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Afghanistan / 33

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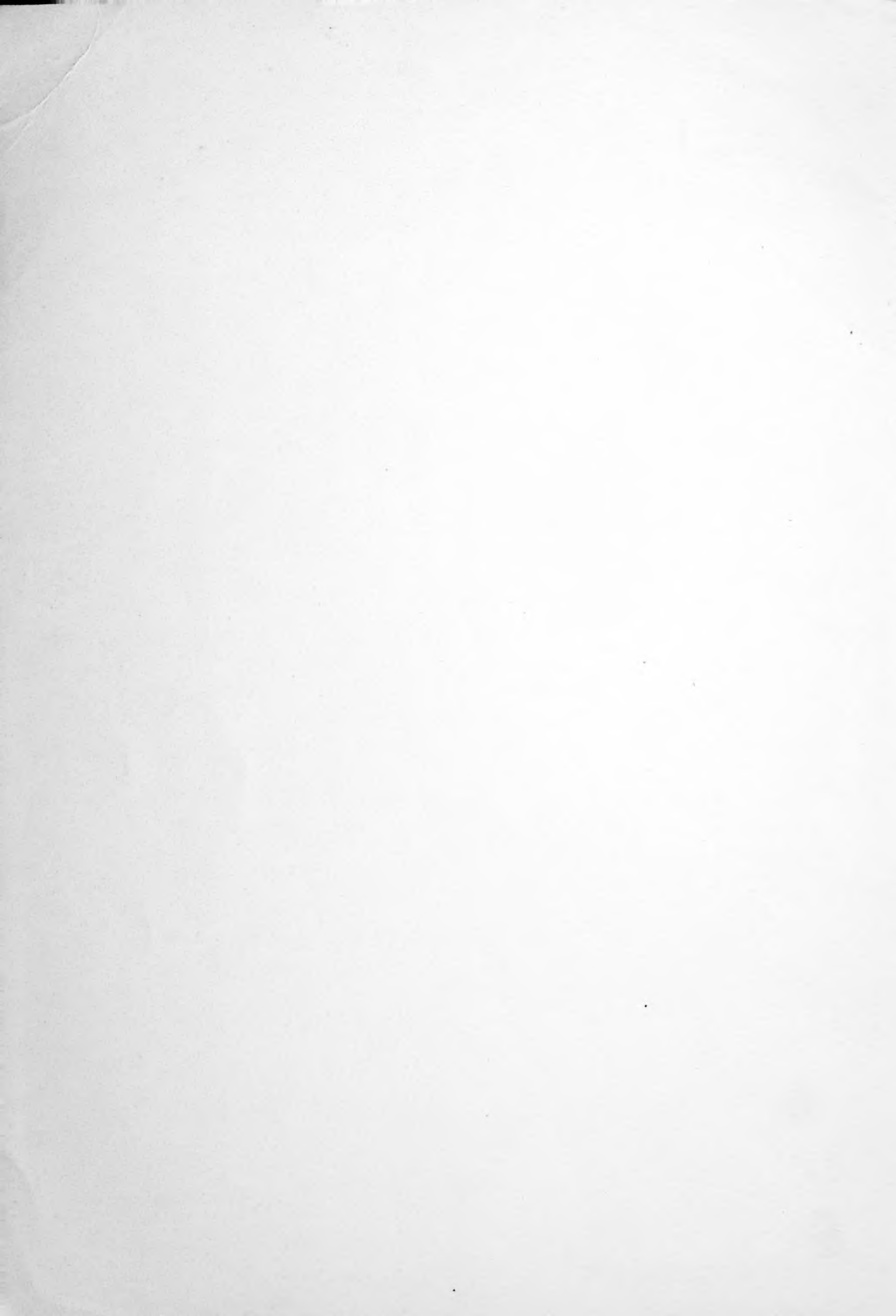
The 'four
modernizations' / 65

Lenin and mankind's
progress / 3

Capitalism in
Latin America / 56

Spanish workers'
commissions / 61

Iran / 41





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Features

- 3 Lenin and Mankind's progress
M. Suslov
- 10 Our epoch and Lenin's teaching
on the new type of party
C. Florakis
- 14 Lenin and existing socialism
S. Mikhailov
- 19 The universality of Lenin
M. O'Riordan
- 24 Lenin — theorist of the national
liberation movement
S. Cissoko
- 28 Lenin and the struggle for peace
and a better future
W. Kashtan

Viewpoints

- 33 The Afghan people will stand firmly
on guard of the revolution
B. Karmal
- 41 The anti-imperialist tide in Iran
A. Khavari
- 44 The new cultural reality
H. Koch

The party

- 47 Goal: left unity
M. Costello
- 50 Crucial battles ahead
C. Costa
- 54 New experience

Exchange of views

- 56 The historical fortunes of
capitalism in Latin America
A. Delgado, A. Shulgovsky
- 61 Workers' Commissions: a militant
contingent of Spanish labor
J. Ariza Rico
- 65 Foreign-policy aspects of
the 'four modernizations'
W. Namiotkiewicz

The press

- 68 Drawing on Lenin's analysis
N. Leon
- 70 Adding to the Lenin bookcase

Facts and figures

- 71 The arms race and the developing
countries

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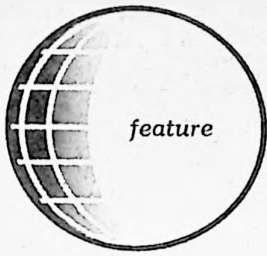
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Lenin and mankind's progress

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CC Secretary, CPSU

Some dates in the history of mankind are indelibly imprinted on the minds of later generations. They are major milestones symbolizing what could be called reference points in social progress. One such date for the Soviet people and for all other working people of the world is April 22, the birthday, 110 years ago, of the man who was destined to lead a tremendous swing in the development of society.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, a great son of Russia, the founder of the Communist Party and the world's first socialist state, and leader of the international working class, is a historical figure whose importance is revealed ever more deeply and vividly with the passage of time. It is impossible to understand the content and social tenor of our epoch without turning to his multifaceted creative endeavor, to his doctrine.

I

Lenin is by rights known as the brilliant architect of the communist society, its first organizer and builder. He was advanced to this role by the practice of the revolutionary struggle of the working class for socialism and communism, which keynotes the passage of the 20th century.

The way of the trail-blazers is always difficult, and when unprecedented social heights have to be scaled, it is doubly and trebly so. Marx called the Paris communards who made a heroic attempt to crush the bourgeois system and establish a proletarian power men 'storming the heavens.' It fell to the lot of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party to lead the first victorious proletarian revolution, to inaugurate the practical realization of Marx's doctrine of the world-historical mission of the working class as the builder of the new society and to make *scientific socialism part and parcel of the daily life of millions of men and women.*

In the epoch when society as a whole had matured for transition from capitalism to communism, new problems calling for theoretical comprehension objectively emerged in the world liberation movement. The answers to them were provided in Lenin's doctrine. The power of Lenin's genius was expressed in the fact that he came to comprehend, truly and completely, the vital requirements of his day, expressed them in scientific terms and ideologically armed the proletariat and all the other working people for the struggle to realize the socialist ideals in the new historical epoch.

'Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement,' Lenin said (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 369), and this precise formula expresses

the fundamental line which he conducted through all the storms of the class struggle. It helps to understand the great triumphs of Leninism, with its organic unity of revolutionary word and revolutionary deed.

A consistent Marxist, Lenin never confined himself merely to an in-depth study of the works of Marx and Engels, or the spread of their ideas. He kept working to produce a scientific summing-up of the experience of social development and to apply the theory and methods of Marxism to the analysis of the practice of the revolutionary struggle. This necessarily implies not only the spread but also the *constant creative development of revolutionary theory in accordance with the ceaselessly changing objective reality.*

A true continuator of Marx's doctrine, Lenin never doubted that *it is impossible successfully and convincingly to stand up for this doctrine without further developing it. But he was also sure that it is impossible to develop Marxism without safeguarding its basic propositions from any distortions*, for these propositions are not arbitrary. They are a true and precise expression of the in-depth uniformities of reality, the vital interests and ideals of the proletariat, the most revolutionary class.

Lenin's creative effort and the activity of the Bolsheviks were an unusually vivid manifestation of the keen and vibrant interest in studying and assimilating the *whole of world political experience of the liberation struggle* and the most active involvement in the international organizations of the working class, together with an excellent knowledge of the worldwide forms and theories of the revolutionary movement, as he put it (Vol. 31, p. 26).

Let us recall that in the first fifteen years of its existence (1903-1917), Bolshevism travelled a way which in wealth of revolutionary experience — the experience of three revolutions in Russia — was unparalleled anywhere in the world. Besides, Lenin regarded the revolutionary movement in Russia as an integral element of the coherent world-historical process. That is why he scrupulously studied in the finest detail, the experience of the working-class movement in Germany, France, Britain, Italy, America, the 1848 revolutions and the Paris Commune and Marx's view of it. For all the distinction between the conditions in Russia and in other countries, Lenin had the ability to discover in their experience features which were common to all the revolutionary movements and to rely on these in formulating the Bolsheviks' political line. He wrote:

Instead of rejecting any examples of Marx's tactics — this would mean professing Marxism while abandoning it in practice — we must analyze them concretely and draw invaluable lessons for the future' (Vol. 22, p. 341).

Leninism, a continuation of Marxism and a response to the objective need for its further development as one epoch of world history succeeds another, is a profound scientific summing-up of the aggregate revolutionary experience of the proletariat of all countries and also skill in successfully and creatively applying this international experience and the general laws and principles stemming from it to the national and concrete historical specifics of each country.

The shaping and assertion of Lenin's views appears to us as an all-encompassing creative enrichment and multiplication of the theoretical legacy of Marx and Engels.

Indeed, it was Lenin who, relying on Marx's doctrine of the uniformities governing the development of capitalist society, gave a most profound analysis of the qualitatively new phenomena which had emerged in the capitalist socio-economic formation, producing a coherent scientific theory of imperialism as the highest and final stage of capitalism. Starting from Marx's conception of the class struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat, he gave an all-round elaboration of the theory of socialist revolution in the new historical conditions and worked out the scientific strategy for the proletariat's broad class alliance with the peasantry and other strata of the working people in the struggle for democracy, national independence and socialism.

Developing Marx and Engels' doctrine of communism, Lenin produced a coherent science of the ways and means to be used in the economic, socio-political and cultural construction of the new society. Guided by this science, the socialist-community countries have been scoring one success after another.

Lenin's contribution to the socio-political and economic theory of Marxism and the strategy and tactics of the class struggle is truly great, and it was largely made because Lenin brilliantly applied Marx's dialectico-materialist method to the analysis of the latest phenomena and processes. He not only had excellent mastery of materialist dialectics, which he said was the 'living soul' of Marxism, but constantly developed it.

Regarding — like Marx and Engels — philosophy as the proletariat's 'spiritual weapon,' Lenin advanced dialectical and historical materialism in every direction in acute struggle against idealistic and metaphysical conceptions. He always had within his field of vision the broadest range of meaningful problems, from the latest achievements in natural science to the subtlest spheres of spiritual life of society and the individual, ideology and the social psychology of the masses, the interaction of social being and social consciousness, and of economics and politics.

Like all his works, Lenin's philosophical writings are ultimately keynoted by his striving for one great

goal: the social emancipation of the proletariat and all other working people. And Lenin's accomplishments in socio-political, economic and historical science are closely bound up with his general philosophical and sociological generalizations and discoveries.

The historical destiny of Lenin's ideas and their triumphal development provide incontrovertible evidence of the organic integrity of the great proletarian doctrine and the close unity of all its component parts. There can be no scientific communism that fails to rely on the relevant philosophical and economic doctrine and that is not a component part of Marxism-Leninism as a whole. Equally, neither the philosophy of dialectical materialism, nor the Marxist economic theory can be correctly understood and truly developed without a close, organic interconnection with the scientific doctrine of socialism and communism and with the working-class struggle for its translation into practice.

Today, every unbiased person will agree that what Lenin did in the sphere of revolutionary practice is directly connected with the fact that he was a great thinker, a brilliant scientist who ushered in a new stage in the development of Marxism and who enriched all its component parts — philosophy, political economy and scientific communism — with fundamentally important principles.

Lenin dedicated his life to fulfilling the great historical task of organically fusing the theory of scientific socialism with the working-class movement, with the struggle of masses of people. Quite clearly, no man, however great, could have solved this problem alone. This could be done only by a vanguard political organization of the working class, a new type of revolutionary party guided by an advanced theory.

Lenin's immortal service to Russia and to the international revolutionary movement is that he not only worked out every aspect of the doctrine of the new type of party, its ideological, theoretical, political and organizational principles, but also set up a party. Only such a party, Lenin stressed, can lead the whole people to socialism, can direct and organize the new system and be the teacher, guide and leader of all the working people.

The revolutionary proletarian party, Lenin said, can expect to have authority among the masses if its policy, for all its necessary flexibility, has the distinction of abiding by consistent class principles. The communist parties' struggle for socialism has provided brilliant confirmation for Lenin's idea that 'a broadly principled policy is the only real, practical policy' (Vol. 12, p. 489).

Lenin showed one of the most important uniformities of the ideological contest between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, noting that the adversaries of Marxism, being incapable of standing up to it honestly and openly, ever more frequently 'dress up' as Marxists in order to undermine it from within. Of course, with the passage of time the outward forms of this ideological 'masquerade' tend to change, but their gist remains the same: it is an attempt to kill the revolutionary substance of our

doctrine. Also designed for the same purpose are the far from novel opportunist attempts to separate Lenin from Marx and to contrast Marxism and Leninism.

However, there is no ground for doing this, and not only because Lenin's doctrine has all its roots deep in the fundamental ideas of Marx and Engels. The truth of the Marxist theory has been confirmed in practice in Lenin's activity, in the activity of the Bolshevik Party he founded, in the struggle of all the revolutionary parties of the working class equipped with Lenin's doctrine. Convincing evidence of this comes from the victory of the Great October Revolution, which ushered in a new epoch in world history, the victory of the Soviet system, which stood the durability test in the Great Patriotic War against the Nazi invaders and the formation and successful development of the world socialist community.

On the strength of the whole record of modern history, we have good ground to say that there can be no real Marxism outside of and apart from Leninism. The CPSU Central Committee resolution 'On the 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin' emphasizes: *Leninism is the Marxism of the present epoch, an integral, coherent and constantly developing doctrine of the international working class.*

II

Leninism is the revolutionary world view of the working class, a profound scientific theory revealing the laws according to which society functions and develops. It is also the time-tested practice of existing world socialism, under which tens of millions of men and women of many nationalities live and work.

Nowadays, to judge correctly about socialism, one has to start not only from theory but also from experience. There is good reason why the opponents of Leninism, seeking to undermine or at any rate, to reduce its influence on the masses, have concentrated their fire precisely on existing socialism, the embodiment of Lenin's ideas. In the process, our 'critics' have demonstrated a total lack of understanding both of Marxism-Leninism and of existing socialism.

What is existing socialism? Briefly speaking it is a society which is based on social property in the means of production and collective labor, or in Marx's words, a society based on the principles of collectivism, on the common ownership of the means of production. Every able-bodied person in socialist society works for the common good to the best of his abilities and endowments and is paid for his work in accordance with its quantity and quality. Under socialism, there are no antagonistic classes warring with each other, no exploitation of man by man, but an alliance of and cooperation between the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia; there is no national oppression either, for all nations and nationalities are equal. Under socialism, the state is not alien to a majority of citizens as a force poised over and above the nation, but is the politically organized people in which the

working class has the leading role as the most advanced class of society.

It is these — and not any other — principles of scientific socialism that were formulated in the basic works of Marx, Engels and Lenin as the principles of the first phase of the communist society. This first phase of the communist socio-economic formation has been realized in the USSR and in a number of other countries, in complete accordance with Marxist principles and this means that *in these countries socialism, as a social system, has become a reality.*

As of today, socialism has produced the fairest organization of social life. But that does not mean that socialism is some kind of society without problems, difficulties or contradictions, let alone in conditions of its coexistence with the capitalist countries.

Lenin noted that 'antagonism and contradiction are not the same thing at all. The former will disappear, the latter will remain under socialism.' His conclusion has been borne out by the development of existing socialism.

Experience has also shown that the core of socialist society's political system is the communist party, which is duly capable of taking note of, analyzing and resolving the contradictions which emerge in the course of its advance. That party is armed with scientific theory and relies on the labor and socio-political activity of the broadest masses of people. Thanks to it, the non-antagonistic contradictions of socialism can be successfully brought out and overcome without assuming acute forms that tend to slow down socialist construction. That is why one of Lenin's imperative requirements for the party's policy has been and remains a sober scientific analysis and consideration of the leading trends in social development, constant and close ties with the people, in-depth attention to their needs and moods and flexible responses to maturing economic and social requirements.

All of this shows that when the communist party becomes the ruling party and assumes responsibility for society's development, the importance of the scientific elaboration of its policy tends to grow, as Lenin anticipated. That is why we are firmly convinced that, while paying tribute today to Lenin's genius, we also have the duty to learn from him to take a truly creative approach to revolutionary theory, developing it in every way and enhancing its effectiveness. Hence the tremendous attention the CPSU has given to developing Marxist-Leninist theory, the philosophical, economic and historical sciences, and the constant creative elaboration of social and political problems.

The first to have got down to building socialism and communism, our party has been convinced on the strength of its own experience, that the fundamental propositions of Marxism-Leninism are correct and that there is a need further to develop, enrich and concretize them in the changing concrete conditions of history. Thus, our country's example first confirmed that the proletariat is the only class in history which, far from seeking to perpetuate its state power, in fact creates the condi-

tions for the gradual formation of a fundamentally new type of political organization expressing the will of all the working people. This process has been scientifically explained in the conception of the socialist state of the whole people, which grows out of the state of the proletarian dictatorship as a developed socialist society is built. *The doctrine of developed socialism, creatively elaborated by the CPSU and other fraternal parties over the past several years, is an important contribution to the common treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism.*

Lenin said that constantly developing and deepening democracy is a necessary condition for the successful construction of the new society, and this has been proved by life.

Democracy, as Lenin saw it, is people's power for the people. This principle of Lenin's has been elaborated in every way in the new Constitution of the USSR, under which the Soviet people have now been working for over two years. Socialist democracy implies ever broader participation by the masses in administering all the affairs of state and extension of principled criticism and self-criticism, which help to bring out and remove any shortcomings. It holds out to citizens and guarantees the broadest socio-economic and political rights and freedoms, and ensures the ever fuller satisfaction of the requirements and interests of the various social groups of working people, of all nations and nationalities and of all generations.

The socialist society is an open society. That is why broad publicity is one of the key features of its democracy. The CPSU has always been guided by Lenin's idea that the strength of the state lies in the consciousness of the masses, in the masses knowing everything, being able to judge everything and accepting everything consciously.

