are different in politics. In his lifetime, Marx tried to avoid falling into the hands of the German police, and Lenin, from appearing in court under Kerensky. Politics has its secrets, considerations and facts, which cannot be publicized at a given moment. But there are no secrets in theory — in it there is nothing to conceal, everything is clear and must be clear, proven and verified. Any attempt to obscure the facts, to cover up the course of theoretical research, to suggest that any truth needs to be accepted on faith is dangerous; this debases theory to the level of religion, with all the ensuing negative consequences.

Verification by practice, is the judge of truth. No theory, no conception, no theorist can stand over and above practice and avoid verification by practice. Everything must ultimately face its judgement in order to receive confirmation or to be refuted. Each party, each theorist must have the strength and ability to see and recognize the results of verification by practice. Where this is not so, there is a threat of the party degenerating as a party of scientific socialism and becoming a run-of-the-mill bourgeois or social-democratic party.

Historical practice has shown that abandonment of the basic principles of theory for the sake of short-term political advantages is fraught with political deviation to right or "left," and that there is no right or "left" deviation that is not to the advantage of bourgeois ideology and politics. Revolutionary practice has also shown the error of those who abandon theory in any form or to any degree, on the plea that it hampers success in politics.

The Marxist-Leninist theory is not an impediment to the party's freedom of creativity and flexibility in politics. Lenin opposed any naiveté in politics, any attempt to regard politics as academic theoretical exercise. Like no one else, he felt the pulse of the masses, the requirements of

life. He was a brilliant architect and leader of the political struggle of the Russian and international working class. Loyalty to the spirit of our doctrine and its creative development, the principled stand and the flexible approach in politics — that is what Lenin urged, and that is what constitutes the substance of Leninism.

The relation of theory and politics is harmonious and contradictory. The communist theory and politics make up a dialectical, and not a mechanical unity. The requirements of theory do not always coincide with the requirements of politics. Such is the actual reality of the living social process. The maturity and strength of a Marxist-Leninist party consist in and are measured by its constant consideration for the dialectics of theory and politics, and its pursuit of a flexible policy without the departures from the principles of scientific socialism, for the sake of the people's vital interests, and for the long-term goals and ideals of the socialist social system.

The period in which we live persistently confronts the communists with questions concerning the development of scientific theory and the formulation and pursuit of correct policies in the intricate conditions and situations of the world

and the national revolutionary process. Departures in one sphere lead to departures or distortions in another. Consistent and creative observance of the theory-politics dialectics ensures success for the communist party's historical mission and concrete tasks.

Today, with progressive mankind marking the 111th anniversary of the birth of Lenin, we reiterate the truth that has been borne out by the whole experience of our movement: theory and politics are the party's powerful instruments in the cognition and transformation of society, and they will serve the working class in the interests of progress, peace and socialism only if we master them, only if we use them the Leninist way.

1. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 21.
2. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 259.
3. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology*, p. 48.
4. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 184-185; V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 84-85.
5. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 113.

The political blitzkrieg

Arnold Becchetti
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The Ronald Reagan presidency, with its cabinet of millionaires, portends sharpened struggles between the forces of peace, democracy and national liberation, on the one hand, and the forces of war, reaction, racism and neo-colonialism, on the other, both in this country and globally.

On the *domestic front*, the first weeks of the Reagan administration saw the accelerated deregulation of gas and oil resulting in higher prices of gas and fuel; the abolition of the wage-price control board, which means freezing and cutting wages while profits soar; the unveiling of Reagan's Emergency Economic Program aimed at putting the burden of the economic crisis even more on the backs of the working class and oppressed people by big cuts in corporate taxes and by slashing social welfare programs to the bone; the move by Congress to establish a new version of the infamous, witch-hunting Un-American Committee; a new push on Capital Hill for enacting an anti-democratic rights law and giving the CIA free rein.

On the agenda of the forces round Reagan, and encouraged by him, are attempts to curb trade

union rights and scuttle affirmative action programs¹ and civil rights laws, including the Voting Rights Act of 1964. Reaction is plainly out to abet racism and Ku Klux Klan terrorism.

The new administration is faced with an impressive array of urgent problems. These result from inflation caused by a bloated military budget, increasing unemployment, the negative effects of the multinationals' activity, inadequate productivity, high interest rates, a reduction of capital investment leading to plant closings, a declining real income and an unprecedented level of consumer debt.

In trying to cope with realities such as these, the new administration will apparently be guided by the advice of Paul Volcker, a leading right-wing financial expert, who believes "the standard of living of the average American has to decline."

In *foreign policy*, the Reagan administration's first days saw an increase in military supplies to the reactionary junta in El Salvador; a vicious anti-Iran campaign of lies and slander about "torture" of the hostages aimed at isolating Iran and making it a pliant client state again, as it was under the Shah; a jingoist frenzy whipped up in an effort to wipe out the Vietnam syndrome; a new attempt to force the neutron bomb on Western Europe; steps to set up bridgeheads for use against the people of El Sal-

For further information on the problems raised in this article, see also the Facts and Figures section at the end of this issue. — Ed.

vador, Nicaragua, Grenada and Cuba; embracing of the butcher Chon Doo Hwan of South Korea and increased pressure on Japan for remilitarization; and more moves to split the non-aligned movement.

What is more striking than ever is the anti-Soviet trend and anti-socialist nature of U.S. foreign policy; a war-inciting campaign over the developments in Poland aimed at gaining a free hand for the anti-socialist KOR gang, and an anti-Soviet and anti-Cuba campaign on patently false charges of promoting terrorism. Washington hopes this will help divert the attention of the world public from the acts of violence organized by the CIA and from U.S. support for terroristic regimes. Reagan has descended into the sewer of "diplomacy" through his calumnies about "cheating, lying and deceiving" directed at the USSR.

All of this adds up to a veritable blitzkrieg by the new administration on the domestic and foreign fronts. The aim of U.S. imperialism is to regain the initiative, get the ball rolling for psychological warfare and reverse the world balance of forces.

For those who cannot see beneath the surface, it would appear that there is no preventing a drastic turn to the right. Panic and despair have seized some liberals. Some think that it is time to take to the storm cellars; others, like Lane Kirkland, head of the AFL-CIO, move for accommodation with the Reagan administration, even while differing with it on this or that specific issue. Still others seek some opportunist gain for themselves by joining the anti-Soviet campaign.

For whatever reason in each case, they all badly misread the signs. Certainly, the Reagan administration poses a grave threat to world peace, to national liberation, to democratic rights and to the living standards not only of the U.S. workers but of all the peoples. Yet at a moment like this, when the menacing sounds of war drums along the Potomac appear to drown out the voices of calm reason, it is all the more important to make sober assessments of the new situation.

For as Gus Hall said at the December meeting of the CC, CPUSA:

"We must avoid simplistic assessments of a very complex moment, made up of many storms, many currents and confusing signals. Wrong assessments can lead to wrong approaches to present and future struggles. Unwarranted pessimistic assessments can lead to less initiatives and passive acceptance of reactionary policies . . . A correct assessment of the 1980 election must start with a rejection of the false claim that it signifies a right-wing landslide. The fightback (against the Reagan policies. — A.B.) must start with a rejection of the post-election blitzkrieg."²

The CC meeting made a clear, concrete analysis of the conservative Right and the ultra-Right forces, of their relationships and differences, of the extent to which they made some ideological and governmental gains and of the new problems and difficulties arising therefrom. It delineated the ideological and practical mass struggle which the communists

and everyone else who treasures peace must carry on to defeat the policies of the Republican administration.

The problems and dangers are great. But the opportunities of defeating reaction are greater, provided the Communist Party and other progressive forces adhere to a class approach, frankly discuss all problems with the people and show boldness in organizing mass struggles and in overcoming sectarian tendencies.

Reagan is a minority president, having been elected by only 25 per cent of the eligible voters. Even though he is the winner, he has to contend with the fact that over seven million voted outside the two parties of imperialism, the highest number ever to break out of the political trap of a capitalist two-party system. In order to win the election, Reagan had to change the tenor of his rhetoric beginning with the Cleveland debate against Carter, and to pose as a man committed to peace.

In the election itself, the voters of three state Senate districts in Massachusetts passed a referendum calling for a U.S.-USSR nuclear freeze; elsewhere the big majority of voters passed referendums (in at least six cases) for détente and strategic arms controls, and the total communist vote increased at least four-fold; all this reflected the position of the great majority in the nation for peace, as reported in public opinion polls.

A broad coalition is actively working for reopening the SALT talks.

Peace coalitions report a growth in affiliations and membership following the Reagan election. Organizations in defense of democratic and civil rights are going from strength to strength. A growing movement to outlaw the KKK is under way. The aim of the Reagan administration to cut down or eliminate the food-stamp program under which 22 million people are able to supplement their meager incomes is giving rise to another broad democratic coalition.

While the reactionary trade union leaders seek accommodation with Reagan, the rank and file are aware that the country is in for rough times and a tough struggle awaits them. The fight against plant closings and for jobs is gathering momentum, with marches planned to Washington and state capitals.

These developments are bound to have a powerful impact on Washington. In the unity of these diverse movements lies the potential for forcing the conservative and ultra-Right, the Reagan administration, to halt the cold war slide, put the country on the road to political and military détente and give attention to social problems.

Even the first days of the Reagan administration showed that it can be compelled to retreat. The demand of Caspar Weinberger, Reagan's Secretary of Defense, for the siting of the neutron bomb in Western Europe had to be disclaimed by Secretary of State Haig, himself a warhawk, when mass outrage and protests from some Western European partner-rivals immediately urged caution in Washington. The Schmidt-d'Estaing summit reaffirmed détente as a basic necessity of our times.

Reagan was forced to state that he was "willing" to seek strategic arms limitation with the Soviet Union, although he hedged it with talk about "linkage."

The meeting of non-aligned foreign ministers in New Delhi, India, reiterated the anti-imperialist, pro-détente position as a prime basis of the unity of this singularly important world movement. The people of Cuba have refused to give in to the threats from the White House by demonstrating their unbreakable unity and their will to defend their gains. The muscle-flexing moves of imperialism do not succeed in intimidating the peoples of El Salvador and other countries, who have intensified their embattled march along the freedom road.

At the December Central Committee meeting, Gus Hall stressed, on the strength of realities, that Reagan's reactionary conservatism must deal with a set of circumstances and a balance of domestic and world forces differing from those of the McCarthy, cold war period.

"Reagan," he said, "will have to deal with the same forces of the world revolutionary process and the same contradictions between the United States and the other capitalist countries that corralled and

gelled Carter's foreign policy. Reagan will have to deal with the same Soviet Union, now even more powerful. He will have to deal with the same Soviet Union that has prevented the outbreak of a major war since the end of World War II, the same Soviet Union, with its policies of peace and détente which have prevented limited wars from becoming major wars, the same Soviet Union whose policies have made it possible for the oppressed colonial nations to win liberation without being destroyed in the process. These policies and the same, tremendously increased prestige and influence of the Soviet Union will continue to be the most important factor in the world reality that the Reagan administration will have to deal with. Because of these new realities the major sector of U.S. monopoly capital does not now support or have confidence in the concept that a military confrontation with the Soviet Union is now a sane option.³

Gus Hall scathingly criticized Reagan's talk about linking the advances of the world revolutionary process, the victories of socialism and national liberation, to U.S.-Soviet relations. "... He will soon find out that is like demanding the world stop spinning. There is no way anyone can unlink the Soviet Union or other socialist countries from the world revolutionary process. The Reagan administration will have to learn that the key indestructible link of world reality is the relationship between the Soviet Union and the world revolutionary process. It is one thing to make Hollywood movies about make-believe worlds. It is quite another to formulate policies in a real world in which U.S. imperialism is not the director or sole producer."⁴

The Soviet Union has calmly and firmly parried the thrusts of the U.S. administration. At the 26th congress of the CPSU, it came forward with new and highly important initiatives aimed to eliminate the threat of war and strengthen international security. The USSR has reaffirmed its readiness to carry on a dialogue with the United States, to establish normal relations with it, and to resume the discussion with Washington of arms reduction and other measures to consolidate détente.

The net effect of U.S. imperialism's bellicosity will inevitably be to call forth greater vigilance and militancy among all fighters for peace, democracy and complete national freedom, and for the progress and well-being of the peoples of our planet. Nothing the Reagan administration can do can stop or reverse the world revolutionary process. The 1980s are not the 1950s. The struggle is, indeed, difficult. But, if waged consistently and without let-up, it will win.

1. Affirmative action programs — a system of measures aimed to eliminate racial and national discrimination. They provide, in particular, for so-called "preferential quotas" in accordance with which Blacks have a priority right to advancement to higher skills and training programs. — Ed.

2. Gus Hall, 1981 — *Mandate for Fightback*. New York, 1980, pp. 7, 9.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

The Working Class and Its Allies

L. Moskvin

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Revolutionary optimism and energy

José R. Machado Ventura
CC Political Bureau and
Secretariat member, CP Cuba

The second congress of the Communist Party of Cuba was an outstanding event in the history of our party and country. The five years between it and the first congress were marked by persevering work in economic construction and the extension of socialist democracy, consistent and systematic improvement of inner-party life and ideological work.

In the foreign-policy sphere, the recent period has been one of mounting international tension caused by the irresponsible policy of the United States pursued in the situation of economic crisis that has gripped the capitalist world. In the country's internal life, there were difficulties arising from the disease which hit some of Cuba's staple agricultural crops, a development that had an effect on Cuba's economy and overall condition. But summing up the results of the five-year period in the festive days of the 22nd anniversary of the triumph of the Cuban revolution, our party and people were able to report considerable successes, which are a powerful incentive for further improving our work in every sphere of life.

A short listing of the most important events of the past period will give an idea of the work that has been done from 1976 to 1980. There was the introduction of the new political and administrative division of the country, which made it possible to establish closer and more flexible ties between the national and provincial administrative units, and to consolidate ties between party, mass and social organizations and municipal and grass-roots organs of state. A socialist constitution was adopted and has entered into force, local organs of people's power and a national assembly have been set up, the structure of the central state administration has been reorganized in accordance with the country's requirements. A new system of administration and planning has been introduced into the economy and much work has been done to improve economic activity. We have not executed a dizzy leap in economic development — and we never intended to do so — but progress in this sphere has been constant. It was ensured by the fulfillment of the adopted plans, the constant concern of the party and the state for national-economic construction, and the active involvement in it of mass organizations and the whole people.

Among the numerous tasks which had to be tackled in the past five-year period there was, above all, the need to strengthen our industrial base and to accelerate cooperation in the countryside. The re-

sults that have been achieved are of special importance in view of the fact that the Cuban people have had to work in face of the hostile policy of U.S. imperialism, its continued criminal blockade and the increase of its aggressive proclivities in the recent period.

In the atmosphere of a runaway inflation, the sharpening of the economic crisis of capitalism and a marked decline of the world prices of sugar, our achievements over the past five-year period convincingly demonstrate the advantages of the socialist society and economic cooperation within the CMEA framework. Despite the fact that from 1975 to 1979, Cuba's trade with the capitalist countries declined by 53 per cent, our gross social product grew at an average of 4 per cent a year.

All the achievements of the five-year period, and also the preparation for and the holding of the congress itself were secured by the undeviating observance of the Marxist-Leninist principles of close ties between the party and the masses. Every major measure, every important step since the victory of the revolution has been taken with the participation of the working people, with the participation of the people as a whole. The party leadership, Fidel Castro in the first place, has constantly stood up for this principle. In difficult situations, when complicated problems arise, the party invariably turns to the people, explains the substance of our problems, and calls on the working people to take an active part in solving them. Every important step in the revolution over its triumphant 22-year road has been carried out with the decisive participation of the overwhelming majority of the people. In implementing the line of the first congress, aimed at strengthening the party's ties with the people, we gave much attention to building up the party ranks and improving their quality, the work of mass organizations was invigorated, socio-political institutions were improved, and the mechanism of socialist democracy developed.

At their second congress, the Cuban communists discussed the main report by the First Secretary of the Central Committee Fidel Castro, which summed up the results of our work from 1976 to 1980 and mapped out the perspectives and the party's general line in domestic and foreign policy.

The congress considered and approved the Guidelines for Cuba's Economic and Social Development from 1981 to 1985, draft amendments to the party rules, and amendments to the resolutions on the programmatic platform and several

other political documents approved by the first congress. These resolutions describe the already fulfilled tasks and designate those which are to be tackled in the future.

Fidel Castro emphasized that "the congress completed the work which had been carried on for many months; we carried out the most detailed analysis of our problems in a spirit of criticism and self-criticism, ranging from the primary organizations to the party congress." The reporting meetings held before the congress in primary, municipal and provincial organizations proceeded in a business-like and creative atmosphere.

The Guidelines adopted by the congress contain the key aspects of the plan for socio-economic development from 1981 to 1985, which was worked out over a period of more than two and a half years. Its draft was put before party members, the leadership of state organs and enterprises, and all the other working people for analysis and discussion; 7,500 proposals were submitted — the people's active participation in the discussion helped to improve the draft.

Fulfillment of the new five-year plan will be an important contribution to the drive against backwardness, and to the construction of socialism in our country. One of the main tasks is consistent advance along the way of socialist industrialization, so as to complete the building of the material and technical basis of the new society, and further expand industry and the services. Eight sugar refineries are to be built, and sugar output is to go up by 20-25 per cent. With the modernization of the nickel plants at Moa and Nicaro in the northeast of the country, and with the starting of another plant by the end of the five-year period, Cuba will have boosted the output of this metal, of which she has the largest world deposits. One of the key lines in the new five-year period is the continued effort to set up new agricultural cooperatives so as to make more rational use of scientific, technical, organizational and social advances in the drive for bumper crops. The plan envisages an overall GSP growth of 5 per cent a year, a figure which is higher than that achieved over the past five years.

An essential aspect of the Guidelines is orientation toward the utmost use of traditional exports and the development of new types of output for deliveries to the world market. At the same time, there are to be some cutbacks in imports, in line with the change in the structure of the economy that will make it less dependent on imports. The growth and stability of our foreign trade are guaranteed by the agreements signed with the Soviet Union and other socialist-community countries, and also by the well-considered planning of trade with the capitalist countries. In this five-year period, we intend to carry out a number of joint plans with the socialist countries, chiefly within the CMEA framework, and to continue our participation in deepening socialist economic integration, especially with the Soviet Union. Cuba will go on developing scientific and technical cooperation with countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The plan calls for greater efficiency and productivity of labor, and sets higher targets for the purpose of reliable and full satisfaction of our people's requirements.

The five-year plan is the result of an objective analysis of the state of the national economy and the prospects before it, carried out in the light of Cuba's potentialities in the present conditions. In the report to the congress Fidel Castro said: "The whole experience of this period (1976-1980) was taken into account in the elaboration of the economic directives for the second five-year period with a consideration of the maximum possible realistic criteria and on the basis of reliable indicators. The main idea is to overfulfil and not to underfulfil it. To set before the party, goals which are not unrealistic but attainable — that is a matter of responsibility, honor and prestige. That does not in any sense release us from the duty of doing our utmost. If we were to act otherwise, we would be neither revolutionaries, nor honest men."

Questions connected with inner-party life and the party's activity in the ideological struggle were closely scrutinized and thoroughly analyzed by the congress. Its resolutions are aimed at further improving the work carried out over the past five years. These decisions epitomized the party's concern for strengthening its ties with the masses, for an improvement of the social composition of its ranks, which is of exceptional importance from this standpoint.

The first congress of the CP Cuba was in a position to state that the effort to increase the working-class stratum in the party had yielded definite results, although these were fairly modest ones compared with the goals we had set ourselves. Starting from this critical assessment, it was decided to make this work systematic and to orient it toward the attraction of categories of working people of which the party has special need, and also upon the establishment or strengthening — depending on the concrete situation — of primary organizations through the recruitment of new members. In the admission to the party, some advantages were held out to those working in industry, construction, agriculture, transport, education and health care, among them primarily those who were directly connected with production, teaching and the services.

This did not at all mean the establishment of some "growth indicators" as the resolution on inner-party life specifically stated. There was no bending of the principle that candidates are selected in accordance with their personal qualities, the only approach which makes for purity of the party ranks. Indeed, this principle was further consolidated. Candidates are selected in accordance with the stringent requirements laid down by the rules. The increase in the party ranks through the admission of these categories of working people enabled the vanguard of the working class to best play its part of the leading force of society with the rising level of consciousness among the masses.

Work along these lines, which was summed up at

the second congress, yielded positive results. The quantitative and qualitative characteristics of the party's social composition have improved. In between the two congresses, its membership — full members and candidates — went up from 211,642 to 434,143. There was a marked increase in the number of primary organizations at production enterprises, in the sphere of the services, and the education system with 62.3 per cent of the party members (including cadre with a higher and secondary special education) directly connected with production, services and teaching. In 1975, workers directly engaged in production or the services made up 36.3 per cent of the membership, and in 1980, 47.3 per cent. In that period, the number of women in the party went up from 14.1 per cent to 19.1 per cent.

While attaching much importance to further developing criticism and self-criticism, we are in a position to say that their role has been markedly enhanced. This was largely promoted by the resolution adopted by the Political Bureau in 1979 calling for more exactingness and unflinching struggle against laxity and other types of neglect in work. The approach to the solution of these problems proposed by the resolution is fully meaningful not only for the party but also for state administrative organs.

The fulfillment of the tasks of improving inner-party life, set by the first congress, was discussed in the course of a broad campaign across the country, and was reflected in a resolution adopted by the eighth plenary meeting of the CP Cuba Central Committee. The results of five years of intensive effort in this sphere justify a sense of satisfaction of what has been done by primary organizations and leading bodies. In his report, Fidel Castro said: "Our Communist Party — the best product of the revolution and a dependable guarantee of its historical continuity — has reached this congress with outstanding achievements. Today we are justifiably proud of the fact that we have a party which is much stronger, better organized, more trained and experienced, and enjoying more profound and unwavering respect and affection among the masses of the working people." Such recognition inspires all communists and party organizations in carrying out the new tasks set by the second congress.

Proceeding from the plans and decisions, the party will continue to work to enlarge its ranks and to improve their qualitative make-up. It will start a drive to enhance the militancy of the communists in production, in the services, and especially at new projects in the second five-year period.

Considering the ideological struggle, the party congress gave a high appreciation of our people's resolute stand in face of the enemy, who uses a powerful propaganda apparatus for bellicose attacks against our homeland, against the socialist community and the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

In the recent period, the Cuban people's communist and internationalist consciousness has markedly grown. Their solid unity round their political vanguard, headed by Fidel Castro, has been demon-

strated in concrete action. "Throughout the country, there is now an atmosphere of hard work, good organization, exactingness, militancy and revolutionary adamancy. This is especially evident in our working class. In this period, brilliant work has also been done by our intelligentsia. Tens of thousands of teachers, lecturers, doctors and other specialists work selflessly at home and go with enthusiasm abroad to do their hard and honorary duty. Hundreds of thousands of servicemen and reservists of our Revolutionary Armed Forces have expressed an ardent wish to take part in the internationalist assistance which we are giving to fraternal peoples suffering from aggression. Like them, millions of their compatriots stand for a truly proletarian way of life, characterized by modesty, feelings of collectivism and honor, and discipline."

Our people's political consciousness is attested to by their patriotism and dedication. Over the past five years, these qualities were displayed in the daily effort to raise labor productivity and in the resolute support for our party's policy in every sphere of life, primarily in rebuffing the machinations of imperialism. The marches staged by the fighting people in April and May 1980 were a militant mass demonstration of our capability of giving a fitting response to the policy of imperialist threats and aggression.

The analysis of the fulfillment of the directives of the party's first congress and the lines of ideological work laid down by the Political Bureau and the Central Committee are an inducement for a further improvement of its quality, and this implies active participation by all the communists and conscious action by the masses. The main purpose of this work is creative propaganda of the successes of socialism achieved by us and by other fraternal countries; systematic criticism of the capitalist society and the signs of its obvious degradation; enhancement of the level of Marxist-Leninist training of party cadre and all the other working people, in order to resist vigorously the attempts by imperialism to mislead broad masses of people and so ideologically infiltrate the socialist world.

The second congress said that efforts should be continued to raise the level of the working people's economic knowledge, and to develop and support their urge to fulfil successfully the five-year plan. Here, primary attention should go to boosting production, improving the system of economic management and planning, industrialization and transformation of social and production relations in the countryside in accordance with the party's agrarian policy.

"On the whole," says the main report, "we have scored successes in ideological work, but we should continue our efforts in this sphere and overcome the existing shortcomings. There is a need to improve the ideological work of primary organizations so as to make every cell and every communist a champion and propagandist of the party's policy. Our ideological work must be carried on comprehensively, with extensive use of the system of political education, the various forms and methods of

propaganda and agitation, the mass media, culture, sport and recreation, together with other potentialities. . . . For all revolutionaries ideological struggle is now the front-line of the struggle, the forward revolutionary bastion."

The congress made a detailed analysis of the international situation. The report considered the most important problems of the world economy, and the party's foreign policy.

Cuba's political line has been invariably characterized by absolute loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism, international solidarity, peaceful coexistence and defense of peace. Loyalty to these principles, the congress said, is the sound foundation for our country's high prestige.

In the recent period, the capitalist system has been hit by the deepest economic crisis since the Second World War. This is dramatically expressed in growing unemployment in the industrialized capitalist countries, a sharpening of social inequality, and a worsening of living conditions in the so-called underdeveloped world. Capitalism is incapable of overcoming stagnation and inflation, while its economic forecasts do not show anything like a realistic way out of the situation. The giant monopolies have made the working people of their own countries and the developing states shoulder the burden of the crisis, while making fabulous profits and while poverty has been spreading to additional millions of people in the world.

Since 1979, Cuba has held the office of chairman of the non-aligned movement. In fulfilling this mission, it has upheld a concrete program for a new international economic order, which is supported by the United Nations and most peoples in the world. Nevertheless, the industrialized capitalist countries have rejected these just demands and refused to make the slightest sacrifices. Instead of promoting international cooperation, imperialism has been stepping up the arms race, eroding détente, making use of the dirty methods of the cold war, and confronting the world with the threat of a nuclear catastrophe.

International public opinion has given recognition to Cuba's efforts in the struggle for peace, to its activity within the framework of the movement of the non-aligned countries aimed to eliminate conflicts between them, for these can benefit only their common enemy. Cuba will not retreat from this line and will make consistent use of every opportunity for the re-establishment of normal relations among these states.

The period since 1975 is characterized by the inclusion of many peoples into the growing family of progressive and revolutionary countries. Cuba expresses its special sympathies for the victory of the revolution in Angola, strengthening the revolutionary process in Ethiopia and Mozambique, and the successes in the people's struggle in other countries of Africa, and also in Asia, specifically in the Middle East.

The victory of the Sandinista Front in Nicaragua is of historic importance for our continent. It put an end to one of the most blood-thirsty tyrannies in

Latin America, supported by U.S. imperialism, and paved the way for a genuinely democratic and anti-imperialist revolution. The people's victory in Grenada provides a powerful impetus for the struggle in the Caribbean countries. The Salvadoran people's heroic struggle against oppression and tyranny is an important part of the movement for the liberation of Latin America. In other states of the continent, there is also a growth and consolidation of the unity of the popular forces resisting domination by imperialism and fascism.

However, U.S. imperialism has no intention of accepting the democratic changes in Latin America. It has threatened the revolutionary forces, encouraged counter-revolution and openly conducted a hostile policy against the people who have won their right to self-determination. It supports regimes the whole world hates, like the sanguinary junta in El Salvador, threatening that country with intervention to stamp out its people's courageous, patriotic and revolutionary struggle. Provocative military exercises in the immediate vicinity of their territories, aerial espionage and other aggressive acts are directed against a number of states in Latin America and the Caribbean, Cuba in the first place.

Our party's second congress exposed before the whole of progressive mankind the criminal attempts by the United States to halt the revolutionary process in the countries of Central America and the Caribbean.

In accordance with a tradition inaugurated by the first congress, the party's highest forum ended with a mammoth mass rally. Its participants voiced their gratitude to the representatives of more than 140 delegations of fraternal parties and revolutionary movements, whose presence invested the congress with a truly internationalist character.

Our people, who kept closely in touch with the work of the congress through radio, television and the press, once again demonstrated their unity, their revolutionary consciousness and support for the party and its Central Committee, headed by Fidel Castro. The rally testified to the deep and solid ties between the party and the masses, who wholeheartedly approved the decisions of the supreme communist forum.

The new Central Committee is itself an embodiment of the indissoluble ties between the party and the masses, because, as our First Secretary said, "the party leadership has had a powerful infusion of workers, a powerful infusion of women, a powerful infusion of internationalist fighters. . . . This congress shows the close ties existing between the party and the masses." The establishment of an enlarged and more representative Central Committee expressed the party's concern for improving the composition, interaction and efficiency of its organs.

The second congress of the CP Cuba, a historic event in the Cuban people's life, emphasized the need to intensify work along two main lines of national activity: production and defense.

The growth of production is an assurance of the

attainment of the goals set out in the five-year plan. That is why we believe it to be so important for every working person to have a good understanding of the importance of efficient work, of greater productivity, and of the utmost efforts to fulfil and overfulfil the set targets.

The congress devoted primary attention to the constant strengthening of the country's defense capability, a vital task, because the socialist revolution in Cuba is confronted with the aggressive machinations of U.S. imperialism. That is why the congress came out in support of the establishment of a territorial militia, whose troops, together with the regular and reserve units, are to constitute a tremendous revolutionary army. The need for such a step was argued by Fidel Castro at a mass rally held to mark May Day in 1980, as the imperialists were issuing threats against our people and staging exercises off Cuba's shores. The decision adopted by the congress to set up the territorial militia has given a fresh impetus to its formation. The workers, peasants, students, the whole people, have come

out in support of this decision by taking action: by massively joining the ranks of the militia.

Labor is the foundation of these two lines of national activity. Cuba is advancing into its future with a firm step, confidently and with a new energy. The high level of activity among the millions led by the party, solidarity on the part of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the whole international working-class and progressive movement — all of this goes to enhance our readiness to resist any military threats, perseveringly to carry on the struggle for peace and social progress, without treating an inch from the principles of Marxism-Leninism. We have a strong and experienced party rallying the people, who want to work in peace, who are aware of the threatening dangers, and who will not retreat before them.

We Cuban communists have analyzed our achievements and difficulties critically and most objectively. The way before us is clear. We are sure that the building of socialism and communism will be crowned with complete success.



Against imperialism, for social progress

International Scientific Conference in Berlin

With this instalment we end the publication of the proceedings of the scientific conference "Joint Struggle of the Working-Class and National-Liberation Movements Against Imperialism, for Social Progress," sponsored by the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany jointly with *World Marxist Review*.* The following are the abridged texts of the speeches in the third commission, which discussed the "Experience and Problems of Struggle for National and Social Liberation," and also a report on the closing session.

EPOCH OF TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM WORLDWIDE

The discussions in the third commission focused on analysis of the state and direction of the revolutionary process in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. The participants showed how the successes in the struggle for socialism on the three continents harmonize with the general characteristic of the present epoch, considered concrete achievements of the progressive forces, and identi-

fied the nature of the setbacks in defense of revolutionary reforms in a number of countries.

The present stage of world development

The main contradiction of our epoch, said *Carlos Cardoso*, representative of the Socialist Party of Uruguay, is expressed in the contest between capitalism and socialism. The political, economic, military, diplomatic, cultural and other complex problems of our day mirror the development of this confrontation and are evidence that its positive settlement is irreversible. Against this background the growing sanity and inter-dependence of the course of history worldwide become obvious. This is due chiefly to the growth of the productive forces, which in the capitalist countries comes into conflict with the existing relations of production. Arising out of capitalism, the socialist revolution gathers momentum, embracing the struggle waged for national liberation and social emancipation by the peoples of dependent countries.