Nor has the Soviet state anything to conceal from the other fraternal socialist states, from our friends. The extensive and constant mutual information about their policy, activity, successes and shortcomings only goes to benefit the world socialist community and each fraternal country individually.

The Soviet socialist state has made no secret of its experience in building the new society. The Soviet Union has its doors wide open to all those who visit it with good intentions, an open heart and a clear conscience.

Consistently implementing the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the economic basis of the new society, the Party and the Soviet people have built up, in a short historical period, powerful productive forces, so turning the USSR into one of the most developed industrial countries of the world. The Soviet Union's share of world industrial output increased from 1 per cent in 1922 to roughly 20 per cent today. True to Lenin's precepts, the CPSU believes that the supreme goal of socialist economic policy is even fuller satisfaction of the working people's material and spiritual requirements.

The USSR is engaged in intensive capital construction, whose scale is the largest in the world. Every year, it starts more than 200 major industrial

enterprises and makes available to the people over 2 million new flats.

A vivid example of the steady growth of our economy and the Soviet people's dedicated labor effort is the construction in the recent period of projects known to the whole world: the Tyumen oil and gas complex, the Kama Automobile Works, Atommash, the construction of the Baikal-Amur Railway and the development of the resources of Siberia, the Far East and the North.

The Communist Party has done a great deal to raise the working people's culture and political consciousness. In the past decade alone, over 42 million persons have received a 10-year secondary (general or special) education in the country. Over 800 in 1,000 persons working in the country have a higher or secondary (complete or incomplete) education.

Lenin attached primary importance to economic planning and management. The Party has accumulated a wealth of experience in this field. But the new conditions also produce new problems. The ways and means for solving these problems are indicated in the resolution adopted last year by the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers, on improving planning and increasing the effect of the economic mechanism on enhancing the efficiency of production and the quality of workmanship.

The November 1979 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU CC has had a key role in elaborating and concretizing these problems. Addressing the Plenary Meeting and characterizing the state of the economy at present, Leonid Brezhnev said: 'Take any sector of work and you will find tremendous potentialities and great reserves for successful advance. But if these are to be used, there is a need to raise the level of management in the broadest sense of these words.' That is what our party is now working on.

Great potentialities have been created in the country for fulfilling the key task of communist construction: the shaping of the new man. Our goal is to help all the working people to develop a high level of ideological consciousness, loyalty to the socialist Motherland, to the cause of communism, a communist attitude to work, complete eradication of the survivals of bourgeois views and mores, and all-round and harmonious development of the individual. To attain these goals, the CPSU CC adopted a resolution in 1979 on further improving ideological work and the work of political education. All the party organizations are now working to realize it.

The Party, the leading and guiding force of Soviet society, has been developing together with it. When in 1922 the Party got down to socialist transformations, Lenin compared it with a 'little grain,' but also expressed the firm conviction that it would radically reshape everything in the country.

What is the source of the Party's strength? It is the fact that it consists of the most conscious and vigorous part of the working class and all the other working people, that it expresses their interests and enjoys their support. They trust the Party, follow it and

help to implement its policies. Emphasizing the importance of the Party's vanguard role, Lenin wrote: 'At the head of the masses (otherwise all of us are no more than a drop in the sea).'

The CPSU, a party of the working class, simultaneously becomes in the process of building developed socialism the political leader, the vanguard, the party of the whole Soviet people. Today it has over 17 million members; one in nine working citizens of the USSR is a communist; 43 per cent of the communists are workers and 13 per cent, collective farmers. The communists' educational standards, political consciousness and theoretical level have grown, as has also their experience. The network of primary party organizations, which exist in every sector of communist construction, has grown.

The party, Lenin said, is society's leading force. The Leninist style of leadership is based on collective wisdom, the scientific approach to all events and processes taking place at home and abroad, a high standard of exactingness with respect to oneself, intolerance of any bureaucratic practices, political rhetoric and formalism, self-complacency and self-satisfaction. To direct the developed socialist society which has been built in our country means to bring out its potentialities to the utmost and make the fullest use of them. That is a task which is central to our party's attention.

III

Today, it is impossible to understand either the formation of the new, communist civilization, the dynamics of the changes in the non-socialist part of the world, the shifts in the balance of forces between them, or the basic trends in the development of the international situation without bearing in mind the definitive influence of Leninism. Attitude to Leninism keynotes the whole diverse spectrum of historical, philosophical, economic, political and other views and conceptions, and is the core of the contest between the ideologies which represent and express two opposite social systems, socialism and capitalism. This fact alone demonstrates the great *international importance of Lenin's doctrine.*

Sixty years ago, Lenin wrote: 'We are weaker than everyone (materially; militarily; now) and we are stronger than everyone . . . because worldwide economic and political development . . . runs along the lines we anticipated.'

Lenin foresaw that in the contest between the two systems the balance of forces would steadily change in favor of socialism. In our day, this trend is embodied in the growing might of socialism, which in precise conformity with Lenin's words has become an international force 'capable of exerting crucial influence on the whole of world politics.' The community of socialist countries has been growing stronger on the basis of the growing community of their economic, political and spiritual life.

Lenin said that the development of capitalist society would involve ever greater exploitation of the working class, ever greater concentration of capital in the hands of a few financial groups, a deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, a coalescence of the monopolies and the state, stagnation and

parasitism. Today we see the monopolies making billions in profits by depressing the living standards of the working people. The giant corporations move across national borders to establish control of the leading sectors of the economy of various countries. Economic crises, unchecked growth in the cost of living, mass unemployment, lack of guarantees for basic human rights, degradation of culture, hunger, disease and illiteracy among hundreds of millions of people as a result of plunder by imperialism of its former colonies, all these are manifestations of capitalism's inability to cope with its crippling antagonisms.

Lenin anticipated the growth of the vanguard role of the working class in the fight against imperialism, and for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism. This has been fully borne out. In our day, the international working class is the most dynamic and invincible social force. It represents mankind's future. That is the primary source of the growing authority and influence of the communist parties consistently pursuing policies which express the interests of the working class.

Lenin predicted a great future for the world communist movement when it was just beginning, and inspired the formation of revolutionary working-class parties of a new type. Such parties have been set up by the proletariat of various countries. In the political life of many countries, the communists now have an ever greater role to play. On the whole, the international communist movement has become the most influential political force of our day.

As the communist movement grows, the national tasks facing each party naturally become more multifaceted and its responsibility to the working class and all the other working people increases. At the same time, historical experience confirms that genuine national interests are never at variance with the working people's international interests, and that the strengthening of the communists' international ties does not in any way contradict the fraternal parties' independence and autonomy. On the contrary, the communist parties' genuine independence and autonomy in face of the ceaseless pressures from the internationally allied anti-communist forces are simply inconceivable without the development of relations of fraternal cooperation, mutual assistance and support on the part of the whole world communist and working-class movement.

Lenin defined with the utmost clarity the class substance of proletarian internationalism, based on the proletariat's common class interests, as a dedicated effort to develop the revolutionary movement at home and utmost support for such struggles in all other countries. Our party's loyalty to this principle has been proved by its entire activity.

Lenin said the socialist revolution 'will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie — no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism' (Vol. 30, p. 159). We now see the great

results of this struggle. The colonial system of imperialism has collapsed. Almost 100 independent states have emerged and play an ever more important role in world affairs, coming out against the imperialist policy of aggression and diktat, and for peace and social progress. Now that the liberated countries fully face the task of eliminating economic backwardness and dependence on imperialism, of choosing ways of further development, Lenin's ideas about the possibility of a non-capitalist way of development, about the methods and forms of transforming the multisectoral economy of these countries on socialist lines become especially meaningful.

Lenin anticipated that the basic features of the Bolsheviks' revolutionary strategy, which led to the victory of the October Revolution, would remain relevant for other countries as well. Of course, the socialist transformations in our country were specific because of many factors, but even in the course of the revolution and in the early years of Soviet power Lenin made the cornerstone of the Party's whole activity, tasks which expressed the very essence of socialism and whose solution was necessary in any case whenever it came to a truly socialist reconstruction of society. These are:

- establishment of a socialist state ensuring the power of the working class in alliance with other sections of the working people;

- elimination of capitalist property and establishment of social property in the basic means of production;

- gradual transformation of the whole system of production and other social relations on socialist lines;

- the build-up of a modern industry where none exists, and an independent economy, handover of the land to those who till it and provision of favorable conditions for organizing collective farming;

- establishment of the new, socialist organization and discipline of labor and provision of new incentives for production and social activity;

- involvement of the working class and the broadest masses of other working people in managing production, administering the state and society, utmost development of socialist democracy and assurance of citizens' rights and freedoms;

- the overcoming of any forms of resistance by the exploiter classes and counter-revolutionary attacks by the international bourgeoisie, defense of the revolutionary gains of the working class, with reliance on the support of the vast majority of the people;

- assurance of the vanguard role of the Communist Party.

The victorious socialist revolutions in Europe, Asia and Cuba and the development of some countries along the way of socialist orientation, all of this is evidence that the main content of Lenin's conception of the socialist, anti-imperialist revolution remains valid and is confirmed, and that the experience of the October Revolution is both unique and has substantial universally relevant features. There is no other experience showing that it is possible to

go over to socialism in a fundamentally different way.

Of course, there is a need to formulate the political line, strategy and tactics which best meet the national and concrete historical conditions in each given country and take into account the shaping international situation. In each concrete case, there is a need for thorough analysis and creative quest for the best approaches. For the proletarian vanguard, one task remains fully valid, a task which Lenin indicated and which consists in 'learning to apply the general and basic principles of communism to the specific relations between classes and parties, to the specific features in the objective development toward communism, which are different in each country and which we must be able to discover, study and predict' (Vol. 31, p. 89).

Indeed, general uniformities provide reliable guidelines for scientific quest and definition of political line. Such work is being carried on by the communist parties, and the CPSU regards it with complete understanding. There are many interesting conclusions and hypotheses among the recent projects. But debatable propositions have also been put forward, and these require further analysis and discussion in light of Lenin's theory and the available experience in its practical realization.

The great power of Lenin's ideas consists in the fact that, woven into the fabric of living reality, they develop together with it, being ceaselessly enriched with new content. Such is Lenin's idea of the *indissoluble connection between socialism and peace*.

Lenin regarded victorious socialism as history's first-ever material force capable of resisting war. From the outset, the worker and peasant state he led countered the imperialist policy of national hostility, colonial oppression and predatory wars with its own policy of the international brotherhood of working people and friendship among all nations, national independence and complete equality, the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

In the struggle to exclude wars from the life of humanity and to assert the principle of peaceful coexistence as the rule in international relations Lenin saw a solid basis for the foreign policy of the socialist state and enjoined our party to pursue such a policy. He wrote: 'Having started on our work of peaceful development we shall exert every effort to continue it without interruption' (Vol. 33, p. 151).

The vitality of Lenin's conception of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems has now been demonstrated in deed, by the many positive changes in world politics. Our party, its Central Committee and Leonid Brezhnev have displayed exceptional vigor in pursuing this Leninist line in practice, seeking to deepen the political détente and to back it up with military détente.

Lenin warned against the illusion that peace could be easily attained. The aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed. It is not easy to secure positive changes in the international arena when one has to deal with the political spokesmen of monopoly capital. In the imperialist camp, notably in the United States, the center of militarism and

world reaction, there are powerful forces resisting détente. But the forces standing for peace have grown immensely. There is above all the combined might of the socialist-community countries, which is the material foundation for the peace policy. There is the international communist and working-class movement. There is the national-liberation movement. There is the whole of progressive peace-loving public opinion.

The arms race poses the gravest threat to mankind. The blame for this falls on imperialism and on it alone. The actions taken by the United States and NATO in the recent period testify to this once again.

Imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place, has blocked a just settlement in the Middle East, has created a most dangerous situation in the Persian Gulf region, having dispatched an armada of warships into the area, and has been building new military bases jeopardizing the security of many nations. A special army is being formed for intervention in the domestic affairs of other states on the plea of 'defense of U.S. interests.'

Whenever the people of this or that country rise to struggle against corrupt regimes, a massive campaign is mounted about 'Moscow's machinations' and this is used as a cover for attempts to export counter-revolution. Such was the case in Angola and Ethiopia, in Kampuchea and Afghanistan. Whenever the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries give assistance at the request of this or that country's legitimate government in beating back the attacks of external reaction, this is presented as 'intervention' and international tensions are stepped up under that false pretext.

The imperialist circles seek to use the Peking leaders' anti-Sovietism in their fight against existing socialism and the peoples' liberation movements. They are helping to equip China with modern weapons and encourage its hegemonistic, aggressive aspirations with respect to neighboring states.

The CPSU has drawn the relevant conclusions from the shaping situation. It will not allow any weakening in the positions of socialism in face of the aggressive preparations by imperialism and will not relax its support for the peoples' liberation struggle. At the same time, the Soviet Union will continue to do its utmost to reduce the level of military confrontation with equal security for the parties. Leonid Brezhnev said that our policy 'combines consistent peaceableness with a firm rebuff to aggression. It has justified itself in past decades, and we will continue to pursue it in the future. No one will divert us from this road.'

In the recent period, the aggressive forces of imperialism have made fierce attacks against the policy of détente, seeking to return the world to the cold war period. Lenin's Party and the Soviet people are sure that action in a spirit of solidarity by the socialist-community countries, by all communists, democrats, the forces of national liberation and all the peace-loving public will succeed in safeguarding and consolidating man's primary right: the right to a life in peace.

Life has shown that Leninism is the most profound expression of the vital interests of the working class and the requirements of worldwide social progress of mankind as a whole. The participants in the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties were quite right when they unanimously declared: 'Today we have every justification for saying about Lenin's teaching what he himself said about Marxism: it is omnipotent because it is true.* The basic processes which determine the socio-economic and political face of the modern world bear out the truth of Lenin's ideas and show that history has been developing as the great Lenin foresaw.

**International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969. Prague, 1969, p. 41.*



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Our epoch and Lenin's teaching on the new type of party

Charilaos Florakis
General Secretary, Central Committee,
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One of Lenin's greatest achievements is that he formulated the principles of building a new type of proletarian party and founded such a party to meet the urgent tasks of the proletariat's revolutionary transformative activity. In marking the anniversary of Lenin's birth, we pay tribute to his genius not only because the party founded by him mobilized the people for the first victorious socialist revolution and building the first socialist state, thus paving the way for other nations, but also because the principles underlying the political organization of the working class — which he had evolved for the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and the guidance of the social creativity of the masses in the process of this transition — are valid to this day.

Such a party was created not to fulfil somebody's subjective wish or idea; neither was it the product of voluntarism, as our ideological adversaries allege. Its creation, preceded by a study of social development, was to meet the objective requirements of the working-class movement. Lenin's teaching on a new type of party stemmed from the experience of class battles. At the same time, this teaching does not contradict the views of the founders of scientific communism, as our adversaries often assert, but on the contrary, springs from their idea of a political organization of the proletariat, from the practice of realizing this idea in the work of the Communist League and the International Working Men's Association. Upon founding the First International, Marx and Engels included in its Rules a provision which reads: "The proletariat can act as a class only by constituting itself a distinct political party, opposed to all the old parties formed by the possessing classes.

This constitution of the proletariat into a political party is indispensable to ensure the triumph of the social revolution and of its ultimate goal: the abolition of classes."¹

Lenin's analysis of social development in the epoch of imperialism confirmed these views and proved that the proletariat needed a revolutionary party more than previously, that the united class of exploiters which had amassed all public wealth in its hands and was defending its privileges with the help of a powerful government apparatus and other mechanisms of exploitation, can be opposed by the working class and all the exploited masses only when they are organized. Organization is their most effective weapon against capitalist domination.

On the other hand, the social democratic parties, which previously had had a strong influence on the working-class movement, were degenerating in the

early 20th century into reformist organizations incapable of leading the masses in a situation in which revolutionary feeling was mounting. Lenin formed a basically different party. While the social democrats were increasingly limiting their activity to parliamentary struggle for reforms, Lenin's party emerged as a party of revolutionary action. While the old social democratic organizations were moving ever farther away from scientific socialism consigning its ultimate goal to oblivion, the new party regarded it as an indispensable theoretical weapon in the struggle to restructure society. While the social democratic parties were increasingly becoming loose associations of heterogeneous elements, Lenin's party became the militant vanguard of the working class, a close alliance of like-minded people linked with the masses — an organized and organizing force. While the parties of the Second International were gradually sliding down into positions of national narrow-mindedness which brought them to national-chauvinism at the outbreak of World War I, to the betrayal of the proletariat's international cause, Lenin's party adopted proletarian internationalism as its stand once and for all, making it a major principle of its activity.

The differences were therefore not formal, but basic. They concerned the given party's understanding of social processes, its program tasks, the ways of fulfilling these tasks and consequently, the forms of its organization emerging in this struggle. Lenin proceeded from the contention that there was a close link between the content of any institution's activity and the form of its organization. He stressed that the working class had to have a revolutionary party of its own to enable it to launch a determined struggle for society's radical transformation, instead of adopting itself to bourgeois democracy; it needed such a party to abolish the system of exploitation rather than to achieve minor reforms which leave that system intact. The proletariat needed organization to win power, and therefore that organization had to be structured in a manner demanded by the class goals of the proletariat.

By substantiating the fundamental principles of building a new type of party in *What Is to Be Done?* and *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* and other works and by implementing these principles, Lenin fought both the wait-and-see tactics whose proponents relied on social processes developing spontaneously, and the trends based on the belief that individual heroic personalities could change the course of history. A scientific approach to the task set by Lenin, of combining socialism with the

working-class movement, with the struggle of the masses, determined the entire effort to form the party.

Bourgeois and reformist ideologists distort Lenin's theses on the leading role of the party, depicting it as an organization of conspirators who managed solely by their determination, energy, and good organization to seize power, placed themselves above the masses and became an authoritarian force. Viewed from this angle, the October Revolution, too, appears to be a fortuitous episode and not the logical result of history's development. These misinterpreters of events, all those who are inclined to confuse 'authoritarianism' with 'authority' deliberately or unintentionally, should probably be reminded of the words of Rosa Luxemburg, who in those faraway days understood and laconically expressed what really happened: 'Lenin's party was the only one to perceive the mission and duty of a truly revolutionary party and ensured the advance of the revolution by proclaiming the slogan 'All power to the proletariat and the peasantry!'

'In this way the Bolsheviks solved the celebrated question of the 'majority of the people'. . . The correct path is not through a 'majority' to revolutionary tactics, but the other way round: through revolutionary tactics to the 'majority'.²

The Leninist party has fulfilled its leader's behest that a party does not proclaim its authority but wins it in unremitting and selfless struggle for the working people's interests.

Many decades have passed since Lenin developed his teaching on the party. Tested in practice it has proved its great vitality.

Numerous facts have borne this out. These are the historic victory of Russia's working class and other working people in October 1917 and, in the long run, the building of developed socialism in the Soviet Union; the emergence, immediately after the October Revolution, of parties similar to Lenin's party in many countries, parties that led the working people to the struggle for democracy and socialism; the victorious socialist revolutions led by parties of the new type in a number of countries; the application of Lenin's principles of party development in the building up of vanguard parties in developing countries where the progressive forces have come to realize that without a revolutionary party in the true sense of the word it would be impossible to achieve the goal of non-capitalist progress toward socialism; and lastly, the fact that the international communist movement, in which Lenin's teaching on the party has materialized, has become the most influential political force of our day.

On the other hand, the 20th century has seen the evolution of old-type workers' parties in the direction of right-wing opportunism, their abandonment of scientific communism and the revolutionary principles of struggle. To one extent or another this has integrated them with state-monopoly capitalism. The right-wing social democratic parties base their policy on class collaboration and in fact help to strengthen capitalism. These parties, which head governments and control parliaments

in a number of West European countries, have in no case used power to pursue a policy undermining the foundations of capitalism and creating the conditions for society's socialist transformation. All this shows that a social-reformist party is incapable of leading the working class to its great goals and is further confirmation that none other than the new type of party meets the working people's vital interests and the end goals of the working-class movement.

Significant changes have taken place in the world since the first party of a new type was formed nearly eight decades ago. Of these, the most important is that the world balance of strength has tipped in favor of socialism and progress, to the detriment of capitalism and reaction. Bourgeois society, which for years had been developing on the basis of state-monopoly capitalism, has itself undergone certain changes. The scientific and technological revolution has brought about notable social changes in the capitalist countries: the working class is growing and its composition is changing, while the peasantry is shrinking numerically; the middle strata are expanding, mainly on account of the growing proportion of, among others, engineers, technicians, and managerial personnel. Despite all these changes, the cardinal, determining features of the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, the principal contradictions of the old system and the main social forces opposed to each other remain unchanged.

In the capitalist countries the working class holds the same status as before: it has the same class enemies and its historic mission has not changed. Far from scaling down the social role of the working class, world development in the 20th century has placed it in the center of present-day events and made its struggle the chief factor of social progress. The working class continues to play the leading role in the revolutionary movement, for no other class or segment of the working people, whatever its significance in the socio-political struggle, has acquired (nor can acquire owing to its status in society) the qualities of leader of the social movement, qualities which are objectively inherent in the working class. Only the proletariat can deliver society from all forms of exploitation and oppression and build socialism. Consequently, this great historical change is inconceivable now as before, without a well-organized revolutionary party of the working class, a party which is armed with theory and has close links with the masses. The need for this party thus springs from the objective laws of social development.

The fact that the bourgeoisie seeks to perfect the mechanisms of state-monopoly intervention in economic and political life, intensify its ideological pressure on the working people and for that purpose, to build up a ramified system of mass media and step up various forms of struggle against the revolutionary movement, and also the fact that imperialism is becoming increasingly aggressive in the world arena make it still more obvious that Lenin's teaching on the party of the working class is both viable and topical.

Because of their misinterpretation of the changes that have taken place in our country and the world, some people are inclined to ignore Lenin's teaching on the new type of party and believe that that teaching can be stripped of the fundamental principles of party building or that the role of a revolutionary proletarian organization can be given to some 'new party,' to an amorphous association of socially heterogeneous forces, which have neither a clear-cut class ideology nor a coherent political program. A study of past experience shows us that views of this nature are theoretically untenable and politically harmful.

In this context our party's experience in the entire period since the war, particularly its negative experience of 1958-1968, when it disbanded its organizations in Greece and included the communists in the democratic bloc represented by the United Democratic Left Party (EDA), taught us much. This disbandment seriously prejudiced not only the Party, but the Greek working-class and entire democratic movement. Some negative consequences of that decade-long absence of party organizations remain to be extirpated.

The CPG sees the changes in our country as significant only in terms of policy and the forms of organization and struggle. These changes do not void Lenin's thesis that in its struggle for emancipation the working class has no weapon other than organization. Quite the contrary: they reaffirm the need for a proletarian organization based on Leninist principles. More, and this goes without saying, this requires an adjustment of the party's policy and structure in keeping with the changing situation. In other words, while remaining unconditionally faithful to its principles, the Marxist-Leninist party should constantly keep an eye on the course of events, renew its theoretical weapon, the forms in which its forces are organized and these forces themselves, pass the experience of the older to the younger generation, weld their unity and strengthen the party's cohesion, in other words, 'while preserving its basic type' to be able 'to adapt its form to the changing conditions, . . . to vary that form to meet the requirements of the moment' (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 401).

Lenin's teaching on the party is a general truth, since it stems from universally significant propositions of revolutionary theory, that was itself formulated after the experience of the Russian and the entire international revolutionary movement had been taken into account and generalized, and reflects the objective laws of the class struggle that are valid for the entire epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. Further, it is not a collection of ready-made formulas suitable for all times and all occasions. It is a developing theory open to all the new elements contributed to international experience of the communists by the class struggle. Constantly enriched by this experience, it improves the forms and methods of the communist movement's organization. The fraternal parties operating in the most diverse conditions contribute to this enrichment process. We hold that fidelity to the fundamental principles of Lenin's theory is the

main condition making the party of the revolutionary proletariat effective and viable.

In its activities at home and on the international scene the CPG always uses Marxism-Leninism as its guide and sees Lenin's teaching on the new type of party as a basic component of Marxism-Leninism. The inaugural congress of our party, held in 1918, laid down the foundation for the revolutionary Leninist organization of the Greek proletariat. The Party has traversed a long and hard road of heroic struggles, which has had its ups and downs, its victories and setbacks. But our devotion to Leninism enabled us to overcome difficulties, remove shortcomings and continue the struggle for democracy and socialism.

The CPG is now becoming a major force in the social battles. This causes growing apprehensions in the ruling class, which conducts a communist-baiting propaganda campaign in which all sorts of petty-bourgeois groups participate. The purpose of this campaign is to belittle our party's importance and smear its history. By acting consistently from positions of scientific socialism, our party is effectively repulsing all these attacks.

We take into account the fact that the communist movement as a whole is now subjected to unprecedented ideological pressure from the bourgeoisie and the opportunists, who want the communists to renounce their role of revolutionary vanguard and take the social democratic way.

They advise us, for instance, to relinquish our ideological unity and accept ideological plurality and thereby open the door to views alien to the working class. To accept this advice would mean in fact liquidating the Party's ideological and political unity, turning it into a debating club in which anybody would have the possibility of preaching anti-Marxist doctrines under the pretext of ideological plurality and ignoring the opinion of the majority. In the long run this would turn the vanguard organization uniting the finest elements of the working class into a courtyard for people propagating the views of the non-proletarian classes and sections of Greek society, for proponents of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois ideology, thus rendering the Party incapable of fulfilling its historic mission.

Life teaches that the Party's ideological unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism is indispensable for its political and organizational unity. It was for good reason that Lenin attached paramount importance to theory, to the consciousness of party members, noting that the party would not rally the masses and draw them into the revolutionary movement unless it mastered the theory of scientific socialism. To renounce these principles would be tantamount to renouncing our role in the working-class movement, in the struggle of the working people for a better future.

Therefore, when the various petty-bourgeois parties and groups advocating 'democratic,' 'national,' 'humane' and other 'socialisms' claim that they are the sole champions of a genuinely socialist idea, our answer is that their pretensions are totally untenable because their doctrines are utopian, far re-

moved from the realities of the class struggle. Experience has shown that only a party leaning on the theory of scientific socialism can lead the masses to the creation of a really democratic and humane society and ensure social justice.

On the pretext of 'democratizing' the party it is sometimes attempted to make us abandon the Leninist organizational principles of party building. Our party emphatically rejects all such attempts. It abides unswervingly by the principles of democratic centralism. In practice this means that the party's work is based on common rules, that it is guided from a single center. It also means discipline for all party members, subordination of the minority to the majority, of lower to higher bodies and the utmost promotion of inner-party democracy, of the right of every party member to elect and be elected to leading bodies, accountability of these elective bodies to their organizations, collective leadership and the encouragement of criticism and self-criticism. Without centralism there can be no united and militant organization. And without democracy the party will inevitably degenerate into a closed hierarchical sect. That is why we are developing and strengthening the two components of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism.

Speaking about democracy, compared with the other parties in Greece the communists are most consistent democrats. This is eloquently illustrated by the following facts: during the preparations for the 10th CPG Congress over 100,000 members of the party and its supporters and sympathizers joined in pre-congress discussion; the party press carried more than a thousand articles on various aspects of CPG policy; during that discussion thousands of recommendations were made and many were taken into account in the final wording of the Congress documents. No bourgeois party, however 'democratic' it claims to be, has used or been able to use such democratic methods and procedures. A correct application of Lenin's ideas of party life in all spheres cements the ideological, political and organizational unity of the communist party, and this is what basically distinguishes it from bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, from one-man-led organizations and political clubs.

In a resolution headed 'On the Further Development of the Party,' the 10th CPG Congress noted in accordance with Lenin's teaching: 'Our immediate task is to build a strong and large Marxist-Leninist party having deep roots in the working class and all other sections of the working people, closely linked to the trade unions and other mass organizations, and capable of fulfilling its mission in any situation.'³

We have learned from our experience that it is wrong to consider size and rate of growth (though this too is very important) as the only sure criteria of a mass party. This approach ignores the very essence of Lenin's concept of a mass party. For the Greek communists a mass party is one that has close ties with the working people in every section of society, one that derives its strength from them, leads them, and in a certain sense merges with them.

The numerical strength of a party, naturally, is one of the main indicators of its influence among the masses. The recruiting of new members enables the party not only to renew its ranks but also to make its policies more effective. We know from practice that those who look for full-fledged Marxists outside the party to replenish its ranks only waste their time. The working people, including those with little political experience and knowledge of scientific socialism, are the inexhaustible source of members. Not to recruit them would mean to underrate the party's educational function and take a sectarian approach to party building. If the CPG rigidly limited admission of new members, especially young people (as some advise it to do) and became a narrow organization, it would be politically feeble and no longer able to perceive the new phenomena constantly arising in the midst of the masses, in their struggle for their vital interests. Our party therefore rejects these sectarian views and constantly renews its ranks in order to have as many members as needed to consolidate and expand its ties with the working class and all other working people.

However, it recruits new members with circumspection. It does not admit everyone who would like to call himself a communist, but only those who meet the requirements of its rules. In keeping with Leninist norms, these rules require members to be active in maintaining the party's ideological, political and organizational unity, abide by party discipline, work in mass organizations, implement the party's policy in any conditions, work tirelessly to acquire more ideological and political knowledge and counter bourgeois and opportunist ideology. We take special measures to recruit new members in the course of mass struggles, mainly from among workers of big factories, and are doing much to enlist women and young people.

Had our party admitted everyone who wished to join but fell short of the requirements of its rules, it would have been unable to go on fulfilling its vanguard role. This Leninist organizational principle is one of the guarantees of the success of our strategy.

We regard the Leninist principle of internationalism as immutable for a working-class party. Each Marxist-Leninist party, as a new type of party, is an inseparable element of the world communist movement and is therefore internationalist. The Communist Party cannot fulfil its vanguard role without harmonizing national, patriotic with international tasks. Its internationalism finds practical expression in the unflagging effort to advance the revolutionary struggle in its own country and support such efforts in other countries. We know that the enemies of the working-class movement — imperialism and reaction — are increasingly coordinating their actions against socialism, the international communist movement and the world revolutionary process as a whole. A recent instance of this is the coordinated campaign launched by international reaction, headed by U.S. imperialism, against the first socialist country, the USSR. This is further confirmation of Lenin's thesis that capital is

an international force and can be defeated only by the international unity, fraternity and solidarity of the working class. Therefore, the CPG considers the defense and strengthening of proletarian internationalism a guarantee of success in the struggle for democracy and socialism, against international reaction's attempts to slow down the advance of nations on the road of social progress.

Thus, both the national and international conditions of the class struggle make it more imperative than ever before that working-class political organization should be strengthened in line with the Leninist principles of party building to enable the working class to effectively counter the coordinated and tactically flexible attempts of the monopoly bourgeoisie to maintain its domination.

The CPG has drawn a lesson from the experience of revolutionary struggle and from past mistakes and, fulfilling the decisions of its 10th Congress, it

has strengthened its ranks, inspired young communists with courage and stepped up the struggle for the working people's interests. We shall continue to develop and improve the organization of our party, with Lenin's teaching on the new type of party as our guide, because we are convinced that this teaching and the experience of applying it are a property of the international working class that will not lose its significance with time. On the contrary, it will gain in importance in proportion to the development of the world revolutionary process.

1. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, p. 291.

2. Rosa Luxemburg, *Gesammelte Werke*, Vol. 4, Berlin, 1974, p. 341.

3. *Resolutions of the Tenth Congress, Communist Party of Greece*, Athens, 1978, p. 27 (in Greek).

Lenin and existing socialism

Stoyan Mikhailov
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Whenever complicated problems in socialist development and political struggle arose, Lenin used to say: 'Must consult with Marx.' Similarly, we Bulgarian communists, like the communists of other socialist-community countries, when verifying what has been done or facing difficult tasks say to ourselves: 'Must consult with Lenin.'

We do not of course, search his works for ready-made answers to all our problems, as this would contradict the creative spirit of Leninism. We turn to his works because they contain the fundamental, strategic principles of the great doctrine of the transformation of the world, which has been repeatedly tested in practice in our epoch as a source of revolutionary wisdom and revolutionary action. In the conditions of imperialism and in light of the tasks of the proletarian revolution, Lenin enriched all the components of Marxism and his theoretical works are crowned with the doctrine of the ways of building socialism and communism.

Bourgeois 'analysts' of Leninism usually take for their starting point Lenin's 'pragmatism' in the long years of effort to obscure or minimize Leninism's importance for world history (which is in itself evidence of the futility of this thankless task). They say that Lenin's works do not contain any coherent plan for the socialist reconstruction of society and allege that he could not have produced such a plan because, being at the head of the Soviet state for a relatively short time, he was engrossed in purely practical matters in that most difficult period.

Indeed, when dictating his last articles during his illness, Lenin emphasized that for him the practical purpose had always been important (see *Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 472). But Lenin is great precisely because behind a relatively limited practical goal he

had the ability to see through to something that was much greater and with his unparalleled gift of scientific prevision he gained an insight into the more distant future of world history. Contemporaries who knew him well said that his prevailing trait was intense willpower and ability to concentrate on the immediate problems mapped out by his brilliant brain, willpower which established every particular task as a link in the great chain leading to a worldwide political goal. That is why one cannot designate any single work of Lenin's which would contain the 'full' program for building socialism and communism, for that is the content of all his basic works especially in the post-October period. This is a whole complex, a treasure-house of creative ideas, whose practical importance is being convincingly revealed by every advance in social development. A great theorist and leader of the working class, the founder of a new type of party and of the world's first socialist state, he was and remains a direct participant in our struggle for transforming life on communist lines.

I

Social experience in the 20th century proves that Lenin's doctrine is a new stage in the development of scientific socialism.

'Leninism,' Todor Zhivkov says, 'is a revolutionary science. It is such not only because it is the science of revolution, of the revolutionary socialist reconstruction of society, not only because it is permeated with the revolutionary spirit and the revolutionary approach to the study of reality, but also because it is a revolution in science, an historic revolutionary leap in the development of modern society.'

The transformative power of Lenin's doctrine is embodied above all in the Soviet people's unparalleled advance from the Great October Revolution to the building of developed socialism. This road has been incredibly complicated, difficult and frequently contradictory. But it has led to epoch-making gains in the course of the heroic struggle carried on by the working class and all the other working people of the USSR under the leadership of Lenin's party, a struggle which humanity — friends and enemies alike — watched with intense attention.

The mature socialist society built in the USSR is the supreme achievement of modern civilization. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as Lenin anticipated, has become the beacon of international socialism and an example for all the working and oppressed masses. Leonid Brezhnev says: 'The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution carried our country, our people to the van of social progress . . . We were the first in the world to create a developed socialist society, and we are the first to be building communism.'

Today, Lenin's science of socialism is embodied not only in the historical accomplishment of its trailblazer, the Soviet people, but also in the great political, economic, scientific and technical potential and the high material and spiritual culture of the whole world socialist community.

Existing socialism has done away with class oppression and exploitation of the working people, it has released them from haphazard economics and has united the vital interests of the working class, the working peasantry and the intelligentsia. It has ensured the conditions for rapid economic growth and a steady rise in the living standards of masses of people and has markedly accelerated the pace of social progress.

Existing socialism has created the highest form of society's political organization in the whole of mankind's history and the highest form of democracy which is 'a million times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic' (Vol. 28, p. 248).

Existing socialism has assured the flourishing of spiritual culture, given the peoples broad access to education and the accomplishments of science, technology and art, and has created a new way of life in a society which is open for the masses' creative endeavor and social activity.

Existing socialism has performed a real miracle in evening out the social conditions of nations, nationalities and ethnic groups, inaugurating the process of their all-round integration.

Existing socialism has produced a new type of international relations, the most humane and just. It has not only proclaimed but has by its reality and policy ensured peace and the security of nations, and mankind's advance along the road of social progress.

Nevertheless, the critics of existing socialism, straining to cast doubt on its creative potentialities and Lenin's doctrine, hold forth about socialism having fallen far short of its lofty goals and advancing to the ideals of scientific communism 'much too

slowly.' As if one could have some kind of schedule for this movement! It was in fact Lenin who repeatedly spoke of the need for a 'whole historical period of transition from capitalism to communism' (Vol. 30, p. 108), adding that for this 'we shall work indefatigably for years and decades' (Vol. 31, p. 124), and that the victory can be achieved only 'by a steady rise and progress which must be gradual and necessarily slow' (Vol. 32, p. 437).

Lenin closely connected this movement itself with living practice, and the construction and definitive forms of the edifice of the new society with creative endeavor by the masses. He did not believe that the meaning of revolutionary transformations lay in a scheme of development drawn up in advance, but in the fact that the 'real people, the vast majority of the working people are themselves building a new life, are by their own experience solving the most difficult problems of socialist organization' (Vol. 28, p. 72).

He declared: 'We do not claim that Marx knew or Marxists know the road to socialism down to the last detail. It would be nonsense to claim anything of the kind. What we know is the direction of this road and the class forces that follow it; the specific, practical details will come to light only through the experience of millions when they take things into their own hands' (Vol. 25, p. 281).