Every day brings further evidence that we are living in an epoch in which capitalism is being supplanted by socialism, said *Ricardo Antonio Gutierrez Briceno*, representative of the Communist Party of Venezuela. The imperialists and their accomplices are trying to delude us — sometimes

*See *WMR*, January, February and March 1981.

successfully — by peddling the notorious “struggle between the two super-powers for a redivision of the world” and other fabrications. They seek to divide the world into industrially developed and underdeveloped, into rich and poor nations, and invent other categories of this kind which are implicit only in capitalist society. But these are not the indications by which the contemporary world is actually divided.

We communists and revolutionaries take the specifics of each country and the conditions of the struggle of its people into account and it should be clear to us that the world revolutionary movement is indivisible. Acting in concert, the imperialists are striking at the peoples; and in order to win, it is imperative that the socialist countries, the working class and the national-liberation movement should help each other more actively.

It is common knowledge, said *Amath Dansoko*, First Deputy General Secretary of the Central Committee of the African Party for the Independence of Senegal, that the differences of the international communist and working-class movement with China's Maoist leadership are chiefly over whether world peace is the standard-bearer of revolution or an “accomplice” of imperialism. Peking propounds the latter theory in order to discredit the struggle of the socialist states and the world's peace forces for peaceful coexistence and divorce the national-liberation movement from the socialist community, which is its principal ally. But it is indisputable that it was in an atmosphere of peace that imperialism's colonial system fell apart and nations emerged, which, using the example and support of the socialist world system, are working out their own paths to socialism or, at least, to the creation of the conditions for development in that direction. This, it seems to me, underscores the significance of all the revolutionary forces for peace and détente.

It is unquestionable, said Professor *Anatoli Gromyko*, Director of the Institute of Africa, USSR Academy of Sciences, that the dramatic advances of the national-liberation movement in the 1970s are most closely linked to the atmosphere of détente in international relations. Under conditions of détente the last — Portuguese — colonial empire ceased to exist, independence was won by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, and the struggle was stepped up for the elimination of the center of racism and colonialism in southern Africa. The question on the agenda is now the liberation of Namibia from colonial-racist tyranny. One of the major events of the past decade was the triumph of the national-liberation, people's revolution in Ethiopia. More countries have opted for socialism, are enforcing radical socio-economic reforms, and marching in the vanguard of the struggle of the African countries for peace and social progress.

However, the enemies of peace have always been afraid of the truth. There is no end to the specious charges made, for instance, against the Soviet policy of peace in Africa by the imperialists, hegemonists and opportunists. The bourgeois mass media are continuing their clamor over the “Soviet mili-

tary threat,” the “export of revolution,” and so forth. Every step made by the USSR in Africa — from assistance to Algeria in the conquest of independence, to support for Ethiopia in repulsing aggression — is portrayed by imperialist and revisionist propaganda as a manifestation of “Soviet hegemonism.”

Time is an impartial judge, who passes sentences that are not subject to appeal. The Soviet Union has been pursuing a policy of peace for many decades, but in no country in Africa or on other continents is there a hint of Soviet “hegemonistic control.” But what is the actual situation there? This was dealt with by many speakers at our conference. What we see is the Soviet Union's solidarity with and assistance and support for the just liberation struggle of peoples, and this has nothing in common with flagrant interference in the internal affairs of other countries, which is a characteristic of imperialist policy. Precisely the opposite — the Soviet policy of peace is aimed at cutting short such interference, at creating a new system of international relations based on equality and respect for the sovereignty of developing nations.

The possibility of by-passing the long period of capitalist development for economically backward countries was seen by Lenin. But possibility is not yet reality, said *Sarada Mitra*, National Council member, Communist Party of India. Lenin's foresight that such a possibility exists on a global scale does not mean that all these countries will necessarily follow this path. In the first place, where the revolutionary forces are unable to make use of the possibility, some of the backward countries could, with time, become capitalist; in the second place, a socialist revolution, led by a Communist Party, could triumph in some countries and thus eliminate the need for taking the path of non-capitalist development.

It is evident that the realization of this question depends primarily on the character of the political forces which assume power.

It should be borne in mind that countries taking the non-capitalist road should not be identified with socialist countries, which realize the hegemony of the working class and leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party, and have abolished capitalist relations. Because none of this will be found in most of the former, a “turn-back” to capitalism cannot be ruled out in some of these states.

The lesson of history, said Professor *Ruben Avramov*, CC member, Bulgarian Communist Party, and director of the Institute of Contemporary Social Theories, is that only the road of socialism can in fact ensure all-round economic development and complete liberation from exploitation and imperialism. I am speaking of the development of heavy industry, the consolidation of national independence on this basis, the enforcement of radical agrarian reforms, the cooperation of the countryside, and the promotion of the people's living standard and cultural level.

For the developing countries the conditions for

achieving these aims are reliance on the international working class and cooperation with the socialist community; the formation and strengthening of a vanguard Marxist-Leninist party; the consolidation of the people's state; all-round promotion of the links of the party and the government with the masses, with all forces of progress.

As for imperialism, the limits that it sets on the socio-economic development of the liberated nations are clearly defined in reports of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, said Yves Fuchs, CC associate, French Communist Party. It is envisioned that research and development itself would be confined to "export branches" of agriculture and mining; the most advanced industries, for instance, nuclear energy, are banned; it is laid down that scientific and technical specialists would be trained mainly at universities in capitalist countries with all the ensuing consequences (brain drain, incompatibility of training with the conditions obtaining in developing countries, and also the greater ideological influence of the imperialist powers).

Even more amazing is the stand of some researchers who call themselves "leftists." They preach a "tranquil" (slow) growth and reject the right of the developing countries to the use of scientific and technological achievements. In the opinion of some of them, a transfer of technology would be "automatically" accompanied by the transfer of the structural patterns of production, social systems, and ideology of "Western nations" to the developing world. This posture underrates the political potentialities of the new states; more, it couples science and technology to the "Western model." This is direct evidence that socialism is the only system that creates the best possible conditions for scientific and technological progress, thereby opening up further prospects for cooperation between socialist and developing countries.

Revolution, according to our experience, said Herbert Matanga, Administrative Secretary, National Political Secretariat, Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU-PF), has got no ideal blueprint; hence it is a process that has got to be approached and analyzed with an open but critically deductive mind. It has got no concrete physical form nor particular abstract dimensions, but its existence alone determines that it will come as a natural process in one way or another. Hence the need, in the light of the general laws, to share experience and study the forms it has so far been observed to take if we are to gain mastery of the art of struggle against such a cunningly-determined and evil enemy as imperialism.

Strategy of success

After Soviet Russia, Mongolia was the first country in Asia and the world to embark upon building a new life, said Gelegiyn Adya, CC Secretary, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. Three years after the victory of the Mongolian people's revolution, the MPRP used Lenin's teaching to proclaim that its

general line would be to advance toward socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development. History showed that this was the only sure road.

It took our party and the Mongolian people roughly 40 years to put anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic reforms into effect and build the foundations of socialism. These tasks have been successfully completed. The leap from feudalism to socialism accomplished by us had, however, nothing in common with the notorious Maoist Great Leap. The transition from feudalism to socialism was marked by profound qualitative changes in the life of Mongolian society.

The motive forces and social base of the base of the people's revolution were not immutable, they were not set once and for all. Whereas at the initial stage the vanguard consisted of the working arats (herdsmen) and other forces of progress, this role went to the poor and middle segments of the arats and the emergent working class as progress was made in implementing democratic reforms, while with the commencement of socialist construction it went to the working class, which became society's leading force in alliance with the cooperated arats and the socialist intelligentsia.

Creatively applying Marxist-Leninist theory to the conditions obtaining in Mongolia and relying on ideological assistance from the international communist movement, the MPRP charted the general line for the country's development at all stages of the revolution and defined aims and tasks and the ways and means of achieving them. Socialism is being built in Mongolia with the party playing an ever bigger role.

The internationalist support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was the main condition for the advances that the Mongolian people have made in their struggle for national and social liberation and in their efforts to build a new society. The party pursues a policy of utmost unity, class alliance, and solidarity of the Mongolian people with the peoples of other socialist-community countries.

We built a new life at the cost of immense effort, in constant struggle with age-old backwardness, the influence of religion, and resistance from internal and external enemies. The threat to People's Mongolia from China is not diminishing. Peking is inflicting considerable damage on our socialist construction by continuously bringing military, political and economic pressure to bear on Mongolia.

Fidelity to the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism and an uncompromising struggle against all attempts to revise it and against attacks on the party line from both the right and the "left" form the bedrock foundation of our advance along the road of social progress, of the building of the new society.

The victory of the Cuban revolution, said Pedro Montalvan, division head of the CC Department for Party Education, Communist Party of Cuba, put an end to our country's economic and political de-

pendence on the USA. At the same time, it marked the end of Cuba's dominance by the exploiting classes, thereby turning national liberation into social emancipation. This bears out Lenin's theory that in the epoch of imperialism democratic, people's and anti-imperialist revolutions can evolve into socialist revolutions.

The Cuban revolution embodies internationalism. We would not have withstood without international solidarity. In this, too, lies one of the key lessons of our revolution, which contributes its utmost of internationalist assistance to other peoples.

The experience of Democratic Yemen, said **Faruk Ali Ahmed**, division head of the CC Department for Ideology, Yemen Socialist Party, proves that a party of the working class can be formed in a backward country of the Arab East. It unites advanced fighters for national liberation and uses Marxist-Leninist ideology as its guide. Moreover, our experience confirms that such a party must play the leading role in order to ensure the working people's social emancipation at the consummating stage of the national democratic revolution, which opens up a socialist prospect.

Only a few years ago it was hard to maintain that in our region the struggle for national liberation demands leadership by a party of the working class. However, today one can hardly question the justification for this formulation of the question. As we see it, the reason is that as they are attained, national-liberation aims intertwine with social aims.

For the peoples of the Portuguese colonies, said **Luis Puzarro**, deputy head of the CC Department for Political and Ideological Education, MPLA-Party of Labor, revolutionary violence was the only possible way of achieving independence. The armed struggle for national liberation became a powerful means of mobilizing the oppressed masses against the colonial enemy and a factor of the internal radicalization of the movement itself. As the armed struggle developed it became a matter of prime urgency to determine who the enemy was, against whom the struggle was being conducted and the purpose of that struggle. Dr. Antonio Agostinho Neto, the first President of the People's Republic of Angola, noted: "It is obvious that the answer to these questions depends not only on the desire to be free but also on knowledge, world-view and past experience."

It was no accident that as soon as the forces of imperialism were defeated, the MPLA clearly and resolutely declared for socialism. We must underscore the decisive role that was played in this situation by the international climate that was in favor of socialism. Internationalist assistance from socialist countries and the opportune actions of democratic forces cut short imperialism's attempts to hinder Angola's independence and progressive development.

The fact that our revolutionary vanguard directed our people to the road of socialism did not depend solely on the desire of the enlightened leading core. The internal situation in the country was characterized by an acute class struggle and the conversion of

the proletariat into the main class and chief bulwark of the revolutionary process. Capitalist elements were unable to impose their will for domination; the racists and tribal chiefs were defeated; in the towns and the countryside as well, the working people took the economy of the young republic into their own hands. On the international level the reactionary forces were discredited, while socialist and other progressive countries extended every possible assistance to our people. Under these conditions there could be no wavering: to retreat and accept neo-colonialism or to move forward in the direction of progress and socialism.

The formation of the MPLA-Party of Labor, the vanguard party of the Angolan working class, thus became an objective necessity of our revolution. The conversion of the advanced contingent of the liberation movement into the Party of Labor was not an administrative decision. On the contrary, it was the result of slow evolution and qualitative changes that took place in the course of the liberation struggle that lasted for nearly 20 years. It was thus a question of creating the political and ideological conditions for the transition to socialist development.

When we speak of socialism we do not mean, as this is sometimes done in Africa, a larger or lesser extent of socialization within the framework of national backward capitalism and on the basis of petty-bourgeois concepts. We believe that the laws governing the building of socialism operate in any continent in accordance, of course, with national specifics.

In our country, said **Khaingavong Ingpong**, Foreign Policy Commission member, People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, we fought a 30-year war of national liberation against French colonial rule and U.S. imperialist aggression. The party directed this war of the people in three forms — political, military and diplomatic; at the same time, it accentuated one or another of these forms depending on circumstances. But priority was always given to the political struggle with the aim of winning power. In our view, this is a universal regularity.

By concretely analyzing every concrete situation, the Democratic Party of Guinea (DPG) was able to elaborate the theory of the republic's non-capitalist development from both the theoretical and political angles, said **Diasseni Asifat**, staff member, DPG National Political Bureau. By consistently working on the country's tasks on this basis our people are moving confidently along the road of socialism.

Socialism is a single whole. It is indivisible. On this point we agree with all the speakers. Scientific socialism is determined by its nature, i.e., the nature of the social system, the character of economic organization, the leading role of the people, and socialist thinking. Thus, the nature of socialism is linked with one and the same type of historical, economic, political and cultural reality regardless of the country concerned. However, coincidence does not rule out specific features: it is precisely through these specifics that the common is implemented under concrete historical and social condi-

tions. In Guinea the building of socialism is characterized by the striving to abide by common laws and the close link to national realities.

Experience of progressive gains

Headed by President Marien Ngouabi, the most class-conscious representatives of our revolution founded the Congolese Party of Labor in December 1969, said Jean-Royal Kassissou-Boma, CPL Central Committee member. The party proclaimed the people's republic with the mission of deepening the revolutionary process and declared that Marxism-Leninism was the guideline of its further struggle.

Today the fighters of the revolution are determined to give it a fresh impulse and have rallied around President Denis Sassou-Nguesso. The movement of February 5, 1979, and the party's third extraordinary congress have made it possible to restore democratic and revolutionary norms in the country's life.

Today the CPL has 6,732 members (the nation has a total population of 1,500,000). To this number must be added the militants working in mass organizations, which represent the specific interests of the various segments of the population: working people, young people, women, workers in culture, and proponents of peace, friendship and solidarity with other peoples.

The organs of the people's power — the People's Councils and the National Assembly — have been restored, and these enable the working people to participate in the administration of the nation at all levels and also in the settlement of their own affairs. The democratization of the army is continuing with the aim of making it a genuinely people's army.

Much attention is given to the political and ideological education of the masses. The struggle against the reactionary ideologies of African, non-Marxist socialism is one of the pivots of the CPL program. We see Marxism-Leninism as a science that fits entirely into our conditions as well.

Though they are considerable, the achievements of the Congolese revolution are still inadequate. There is a shortage of capital and knowledge. Besides, imperialism is in control of a considerable portion of the republic's economy and, regrettably, in many cases influences political life. Our people link their hopes for a better life to their own efforts, to the fraternal and beneficial assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist-community nations. We always regard this assistance as a vital vitamin, whose absence would cause our health to deteriorate considerably.

As regards other communist and workers' parties in the world, the CPL declared unequivocally that their struggle is our struggle. We are gladdened by the achievements of our friends, and their difficulties grieve us as though they were our own. We are far from each other geographically, but close spiritually, united and always together.

A characteristic of the CPL's foreign policy is its anti-imperialist irreconcilability on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles. To the extent of our possibilities we are working to abolish all vestiges

of colonialism, preserve lasting peace and achieve honest and open disarmament.

The delegation of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU-PF), said its leader Robert Mandevu, representative of the Foreign Section of ZANU-PF, came to the conference from the youngest republic of Africa, which was born out of a long and bitter struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and reaction. The resounding election victory of our party, which led to the emergence of the independent state of Zimbabwe, was concrete proof of the solid political base that we had created among our people during the years of armed struggle. The emergence of an independent Zimbabwe would not have been possible had it not been for the help that we received from democratic forces the world over.

I would therefore like to pay tribute to the heroic peoples of Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Angola and Botswana for their solid support materially and politically, and as rear bases during our national struggle for independence. I would also like to pay special tribute to the socialist countries, and to other progressive countries, as well as organizations, for the material, political and financial support that was rendered to the people of Zimbabwe through the Patriotic Front alliance.

What we have gained in Zimbabwe is political power for our people, which we are continually strengthening. We have not yet been able to transform the socio-economic structures in such a way as to benefit the greatest proportion of our people. For the moment we allow state-owned and private enterprises to continue side by side. Our priorities at this stage are reconstruction, resettlement and the extirpation of colonization, racism and war from our country. This will enable us to tackle economic and social problems more effectively.

Although less than a year has lapsed between now and the day of independence, tremendous strides have been made in the efforts to improve the life of our people. Free education and health services have been introduced, a minimum wage level has been established, and the land is in the process of being reallocated either for collective farms or for individual peasant farmers. The government has embarked on a grand program for social progress.

The independence of Zimbabwe has also created favorable conditions for economic cooperation in the southern part of the continent. The main objective is to reduce the dependence of our economies on South Africa and to formulate, collectively, economic strategies to improve the life of our people.

Imperialism and associated reactionary forces are endeavoring to frustrate and destroy what we are trying to build, to frustrate our efforts to create a socialist system in our country. They want to cause economic stagnation and throw Zimbabwe into the embrace of colonialism. There is a distinct general pattern in Southern Africa of organized political, economic and military intervention in the countries in confrontation with South Africa (Mozambique, Angola and Zambia). We, on our part, have irrefuta-

ble evidence that the South African regime is training thousands of former auxiliaries and former Selous Scouts to come and commit acts of sabotage in Zimbabwe.

We are part of the movement of the working class. ZANU-PF is keen to forge close ties with all communist and workers' parties, with other revolutionary forces for the purpose of sharing experience and adopting common strategies in the battle against imperialism and reaction.

Our aim, said *Sidi Mahamane*, National Council member, Democratic Union of the Mali People, is to liberate man from social inequality and all forms of exploitation and oppression, to satisfy the growing material and cultural requirements, and to promote the skills of society's members. In other words, it is to create a system in which wealth actually belongs to those who create it, in which those who produce values decide matters that concern them, and in which the purpose is to satisfy the vital requirements not of the minority but of the vast majority of the population.

The organizational pattern of this international conference, said *Dr. John Takman*, Board member, Workers' Party — Communists of Sweden, provides the opportunity for mutually beneficial scientific cooperation between representatives of the working-class movement and the national-liberation movement in their common struggle against imperialism, for social progress. By scientific cooperation I mean not only in the theoretical field but in the practical as well. What I have in mind is sharing and evaluating successful past experience in education, health, agriculture, etc. There is now a wealth of such experience.

As a doctor of medicine and a student for many years of Vietnam, I would like to draw attention to the really revolutionary development of the public health system in Vietnam. The social conditions were incredible and the difficulties beyond imagination. In 1945 Vietnam had only 51 physicians. There was not a single drug factory. During the eight-year war the University Medical Faculty in the jungle turned out hundreds of doctors of medicine. Other schools turned out a great number of assistant-physicians, nurses, etc. Within 10 years the nation erased the millenia-long scourge of famine, malnutrition and epidemic disease.

The offensive strategy in the fight for health could, of course, not have succeeded without rallying the masses as active participants. An all-out revolution in public health cannot take place if there is not a government profoundly committed to the well-being of the people and a simultaneous revolution in the economic field. But we should not forget that this great fight for health in Vietnam was one of the most important means to win the oppressed masses for the revolution and the struggle for national independence.

Four important factors made the revolution in Grenada possible, said *Vincent Noel*, Political Bureau member, New Jewel Movement. These were: the internal organization, discipline and preparedness of our party; its organizational links, pres-

tige and support from the masses; the total demoralization and weakening of the Gairy forces and the bourgeoisie, partly due to the divisions among their ranks; the preoccupation, at the time, of imperialism with struggles taking place elsewhere in the world, notably in Iran and Nicaragua.

On the first anniversary of our Revolution, its leader and the nation's Prime Minister *Maurice Bishop* said: "The Grenada Revolution is a revolution for democracy, for justice, for social progress, for equal participation by the people of our country in all the decisions which affect their lives."

Our revolution is young. But many important gains have been made. All dictatorial laws have been repealed and new democratic ones enacted, for instance, the right to form and join trade unions of one's choice. Thousands of new jobs have been created in industry. We have launched an agrarian reform program. University scholarships have increased. A program for repairing all schools in our country through mass voluntary participation by our people has been completed successfully. A massive campaign has been initiated to wipe out illiteracy and ignorance. Grenadians are now able to receive free health care; the health facilities are being expanded and the foundations are being laid for a national health care system. Mass organizations of workers, farmers, women, youth, etc. have been set up. A people's militia has been formed for the defense of the revolution and voluntary community work brigades are hard at work building and rebuilding our communities.

Let me say that our revolution has only just begun. We have just started to scratch the surface of national development and independence. But let me say also that all we have achieved would have been impossible had it not been for the fraternal assistance of many countries, especially Cuba.

If the seizing of power was difficult, the maintenance of that power is a thousand times more difficult. The imperialists have begun a massive propaganda campaign of lies and rumors with a view to destabilizing and discrediting our revolution both internally and externally. Our economy is under attack. Imperialism is using its control over markets for our crops and its control over financial institutions in order to undermine tourism, which is an important industry in our country.

Imperialism is also preparing for a military offensive against our country. Gairy and other counter-revolutionaries are promoted and allowed to function freely in the United States. Mercenaries are being recruited and trained, and reaction is trying to bribe the anti-patriotic elements in the country to engage in acts of sabotage, violence and terrorism.

It is the existence of the socialist world community and the success of anti-imperialist national-liberation struggles that have made the Grenada revolution possible. To this day, the continued support and assistance of the socialist countries, the revolutionary and democratic governments, and the anti-imperialist forces of the world continue to

aid the development of the revolutionary process in Grenada.

Lessons of setbacks

In Peru anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic reforms were initiated under the patriotic leadership of General Juan Velasco Alvarado after power was taken over by the armed forces in 1968, said Andres Paredes Luyo, CC Political Commission member, Peruvian Communist Party. A peculiarity of the situation was that for the first time, the military ceased to play the role of policemen protecting the monopolies, the big bourgeoisie and the landowners but in open struggle with these reactionary forces adopted many of the economic and political demands of the Peruvian people.

This process, which coincided in time with the establishment of the progressive revolutionary regimes of Salvador Allende in Chile, Juan José Torres in Bolivia, and Omar Torrijos Herrera in Panama, was marked in our country with the formation of a revolutionary nationalist government and became part of the new anti-imperialist upswing in Latin America initiated by the Cuban revolution.

Beginning with the nationalization of oil and a fundamental agrarian reform, Velasco Alvarado put into effect a series of progressing measures that limited the exploitation of the people by the oligarchy and imperialism. But these measures fell short of altering the nation's economic structure. The orientation toward the imperialist market remained, and the policy of taking loans from capitalist countries on onerous terms and dependent industrial development continued. The local and foreign monopolies acting in key economic positions were thus able to begin the sabotage of the process of reforms.

The realization of imperialism's counter-revolutionary plans was facilitated by a number of factors. These were the anti-communist prejudices of the military (even of those with progressive views), which explains their mistrust of the people's movement and its representative organizations; the "third way" theory, according to which society should be "neither capitalist nor communist;" control by the right-wing elements of key posts in the army and the government; the provocative and divisive role of the Trotskyist and Maoist groups and also their resistance to reforms with the undisguised backing of the ultra-right; lastly, the separateness of the trade-union and popular movements, which was, in turn, a reflection of the Peruvian Communist Party's organizational weakness.

This enabled imperialism and the local reactionaries to organize a counter-revolutionary operation and, to this end, use right-wing military elements headed by General Francisco Morales Bermudez. This operation culminated with the removal of Velasco Alvarado from the post of president, and a gradual fold-up of progressive reforms. Morales Bermudez returned the country to the road of dependent capitalism controlled by the transnationals and U.S. imperialism's financial organizations.

The reverse movement, deepened with the establishment of the present Belaunde Terry regime, has aggravated the economic crisis and led to an upsurge of the class struggle, evidence of which are five national strikes. Despite the setback of the left at the elections in May 1980, the struggle against imperialism and the oligarchy is growing more militant and acquiring a mass scale. It owes this to the coordination of the actions of the revolutionary and progressive parties in the Association of Left Forces. This association may subsequently become the core or a united anti-imperialist front, if we can create a broad political structure, draw up a realistic program, and establish close links with the working class and the mass of the people.

The development of the national-democratic revolution and the deepening of its content are accompanied by fierce class clashes, said *Naziha Duleimi*, Central Committee member, Iraqi Communist Party. A class struggle is going on not only between democratic and pro-imperialist forces but also between the allies of yesterday in the anti-colonialist movement. With the deepening of the democratic revolution and its steady enrichment with aims of emancipating the working people socially, the national bourgeoisie, but recently within the patriotic front, is going over to the ranks of the counter-revolution, for it accepts revolutionary measures only to the extent they do not directly affect its proprietary interests. This defection to the counter-revolution is frequently camouflaged with demagoguery and pseudo-revolutionary slogans.

On the other hand, given certain conditions the most radical groups of the middle social strata go over to the positions of the working class and accept its aim of consummating the democratic revolution and creating the conditions for the transition to the socialist revolution. For that reason, in the course of the democratic revolution there are triumphs and setbacks, advances and retreats. In Iraq, too, socio-economic reforms have led not only to a numerical growth of the working class but also to a growth of the parasitical big bourgeoisie, and an enlargement of the urban petty bourgeoisie. This has led to the emergence of a social base for bourgeois ideas, which underlie the thinking of those in power.

Our people, said *Matiur Rahman*, CC Secretary, Communist Party of Bangladesh, proved their heroic might when millions rose in arms to repulse the genocide and atrocities of the Pakistani rulers during our liberation struggle in 1971. With active support and assistance from socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, and communists and progressive forces all over the world, especially democratic India, the people of Bangladesh triumphed and compelled the Pakistani army to surrender their U.S. and Chinese supplied arms.

The political power went to the hands of representatives of the middle stratum. The Awami League government headed by Sheikh Rahman took some progressive measures in home and foreign policy. It nationalized abandoned factories and banks previously owned by Pakistani and some Bengali capitalists. It also nationalized foreign

trade. It pursued a policy of positive non-alignment and friendship with socialist countries.

But with regard to land, the government took, in fact, no radical measures to do away with remnants of feudalism. So the peasants, who comprise the overwhelming majority of the population and make up the mass base of our independence struggle, were denied the fruits of independence. Nothing was done to change the age-old colonial form of administration. Extension of democratic rights for working people was ignored.

The second congress of our party, held in December 1973, decided to support the government in general and to expose its shortcomings, limitations, and failures and create mass opinion against them.

Side by side, the anti-independence, pro-imperialist and Maoist forces carried on their conspiracy in both overt and covert ways to reverse the whole process. At the same time, corruption both within and outside the ruling party grew rampant. A crisis developed.

In this critical situation Sheikh Mujibur Rahman took some measures in his own style. At the beginning of 1975 he banned all political parties (hence our party was also deprived of its legal existence) and declared the formation of a single national party named the Bangladesh Workers' and Peasants' Awami League (BAKSAL). But later events did not allow this new process to prove anything good or bad. On August 15, 1975, Mujibur Rahman was brutally killed in a coup d'état.

The present government is doing away with the positive gains of our independence one after another.

THE BROAD FRONT AND THE POLITICAL VANGUARD

The representatives of the Latin American continent who spoke in this commission concentrated on an analysis of the present stage of the revolutionary process in this region. They stressed that here social emancipation is linked indivisibly to the abolition of dependence on U.S. imperialism. They substantively discussed the ways and means of achieving victory, the needed political alliances, and the interdependence of various methods and means of struggle in the concrete conditions prevailing in individual countries.

Nature of revolution in Latin America

When independence in national policy, the diversity of ways, and the right of each party and organization to work out its line independently are counterposed to the need for unity, scientific generalizations and a theoretical basis, said Rodney Arismendi, CC First Secretary, Communist Party of Uruguay, this signifies a retreat in our understanding of the world revolutionary process, and also a political retreat under pressure from imperialism, which pursues global, universal strategy on all continents, a strategy that comes into conflict with revolution.

We see the Latin American revolutionary process above all as part of the great historic change — the

international socialist revolution. Our revolution is basically a democratic and anti-imperialist revolution with the prospect of evolving into a socialist revolution. The fundamental unity of this process must be strengthened in joint militant work on the continent, with support from the socialist community and the international revolutionary movement.

I am not speaking of a simultaneous revolution in Latin America as a whole — the struggle in the different countries of the continent will not proceed strictly in parallel. However, in the face of the common enemy, U.S. imperialism, which equally oppresses and tramples upon all of us, and also in view of the complex character of our revolutions, the certain identity of historical development, and the high consciousness level of the main revolutionary forces, rejection of unity is tantamount to suicide or seeing the world through a keyhole.

Since in many countries revolution is a matter of the future, not of today, the main task is to build up the revolutionary forces. In Latin America there is no more important task than pooling the forces and forming a democratic anti-imperialist front. In some countries such a front will conduct an armed liberation struggle, in others it may be formed by uniting forces within the framework of bourgeois democracy under conditions of constitutional development (but which should not obscure the aims of unity). A democratic anti-imperialist front emerges not only when we take up arms. We are creating it already today, uniting all adversaries of imperialism, fascism and reaction in actions under any circumstances. For that reason the question of unity must be considered in the light of the entire diversity of Latin American reality.

Prior to the rise of fascism, for us Uruguayans unity meant the formation of a democratic anti-imperialist front with a consecutive passage through all stages: unity of the working class, alliance with the peasants, and unity with the intelligentsia and students, association of political forces, with our socialist comrades and other forces, up to the formation of a broad front on the basis of a democratic, radical and anti-imperialist program.

After a fascist regime was set up it became our main task to unite all its opponents. This is precisely what we are working on. On the domestic plane we are seeking to unite all of the nation's anti-fascists, and on the international level we are working to unite the Latin American peoples and governments opposed to fascism, to unfold the broadest campaign of democratic solidarity worldwide. As a result, we have received support from governments whose ideological posture is quite far removed from ours — such as the governments of Mexico, Ecuador, Panama, and other nations. The anti-fascist struggle of the Uruguayan people has the support of seven presidents, parliaments, the Standing Commission of Political Parties of Latin America, and others.

Unity of this kind does not conflict with a broad front — it has by no means been disbanded. Instead, we regard it as an advanced unity of all the anti-

fascist forces. In Uruguay victory over fascism depends on a rise of the level of the struggle, on a transition to concrete actions in confrontation with the dictatorship, on still closer unity of all the opponents of fascism. Such is the dialectics of the broad and deep unity that we must realize.

A patriotic and anti-imperialist spirit and the imperative of genuine national independence determine the character of the people's struggle in Latin America and the Caribbean, said *Jesus Montane Oropesa*, CC member and head of the CC Department for International Relations, Communist Party of Cuba. The class struggle in Latin America interweaves with the anti-imperialist, national-liberation struggle, while the fulfillment of democratic tasks is linked closely to the attainment of socialist aims. In the Latin American revolutionary movement this gives rise to some features that are reflected in the distinctive strategy and tactics of many left parties and organizations.

History teaches us that it is not enough to call upon the working class and the people as a whole to overthrow the bourgeoisie. The political line of the revolutionary vanguard cannot be charted on the basis of subjective aspirations or views.