Whatever the form of the political leadership of the working class, it must express the vital interests of the people. Lenin believed that isolation from the masses, sectarianism is just as dangerous for the cause of socialism as reformism, as unprincipled concessions to the class adversaries. He added that the victory of socialism and successful construction of a communist society imply genuine democracy. Socialism is profoundly democratic in essence and historical goals, and cannot develop without the broad involvement of the working people in active political creativity and the management of the affairs of society. Lenin wrote: 'Only socialism will be the beginning of a rapid, genuine, truly mass forward movement, embracing first the majority and then the whole of the population, in all spheres of public and private life' (Vol. 25, p. 472).

The internationalization of world socialism united in a fraternal community, in which the potentialities of this truly young and dynamic social formation are realized more fully, helps to accelerate the unfolding of its gigantic forces. The practical construction of existing socialism on an international scale has shown that Lenin's ideas about the diversity of ways of transition to the new society, with the fundamentals retained on the most essential and definitive principles, are profound and well grounded.

For Lenin, the main thing was revolutionary dialectics: the integral substance of socialism and the unity of its strategic principles imply all-round consideration of new factors in social development, 'peculiarities in either the form or the sequence of this development' (Vol. 33, p. 477). Thus, considering the most complicated question concerning the prospects for restructuring agriculture along socialist lines — and this is a sphere which has been

most of all attacked by the critics of existing socialism — he displayed exceptional flexibility: 'There is no doubt that in a country where the overwhelming majority of the population consists of small agricultural producers a socialist revolution can be carried out only through the implementation of a whole series of special transitional measures which would be superfluous in highly developed capitalist countries' (Vol. 32, p. 214). How consonant this is with the problems of our own day!

The art of political leadership consists precisely in the ability to take into account every aspect of the 'nationally specific, nationally distinctive, in the concrete manner in which each country should tackle a single international task' (Vol. 31, p. 92). Of course, such an approach does not signify any theoretical omnivorousness. The diversity of the concrete forms of movement to a single goal has nothing in common with attempts by our bourgeois opponents to contrast existing socialism with ever new forms of 'another' socialism: 'national,' 'democratic,' 'regional,' 'communal,' etc. Marxism-Leninism has brought complete clarity to the criteria of the historical substance of socialism and socialism has been developing precisely in the way its great theorists scientifically substantiated it, developing dynamically and consistently.

It is quite another thing to say that difficulties and mistakes are inevitable in building the new social system and these stem above all from the novelty, unprecedented scale and complexity of socialist construction. But our enemies seek in vain to maliciously represent our failings as social defects. Lenin asked: 'How can reverses and mistakes be avoided in a matter so new in the history of the world as the building of an unprecedented type of state edifice?' (Vol. 33, p. 54-55), and added that 'these are simply the new socialist society's growing pains.' In this approach to mistakes and shortcomings, criticism and self-criticism are a reliable instrument of communists in the countries of existing socialism in combating the subjective factors which hamper construction of the new society. We well remember the following precept of Lenin: 'Communists are in duty bound not to gloss over shortcomings in their movement, but to criticize them openly so as to remedy them more speedily and radically' (Vol. 31, p. 185).

Thanks to the successes of the socialist community, which express the unity of socialism as idea and practice, it has become one could say, paraphrasing Lenin's well-known dictum, 'the steady advance of the working people's iron battalions.' Bulgaria's example also bears this out.

II

Our country's revolutionary past and socialist present are both linked with Lenin and Leninism. Let us recall the lively interest Lenin displayed in the working-class movement in Bulgaria and his high appreciation of our party's stand and struggle. We take pride in the fact that since its establishment in 1891, the Bulgarian Communist Party has always been true to the banner of internationalism. But history has shown that without the consistent adop-

tion of Lenin's ideological and organizational principles it could not have carried the revolutionary movement to victory. Comprehension of this truth and its realization have proved to be a hard and long process in the course of which the Party suffered temporary defeats and lost many cherished lives.

The Party's adoption of Lenin's ideas was started after the October Revolution by Dimitry Blagoyev, the patriarch of socialism in Bulgaria. The turning point in the assertion of Lenin's principles was the anti-fascist uprising in September 1923. The successful continuation and completion of this process are linked with the name of Blagoyev's follower and successor, our immortal teacher and leader Georgy Dimitrov.

The BCP's Leninist maturity was impressively manifested in the armed struggle against fascism and capitalism. The triumph of the September 9 Revolution in the favorable conditions of the irresistible Soviet Army offensive once again confirmed the abiding truth and power of Leninism. Todor Zhivkov said: 'The victory of the September 9, 1944, socialist revolution was a historic victory for the Bulgarian people, but it was also the triumph of Lenin's ideas in Bulgaria.'

Lenin's design became the starting theoretical and political basis for building socialism on Bulgarian soil. Today, 35 years after the revolution, we have good reason to declare that socialist Bulgaria's achievements would have been impossible without the creative use of Lenin's doctrine and Soviet experience.

Of special importance on this road was the April 1956 Plenary Meeting of the BCP Central Committee. It inaugurated, as we say, the Party's April line, which has transformed the country and fertilized every sphere of life. The April line meant about all the full assertion of Lenin's principles and norms of party, state and social life and guidance of society. Simultaneously, it was an assertion of the innovative approach to problems in our long-term social development through the concrete application of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. Consequently, it was in substance the Leninist general line of the Bulgarian Communist Party in the conditions of the victory of socialism, in building a developed socialist society and creating the prerequisites for a gradual transition to the building of communism.

The 11th Congress of the BCP (1976) and the National Party Conference (1978) directed the main efforts of the Central Committee, the whole Party, the state and the people toward the fulfillment of the tasks of the new stage in realizing the general line. In the economic sphere, the main goal was expressed by this motto: 'For high quality and high efficiency!', and the Party called for improvement everywhere in the socialist organization of labor and planned direction of the economy. The gist of this large-scale and multifaceted activity was to ensure the economic approach to the management of social production, to enhance the work collectives' material incentives for work and responsibility at every level of the social structure for their contribution to the national endeavor. And, conse-

quently, also for fuller observance of the socialist principle of distribution to which Lenin gave so much attention, requiring that socialist construction should be carried on 'not directly relying on enthusiasm, but aided by the enthusiasm . . . , on personal incentive and business principles' (Vol. 33, p. 58). Such an approach marks a new step in creating the conditions for the optimal functioning of socialist society and the necessary prerequisites for its maturity. The measures envisaged cover the main content of Party policy at the present stage:

— daily improvement of labor organization is of great economic importance because it makes possible fuller use of the economic potentialities of the socialist system and the setting in motion of additional incentives for accelerating the pace of scientific and technical progress;

— this produces an important ideological response because it leads directly to an improvement of the social atmosphere in the people's life and work, i.e., the objective factor which has the definite role to play in shaping the conscious socialist individual;

— the new approach further fortifies the political pillars of the society because it gives broad scope to the operation of the principles of socialist justice and induces a high level of civic activity by the working people.

The creative embodiment of the Party's April line was also manifested in the elaboration and introduction of the new economic mechanism in agriculture and the recent establishment of the National Agrarian-Industrial Union. This asserted the social-and-state principle in the direction of one of the main spheres of the economy. This signifies a further democratization of the management of agriculture, which enriches the Party's Leninist agrarian policy at the stage of building mature socialism. Substantial changes have also been made in the economic mechanism for managing industry, building, transport, foreign trade and the service industries.

Lenin also tied in the solution of major political and economic problems with education of the masses and the shaping of social consciousness. The fulfillment of the socio-economic tasks put forward by the party, tasks which are of strategic importance, entails much work along this line as well. This means the need for a conscious comprehension of new value criteria, new methods in managing production and organizing labor and a genuinely socialist attitude to work. This, Lenin said, 'is the most difficult task, because it is a matter of organizing in a new way the most deep-rooted, the economic foundations of life of scores of millions of people; (Vol. 27, p. 242-3). A great deal still remains to be done to raise the level of labor discipline, to intensify the fight against embezzlement and mismanagement, and the survivals of the philistine consumer mentality in light of Lenin's injunction that it is not right to contemptuously brush aside the idea of putting forward 'hackneyed' and 'trivial' slogans like 'manage economically, do not be lazy, do not steal, observe the strictest labor discipline' (Vol. 27, p. 243-4).

Successful construction of developed socialism in Bulgaria, as in other socialist-community countries, is largely promoted by our close cooperation in the political, economic and spiritual spheres. Lenin anticipated that socialism would internationalize social practice and, indeed, we have already got down to long-term coordination of plans, in-depth specialization and division of labor and complex forms of socialist integration. For the first time in history, international economic relations have been genuinely democratized within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, while the principles of equality and voluntary participation, sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage and mutual assistance have ceased to be slogans and have become living practice.

The BCP's Leninist policy is also expressed in its constant concern for all-round development of friendship between our party and people, and the CPSU, the USSR and the Soviet people and all the other fraternal parties and nations of the socialist community. We work actively to strengthen its unity and build up the might of this crucial force of our day. Together with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries we have been tirelessly working to strengthen world peace and security, to develop and deepen détente and to assert Lenin's principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. Peace, construction and socialism are indivisible.

III

The doctrine of proletarian internationalism is a key element of Leninism. Lenin was always an internationalist in deed. He carried on an impassioned struggle against national narrowness and isolation, saying again and again that objectively the workers of all countries had common basic interests, just as they had a common class enemy. That is why the economic, social-class, political and ideological conditions of the working people's revolutionary struggle make their international unity imperative. Proletarian internationalism is not a matter of subjective preference but a uniformity in the working-class struggle, a necessary condition for its success.

The socialist-community countries, guided by Lenin's principle of internationalism, give active help to the revolutionary forces of the world by their policy. On the other hand, the communist and workers' parties and all the progressive forces in the non-socialist countries have a vital stake in defending existing socialism against slanders and encroachments by its class enemies. Antonio Gramsci, the founder of the Italian Communist Party, urged the 'allies and comrades' of the Russian revolution all over the world to defend it, for 'it is Russia that is now at the center of history and life and only under the Soviet system is there an appropriate solution for the problems of life and death now terribly impending over the whole world.' These words are even more meaningful today, when under the banner of anti-Sovietism world reaction has been attacking détente, while reformists have sought to

distort the substance, role and development of existing socialism.

Lenin's assertion of the idea that Marxist and bourgeois ideology are irreconcilable is of exceptional importance. He refused to compromise on any deviations from the principles of Marxism and consistently opposed both right-wing opportunism, which blatantly betrayed the interests of the working class, and 'left' revisionism, which desiccated Marxist theory by separating it from the diversity of life. Loyalty to Marxism and its constant creative development, and an irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois ideology and right and 'left' deviations from Marxism — such are the three indivisible aspects of Lenin's integral cause.

Marxism-Leninism is a vibrant and ceaselessly developing science which has been enriched since Lenin's lifetime as well. Mankind has been steadily advancing, the situation in the world has been changing and this poses new tasks before the revolutionary movement. Analyzing and comprehending the course of the historical process, the fraternal parties have been collectively replenishing the treasury of Marxist-Leninist thought.

The most important achievements in developing the revolutionary theory of socialist construction since the Second World War, we think, have involved clarification of the substance and uniformity of people's democracy and other non-Soviet forms of socialist statehood; the doctrine of developed, mature socialism; the dialectics of the transformation of proletarian internationalism into socialist internationalism in relations among the fraternal parties and the elaboration of Lenin's idea about the transformation of socialism into an international community; the specific features of the social processes in the liberated countries taking the non-capitalist way of development and a socialist orientation, etc.

The fruitful elaboration of these most complex problems has once again confirmed that the revolutionary forces can cope successfully with the new tasks of social practice only on the basis of creative Marxism-Leninism.

However, not all revolutionaries always succeed in finding the correct bearings in the contemporary situation, and these are factors which are fraught with the possibility of departures from the fundamental principles of our doctrine. In light of this we believe that special harm comes from the attempts, stimulated by bourgeois ideologists, to separate Leninism from Marxism and even to contrast them in the context of the practical struggle for socialism. We believe that there is a need to resolutely reject both the deeply erroneous and dangerous thesis according to which Leninism is declared to be a purely Russian phenomenon and its revolutionary theory applicable only to some countries. Only the class enemy can benefit from assertions that loyalty to Marxism-Leninism is dogmatism, while rejection of Leninism is a creative approach. Imperialism and those who consciously help it, together with those who have been duped by it, hope that by separating Marx from Lenin they will be able to divide the international communist movement

and deprive it of its international revolutionary reference point.

In the opening speech at an international theoretical conference of fraternal parties in Sofia in 1978, Todor Zhivkov said:

'At one time, some tried to contrast Lenin and Marx. Indeed, even today some people advise us to abandon Lenin and Leninism allegedly for the sake of Marx and Marxism, in the interests of the struggle. One could think that between that period and the present lies a chain of defeats, instead of a series of historic gains of the working class and oppressed humanity which have totally altered the map and nature of the world, gains won under the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism!

'No, that which is indivisible cannot be divided. It cannot because the struggle of the working class, which both titans led, is common to the whole world, because there is only one scientific socialism.'

Russia is the birthplace of Leninism, just as Germany is of Marxism. But from this it does not follow that Marxism is a German phenomenon and Leninism a Russian one. Russia is the birthplace of Leninism because in the early 20th century it became the center of the international revolutionary process. Consequently, the origin and development of Leninism has its economic, political and theoretical roots in the whole working-class movement.

At the turn of the century, a number of prominent leaders of this movement made a contribution to Marxism, but it is undoubtedly Lenin who should be historically credited for carrying on the high-road development and continuation of the great doctrine. He did not merely enrich Marxism, but carried it to a higher stage. That is why the term Marxism-Leninism is profoundly meaningful. We believe that abandonment of it is not just a matter of terminology, for:

— it is a term that expresses the monolithic unity of the scientific proletarian ideology, which is not a mechanical sum-total of views and theories, but a systematic whole;

— it is a term that expresses the class substance of our revolutionary doctrine and substantiates in the language of science the historical mission of the working class and its communist ideal;

— it is a term that expresses the consistently scientific character of our ideology, the dialectico-materialist methodology of approach to all social and natural phenomena and processes.

The modern world provides vivid evidence of the transformative power of Marxism-Leninism. Existing socialism has been extending its geographical boundaries and its creative power has been growing. On the threshold of socialism are a number of countries whose people are faced with the prospect of covering in a short historical period the tremendous distance between colonial backwardness and an advanced social system. Millions upon millions of men and women are engaged in the struggle against imperialism, standing up for their sacred right to decide their own future.

The ideas of Marxism-Leninism are also alive and triumphant in progressive mankind's greatest battle

to remove the danger of war. Lenin's idea of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is the only rational basis for solving international problems for the benefit of mankind. Its implementation, while it does face resistance from the most aggressive imperialist circles, has yielded substantial results and helped to fortify the peoples' faith in the possibility of averting war. On Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence is based the strategy in the struggle for peace and security pursued in the international arena by the Soviet Union, by our country and by other fraternal socialist countries. This strategy has been further developed in the Peace Program worked out by the 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU and also in the Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty countries aimed to halt the arms race and to consolidate world peace, which was signed in Moscow in the autumn of 1978.

History has determined the 20th century as the age of Leninism, the age of socialism. Marking at the beginning of the 1980s the memorable date — the 110th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin — we builders of the new world are clearly conscious of continuing Lenin's great endeavor. The scope and depth of the present-day revolutionary process, the struggle of the peoples for further developing the socialist civilization are an embodiment of the historical destiny of Leninism, the supreme unity of theory and practice, of science and revolution.

Even today Lenin is in our ranks, in the midst of the builders of socialism and communism. This is an inspiration for all those to whom he addressed these words: 'We are fighting better than our fathers did. Our children will fight better than we do, and they will be victorious' (Vol. 19, p. 236).

The universality of Lenin

Michael O'Riordan
General Secretary, CP Ireland

I

Our party has never hesitated to claim to be the heir to the revolutionary traditions that are so deeply rooted in Ireland's class and national history. These traditions go back to the United Irishmen of 1798 and to the national risings of 1803, 1848 and 1867. They also spring from the Irish Section of the International Workingmen's Association, the great class battle of 1913, the heroic rising of 1916 for national independence and against the imperialist war; the life and teachings of James Connolly, executed by a British imperialist firing squad, and the many class battles in which the Irish proletariat established itself in the early years of this century as an independent political force. In short, the history of our people and of the Irish working class abounds in events which are a constant inspiration to us and which are honored anniversaries. Among these dates however, there are some which the progressives in Ireland commemorate not only because they are true to our national revolutionary traditions, but also because they are a part of the history of the international working-class movement. Such a date is the 110th anniversary this year of the birth of Lenin. In marking this date, our party repeats with emphasis that Lenin's teachings have been and will remain the reliable and effective theoretical basis for the success of the struggle for a free Ireland, for its socialist future.

The Communist Party of Ireland, as its Constitution says, 'is guided by fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism.' This naturally determines its ideological and political face and important features of its strategy and tactics. This also expresses, of course, our conviction of the abiding theoretical and political importance of the solutions which

Lenin gave through his development of Marx's ideas, to the cardinal problems of social development and revolutionary struggle in the 20th century. This also means that we follow Lenin's methodology in our approach to the development and practical application of Marxist theory in accordance with the objective changes in the world and the specific features of the national situation in our country.

The tremendous importance of Leninism in the contemporary class struggle is realized not only by those who accept its theory and methodology as a guide in elaborating their own political strategy. Implicitly, the ideological power and revolutionary effectiveness of Leninism are also borne out by the behavior of its opponents, for that is the meaning of their constant efforts aimed to discredit Lenin's doctrine in one way or another. Let us recall their attempts to present Lenin as a thinker whose analysis and conclusions were allegedly constrained by Russian realities, which is why, the claim is, his theoretical legacy has the disadvantage of some 'geographical limitations' and fails to accord with the socio-political realities of other countries and regions of the world like Western Europe. We Irish communists regard such arguments as completely absurd. Why?

To begin with, we are well aware of the fact and constantly bear it in mind that Lenin gave an exceptional amount of attention to our country's problems and our people's revolutionary liberation struggle: he has 36 prominent works specially dealing with Ireland. These works are written with such a profound knowledge of the matter and with such a fine understanding of the specifics of Irish social and political life that one cannot but admire the

genius of their author and his skill in grasping the substance and reflecting the characteristic details of our national situation more aptly and precisely than any of his Irish contemporaries.

The communists of our country highly appreciate Lenin's articles on Ireland and turn to them again and again as epitomes of the scientific revolutionary analysis. But that is not to say that we go to them for ready-made answers to the concrete questions relating to the Irish realities of our own day. Not at all. We find these works of Lenin's of abiding importance because they elaborate, in the light of Irish conditions and on the basis of Irish facts, ideas which were of universal importance in his lifetime and which remain such to this day. They bear on the fundamental problems connected with the leading role of the working class in the liberation struggle, ways of solving the nationalities question, the class role of the state and the need to unite diverse social forces in a revolutionary alliance.