Our nation is still in the formative process, said *Manuel Benza Pflueker*, National Leadership member and Secretary for Mass Organizations, Socialist Revolutionary Party of Peru. The interests of the nation conflict with the interests of imperialism and the local bourgeoisie. That is why the character of the Peruvian revolution is anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist. It is a democratic, socialist and people's revolution, for the problems of socialist construction can only be resolved on the basis of genuine democracy.

Experience shows that the political vanguard of the revolution is formed and grows stronger when various revolutionary movements unite, when they adopt scientific communism as their ideology, and rely on a mass anti-imperialist front. I am not speaking of the "avantgardism" of a single political tendency. An organization that is not supported by the masses is no vanguard. A mass party without a revolutionary socialist core is likewise no vanguard.

The example of Chile is evidence that victory cannot be won and the gains of a revolution cannot be consolidated without a united revolutionary vanguard that brings unity to and leads the revolutionary process, said *Clodomiro Almeyda*, General Secretary of the Socialist Party of Chile.

There can only be one vanguard. But in Latin America it takes shape as a result of the drawing together of different revolutionary trends and currents, each of which, while influencing the others, makes its own contribution to the common socialist movement. A vanguard appears when a common strategy, that expresses the aspirations of the people and ensures the further development of the revolution, is born out of practice. Observance of the achieved harmony of views becomes the sole condition.

Let me try to specify the basic features implicit, in

our view, in the political vanguards that in practice further the cause of the revolution in Latin America.

First, the vanguard is formed in the process of the drawing together of different historically-shaped trends that mirror various stages of the development of the class struggle.

Second, the vanguard must have the basic features of a Leninist revolutionary organization.

Third, the vanguard must faithfully reflect actual national reality and work out its political line in accordance with that reality.

Fourth, the policy of the vanguard must take into consideration the conditions and regularities that are inherent in the Latin American continent and increasingly influence the character of the revolutionary struggle in our countries.

Fifth, the vanguard acts on the principle of proletarian internationalism and strives for militant unity with all the progressive and revolutionary forces of the world.

Despite the specifics of different countries, the experience of struggle in Latin America is that the core of the revolutionary socialist vanguard is formed mainly through the drawing together of four major historical streams.

First and foremost, these are the communist parties founded in the 1920s chiefly under the impact of the October Revolution on the minds of advanced workers and also of the work of the Third International. The communists contributed immensely to the upswing of the working-class and socialist movement in our countries.

A second trend is the national anti-imperialist movement that arose in the 1930s with the rapid growth of populist sentiments and which reflects the actual thinking of the national proletariat, the broad spectrum of other exploited social strata, and the radical petty bourgeoisie, and which simultaneously influences that thinking. Like the other parties which owe their existence to the radicalization of anti-imperialist populist movements in Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, Mexico, Cuba and several other countries, the Socialist Party of Chile exemplifies this component part of the revolutionary vanguard of Latin America.

A third trend took shape under the impact of the Cuban revolution. Reflecting the maturity and radicalization of the anti-imperialist forces, it is embodied in the establishment of new organizations which, having overcome subjectivism and avantgardism, are pursuing a policy oriented toward the masses, toward unity with all the revolutionary currents.

With the upsurge of the people's struggle in the late 1960s a fourth revolutionary trend came into being — the radically-minded Christian masses who have joined the struggle for the social restructuring of society.

The merger of these four trends into a revolutionary vanguard can not possibly take place automatically. This requires that each trend should recognize the real and necessary contribution of others to the cause of further unity. And this is only possible in the course of joint struggle and

gradual assimilation of Marxist-Leninist theory.

In our program it is stated that the bourgeoisie can no longer head the struggle against the oligarchy and imperialism, said *Julio Laborde*, Central Committee member, Communist Party of Argentina. In Argentina revolutionary changes aimed at eliminating the material basis of the political rule of imperialism, the landowning oligarchy and big capital will be put into effect by a broad coalition of all the interested classes and social strata, including progressive military, whose interests clash with the stand of the anti-national and reactionary circles.

This broad association must take the shape of a political front pursuing the aim of winning power and setting up a new type of democratic people's government. Such a government is inconceivable without the participation and leading role in it of the working class. It has to take a clear-cut class stand and head all the socio-political forces that are, in one way or another, opposed to dominance by imperialism and the oligarchy.

Our party has always worked jointly with these forces — left socialists, radicals, Christian Democrats, and the left wing of the Peronist movement, in particular. We have long ago anticipated that the swing of the Peronist masses to left positions will, at a definite moment, make it possible to set up a united party of the working class on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and we are working precisely in this direction. Unity among the left forces and, in the long run, the formation of a united party of the proletariat, a party of revolution, will be the major factor uniting all democrats and revolutionaries. Thus, Argentina will arrive at socialism through a democratic and anti-imperialist revolution.

The victory of the people of Nicaragua, the revolution in Grenada, the increasingly sharp class clashes in El Salvador, and the heroic efforts of the Bolivian people in their battle for democracy are the high points of the struggle now going on in Latin America, said *Jorge Insunza*, CC Political Commission member, Communist Party of Chile. The Cuban revolution is no longer alone on the continent. Having recovered from the attacks by imperialism and the internal reaction in the early 1970s, our peoples have again gone over to an offensive.

Resistance to the dictatorship is spreading in Chile. Naturally, this process has its ups and downs. However, the increasingly prominent tendency is toward the strengthening of the anti-fascist movement, which draws its inspiration from the broad and firm international support that it gets. The nation is beginning to demand a return to a democratic regime. The dictatorship responds to this demand with measures to legalize fascism. We are again faced with the problem of the expression of the majority will. Many people are now shedding the illusion that it is possible to reshape fascism into democracy by peaceful means. More and more segments of the people are beginning to understand that no democratic renewal is possible

until Pinochet is deprived of power, that he will not relinquish power until he is forced to do so.

In this situation our party and the entire Popular Unity have declared that "with each passing day the right of the people to insurrection is becoming more indisputable." As *Luis Corvalan* noted, "it is fascism that creates a situation from which the people have no other way out. . . . This was the case in Cuba under the Batista dictatorship and in Nicaragua under the Somoza tyranny. Developments indicate that the same will take place also in Chile under the fascist Pinochet regime."

The political line of the Chilean communists combines continuity and the ability to develop the struggle on the basis of our own experience and the experience of other peoples. The mass movement that will acquire the forms needed to achieve set aims will invariably be the determining factor. Our point of departure is that only a rising of the masses, given proper leadership, will bring victory — if developments follow that channel.

Uprising means mass action going well beyond the framework into which the fascist state endeavors to drive it. However, this should not lead to renunciation of the use of any opportunity for resisting the dictatorship, even in the framework imposed by the dictatorship itself, in order to weaken and smash this framework as, for example, we have done with the present trade union legislation.

Every revolution has to work out its specific ways of advancing, combining the most diverse forms and methods of struggle. The immediate task of the party and all other revolutionary forces is to ascertain its potentialities in the concrete situation and help to implement these potentialities. The duty of the vanguard is to anticipate the most probable course of the revolution's development and explain it to the people in order to win their support. Moreover, our experience indicates that there cannot be only one way. There may be tactical decisions that should be adopted and carried out, while constantly bearing in mind the changes in the situation and the need to master all forms of struggle. But we believe that whatever way this is, the problem of the expression of will by the majority will always be linked on the military level to the creation of a balance of strength in favor of the revolution.

From this it follows that it is necessary to elaborate and implement a military policy combining the might of the mass movement with the formation of our own military potential and the enlistment of sections of bourgeois military circles to the side of the revolution.

Way of armed struggle

As in any other popular revolution, said Major *Markos Somarriba*, a member of the Sandinista Assembly, the revolutionary process in Nicaragua has its own specific features and peculiarities. But general uniformities have also operated to direct it today into the course of struggle against imperialism.

The Sandinista vanguard has been able to connect the revolutionary movement with our people's best historical traditions (the Sandino legacy) and correctly to formulate the question of power: to overthrow the dictatorship the revolutionary way and to eliminate the National Guard, an instrument of imperialism. On the basis of the rich experience in the armed and political mass struggle, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (SNLF) formulated the strategy of taking power. Our vanguard adopted three forms of revolutionary force and was able to make use of them simultaneously at the culminating moment of the revolution to overthrow the dictatorship: general political strike, uprising in the towns, and guerrilla war along many fronts. This helped to merge together action by broad sections of the urban population, the suburban poor and the villages, and to give the battle — at its final stages — a form which combined irregular warfare with mobile and trench warfare.

Achievement of unity in the ranks of the Sandinista movement was a necessary condition of its victory. This unity was forged in revolutionary action, in the course of the uprising, and on the basis of political agreements which helped to create internal and external alliances for rallying the whole people and neutralizing the policy of imperialism. The revolutionaries' unity, for its part, helped to bring about the unification of masses of people which took shape within the framework of the United People Movement and helped to ensure popular hegemony in the National Patriotic Front. National unity was a weapon in the anti-imperialist struggle.

In the international arena, this policy, backed up by intense diplomatic activity, won for us the solidarity of the progressively-minded governments and peoples of Latin America and also of various trends in the world revolutionary movement. Such broad solidarity assured the revolution of material assistance, political and combat support and — most importantly — a favorable balance of forces, which made it possible to avert imperialist aggression.

The overthrow of the dictatorship and the takeover of power by the SNLF were a heavy blow at imperialist rule not only in Nicaragua but throughout the continent as a whole. Political independence was won. With the direct participation of the masses, the country got down to putting through deep-going revolutionary-democratic transformations.

At the stage of national revival, our democratic, popular and anti-imperialist revolution has to face tremendous difficulties. These stem from Nicaragua's economic backwardness, and also from the persistent threat posed by imperialism to our people and the revolutionary processes in El Salvador and other Central American countries. That is why we believe that the main factors of the victory over imperialism are: the role of the vanguard (the first important steps have already been taken to set up a revolutionary party); the people's hegemony with support in the leadership of the revolutionary

state, which organizes mass participation in the exercise of power; and the anti-imperialist unity of the whole population. Special attention needs to be given to the struggle for the country's economic independence.

The revolution in Nicaragua continues. It has become the mainstay of the movement against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid, and in defense of democracy and world peace.

I am an old revolutionary, who has given 25 years of his life to the cause of the unity of the democratic and revolutionary forces in the country, and it is a great honor for me to speak here on behalf of the Bloc of Four Revolutionary Organizations of Guatemala (BRO), whose patriotic struggle will carry our people to the winning of power, the BRO representative *Guillermo Toriello Garrido* declared.

I should like to draw your attention to the following:

First. The BRO has achieved unity on the main questions of the strategy and military-political tactics in the struggle against the internal enemy and imperialism, which finances this enemy, and which directs, arms and helps it to stay in power.

Second. Within the bloc, there are no trends toward hegemony, relations are based on principles of mutual respect and open fraternal revolutionary solidarity.

Third. For the BRO the chief prerequisite for the final victory is the organization and politization of the masses, establishment of solid unity of the workers and peasants within the framework of a militant and well-knit fraternal revolutionary alliance.

Fourth. One of the bloc's main tasks is to promote the unity of all the revolutionary and democratic forces sincerely and loyally supporting the armed struggle, not in words but in concrete militant action. We hope that the revolutionary organizations which have not yet done so will unite with us.

Fifth. The BRO declares its adherence to the principles of the worldwide peace movement and the non-aligned movement. We declare that we are fighting against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, fascism, Zionism and apartheid, and reaffirm our support for the struggle for peace, for peaceful coexistence and international détente.

Sixth. The bloc voices its profound solidarity with all the liberation movements opposing imperialism. We voice our wholehearted and firm solidarity with the glorious socialist revolution in Cuba, the heroic and inspiring revolutions in Grenada and Nicaragua. We deeply believe in the early victory of our Salvadoran brothers, who are fighting against the genocidal anti-Christian, anti-democratic government junta.

The BRO wishes all the representatives of the communist parties and national-liberation movements every success and requests them to express their militant solidarity with the heroic people of Guatemala to enable it — the sooner, the better — to triumph over its internal enemies and U.S. im-

perialism, which is helping the despots to stay in power.

The revolution in Central America, said *Joaquín Pagan Solorzano*, a member of the Political Commission and Secretary for International Ties of the Central Committee of the CP Honduras, is an integral process, although it has its peculiarities in each country in accordance with the socio-political situation and stage of development. One of the main distinctive features of the revolutionary movement in Central America is the involvement in it not only of communist parties relying on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The exacerbation of the revolutionary struggle has led to the emergence of other organizations with their own base, strategy and tactics. The communists of Honduras regard them with a sense of brotherhood and solidarity and support their struggle for common anti-imperialist goals.

We believe that the time is coming when the armed peoples, led by the organized revolutionary vanguard resolved to fight until victory, will be able to wipe out imperialism and reaction in Central America.

The rise of the revolutionary struggle in the neighboring countries has alarmed the ruling classes of Honduras, who are prepared to use every means to safeguard their interests and privileges. They have started an offensive against the popular movement, cobbling paramilitary bands to assassinate leaders and activists of revolutionary, democratic organizations, bolstering the army and the police, staging coups to invalidate unfavorable election results, etc. Our party has reached the conclusion that in these conditions it is altogether impossible to carry out revolutionary changes other than by means of armed struggle, and that there is a need to work out strategic measures for preparing for it.

The communists and other revolutionary parties of Honduras take a common approach to winning power. That is the basis by which we were guided in our urge for unity. We believe that our party can play its role of vanguard only if it secures a unity of the revolutionary forces. After all, the revolution is not anyone's prerogative but it is a common endeavor of the whole Honduran people.

In order to achieve unity, we have been working not only among the left forces, but also seek to establish mutual understanding with other political parties, which, like the Christian Democrats, take a consistent stand on national and regional issues. We are taking part in the Honduras Patriotic Front, which also includes the Socialist Party, the Christian Democratic Party, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Honduras, and other social organizations. But a great deal remains to be done to overcome the division within the working-class and peasant movement. The difficulty in solving this problem lies in the diversity of ideological and political attitudes among the various organizations within the Front.

The Honduran communists and the revolutionary Marxists believe that their primary duty today

is to prevent the country's conversion into a bridgehead and base for provocations against the Nicaraguan revolution and against the revolutionary movements in El Salvador and Guatemala.

Norma Guevará, a member of the military-political United Revolutionary Leadership of El Salvador, said that the road to unity is not, of course, strewn with flowers and it is all the more impossible to assert that the problems of the past easily disappear. She gave a survey of the unification of the revolutionary forces in her country which, within a year had moved from an agreement to coordinate action to the establishment of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and the merger of mass revolutionary and democratic organizations within the framework of the Revolutionary Democratic Front. The ultimate result will be that which we revolutionaries all want and which we could not achieve by acting separately. Had unity resulted only from efforts "on top," we would not have been able to provide political orientation and guidance for the masses and to struggle arms in hand. Our unity is the fruit of efforts at the grass roots, or to be more precise, the efforts of the masses.

The Salvadoran people are engaged in a legitimate war of liberation with a clear-cut perspective. The Christian Democratic military junta has managed to stay in power only with the support of the United States, the oligarchy and its armed forces, but it is weakening, while the revolutionary and democratic movement is gaining in strength.

There is growing solidarity with the Salvadoran people's struggle. Without such solidarity — especially from the socialist community, Cuba and Nicaragua — we could not advance, but this does not at all mean interference in our affairs. On the contrary, it is consistent and timely fulfillment of internationalist duty.

Consolidate democracy, shed dependence

Central America and the Caribbean area, *Francisco Gamboa*, a member of the Political Commission and CC Secretary of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, said, is one of the regions with a high level of revolutionary activity today. The system of imperialist and oligarchic domination has been in a state of deep crisis since the Cuban revolution, and since the victory of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua this crisis has been rapidly deepening. Its fullest expression is the struggle of the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala and the process of profound disintegration which has started within the ruling classes of these countries.

Imperialism seeks to increase its military and political presence in the region, stages provocations against the peoples which have won independence, and interferes in the development of the revolutionary movement in other countries. These moves pose a threat to world peace.

Direct armed intervention by imperialism now involves greater difficulties than it did in the past, for it is blocked by the growing influence of socialism and all the forces fighting for peace. But one should not discount the danger of such

intervention, in El Salvador, for instance, be it on the part of the United States, or, say, Venezuela, which, hand in glove with imperialism, provides advice for the armed forces of the Salvadoran junta.

After three decades of more or less peaceful capitalist development, the Costa Rican society entered into a phase of deep crisis. The CC Report to the 13th congress of the party said: "The main features of the present political situation are the crisis which has gripped the main spheres of national life, and the steady development of the popular movement. The crisis shows that the existing problems lead up to an erosion of the old forms of the economic structure and imperialist domination." The payment of interest on the state debt now swallows up 30 per cent of the real revenues of the executive power. The government has been printing money and further submitting to the dictates of the International Monetary Fund. The cost of living has been growing, and masses of working people are being impoverished.

There is growing resistance by the masses to this policy. More and more people are involved in strikes and their demands are ever more serious; the trade union movement is gaining in strength; there is a rapid development of various forms of the people's organizations and their militancy is growing.

The program of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica says: "In our country there are favorable conditions for carrying on revolutionary struggle the non-armed way. Our party believes that its duty is to do its utmost to have the revolutionary process run precisely along these lines, with the least possible use of violence." But it also points to the dangers facing the country; it says that the country's dependence on U.S. imperialism and the military dictatorships in the region have become factors counteracting the advance of the process of peaceful transformations. That is why the party, while continuing to act in legality, is simultaneously doing much to prepare for a possible change in the conditions of struggle.

We have been working hard to promote the unification of the country's revolutionary parties, and respect the views of other revolutionary movements in Central America. Let us recall that at one time we were divided with some of these movements by acute polemics on the ways of revolution and the forms of struggle, with one-sided assessments and mistakes on both sides, and this did great harm to the cohesion of the revolutionary forces. Many of these mistakes have now been corrected; we have a better understanding of each other, and seek to carry on discussions and cooperate in service of the revolution.

In Latin America, notably Panama, there is a continued struggle against the economic dependence and political domination by imperialism, Cleto Souza, a member of the CC Political Bureau of the People's Party of Panama, declared. It is a constituent part of the common struggle of the forces of socialism, the peoples of Asia and Africa, the industrialized countries in defense of peace and social

progress. The blows being jointly dealt at imperialism go to sharpen its general crisis, which is having an effect on the structure, mechanisms and system of imperialist domination. But successes should not relax the people's vigilance.

Our party's sixth congress was held in early 1980. The report presented by the party's General Secretary Ruben Dario Souza said that two processes are developing parallel to each other in the country: national liberation and the struggle for democracy. Both require structural transformations, which, for their part, will accelerate the transition to the stage of social emancipation. The party believes that the struggle for national liberation and for democracy is closely connected with economic transformations and the elimination of social inequality.

Let us recall that U.S. imperialism did not want to meet our demands for immediate withdrawal from our territory. Still, it agreed to withdraw from it within 20 years. In accordance with the new treaty, which has been signed and which has entered into force, in that period Panama is to re-establish fully its legitimate rights step by step. But even this relative success will not come of itself; in order to achieve it, there will be a need to invigorate the mass struggle, to extend democracy, and joint action by all the revolutionaries. The way toward genuine national independence runs through the creation of a popular, democratic and anti-imperialist government which is to create the prerequisite for social emancipation.

In the course of the struggle, imperialism seeks to spread the idea that the dividing line between "enemies" and "friends" runs between the communists, on the one hand, and the non-communists, on the other. Our party is working to explain to the masses that on one side of this line there are those who want to help colonialism maintain its domination of political and economic life, and on the other, all those who oppose this domination, who fight for democracy, national liberation and transformation in the economy for the purposes of winning economic independence.

We support the establishment of an alliance or a democratic front of national liberation to bring together all the patriotic-minded forces regardless of their class origin. That would mean joint action. The victories of the peoples of Cuba and Nicaragua in Latin America provide striking and instructive examples of success achieved on the basis of such unity, of tactical and strategic alliances.

Any revolution which has finally won out and has established itself in power, said Carlos Dorey-Cabral, a member of the CC Political Bureau of the Dominican Communist Party, invariably implies in the present conditions deep-going social anti-capitalist transformations. Wherever the national-liberation movement of our continent strove to entrench itself without destroying the power of capitalism, the result was only the emergence of new forms of dependence on imperialism, including neo-colonial dependence. Conversely, any irreversible national-liberation process runs toward socialist revolution.

Whatever the circumstances, unity of action by broad masses of people, and firm determination on the part of the revolutionary vanguard to establish a new political power and set up a new state apparatus have been and continue to be the necessary conditions for success.

The Dominican Republic is a country ruled by a party which belongs to the Socialist International. At the same time the Dominican social democrats are closely allied with the power of the oligarchy and are under total U.S. control. The economic crisis in the country is sharpening and social clashes are on the increase. The masses are shedding their illusions about the ruling Dominican Revolutionary Party, and divisions in the other parties of the existing system are deepening. Meanwhile, the influence of the communists is growing stronger, together with their capacity to act as a real opposition. This is especially obvious against the background of the disintegration, stagnation, vacillation and inconsistency of the other left and left-centrist groups.

In these circumstances, primary importance is attached to the social struggle, class slogans and demands. The communists' program designed for the transformation of society is addressed directly to the masses, and has been winning ever more resolute support on the part of the people in view of the crisis of the ruling elite.

The unity of the revolutionary forces should be forged in social struggle, from the ground up.

There are two approaches to the problems of unity, two lines in the political life of the Dominican Republic. The first implies a strengthening of ties with the masses so as to achieve their cohesion on political issues and programmatic propositions in the course of the social struggle. The second is fuelled by opportunism and is based on a mechanical application of alien experience which is irrelevant to our country's real conditions; this is being propounded by social-democratic leaders, who bear the greatest responsibility for the existing splits and divisions.

Such are the specific features of the revolutionary process in the Dominican Republic, which explain our party's negative attitude to social democracy, whereas in other conditions fraternal parties and revolutionary movements establish political alliances with it and engage in joint anti-fascist and anti-dictatorial struggles.

In formulating our political line, putting forward slogans for urgent action and using various forms of struggle, we feel that we are an organic part of the great family of communist and revolutionary parties and anti-imperialist movements.

The Haitian drama is being increasingly internationalized, *Rene Teodor*, General Secretary of the United Party of Haitian Communists, declared. Today, one will find on every hand Haitians living in dire poverty as reminders to public opinion in North America, the Caribbean and Central America that our country exists, that it is fighting and that it needs solidarity.

In these conditions, the party has succeeded in

increasingly asserting revolutionary ideas in the midst of the masses and urging the need for the creation of a broad anti-autarchic and anti-imperialist front. It should be a front for the defense of the people's sovereignty, because since the victory of the revolution in Nicaragua, imperialism has started to conduct a strategy of resisting any revolutionary movement in the Caribbean area.

THE RIGHT TO DECIDE ONE'S OWN FUTURE

The participants in the discussion analyzed the various forms assumed by the peoples' struggle for self-determination, for the right freely and independently to decide their own future. It was said that the forms and ways of this struggle depend on the political situation in the individual regions or countries and the socio-economic relations existing there. In some instances, the impetus to the movement comes from class action for social emancipation, of which national liberation becomes the condition. In others, the movement for national independence which, as in Africa, frequently makes headway by force of arms, objectively transcends its own framework and adopts the ideals and tasks of social progress. These problems were considered in close connection with the need to resist the policy of stepping up international tension and fanning military conflicts, expansion and annexation, the policy being pursued by imperialism and its satellites, especially in the Middle East.

Colonial camouflage

The imperialists generally, and the French imperialists in particular, now seek to assert the idea that decolonization is complete and that it is their handiwork, said *Jean Pierre Etile*, member of the Political Bureau and CC Secretary of the Martinique Communist Party. But all the liberated peoples know how they have actually had to fight in order to win freedom. Besides, contrary to the widespread view, there are still countries in the world which have not been affected by the process of decolonization. Martinique is one of them. We are carrying on a struggle against French colonialism for the Martinique people's right to decide their own future and to secure national liberation and social emancipation.

The form of colonialization, designated as "departmentalization," is a means used by French imperialism to camouflage the colonial reality. By formally including our country in the administrative structure of France, colonialism has managed to leave the impression — as a result of a broad propaganda campaign — that Martinique is a part of France. This propaganda had some success both at home and abroad. What is more, Martinique is now integrated into the European Economic Community, it is regarded as a part of Europe and it has, in effect, been turned into the Common Market's collective colony. In the past, most of the decisions relating to us were taken in Paris, and now this is being increasingly done in Brussels or Strasbourg,

and this makes Martinique heavily dependent on the EEC.

But in the recent period the situation has been changing. Thanks to the victories scored over imperialism by the peoples throughout the world and especially in our region, the Caribbean, and also to the Martinique communists' resolute struggle, changes are under way in the country. There is growing national self-consciousness, and a mounting movement for national liberation and social emancipation. Why is this taking place only just now? One of the peculiarities of our country, of our place in the national-liberation movement is that Marxist-Leninist ideas were adopted among us at a very early period (the organized revolutionary working-class movement on the island emerged immediately after the October Revolution). One would think that the Martinique nation should be among the first colonies to rise to liberation or, at any rate, it should be on the crest of the recent tide of liberation. But that did not happen because the colonialists' assimilation policy managed for a long time to prevent the people of Martinique from realizing that they were also being subjected to national oppression.

At its seventh congress in April 1980, the Martinique Communist Party emphasized the connection between the class and the national elements in the revolutionary process and set the task of raising the level of social consciousness as a necessary condition for advancing the liberation struggle. But that does not at all mean the adoption of a nationalistic orientation. The point is that in a colonial country, social emancipation is impossible without national liberation. We want freedom to be won for the benefit of the masses. Consequently, the working class and the communists must play the role of a true motive force, of the vanguard of the revolution, for this will give it a progressive, socialist orientation. This implies constant mobilization and organization of the working people.

While remaining internationalists, we communists now personify the best national feelings. That is the only approach which will enable us to put pressure on the world imperialist system, to rid our country of colonialism and to carry it along the way of genuine national liberation and social emancipation, along the socialist way.

Guadeloupe is a small country in Central America, which was colonized by France in the 17th century, said Guy Daninthe, General Secretary of the Guadeloupe Communist Party. Like Martinique, Guiana and Reunion, it now has the status of a French "overseas department."

Our party, once a federation of the French Communist Party, became independent in 1958 and mapped out the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation. In view of our country's specific situation, we put forward the slogan of autonomy within the framework of union with France, coupling this with demand for development aid, not charity, but fair compensation for the wealth plundered by the colonialists over the centuries. The party seeks to lead the national move-

ment within the framework of political activity and mass action. The purpose of these efforts is to create a national front and to win self-determination.

A sizable section of our people already clearly realize that the purpose of the overseas department status is to perpetuate and camouflage the colonial regime and to effect the "legal" expropriation of the wealth and lands of the inhabitants of Guadeloupe. The Communist Party sets itself the task of making the French government recognize the island's right to self-determination. We demand popular-democratic autonomy, as a stage on the way to independence with a socialist content, as this was formulated by the seventh congress of the Guadeloupe Communist Party in May 1980. This is the only way to put an end to the colonial plunder of Guadeloupe. The primary task is to get the masses to accept this approach.

The solidarity of the international communist and working-class movement, of the peoples of the Caribbean provides us with important political support and could tomorrow help the people of Guadeloupe to overcome its technical and economic underdevelopment.

For our part, we seek to display solidarity with the other contingents of the international communist movement. Our party has not ignored a single attack against fraternal parties, especially those which, like the ruling parties of the socialist-community countries, are in the frontline of the struggle, for we believe that these attacks are also aimed against us, against our own future.

It is exceptionally important that all the victims of imperialism and all its adversaries should carry on — each in his particular sector — a vigorous and consistent joint struggle. In the light of this, it should be made clear to the peoples: why they are poor and have to suffer, and who is responsible for this; what needs to be done to escape from the existing situation; which class forces carry on an anti-imperialist struggle and how they interact; what are the ways and means of achieving this goal.

The present situation in Puerto Rico could be characterized as follows: it is a direct political colony of U.S. imperialism, where the classical colonial forms of exploitation and control coexist with neo-colonial ones, said Alberto Luis Marquez, member of the Central Committee and the Political Commission of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. In economic terms, it is the most important and most industrialized colony of the United States.

The key task of liberation facing us is not to win back the territory, but to help the advanced forces of the proletariat realize the need for struggle, and involve in it other classes and strata whose demands could coincide with those of the workers. This means carrying on work to involve the people in political activity. For this one must make skilful use of political, propaganda, organizational, ideological and military methods.

The politization and organization of the masses are expressed in the following: first, a part of the working people joins the ranks of the revolutionary vanguard; second, the masses carry on their own

struggle in various forms; and third, this struggle helps to deepen and sharpen the crisis of the colonial system and erode the principles imposed by the bourgeoisie, which are based on its ideological domination and the so-called consensus. Theoretical, technical and military knowledge should be popularized to help the masses understand the forms and goals of revolutionary struggle.

The long-term strategy of indirect contest, which we have mapped out, implies the creation and strengthening of a broad national-liberation front, to include the most diverse organizations and trends. Such a front could coordinate major action by the masses. For the time being, the conditions for its formation have not yet taken shape, and we are working to realize these two immediate tasks: to establish a broad front against annexation and to support the demand for national sovereignty, while simultaneously consolidating and strengthening the ranks of the working-class and trade union movement.

In conclusion I would like to set out in brief the strategy of our struggle for national liberation, as it is formulated in the program of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

The first step marking the beginning of our transition to socialism should be the winning of national independence and the formation of a democratic republic of working people, a state under the leadership of the working class in alliance with other classes and social groups striving to attain this goal. It includes four basic tasks of the Puerto Rican people, which were proclaimed by our party's constituent congress in 1972: the inalienable right to independence and full sovereignty; the right to a return to the people of all the national wealth taken over by foreign governments, corporations and individuals; the working people's right to socialize all the means of production in the hands of foreign or local private proprietors, and the building of a socialist society; the right of the working people and of all patriots to use any forms of struggle to achieve this, including revolutionary force against the repressive violence of the system.

*Against apartheid,
against social oppression,
against occupation*

On our continent, Yusuf Dadoo, Chairman of the South African Communist Party, declared, the ideas of scientific socialism are steadily turning into a material force. Never before, in Africa, have we witnessed such a broad and profound search for scientific solutions to the pressing problems of economic underdevelopment, hunger, poverty, disease and illiteracy.

The struggle for national and social liberation in Southern Africa — in Namibia under SWAPO and South Africa under the ANC — has assumed immense significance in the worldwide confrontation and conflict between the forces of national liberation, socialism and peace and those of imperialism, neo-colonialism, reaction and war.

The emergence of South Africa as a monopoly

capitalist state and a component part of world imperialism sets it apart from the rest of the continent. However, in South Africa, race and national oppression are endemic to the entire exploitative system. The one feeds on the other. It is the Black working class which is the main victim of the ravages and dire consequences of apartheid. Above all, it is on the basis of the super-exploitation of Black labor power that the racist-capitalist system is reproduced. In this complex and unique interplay of race, national and class oppression in a highly developed capitalist country, we hold firmly to the view that the main content of the revolution is the national liberation of the African people. However, under our conditions we cannot effectively destroy the monster of apartheid without radically transforming that socio-economic system which feeds, nourishes and sustains it.

In the face of one of the most ferocious reigns of terror in recent times, the militant struggle in South Africa goes from strength to strength. The initiative has inexorably passed into the hands of the oppressed and their revolutionary organizations. In response to this unprecedented level of struggle, the racist regime has intensified its apparatus of repression. The growth of the military-industrial complex, inculcation of a war psychosis amongst the white population, the militarist strategy of "total war," brutal attacks on the Front Line States, plus the threat to use atomic weapons clearly demonstrate the aggressive nature of the ruling class, and the danger it poses to the security and peace of Africa and the world.

Of great significance for the further development of the revolutionary process in Africa is the transformation of broad-based revolutionary movements into Marxist-Leninist parties. This is most evident in Angola and Mozambique. They are a part of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard on our continent. Countries and parties which are steadfastly and in a principled way pursuing anti-imperialist and socially progressive policies can assist in making an important contribution to the creative development of the science of Marxism-Leninism. They are a living proof that the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism is as applicable to the soil of Africa as anywhere in the world.

The patriotic forces in Africa are increasingly recognizing that their most trusted, consistent and principled ally is the international working-class movement, at the center of which stand the countries of the socialist community. As the struggle for social liberation intensifies, the theory and practice of proletarian internationalism assume ever greater significance. From all of the multi-faceted aspects of proletarian internationalism, we wish to single out one. This is that those states where the working class is in power have the obligation and duty, within their capabilities, to give all-round assistance, including military help, when requested to do so by local revolutionary forces. Military assistance to consolidate, defend and advance revolutionary gains cannot and should not be regarded as interference or intervention. Similarly, it is the

responsibility of the local revolutionary forces to give a firm rebuff to the ideological and political attacks of imperialism and its allies against the socialist countries.

The Namibian masses' experience of intense social oppression has made it easier for them to fully grasp SWAPO's message of liberation, overthrow of colonialism and attainment of national independence, said SWAPO's representative Tulinane Emvula. This consciousness has united the people of Namibia in the struggle, and has enabled SWAPO to fight the powerful South African military machine in a way the enemy has not expected. We are resolved not just to fight for the country's independence but to lead the nation into a socialist future.

The unity of the three elements of the world revolutionary process — the socialist system, the international working-class movement and the national-liberation movement — said Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, is an absolute precondition for the final victory over the forces of imperialism, colonialism, racism, fascism, Zionism and the exploitation of man by man.

The unity of all national and class forces interested in the overthrow of the fascist Pretoria regime, the destruction of the apartheid system and the reconstruction of South Africa as a popular-democratic state with power in the hands of the people is a fundamental prerequisite of the victory of our revolution. The successful defense of that revolution and the realization of its objectives will also require the maintenance and reinforcement of that unity. This confirms that this task is not of a tactical, transient or temporary nature. Rather it is of strategic importance.

Apartheid in South Africa is an expression of the system of imperialist domination. The social force whose interests it serves is monopoly capital. Inherent in it, consequently, are the two central features of economic exploitation and political domination of the ordinary working people of our country. Hence the urgent and continuing task that faces the African National Congress: the unification in action of all Black oppressed people, whatever their class origin, to fight for the victory of the democratic revolution. The ANC and its allies also have a task to build up a democratic movement among the white people and to strengthen the bonds of unity between the white people and the oppressed majority, in one common struggle for the liberation of this majority.

It is also our belief that actual practical mass action is the best school in which to forge meaningful unity among the broad alliance of national and class forces and organizational formations which constitute the revolutionary mainstream. The task of mass mobilization is, therefore, central to our whole strategic outlook. Consequently, the principal tactical slogan that we present to the people is: "Confront the enemy on all fronts!"

The victories of the anti-imperialist forces throughout the world and especially in Southern

Africa are a very important factor in the struggle to unite our people round the strategic positions of our movement headed by the ANC. This is so because the victories gained in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and in other parts of the world, such as Vietnam, Afghanistan and Nicaragua, serve as an inspiring confirmation of the correctness of our positions. The South African liberation movement, following the path that we have mentioned, reinforcing mass political activity with growing military actions, has registered important advances in the task of mobilizing and uniting the broad national and class forces that constitute the motive forces of the national-democratic revolution.

The national-liberation movement is in the front-line of the confrontation between the peoples and the colonialists, between the champions of freedom and those who hold out oppression and occupation, said the head of the delegation of the People's Liberation Front of Segouia el Hamra and Rio de Oro (Polisario). Our front, the militant vanguard of the Saharai people, is an organic part of the world national-liberation movement, and our armed struggle for independence promotes its success.

The national-liberation movement in our country has developed in accordance with the requirements of each historical stage, and this has led to the emergence of the Polisario Front. For five years now, our peace-loving people have had to live in torment and suffering, having been driven out of hearth and home. That is the result of an unjust war, whose purpose is to wipe them off the face of the earth. We have countered the forced expulsion and the war of attrition imposed by Morocco's expansionist regime with resistance that is unprecedented in the history of our liberation battles.

The Saharai people have also put in a great effort to tackle the tasks of the future, and seek to consolidate their young state, the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), which was proclaimed in 1976. We have taken an active part in fulfilling the hard and noble tasks of combating ignorance, the legacy of colonialism, carrying on drives to wipe out illiteracy, and building day, boarding and nursery schools and creches. As much attention is being given to the development of public health, the building of hospitals and the training of national medical personnel.

Today, the SADR — the legitimate embodiment of the aspirations of the Saharai people — enjoys broad recognition in the international arena, and powerful solidarity of the peoples of the African continent. The problem of decolonizing Western Sahara was discussed in the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned movement, which have invariably voiced support for our people in their inalienable right to free self-determination and independence. In 1980, the UN General Assembly reaffirmed the legitimacy and justice of this cause, condemned the Moroccan occupation of our country's territory, recognized the Polisario Front as the sole legitimate representative of the Saharai people and welcomed the signing in

Algeria of a peace treaty between the Polisario Front and Mauretania.

Under the leadership of their militant vanguard, the Saharawi people will continue the struggle until the total liberation of the now occupied territory of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, and the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the northwestern part of the African continent.

Class changes in the Arab world

The Arab liberation movement is acquiring an ever more explicit social and class content, *Wissal Farha*, member of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party, declared. The external enemies of the movement rely on its internal enemies, on the remnants of the exploiter classes of the feudal society and the parasitic bourgeoisie. These strata play the role of time bombs which threaten progressive regimes. The forces of reaction are usually not numerous but they pose a grave threat because they have allies abroad from whom they receive money and weapons.

Quite naturally, the Arab liberation movement has its ebbs and flows in various regions. But it is not right to draw the conclusion from reverses that it is in a state of crisis. Of course, our movement has to face grave difficulties, but they should not be seen as difficulties arising from decline or crisis. On the contrary, these difficulties should rather be defined as the difficulties of a movement on the upgrade.

The Palestinian people scored their first major national successes after armed struggle came on the agenda and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was set up in 1964-1965, said *Faisal Haurani*, editor of the PLO journal *Palestinian Problems*.

It is not accidental that this became possible when a powerful revolutionary alliance of the socialist community, the working-class parties in the capitalist states and the national-liberation movements in the developing countries was consolidated in the world. The balance of forces in the national Palestinian struggle began gradually to tilt against those who believed they could resist Zionism and imperialism without taking a clear-cut stand with respect to the world revolutionary process. Progressive forces realizing that the Palestinian people cannot win unless there is unity with all their natural allies came to the fore.

In 1968, the PLO leadership passed to revolutionary Palestinian organizations, and it began to strengthen its relations with the USSR and other socialist countries, with the communist, progressive and democratic parties, and with national-liberation movements.

It took decades of struggle against imperialism and reaction for the people of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiria (SPLA) to score its victory on the morning of September 1, 1969, under the leadership of Muammar Qaddafi, a revolution to end the hated past: foreign domination and the despotism of reaction, *Mustafa el-Ghailushi*, head of the delegation of the General People's Congress of the SPLA, said.

The September 1 Revolution was a patriotic movement for national liberation. It led to the evacuation of U.S. and British military bases, and the expulsion of former Italian fascists who had control over the economy, notably agriculture. The oil companies, insurance companies and banks controlled by the foreign exploiters were at once Libyanized: they passed into the hands of the Libyan people and serve the national and pan-Arab economy and international cooperation.

In accordance with the provisions of the document which proclaimed the establishment of the people's power, freedom has to be fought for everywhere in the world, because it is an indivisible whole. That is why the Libyan people regard as strategic their alliance with their Palestinian brothers in the struggle against Zionism and imperialism, for their return to their native land, and for freedom and sovereignty on that land. We believe that our freedom will not be complete unless the Arab people of Palestine secure their own freedom. We are on the side of the Lebanese people, who are resisting the plots by Zionism and imperialism designed to dismember their country and encroach on their freedom.

The Libyan Arab people support the struggle of their brothers against imperialism, Zionism and racism in Africa, Asia and Latin America. They are on the side of the progressive forces, coming out against world imperialism and colonialism in any form.

There is a contradiction between the content of the Arab national-liberation movement, which is determined by the character of our epoch — the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism — and the objective place of this movement as a part of the socialist revolution, and its class leadership, which, in the context of the Arab world, is dominated by bourgeois circles, said *Samir Saad*, member of the Commission for Culture of the Lebanese Communist Party. That is the root of the fact that, as we believe, the movement is now in a state of crisis. The bourgeoisie has proved to be incapable of putting through the program for a national-democratic revolution, because fulfillment of such a program in our day is connected with socialism, with the exercise by the working class of its leading role in a revolutionary-democratic alliance. That is why another main aspect of the crisis of the Arab national-liberation movement is the incompleteness of the process producing a revolutionary alternative to the present leadership.

Our front was set up on February 15, 1955, said *Yousef al Hassan*, Chairman of the Bahrain National-Liberation Front. This marked the start of a new period in the struggle of the working class and all the other working people in the country. That was the origin of a party which adopted the best militant traditions of the people, a revolutionary party which sprang from the growing working-class movement.

On the strength of a comprehensive analysis of the conditions in Bahrain and of the situation in the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula, our party de-

termed the nature of the present stage in the struggle as one of national-democratic revolution. In the course of it, the tasks of national liberation are interwoven with the tasks of consolidating political and attaining economic independence. Similar tasks are faced by the national-liberation movements in all the countries of the Persian Gulf.

Imperialism tries to "pre-empt" revolutions and changes in these countries. Making use of colonial methods, it has tied the interests of the ruling families and the growing bourgeoisie of the Persian Gulf states to the interests of the world capitalist economy. From this it follows that there can be no successful struggle against imperialist domination and the monopolies without dismantling the internal social base on which this domination rests, that is, without eliminating the comprador parasitic bourgeoisie. There is also a close connection between the struggle to implement these tasks and the struggle of the working class and all the other working people for trade union and social rights, and for better living conditions. The first thing that needs to be secured here is a democratization of society, the holding of open parliamentary elections and freedom of activity for the national-progressive parties.

A typical example of the internal social support of imperialism in the Persian Gulf area is the regime of Sultan Qabus bin Said, said Ahmad Salim, representative of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman. The recently published agreement between the United States and Oman shows that the Sultan is fully determined to continue his policy of crawling to imperialism, and is prepared to convert our country into a bridgehead for U.S. plans for interference in the affairs of the region. This poses a threat to the independence of neighboring peoples. In this way, Qabus is offering the United States the way out of the impasse, which has resulted from the fact that the U.S. urge to obtain staging posts for U.S. armed forces in the region has aroused the peoples' indignation.

Abdo Rahman Saleh, head of the delegation of the CP Saudi Arabia, said that conscious mass political action in his country was closely bound up with the emergence of the proletariat in the arena of the class struggle. It took shape at the enterprises of foreign monopolies, and as a result the proletariat's class struggle even at the early stages was connected with the national struggle, because one and the same enemy stands in the way of its class and national interests.

As early as October 1953, there emerged a "workers' commission," which became the center for the organization of the masses. Aramco, the oil monopoly, was forced to recognize the commission as a representative of the working people. The establishment of the "workers' commission" was an important step in transforming the proletariat's spontaneous struggle into organized, political struggle. With the participation of the workers and most conscious and progressive-minded sections of the intelligentsia a secret political organization was soon formed under the name of the National Reform Front. Large-scale strikes against Aramco's

arbitrariness, against the U.S. domination and U.S. military bases were staged in 1956 under the leadership of the Front. It was then renamed as the National Liberation Front, whose militant traditions our party is carrying on.

In 1979, Saudi Arabia was the scene of a major mass movement against the existing regime and U.S. imperialism. Tens of thousands of people took part in the events in the eastern part of the country, and hundreds of armed fighters occupied the Moslem holy places in Mecca. Although the authorities managed to put down this action, they did not and will not succeed in putting out the flames of the struggle, because it is based on objective economic, social and political factors.

Its analysis of the various aspects of the domestic situation and our basic tasks has shown the Communist Party that the target of our main blow, for the infliction of which it is necessary to concentrate all our forces, is the elimination of the regime of absolute power, which is linked with U.S. imperialism. This should lead to the establishment of a national democratic regime expressing the interests of the bulk of the people. In accordance with this approach, we are working out the tactics of the struggle, planning the formation of alliances, and defining our attitude to the various social forces and political groups.

The upswing in the mass movement requires that more attention should be given to organizational and political activity among the population. It is important to unite all the national-democratic forces.

The head of the delegation of the Communist Party of the Sudan dealt specifically with the problem of external alliances of the Arab national-liberation movement. The anti-imperialist alliance slogan has a class character, whatever the concrete circumstances in which it is put forward. Objective requirements may induce some strata of the national capitalists and petty bourgeoisie, whether they are in power or not, to put forward this slogan in concrete historical conditions. As for the national-liberation movement, it puts forward this slogan in every case, without exception, despite the intricate structure and diversity of the class make-up, and also despite the possible change of stand by a part of its leadership after the take-over of power. The working class supports this slogan on the strength of the following considerations: first, objectively, the national-liberation movement needs broad support; second, the class interests of the other social strata set some limits to the struggle, for the working class alone wants to see it carried to the end; and third, the anti-imperialist alliance slogan strengthens the positions of the proletariat and the national-democratic forces in the liberation movement.

The adoption of this slogan usually goes hand in hand with ideological and political struggle, which in the Sudan involves the following questions: the relation between the class stand, nationalistic demands and international solidarity; charges that the communists act as "agents of the Soviet Union" and

attempts to prevent cooperation between the national movement and the communists; dissemination of inventions about "Soviet imperialism."

The working class of the Sudan and its party have carried on a struggle over these issues, they were able to pave the way for the establishment of ties between democratic organizations in the country and international democratic organizations even before the attainment of independence.

The anti-imperialist alliance slogan has been subjected to attacks from outside, for instance, by the Maoists. Together with the whole of world reaction, they have engaged in a malicious propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union and the other socialist-community countries, preaching "independence" from the "two super-powers" and an "identity" of the socialist and the imperialist camps. Now and again, this propaganda has a negative influence on the non-aligned movement.

What has been said suggests the following conclusions:

First, the working class has a role to play in the assertion and defense of the anti-imperialist alliance slogan, a role which must not be underestimated even when the same slogan is now and again being plugged by some strata of the national and petty bourgeoisie.

Second, in putting forward the anti-imperialist alliance slogan the ruling strata of the national and petty bourgeoisie believe that this should lead the international working-class movement to abandon its international commitments with respect to the working class and democratic forces in the national-liberation zone, just as they are being subjected to repression and persecution. But in fact, solidarity in the defense of democracy is one of the most important supports for the alliance of the national-liberation movement and the international working class.

Self-determination and the proletariat's struggle

The continuing crisis in Northern Ireland for British imperialist hegemony over Ireland demonstrates that the 1920 solution — "Partition" — imposed on the Irish people has failed, declared *James Stewart*, Deputy General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland. We communists see our task, in alliance with other anti-imperialist forces in Ireland, as ensuring that any new solution advances the cause of the Irish working people's right to self-determination and advances the path to socialism — the sole guarantor of a people's right to national independence.

In the struggle to unite the working class and its allies in Northern Ireland, in all Ireland, and to bring about the active involvement of the British labor and democratic movements in this battle of class forces the Communist Party of Ireland puts forward the following program of democratic demands:

(1) an immediate end to all repressive legislation;

(2) an end to the Non-Jury Law Courts;

(3) political status to be given to all persons who have been convicted under the conditions of the Emergency Provisions and the Prevention of Terrorism Acts;

(4) an end to torture by the so-called forces of "law and order" and a public inquiry into allegations of police torture and prosecution of those cases where evidence of torture is shown;

(5) the disbandment of the present police force (RUC) and its replacement by a civilian police force, plus the abolition of the Ulster Defence Regiment;

(6) the withdrawal of British troops to barracks pending their complete withdrawal;

(7) a Bill of Rights for the people of Northern Ireland;

(8) an end to direct rule and its replacement by a devolved parliament for Northern Ireland, controlled by the provisions of a Bill of Rights and armed with control over fiscal powers;

(9) a declaration by the British government of its intention to withdraw from all interference in Irish affairs: politically, militarily, economically — removing all claims to Irish territory and allowing the Irish people — North and South — the right to determine what future structures are required to best serve their interests.

Combined with the struggle for democratic rights is the economic struggle to defend and advance the living standards of the working people through an anti-monopoly alliance which is not only waged against British imperialist interests but also for the withdrawal of both parts of Ireland from the EEC.

Alongside this, our party is consistently conducting an ideological battle, striving to unite the people in support of the forces for national liberation in Latin America, Africa and Asia; in opposition to the attempts to subvert the neutrality of the Republic of Ireland through involving it in the imperialist war-bloc of NATO; in combating the proliferation of U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe; in strongly opposing the attempts to rekindle the cold war through anti-Sovietism and other forms of propaganda aimed against the socialist countries.

The struggle for peace and détente is an inseparable part of the fight for national self-determination and working-class emancipation. A struggle which despite the threats of imperialism has been advanced qualitatively thanks to the reality of a world socialist system and the consistent, constructive peace policies of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

It would be wrong, said *Bert Ramelson*, of the International Committee, Executive Committee, CP of Great Britain, for any British communist to speak at such a conference and on such a theme and roam all over the globe without referring to the continued deprivation of a big proportion of the population of Northern Ireland from exercising their right to self-determination, to continue to be occupied by a foreign imperialist power — Britain — to continue to be exploited by British big capital. In a sense, to be the last remaining British colony.

The first thing that must be said is that we, the Communist Party of Great Britain, have failed to

involve the British labor movement in the development of a continuously rising mass movement in Britain in solidarity with the people of Northern Ireland in their struggle to achieve their legitimate objective — a united independent Ireland. It is no good adding — not without trying. It is obvious that we haven't tried either hard enough or as yet found the means of winning the British labor movement to a level of understanding — that it is not only an Irish problem.

It is above all a British problem. The struggle for a socialist Britain is impeded by the continued exploitation of Northern Ireland. We communists are aware of our responsibilities and will continue to seek more effective means of involving the British labor movement to compel an end to the bi-partisan Irish policy of the Labour and Tory parties.

It is essential to conceive the struggle of the Australian working class and other progressive circles against the encroachments of the multinationals and the political domination of imperialism, which is accepted by the local ruling class circles, as part of the worldwide movement against imperialism, said Stavros Mavrantonis, CC member, Socialist Party of Australia. The struggle for land rights by Australian Aborigines is a specific form of struggle for national liberation which has lately assumed the proportions of a rather powerful nationwide movement.

The third congress document of the SPA states: "The Aborigines and Torres Strait islanders form two oppressed national minorities. . . . Under the impact of 200 years of colonization . . . the great majority have been transformed into members of the Australian working class." This means that the Aborigines' struggle must be seen as a manifestation in Australia of the worldwide national-liberation movement, as Australia's specific contribution to the third of the three main anti-imperialist forces. While standing for the right of Aboriginal people to determine their own future, the Socialist Party places emphasis on winning them to the working-class struggle against monopoly and for a socialist Australia.

The social oppression of the working class, said Marilyn Tucker, CC Secretary, Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand, is combined with the increasing national oppression of the indigenous Maori people. Forming 10 per cent of the total population, the vast majority of Maoris are working class. They are subjected to a two-fold exploitation; as workers and as a national minority.

The struggle for true national equality of the Maori people has been hindered by several weaknesses basically emanating from the lack of a Marxist-Leninist approach to the national question. The labor movement recognized the joint oppression of Maori and Pakeha workers and the racial discrimination practised against the Maori, which puts them in a position of being "superexploited," but the national oppression was underplayed by even the most advanced sections. The Maori nationalist elements, on the other hand, have

largely underplayed the class aspect, leading, in some cases, to a divisive position of anti-all Europeans.

Both these positions, that of the whole working-class movement and that of the nationalist groupings, show elements of change. Recognition of the Maoris as a national minority with the right to a separate identity and self-determination is slowly emerging in the working-class movement, and some nationalists through increasing participation in, and contacts with, the labor movement are beginning to link the struggle for national and social liberation.

Consolidation of these developments is a major task confronting the Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand at present. Class struggle must incorporate the principle of self-determination. The developing working-class struggle, including, as it does, a high proportion of Maori workers in the industrial working class, is already involving Maori workers in mass class struggle, promoting Maori trade union activists and beginning Maori entry into the revolutionary party. From these developments will come the necessary class and Marxist Maori leadership, which is a primary requirement for developing effective national struggle.

The necessity for the joint struggle of the working-class movement and the national-liberation movement against imperialism is becoming ever more evident in the area of Oceania and Asia. This has been underlined to workers in New Zealand on numerous occasions through our government's support, including military assistance, for the imperialist invasions of Korea and Vietnam, to name but two examples, and for the imperialist-backed recognition of the murderous Pol Pot regime.

The recent independence of Vanuatu, the previous condominium of the New Hebrides, jointly ruled by Britain and France, also emphasizes this necessity. Although no Marxist organization exists in the country, the influence exerted by all three sections of the world revolutionary movement has greatly assisted the development of an anti-imperialist direction to their struggles.

Development of a strong united trade union movement encompassing Oceania and Asia, the embryo of which is beginning to take shape, will considerably assist the success of the national-liberation movements and the building and consolidation of a strong anti-imperialist position in the region.

DEAD-ENDS OF PERIPHERAL CAPITALISM

Representatives of countries on which capitalist development has been imposed from outside, by imperialism, emphasized that this line of development — be it in Asia, Africa or Latin America — has proved incapable of solving the problems of genuine independence, overcoming backwardness and improving the life of the population. Many of these countries in all three continents have fallen into the power of military dictatorships, which

epitomize the trend toward political reaction, inherent in capitalism, especially dependent capitalism. In other countries, there are bourgeois-democratic governments, but they, too, are in a dead-end, because they have been trying to find a way out without going beyond the bounds of capitalism. By contrast, speakers said, the communists advocate a way of democracy and social progress for the benefit of the broadest strata of the people.

For removal of the military dictatorships

The experience of the party's struggle in the 1950s shows, said Thomas Sinuraya, CC member, Secretary, Foreign Committee, Communist Party of Indonesia, that so long as it based its activities on the Marxist-Leninist platform, on principles of proletarian internationalism, extending its links with the popular masses, specifically with the working class, strengthening its ties with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the international communist movement, the communists were attaining major successes in the liberation struggle. The reverse position inevitably led to harmful results for the cause of the revolution. This is proved by the bitter and tragic experience of the mid-1960s, when ideological and political mistakes, mainly Maoist deviations, undermined the vanguard role of the Communist Party, rendering it incapable of rebuffing provocations and delivering return blows to the class enemy, undermining the CPI's potentialities to act as the leading force of the revolution.

Now that the CPI organization has been restored in our country, including its central leading organ, which adheres to the positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, Indonesian communists are devoting all of their energies and knowledge to strengthening the party, extending political work among the masses, especially among the workers, and concentrating their struggle against the ruling regime, which restored the domination of foreign monopolies and feudal landlords.

We are seeking ways of forming an alliance with other anti-imperialist and democratic forces fighting for the overthrow of the tyrannical regime and its replacement by an anti-imperialist, national-democratic regime. The party is strengthening its cooperation with the fraternal parties in the framework of the world communist movement, with all those who oppose imperialism and reaction and come out for national liberation, democracy, progress and socialism. In the conditions of underground work, repression and police persecution, the accomplishment of the tasks comes against immense difficulties. The party is still not strong enough, and this situation can be improved gradually. The brutal terror, launched by reaction under the guidance of right-wing generals with Suharto at the head, created difficulties for restoring the mass support to the Communist Party.

The religious factor, above all Islam, is exploited by reaction and the ruling circles for fanning up anti-atheist fanaticism, that is, anti-communism. The regime continues to pursue an anti-communist policy each time making the communists the

scapegoats in any situation which is unfavorable to it or presents a threat to its existence. This is also observed in the foreign policy sphere. But although our party is confronted with difficult tasks, its members and the leadership continue to fulfil their historic mission of struggle for the liberation of the Indonesian people from national and social oppression. The party's point of view is clearly formulated in political documents which characterize the anti-popular nature of the ruling power and point to the ways out of this critical situation. The regime increasingly faces a threat to its existence as the prejudice toward communists is waning in our society and as the democratic opposition keeps growing, deriving strength from various sections of the population.

Drawing on the 60-year experience of our struggle, we are confident that the Communist Party of Indonesia, together with other revolutionary and democratic forces, and with the backing of international solidarity of the three main revolutionary forces in the world, will achieve not only national, but also social liberation for its country.

The military junta in our country, said the representative of the Communist Party of Turkey, has continued the policy of the previous government on three main lines. First, the junta stands up for the interests of NATO and imperialism. Second, it has declared that it would loyally abide by the economic program of the previous regime, which had been dictated by the International Monetary Fund. Third, the junta has been extending and carrying on more systematically terrorist attacks against the popular, patriotic and progressive forces. It has mounted a frontal offensive against the working class and its organizations.

The junta has declared its intention to go, once "the roots of both right and left terrorism are eliminated," and "democracy is placed on a sound foundation." The military dictatorship is trying, by means of such statements, to prevent its further isolation, and to split the forces which could unite on a platform of struggle against the junta. If the generals succeed in doing so, this will not just make the struggle for democracy extremely difficult, but also increase the danger of a fascist regime.

Our party's tactical aim just now is to isolate the junta at home and abroad, and to unite and rally the broadest political and social forces for the struggle to overthrow the reactionary power. The working class, the peasantry, the middle strata and some circles of the bourgeoisie whose interests are being harmed by the junta's economic policy objectively constitute the social basis for an anti-dictatorial movement. There is a need to make skilful use of the potential contradictions between the monopolies, and especially within the junta itself. The political platform for fighting the military dictatorship should have an anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and democratic orientation.

Our country's capitalist development, said the head of the delegation of the Brazilian Communist Party, is proceeding in the conditions of dependence, with the preservation of once dominant

pre-capitalist relations of production. This development is being directed by the Brazilian state, in which the armed forces have the leading role to play. The ruling classes have even given it control of trade union affairs.

The 1964 coup, which was anti-national, anti-democratic and anti-labor, produced a profound change in the political situation in Brazil. Heavy blows were dealt at the democratic, popular and revolutionary forces. In these conditions, our party's sixth congress in 1967 determined a line of unity of the democratic forces, mass struggle and the use of all legal opportunities for isolating and overthrowing the regime.

Many comrades from our Central Committee have been killed and hundreds of communists have been arrested and tortured in the struggle to implement this line. In face of brutal fascist repression, our party has carried on a sharp ideological struggle against right and "left" deviations, while working to create a broad democratic front, whose power was most manifest in the defeat of the regime's candidates in the November 1974 elections. Under the impact of this, and also as a result of the economic difficulties stemming from the progressive exhaustion of the "Brazilian model" of development and the effects of the crisis of the world capitalist system, the bloc of forces which supported the regime is breaking up, and some of them are switching to the democratic camp.

The 1978 elections demonstrated that the dictatorship is fast moving to a state of total isolation. At that point, the authorities resorted to a trick. Some of the fascist laws were revoked, and the government put before Congress a law on the amnesty of emigrés and political prisoners. It took a more ambiguous attitude with respect to strikes, coupling threats and repression with political moves, speculation on transient differences among the working people. Most of the communist leaders returned to legal life and our party has started to publish a newspaper which is circulated throughout the country.

A vast majority of the people now strive for democracy. The idea of a democratic front as an instrument capable of attaining this goal has become a social reality. That is why the government cannot evade a debate about democracy. The President of the Republic has reaffirmed the commitment to carry the country to a democratic system. But the government project in effect seeks merely to constitutionalize the authoritarian regime, for it rules out any succession of power, tries to do away with elections or else to limit the vote of the proletariat and the middle urban strata. This project is being resisted even by many of those who believe that repression is the only way of staying in power. The government has used this to impose a dilemma on the democratic forces: either its authoritarian project or a return to the darkness of fascism.

However, our people's struggle against arbitrary rule shows that the only way to isolate and destroy the present regime is through the unity of all the democratic forces. To precisely such unity we owe

the fact that we now live in a new political situation. The struggle to strengthen it is now the central task before the Brazilian communists. We must work to enlarge the few freedoms that have already been won, to formulate a minimum program of the democratic forces, and to force the convocation of a National Constituent Assembly that would give the people, including the proletariat, the political scope for advancing toward socialism.

We are aware that the struggle against the regime, which is to blame for the Brazilian people's misfortunes over so many years, would not have yielded the successes we have already achieved but for the solidarity of the democratic forces of the whole world, notably the fraternal parties. To all of them we convey our wholehearted gratitude for their invaluable assistance.

Problems of a political alternative

The capitalist part of development to which the country is wedded under the bourgeois rule has not only failed to solve any of the basic social problems, said *Bhupesh Gupta*, Central EC member and Secretary, National Council, Communist Party of India. It is now becoming a danger even to some of the democratic gains of our working people. At the present stage of our national-democratic revolution, the interconnection between the broad anti-imperialist national tasks and the tasks of social liberation is standing out. The situation demands that the working class, in a firm alliance with the peasantry, should play a leading role in fulfilling all these tasks.

The CP India naturally attaches great importance to India's nationally accepted foreign policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-imperialism. We strive to strengthen it, especially its anti-imperialist content, which the imperialists are trying to emasculate. However, we expect that India would continue to play a great role, not only a regional, but also a global one, in the interests of peace, national independence and a new international economic order. India's recognition of the new Kampuchean government headed by Heng Samrin, has been a momentous step of world significance.

India's foreign policy has a beneficial impact on the political life of the country. What dominates the domestic front today is the rising tide of the democratic mass struggle all over the country. And these struggles are increasingly taking the direction of the fundamental struggle for radical social change. Our party is in the frontline of the struggles and is fighting all anti-people, anti-democratic government policies.

The life and experience of the masses are daily emphasizing the need for a better alternative to the bourgeois rule, but unfortunately, the overwhelming majority of them are still under bourgeois influence. The left and democratic forces have no doubt notable achievements to their credit, but they are not yet strong enough to present a viable national alternative.

Along with other left and democratic parties and forces, our party is seeking to build such an alterna-

tive based on a common anti-imperialist, anti-monopolist, anti-feudal and democratic program. The call for left and democratic unity is evoking a growing response from the working class and other sections of the working people and all genuine anti-imperialist, progressive forces. Despite their differences on some ideological and political questions, the coming closer of the Communist Party of India and the Communist Party of India (Marxist), the two major left parties, has been particularly welcomed by all progressive forces.

The anti-imperialist, anti-neocolonial potential of this development is indeed great, provided that the left forces steer clear of right and "left" opportunist deviations. To win broad democratic allies for the left is a task of crucial importance. There is no other way to totally wipe out the legacies of the colonial past and to set the country on the road to social progress except by ending the monopoly of bourgeois power and its replacement by the power of the left and democratic forces solidly based on a militant mass movement.

However, by the united mass actions and by combining the parliamentary with extra-parliamentary struggle the existing bourgeois government can be made to take some positive steps on the home front in the interests of the working people and the nation. In India, the defense of democracy and its institutions as well as civil liberties and democratic rights of the working people which are under various forms of attack, is a vital requirement for the advance of the anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive forces. Of equal importance for this advance is the solidarity and cooperation with all anti-imperialist forces the world over.