Indeed, it is surprising that critics of Lenin's doctrine who insist that it has 'Russian limitations' have, by the same token, failed to discover in it Irish, English, French or some other 'limitations.' After all, many of the ideas constituting the content of Lenin's theory of socialist revolution were deduced by him from a theoretical analysis of the facts of social life in many countries just as forcefully as from his analysis of the socio-economic processes characteristic of Russia.

Let me give one example. One of the major achievements of Lenin's theoretical thought is his presentation of the substance of the socialist revolution as one which goes well beyond the framework of a 'pure' conflict between two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and which of necessity includes risings by small nations, outbursts of the petty bourgeoisie with all its prejudices and movements of politically non-conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses. In Lenin's own words, 'whoever expects a "pure" social revolution will never live to see it. Such a person pays lip-service to revolution without understanding what revolution is' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 356). Is there any need to prove that this remains just as true today as it was back in 1916? That it is true for any set of national conditions? That much appears to be evident. But then one should recall that Lenin first drew this key conclusion in such a consummate and incisive form as a result of his study of Irish realities.

Indeed, it is one of the outstanding features of Leninism that its world-historical generalizations encompass and take into account the entire concrete diversity of mankind's social experience in the 20th century. The strength of Lenin's theory lies in the fact that it shows the fundamental uniformities of social development in our epoch. That is why it remains scientifically profound and precise whatever the changes and turns in the socio-political fortunes of individual countries and the world as a whole.

II

'Only the proletariat . . . is capable of being the

leader of all the working and exploited people, whom the bourgeoisie exploit, oppress and crush, often not less but more than they do the proletarians, but who are incapable of waging an independent struggle for their emancipation' (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 403-404). Running through Lenin's work is the theme of the proletariat being the leading revolutionary transformative force of society. It is quite obvious that a theory resting on the basic tenets of Marxism, notably the fundamental thesis concerning the proletariat's historical mission as the gravedigger of capitalism, could not have been formulated in any other way. But Lenin put Marx's idea into the context of new world realities and enriched it with a new content. Lenin regards the proletariat not only as a class destined to directly bring about a revolutionary replacement of capitalism by socialism, but also as the leading social force of the whole of modern history.

It is impossible to overrate the importance of Lenin's conclusion about the working class being at the center of our epoch. The communists of Ireland take this scientific conclusion as one of the key guidelines in formulating their political strategy.

Our program includes dozens of highly concrete demands. Those who have little knowledge of Irish affairs may find some of these demands too specific and insignificant. But we do not take the dogmatic attitude that all of them should be followed unswervingly from A to Z. On the contrary, our approach is that the thrust of the program lies in its definition of the general line of mobilizing the masses for struggle against British monopoly capital, and it is of fundamental importance that implementation of the program, on the one hand is oriented upon overcoming the division in the ranks of the Irish working class, and on the other is made contingent on its cohesion and greater role in national political life. In other words, our view is that the key to the solution of Ireland's basic problem is in the hands of the working class. Our party's claim is the same as that which was advanced by James Connolly: 'Only the working class remains as the incorruptible inheritor of the struggle for freedom in Ireland.'

Over the past few decades, bourgeois and reformist ideologists have written a great deal and have said as much to the effect that there is now allegedly no longer any reason to bring out and emphasize the special and leading role of the working class in democratic struggle, or even in restructuring society on socialist lines. Various lines of argument are used to back up this thesis. Most frequently the emphasis is on the shifts in the social structure of contemporary capitalism, with the suggestion that in the struggle for democracy and socialism other social forces now have similar aspirations and equal potentialities with the working class. At the same time, with respect to the countries where, as the case is in Ireland, the communists have not yet become a major mass party and where the working-class movement is under strong ideological and political influence of the bourgeoisie and

reformism, it is frequently claimed that there it is groundless and futile even to consider the question of the vanguard revolutionary mission of the proletariat.

What are the political practices supported by such ideological constructs? We have a good knowledge of them from our own experience. On the one hand, they seek to tie the working-class movement to the interests of the bourgeoisie and to feed right-wing opportunist trends. In the southern part of Ireland, this is clearly expressed in the policies of the Labour Party leadership, which most frequently follows in the wake of the ruling class and which often takes a stand that is at variance with the Irish people's national aspirations. In the North, essentially the same phenomenon is expressed in the attempts to maintain an illusory community of interests of labor and capital among the Protestant part of the population. On the other hand, the adventurist line of the Provisional IRA logically springs from its refusal to recognize the leading role of the working class in the liberation struggle. However, its terroristic activity has made it notorious throughout the world but has failed in any way to advance the cause of Ireland's liberation from British imperialism.

At the dawn of the 20th century, Lenin showed that right-wing opportunism and ultra-revolutionary leftism sliding down to tactics of individual terrorism had common roots. He wrote: 'At first sight, our assertion may appear paradoxical, so great is the difference between those who stress the "drab everyday struggle" and those who call for the most self-sacrificing struggle of individuals. But this is no paradox. The Economists and the terrorists merely bow to different poles of spontaneity: the Economists bow to the spontaneity of the "labor movement pure and simple," while the terrorists bow to the spontaneity of the passionate indignation of the intellectuals, who lack the ability or opportunity to connect the revolutionary struggle and the working-class movement into an integral whole' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 418). One of Lenin's great achievements was his demonstration — theoretically and in practice — that this necessary way of connecting revolutionary struggle and the working-class movement is the only way along which the proletariat can attain its class goals.

The first thing this meant was the establishment of a working-class party that was militant in a new, revolutionary way, a party with the task of politically mobilizing the working class, educating it ideologically and raising the working people's class consciousness. This was exemplified by Lenin's Party, which brilliantly coped with this task in Russia, but this, we believe, cannot be seen as a unique case in world revolutionary history. On the contrary, we believe that it conveys experience of universal significance, which is not to say that it is to be copied dogmatically.

Our party is now working to help the working people of Ireland overcome the tendency to confine their class action to the framework of pure trade union struggle. The communists of Ireland are trying hard to dispel illusions among the working

class that satisfaction of the progressive demands of the trade union movement relating to the nationalization of mineral resources, banks and financial institutions, tax reforms, etc., can be secured through ordinary negotiations with the employers or through a state capitalist structure, which is an illusion generated by 'Sinn Fein — the Workers' Party in Ireland. This latter approach denies both the existence of a national question in Ireland and the necessity of the working people taking over the instruments of political power. We are faced here with essentially the same task which the Bolsheviks had to tackle under Lenin's leadership in their efforts to purge the working-class movement of 'Economism' and to assert the primacy of politics.

In our conditions, this is also connected with the need to remove the barriers which separate the workers of the North and South and the Catholic and Protestant sections of the working people. Some success has been achieved in the recent period in eliminating these divisions in the working class, which are convenient and profitable for the bourgeoisie. Among them, especially great importance attaches to the plan, effected exactly 10 years ago, to re-establish our party, as a united Communist Party of Ireland representing the working people of North and South. It is in a way symbolic that this reunification took place in 1970 — the year of Lenin's centenary: he had tirelessly urged the working people to strengthen their ideological and political unity through a clear awareness of their vital class interests.

III

Our party's goal is a united socialist Ireland. The way to unifying the country and to socialism lies through struggle against British imperialism. The continued imperialist domination poses this basic problem which now faces the Irish people. It is a problem that is simultaneously national and social, that is, it is a general democratic and class problem. That is what makes the Irish situation so specific and distinct from the situation in other capitalist countries. But the specific conditions in which Ireland's socio-political life has to run cannot obscure the fact that the question we face relating to the interconnection and correlation between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for the working people's class interests is common to the revolutionary, liberation movements throughout the capitalist world.

It is well known that the scientific solution for this problem was given by Lenin, notably in his theory of the development of the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. No one will claim, of course, that the arguments which were behind his conception can be reproduced in absolutely every detail in an analysis of the prospects of the struggle for democracy and socialism in contemporary developed capitalist society. But here again, the dialectics of the interconnection of the general democratic and class content of the political struggle carried on by the working people, by the masses in today's capitalist society cannot be scientifically analyzed otherwise than in the light of the theory of

Lenin's and on the basis of a development of its central idea concerning the leading role of the working class.

Lenin showed that in the struggle for democracy even within its bourgeois limits, 'the proletariat alone can be relied on to march on to the end, for it goes far beyond the democratic revolution' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 9, p. 98). It follows, therefore, that in our epoch no tangible or solid successes in the movement toward the progressive, democratic renewal of society are possible without the leading rôle of the working class. But Lenin also taught the proletariat that the political effectiveness of its leading role in the liberation, democratic struggle directly depends on the clarity and consistency with which it conducts its class line.

For us, these ideas of Lenin's are invaluable in elaborating our stand with respect to various movements in the country which have, in one way or another, committed themselves to Ireland's national interests and oppose British imperialism. To a greater or lesser extent, their demands may be those of democracy. Do we back them, do we voice our solidarity with them? Yes we do, but this is a 'yes' which has always to be hedged with reservations springing from the concrete analysis designed to discover to what extent the various democratic aspirations or slogans accord with the vital class interests of the working people, which in fact always correspond to the best interests of the nation.

For instance, among the Protestant part of the population of the North there is a political activity aimed to break the 'Union' links with Britain and to establish an independent state. Considering that this trend has an anti-imperialist and consequently, liberatory, democratic content, the communists of Ireland see no reason to outrightly oppose it. However, it has a highly heterogeneous social basis. It is largely influenced by the bourgeois Unionist ideology, which ties in the liberation of the North from British rule with the maintenance of a regime of discrimination against Catholic working people and a bolstering of the power of local capital. That is something our party opposes most resolutely.

Here is another example. We fully support the democratic programs put forward by the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association and the Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions. Some positive results for the Irish people could be achieved in the struggle to realize them. 'While Communists must seek to mobilize the masses to fight the day-to-day battle against the consequences of imperialist domination, and to extend the social, economic and democratic welfare of the people, we declare that the key question is not how Britain administers the North, but the right of Britain to administer any part of Ireland.'² We say this also to draw attention to the fact that so long as imperialism reigns supreme the system of exploitation of the working majority of the Irish people cannot be shaken whatever the successes of democracy.

This stand of the CP Ireland naturally expresses its concrete approach to the problems which are meaningful in our country. But anyone who allows

himself to overdo the Irish aspect of these problems risks losing his bearings on the way to their correct solution. Indeed, these phenomena are not all uniquely Irish, but are aspects of the class struggle which under imperialism essentially exist on any national soil. This is due to the fact that, on the one hand imperialism tends to deepen the contradictions between labor and capital, and on the other, is, to use Lenin's words, 'reaction all along the line' (*ibid.*, Vol. 22, p. 297), and is 'the "negation" of democracy in general, of all democracy' (*ibid.*, Vol. 23, p. 43).

In that kind of situation, the working class is faced with a task which simply cannot be put more precisely than Lenin did, when he urged the need to 'combine the revolutionary struggle against capitalism with a revolutionary program and tactics on all democratic demands' (*ibid.*, Vol. 21, p. 408).

One of the exercises now in vogue among the opponents of Leninism is the claim that it tends to minimize or altogether to ignore the value of democracy as the goal and instrument of the political struggle of the working class. But let us recall that it was Lenin who formulated this classic thesis: 'In the same way as there can be no victorious socialism that does not practise full democracy, so the proletariat cannot prepare for its victory over the bourgeoisie without an all-round, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy' (*ibid.*, Vol. 22, p. 144).

Only those who themselves cannot or will not face realities and recognize that the people's democratic interests and demands do not and cannot exist as an abstract ideal outside the context of class relations and contradictions are capable of saying that Leninism tends to 'neglect democracy.' But if one is true to oneself and refrains from duping others, as the bourgeois ideologists keep doing, one will realize that on the one hand, the assertion and defense of democracy are the cherished cause of the working class in its fight against imperialism, reaction and oppression by the monopolies, and that on the other, to quote Lenin, 'the domination of finance capital and of capital in general is not to be abolished by any reforms in the sphere of political democracy' (*ibid.*, Vol. 22, p. 145). Indeed, it is Leninism that teaches the working class to put a high value on democracy and to fight for it with great dedication, while being quite clear about its inevitable class limitations and the extent to which it can transform society.

Today, when the problems of democracy are the subject of bitter ideological debates and the issues in many political battles, Lenin's idea remains the most reliable guide for the working class asserting its leading role in democratic movements.

IV

The capitalist world is now in the grip of a deep crisis. According to all the forecasts for the 1980s, the capitalist economy is in for another round of upheavals and recessions. More hardship and privation looms ahead for the working class, for the masses. One will easily understand what this means for the working people in our country, when

unemployment has already reached 13.5 per cent in Northern Ireland and 11.5 per cent in the Republic.

For the ideologists of the bourgeoisie and reformism, the current piling up of crisis phenomena has turned out to be a surprise. For decades, they claimed that the state-monopoly system was inherently sound, and they continue to cling to the long-since blasted idea of an 'organized capitalism.' Let us recall that at one time these ideas were plugged very hard by the right-opportunist theorists within the working-class movement. They prophesied that world capitalism would move into an era of balanced and orderly growth, an easing of interstate conflicts on the basis of an emerging 'ultra-imperialism,' etc.

Lenin, who worked out the scientific theory of imperialism, showed these views and conceptions to be nonsense. He proved that at the monopoly stage the development of capitalism would lead to a steady sharpening of all its organic contradictions. From the Leninist standpoint, the present profoundly critical state of the economy and society in the capitalist world appears to be a natural unfolding of all these contradictions. It is safe to say that, the details apart, the situation was essentially predicted by Lenin.

Take only one aspect of the present-day capitalist reality connected with integration processes, which outwardly appear to carry capitalism closest to the vision of the 'ultra-imperialism' depicted by the reformists. We in Ireland know very well that internationally organized monopoly capital, embodied in the EEC, does not at all operate as a force seeking or able to eliminate friction and conflicts between the 'integrated' countries, to do away with or at least to tone down the discrepancies in their development levels. Membership in the EEC, which was imposed on Ireland, is a truly national calamity also signifying entrenched dependence of its economy, the undermining of various existing industries and the spread of unemployment to more groups of working people.

The practice of West European capitalist integration, far from obscuring in fact directly confirms the inexorable operation of the law of the growing unevenness of economic and political development under imperialism, a law Lenin discovered. This is also expressed in the constant disagreements among the EEC countries, in the different economic outlook in each of them and in the different levels of social and political tensions in their national life.

It also fully bears out Lenin's prediction that if the capitalist states of Europe ever united in some tangible form, it would inevitably be a reactionary one. Indeed, the Common Market and its political appendage, the European 'Parliament,' have increasingly shown themselves to be instruments of the power of monopolies and international institutions used by the bourgeoisie to contain and resist the class drives of the working people.

The demand for Ireland's withdrawal from the EEC is one of our party's chief slogans. It is closely bound up with the struggle for the Irish working people's national and class interests. It also reflects our urge to increase Ireland's political weight and

positive role in the international arena. We are sure that Ireland's anti-imperialist neutrality could become a factor helping to strengthen European security. This is a task on which our attention is especially focused now that imperialism has jeopardized the gains of détente cherished by all the nations.

We believe that the incipient negative swing in world affairs at the turn of the 1970s is rooted both in the military-aggressive tendencies organic to imperialism and in the especially sharp turn of the general crisis of capitalism in the recent period. The monopoly bourgeoisie, seeking a way out of the crisis, has always deliberately sought to complicate the international situation. That uniformity, which connects its interests with policies that do not gravitate toward peace but toward war, has been clearly manifested in this case as well.

Today we recall these words of Lenin's spoken shortly after the October Revolution: 'The fight for peace is on. It will be a uphill fight. International imperialism is mobilizing all its forces against us' (*ibid.*, Vol. 26, p. 316). Lenin's thought did indeed shed light on events decades ahead. Today imperialism continues to muster all its forces against the Soviet Union and the socialist-community countries in its efforts to frustrate the incipient restructuring of international relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence. In this situation, we believe it to be exceptionally important to resist in every way the propaganda campaign mounted by the bourgeois mass media in order to clear imperialism of the blame for yet another crime against world peace. Our party believes that its duty is to join all the other progressive and peace-loving forces in carrying on an active struggle for strengthening universal security and asserting Lenin's principles of peaceful coexistence in international affairs.

The marked complication of the world political situation and the considerable difficulties which we shall have to overcome in the struggle that fills Ireland's social and political life cannot in any way impel us to despair or depart from the party's chosen way. We are firmly and confidently looking to the future. The Political Resolution adopted by the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Ireland says: 'The root of our confidence and optimism is our belief in the often proven ability of our working class and working people to fight, and the knowledge that British imperialism on a world scale can neither regain its lost initiative nor reverse the development of history towards SOCIALISM.'³

In marking the present anniversary of Lenin's birth we want to emphasize that our optimism springs from a scientific understanding of the laws of our epoch which he discovered. We feel that, like Lenin, we have every right to say that we represent 'a class that is advancing toward victory' (*ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 399).

1. For *People's Unity*. Documents of the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Ireland, Belfast, 1979, p. 57.

2. For *People's Unity*, p. 8.

3. For *People's Unity*, p. 26.

Lenin — theorist of the national liberation movement

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One cannot, of course, present in one article the entire range of Lenin's thought on the national liberation movement. Nor is that necessary, for there are numerous books threading together the theory based on Lenin's thought and now accepted by many progressive forces in the national liberation area. I would therefore like to deal only with some questions relating to the present state of affairs in the area, specifically in African countries. This article is an attempt to identify general problems bearing on the situation in Africa. I hope I will have the opportunity later to amplify them on the basis of our party's own experience.

In the early years of this century, especially in the years immediately following the socialist revolution in Russia, Lenin discerned and analyzed the new character of national liberation movements in the epoch of imperialism and the formation of socialism as a world social system. He showed that these movements had become part of an integral world revolutionary process. Furthermore, he said that while 'the masses of toilers — the peasants in the colonial countries — are still backward, they will play a very important revolutionary part in the coming phases of the world revolution' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 482).

He saw the revolutionary role of the national liberation movement primarily in the fact that being directed against colonialism and hence imperialism it objectively carries an anti-capitalist, socialist message. He predicted that the struggle of all colonies and countries oppressed by imperialism, of all dependent states against world imperialism, would ultimately and inevitably merge with the struggle of the revolutionary working class of each country against its bourgeoisie. This interaction would create the conditions for further breaches in the imperialist chain and for the advance of the forces of the socialist revolution.

Lenin considered that the awakening of colonial slaves and their involvement in the struggle for their liberation would become a *necessary element and guarantee* of the downfall of imperialism. 'World imperialism shall fall,' he said, 'when the revolutionary onslaught of the exploited and oppressed workers in each country, overcoming resistance from petty-bourgeois elements and the influence of the small upper crust of labor aristocrats, merges with the revolutionary onslaught of hundreds of millions of people who have hitherto stood beyond the pale of history, and have been regarded merely as the object of history' (Vol. 31, p. 232).