The government of Bangladesh is pursuing a policy of inviting the capital of transnational corporations to invest in the once protected local market, said Osman Ghani, CC member, Communist Party of Bangladesh. This means allegiance to imperialist foreign policy designs and, most importantly, gradual denationalization of the state sector, so endangering the country's sovereignty. This state of affairs calls for a new polarization of forces in the country, the unity of workers, peasants, people of the middle class, sections of the national bourgeoisie and the forces of democracy. At the same time, its success lies with the unified effort, cooperation and solidarity with the peace-loving peoples of the world, particularly, with the peace offensive of the socialist community, headed by the great Soviet Union.

Our experience, said the *head of the delegation* of the Communist Party of Nepal, proves that economic independence, non-capitalist path and socialist orientation are all synonyms. In conditions like ours, one cannot achieve economic independence unless the country follows the non-capitalist path. But the non-capitalist path cannot be adopted unless the country strengthens its economic ties with the socialist countries and creates new conditions for a new international division of labor, with the socialist countries, instead of unequal division of labor, with the capitalist countries.

In Nepal, the capitalist economic structure has not yet become an impediment to switching to the non-capitalist path of development. The main obstacle for such a switch is the heterogeneous class composition of the country's ruling circles. Some of them believe that the only way to achieve economic independence is to have closer ties with the socialist world and to follow the non-capitalist path, so eventually getting rid of the dependence on the imperialist powers. But the existing political system in the country prevents it from taking this path. That is why our goal in the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation is, on the one hand, a struggle for democratizing society and effecting structural changes in the state apparatus, and on the other, mobilizing all the social sections, including the commercial and the national bourgeoisie, against imperialism and the remnants of feudalism.

The successful national and social regeneration of the Nepalese society continues to be obstructed by the pro-Western bourgeois parties and the ultra-leftist Maoist groups in the country. Understandably enough, these forces are backed by the Sino-U.S. axis, which is active in our country, although their machinations are being successfully exposed. In Nepal, the United States and the Peking hegemonists are backing all the regressive and degenerate elements in social life: tribalism, feudalism, communalism, casteism, etc. The recent events over Kampuchea and Afghanistan, and also Peking's aggression against Vietnam, were the results of the Sino-U.S. collaboration, collusion and direct intervention in that part of the world, and this has made our people apprehensive about their own fate, concerning their own course of national and social regeneration.

The struggle against imperialism and reaction, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and for peace and social progress, is inseparably connected with the processes of such regeneration. In order to be able to unite all the anti-imperialist, progressive and radical forces, the communist and workers' parties must themselves be strong and loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and dedicated to the interests of their own peoples and to the common cause of world socialism.

The people of Lesotho achieved political independence in 1966 after a long and protracted struggle against British colonialism, said the *head of the delegation* of the Communist Party of Lesotho. Since independence, Lesotho has been waging a new difficult struggle to consolidate national independence and achieve economic development, for social progress and against neo-colonialism. This struggle is complicated, firstly, by the physical encirclement of the country by the racist Republic of South Africa, the most reactionary and anti-progressive regime on the African continent; secondly, by the extreme economic dependence of Lesotho on South Africa which is manifested in precarious reliance of the country on South Africa for food supply, employment and communications with the

outside world. South African imperialism is capitalizing on this to destabilize the country by applying economic, political and even military pressure.

The Lesotho regime has been pursuing highly contradictory policies; internally it has pursued a capitalist-oriented path of development primarily in the interests of foreign capital and has suppressed the constitutional and other democratic rights of the Basotho people. On the other hand, recently the Lesotho government has begun to pursue a non-aligned foreign policy. It systematically criticizes apartheid and vehemently opposes the bantuzation policies of the racist Republic of South Africa and has embarked upon a course of establishing relations with socialist countries, attempting to reduce exclusive dependence on the imperialist countries.

The Communist Party of Lesotho has taken a clear stand in its attitude to the present regime in Lesotho, namely, that it opposes the repressive internal policies of the government but supports the positive aspects of its foreign policy while at the same time advancing a program for a democratic alternative in Lesotho. It is the firm belief of the Lesotho communists that anti-apartheid policy and support for the liberation movement of South Africa can succeed only if they are based on the concerted and conscious action of the broad masses of the Basotho people.

In Lesotho, recently there has been witnessed an upsurge of patriotic anti-racist South Africa movement. This movement is based on the broad masses of the working people — workers, peasants, revolutionary intelligentsia and patriotically-minded sections of the petty bourgeoisie and other social strata. Even within the ruling party, influential sections have developed the courage to take a stand against South Africa's imperialist intervention in Lesotho's internal affairs, in defense of national independence of the country. Unfortunately, however, there are also witnessed negative tendencies among opposition parties whose right-wing leadership are increasingly moving toward collaboration with the racist regime of Pretoria.

Nevertheless, the main trend in Lesotho's political situation today is in the direction of the consolidation of the position of the national democratic and patriotic forces. In this situation, the Communist Party of Lesotho regards as its central political task the creation of a broad and durable national Democratic Front of all the patriotic forces of the Basotho nation willing and ready to join the resistance movement against South African imperialism, for the consolidation of national independence and for the building of an independent, democratic and non-aligned Lesotho. The Communist Party of Lesotho believes that South African imperialist intervention and aggression can be defeated only by relying on the international solidarity of progressive and revolutionary forces of the world.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

This topic keynoted virtually all of the speeches at the conference.

At the stage of the national-democratic people's revolution, international solidarity was an absolute necessity for our country, said *Nguyen Thanh Le*, CC member, head of the CC International Department, CP Vietnam. The assistance and support of the socialist countries, revolutionary organizations and movements, and of all the fighters for winning and strengthening national independence, says comrade *Le Duan*, General Secretary of the CPV Central Committee, became a living embodiment of Lenin's immortal slogan: "Workers of all countries and all oppressed peoples, unite!" At the stage of the socialist revolution, international solidarity becomes even more important for us. It is determined by the objective needs in building a new society and defending our country.

We note with tremendous joy that the all-round cooperation between Vietnam and the other socialist countries has continued to develop for the common benefit.

We are happy that there is a deepening of the fraternal relations and cooperation in many spheres between the Communist Party of Vietnam and the communist and workers' parties, other revolutionary and progressive organizations of the whole world, between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the friendly countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. From day to day, these parties, organizations and countries rally ever closer together in the common struggle for peace, détente and international security, and against imperialism colonialism and neo-colonialism, expansionism and hegemonism, Zionism and racism.

The traditional policy of imperialists and colonialists is to divide in order to rule. The isolation of any country, party or movement only helps the class enemy. The U.S. imperialist-led capitalism which is now in decline has made a deal with Chinese great-power expansionism and hegemonism for massive counter-offensive operations against the socialist countries, the international communist and working-class movement, against the peoples fighting for stronger national independence and social progress, against the fighters for peace and democracy. The organizers of this counter-offensive do not shun any means, resort to the use or threat of force, try to drive a wedge between the socialist and the non-aligned countries, to divide the socialist countries, the communist movement, etc. That is why it is so necessary to strengthen the solidarity of the three revolutionary streams of our day, which guarantees fresh victories in the struggle for peace, détente, independence and socialism.

Our party, our people and our state, for their part, put a high value on international solidarity. They express their gratitude for the international support and will spare no effort to do their own duty: Vietnam will always be a true comrade-in-arms of the fraternal socialist countries, the communist and

workers' parties, and the revolutionary organizations and peoples fighting for national liberation and social emancipation. In our theoretical and practical work we are guided by this precept of Lenin's: "There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is — working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy and material aid) this struggle, this, and only this, line, in every country without exception" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, p. 75).

Marxist-Leninists have never regarded proletarian internationalism as a one-class solidarity, ruling out cooperation between the proletariat and other social and political forces, said *Rolf Galgerud*, a member of the leadership of the Oslo branch of the Communist Party of Norway. Support by the revolutionary working-class movement of all the democratic movements fighting against imperialism and colonial exploitation, and for peace and social progress naturally follows from proletarian internationalism.

James West, member, Political Bureau, CPUSA, said: the working class is an essential and the decisive component of the peace majority of the United States. Clearly, such a working class cannot be written off, nor should the class as a whole be confused with a small stratum of a so-called labor élite. The working class in the capitalist countries and the oppressed and exploited masses of the developing countries are, both, victims of the transnational corporations, of state-monopoly capitalism, of imperialism, of U.S. imperialism in particular, the common enemy of the peoples, of peace and social progress. In the working class of the United States, the world revolutionary process and its components have a staunch contingent which marches with history and not against history.

Canadian workers, by becoming involved in the struggle against the monopolies, learn that they and the working people involved in the liberation struggle have a common enemy: imperialism, said *Louis Feldhammer*, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada. Related to this is the corollary development of pro-détente, and anti-arms race sentiments.

In this continual and complex struggle against monopoly at home and support for social and economic liberation abroad, the Communist Party of Canada is proud to report that it plays a strategically significant role. The party has organized broad democratic associations in solidarity with liberation movements around the world. Through its press it constantly informs and offers the requisite understanding of the need for Canadian workers to support national-liberation movements as part and parcel of their own struggles.

The Portuguese revolution, while being the cause of the working class and all the other working people, demonstrates the unquestionable importance of international factors, said *Albano Nunes*, CC member, Portuguese Communist Party. Our revolution, which was carried out in a NATO coun-

try under imperialist domination, owes its victory to the new balance of world forces, the swing toward détente and peaceful coexistence, and broad international solidarity. It owes much especially to the heroic armed liberation struggle of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands, and Sao Tome and Principe, the Portuguese people's allies in the common fight against the fascist and colonial enemy.

The Portuguese CP has always believed that national tasks are inseparable from internationalist commitments. The Portuguese revolution is simultaneously a result and a factor of the world revolutionary process. Our struggle is a component part of the worldwide struggle of the working people, of the peoples of the whole world for national liberation and social emancipation. The revolution in Portugal has reaffirmed the tremendous importance of strengthening the alliance of the working-class and the national-liberation movements. In our case we have direct experience which is rooted in history: it testifies to the Portuguese people's class ties of international solidarity with the peoples which had once labored under the yoke of Portuguese colonialism. These ties were forged over the long years of common struggle and have been most fully expressed in the long-established relations of cooperation and militant solidarity between the Portuguese CP and the MPLA — Party of Labor, FRELIMO, PAIGC and MLSTP.

The Portuguese revolution, having once again demonstrated the truth that a nation which oppresses other nations cannot itself be free, was a patriotic, anti-imperialist and national-liberation revolution. Portugal, a colonizing country, was simultaneously a country colonized and oppressed by imperialism.

The movement against imperialist intervention and for genuine national independence has become the main line in the struggle of the working people and the whole Portuguese people in defense of their revolutionary gains. By contrast, the reactionary forces' attempts to re-establish the power of the monopolies and the latifundists go hand in hand with a policy of Portugal's growing submission to imperialism, participation by the country's ruling circles in its line of aggravating international tension.

Our party takes a firm stand for the unity of the international communist and working-class movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and voices full solidarity with the parties and organizations which it regards (just as they regard us) as fraternal parties. We are deeply convinced that, contrary to the expectations of those who have put their stake on anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, the growing diversity and spectrum of forms of the revolutionary process, far from becoming an obstacle in the way of cooperation and unity of the revolutionary forces, in effect contributes to their consolidation.

The results of the work in the sections were sum-

med up at the final plenary sitting. The Chairmen of the sections — Professor Otto Reinhold, CC member, SUPG; Professor Helmut Koziolk, CC alternate member, SUPG; and Professor Johanna Töpfer, CC member, SUPG — said that the free and open discussion had been highly fruitful. They showed how much the conference did to deepen the scientific understanding of the nature and interaction of the three main streams of the world revolutionary process.

The conference was closed by Hermann Axen, CC Political Bureau member and Secretary, SUPG.

The first thing that needs to be emphasized, Hermann Axen said, is that our meeting, which was attended by 116 parties and organizations from the world anti-imperialist movement, was the biggest in its history, both in terms of the number of parties, organizations, countries and peoples represented, and in the breadth of political, social and ideological approach. This fact alone predetermines the place which our conference will hold and the influence it will have. The way in which it was convened and held has demonstrated a most important distinctive feature of the world anti-imperialist forces, namely, their growing urge for mutual understanding, solidarity and joint action for their common goals and against the common enemy. The imperialists and their agents keep saying that there is no unity, that there is discord within the liberation forces of our day. That is a lot of wishful thinking, but such assertions also frequently reveal thoroughly organized splitting actions, which we must not underestimate.

The very opposite is proved by numerous facts: successes in the fight for peace, national liberation and social emancipation, and also this international scientific conference. The representatives of the forces of progress from all over the world, who have met here in unprecedented numbers and diversity, have together reaffirmed the objective necessity for mutual understanding and joint action.

We carried on a meaningful comradesly, democratic discussion of equal comrades-in-arms in an atmosphere of mutual respect and understanding. For all the diversity of the conditions of this struggle and the differences in approach to individual questions, which is quite natural, at our conference, as in our movement, a growing identity of political and ideological positions and will for joint action have prevailed.

The timing of this major international meeting also testifies to its importance. All the delegations emphasized that the present period is marked by fresh successes in the peoples' struggle for peace and freedom, and — in dialectical interconnection with this — by fierce counter-attacks on the part of imperialism, and its switch to a policy of confrontation. The forces of exploitation, oppression and war seek to use plots and subversion in order to halt and eliminate the historic transformations, to exert pressures and mount boycotts against the socialist and liberated national states, organizing campaigns of persecution and slander against all the ideas and realities of mankind's progress. Not least important-

ly, these forces have also tried to undermine the natural interaction of the three main revolutionary streams of our day. But our conference provides convincing evidence that the anti-imperialist movement has not only become broader, but has also acquired greater influence and accumulated political experience. Practice itself, the experience of all the parties and movements give a keener insight into the worldwide interaction of this struggle, which we have to carry on in different conditions, different ways and by different methods.

The conference shows that our forces and our potentialities for jointly tackling major tasks have increased. We say this without any sense of triumph. We emphasize this, conscious of the need of making better use of our joint strength, in order to make a resolute stand for peace in the international political situation that has been extremely aggravated through the fault of imperialism, and promote the cause of mankind's liberation.

Finally, I believe that, on behalf of all the participants, I can say this: the conference has been a great school for us. Its convocation is in line with the deeply-seated democratic traditions of the revolutionary movement. It has yielded exceptionally valuable and diverse material, brought out new and important facts, carried out analyses and reached conclusions which together make up the great treasury of our political and theoretical experience. Each delegation has made its own contribution to it.

For us, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, this exchange of experience and opinion has meant a great deal. We shall try to acquaint our party and our people with it. I believe that the other participants will do likewise, and will provide information in their own parties, organizations and countries on the content and course of the conference. We are all agreed that it was far from our intention to waste time here on a non-committal exchange of views, and that we always use political and theoretical conclusions in a revolutionary spirit as a guide to action in the struggle for our great common ideals.

At the conference, many warm sentiments were expressed with respect to the SUPG, the working class and the whole people of the German Democratic Republic, words of gratitude for their solidarity. This is a great honor and great joy for us. Allow me to recall how this was expressed by comrade Erich Honecker: the GDR practises solidarity because it itself has received and continues to receive support in a spirit of solidarity.

In his opening speech, comrade Honecker made the point that the conference was being held on the eve of the 63rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The turn in mankind's history, which was inaugurated by the October Revolution, also led to the turn in the history of the German people and of Europe 31 years ago with the formation of the socialist German Democratic Republic. We received assistance in a spirit of solidarity from the Communist Party and the people of the Soviet Union, they liberated our people from fascism, they defended us and supported us fraternal-

ly. We have used this historic opportunity and, armed with Lenin's ideas, carried the socialist revolution in our country to victory, the country which gave the world Marx and Engels.

The fraternal socialist countries have displayed and continue to display solidarity with us, and today we would also like to thank them, like all our dear friends and comrades-in-arms from the capitalist countries, from the countries liberated from colonialism, for the solidarity which helped us to break the political, diplomatic and economic blockade of the GDR, mounted by world imperialism for decades. We proceed from the fact that by practising solidarity, the SUPG and the GDR not only do their international duty to their own brothers and sisters by class and to all the peoples

fighting for freedom and progress. The ideas and acts of international solidarity are of invaluable importance to us in shaping the new, socialist man, whose consciousness is permeated with the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. We assure you that our party, our people and our state will continue to carry aloft the banner of international solidarity in the future as well.

At the end of the conference, Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee and Chairman of the GDR Council of State, held a reception for the participants in the conference and delivered a speech. In reply a speech was made by Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Uruguay.



Communists in the government

Umberto Barulli
General Secretary,
San Marino Communist Party

Some of the two and a half million tourists who annually come to our country may think that time stands still in San Marino, an ancient republic, whose beginnings go back to the 13th century and whose constitution was written in 1599.¹ As centuries ago, on the first day of April and of October, Liberty Square in the capital is the scene of an inauguration ceremony in which the two Regents are installed in office, and on that occasion they are clad in picturesque costume with white laced jabots and wearing gilded swords on their belts. From time immemorial, the tolling of a bell on a small belltower on top of the parliament building warned the people of an approaching enemy. For centuries now, the Arengo, a unique assembly of the heads of families, has met twice a year to discuss public affairs.

But the jabots, the swords and the tocsin are merely a tribute to tradition. Our mountainous country, completely surrounded by Italian territory, has its deeds and thoughts in the last quarter of the 20th century, with its difficulties, hopes and prospects. However small San Marino may be,² its public life shows very well the impact of the economic, social and political processes, which determine the face of present-day capitalism. Nor has it escaped the class contest, which has gripped the whole world.

This year is an important one for the communists of San Marino. Sixty years ago, in February 1921, a group of socialists set up the San Marino section of the Italian Communist Party. Two decades later, in June 1941, this section was converted into an inde-

pendent party acting on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and true to the ideas of the outstanding leaders of the world communist and working-class movement. That was the origin of the San Marino Communist Party, which was founded by its present Chairman Ermenegildo Gasperoni, a seasoned revolutionary who went through the harsh school of struggle against fascism in the ranks of the international brigades in Spain.

We take pride in the fact that our party marks the 60th anniversary of the first communist cell in San Marino and its 40th anniversary, at the head of the government coalition of left-wing forces, that for more than two years now a communist has been elected one of the Regents, while four other comrades head the Departments of the Interior and Justice, Social Security and Public Health, Industry and Trade, Education and Culture.

Our way to the Government House has been a difficult one. We have had to overcome the resistance not only of the right-wing parties in San Marino itself, but also pressure from external reactionary forces. Let us recall that the first bloc of anti-fascist parties, with the participation of communists, socialists and other democratic forces, took power in March 1945. On two successive occasions — in 1951 and especially in 1955 — the communists and the socialists consolidated their positions in the elections. A number of democratic transformations were put through under their leadership.

The local bourgeoisie and its sponsors in Italy did not like that at all. In 1957, capitalizing on the

defection of five deputies, who had initially supported the anti-fascist bloc, the Christian-Democrat leaders, ignoring the will of the people, overthrew the legitimate government, while their fellow Christian-Democrats in Rome mounted an economic blockade of the Republic. The Italian carabinieri cut short its communications with the rest of the world. Many progressive members of parliament were put on trial on trumped-up charges and sentenced to prison terms, from which they were rescued by a powerful tide of popular protest. Making use of the electoral law, which had been changed for the benefit of the right-wing parties, power was seized by a coalition headed by the Christian-Democrats, who relied on support from the social democrats.

But the gradual change in the balance of forces in the international arena in favor of socialism, democracy and peace, the sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism and the worsening of the economic situation in the Republic itself and in Italy, all intensified the class struggles in San Marino. More unity-oriented action was taken by the working people, who were organized by the trade unions and the left-wing parties, the Communist Party in the first place. There was a split in the ranks of the social-democrats, and this led to the emergence of the San Marino Socialist United Party. The ties between the communists and the San Marino Socialist Party were simultaneously strengthened. A new political situation began to take shape in the Republic.

The ninth congress of the San Marino CP in December 1976 drew up a program for improving and renewing all the key spheres of life in the country and also of its foreign policy. The congress stressed that the working people's interests insistently require that a government of "broad accord" with the communists' participation should be installed as soon as possible.

The goal set by the ninth congress was, in the main, achieved during the unscheduled parliamentary elections on May 28, 1978. The left parties won 31 seats (the communists, with 17 per cent more votes than in 1974, won 16 seats, the San Marino Socialist Party, 8, and the San Marino Socialist United Party, 7).

A coalition of left parties — a government of democratic cooperation in which the communists have the decisive role to play — was installed in power. On October 1, 1978, our party's Chairman, Ermenegildo Gasperoni, became one of the two Regents. In his inaugural speech, he declared: We have the duty to work for social progress, a strengthening of democracy and economic development. In the present international situation, the government will pursue a policy of active neutrality, rendering assistance and support to all the peoples fighting to preserve peace, and to extend and deepen détente.

We have received a hard legacy. Virtually, the whole of the San Marino economy was oriented toward foreign, chiefly Italian capital. Foreign companies were attracted to the Republic by the

low level of wages, and also by tax privileges. The sphere of the services and trade was predominant in the economic structure. Chaos reigned in the government institutions, and corruption became commonplace. The problem of emigration became especially painful: 40 per cent of our people left the country in search of jobs.

All of that was a direct consequence of the two decades in which the San Marino Christian-Democrats oriented themselves toward the interests of the ruling classes in our country and Italy. The new government has declared that the primary task is to formulate economic policy aimed above all to ensure employment in the sphere of production. This can be done by modernizing the economy and building new modern enterprises.

In a preliminary summing up, we are entitled to say that, while the tasks we have set are yet to be fulfilled, the government has succeeded in coping with the main one: the threat of economic and social paralysis has been warded off, and the basis has been laid for economic programming with an eye to improving the state of the labor market. Among other things, a number of important measures have been worked out and realized for the planned development of electric-power supply, the handicrafts and the cooperative movement. The next task is to renew and enlarge the national production facilities. We intend to start a review of the operation of enterprises in order to eliminate structural unemployment, which has affected above all engineers and technicians, higher-school graduates and women.

A key condition for balanced economic development in the Republic is introduction of a rational system of land-use in order to put an end — at long last — to speculation in real estate and to carry out an urban development program which meets the needs of society and which has now been tabled in Parliament.

The tax reform which we intend to put through this year should become an effective instrument of economic management. Its purpose is to turn taxes into an instrument for a fairer distribution of the national product in favor of the needy strata of the population. A state-budget reform has been under way for over a year now, and its task is to ensure the country's economic and social development.

We pin great hopes on the expansion of voluntary cooperation. We already have cooperatives in industry and agriculture, in commerce and the services, and in culture. We regard an independent and integrated cooperative movement as one of the original ways for the development of the San Marino society.

On the initiative and with the active participation of our party, the country's first long-term economic development plan has been drawn up as the crucial element of the new economic policy. Its draft was put up for broad discussion, in which the trade unions, representatives of other economic and social organizations and the opposition took part. It is hard to exaggerate the socio-political and ideological influence on the working people of the work

that is going into the economic program. It has become an effective form for involving them in the solution of state problems. Workers, employees, peasants, and representatives of the urban middle strata were given further proof that the Communist Party has, in fact, concern for the people's needs.

Our long experience shows, however, that it is impossible to solve the problems before us unless the Republic is assured of full state sovereignty. The point is that our freedom of action in the economic sphere is largely limited by the convention which San Marino signed with Italy in 1939. It is true that by way of "compensation" Rome gives San Marino 4.5 billion lire a year. But this subsidy is being depreciated because of the decline in the value of the Italian lire.

The San Marino economy is being eroded by the crisis phenomena in Italy's economy. Hence the vital task of safeguarding the Republic to the greatest possible extent from this harmful influence. And this calls for a review of the San Marino — Italian convention, and the arrangement of relations with Italy on a fundamentally new basis, without ignoring, of course, the two peoples' common language and culture.

The democratic cooperation government modernized the system of justice. It intends to have a review of the criminal code. In 1979, on the government's initiative, the Great and General Council enacted a law on the reform of the castelli, the local organs of self-administration.³ Now elections there are by direct and universal suffrage, a system which enables the working people to have a direct say in state and local decision-making. Much importance is attached to the establishment of a council of San Marino citizens resident abroad, and also of societies for protecting the interests of emigrants from our country.

Work is proceeding apace on the reform of state institutions, including the drafting of new standing orders for the Great and General Council and the State Congress. In order to entrench civil liberties and ensure fuller participation for the working people in running the state, the government intends to extend direct democracy. One of the ways of doing this is to have nationwide referendums on the key legislative proposals.

A number of major measures are to be taken in education and culture.

Over the past two and a half years, our country's foreign-policy line has undergone substantial changes and has become more realistic. We have consistently maintained our policy of active neutrality and seek to give it new content and to develop it along every line. Our ties with the socialist community, with the non-aligned countries and other countries of the world are being strengthened.

In 1979, an agreement on cultural cooperation was signed with the Soviet Union. San Marino's delegates took part in some measures of the non-aligned movement. The possibility of our entry into the United Nations is being studied.

The government seeks to make a contribution to the policy of détente, to promote the strengthening

of international security and disarmament, and to support initiatives designed to establish a new economic order. It has consistently stood by the principles of independence, non-interference in the affairs of other countries, and observance of the peoples' right to self-determination.

The success of the coalition parties at San Marino's first election to the giunta castelli last May is the most eloquent evidence of the people's support for the policy of the government, which also means for the line of the San Marino Communist Party. The left forces received 5.68 per cent more votes than they did in the parliamentary elections in 1978, and won a majority in eight of the nine castelli. Forty of the 153 seats went to the communists. Their successes were greatest in the districts with a predominantly working-class population.

The 10th congress of the San Marino CP held last December, the first since the establishment of the left coalition government, helped to evaluate the results of our struggle to ensure the leading role of the working class, and to map out the ways for consolidating its alliances with the other democratic forces aimed to effect progressive transformations in our society, with the ultimate aim of building socialism in the light of the specific features determined by San Marino's history, its social and economic order and its culture. The congress was preceded by a broad democratic discussion. Its decisions confirm the correctness of the CP's general line, in accordance with which transition to a socialist society must be effected in democratic conditions, without orientation toward any a priori model. We intend to base our socialist system on a renewed democratic regime ensuring the working people's participation in political life and the administration of society.

The congress clearly formulated the two cardinal tasks facing the party. The first is "renewal and transformation of society on the way to socialism in the spirit of democracy and in the presence of more than one party," and the second is "consolidation of the unity of the left for a comparison of positions and cooperation with all the democratic and popular forces."

The discussion at the congress was most animated in the consideration of problems relating to a renewal of the San Marino CP and the need to ensure collegial leadership in the party through a frank exchange of ideas, and broader opportunities for standing up for one's views, while practising the principles of democratic centralism.

The delegates said that the party could be equal to its tasks only by maintaining its ideological features and making sure not to identify its programmatic task with the government's practical activity. While standing up for the policy of the left-forces government, the communists should simultaneously pursue the line they have set themselves in putting through important transformations for the construction of socialism.

The CP's entry into the government coalition, in which it has a most important role to play, has

immensely complexified its tasks and has brought about a qualitative change in them. These tasks can be fulfilled by developing inner-party democracy and unfolding resolute and consistent criticism. We must also reckon with our commitments to the country and to our partners in the coalition.

Of key importance is the effort to ensure a steady growth of the numerical strength of the party and extension of its social basis. At the 10th congress, we had some successes to report in this area. Over the past four years, the CP's membership has increased by 15 per cent. Now, alongside the workers, who continue to make up the overwhelming majority of party members, its backbone, we find intellectuals and members of the middle classes in our ranks. The percentage of young people and women has increased.

But we should not ignore the weaknesses in our work. These are rooted in the fact that not all the communists have yet fully realized the importance and specifics of the new stage in the struggle which opened in May 1978. This is expressed in the sectarian stand taken by those comrades who doubt the need to defend the left coalition and to consolidate the alliance of the popular and democratic forces. On the other hand, there are some among us who tend to underrate the difficulties in realizing the line of uniting the diverse movements.

The 10th congress issued a slogan for the consolidation of the unity of the left parties and cooperation of all the democratic forces, so making especially meaningful the further extension and deepening of joint action with our allies in the government coalition, the San Marino Socialist Party and the Socialist United Party, while displaying due respect for the independence of all its participants. In the recent period, we have done much to promote the development of trends within the ranks of the social-democrats that would induce them to abandon their anti-communist attitude and to establish new and constructive relations with the communists. Let us hope that the 10th congress decisions will mark another important step in this direction. But one also has to note with regret that the diehard stand of the leaders of the Christian-Democratic Party has blocked even limited joint action with it.

The Communist Party believes that work in the trade union movement is of special importance, but it does not regard it as a subordinate mechanism. The establishment of a unified trade union center has helped to extend the activity of the trade unions and to enhance their role in the country's life. They have increasingly gone beyond the framework of their collective agreements, and have taken a more active part in discussing national economic and social problems.

Considering that the services and trade account for a sizable share of the San Marino economy, the San Marino CP attaches much importance to the development of contacts with handicraftsmen, businessmen and small entrepreneurs. Voicing their aspirations, we have succeeded — while acting within the framework of economic program-

ming — to win a part of these social strata over to the proletariat's side and to convince them that our policy of the transformation of society is correct. The 10th congress set the task of invigorating the policy of alliance between the working class and the middle classes.

If we are further to expand and strengthen our ties with broad masses of people, we must always see to it that in formulating government programs there is no running too far ahead, no setting of tasks the need for whose fulfillment has not yet matured in the minds of the masses or does not correspond to the cultural level and historical traditions of our people. That is why we advise our colleagues in the coalition not to make haste with problems like the permission for divorces or the legalization of abortions.

The communists of San Marino believe in the vivifying power of proletarian international solidarity. Starting from the principle that each party is independent, and emphasizing its responsibility above all to the working class and all the other working people of its own country, we have been strengthening our ties with the fraternal communist and workers' parties.

The San Marino Communist Party vigorously advocates realization and further development of the principles written into the Final Document of the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe held in Berlin in June 1976. Inspired by these principles, we shall continue to do everything to make our ideals of justice and progress increasingly a force promoting broad unity of the working masses and their cohesion for democracy, peace and socialism.

1. San Marino is a parliamentary republic. Its highest legislative body is a unicameral Great and General Council, consisting of 60 deputies elected for a term of five years. Executive power is wielded by a State Congress, consisting of three state secretaries and seven ministers acting under the chairmanship of two Regents who are elected by parliament for a term of six months, upon the expiry of which they may not hold that post earlier than within three years. The judicial authority is exercised by the Council of Twelve, who are elected from among the members of parliament for its whole legislative term — Ed.

2. Territory — 61 sq. km; population — 21,000. — Ed.

3. Castello is the unit of San Marino's administrative and territorial division. — Ed.

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MODERNIZATION OF PRODUCTION UNDER SOCIALISM

WMR has carried material analyzing the socio-economic effects of capitalist rationalization.¹ There has been a response from readers asking for information on how automation, microelectronics, and other modern scientific breakthroughs affect the condition of the working people in socialist countries. In order to study this problem Ib Nørlund, CC Executive and Secretariat member, Communist Party of Denmark; Robert Francis, representative of the Communist Party of Belgium on the journal; and *WMR* staff member Mikhail Kobrin visited Hungary on the invitation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. They toured industrial enterprises, an agricultural producers' cooperative, and some research institutions. Their observations are given, stated in this socio-economic report.

Scientific and social fantasy is not in want of descriptions of how robots, products of human genius, become lords and suzerains. Capitalist reality bears out the forecasts of literary pessimists, albeit not in such apocalyptic forms. Harnessed to the system of exploitation, scientific and technological thinking brings working people unemployment and stress, and generates social uncertainty and alienation. In the capitalist world the question: "Science — a boon or a curse?" is by no means far-fetched. In answering this question the Marxists see its root in the socio-economic system concerned.

Statistics speak out

This was not our first visit to Hungary. We had earlier had opportunities to see the transformation of this nation, which only four decades ago was known in the world as a "land of three million beggars." We knew that economic management had been restructured and that the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution had become a powerful lever for the modernization of the Hungarian economy. Nevertheless, in preparing for our visit we pored over books of statistics in order to get new bearings for a look at socio-economic reality in Hungary.

People who know little about Hungary will be interested to know that within a short span of time that nation was transformed into an industrial state holding a prominent place in the world economy in a number of important areas of production. For instance, in 1979 its percentage index of per capita output compared with the EEC nations was 169 for coal, 133 for natural gas, 155 for mineral fertilizers, 88 for cement, and 71 for steel. As for consumer goods, the figures for cotton fabrics, leather foot-

wear, and sugar were 179, 126, and 110 per cent respectively. In the same year the manufacture of TV sets reached the mark of 103 per cent.

Over the past 30 years the national income has risen by 380 per cent, industrial output increased by 760 per cent, and agricultural output doubled. Exports have grown 19-fold and imports 22-fold. As a result incomes and consumption have more than tripled. From 1960 to 1979 per capita consumption of meat and fish rose from 49 to 73 kilograms; that of milk, from 114 to 157 kilograms; the number of privately owned cars increased 27.7-fold; and TV sets 24.2-fold; the circulation of books increased from 34,700,000 to 92,300,000 copies.

This is indeed an impressive performance. But behind the indices and percentages we wanted to see what in these achievements should be attributed to extensive development achieved by enlisting new labor and by a quantitative growth of basic assets, and what was the outcome of an intensive utilization of scientific and technological breakthroughs.

We took the end of the 1960s as our point of departure: the decision on an economic reform with the modernization of production as one of its cornerstones was adopted in 1968. From this angle we drew some interesting conclusions from statistics. It turns out that although the growth of the number of people employed in industry had virtually stopped sometime in 1967-1968 at the level of 1,700,000, output between 1968 and 1979 had risen by 82.1 per cent. In agriculture, in spite of the fact that the number of people engaged in it had even decreased by 20 per cent,² output increased by 37.9 per cent. Hungary is now in a leading place in the world for its yield of wheat and corn and for its per capita meat output.

In order to get at least an approximate evaluation of the impact of scientific and technological progress on the nation's economic potential, we asked Janos Hoos, First Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Department, to name a few objective indicators. He suggested that, with some reservations, one of these could be the labor productivity index. His estimate was that if the level achieved in the USA were to be used as equal to 100, in Hungary that index would show a rise from 23 to 53 per cent in the period from 1950 to 1977. The corresponding indicators are 41 and 81 per cent for the FRG, 55 and 78 per cent for Belgium, and 32 and 58 per cent for Austria.

"From the standpoint of labor productivity," Hoos said, "Hungary is thus rapidly drawing close to the leading industrial capitalist nations."

Aims, ways, problems

The Hungarian comrades see that the next step in

socio-economic development cannot be taken without massive modernization of production through broad use of automation, electronics and computers. They are aware of the social difficulties that may be generated by an intensive restructuring of the economy and, for that reason, they are acting on the maxim that robots should serve people and not the other way round.

This was put succinctly by Laszlo Ballai, head of the Department For Economic Policy of the HSWP Central Committee. "We," he said, "orient scientific and technological progress and the restructuring of production towards one goal, namely, to promote our society's development and ensure the fullest possible satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements."

The striving to use sophisticated technology that can economize on live labor is, of course, by no means a prerogative of the socialist economy.

"Modernization of technological processes with the use of scientific and technological achievements is an inalienable feature of all industrial nations, both socialist and capitalist," said Academician Ivan Berend, a prominent Hungarian scientist who heads a department at the Marx Institute of Economics in Budapest. "But there are fundamental distinctions in the development of this tendency in the different socio-economic systems. The socialist economy has no room for anarchy, while the state's purposeful approach to scientific and technological progress allows bridling socio-economic effects of this progress that could have a negative effect on people's conditions."

We were particularly interested in how the marked structural changes in the Hungarian economy were affecting general and sectoral employment. The grave consequences of modernization at capitalist enterprises are well known: unemployment, the most painful of them, awaits those who are inevitably defeated in the contest with an automat or computer. Also, there is the example of the peasants ruined by monopoly concentration in capitalist countries.

It is, therefore, easy to understand how impressed we were by the radical changes in Hungary's population structure: within less than 15 years (from 1957 to 1970) the number of people employed in agriculture dropped from 2,030,000 to 1,190,000 and then by another 206,000 by 1980, i.e., by a total of 1,040,000 (or 51 per cent). A noteworthy point is that in a country where total employment is at roughly the level of 5,000,000, this huge flow from the countryside to the town did not bring unemployment. The workforce released in agriculture was immediately absorbed mainly by industry developing by plan and the services.

More complex tasks, Janos Hoos said, confronted the nation's leadership in the early 1970s, when Hungary embarked upon an economic reform. Precisely that stage witnessed what in Hungary is termed "overemployment," in other words, the employment of more workers than necessary at some factories and even in entire sectors of the economy.

Upon hearing the term "overemployment" we found ourselves asking questions. Was this phenomenon, which no private employer in, say, Belgium or Denmark, would tolerate, evidence that scientific and technological progress could not be regulated even in the planned socialist economy? Or was "overemployment" a forced step taken to ease undesirable effects of intensive economic development?

Our Hungarian comrades did not evade answering. They spoke of the heated debates in scientific, trade union and party circles over this acute problem. At the discussion of the main targets of the economic reform, Academician Berend said, some scientists suggested maintaining a certain level of unemployment in the belief that this would make the economy efficient and help to tighten labor discipline. However, this stand was opposed by the majority of the theoreticians and executives. They held that there was no room for unemployment in a socialist society. This was unconditionally supported by the party and the trade unions.

It was thus reasserted that the duty of a socialist society was to dependably guarantee one of the basic constitutional rights of all citizens, namely, the right to work. This is being done even at certain material costs, including "overemployment," which unquestionably reduces the efficiency of social labor. However, this forced measure cannot be long-lived. Planned economic development, will create — as it is already doing — a demand for labor (chiefly in the infrastructure), and this is becoming the condition for the gradual and painless resolution of "overemployment."

The modernization of production, we were told, is not a single phase but a continuous process in the course of which difficulties sometimes arise. For instance, structural changes at factories entail the abolition of inefficient workplaces. This may cause some difficulties for individual workers, engineers, and white-collar employees. In some instances it is necessary to take into account sentimental considerations such as the attachment of a worker to his workbench or long-time fellow workers.

In this context legislation is passed to protect the interests of the people as modernization proceeds. Significant amendments in the Labor Law Code came into force on January 1, 1980. These state that wherever possible labor regrouping should be voluntary. When a factory is closed the management is obliged to provide new jobs for all dismissed personnel. Sick persons, expectant mothers, nursing mothers, and men serving in the armed forces during the modernization period and also their wives are not subject to dismissal.

Social legislation is another effective counterbalance to the difficulties accompanying the reorganization of production. Examples of this are the lowering of the pension age, which reduces the numerical strength of the active workforce, or the law under which working mothers on maternity leave are paid part of their wage in the course of three years after the birth of a child, and, in the event a second child is born — in the course of five or six

years. At present this benefit is enjoyed by one-third of the total number of working women.

Measures of this kind are, above all, an expression of the socialist state's concern for its citizens. More, they are an effective means of regulating employment in the period of transition to intensive development with its violations of the stability and balance in the distribution of labor reserves.

This is why, we were told by Marton Buza, director of the Research Institute of the Trade Unions, the Hungarian worker, technician, or engineer is not afraid of automation. Experience has convinced people that far from threatening their jobs, modernization of production makes their work easier and, in the long run, improves their living standard.

We saw abundant evidence of how important the role of the trade unions is in promoting scientific and technological progress. They see their task in facilitating the build up of the nation's economic potential and, at the same time, in consistently safeguarding the people's interests in the new conditions.

As Buza pointed out, the sociological studies conducted by his institute indicate that the reorganization of production on the basis of automation and electronics imperatively requires a modification of accents in the work of the trade unions. By changing the content of labor, advanced machinery brings to the fore the task of creating conditions for overcoming the negative effects of a sharp increase of mental stress and ensuring rest for the human nervous system.

We saw how this works out in practice at the Vörös Oktober garments factory in Budapest. Trade unionists told us of the circumspection with which the machinery purchased in capitalist countries is used at the factory. Upon receipt of machinery the accompanying instructions defining the working rhythm are reconsidered because they usually lay down an excessively intensive, exhausting rhythm of work.

Further, the trade unions make sure that when plans are drawn up, provision is made for the regrouping of workers, for their vocational retraining and for facilities enabling them to improve their skills. The trade unions take part in decision-making affecting the methods of rationalization, analyze the reaction of workers to new equipment, and study how this equipment influences the health of workers and the environment. In other words, they monitor the social effects of modernization.

Over the past few years the trade unions have received considerably more leverage: they have the right to monitor the work of executives. Trade-union committees at factories scrutinize the economic, technical and social policy of the management. When necessary, they are empowered to raise the question of the competence of managing directors, chief engineers and chief bookkeepers. This is especially important under conditions of modernization because in many cases executives who had worked efficiently under traditional production methods are proving

to be unable to cope with new problems, particularly problems of a social nature.

In the realm of automation

A two hours' drive by car from Budapest brings you to the town of Győr. Its and the nation's pride is the Rába Heavy Engineering Complex, one of the symbols of industrial socialist Hungary. Today it is a complex of eight factories employing a workforce of 21,000. Its basic assets are estimated at 12 billion forints.³ It allocates an annual sum of 500 million forints for research alone. The value of the annual output has now reached 18.5 billion forints, up 28 times from 1950.

Ede Horvath, the complex's managing director, invited us to tour one of the departments, a huge building 250 by 300 meters. The machine units stood in regular rows distanced far from each other. These are high-technology robots, each of which has a panel with the price: 21,976,000 forints, 42,999,000 forints, and so on.

It is fascinating to watch this robot delicately picking up the blank with its pincers and taking it to the press, which knocks it into shape. Then the pincers again pick up the shaped blank and move it to another part of the machine, where cutters and drills wait for it. After this they carry the article to other tools, turning it from side to side. All these operations are programmed.

Who operates the machines? By their social status the operatives are, of course, workers. But they are workers of a new type. Some have a higher engineering education, others have taken special courses at which they learned to operate sophisticated machines and set their programs.

For a metalworking department the cleanliness is impressive. A comfortable temperature is maintained. At the far ends of the department there are well-appointed, sound-proof cafeterias. Every worker has at his disposal a small refrigerator and a locker.

Automation — technical thinking projected into the future plus concern for people — has enabled the complex to win a strong position in the world market: 80 per cent of its output is exported. We saw material evidence of this: huge stocks ready for shipment to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and also to General Motors, Ford and other U.S. corporations.

In the complex's plans for further intensive modernization of technology, provision is made for the possibility of social difficulties. Special attention must be given to people released by automation. The complex has some experience in this field: quite recently it successfully resolved the problem of providing jobs for about 800 machine operators and white-collar workers.

The preparations for this regrouping of the workforce, said Peter Bognar, head of the complex's trade union organization, involved some 900 union activists. Their task was to create a healthy moral climate and explain the need and benefits of the planned measures. Every person whose job was

taken over by machines was offered a choice of at least three new jobs.

Here is what the workers themselves say.

Bela Horvath: It must be remembered of course, that the fathers and grandfathers of many of us worked at Raba. For them this switch to a new job is the most difficult. It is very good that the public organizations explained the situation to each person individually. This dialogue involved everybody without exception. Most of my workmates understood the need for the regrouping and agreed that it was necessary.

Bela Gabos: Prior to the regrouping I worked at the carriage-making plant. Now, after 18-months' training, I operate an automatic machine. It pleases me that four-fifths of my present work requires an intellectual effort. Besides, I'm earning more.

Andor Pilt: To be frank, I was afraid of the new machinery. But I soon found that operating high-technology machines is less exhausting and the psychological stress is not a whit more than it was before.

Istvan Kranitz: As I see it, automation fosters a sense of team spirit. The larger role that each person plays in the production process gives him a greater sense of personal responsibility for general efficiency.

Indeed, in Hungary, as in Belgium or Denmark, rationalization generates a wide spectrum of emotions, not necessarily rosy. But these are emotions of people for whom work is not merely the source of their daily bread but a major part of their everyday life. They are emotions not of servants but of masters of automatic machines.

But the most important thing was that in no case did we hear a hint of fear of the future. The social optimism that we felt so strongly in what was said to us reminded us that we were talking to working people of socialist Hungary. In the capitalist world, it will be borne in mind, one of the principal consequences of rationalization is the threat to the workers' future.

Science in agriculture

Our route took us to the Vörös Csillag producers' cooperative in eastern Hungary. We missed the road sign designating the village of Nadudvar, and were surprised when we learned that we had arrived. Nadudvar bears little semblance to a conventional village. It has wide asphalted streets. The houses are of the two-story city type. The central square is decorated with a fountain and a sculpture. The administration building has a modern urban interior ornamented with many ceramic articles and paintings. Had we not known that we were in the office of the cooperative chairman Istvan Szabo, the furnishings would have made us believe that he was a scholar, the head of an industrial enterprise, or a person linked to art.

Istvan Szabo is a well-known figure in Hungary. As well as heading a modern agrotechnical enterprise (in Hungary when people speak of cooperatives of this kind they now rarely refer to them as farms), he is the chairman of the All-Hungary

Council of Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives and a member of the party Central Committee. He has an intimate knowledge of the problems of Hungarian agriculture, and appreciates that he and his colleagues serve the state in the true sense of the word. Moreover, he believes strongly in democracy, has a sense of belonging to his collective, and has faith in its strength.

In speaking of the situation in Hungary's agriculture, Istvan Szabo drew our attention to the fact that the cooperatives now average 4,000 hectares of land. This is particularly conducive to rational mechanization and the use of the most up-to-date agrotechnical methods. Drawing upon scientific achievements Hungarian farmers have increased the per hectare output of wheat from 24 centners in 1966-1970 to 43 centners in 1978 and of corn from 32 to 51 centners. During this period the potato yield has grown by 50 per cent. There has been a noteworthy increase in the output of livestock products.

These figures are average nationwide. In the case of the Vörös Czillag cooperative, in 1980 its average per hectare harvest was 64 centners of wheat, 89 centners of corn, 500 centners of sugar-beet, and almost 400 centners of potatoes. These, Szabo noted, are higher yields than in the USA. He attributes this success to the utilization of scientific achievements, advanced agrotechniques, and broad mechanization.

"Naturally," Szabo said, "one can hardly expect that agriculture will ever be entirely restructured on the industrial pattern. You cannot, for instance, mechanize all the processes of growing fruit or vegetables. But the work of the farmer can and must be placed on a scientific basis."

The cooperative is investing large sums of money in research conducted on assignment from it by various institutes. This is not money thrown to the winds. Within the next 10 years the corn yield is to reach 100 centners per hectare.

"Our aim," Szabo said, "is that none of the stages of growing corn, from planting to harvesting, should require human labor. Machines must do all the work."

Apart from everything else, the scientific and technological revolution in the countryside is a powerful social factor. It has become a major lever for the fulfillment of cardinal tasks such as restructuring society along socialist lines and erasing the distinctions between town and countryside. Evidence of this is visible today, for instance, in Nadudvar's social structure. Of the cooperative's 2,300 members not more than 300 are engaged in "purely peasant" work. Six hundred hold engineering diplomas. As many others have received a university education, and 1,300 are skilled workers.

People enlisted by the scientific and technological revolution

Under socialism consciously directed scientific and technological progress helps to educate the new person. Hungarian sociologists and philosophers are closely studying the changes in Hungarian soci-

ety's structure. The main tendency, said Istvan Huszar, General Director of the Institute of Social Sciences (HSWP Central Committee), is the erosion of boundaries between the different classes and social groups, the gradual drawing together of these classes and groups. Nevertheless, the differences in the condition and interests of individual groups remain in this process, leading to the intra-class stratification of society.⁴ This process has been increasingly influenced by the qualitatively new modernization of production, causing the emergence of new groups of working people, such as programmers or operators of automatic machines, and gradually abolishing some traditional professions, as linotypists or draughtsmen, changing wage levels, and so forth.

"We," Huszar said, "cannot get away from the fact that intensive modernization can generate conflict situations. The task of Marxist scholars is systematically and scrupulously to study how far social institutions, the level of democracy, and the methods of management conform to the new aims and how far they are effective. It is important to ascertain and control the main tendencies of society's development in order to ensure its optimal functioning."

The Research Institute of the Trade Unions finds that a present-day hallmark is the social and political maturing of the people in the process of learning to operate machinery and working by new methods.

"Automation," said Marton Buza, "extends the world outlook of the worker and fuels a striving to intervene actively in management, to have a hand in monitoring the work of his enterprise. Our sociological surveys have shown that workers at a high-technology factory display an ever-growing interest in how social problems are resolved.

"Workers' skills have risen unprecedentedly. This is natural. Changes in the structure of the national economy must be accompanied by an extension of the vocational training network. Managements and trade unions do much to help workers learn new trades.

"A lot is being done in this direction by the Budapest Center for Improving Workers' Skills. It has links to several scores of factories and its students include fitters, mechanics, electricians, builders and workers of other trades. The training includes round table talks and situation games, which bring workers face to face with problems such as the practical forums of democracy in production, the assertion of the individual, and relations between people at the workplace."

Scientific and technological progress demands a higher level of general education. Factory management and party and trade union organizations have the task, with which they are coping, of helping those who have not acquired an eight-year education to receive such an education.

The Hungarian comrades take pride in the fact that recent years have seen the appearance of production executives who understand the socio-economic problems generated by the moderniza-

tion of production. Among them we were time and again given the name of Ede Horvath, whom we have mentioned, one of the initiators of the movement of advanced machine operatives. Now a member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, he was the first leading executive to enlist a group of mathematicians to plan a new model factory. He is unshakeable in his faith in the huge potential of technology and, above all, in people.

We saw this man at work. We heard him roll off dozens of statistics related to the complex's past, present and future. We listened as he spoke of the plans for its development. An efficient executive, his main concern is to make the optimal use of the potentialities of production. He differs in many respects from factory managers in, say, Denmark or Belgium.

The interests of capitalist managers are in most cases confined to technical problems. Besides, one of the main motivations of their efforts is to make profits for monopoly capital. Concern for the social conditions of the work and life of workers, for improving their technical, cultural and educational level is what makes Ede Horvath an executive of the socialist type, whose highest duty is to serve society.

Having been in Hungary for only a short visit, we could not study all the aspects of a cardinal and complex task: modernization of production. But what we saw was in striking contrast to the adversities that modernization brings the working people of capitalist countries. The possibility of drawing that comparison brought us to several conclusions:

By virtue of objective reasons the active and broad introduction of automation, electronics and telemechanics cannot be a smooth and easy process. In the socialist economy, too, there may be effects giving rise to some socio-economic tensions. But Hungary's experience is eloquent evidence that public property in the instruments and means of production and economic management based on state planning on a nation-wide scale create the conditions for successfully transcending the negative effects of modernization.

In combination with the advantages of socialism, scientific and technological progress reliably ensures the ever fuller satisfaction of society's material and cultural requirements. In other words, socialism is a social system in which science is a boon, in which robots are not masters but servants of people.

1. Articles by Heinz Jung in *WMR*, January 1980, Michael Graber in *WMR*, March 1980, and Ken Gill in *WMR*, June 1980.

2. The reduction of workforce in the countryside was made up for by the growth of employment in transport and the services.

3. 1 forint=roughly U.S. \$0.10.

4. *WMR*, October 1980.

A "consumer" approach to culture or commitment to great ideals?

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IMPASSES AND PROSPECTS OF NATIONAL CULTURE

Growing class contradictions in the capitalist society understandably affect the cultural sphere, particularly art. As a social phenomenon, it is linked by intricate ties with every aspect of public life and necessarily reflects in its own way social antagonisms and trends, the interests, aspirations, ideals and struggles of diverse classes. This makes it an arena of acute ideological struggles between classes for the present and future of mankind.

As capitalism moves to its decline, it becomes ever more hostile to progressive art and artists. By means of "consumer" forms of culture, the ruling classes try to keep the masses, primarily youth, in a state of spiritual lethargy and political passivity and to reduce artists to submission. That is why progressive art, expressing the people's hopes and sorrows, awakening them to progress and inducing them to act, is developing amid sharp contradictions with the culture of the ruling classes and their political regimes. It takes root and shape as the people fight for their ideals, and operates as a powerful spiritual and ideological weapon.

Hence the continuing validity of Lenin's following statement regarding capitalist countries: "The elements of democratic and socialist culture are present, if only in rudimentary form, in every national culture, since in every nation there are toiling and exploited masses, whose conditions of life inevitably give rise to the ideology of democracy and socialism. But every nation also possesses a bourgeois culture . . . in the form, not merely of 'elements,' but of the dominant culture" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 20, p. 24).

The 10th congress of the Communist Party of Greece (May 1978), describing the domestic situation, said in its resolution on "The Cultural Movement" that "in the cultural sphere as well, two policies clash — the policy of imperialism, the ruling class, which promotes its decadent 'culture' and the 'American way of life' among the people, and the policy of progressive, popular forces, which are forming a front against this reactionary, decaying 'culture' as they promote popular culture."¹

Milestones of the cultural struggle

Ever since it came into being (November 1918), our party has championed the development of a popular cultural movement against the ruling classes' reactionary, obscurantist, chauvinist ideology,

their so-called great idea which had reigned supreme for a long time, suppressing all progressive thought in Greece and misleading intellectuals, and had pervaded the arts. In common with progressives active in culture, it has combated the barren cult of ancestors maintained in the country, and has defended the great spiritual legacy of ancient Greece, doing its best to put it within the people's reach. It has fought hard battles for the legalization of Demotic, the people's living language, and for an end to bilingualism through the abolition of Katharevousa, the dead official language, a linguistic replica of reaction and an instrument of perpetuating the lack of culture and the general backwardness prevailing among the masses.

In the sphere of art, our party has always proceeded from Lenin's view of it. "Art belongs to the people," he said. "It should have the deepest roots among the working masses. It should be understandable to and loved by these masses. It should unite the sentiments, thinking and will of these masses and elevate them. It should rouse and develop artists among them."²

The congress resolution I have mentioned stresses that the CPG "has linked itself by strong bonds with writers and artists. It has helped hundreds of advanced communist writers and artists to rise to prominence. It has always and properly combined the struggle of artists with the struggle of the people for education, culture, real democracy, national independence, peace and social progress. The cultural movement which developed in the years of the national Resistance was a mode of this combination of struggles."³

The twenty-seven years spent in continuous clandestinity — from the civil war of 1947 to the fall of the junta in 1974 — created enormous obstacles for our party and caused a serious lag in its cultural struggle. In those years, numerous party members and supporters active in the arts and letters were persecuted, jailed or exiled, and some of them gave their lives for the people's ideals. But the party was not paralyzed even at that time: activities organized by the party, such as recitals by progressive musicians, progressive film shows, the popularization of battle songs composed by members of the Communist Youth of Greece (KNE) or the publication of works of progressive authors, were noteworthy elements of popular resistance and anti-dictatorial action.

After the fall of the junta and the legalization of

the party, the communists' work in the cultural sphere gained a fresh impetus and made substantial progress.

The CPG formulated the following main lines of its cultural policy:

— The communists must be in the vanguard of a nationwide cultural movement of the masses, a real front resisting invasion by the "American way of life" and the anti-popular cultural policy of the ruling classes being implemented by the government. United in support of democratic demands and aimed at creating genuine cultural values, this movement should become an appreciable contribution to the working people's fight against imperialism and monopoly.

— The party should devote greater attention to the ideological aspect of culture and take an ideologically explicit stand on the problems, phenomena and trends existing in this sphere. The task is not to provide artists with party guidelines for their work but to create greater opportunities for the party's ideological struggle in the cultural sphere, strengthen the communists' positions and contribute in this manner to the development of a cultural movement in the country and to progressive artistic effort.

— The party should do more to extend and strengthen its links with progressives active in culture, help use their knowledge, talent and abilities in various ways and publicize their works among the masses.

The policy of the ruling classes

The fundamental characteristic of Greek society in the cultural sphere today is the subservience of culture to the interests of imperialism, of foreign and domestic monopolies, which is coupled with authoritarian government and "austerity" to the detriment of the real cultural requirements of the masses. Foreign monopolies and Greek companies collaborating with them dominate every sphere of art. They control art, using it as a branch of business, a means of making maximum profit, spreading the anti-communist ideology of reaction among the masses and imposing the "American" — and lately also the Common Market — way of life upon them.

Here are a few revealing examples.

The Greek film industry is fully dominated by three U.S. monopolies (Metro-Fox, International Corporation and Paramount) and their subsidiaries, which overwhelm national film companies by showing thousands of films on crime, violence and debauchery.

In the sphere of music, international recording firms — CBS, Phonogram and EMI — have bought up all or some of the shares of all Greek firms with the exception of one firm which the CBS ruthlessly blocks. As music and songs have the strongest emotional impact on people, especially youth, it is these genres that multinationals exploit first of all. These companies openly attack folk music while setting up disco clubs all over the country with their passion for rock music as well as for narcotics.

In fiction publishing, the admission of Greece to

the EEC has won powerful positions not only for old U.S. firms but also for big-shots of book-publishing, such as the West German Econ monopoly with its Greek subsidiary, Notos, or the French Hachette monopoly. As a result, the Greek market is flooded with pornography, imperialist propaganda, the writings of renegades from the revolutionary movement, and other dirty publications.

In other words, Greek culture is threatened with losing its national identity. Moreover, the government's anti-popular policy tends to perpetuate the sad situation in culture created by imperialist interference and monopoly domination.

The cultural development funds available to the Ministry of Culture of Greece, a country that may be described as a vast archaeological treasure house, amounts to a meager 0.7 per cent of budget expenditures. Yet armaments swallow nearly one-third of budget appropriations although this amount, far from assuring the country's defense against imperialist plans of aggression, increases military dependence on the United States and NATO. Besides, the limited funds budgeted for the Ministry of Culture are spent chiefly for the maintenance of reactionary government centers and agencies implementing an appropriate cultural policy. The Greek Cinema Center, for example, mostly finances directors who make films of the lowest standard and refuses aid to the progressive Greek cinema which has been developing since the early 1970s.

The state is just as hard on progressive fiction. The number of public libraries is negligible and most of them scarcely ever renew their stocks. Artistic education is in a sorry state and evidently lags behind even the antiquated education system. One million of the nine million inhabitants of Greece are illiterate. Regulations on the few state-owned art schools are based on legislation enacted under the Metaxas dictatorship and the quisling government of the period of nazi occupation.

The government pursues its anti-popular policy toward artists in conformity with this reactionary legislation. It is indicative that in spite of pressure, it has yet to legalize such professions as writer, musician or film director. The result is that many members of these professions lack fundamental rights, including royalties for the use of their works, pensions and social relief.

The government's reactionary cultural policy also expresses itself in authoritarian decision-making, the blocking of the activities of art associations, municipalities, youth and trade unions, countless bans, financial curbs, censorship, calumnies against progressive artists and even their persecution by the police. A mirror of this policy is the organization and content of the activity of the media, which function as the mouthpiece of the government and imperialism. According to evidence furnished by the Panhellenic Committee for the Rights of the Child, TV studios broadcast an average of 12 crimes a day and 4,000 acts of violence, blackmail, burglary and suicide a year in films of foreign make (75 per cent of the total number) and Greek films.

It is true that the latest right-wing governments (under Karamanlis and Rallis) had modified their tactics without going beyond the framework of the policy I have described. They have resorted to certain maneuvers and spoken demagogically of a favorable change of attitude toward art programs and progressive artists. They have widely advertised the establishment of a cultural center in Athens, an academy of music, semi-public theaters, and "free" universities. The main reason for this change of tactics is the government's concern about the development of a progressive mass movement in Greek culture. Another reason is the need to update Greece's cultural policy somewhat, after joining the EEC, in particular as a means of encouraging tourism and cultural exchanges.

However, life daily lays bare the true meaning of the government's machinations. Their purpose is to interfere in the current progressive cultural movement more effectively, to integrate and direct it while implementing the same old policy of the ruling classes and imperialism. An unmistakable indication of this is that in spite of announced and widely advertised measures, the authorities have not increased appropriations for culture by so much as 0.1 per cent and do not plan to increase them subsequently to more than one per cent.

The government's new measures are nothing but a show; they concern chiefly the capital and the top of the social pyramid and do not benefit the nation's cultural infrastructure as a whole. They do not help solve the artists' acute professional problems, nor do they restrict the monopolies' arbitrary practices and domination, on the contrary, they provide greater opportunities for government interference in and control of Greek culture.

The CPG position on this issue is perfectly clear. We are positively and emphatically against national culture being squeezed into a reactionary nationalist framework ruinous to it, against its isolation. We declare for the development of cultural exchanges and for enabling our people to acquaint themselves unhampered, with the real cultural achievements of other countries, socialist countries included. However, we regard it as our patriotic and internationalist duty to resist dependence and subservience in the cosmopolitan disguise of international ties. We want to stop the imperialist roller that is trying to raze the Greek people's progressive cultural traditions to the ground and prevent their further development according to present-day requirements. We defend the right of the people and artists to create a national progressive culture, not as a counter to other cultures, but as a contribution to the common cultural treasury of mankind by Greece.

Rightist and "leftist" views

The efforts of our party, like those of the entire progressive cultural movement in our country, are further handicapped by the views and activities of revisionists and right-wing opportunists as well as various anarchist, autonomist and other "leftist" groups, although their influence (chiefly among

students and certain intellectuals) is objectively not so strong.

The revisionists' views began to take shape in the 1950s, after the civil war, when society found itself in a most difficult situation following the defeat of the Democratic Army of Greece. Every sphere of culture was affected by pessimistic trends, such as the "poetry of defeat." These trends reflected the disillusionment, shock and vacillation of petty-bourgeois elements; artists tended to isolate themselves by dissociating art from reality. The notion was conceived that the artist must free himself from ideological influences if he wants his art to be free. This revisionist trend culminated in the formula: an artist lost by ideology is won by art.

Subsequently proponents of this concept advanced the thesis "Far from both Marxism and anti-Marxism." This played ideological havoc in the minds of some artists, who began to reject every element of realistic art, took a hostile stand on socialist realism and began to promote "modernistic" trends showing boundless subjectivism. Some men and women active in the cultural field moved away from the people and the problems and ideals of the epoch.

As regards "leftist" views, advocated in Greece (after the almost complete disappearance of the Trotskyist and Maoist groups) primarily by the anarchist current, particularly its anarcho-autonomist variety, their main following is in the universities and schools. Their exponents look on any organized cultural movement as a kind of bondage and justify vulgarity in art, pornography and other by-products of decadence as a "protest" against the cultural establishment.