World developments since Lenin said this have proved him right and revealed the perspicacity of

his scientific vision. The disintegration of colonial empires after World War II, which sharply reduced the sphere of direct imperialist domination, became a major factor at the new stage of the general crisis of capitalism. Nor is this statement less correct because the national statehood of most of the countries which have cast off colonial bondage still rests on capitalist foundations. The upheavals plaguing contemporary capitalism and the breakdown of the majority of the control mechanisms created by it at the state-monopoly stage are inseparable from the increasingly independent role of newly-free countries on the world scene.

This prompts me again to quote Lenin's prophetic words. 'The period of the awakening of the East in the contemporary revolution,' he pointed out, 'is being succeeded by a period in which all the Eastern peoples will participate in deciding the destiny of the whole world, so as not to be simply objects of the enrichment of others. The peoples of the East are becoming alive to the need for practical action, the need for every nation to take part in shaping the destiny of all mankind' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 160).

What Lenin said has become everyday reality. The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America play a growing role in shaping the destiny of the *whole world*. This role expresses itself in the non-aligned movement and the struggle of its member countries to restructure international economic relations on the basis of equality. U.S. imperialism's defeat in Vietnam, the imperialist powers' forced recognition of the independence won by the peoples of the former Portuguese colonies, the use of oil as a deterrent against imperialism's intention of striking at the national liberation movement of the Arab peoples, and the fact that Britain and the Smith regime were compelled by the pressure of former African and Asian members of the British Commonwealth to make some concessions on the issue of independence for Zimbabwe are instances of the active influence of former colonies and semi-colonies on international relations. They are also an impressive sign of the changed alignment of world forces. There is every reason to expect that in the 1980s this influence will be more substantial and the newly-free peoples will strike heavier blows at imperialism.

Needless to say, it would be politically naive to imagine that our peoples will achieve victory automatically — that imperialism is now a colossus on clay feet, as some people affirm. The imperialists still have enormous potentialities for pressuring the new states. They add new, including reformist

props to the neo-colonial system, which shows cracks every now and again — suffice it to mention the formation of a commonwealth of French-speaking nations under the aegis of French imperialism and with the active cooperation of President Senghor of Senegal. Hence the need for closer anti-imperialist unity among the new states.

Lenin's class approach to the issue of just and unjust wars assigns an important place to the doctrine of national wars waged by colonial peoples. He was virtually the first to introduce the concept of national liberation war and reveal its revolutionary character. He clearly saw that the leadership of the rapidly growing national liberation movements was in the hands of the national bourgeoisie. But he emphatically rejected the argument, current among the communists at the time, that these movements were reactionary allegedly because throughout the world the bourgeoisie had lost its progressive role and become an obstacle to the march of history. He noted that in the early decades of the 20th century tens and hundreds of millions of people were awakening to a national life and breaking free from oppression by the reactionary 'great' powers. 'A war waged on such a historical basis,' he wrote, 'can even today be a bourgeois-progressive war of national liberation' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 304). And elsewhere: 'National wars against the imperialist powers are not only possible and probable; they are inevitable, progressive and revolutionary' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 312).

That is why Lenin insisted that the working-class parties should give their utmost support to national liberation wars waged by oppressed nations. He felt that it was mandatory that this support should go as far as unqualified recognition of the right of every oppressed nation to independent statehood. The socialists, he wrote, would not achieve their great goal without fighting every form of national oppression. Therefore, they should under all circumstances demand that the social democratic parties (which were working-class parties at the time) of the oppressor countries (especially the so-called great powers) recognize and uphold the right of the oppressed nations to political self-determination, in other words, to political secession. When, in March 1919, the Eighth RCP(B) Congress was debating the nationalities question, Bukharin took a stand against the right of nations to self-determination. Lenin gave the gist of Bukharin's approach with the words: "'Are we, the proletarians, to recognize the right to self-determination of the despised bourgeoisie? That is absolutely incompatible!" and objected: "Pardon me, it is compatible with what exists"' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 170).

This was one of the fundamental aspects of Lenin's approach, which stressed the need to use contemporary reality as the basis without departing an inch from the class standpoint and to distinguish between incipient trends so as to be able to look ahead. Subsequent developments proved Lenin right in this respect as well. The struggle which Lenin's party, the CPSU, carried on consistently to bring the principle of self-determination to materialization also played a tremendous role in

shaping the destiny of colonial peoples. On a Soviet motion, this principle was enshrined in the UN Charter and became a universally recognized key norm of international law. It has been and is a powerful weapon of the peoples of former and existing colonies and semi-colonies in their struggle against imperialist and neo-colonial oppression.

One has only to make a close study of Lenin's approach to self-determination to see through the falsity of the assertions of some 'unscrupulous would-be theorists of the type of President Senghor, who tries to discredit Marxism-Leninism by saying things like the following: 'Contrary to (?? — S.C.) what Marx thought or even to what Lenin thought, the advent of socialism or even communism will not consign either the nation or independence as a concept to the history museum.'

Lenin insisted that the proletariat of developed countries should unconditionally recognize that oppressed nations had the right to self-determination up to and including secession. In pointing out that this proletariat could and should help the backward masses, he proceeded from the necessity for alliance among these forces of the world revolutionary process. He saw this as an indispensable condition for ending the mutual estrangement induced by centuries of colonial exploitation and, by the fact that colonial profits placed capitalism in a position to throw sops to its labor aristocracy, a practice which went a long way toward spreading chauvinist feeling among the latter.

'The age-old oppression of colonial and weak nationalities by the imperialist powers,' Lenin wrote, 'has not only filled the working masses of the oppressed countries with animosity toward the oppressor nations, but has also aroused distrust in these nations in general, even in their proletariat' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 150). At the Second Comintern Congress he quoted Quelch, a British communist, who had said bitterly that 'the rank-and-file British worker would consider it treasonable to help the enslaved nations in their uprisings against British rule' (*Ibid.*, p. 245). This was the mood also among a section of the French working class, a fact which in no little measure inhibited the liberation struggle in African countries.

Unquestionably, Lenin evolved his theory of the national liberation movement as a theory applicable both to oppressed peoples and to the peoples — primarily the working class — of imperialist colonial powers. He said that it was the duty of the communists of these countries to support the national liberation struggle in every way and without qualification and help backward, colonial peoples achieve political independence and socio-economic progress, making the point that this also accorded with the immediate interests of the proletariat's class struggle in the capitalist world itself.

'The international proletariat,' he said, 'is the only ally of all the hundreds of millions of the working and exploited peoples of the East' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 162). Unfailing application of Lenin's principles by communist parties and the widening dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas

in the former colonies and semi-colonies help remove the legacy of mutual estrangement and objectively clear the way for the fusion of these two streams of the world revolutionary process.

The emergence of the first socialist country on the international scene followed by the formation of the world socialist system, gave international proletarian solidarity with the struggle of oppressed peoples new scope and content. This led to the rise of the third and most powerful stream of the world revolutionary process. The idea of new, equitable political and economic international relations was heralded by what Lenin wrote in 1916, shortly before the inevitable victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia. 'We shall exert every effort,' he pointed out, 'to foster associations and merger with the Mongolians, Persians, Indians, Egyptians. We believe it is our duty and in our interest to do this, for otherwise socialism in Europe will not be secure. We shall endeavor to render these nations, more backward and oppressed than we are, disinterested cultural assistance . . . In other words, we will help them pass to the use of machinery, to the lightening of labor, to democracy, to socialism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, p. 67).

In their policy toward Third World nations the socialist-community countries adhere steadfastly to Leninist principles. This is well known, but I should like to emphasize that Lenin's thought is embodied in a key principle underlying the non-aligned movement, which is so important to our peoples, namely the thesis that the socialist community is the natural bulwark of that movement.

This thesis is accepted by a large majority of non-aligned countries. Regrettably, Senegal is not one of them. Indeed, Moustafa Niasse, the Senegalese delegate to the latest (sixth) conference of non-aligned countries held in Havana, was in the forefront of those who assailed this principle. The assault failed ignominiously. 'Regarding the problem of the "natural alliance between the non-aligned countries and the world socialist system," which some predicted was going to split the movement, the matter is clear,' wrote *Momsarev*, our party journal. 'No puppet of imperialism can show that the Western powers have backed any liberation struggle. Inter-imperialist rivalries, however sharp, never lead to support for the forces actually articulating the people's aspirations . . . The socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union, are more than the most stable hinterland of the liberation struggles in the face of the imperialist conspiracy. All along the line of the international confrontation between the forces of progress and those of reaction, the socialist countries actively use their diplomacy and their military, economic and political strength to tip the scales in favor of embattled peoples.'²

Lenin saw both a bourgeois and a labor element in the national liberation movement. Putting it on record, as I have said, that the national liberation movements of his day were led by the bourgeoisie, Lenin pointed out that most Eastern peoples were representative of the mass of working people — not workers schooled at imperialist factories but typical

members of the working and exploited mass of peasants held down by medieval oppression. This is why, when the nationalities and colonial questions were debated at the Second Comintern Congress, Lenin backed the proposal that it would be more correct to speak of a 'national revolutionary movement' rather than of a 'bourgeois democratic movement.' Moreover, he said that it 'was necessary to distinguish between reformist and revolutionary liberation movements in the colonies, declaring that it was the duty of communists to give their most determined support to the more revolutionary elements in the national liberation movements and 'assist their uprising — or revolutionary war, in the event of one — against the imperialist powers that oppress them' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 152).

The fact is that, unlike most of his contemporaries, Lenin predicted as far back as the end of the 1910s that 'in the future decisive battles of the world revolution' the movement of the majority of the world's population, whose original aim was national liberation, would inevitably turn against capitalism and imperialism. Roughly in the same period, he noted that this possibility could become reality as a result of the triumphant socialist revolution in Russia. 'Are we,' he said in his celebrated speech to the Second Comintern Congress, 'to consider as correct the assertion that the capitalist stage of economic development is inevitable for backward nations now on the road to emancipation and among whom a certain advance toward progress is to be seen since the war? We replied in the negative . . . The Communist International should advance the proposition, with the appropriate theoretical grounding, that with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 244).

The possibility became reality. When socialism became a world system and when the most reactionary imperialist forces were defeated in World War II, the balance of strength on the international scene changed so dramatically that imperialism could no longer prevent the nations that had won freedom from choosing their own path of development. As a result, more and more countries are taking the non-capitalist, socialism-oriented path, support from the state of the victorious proletariat helping them to consolidate their choice.

The statement adopted by the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Tropical and Southern Africa says that 'the socialist orientation of progressive African countries is a manifestation of the objective laws of our epoch, the epoch of transition of a growing number of countries from capitalism to socialism.'³ What is particularly gratifying to us African communists is that more and more revolutionary democratic parties leading socialism-oriented countries align themselves with the working class, accept scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism, as their ideology and adopt proletarian internationalism.

Lenin also perspicaciously forecast that the temp-

tation of social democracy could be an ominous menace to the revolutionary trend of the national liberation movement. Taking into account the betrayal of the international working-class movement by parties of the Second International during World War I — a betrayal that was disastrous to the movement — Lenin wrote that 'the Communists in these (colonial. — S.S.) countries must combat the reformist bourgeoisie, to whom the heroes of the Second International also belong. Reformist parties already exist in the colonial countries, and in some cases their spokesmen call themselves Social-Democrats and Socialists' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 242).

The international social democratic movement is still engaged in this subversion in the revolutionary national liberation movement. In Africa the Socialist International has been particularly active in recent years and we communists attribute this to fear of the gains of the continent's progressive forces. There is no need to repeat the facts, for *World Marxist Review* has written about them and the role of President Senghor in the African offensive launched by the social democrats.⁴ But I would like to stress that Africa's communists have the responsible task of repulsing the neo-colonialist offensive and exposing the meaning of the program offered by the social democrats to our peoples and the false allegations that Marxism-Leninism is inapplicable in African conditions.

Lenin spoke of the distinctive character of communist activity in backward, peasant countries, declaring that the communists should learn to apply the general principles of revolutionary strategy in these conditions competently. 'In this respect,' he said, speaking at the Second Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East, 'you are confronted with a task which has not previously confronted the Communists of the world: relying upon the general theory and practice of communism, you must adapt yourselves to specific conditions such as do not exist in the European countries; you must be able to apply that theory and practice to conditions in which the bulk of the population are peasants, and in which the task is to wage a struggle against medieval survivals and not against capitalism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 161).

In generalizing the experience of the Russian communists in the former tsarist colonies, where they were confronted 'with the question of how to apply the communist tactics and policy in pre-capitalist conditions,' Lenin said: 'Experience has shown us that tremendous difficulties have to be surmounted in these countries. However, the practical results of our work have also shown that despite these difficulties we are in a position to inspire in the masses an urge for independent political thinking and independent political action, even where a proletariat is practically non-existent' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 242, 243).

It was in this awakening of the peasant masses to independent political thinking under the leadership of the most advanced forces of society that Lenin saw a guarantee of the future victory of the

socialist orientation in backward countries. And this is the task on which Africa's communists and true revolutionary democrats are now working. We know from experience that it is not easy. At its latest national conference (Dakar, July 29, 1979) our party stressed that the progress made by it in spreading its influence in the countryside 'in no way corresponded to the significance of the peasant question in the nation's destiny or to its place in the national democratic revolution.' The conference noted that it was imperative for the party to focus its analytical work on furnishing an adequate solution of the problems facing the peasants.⁵

In our quests we are inspired by Lenin's words to the communists of the East. 'Such are,' he said, 'the problems whose solution you will not find in any communist book, but will find in the common struggle begun by Russia. You will have to tackle that problem and solve it through your own independent experience. In that you will be assisted, on the one hand, by close alliance with the vanguard of the working people of other countries, and, on the other, by ability to find the right approach to the peoples of the East whom you here represent' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 162).

To be sure, there are communist parties in only a few countries if we take Africa south of the Sahara. But Lenin's analysis was not meant for communists alone. It is accepted by increasingly numerous revolutionary democrats who have risen to leading positions in the national liberation movement in many liberated countries. The communists, says the Statement of the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Tropical and Southern Africa, are allies of the revolutionary democrats and have the same platform as they 'in the struggle to implement progressive reforms, judiciously develop the national economy, improve the revolutionary democratic state and its agencies . . . raise the peoples' living standards, and continue a policy of alliance with the countries of the socialist community.'⁶

The communists are confident that they and the revolutionary democrats will resolve the fundamental problems confronting African peoples on the road to socialism. What they need to this end is to cooperate on the principles of mutual respect and support, drawing closer together as more and more revolutionary democrats side with the working class, bearing in mind the characteristics of each country and the general laws of the revolutionary process and leaning on cooperation with the socialist countries and the support of the international proletariat.

1. Leopold Sedar Senghor, *Nation et voie africaine du socialisme*, Paris, 1961, p. 119.

2. *Momsarev*, No. 8, October 1979, p. 32.

3. *Badolo-Bi*, (journal of the French Section of the African Independence Party of Senegal), Special Issue, p. 7.

4. See Mamadou Ba, 'A Social-Democratic Model for Africa and Neocolonialism,' in *WMR*, March 1978.

5. *Momsarev*, No. 7, September 1979, p. 18.

6. *Badolo-Bi*, p. 14.

Lenin and the struggle for peace and a better future

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Lenin's inestimable contribution to the theory and practice of revolutionary struggle for social progress and a better future for the human race does not lose its significance with the passage of time. More, the course of history reaffirms the unfading consequence of everything for which this thinker of genius and great revolutionary laid the foundation. Facts continuously bear out his thoughts and practical work. These words apply fully to his contribution to the development of the Marxist teaching on peace, war and revolution.

The communists have good reason for giving their unremitting attention to this range of problems. The two world wars that scorched the earth in the 20th century and took a toll of more than 70 million lives, have left a deep scar in human memory. At the same time, the present and future of the human race have now come under the growing influence of new factors generated by historical development, such as the emergence and strengthening of the socialist world system, the change in the balance of strength between socialism and capitalism in favor of socialism and the downfall of colonial empires. The world has changed. All over the globe imperialism now has to contend with powerful forces: the socialist world system, the international working class and the national liberation movement, the mass public organizations and the peace movements, which have mustered under their banners hundreds of millions of people of different nationalities, world outlook and party affiliation.

The operation of these factors has brought into sharp focus the problems of struggle against imperialist wars, for peace and the security of nations, the more so that the scientific and technological revolution has, on the one hand, given rise to the objective need for repeatedly reinforcing international cooperation and the international division of labor in order to resolve global problems affecting the whole of mankind, and on the other, produced means of destruction that can wipe mankind from the face of the earth.

From a peaceful respite to peaceful coexistence

History has shown that the objective cause of wars lies in the nature of capitalism, in imperialism, the arms race, militarization and other ominous trends of capitalism's development. However, beginning with the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution, we have an example of a positive solution of this question. 'The first Bolshevik revolution has wrested the first hundred million people of this earth from the clutches of imperialist war and the

imperialist world. Subsequent revolutions will deliver the rest of mankind from such wars and from such a world,' Lenin wrote prophetically (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 57). After the October Revolution the world split into two opposing socio-economic systems. Moribund capitalist society found itself opposed by a more advanced, more progressive social system that gradually became the center of attraction for all the revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces.

By advancing the principle of peaceful coexistence of countries of the two social systems immediately after the October Revolution, Lenin proceeded from the intrinsic nature of the new, socialist state, from the identity of interests of the struggle for socialism and the struggle for democracy, from the objective law that socialism will ultimately triumph in this peaceful contest. However, the probability of this principle being implemented in the practice of international relations, the possibility for averting war depended on the power balance in the world. The program of peace and peaceful coexistence could not be carried out in its entirety when the USSR was completely encircled by capitalist states, when it was the only socialist country in the world. At the time peaceful coexistence acquired the form of a 20-year peaceful respite. The balance of strength in the world underwent a dramatic change after the Second World War and the formation of the socialist world system. The cardinal trend of historical progress became the steady development and expansion of socialism's influence on the course of world history and the simultaneous shrinking of the sphere and magnitude of imperialism's influence. In this situation the possibility for preventing another world war grew immeasurably.

In the same way that the great bourgeois revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries reflected the needs of the world at that time rather than the needs of those countries or parts of the world where they occurred, the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia and then the formation of the socialist world system — the community of socialist countries — opened the road to the realization of mankind's greatest need, namely, the assertion of peace on earth. The victory of the socialist revolution and peace proved to be linked inseparably.

The policy of détente pursued by the USSR and other socialist countries has acquired tremendous significance. Détente is consonant with the progress of all humanity; it creates the best possible conditions for the struggle of the working class and all other democratic forces, for the assertion of each

people's inalienable right to choose its own path of development and follow that path. for the struggle against monopoly rule and for socialism.