Revisionists identify themselves and often cooperate with "leftists." The main theoretical positions of the two groups coincide, differing only in particulars. At present they claim, with support from bourgeois intellectuals, that the cultural movement must be autonomous and independent of everyone and so must be the activities of cultural organizations and artists. They describe "partisanship" as the principal evil and the cause of the cultural crisis, their main targets being the CPG and KNE, whose "dogmatism" is said to prevent the free development of culture. What they criticize above all is art in socialist countries, which the revisionists make out to be a negative instance of cultural dependence on party leadership.

Having lost all class criteria and abandoned Marxist-Leninist ideology, revisionist, "leftist" and autonomist groups carry on divisive activity in mass cultural organizations. In this way they actually help the ruling classes, which pursue their anti-popular cultural policy under the slogan of indifference to politics and non-partisanship.

Results of the communists' effort

We may regard it as our chief achievement that the popularity of the KNE festival grows year after year. The festival has become a major political and cultural event in our country and something of a social institution that has gained ample experience of

work among the masses. KNE organizations begin preparations for the festival from "below," that is, urban and rural communities, with the aid of the whole party and the cooperation of progressives active in culture. They mobilize the masses all over the country through discussions and various other pre-festival events. This work ends with a four-day program in Athens that draws hundreds of thousands of young members of diverse population groups. The festival, to which hundreds of progressive actors, artists and writers contribute their share, as well as the totality of pre-festival events, are a real battle delivered by the people. It is a battle against the "American way of life," against attempts by the ruling classes and world imperialism to corrupt and mislead the younger generation, a battle which unites and educates numerous young people and in whose course their relations with progressives active in national culture grow stronger.

Another serious achievement of ours is that all democratic organizations have by joint effort laid a solid groundwork for a fast-developing progressive cultural movement. Functioning in Greece today are from 1,800 to 2,000 cultural and art societies, mostly led by progressives and democrats; there is also a central mass cultural organization, the Panhellenic Cultural Movement, whose membership is made up of 800 writers and artists, and dozens of cultural organizations. The central organization has its headquarters in Athens. It cooperates actively with many municipalities, art companies and mass organizations, publishes its own magazine, and has a center in Athens.

Varied cultural activities are also carried on by municipalities, communes, associations of students, pupils and women, peace committees and committees for the protection of children. Cultural work in the trade unions is improving, thanks mostly to the effort of young workers' trade union committees. Amateur art groups and clubs, libraries and cultural centers are brought into being on the initiative of mass organizations. The former are becoming real seats of cultural advancement in many cities; they owe this to progressive municipalities.

There is an objective basis in the country on which to form a vast cultural front on anti-imperialist lines, since the monopolies' invasion of the cultural sphere and the government's anti-popular policy directly affect the masses and artists and prompt them to put up resistance. The cultural movement has benefited considerably from the initiatives and everyday work of CPG and KNE members. I certainly do not mean that we hold a monopoly position in the movement. In this as in other sectors of popular resistance, we strive for the unity and cooperation of all democratic and progressive forces, playing the role of vanguard. The CPG expects its members and supporters to work methodically so as to achieve unity at the grassroots level, in every mass cultural unit and every organization of artists, and thus to contribute to cooperation among all democratic forces at higher levels.

What is particularly important to us is cooperation with members and supporters of PASOK, an opposition party whose program contains anti-imperialist concepts and (in accordance with the views of this party) demands for social changes in Greek society. We try to take a correct approach to obstacles, contradictions and vacillations hampering cooperation and to eliminate them as far as we can in the course of our common struggle.

The CPG Central Committee stated at its meeting last July that the formation and development of the broadest possible united mass movement, the further consolidation of the CPG, which is the most consistent force and guarantee of change, and the achievement of cooperation among democratic political forces can lead at the next general elections to the downfall of the rightist government and to democratic changes that are the order of the day.

Problems and solutions

While the successes registered by the CPG in the mass cultural movement are considerable, we certainly cannot afford to sit back but must heed the serious shortcomings of our work and the problems still awaiting solution. The party concentrates on improving the leadership of every sector of the cultural movement. It wants every party committee to realize more than ever that this sphere is not a matter for a limited number of communist experts but one of the party's main activities.

The greatest single shortcoming of our cultural work is that we still interfere in the ideological struggle in the sphere of art and culture too little and out of keeping with present-day requirements. Yet problems are gaining in acuteness because the offensive of the ruling classes and international imperialism assumes a very dangerous character in some cases and because opportunist views have a demoralizing effect.

This means that our principal task today is to study and evolve a specific party policy toward aesthetics and art as a whole, as well as toward problems concerning the state of the various artistic genres. Evidently, this is the only way in which the CPG can commit itself still more to the ideological aspect of the cultural movement, repel enemy attacks more effectively, detect new phenomena and trends in time, take a stand on them, and so influence the masses more strongly and offer greater help to people active in culture.

A further activity to which the party now devotes greater attention is work among writers and artists. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the ruling classes try every day to tempt, bribe or intimidate them by using a powerful array of material and ideological means, demagoguery, pressure and persecution, and by fomenting individualism and antagonistic competition. All this is intended to prevent artists from joining in the democratic and revolutionary struggle, win over progressive artists to the side of monopoly and the government, integrate them into the establishment and make them serve its ends. Nor can we ignore the fact that bourgeois propaganda, which advocates the artist's so-called

freedom from "party doctrine," is daily supported from the "left" by various opportunists talking about "the artist's freedom and non-alignment," the "autonomy" of art, and so forth.

The CPG as a whole and every communist active in the cultural field resist these views and activities, proceeding from the Leninist thesis proved correct by life itself that real creative work implies that the artist is with the masses and consciously serves them. We see artistic freedom as the artist's awareness of his mission. What should inspire him is not individualism, self-isolation or ideas and sentiments having no relation to the people but invariable identification with the sentiments, problems and aspirations of his people, participation in their struggle, and a desire to express it in artistic images. An artist is really free only when he keeps pace with the people and devotes his art to them and to the culture of his country and world culture.

It is on these principles that the CPG carries on its work in the artistic community. We take account of the important changes that have come about in this particular social sector, the fact that many artists are true sons and daughters of working people and that today's intellectuals are becoming proletarianized. Most intellectuals work in various institutions and handicraftsmen's shops as wage workers, trembling for their jobs and dreading the ruin of their talent. They are under continuous attack from the monopolies' regime and are keenly aware of the existing social injustice, which objectively makes possible closer bonds between them, the working class and the popular movement.

Artists are becoming more active in trade unions and other associations as this movement gathers momentum. This is seen in strikes called by the unions of actors and musicians as well as by the Association of Greek Writers, the oldest and largest organization of poets and prose writers having long-standing progressive traditions. The CPG actively supports the legitimate demands of artists, fights for the solution of their problems and does its best to draw as many of them as possible into the struggle for anti-imperialist, democratic changes today and for socialism tomorrow. This makes it very important for the party to establish closer contacts with progressive artists, search for new forms of strengthening their links with the working-class movement and help them by critically assessing their creative effort to orient themselves correctly in it.

To improve the quality of its work in the cultural sphere, the CPG has carried or is carrying out certain organizational measures. The CC has set up a Cultural Department which, in turn, has formed seven research groups composed mostly of artists; every echelon of the party leadership has appointed comrades responsible for cultural matters; the bureaus of city and regional party committees are setting up cultural commissions.

The party's plan is clear. It is aimed at winning more advantageous positions in the struggle against monopoly power so as to muster forces and move on to democratic changes and to socialism.

For all the hue and cry raised by the anti-communist camp against existing socialism, and for all the efforts our enemies put in to emphasize various bottlenecks, shortcomings and mistakes which are inevitable in the course of the gigantic revolutionary transformation of society in the socialist countries, nothing can discredit the positive realities of the new society, whose basis is the abolition of the exploitation of man by man. On this foundation the socialist system provides unprecedented opportunities for historic achievements in every public sphere, including culture.

The resolution on "The Cultural Movement" passed by the 10th CPG congress ends as follows: "The CPG declares that as a result of struggle by the people and pressure by the popular movement, definite concessions can be wrested from the ruling class and its state in today's society. However, the problems of culture will not be solved fully and radically until after the transition of the country to people's democracy and socialism. In the interest of a radiant future for Greece, of the cultural prosperity of the country, the CPG calls on all people active in the cultural sphere, on all artists, to unite in struggle within our working-class and popular movement."⁴

1. *Resolutions of the 10th Congress of the CPG*. Athens, 1978, p. 78 (in Greek).
2. Clara Zetkin, *Vospominaniya o Lenine*. Moscow, 1966, p. 11.
3. *Resolutions of the 10th Congress of the CPG*, p. 78.
4. *Resolutions of the 10th Congress of the CPG*, p. 80.

Nuclear Disarmament

A.Y. Yefremov

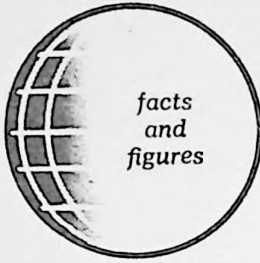
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Washington's "tough line": Imperialism's increased aggressiveness

This issue carries an article by Arnold Becchetti, member of the CC Political Bureau and National Secretary of the CPUSA, "The Political Blitzkrieg," which considers the toughening up of the anti-Soviet line in Washington's foreign policy, the step-up of the cold war atmosphere, and the acceleration of the nuclear arms race, all of which are issues agitating the minds of broad masses of people, who want peace and security. *WMMR* has received many letters asking for an explanation of what is behind this "tough line" of the new U.S. administration.

The relevant facts and figures presented below have been prepared by the *WMMR* Commission on Scientific Information and Documentation.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BIG LIE

The mass media in my country, as well as the United States, our neighbor, have been trying hard to scare people with a "Soviet military threat." However, in the 30 odd years that I have been around, I do not remember a single case in which the USSR has attacked anyone. Many people begin to wonder: Is this threat a military one or only a political one? In fact, does it exist at all?

Charles Robertson
Canada

Dear reader,

You are quite right in doubting the reality of a "Soviet military threat." Let us first consider the political aspect of the matter. It is worth while to recall that when the Soviet state was only a day old it offered peace to the nations by issuing its first international act: the Decree on Peace. Was that a call designed for the credulous? No, it sprang organically from the humanistic substance of the communist doctrine, whose goal is to liberate man and give him happiness.

There is good reason why the struggle for peace was given a solid basis with the emergence of triumphant socialism in the world arena, although many different political and public bodies did come out with peace programs before that. The communists of the USSR and of all the other countries building socialism are convinced that the peoples can and must live in peace, they can and must live in freedom and happiness. That is what the communist and workers' parties are working for.

The general line of the Soviet foreign policy, which has been vigorously reaffirmed at the 26th congress of the CPSU, is embodied in the numerous constructive proposals and practical acts of the

Soviet Union, which are supported by the socialist community and other peace-loving states. What then is the origin of the inventions about a "Soviet military threat," "Moscow's perfidy," "red militarism" and the "communist danger?"

Paging through history

In order to answer this question one must go back to history. On the yellowed pages of the bourgeois newspapers published in the early years after the Great October Revolution, one will find the "red bear" threatening "the world civilization," cartoons of a "wild Bolshevik" knife in teeth, sometimes even with horns, to epitomize the devil about to destroy the Christian culture. On March 16, 1919, the *New York Times* wrote: Bolshevism means chaos, wholesale murder, total destruction of civilization. What was the purpose, at that time, of these variations on the theme of a "Soviet danger." The plain answer was given in a secret memorandum then circulated to all British embassies saying that the Allied governments had firmly decided to overthrow the Soviet government as soon as possible. Let us not forget that at the time the imperialists mounted a crusade against the world's first socialist state. But even after that proved to be a fiasco, they continued their policy of trying to "smother" the Soviet Union, ringing it with all kinds of cordons, cobbling together anti-Soviet coalitions and fronts designed to fight the self-made "Bolshevik peril." Eventually, imperialist reaction put its stake on fascism, that abominable product of capitalism. The Hitlerites declared that their aim was to put down the revolutionary proletariat with blood and iron, to cut out the "malignant growth of democracy," and put an end to the Soviet state.

Fascism was routed in the heaviest and most bloody battles of the Second World War; 20 million Soviet people gave their lives for that victory. But hardly had the smoke lifted from the field of battle when U.S. imperialism sponsored new attempts to "roll back communism" in an effort to establish a U.S. order in the world. In October 1951, the U.S. magazine *Collier's* carried an eye-opening cover: a U.S. military policeman against the background of the map of the Soviet Union stamped "occupied." The map is peppered with sinister black flags signifying nuclear explosions. The editors gave a detailed description of a U.S. plan for an atomic attack on the USSR which was to start the following year, 1952. The authors of that provocative essay anticipated virtually all the subsequent events, including

the holding of the Olympic Games in Moscow under U.S. occupation.

How is one to consider these revelations? Was that an invention designed to brainwash the readers, or was that a piece of sensational demagoguery? Not at all! Many diplomatic and military documents of the postwar period have now been declassified and they show that from 1945 on, relying on its nuclear monopoly, the United States was actually working on plans for an atomic attack on the Soviet Union. Thus, on September 19, 1945, the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff advised President Truman to start preparations for delivering a first strike with the use of atomic weapons, should the need arise. The plan known as Dropshot was produced in 1949, and it provided for the dropping of 300 atomic and 250,000 tons of conventional bombs on the Soviet Union.

We are not sure whether you are aware that at the time such plans were very close to being realized. Contemporaries testify that at the time the U.S. President was toying with the idea of pressing the nuclear button. Thomas S. Power, one-time deputy commander of the U.S. strategic air force, recalls that for that purpose he was twice asked to alert the units of the strategic air command. Truman himself made the following entry in his diary during the Korean war (it was published by a U.S. paper 30 years later): "the proper approach now would be an ultimatum with a ten-day expiration limit" to the Soviet Union, and if that did not work, "we shall eliminate any ports or cities necessary to accomplish our peaceful purposes."

That is, indeed, an odd notion of "peaceful purposes!" Fortunately for mankind, the Soviet Union did away with the U.S. monopoly of nuclear weapons, and the imperialists' fear of inevitable retribution stayed their aggressive hand. But a look at *Collier's* and the bourgeois press generally in that period shows that the charges of a "Soviet threat" were a smokescreen for the aggression being prepared against the USSR. Churchill loudly accused the Soviet Union of lowering an "iron curtain."² The USSR was accused of the intention of invading Western Europe, establishing control over the continent of Asia, Japan, etc. All of that amounted to a big lie.

Who is pushing the arms spiral?

Now let us consider the military aspect of the problem. Imperialist propaganda has been accusing the USSR of starting the postwar arms race. But what are the facts?

Here are some of those which were brought out at the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace held in Sofia in 1980.

The United States exploded its first atomic bomb in 1945, and the USSR in 1949. The United States carried out its first thermonuclear blast in 1952, and the USSR on the eve of 1954. The United States has had intercontinental weapons since 1955, and the Soviet Union since 1957. The first U.S. atomic-powered submarine armed with ballistic missiles was commissioned in 1960, while similar Soviet

subs were first made four years later. In 1970, U.S. intercontinental missiles were armed with multiple independently targeted warheads, while the Soviet Union began to use such systems only five years later. The neutron bomb, the Cruise missile, Pershing-2 medium-range missiles — all of these are the latest types of weapons developed in the United States. No wonder a competent analyst like George B. Kistiakowsky, President Eisenhower's assistant for science and technology, admitted that throughout the history of nuclear armaments, it was the United States which first commissioned most of the new weapons systems, with the exception of some defensive types, to which the Soviet Union has traditionally devoted a much greater effort.³

Everyone knows that a military-strategic balance has taken shape between the USSR and the USA, between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO. But bourgeois propaganda frequently claims that the USSR allegedly surpasses NATO in building up the military potential, so that the latter has to catch up with it. But last year, the U.S. Defense Information Center published a detailed report which exploded such arguments. It said that the NATO countries' arms spending was much larger than that of the Warsaw Treaty countries: in 1979, the former spent \$215 billion, and the latter \$175 billion (let us note that the computation methods used by U.S. statisticians tend largely to overstate defense spending in the socialist countries).

The *Daily World* says that the DIC report shows up the falsehood of the assertions by the NATO leaders that the Soviet Union is ahead of the United States in arms expenditure.⁴

Let us add that there is not a single Soviet military base on foreign soil along the ground or naval borders of the United States. Meanwhile, the United States maintains 2,500 military strongholds in 114 countries of the world, including 386 around the Soviet Union.

These facts speak for themselves. We can now obtain a fairly clear answer to the question of what is actually behind the shouting about a "Soviet military threat."

First, it is the military-industrial complex that needs this noise so as to make fabulous profits on the arms race. Second, growing fear, even if it is a false fear, of an external attack spreads a sense of danger and insecurity among the population at home, and this enables the bourgeoisie to distract its attention from crises, unemployment, inflation and the class struggle and to maintain its influence and power. Third, by intensifying the fear of a "Soviet threat," capital seeks to keep within its orbit of domination and exploitation the peoples which have escaped from their colonial dependence. Finally, the most important and most obvious point: behind the constant efforts to build up the myth of a "Soviet threat" is the urge to undermine the world socialist system, to attain military superiority over the socialist community, or at any rate to weaken its positions by involving it in a wild build-up of military arsenals.

That is the origin of the big lie, and the reason why it has been kept alive for over 60 years.

"INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM": FACTS AND FICTION

At the very first stage in the activity of the new U.S. administration, its members have issued several sharply hostile and slanderous statements against the Soviet Union and the world national-liberation movement. U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig has even accused the USSR of constantly providing moral and material support of "international terrorism," meaning the liberation anti-imperialist struggle of the people.

Many of our readers, among them T. Bradshaw (Great Britain), L. Boudjedra (Morocco) and A. Friedrich (Austria), have asked us to shed light on this problem.

The meaning of the "charges"

Let us note, first of all, the covert threat in the statement by the U.S. Secretary of State which is invisible at first sight, and which is designed to connect terrorism, the policy of the Soviet Union and the liberation movement. Apart from everything else, this is yet another attempt to divide the forces of national liberation and world socialism.

The calculation is a simple one: the USSR must, naturally, deny that it has anything to do with the organization and conduct of terroristic activity anywhere in the world. U.S. statesmen do not, of course, expect the Soviet Union, for that reason, to turn its back on the national-liberation movement, but they still hope that a flat denial of connections with "terrorism" could do something to spoil relations between the world's first socialist country and the fighters for national liberation. The strategists of imperialism would very much like to see this happen. Considering that no generally accepted definition of international terrorism has yet been formulated, they seem to hope that at least a part of public opinion in Asia, Africa and Latin America will accept the inclusion of liberation struggle in that concept.

But the masses fighting for national liberation and social emancipation against imperialist exploitation take a very different view of terrorism from that held by Alexander Haig and his ilk.

But what is, after all, the meaning of "international terrorism?" Most of the attempts to define it recognize at least the following: it is violent action involving killings and other attempts on human life for political purposes and involving international relations to this or that extent. Does the Soviet Union allow such acts? No, it does not, because the USSR, a socialist, democratic state, rules out in principle the use of terrorism in international relations, as other forms of interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Those who want a better life, democracy and progress, an end to imperialist oppression, and an overthrow of reactionary regimes are not terrorists but fighters for their people's freedom.

Malicious lie

Everyone knows that behind the numerous terroristic acts in Italy, the FRG, France and other capitalist countries are neo-fascist and left-extremist outfits.⁵ Is it necessary, after all, to explain that the political goals and credo of both these trends are incompatible with the principles of the communist ideology and morality, on which the socialist society is based? Does one have to argue that this incompatibility rules out absolutely any ties between the Soviet Union and the terrorists in the capitalist countries, despite all the insinuations or even direct assertions by some responsible leaders in the capitalist countries?

Only diehard, malicious anti-communists claiming to be experts and supplying the U.S. administrations with "arguments" for the use of imperialist circles can deliberately close their eyes to these facts. These "experts" even try to back up their lie about the Soviet Union's support of international terrorism with references to history, which allegedly testifies to the Russians' "innate inclination" to commit terroristic acts. But even the village teacher of history will know that from the very beginning of the Bolshevik Party, the communists of Russia unequivocally and unreservedly rejected terrorism in international relations as a method of political action. It is equally rejected by the international communist movement as a whole.

The Soviet Union has naturally sharply rebuffed the inventions of the U.S. Secretary of State, declaring them to be just what they are: a crude and malicious fraud. The USSR, which rejects the theory and practice of terrorism as a matter of principle, has always condemned terroristic acts which cost human lives, disrupt the normal activity of diplomatic missions, international contacts and communications.

Mockery of the peoples' aspirations

Let us now consider the "liberation struggle is international terrorism" formula. Here, the spokesmen for the new U.S. administration can lay no claim to originality because this is an invention of imperialism as a whole, for it has always designated the struggle for national liberation as terroristic activity, in whichever part of the former colonial empires it may have originated. Today, the same stigma is attached to the Palestinian people's struggle for their national rights, to the Namibian people's struggle for their national independence, to the struggle by the African population of South Africa against the disgraceful apartheid system, the struggle of the masses in various Latin American countries against arch-reactionary dictatorial regimes, and the struggle of the patriotic forces in the whole zone of national liberation against the survivals of colonialism and imperialist intervention, and for human dignity.

The advocates of imperialist powers even tried to get this formula enshrined in international law, as will be seen from the consideration of the matter in the United Nations. They did not succeed. Back in

December 1960, the UN General Assembly, on the initiative of the USSR, adopted a Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The inalienable right to self-determination and independence of all the peoples under colonial and racist regimes or other forms of foreign domination, and the legitimacy of their struggle to attain these goals were reaffirmed in 1977 by a Special Committee on International Terrorism. That is one of the key principles of our day and it fully covers the necessary use of force in the course of liberation struggle. In contrast to international terrorism, such acts are aimed not to undermine international law and order, but to strengthen it.

If one were to accept Washington's logic, one would have to regard the dozens of new states which have appeared on the political map of the world as the result of the peoples' national-liberation struggle as being nothing but a product of terrorism. That is a mockery of the aspirations of hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and testifies to an unwillingness or inability to understand the objective and historically rooted nature of the progressive changes in the modern world. The attempts by the most aggressive forces of imperialism to block these changes and re-establish control of the people's future are doomed to fail.

Who uses the weapon of terrorism?

In accusing the Soviet Union and the national-liberation movement of being the sources of international terrorism, the imperialist circles are merely acting as a thief who cries "stop, thief!" The truth is that it is imperialism that is responsible for creating the atmosphere of arbitrariness and violence and — what is more — implanting terrorism in the international arena.

Let us recall that a law passed by the Congress in 1951 and known as the Mutual Security Act has for three decades sanctified in the United States itself subversive, terroristic activity against other states, above all the socialist and developing states. Consequently, the export of terrorism has long since been a business in the United States that is officially endorsed and regulated. Not many countries have dared to legislate international terrorism into government policy.⁶

On numerous occasions, U.S. services, above all the CIA, have plotted to assassinate the Cuban leader, Fidel Castro, as also various other progressive leaders in developing countries. There are various indications that the CIA was involved in the abduction and murder of the former Italian Prime Minister and leader of the Christian-Democratic Party Aldo Moro, whose realistic views Washington did not like.

The "classic" example of intervention (with the extensive use of terroristic acts) in the affairs of other states in order to change their social system and domestic and foreign policy was provided by U.S. imperialism in Chile. By now everyone knows that the CIA and the transnationals spent millions

of dollars on subversion against the Popular Unity government, and eventually brought about its overthrow and establishment of a terroristic fascist dictatorship, which has ruthlessly trampled the Chilean people's democratic gains.

U.S. imperialism has always been the mainstay of international terrorism, whose most dangerous manifestations are connected with the activity of the forces and regimes relying on overt and covert political, financial and military support from Washington.

In the Middle East, Israel's armed forces almost daily commit terroristic acts against the Palestinian and unarmed civilians in Lebanon. The criminal policy of denying the Palestinian people's national rights is now being conducted by professional terrorists, among whom are some of the prominent leaders of Israel. This policy would have been impossible to conduct without the blessings of the United States.

The racist regime in South Africa is criminally aided and abetted by the imperialist circles in its policy of terrorism and violence against the African population. The Pretoria racists behave similarly in Namibia, which they have occupied. South Africa has continued its undeclared war against Angola and Mozambique. Only in the past three years, the aggressors bombed towns and villages in Angola on 290 occasions, and staged over 50 raids, so taking the lives of over 1,800 people.

Chun Doo Hwan, the ruler of South Korea, was one of Reagan's first official foreign visitors. This dictator, militarist and extreme reactionary won international notoriety by his persecution of opponents and especially the massacre in Kwangju staged on his orders.⁷ For over three and a half decades, this anti-people's regime has maintained the South of the Korean peninsula as a U.S. stronghold in Asia. An important element of the Seoul tyranny's "viability" is the stationing of nearly 40,000 U.S. troops in the country.

Referring to the situation in Afghanistan, Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, told the 26th congress of the CPSU: "We are carrying on our revolutionary struggle in a situation in which world imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, that brutal international terrorist, and the forces of hegemonism and reaction of every stripe are still engaged in their vicious and aggressive activity against our revolution, without any let-up of their open interference in our country's affairs. These dark forces are still carrying on their undeclared war against us, training, equipping, arming and infiltrating into our territory bands of counter-revolutionaries."

In Latin America, the extreme reactionary military-dictatorial regimes, together with Pinochet's blood-stained camarilla in Chile, enjoy Washington's support. The Nicaraguan people's hangman Somoza, who was swept out by the Sandinista revolution in 1979, was propped up to his very last day by the United States. It is now trying hard to prevent "another Nicaragua" in El Salva-

dor, where the pro-American junta has been stepping up its efforts to put down the patriotic national-liberation movement. Over 1,000 U.S. advisers, with "experience" in Vietnam, hold key positions in the junta troops and directly conduct punitive operations against the patriots, which is, in effect, genocide with respect to the Salvadoran people.

Those are some of the facts showing who has been using the weapon of terrorism and for what purpose. It is a weapon of imperialism and reaction. The forces of reaction need the lie about the USSR's involvement in "international terrorism" to get a free hand for suppressing national-liberation movements in various parts of the globe. Meanwhile, the campaign started by the Reagan administration is a means used by the most aggressive imperialist circles in their efforts to reverse the process of international détente. These acts cut across the peoples' striving for freedom, progress and peace.

ANOTHER FLARE-UP OF THE "NEUTRON EPIDEMIC"

We have repeatedly reported on the powerful tide of protest throughout the world over the announcement in July 1977 by the U.S. administration of its plans to make neutron weapons and deploy them on the territory of NATO countries. 700 million people put their signatures to the appeal issued by the World Peace Council to prevent the development of new mass destruction weapons, including the neutron bomb. Under pressure from public opinion, President Carter was forced in April 1978 to put off indefinitely the manufacture of neutron weapons. Although development of their main components has not, in effect, stopped, the U.S. President did not, after all, dare confront his allies with the deployment of the neutron bomb in Western Europe.

The neutron weapon issue has again become extremely acute and strident under the new Reagan administration. The new U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger told a press conference on February 3 of the administration's insistent recommendation and the Pentagon's intention to review what he said was Carter's erroneous decision, and to start modernizing NATO nuclear forces in Europe with the use of the neutron bomb. He emphasized: "I think that the opportunity that this weapon gives . . . is one that we very probably would want to make use of."⁸

What are these potentialities? What are the Pentagon's true aims in developing the neutron bomb? What sort of threat does it pose to the World?

Before answering these questions, let us consider what neutron weapons are as such.

Enhanced radiation level

The neutron bomb is a new type of nuclear mass-destruction weapon, which is peculiar in that it generates a tenfold greater neutron radiation as compared with that produced by atomic and hydrogen weapons, whereas its heat effect, explosive power and quantity of radioactive fallout are much

smaller than those of an atomic warhead of similar yield. Because of its limited explosive effect, it spares material values — factories, public, and commercial buildings, etc. — but kills people within a radius of one or two kilometers from the epicenter of the explosion.

Nuclear technology experts say that it is much easier to use the neutron bomb than an atomic or hydrogen bomb. It can be dropped from an aircraft, detonated at a definite height over the target or delivered by missile or shell.

Such are the objective characteristics of the neutron weapon as determined by the laws of physics. Let us now consider what lies behind these dispassionate technical data and the dangers posed to mankind by the very idea of its manufacture and deployment. But let us first look at the arguments of those who advocate the neutron bomb and who voice the views of the Pentagon and the U.S. military-industrial complex.

"The Magic Bomb" . . .

It is a "clean" bomb. It kills only living beings and does this in an admirably "humane" way, leaving no torrents of blood or piles of bones behind it, and leaves all the real estate intact.

It is a "cheap" bomb. The taxpayers don't have to worry about the costs of its manufacture: it will not fall as a burden on their shoulders.

It is a "magic" bomb. It kills more people per million dollars than any other mass-destruction weapon.

It is a "safe" bomb. It can be used in any geographical latitude with the degree of intensity that rules out any probability of serious retaliation on the part of the enemy.

It is a "defensive" bomb. It will be used for tactical purposes — to resist attack — on limited territories, notably, in Central Europe. Its use will act as a "deterrent" and could prevent the start of a global nuclear conflict.

. . . or a sign of intellectual perversion?

Now here are some different views of the matter:

Eric Burhop (Great Britain, President of the World Federation of Scientific Workers, specialist in nuclear physics): "The fortunate ones may die within two to four weeks. Those one or two kilometers away at the time of the explosion may linger on for years with distressing conditions of this kind."⁹

George Kistiakowsky (well-known scientist and former advisor to President Eisenhower): "It is preposterous to call the neutron bomb humane as some proponents have done. . . . The neutron bomb does not appear to be more humane than the fission warhead, and is perhaps worse, terrible."¹⁰

Egon Bahr (Federal Secretary of the Social-Democratic Party of the FRG): "Neutron weapons are a sign of intellectual perversion."¹¹

Commentary in *The Times*: This bomb is "the capitalist super weapon in that it sets greater value on material things than on human beings."¹²

Where is the main danger?

It is, of course, hardly right to classify bombs as more destructive and less destructive, or more or less humane. Still, there is no doubt at all that neutron weapons are much more dangerous than any other weapon. Its main danger lies in the fact that because of some of its peculiarities — its small size, ease in handling, and limited explosive effect — the very idea of using such weapons for tactical purposes, on the field of battle, does not appear to be so unthinkable.

Paul Warnke, one-time head of the U.S. Disarmament and Arms Control Agency, emphasized that these weapons “with lower yield and greater accuracy and presumably few collateral consequences would undermine the self-deterrence of nations that possess them.”¹³ From this it is only a short step to allowing the possibility of using the neutron bomb in principle, on the plea that it makes limited and controlled nuclear wars possible. The result would be a greater danger of sliding into a global nuclear conflict. As a U.S. Congressman has frankly admitted, neutron weapons make nuclear war “credible, acceptable, possible and, in the final analysis, inevitable.”

New level of military equilibrium

The development of the neutron bomb adds momentum to the arms race and provides an additional impetus to the further development of new types of mass-destruction weapons. In his replies to questions submitted by a *Pravda* correspondent in December 1977, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said: “If this bomb is developed in the West — developed for use against us, which nobody even tries to conceal — it should be fully realized that the USSR will not remain a passive observer. We will face the need to meet this challenge in order to ensure the security of the Soviet people and of their allies and friends. In the final analysis, it will escalate the arms race to an even more dangerous level.”

Hardly anyone will doubt that the Soviet leader is right in saying this. The postwar record shows that any temporary U.S. success in developing new types of weapons has always been invalidated by the Soviet Union within a relatively short period of time. That is what happened with the atomic and hydrogen bombs, with missile-armed submarines, with multiple warheads, etc. That, undoubtedly, will also happen with the neutron bomb, if NATO adds it to its arsenals.