In turn, the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence is today becoming the key orientation of the revolutionary struggle for democratic and social progress. It must be specially noted that in this struggle the working class and its vanguard — the communists — are the spokesmen of their class interests and also of national interests and the interests of all mankind. First, we proceed from the belief that the road to a society of social justice unlinked to war meets most fully with the interests of the working class and all other working people; second, we contend that this and no other road guarantees the preservation and successful development of nations as ethnic, economic, cultural and territorial entities; and lastly, we are deeply convinced that all mankind wants peaceful coexistence, for with the weaponry and military technology now in existence a military confrontation between the two systems will most probably bring about the destruction of modern civilization.

But peaceful coexistence and détente do not imply the preservation of a social status quo, of a class peace, and they do not resolve in advance the question of 'who will win.' They only create a specific field for class battles that excludes the use of military force for the settlement of conflicts between the capitalist and the socialist world systems (the class struggle develops as an economic, political and ideological competition for a better life for people, for their minds and hearts). This by no means rules out any form of class and national liberation struggle in one country or another, or capitalism's sustained efforts to retrieve the positions it has lost in various parts of the world by means of direct military intervention or with the hands of its supporters and agents.² In this struggle socialism's historic advantage is that the very operation of the inescapable laws of social development will bring it to ultimate victory.

But how long this road to victory will be and what toll it will take depend on the operation of subjective factors — social classes and groups, parties, politicians and statesmen.

For the communists therefore, the elaboration of class attitudes on the key questions of the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence is an indispensable condition of success in the struggle for mankind's social emancipation.

The struggle for peace and some aspects of the battle of ideologies

The defense of peace has become one of the pivotal tasks of the masses, above all of the international communist movement. It was not fortuitous that the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties adopted the 'Appeal in Defense of Peace,' which states: 'In face of all trials we communists have preserved our boundless devotion to Lenin's ideas of peace and friendship among nations. Today, as before, we shall struggle for these lofty aims of the whole of mankind together with all who oppose the policy of militarism, aggression and

war.'³ However, in questions concerning the defense of peace, as in other questions of strategy and tactics, the Marxists have constantly to wage a determined struggle with their class and ideological adversaries. Innumerable bourgeois, 'leftist,' Maoist, opportunist, revisionist and other views clash with the communist notions of the dialectical unity and interrelation of the problems of peace, war and revolution. Despite their motley character, these views represent three distinct anti-communist ideological trends: Maoism, bourgeois philosophy that social processes are not cognizable, and opportunism.⁴

The Canadian communists are opposed to 'leftists,' who use 'arch-revolutionary' slogans as a screen for their attacks on the efforts being made by socialist countries, the international working-class movement and other peace forces to safeguard international security, and to the idealistic and opportunist views that lead to passiveness in the struggle of the masses against the imperialist plans for another world war. However, while exposing the untenability of the arguments of our ideological adversaries, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that they exercise some influence on the masses. Precisely views of this kind generate myths about 'bellicose communism,' 'aggressive socialism' and so forth, which are used by our adversaries to give people a distorted idea of communism and socialism, of the purposes and aims of the international communist movement.

In this context, it would be appropriate to say a few words about the notions of the Marxist-Leninists on the dialectics of war, peace and revolution.

The communists have always seen the existence of the capitalist system as the source of the war threat. In order to curb capitalism's striving for military gambles, annexations and the enslavement of other peoples, Karl Marx, writing in the Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association, called upon the working class 'to master themselves the mysteries of international politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective governments; to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power; when unable to prevent, to combine in simultaneous denunciations, and to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations.'⁵ He stressed that the struggle for such a policy is part of the struggle for the emancipation of the working class. The Marxist-Leninist stand differs from the social-pacifism of the opportunists in that it links the struggle for peace to the struggle to depose capitalist rule and offers not only a minimum program, i.e., a program of general democratic struggle for peace under capitalism, but also a maximum program, the recognition that socialism must triumph worldwide in order to eliminate the threat of war once and for all.

While linking the revolutionary overthrow of bourgeois rule to the crisis of the capitalist system, including crises generated by wars, the Marxists by no means regard war as an indispensable or even

desirable condition of the revolution. Lenin wrote that 'a revolution that follows and is connected with a war . . . is a particularly severe case of childbirth' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 498). He recalled how right Engels was when 30 years before the Russian revolution he wrote that a European war would see crowns falling by the dozens and nobody picking them up, that such a war would result in unparalleled bestiality, savagery and backwardness of the whole of Europe (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 422).

The communists see that war, which carries the contradictions of capitalism to bursting point, may lead to revolution, to society's socialist transformation. But they have never been indifferent to the price that is paid for these transformations — neither when wars were less destructive nor today when the development of military technology would threaten mankind with cataclysmic disaster were a world war to break out.

The experience of the communists, an experience tested by history, shows that revolutions take place when and where the socio-economic and political conditions mature for smashing the chains of capitalist slavery. These conditions appear also without wars, by virtue of capitalism's nature. By elaborating, in the footsteps of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the problem of revolution without war in theoretical and practical terms, the communists show mankind the most humane way to the future world of social justice.

Some specifics of the situation today

The conditions under which the working people of our and other capitalist countries will have to fight for peace, democracy and social progress in the 1980s will evidently differ substantially from the conditions that obtained in the 1950s-1960s and 1970s. The aggravation of the economic contradictions and instability of the capitalist world are accompanied by that world's increasing political inconstancy. The mounting general crisis of capitalism has affected the entire system of social and political relations, state power and political parties. Even in a classical bourgeois democracy like Canada, where capitalist rule only recently rested on solid traditions and time-tested institutions, a paralysis of power is beginning to be observed. A Conservative government was able to remain in power for only six months. Mass disaffection with government policy is mounting. Class conflicts are growing sharper.

In this situation the monopoly bourgeoisie is trying to develop new, more effective instruments for suppressing the revolutionary and democratic forces. This is bearing out Lenin's words that the 'more victorious we are the more the capitalist exploiters learn to unite' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 450). The billions being spent to strengthen NATO, the regular meetings in the framework of the EEC, the Seven, the Four and so forth, and lastly the growing trend toward the internationalization of the various groups championing the interests of capital — the conservative, Catholic and reformist parties — and the systematic meetings of ideologists, politologists

and economists of the capitalist world are elements of that policy.

As the crisis grows deeper, the tendency to modify the methods and system of capitalist rule becomes increasingly more perceptible. Capital is increasingly relying on the machine for suppression, namely, the army and the police. Various 'emergency laws' have been enacted. In particular, the Canadian government has announced that in 'special cases' the police would have 'extraordinary powers.'

Monopoly capital is seeking to compensate its diminishing sphere of influence by building up colossal military strength, which it regards also as an instrument of deterrence and a means of obstructing revolutionary development in the world, halting it and where possible, reversing it. Extreme reactionary forces are coming out into the open.

These were the forces that caused the international situation to deteriorate on the borderline between the 1970s and 1980s. The imperialists, chiefly of the USA, saw the progress toward peace and détente as a hindrance to their aggressive ambitions, to their policy of plunder and dictation. These were the circles that imposed an automatic growth of military spending up to the close of the 20th century on the NATO countries, including Canada. They are expanding the network of U.S. military bases in various parts of the world, trying to form new military blocs and reviving the gunboat policy relative to governments and peoples seeking deliverance from dependence on imperialism. While building up pressure on its own citizens and allies the U.S. government has deferred ratification of SALT-2. In compliance with its demand, NATO has decided to deploy medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. Lastly, in order to justify and camouflage these ominous steps, Washington has launched an unparalleled anti-Soviet campaign.

As I see it, this situation brings into prominence a wide spectrum of urgent problems, whose solution will require vigorous political action by the masses themselves and a more profound Marxist theoretical analysis.

I feel that of these problems the first and most important is to frustrate the plans of imperialist reaction, to prevent it from slowing down détente and starting a new spiral of the arms race. We cannot afford to reconcile ourselves to this whipping up of militarism and chauvinism, and we cannot afford to allow the lion's share of humanity's material and spiritual resources to be spent on wars and on preparations for them. Much less can we tolerate the fact that some bourgeois politicians behave as though they have not lost hope of settling differences by military force.

It is no secret that some military and political leaders in the USA and NATO, including Canada, believe that the use of nuclear weapons is potentially expedient and are thinking of their tactical, local employment, of developing 'first strike' technical facilities that would give the aggressor an advantage. But first, what is tactical and local for the USA turns out to be strategic for other nations, chiefly European and in some sense for Canada.

And second, in the opinion of experts the explosion of the very first nuclear bomb could trigger a military-political chain reaction and blow up all the nuclear weapons currently stockpiled in arsenals. These arsenals, according to UN estimates, have an explosive power equal to a million bombs of the type dropped on Hiroshima in 1945.

All this poses the communists the task of vigorously upholding and implementing the posture agreed upon at international meetings of communist parties on questions of the struggle for peace, détente, and disarmament. For us the adoption of a thesis that détente should be abandoned, that disarmament cannot be achieved and so on, would be tantamount to being reconciled to the inevitability of war, to recognizing or allowing for a nuclear war, to denying people any hope for the future.

For the communists of Canada there is no doubt over what their international duty is today. At our 24th Convention in January we reiterated that we have been and will remain loyal to the principles of fraternal solidarity in the struggle against the common enemy — imperialist reaction. The Canadian communists have denounced the attempts of the U.S. and NATO imperialists to revive a cold war atmosphere in the world, condemned the Pentagon's plans for manufacturing and deploying medium-range nuclear missiles, and spoke out against the Canadian Conservative government's support for the U.S. administration's threats to Iran and against Washington's acts of undisguised hostility for the Soviet Union. Properly speaking, we neither have been nor are in doubt about the meaning of sovereignty and independence in the policies and actions of the Party. We see this sovereignty and independence in expanding our links and cooperation with other parties, in strengthening international solidarity in the defense of peace, democracy and socialism for the benefit of our people. The Communist Party of Canada rejects all acts that help imperialism. We will never take a stand that could weaken the international solidarity of communist and workers' parties and undermine socialism. In the tradition laid down by Lenin, we shall always be devoted to the class interests of the working people and remain true patriots and internationalists.

With this is closely linked the task of isolating anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. The forces of social regression stop at nothing — neither the gunning down of hundreds and thousands of people, nor massive arrests, nor intricate political and ideological maneuvering aimed at disuniting nations and splitting the forces of progress. The fact that neo-fascist, revenge-seeking, nationalistic elements are becoming active in some countries make these maneuvers all the more alarming.

It is particularly dangerous to lose vigilance relative to the countless and diverse attempts to drive a wedge between the socialist countries, and between the socialist community and other contingents of the working-class and liberation movements. The bourgeoisie is using its anti-Soviet, anti-socialist campaign to divert the working people's attention

from the catastrophic effects of monopoly policy, the crisis, unemployment and inflation, to isolate the working class and its party, to confuse the working strata of the population and alienate them from the communists and push them away from an alliance with revolutionary workers. It is safe to say that anti-Sovietism and anti-socialism have now become imperialism's main ideological and political weapon.

To isolate and expose anti-Sovietism means to give a larger dimension to the struggle for peace, freedom and social progress. Our Party Convention passed a resolution under the heading 'The Soviet Union — Bulwark of World Peace,' in which we paid high tribute to the USSR's outstanding contribution to the consolidation of peace, security and freedom of nations. The Canadian communists reaffirmed their readiness to strengthen good-neighborly, friendly cooperation between the peoples of Canada and the Soviet Union. We feel that the 1980s should be a decade of a determined offensive of all the forces of progress against the poisonous ideas of anti-socialism and anti-Sovietism. Otherwise there may be the risk that our common adversaries will make inroads against progress and peace, which while being partial and transient, will nonetheless be prejudicial to all humanity.

In the new situation the question of the attitude to the bourgeois policy of détente is becoming more acute than ever. The changed balance of strength in the world and a sober account of the possible consequences of another world war have led on the one hand, to the consolidation of extreme imperialist reaction and on the other, to the emergence of a sort of capitalist policy of détente, which in contrast to the socialist policy, is elaborated and implemented as a policy safeguarding the capitalist system, as a policy expressing the interests of the ruling classes of bourgeois society. Realistically-thinking circles of the monopoly bourgeoisie want to use détente to further their class aims and undermine the revolutionary forces. They are trying to adapt themselves to the new international conditions of the class struggle. This explains, in particular, the sharp struggle that is now going on between the ruling and opposition bourgeois parties in many capitalist countries and to a larger extent, within these parties over the arms race and foreign policy generally.

The Canadian communists see the marked difference between the policy of fanning international tension pursued by imperialist reaction and the policy of those imperialist circles who recognize peaceful coexistence as a norm of relations between countries with different social systems. Any shift to the right makes the danger of war greater and impedes the class struggle of the working people. Our party's 24th Convention unanimously approved the line toward uniting all of the nation's progressive democratic forces, toward promoting cooperation with the trade unions, the New Democratic Party and other public and political organizations opposed to domination of the Canadian economy by U.S. monopolies and transnational corporations and advocating the consolidation of the nation's independence, satisfaction of the working people's

vital interests. Canada's withdrawal from NATO, peace and disarmament.

At the same time, we are aware that the adoption by a bourgeois government of a line toward peaceful coexistence does not lead to a cessation of the struggle against it. A new problem thus confronts the communist and workers' parties. It is the problem of what attitude to adopt to bourgeois policy recognizing the realities of peaceful coexistence. How far should the support for this policy go? What are the most effective ways of unmasking its class aims, inconsistency, delays and procrastinations on the road to the settlement of urgent problems of international security? How are available possibilities to be used for pressuring the government to make it bring its policy more into line with the interests of the working people, with the interests of

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the masses? Without finding an answer to these questions it is impossible to work effectively among the masses, to fight effectively for a better life for the working people today, for their welfare and peaceful future.

These are some of the problems that spring from the need for an all-out effort to step up the struggle for peace. I believe they are not insoluble, although their solution will entail some difficulties. 'An end to wars, peace among the nations, the cessation of pillaging and violence — such is our ideal,' Lenin wrote as early as 1915 (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 293). The hope of millions for a world without military conflicts can become a reality today through the concerted efforts of all who are prepared to fight for it, prepared to devote all their strength to freeing humanity from the arms race, mutual suspicion and fear.

1. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 161.

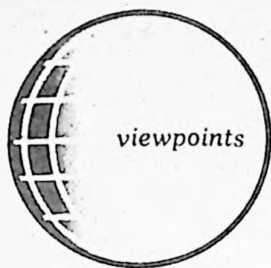
2. Precisely for this reason the communists emphatically reject the pacifist argument that war is an absolute evil. There are unjust wars of aggrandizement, but there are also just wars linked to the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation and to the defense of socialist gains against imperialist aggression. For that reason, despite the perils of local wars, the aggressor and the victim of aggression cannot be bracketed and no people can be denied the legitimate right to an armed struggle against enslavers. The communists have always sided with those who wage a just struggle for freedom and independence.

3. *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969, Prague, 1969*, p. 50.

4. The Maoists and the various 'leftist' groups claim for example, that the struggle for peace is useless and even harmful to the revolutionary movement on the allegation that revolution is the direct outcome of war. They assert that another world war would be useful, believing that it would speed up the abolition of the imperialist system. Assertions of this kind are eagerly used by all anti-communist propaganda in order to persuade people that communism is aggressive and bellicose, that for the sake of 'future revolutions' it wants new wars.

This propaganda also encourages various idealistic notions that historical development is spontaneous, that each generation can learn only from its own experience (hence the conclusion that wars are inevitable at least after every other generation). This philosophy condemns mankind to submissiveness and passiveness in the face of the socio-economic and political forces that have twice plunged the world into the flames of war during our century. Lastly, the opportunists endeavor to draw a dividing line between the struggle for peace and the struggle against imperialism. While regarding peace as the highest value, they call for a renunciation of the revolutionary, national liberation, class struggle for the sake of preserving peace, and link the preservation of peace to the preservation of a social status quo, of social and national oppression.

5. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, 1969, p. 18.



The Afghan people will stand firmly on guard of the revolution

Babrak Karmal

General Secretary, CC, People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan,
Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister,
Democratic Republic of Afghanistan

The following is a transcript of an interview given by Babrak Karmal to a *WMR* correspondent in early February 1980.

Q. Would you give a general outline of the Saur Revolution in Afghanistan.

A. An address formulating the Basic Lines of the Revolutionary Duties of the Government of the DRA, broadcast on Kabul Radio on May 9, 1978, i.e., a fortnight after the Saur (April) revolution, says: 'The armed uprising of Saur 7, 1357,* carried out by the will of the working people of Afghanistan under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan by patriotic officers and valiant soldiers, was the starting point of the national-democratic revolution and opened a new chapter in the history of our beloved and glorious country.'

I should like to draw attention to the three points made in the above quotation: the definition that the Saur Revolution is a national-democratic revolution, the mention that it was accomplished by the will of the working people, and the solemn declaration that a new historical stage had begun in the life of Afghanistan.

On the eve of the Saur Revolution Afghanistan was one of the least developed countries of the world and our people were savagely exploited by a handful of feudals and merchant princes. I will not go into the details, facts and figures just now — they have all been presented in your journal.* However, I should like to emphasize that the Saur Revolution was the inevitable and natural outcome of the whole of our country's earlier historical development and of the steady growth of antagonistic contradictions between a handful of exploiters and the working people of Afghanistan. Moreover, the Saur Revolution is part and parcel of the great revolutionary process now going on in the world, the process of the overthrow and abolition of the power of the oppressors inaugurated by the October Revolution in Russia in 1917.

Indeed, is it at all normal that today, in the final quarter of the 20th century, Afghanistan was still a country with a pre-capitalist and even largely pre-feudal political, social and economic system, a country of cultural backwardness and mass ignorance, a country where the people lived in the grip of medieval notions and where tribal relations remained in force?

*April 27, 1978. — Ed.

**WMR*, January 1979 and February 1980. — Ed.

That is why the revolution, which began with the Saur 7 uprising, acquired a democratic character. This means that it pursues general democratic goals: the gradual elimination of the large landed estates and the granting of land to landless peasants and farm laborers, the development of education and the abolition of illiteracy, the construction of a national economy through the formation of a public sector and planning, the raising of the people's living standards, the development of national culture, the transcendence of the feudal legacy in the people's way of life, the gradual introduction of basic elements of political democracy and so on. Implementation of these goals meets the interests of the most diverse strata of the population, including the national bourgeoisie and the middle landholders.

At the same time, our revolution is national because it takes into account the national specifics, the peasant nature of the country, the population's deep religious beliefs, the distinctions in the traditions of the nationalities and tribes — and in this way helps to unite them. Its key national feature is its anti-imperialist tenor.

On the strength of all this we have every reason to regard the Saur Revolution as a popular revolution.