All of this shows once again that the improvement of nuclear weapons and the arms race, invariably led by U.S. imperialism, have long since become meaningless. The Soviet nuclear physicist Academician M. Markov has sounded this warning: “The level of military equipment of major forces in confrontation with each other is evened out just as rapidly as the temperature of a piece of metal whose ends are heated to different levels. Every improvement in mass-destruction weapons and the arms

race can merely go to raise the ‘military temperature’ of the globe.”

U.S. nuclear polygon

The Pentagon generals are very well aware that it is absurd to make the neutron bomb without hoping for its subsequent deployment. Western Europe is, for the time being, the only region where this weapon has been proposed for deployment. Consequently, it is important, to say the least, to obtain the consent of the governments in the region. What do the governmental and political party leaders of Europe now think about Weinberger’s statement?

“One can hardly assume that Weinberger’s demarche was groundless. For Europeans this should be cause for concern. The fresh talk about neutron weapons complicates any business-like discussion of the whole subject of disarmament. For Europe, neutron weapons are undesirable . . . That will be clearly seen from the reaction of the allied countries. The governments of the European countries are perplexed and anxious . . . A sense of fear is spreading among the population. That is why the neutron weapons issue should be put away as soon as possible into the lowest drawer of the political table,” says the West German *Frankfurter Rundschau*.¹⁴

“Having agonized over the decision before President Carter changed his mind, European governments are not likely to want to have to go through the whole process once again. In West Germany, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt is already in trouble with his left wing on nuclear issues, and other countries, like Belgium and the Netherlands, are finding it difficult enough to digest existing NATO plans to install a new generation of nuclear-tipped Cruise missiles on West European soil,” warns the *Financial Times* of London.¹⁵

“It would be very unlikely that such weapons would need to be based here (in Britain),” says Margaret Thatcher.¹⁶

Norway’s Foreign Minister Knut Frydenlund has announced his government’s negative attitude to the idea of deploying the neutron bomb in Western Europe. On February 10, the Lower House of Dutch Parliament also came out against its deployment.

European political leaders ask this reasonable question: Would the Americans recommend the use of neutron weapons on their own territory? Or is it intended for second-class people, that is, for the inhabitants of Western Europe? If the “collateral consequences” are not as great as the United States claims, why then did the Pentagon abandon the idea in 1969 of developing “clean radiation” tactical warheads to defend U.S. cities?

Let us recall that the development of enhanced radiation warheads was under discussion in the mid-1960s, when the U.S. army was working on the Sentinel missile defense system. One of its components was to have been a short-range ballistic missile known as Sprint, designed to destroy the enemy’s missiles as they approach the cities in such a way as to prevent the explosion of large warheads and so damage these cities. But in view of the dubi-

ous nature of the latter idea, there was so much opposition to the project that it was shelved in 1969.

There is obviously nothing to suggest that the use of neutron weapons will result in "limited collateral consequences" in densely populated regions, and as much has been admitted by many U.S. politicians and military specialists. Thus, Senator Mark Hatfield says that the neutron weapon can result in "such devastation that it is difficult to comprehend."¹⁷ But while the idea of using neutron warheads on U.S. territory has long since been dropped, they are being stubbornly foisted on Europe.

Components already being developed

Still, despite the obvious disastrous consequences of the use of enhanced radiation warheads for the civilian population of Western Europe and the worldwide protest movement, this weapon is, in effect, being developed. For the 1981-1983 period, the Pentagon has ordered roughly 340 additional warheads for short-range Lance missiles deployed in the FRG, Britain, Italy, Belgium and Holland, and this will make it possible to convert them into neutron weapons at short notice.¹⁸ Consequently, while these missiles are not directly designated as neutron weapons, the stockpiling of their basic components which can be readily converted into neutron warheads has never ceased.

That is the legacy for which the tentacles of the military-industrial complex, the militarists of every stripe and the most bellicose members of the new administration are now groping. They all believe that missiles with neutron warheads "will allow the United States to preserve its superiority in combat-ready theater nuclear systems up to the end of the 1980s."¹⁹

Ban the neutron bomb!

But experience shows that in this age of scientific and technological progress it is a flimsy illusion to hope to retain a monopoly of any weapon, including neutron weapons. There is only one alternative: a ban on the neutron bomb. That is what all honest people throughout the world are demanding. Such is the stand of the Soviet Union and the rest of the

socialist community. On March 14, 1978, the delegations of the USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland and Romania jointly put before the Disarmament Committee a draft convention on the prohibition of the manufacture, stockpiling, deployment and use of nuclear neutron weapons. A similar proposal was also contained in a letter which the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs sent to the UN Secretary-General on April 11, 1980, concerning the tasks of the second disarmament decade. At the 26th congress of the CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev once again expressed readiness to "conclude an agreement banning these weapons once and for all."

The socialist-community countries' peace initiatives await a response. This matter brooks of no delay. The danger of sliding into a nuclear conflict is growing. In these conditions, progressive world opinion, millions of people on every latitude of the globe must make known their views in no uncertain terms. The neutron fuse, which could ignite the flames of a global catastrophe, must be wrenched from the hands of the nuclear maniacs.

1. For details see Andrew Rothstein. *When Britain Invaded Soviet Russia*. London and West Nyack, 1979.

2. Incidentally, the term itself was plagiarized by the leader of British Conservatives from an article by Goebbels in Hitler's journal *Das Reich* dated February 23, 1945.

3. See, *The New York Times Magazine*, 1977, November 27.

4. *Daily World*, July 24, 1980.

5. Both, especially the former, are organized not only on a national but also on an international scale. The "black" international, for instance, secretly unites the neo-fascist groups of Italy, France, Spain and Portugal, and has the support of some circles in the United States and the FRG. Terroristic activity is naturally coordinated within its framework.

6. The closest thing to this will be found, perhaps, only in Israel, whose Knesset (parliament) passed a resolution in March 1978 calling for the assassination of the leaders of the PLO, and also in South Africa, whose racist laws provide for the use of terroristic methods to put down the African population.

7. So as not to "inconvenience" this hangman of the Korean people, the U.S. Congress even postponed until the end of his visit the publication of an annual report, prepared by the outgoing administration on human rights violations in the world, because the report also criticized South Korea, a gaffe for which the Carter administration was harshly rebuked by Reagan and Haig. One must, after all, stand up for one's own, even if he is a criminal!

8. *International Herald Tribune*, February 4, 1981.

9. In the Name of Life Itself *Ban the Neutron Bomb!* World Peace Council, September 1977, p. 14.

10. *Atlantic*, June 1978, pp. 9-10.

11. *Frankfurter Rundschau*, February 5, 1981.

12. In the Name . . . , p. 10.

13. *The Congressional Record*, July 18, 1977, p. H-7325.

14. *Frankfurter Rundschau*, February 7, 1981.

15. *Financial Times*, February 5, 1981.

16. *Ibid.*, February 6, 1981.

17. *The Washington Post*, July 7, 1977.

18. *Department of Defense Annual Report FY 1981*, p. 146.

19. *Military Posture FY 1979*, Report by General G. Brown. Washington, 1978, p. 9.

The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada 1907-1918

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Book reviews

LENIN, REVOLUTION, OUR DAY

International Working-Class Movement. Questions of History and Theory. In Seven Volumes. Chairman of the Chief Editorial Commission B.N. Ponomarev. Volume Four. The Great October Revolution and the International Working Class (1917-1923). Executive Editor V.V. Zagladin. Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1980, 732 pp.

This volume* of the fundamental study undertaken by a group of Soviet scientists covers one of the most important and crucial, even if relatively short, periods in the modern history of the world: October 1917 and the subsequent six years. It presents a grand panorama of events: the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the foundation of the world's first worker-peasant state, the struggle by Lenin and his associates against imperialism and reformism, and the advance of the world revolutionary process. No other period in mankind's history is so dynamic.

The volume under review, written by a group of historians headed by V.V. Zagladin and Y.S. Drabkin, consists of three parts: "Radical Turn in Mankind's Destiny" (1917-1919), "Extension of the Front of Struggle by the World Proletariat" (1919-1923), and "The Working Class in the New Conditions" (1921-1923). The facts and the theoretical material presented and summed up in the volume are so vast that it is altogether impossible to consider the content of the volume in any detail in a small review. That is why I intend to consider only what I believe to be most important of all.

One of the historical facts presented in bold relief is Lenin's genius, which is, in a sense, present on every page of the book. The whole work breathes with his ideas, his struggle and his personality. "Death proved to be powerless in face of the greatness of Lenin's genius," says the foreword (p. 18). We know that that is truly so. And the enemies of the communist movement are also aware of this. Lenin is still with us, in our thoughts and deeds. "The party's Leninist general line is being confidently translated into life," General Secretary of the CPSU CC Leonid Brezhnev said in the report to the 26th party congress.

The authors seek to show the leader of the world's proletariat as a man who not only taught others, but who also himself ceaselessly learned from the mas-

ses at every stage of his titanic activity. Lenin, it is emphasized in the book, was deeply convinced that the crucial, abiding element in Marxism is revolutionary dialectics, to which any stereotype is alien and which envisages the inevitability of diverse forms and ways of movement in world history, including the possibility of changes in the "normal" historical order (p. 605).

Lenin believed that no revolution could be carried out without boldness, creativity and imagination, but his works also show that these qualities always had to be combined with a real consideration of the situation, and an understanding that it was impossible simply to leap over unsolved problems. Have we not witnessed precisely such "leaps" in Maoist China?

The authors consider many important questions (and not only for historians). I myself was highly interested in the chapter entitled "Problems of Joint Action by the Proletariat." It describes the capitalist offensive and the threat of fascism in the 1920s, the united working-class front tactics, and the conference of the three Internationals in 1922. The authors draw attention to the fact which we of the older generation still well remember: the underestimation of the fascist danger at the time, and the insufficiently profound understanding of the real nature of fascism. "At the time, many imagined that fascism was an ordinary weapon of the counter-revolution, that it would soon outlive itself, and that the bourgeoisie would return to the usual parliamentary practice of government" (p. 539).

The chapter considers in detail the question of joint action by the working class against fascism. History has already provided an answer to that question, by reaffirming that the main responsibility for the lack of such unity in the pre-war period lay with the right-wing social-democrats. But one cannot confine oneself to such a statement, and the work under review is once again highly useful in that it does not seek to obscure the mistakes of the past. And that applies to the communists themselves.

Following the critique of social-democracy, the authors say: "Within the communist movement, joint action with the reformists was opposed by the circles of 'left'-minded leaders who were unable to understand that conditions had changed, that the struggle to win over the masses was necessary and that it required new methods . . . Even some documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International at the time, while urging

*For the first three volumes see, *WMR*, May 1976; May 1977, and December 1978. — Ed.

'unification of the world proletariat,' now and again called the leaders of international reformist organizations 'social traitors'... Unless such exaggerations were overcome, it was impossible even to think of achieving unity of action" (p. 551).

Continuing this subject in the following chapter and recalling that in May 1923, following the establishment of the Workers' Socialist International, favorable conditions emerged for cooperation between the social-democrats and the communists, but the social-democrats, represented by F. Adler, rejected the idea of the proletariat's united front in the fight against reaction, fascism and war (p. 651). The authors also note this fact: at the same time "it turned out that some Comintern leaders, among them G.E. Zinovyev, had not rid themselves of the notion that the united-front tactics were no more than a 'tactical move' or 'military ruse'" (p. 652). Things were made even worse by the fact that J.V. Stalin also gave some extremely sharp assessments of social-democracy. He wrote that "social-democracy is objectively a moderate wing of fascism," and that fascism and social-democracy "are not antipodes but twins" (p. 657).

This kind of approach did much harm to the international communist movement and its struggle for the unity of the working class. It took much time and great effort to overcome these notions. Only the new historical experience accumulated in the subsequent years made it possible to draw the conclusion that joint action in the struggle against fascism and war was possible and necessary.

One has to add that, regrettably, the right-wing social-democrats have not learned the lessons of history and, in effect, still take the old approach, despite the fact that fascism is once again looming as a grave threat. The united-front idea in our day is also totally rejected by the so-called left extremists, who have been attacking the communists' policy of uniting all the peace-loving forces.

The volume does not deal with Europe alone. One chapter analyzes the national-liberation movement in Latin America, Asia and Africa. Here, extensive use is made of Lenin's ideas, especially of his theses on the nationalities and colonial questions for the second congress of the Comintern in 1920.

The authors describe the wide-ranging impact of the October Revolution on the whole globe, on its various regions, on the diverse social strata and political groups. Europe felt above all the great power of Lenin's idea of peace and social progress; and Asia, the power of his idea of national liberation. The international working class felt the impact of revolutionary internationalism and the idea of solidarity with Soviet Russia; social-democracy, the weakness of its reformism; and imperialism, the strength of the fledgling socialist state which had routed the interventionists.

The problem of terrorism is now being widely discussed throughout the world. It is also considered by the authors, but naturally to the extent to which it was considered in the period before them. Thus, they present evidence that the social-demo-

crats accused Lenin of Jacobinism, Blanqui-ism, Bakuninism, etc. But even in the darkest period of the cold war, the U.S. anti-communist Sovietologist A.H. Meyer was forced to admit that in the early years of the Soviet power "there was no evidence of terrorism or violence" and noted "the indulgent attitude to the white-guard generals" on the part of the Soviet government.

Despite its solid size and serious subject-matter, the volume under review offers easy reading. The authors have been able to combine strictly scientific presentation of the material with a high level of journalism. The book induces readers to independent thinking.

I think it is right to end this review with the following quotations from Boris Ponomarev's report on the 110th anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin, when he said:

"Leninism yesterday is the victory of the October Revolution and the building of the first socialist society, it is a powerful call for freedom and social justice which has roused hundreds of millions of people to the struggle.

"Leninism today is real socialism which is personified by the community of socialist states, it is a powerful communist and liberation movement, the abolition of colonial domination and the creation of new sovereign and independent states, it is a cardinal alteration of the alignment of forces in favor of socialism and peace and the possibility of excluding war from the life of mankind.

"Leninism tomorrow is a communist society in our country, the triumph of socialism in many other countries, new victories of the forces of social emancipation and national liberation, important successes in the struggle for a lasting and fair peace, and friendship between all nations."

The reality suggests that the prospects for transition from the "today" to the "tomorrow" are not so remote after all.

Ernst Henry

UNFLAGGING INTEREST IN THE EXPERIENCE OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Dolmányos István. *Ragyogo Október* (Unfading October). A nagy orszórszagy szocialista forradalom története. Budapest, "Kossuth," 1979, 686 pp.

It is over six decades since the socialist revolution was carried out in Russia under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and its great leader Lenin, but interest in it has continued to grow all over the world. The victory of the October Revolution is by rights regarded as the main event of the 20th century, marking a radical change in the course of history and paving the way to socialism for all nations.

The historical importance of the great revolution is best brought out by the works written in the light of Marxism-Leninism, and this certainly includes Hungary's first fundamental work by Academician István Dolmányos.

He begins by describing the prerequisites for the

revolution, giving a broad picture of the disturbances and intellectual ferment in Russia, and the growing action against the autocracy both by Russian workers and peasants, and by the oppressed nationalities on the fringes of the empire. He marshals some convincing facts to show the objective inevitability of radical social changes, while accentuating the growth of the subjective factor, namely, the Bolshevik Party's guidance of the revolutionary process with an eye both to the domestic and the international situation.

The years of ideological, political and organizational preparation of the proletariat for the fight against the tsarist regime yielded its fruits in February 1917: the autocracy was overthrown. The February revolution had at once gone beyond the framework of the run-of-the-mill bourgeois revolution. The author gives a reminder that one of its essential features — an original and rare occurrence in history — was the so-called dual power: on the one hand, the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers' Deputies¹ which emerged all over the country after the overthrow of the monarchy, and on the other, the bourgeois Provisional Government.

In the light of that situation, the author emphasizes, Lenin held that the bourgeois revolution could develop into a socialist revolution, with the passage of all power to the Soviets. But one obstacle was the traitorous policy of the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, who had a temporary majority in the Soviets, and who coalesced with the bourgeoisie and joined in the government coalition. The dual power ended on July 4² with the shooting of a peaceful demonstration in Petrograd demanding the government's resignation and the country's withdrawal from the imperialist war. The brutal massacre was followed by other punitive measures: the introduction of the death penalty in the army-in-the-field, an order for Lenin's arrest and a drive against the Bolsheviks. Only then, the author recalls, did the sixth congress of the Bolshevik Party decide to start preparations for an armed uprising.

But when, during, and soon after the crushing of the Kornilov uprising, the Soviets were rapidly Bolshevikized, Lenin and his followers once again strove to channel the development of the revolution along a peaceful way. They invited the Mensheviks and the SRs to form a government to represent the interests of the proletariat and the peasantry and to act under the full control of the Soviets. That proposal was rejected.

The Hungarian scientist gives a convincing refutation of the bourgeois historians' false claims that the communists have always favored the use of force in taking power, whatever the circumstances. He also exposes the allegations that the Bolsheviks refused to cooperate with other "democratic" parties, which enjoyed some influence on the masses, like the Socialist Revolutionaries. The facts presented by the author testify to the very opposite: cooperation was repeatedly offered — at various stages of the revolution and even after its victory, when, for instance, representatives of the

Socialist-Revolutionary Party became members of the first Soviet government. But it was not the ill-intent of the Bolsheviks that led to the loss of authority among the masses by the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries, but the policies which they pursued against the people's interests.³

It is now even hard to imagine how it was possible to find one's bearings in what appeared to be a chaotic mix of events, as they occurred in Russia in 1917, let alone sorting things out and directing developments along the right lines. It is an indication of the political wisdom and influence in the masses of the Bolshevik Party, which discerned what could be called a vector in the activity of most diverse social forces. Of key importance in those conditions, says the author, was Lenin's return from abroad and his assumption of direct leadership of the struggle.

The author shows the Bolshevik Party's skilful reaction to the changes in the political situation, its change of tactics, without ever forgetting its strategic goal: the socialist revolution. The high effectiveness of the policy pursued by Lenin's party depended on the creative application of the doctrine of Marx and Engels and a painstaking analysis and consideration of various factors. Lenin's famous April Theses, his speech at the April All-Russia party congress, and the works he wrote in that period are a brilliant example of the development of the Marxist theory.

There is a dynamic description of the armed uprising in Petrograd, which leaves the impression of an eye-witness account. Describing the work of the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets, the storming of the Winter Palace and the arrest of the Provisional Government, the Hungarian historian emphasizes that the takeover of power was itself virtually bloodless. And that is a fact: in Petrograd, there were 6 killed and 50 wounded (as compared with the more than 1,300 who died in the February 1917 revolution).

The author traces the revolution's triumphal advance across the vast country and gives a description of the initial measures taken by the Soviet government. But he does not ignore either the difficulties in solving the new problems or the discussion then under way in the party. Quite naturally, too, he shows the heroic struggle of the defenders of the young Republic against the united forces of internal counter-revolution and foreign-armed intervention.

The socialist revolution in Russia took place at the height of the First World War. There were over 2 million prisoners-of-war in the country, and many of them took an active part in the October events on the side of the proletariat. Hungarians will naturally read with special attention about their compatriots involved in the revolutionary vortex. One of those who were prominent in the storming of the Winter Palace was Sandor Weis, while Lajos Wienermann played an outstanding role in organizing the Red Guard contingents in Moscow. When an international association of prisoners-of-war was set up in Petrograd in December 1917, its chairman was

Bela Kun, subsequently the first leader of the party of Hungarian communists. Among the organizers of the Red Army's international units were Tibor Szamueli, Ferenc Münnich, Karoly Ligeti and Mate Zalka, whose names are inscribed in the fine annals of Hungary's history. The following year, 50,000 Hungarian internationalists defended the Soviet Republic arms in hand, fighting alongside Germans, Austrians, Slovaks, Yugoslavs, Bulgarians, Romanians, Turks, Chinese and members of many other nationalities.

The U.S. communist John Reed did not exaggerate at all when he wrote that the October Revolution shook the world. The people of Russia raised the "banner of the international socialist revolution" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 188). The elimination of the rule of the landowners and capitalists in Russia meant that the working class of the world had, in practice, got down to destroying the last exploiter social system, and this was keenly felt and understood by class-conscious proletarians all over the world. The author has a separate chapter on the international importance of the October Revolution and described the worldwide resonance caused by the victory of the workers in Russia.

Already in the early post-October months, internationalists from many countries strove to go to Russia to learn about revolution on the spot, voicing an ardent desire to join the Red Army and defend the Soviet Republic against its enemies. Thus, more than 3,000 Americans announced their intention to go to Russia to help the young workers' and peasants' state, but they were prevented from doing so by the U.S. government. Karl Liebknecht wrote from his hard-labor prison that if he had several lives he would give them all for that revolution. Sharp protests against the intention of the government of France to intervene in the internal affairs of Soviet Russia were issued in Parliament by Marcel Kachin. "Hands Off Soviet Russia!" was the slogan of the international movement of working people's solidarity.

The October Revolution ushered in a period of revolutionary upswing which spread to many continents. Revolutions were carried out in Germany, Finland, Austria and Hungary. The tide of social battles rolled across the countries of Western Europe and America. A number of victories were scored by the national-liberation movement in Asia and the Arab East. In many countries, communist parties emerged on the crest of the revolutionary wave generated by the October Revolution, and have now become the most important ideological and political force of world social progress. The current revolutionary process, says the author, is illumined by the unfading light of the October Revolution.

The only thing to add is that the author has used a great number of sources, primarily Soviet sources, as the most authentic ones. The book contains a fine index and bibliography and many rare illustrations.

I think that Academician Dolmanyos's work is one of the most profound and meaningful studies of

the history of the Great October Socialist Revolution to appear outside the USSR.

Professor Rozsa Czonka,
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Higher Political School under the HSWP CC

1. The Soviets of Workers' Deputies were elective political organizations of the working class which emerged in 1905, initially for the purpose of directing the strike struggle, but even at the time Lenin saw them as a prototype of the proletariat's revolutionary dictatorship. — Ed.

2. All dates in the text are given according to the old, Julian calendar. — Ed.

3. For details see *WMR*, August 1980 ("The Distorting Mirror of Sovietology"). — Ed.

CIVIC DUTY OF A SCIENTIST

Maurice Goldsmith, *Sage — A Life of J.D. Bernal* Hutchinson, London, 1980, 256 pp.

Under the title of *Sage* — a nickname given to the late Professor Bernal by his student contemporaries at Cambridge University on account of his exceptional brilliance and maintained by his intimates throughout his life — Maurice Goldsmith, an English science journalist, has given us a biography of the remarkable scientist who, after the passing of his friend, Professor Joliot-Curie, the founder and first president of the World Peace Council, succeeded him at that post.

Born in Ireland in 1901 of a Catholic family, John Desmond Bernal was a man of wide interests, insatiable curiosity, passionate conscience and solid achievement. With equal priority he was scientist and Marxist. For him science was mankind's means of understanding and controlling itself and surroundings. Marxism was the means of understanding science itself, the influence of society upon its development, the means by which science could be used in its turn to change and benefit society.

His scientific interest and obligations were never separate from his social action, and he was profoundly influenced in this by the French physicists Paul Langevin and Irene and Frederic Joliot-Curie. Bernal often repeated the words of Langevin: "The scientific work which I can do can be done and will be done by others, possibly soon, possibly not for some years; but unless the political work is done, there will be no science at all."

This review is not the place for a full recital of his scientific labors. Bernal was one of the pioneers in the use of X-rays for crystallography. This he applied to molecular structure and later pursued its development into effacing the borderline between physics and biology.

He sparked ideas. His special brilliance was the way in which he suggested and explored new paths outside the accepted norms, not only in his own work but, above all, with characteristic generosity supporting and encouraging these among the junior workers in his laboratory.

He wrote numerous books with the object of en-

larging science for the scientists — on its history, on its social function, and the scientists' own responsibility; on making science itself more efficient by international communication and collaboration.

What he preached in this respect has now become accepted common sense for a whole world generation of scientists, just as his *World Without War*, written to be topical in 1958, is still common sense today.

All this Goldsmith has covered. He provides a recognizable image of the man and an account of his social outlook as well as essential parts of his achievement.

Yet the book has defects as well as merits. Together with valuable recollections illustrating the personality of Bernal (for instance, the author's interview with Lord Mountbatten — whose staff Bernal joined as a scientific adviser during the war against Hitler fascism — is of high interest historically) there are blemishes, such as slips of detail, credulity, gossip, and snide remarks. Further, Bernal himself would surely have disagreed with his biographer's censure of him for over-confidence in socialism and the USSR, and also the latter's inclination to a view that his subject's talents could have been more fruitful if they had been less dispersed.

A grave gap is the scant allusion to Bernal's devotion to the peace movement, his endless travels and travails in its cause. It is no little part of his life that his fair judgment, transparent sincerity of purpose, and equal treatment of everyone — Communist or religious, great-power statesman or man in the street — won the hearts of all with whom he came in contact.

Yet it should be acknowledged as a credit to the author that in his book — published at a time when the Cold War was being resurrected by the British press and hence the object of a chorus of reviewers seizing the occasion to belittle Bernal as a scientist by damning him as a socialist — he remains firm in his assessment of Bernal as one of the greatest scientists of our time.

I quote Goldsmith's last sentences: "He went into death having changed the framework of our times by opening paths which for his colleagues had not existed, leading to avenues still in process of development."

"It is due to him that we understand . . . that science is not neutral in that it is a key instrument in the hands of a ruling group, that the scientific community is not just a small élite but millions of scientific workers, that for scientists, politics can no longer be regarded as an evil that they must shun, and that the new world of peace and love is within our hands for we have the means to realize it if we have the will to do so."

There will no doubt be other, and probably better, biographies of Bernal but few conclusions will be better put.

Ivor Montague

THE AGRARIAN REFORM ACCUSES

A Reforma Agraria Acusa (The Agrarian Reform Accuses), Lisboa, Caminho, 1980, 432 pp.

This book helps to understand the present situation in Portugal. It does contain an accusation, because it consists of a record of the trial staged in July 1979 by representatives of the Portuguese public in defense of the agrarian reform, one of the main gains of the April Revolution.

Active resistance to the forces seeking to re-establish the positions of the state-monopoly capitalism in the country and growing solidarity with the struggle of the working people in the countryside against encroachments by reaction on their rights determine the situation in which a sponsoring commission (consisting of about 50 persons) suggested the idea of a public trial so as to show the nature, character and tasks of the agrarian reform carried out in the area of the latifundia, and subsequently written into the constitution of the Portuguese Republic, so publicly condemning the adversaries of the reform.

The proceedings at the public trial were similar to those in courts of law. The members of the bench (university lecturers, lawyers, economists and trade union leaders) considered a written complaint filed by public prosecutors, heard testimony from 41 witnesses, and studied numerous documents. The trial showed that it is the reactionary forces that have inspired the policy of folding up the agrarian reform, a line which is, for all practical purposes, being effected by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries.

The court-room was packed. Among the observers invited from France, Holland and Bulgaria were lawyers and specialists in agriculture. The proceedings were taped and presented verbatim in the book under review.

"For long hours," say the publishers in their foreword, the agricultural working people of Alentejo and Ribatejo* described how they had lived, how they had gone hungry, and the oppression and persecution to which they had been subjected under the fascist regime, why they had occupied the lands of the latifundia and how they were now farming on these lands. Their accounts were supplemented with clarifications by agricultural specialists, economists, lawyers and doctors . . . Journalists and the writers told . . . of the acts of violence perpetrated by the national republican guard on orders of the latifundists and the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries." (p. 7).

The evidence presented in the book reproduces the actual history of the agrarian reform and the struggle to put it through, a struggle which frequently involved tragedy. At the trial, a peasant woman, Antonia Leandro, described with great emotion the case of her friend, Caterina

*Provinces in the south of the country where the agrarian reform was most widespread. — Ed.

Eufemia, who was shot dead by an officer of the republican guard (pp. 73-75).

What are the peculiarities of the agrarian reform? Was it foisted by the Portuguese communists, as the reactionaries claim, or was it a natural consequence of the development of the objective and subjective factors in the latifundia zone? The answers to these questions are given by the working people whose testimony is put on record in the book, the men and women who took part in putting through the reform, and the specialists who demonstrated the necessity for it with scientific competence.

In pre-revolutionary Portugal there was a tremendous concentration of land-holdings. By the time the fascist regime was overthrown, 500 major landlords held more land than the 500,000 small holders. In Alentejo, Ribatejo and in the Setubal Peninsula some latifundia sprawled on 20,000 hectares, while the bulk of the peasants had plots so small that they were unable to feed their families. The condition of tens of thousands of hired hands, making up from between 65 per cent to 90 per cent of the able-bodied population in the latifundia zone, was even worse.

The book exposes the close ties between the latifundists and the fascist political authorities, who provided them senior posts in the administrative apparatus and showered them with gifts in return for unconditional support. Consider, for instance, the benefits the big landowners derived from the dams built at the state's expense on the Divor, and Odivelas rivers. The owners of the estates invested their money in banking and industry, so that the latifundia increasingly coalesced with finance capital. In alliance with the local monopolies and international imperialism, the latifundists supported the terrorist dictatorship which ruled Portugal for nearly half a century.

The working people of Alentejo and Ribatejo were under constant surveillance by the political police and the republican guard, and were subjected to repression and persecution. Refusing to reconcile itself with this lawlessness and with its plight, the rural proletariat carried on a

courageous struggle, which was actively supported by the Portuguese Communist Party. A succession of strikes and other action by farmhands in 1962 resulted in a historic success: the introduction of the eight-hour working day.

Soon after the revolution of April 25, 1974, which gave the Portuguese people democratic freedoms, the working people in the agricultural areas began to set up trade unions and tried hard to reach an agreement with the landlords on solving the problems of employment and the rational use of land. But the big landowners responded with numerous acts of sabotage. They killed cattle, burned grain, broke farming machines, and refused to pay their debts to the banks, to suppliers of implements of production and even wages to their hired hands.

It was this fierce sabotage that forced the agricultural workers to start taking over the latifundia lands in early 1975. On an area of nearly 1.2 million hectares taken over, they set up farms on which management and production were run on a collective basis. That was, strictly speaking, the start of the agrarian reform.

The high level of class and political consciousness which took shape as a result of the decades of struggle against the latifundists and fascism explains why, after April 25, the rural proletariat of Alentejo and Ribatejo gave up private property in land and refused to fragment it, at once going over to a more progressive form of economic activity: cooperatives and collective farms which rule out man's exploitation by man.

When the re-establishment of the positions of capitalism, latifundism and international imperialism, first began under the socialist government led by Mario Soares, and especially under the Mota Pinto and Sa Carneiro governments that followed, the reactionary forces mounted a massive offensive against the agrarian reform. Relying on their henchmen in the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, they got through a new agrarian reform act* and have been using it as a screen for the use of force by the republican guard.

In the course of this offensive, nearly one-half of the land, thousands of farming machines, and tens of thousands of head of cattle have already been taken away from the cooperatives. The authorities' acts have already led to the ruin of some collective farms, many peasants have lost their jobs, and uncultivated lands have reappeared in Alentejo and Ribatejo.

Ever broader strata of Portuguese society have voiced solidarity with the working people's struggle in the countryside. One of these manifestations of solidarity was the public trial described in the book *The Agrarian Reform Accuses*.

Lino Lima

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*The notorious "Barreto act" or the "counter-reform act" as it is known in Portugal, was passed in 1976 in place of the progressive law on the agrarian reform, effectively removing it from the law-and-order context. — Ed.



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