Let us note furthermore that in our day, in this epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale, the struggle for the above-mentioned general democratic goals inevitably goes beyond its own framework. We realize that in this context it is highly important which social and political forces head the revolution. In Afghanistan it is led by the progressive, revolutionary, democratic sections and forces, whose most advanced representatives have adopted or are adopting the ideological stand of the working class, although in many cases they are themselves far from being workers by origin. In our conditions it is they who ensure the most consistent realization of national-democratic goals.

This question arises: what could be the role of a party that has adopted the ideology of the working class, of scientific socialism, in a backward peasant country?

Let us recall that Lenin, addressing the revolutionaries of the East, said: wherever such parties might emerge, they would have to work among the mass of the peasants and take into account their way of thinking and traditions, including religious traditions. The peasant of the East, Lenin said, is a typical member of the working mass. But even in such countries, he added, the parties taking the

working-class stand could give a lead to the national movement and develop in the peasant mass the capacity for independent political thinking and for independent political activity. That is the main thing, and it is the guarantee of the revolution's victory in such countries.

From the outset, our party, a party of the working class and all the other working people of Afghanistan, set itself lofty but realistic goals: a radical change in the foundations of our society and realization of the general democratic and national aspirations of the masses, while fully abiding by our people's traditions. We believed that in Afghanistan's conditions our immediate task could not be determined by a program for building socialism. To set such a task would mean skipping some stages and depriving the revolution of its broad social support among the masses, separating it from them.

At the same time, considering the general uniformities of revolutions, including national-democratic revolutions, we are absolutely sure that the forces loyal to the ideology of the working class can carry out such a revolution even in a country where the working class is not strong enough. But for that I repeat, the national, tribal, and religious traditions and the people's immediate demands must be taken scrupulously into account. However, all these principles were trampled by Amin and his henchmen.

Q. What would you call the main milestones of the Saur Revolution?

A. The Saur Revolution has gone through various phases, each of which was marked both by advances and temporary reverses. Our friends were heartened by our advances, while our enemies profited from our mistakes and setbacks. But on every occasion our party and the nation's other progressive forces learned instructive lessons. I think that our experience will also be useful to other parties working in relatively similar situations.

On the whole, the period since Saur 7 falls into two distinct stages. For some time at the initial stage the people's hopes were realized one after another and progressive transformations carried out. But within a few weeks, mistakes, deviations, misfortunes and a tragic struggle commenced.

Immediately after the victory of the Saur Revolution, as soon as the Revolutionary Council and the government of the DRA were formed, a program of sweeping political and socio-economic changes was adopted. Decrees Nos. 6, 7 and 8 were promulgated. These abolished shackling debts, reduced dowries and inaugurated an agrarian reform. A drive was started to wipe out illiteracy. Practical measures were taken to bring prices down and supply the population with prime necessities; to return to school the thousands of children denied the right to further education by the Daoud regime; and to provide jobs for unemployed school-leavers and college graduates. The working people, the whole people of Afghanistan welcomed these revolutionary beginnings.

I must say however, that we at once encountered some serious difficulties. Some were objective — I mentioned them in passing when I replied to your

first question. I must also add that at every level we are short of trained personnel and executives in whom loyalty to the revolution is combined with adequate professional and theoretical training (on the eve of the revolution Afghanistan had less than 1,000 persons with engineering training).

As soon as the revolution was accomplished serious difficulties were created by the deposed exploiters and by traitors, who with extensive help from imperialism, the Peking hegemonists and reactionary circles of some foreign countries, began forming subversive and terroristic groups and engaging in acts of sabotage, assassinations and intimidation of the civilian population. A far-flung campaign of misinformation and slander against our party and the revolution was started primarily from without. Many illiterate, downtrodden and politically naive people were caught in the meshes of this campaign.

At this point I should like to declare bluntly that our enemies began to capitalize — and not without success — on our own mistakes.

I must also say that our party, which had to operate in secrecy for many years, still lacked the necessary experience of administering affairs of state and directing economic and cultural development. We did not have sufficiently solid traditions of democratic centralism and collective leadership and this led to some highly negative consequences. Important decisions were taken without the proper preparation and elements of subjectivism and undue haste were in evidence.

To get a clearer picture of why this happened, let us take a brief look at the party's history.

The PDPA was founded in 1965. At that time it started extensive ideological and organizational work across the country, rallied around itself society's progressive and democratic forces and began the publication of its first organ, the newspaper *Halk*, which published the Party Program. We succeeded in organizing the celebration of May Day. At the first elections to Parliament we won four seats. Two of the deputies were from Kabul, of whom I was one. In short, one could say that even in the early period of its political activities the party proved its political and revolutionary militancy.

Of course, reaction and imperialism did not stand idly by watching the revolutionary movement develop. From the outset, they took steps to infiltrate their agents into this movement and into our party. Differences in the party began to deepen with Amin's return from the USA. These differences, compounded by subjectivist attitudes among the party leadership, led to a split in 1967. This was a serious blow to the development of the revolutionary process in the country.

However, both wings of the party, despite the split, continued their political and social struggle and there was virtually no difference in their ideological platform. The party organized the publication of its second organ, the newspaper *Par-cham*, which did much to disseminate the ideas of scientific socialism in Afghanistan and bring up a whole generation of revolutionaries.

Ten years later, in 1977, as a result of untiring and

sincere efforts by leading comrades and rank-and-file members and with the help of our international friends and brothers, the PDPA restored its unity. It was this that put the party in a position to lead the country to the Saur 7 Revolution and ensure its victory.

Almost as soon as the party was reunified a decision was taken to investigate Amin's divisive, factional activities. As a result of the inquiry, exactly one month before the Saur Revolution, the Central Committee of the unified PDPA passed a decision, in accordance with the Party Constitution, to punish Amin and to remove him from the Central Committee. But implementation of this decision was delayed by some invisible hand and slackness in the Central Committee. And then, on Saur 7, our glorious revolution was accomplished.

Initially, when the country was in the grip of revolutionary enthusiasm, Amin did not venture to resume his poisonous activities. But soon, misusing Taraki for his own purposes, Amin began to supply him with doctored information with the result that many tested party members were removed from leading party, government and military posts and even accused of betraying the revolution.

An agent of the CIA and a Machiavellian schemer, Amin wanted to drive a wedge between the population and its conscious and staunch revolutionary representatives. He destroyed thousands of proven revolutionaries, subjecting them to savage tortures, incarcerating or expelling them from the country, fanned national, religious and inter-tribal discord, and in effect, steered a course toward knocking the ground from under the feet of the party, the government and the army.

The criminal acts of Amin and his henchmen inflicted enormous harm on the revolution. Our people's traditions, religious beliefs and way of life were ignored by the manner in which socio-economic reforms were put into effect. Subjectivism and leftist extremes undermined such important projects as the agrarian reform and the campaign to eradicate illiteracy among the adult population, among women in particular. Little wonder the people began to militate against the barbarous methods used by the Amin gang to 'enforce' these reforms. In response, the population was subjected to the most brutal repressions. Towns and villages were bombed and shelled and thousands of innocent people were killed. These criminal acts, the gross infractions of revolutionary legality, the arrests, the tortures and the executions without trial or investigation sowed widespread confusion.

However — and I say this with understandable gratification — the people and the party succeeded in defending the revolution. I should like to emphasize that despite all the errors the Afghan revolution did not lose its vigor. Why, you may ask? Because the Saur 7 Revolution inaugurated a deep-rooted popular movement, which under the leadership of the party, of its healthy majority, grew stronger with the implementation of progressive reforms, however inconsistent. This process advanced despite the mistakes of the nation's leadership and then Amin's downright apostasy, al-

though of course, development was inhibited and even jeopardized in the final days of Amin's regime. It was the deep-going truly popular process ensuring the revolution's advance that served as the basis and bulwark for the healthy, patriotic forces of the party, the army and the Revolutionary Council in correcting the course of the revolution, safeguarding its ideals and returning it to the proper, true road.

Amin inflicted enormous damage on the party, for he destroyed the sincerity and spirit of revolutionary comradeship in the relations among party members, sowed hostility and suspicion among them and struck devastating blows at the party's organizational principles. He wanted to weaken the party to an extent where it would no longer have been able to cut short his wild treacherous activity in time. But these tragic events ultimately made many PDPA leaders, loyal party members and members of the Revolutionary Council stop and think of their historical responsibility for their country's future. As a result, in full accord with the Afghan people's unbending will and by decision of the overwhelming majority of the members of the Revolutionary Council and the PDPA Central Committee, which had the support of faithful and healthy forces in the party and the army, a relentless struggle was started against that dirty agent of imperialism and reaction. The removal of the Amin regime on December 27, 1979 opened the second stage of the glorious Saur Revolution and closed that dark chapter of our country's history.

Today we can say with pride that now, at the second stage, the conditions have been created for reviving the atmosphere of trust and revolutionary commitment, for uniting all party members around its Central Committee in the struggle for the assertion of our lofty revolutionary ideals. A key task today is to re-establish the PDPA's political, organizational and ideological unity.

We call the period which began on December 27, 1979, the 'stage of salvation of the revolution and the people.' Its substance is that we follow the principled way, which meets the requirements of the people and the national-democratic revolution.

The Party and the government are now doing their utmost to explain the nature of the new stage to the people. Whereas in the past, as a result of steps that came into conflict with the substance of the revolution, large sections of the people were incited against it, the comprehension by the masses of their interests and the nature of the present stage now increasingly attracts them to the revolution.

Of course, had our Party not been entangled in Amin's intrigues from the outset, the Saur Revolution would not have deviated from the correct road. But one must also point out that many of the mistakes and failings were objectively inevitable, being the outcome of the country's backwardness, the absence of a strong working class and the fact that the Party is young, unseasoned and does not have enough practical revolutionary experience. Had things been otherwise, the revolutionary transformations in Afghanistan would have run a smoother and more painless course.

Q. What made Afghanistan request immediate, urgent assistance from the Soviet Union?

A. As I have repeatedly said, international imperialism and its accomplices and also the local reactionaries met the triumphant Saur Revolution with unconcealed hostility. It was an important link in the chain of events that markedly undermined the positions of the imperialists in the Middle East, which they believed was a 'zone of stability,' of pro-imperialist stability, of course. The imperialists did not confine themselves to hostile, slanderous propaganda and attempts to bring diplomatic, political and economic pressure to bear.

As you are aware, even in 1978 there were many military training camps in Pakistan in direct proximity to our borders. Innumerable subversive and terroristic groups were trained there by instructors from the United States and China (and latterly from Pakistan itself and also from Egypt) for infiltration into Afghanistan. They were supplied with weapons and equipment from these countries. As you know, the operations by these mercenaries not only in the frontier areas but even in the heartland of Afghan territory have done and are doing us grave harm.

In the closing months of 1979, these subversive and terroristic actions became especially frequent and this was largely connected with Amin's criminal activities, which significantly reduced the combat capacity of the Afghan army: I have in mind, in particular, the massive illegal repressions in the command echelon. Besides, the policy pursued by Amin led to a drastic deterioration of Afghanistan's relations with some neighboring states. The aggressive actions mounted by imperialism and its allies began posing a direct threat to our country's national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. An undeclared war of aggression was, in fact, started against Afghanistan by means of the mercenaries of imperialism and its allies. That is the form of aggression, which according to the UN definition, consists in the 'infiltration by a state or on behalf of states of armed bands, groups, irregular forces or mercenaries who commit acts involving the use of armed force against another state.'

In these conditions the DRA government repeatedly requested Soviet military assistance. In so doing Afghanistan invoked the provisions of Article 51 of the UN Charter and also the Afghan-Soviet Treaty of December 5, 1978. The DRA leadership made many such requests to the Soviet Union in the lifetime of Noor Mohammad Taraki. However, it is no secret that the Soviet Union believed that the Afghan army's potentialities for countering aggression were not exhausted and hoped that the aggressors would come to their senses and tried to influence the governments concerned through diplomatic channels. In addition, the USSR made it publicly known that it would not leave Afghanistan in the lurch.

However, the aggressors would not stop. After Amin seized power, the external danger loomed larger as a result of his actions, of which I spoke above. It was then — and I emphasize this — that the dedicated, patriotic forces on the Revolutionary

Council, the nation's supreme state organ and the PDPA Central Committee, again demanded that he ask the USSR for military assistance. A refusal to do so would have meant self-exposure, dropping his mask, something he could not afford to do at that time.

In view of the incontrovertible, naked facts testifying to the aggravation of the situation in areas bordering on Pakistan and China and to the mounting aggression from without, and also being aware that because of Amin's purges (and these numbered seven) the Afghan army's combat capacity had been seriously undermined, the Soviet government met the DRA's request, and a limited contingent of Soviet troops began to arrive in our country. Thus, as everyone knows, the Soviet troops arrived in Afghanistan before the healthy elements of the Revolutionary Council, the PDPA and the Afghan army overthrew the criminal Amin clique on December 27, 1979.

There is no doubt that in appealing to the Soviet Union for assistance Amin also had his own mercenary aims in view. Being engaged at that time in a savage purge of the party and the army and the destruction of all the revolutionary forces loyal to the revolution, he feared that he would not have enough time to complete his dirty work before the people he had aroused rebelled. Obviously, in that situation foreign mercenaries would have overrun the country, meeting no resistance from the Afghan army already disorganized by Amin. But Amin meant to use the presence of Soviet troops to whip up nationalistic feeling and thereby incite the people against our friend, the Soviet Union, and then to accomplish a volte-face such as Sadat brought about in Egypt, turning to the United States and China for assistance and inviting Gulbeddin Hekmatiar, the rebel leader, to take over as Prime Minister. We have absolutely unassailable evidence of this.

However the staunch elements in the Revolutionary Council, the party, and the army (some of whom had day-to-day contact with Amin and knew of his intentions) decided to pre-empt Amin. By removing him and his clique, they killed his sinister plans in embryo.

As for myself, I returned to the country in revolutionary secrecy in the latter half of October 1979 and contacted the staunch elements of the PDPA Central Committee and the Revolutionary Council. In parallel with their decision to remove Amin they resolved to elect me as the future General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman of the Revolutionary Council.

As you know, on December 27, 1979 Afghanistan's new leadership reaffirmed the request to the Soviet Union for military assistance and the following day, December 28, made it public in the mass media.

In accordance with the DRA's repeated declarations, including those at high international forums, the UN Security Council and the General Assembly among others, the sole purpose of the presence in Afghanistan of a limited contingent of Soviet troops is to help our country, its people and armed

forces to repulse the threat to our national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, a threat which — I emphasize — comes from without.

The Soviet troops have no role in Afghanistan's internal affairs. They in no way interfere in the affairs of the state and the government; and I declare with a full sense of responsibility that that is how things will go on in the future, throughout the whole period the friendly Soviet troops remain in our country.

Q. How would you characterize the present situation in Afghanistan? And would you say a few words about the leadership's plans?

A. I can safely say that at the revolution's second stage which began on December 7, 1979, the situation in the country is steadily returning to normal. A spirit of unity and revolutionary discipline is gradually spreading and gathering momentum among the people, whose faith in the basic principles of the Saur Revolution is inexorably growing stronger. Larger sections of intellectuals, young people and patriotic religious leaders of different beliefs, of people from different tribes and of different nationalities, who are faithful to the spirit of the revolution, have firmly taken the road of struggle for the triumphant assertion of its ideals.

During the past period of less than six weeks, our party and government have taken steps that are of immense significance for the nation's destiny. The general amnesty brought release for some 15,000 political prisoners regardless of their political and religious persuasions, national and class affinity and also past involvement in various groupings.

We declare emphatically that there are no political prisoners in Afghanistan. In our country today nobody is in jail because of political or religious persuasions or political affiliation. The only people in prison today are a handful of 91 persons who were taken into custody for crimes committed against the people prior to December 27, 1979. And even of these many will probably be released after the appropriate investigation.

A democratic situation has been restored in the country. Freedom to perform religious rites has been proclaimed and the serious political and social obstacles created in the past to unity among the various nationalities, ethnic groups and tribes of Afghanistan are being removed.

In order to awaken the consciousness of the population, knit the people more closely organizationally and create an atmosphere of certainty and confidence, the party and the government have issued a series of appeals to workers, peasants, army officers, intellectuals, religious leaders and all democratic elements of society. We are determined to create the conditions for the tranquil return home of persons who left the country either on account of a lack of consciousness or as a result of persecution or of the unlawful actions committed in the past. We abide by Lenin's well-known behests to revolutionaries and have no intention of acting vindictively against anybody. By establishing the necessary contacts and conducting talks in a democratic atmosphere with some tribes, the Pushtu tribe in particular, and representatives of a number of provinces and dis-

tricts, the government has been able to persuade them to cease needless resistance. They are voluntarily surrendering their weapons to the appropriate authorities and resuming their peaceful life and work.

The government is determined to heal the wounds inflicted in the past on all classes and sections of our society, on all national and revolutionary forces, on esteemed religious leaders and on tribes and ethnic groups in our country.

In order to give the population an understanding of the democratic tasks of the Saur Revolution we are conducting large-scale explanatory work, giving special attention to religious people and making every effort to win the support of the Moslem clergy and the various tribes.

Energetic work is also being conducted among the intelligentsia and this is already yielding results. Non-party people have been enlisted in the government and the Revolutionary Council. These include the ministers of trade, agriculture and the agrarian reform and public health. Many prominent intellectuals, who in the past had held high posts in the government and were in most cases, thrown into prison by Amin, have been appointed advisers in various ministries. They include such distinguished personalities in our country as Abdul Hakim, Abdul Rauf Benawa, Sidiq Farhang, Abdul Thafour Revan Farhadi, Walid Huqoqi and Abdul Wahed Sarabi. Most civil servants in the state administration are not members of the party. We have also reinstated hundreds of university teachers, who were repressed by Amin and are returning to service many loyal young officers, who under Amin were either imprisoned or cashiered.

The conditions are thus being created for forming a Fatherland Front with the participation of all of society's patriotic, progressive and democratic elements, of all the supporters of the revolution with the purpose of jointly administering the state and society.

We have taken urgent practical steps, first and foremost to reduce and stabilize prices on basic foods and prime necessities. Within a short span of time the Party and the government have instituted steps that have made it possible to improve the supply of these goods to villages and towns and to heighten safety of transport along the country's roads and of the life of the whole population, although here we still have serious difficulties. Measures have been taken to encourage the population to engage in farming and increase farm productivity in the coming season. The peasants are receiving material and technical assistance and in this we are getting every possible help from our friend and brother, the Soviet Union.

The new stage is thus entirely consonant with the principles and content of the national-democratic revolution. We shall consistently press forward with democratic reforms, making sure that the people understand their own interests. We shall conduct these reforms with full respect for the religious feelings of the population and with account of national and local traditions and customs. We shall foster and reinforce the spirit of brotherhood

in the relations among the nationalities, ethnic groups and tribes of Afghanistan, and make every effort to extinguish hostility among them and heal the grievous wounds inflicted in the past on our long-suffering people. We shall crack down on tendencies toward placing one nation in a position of superiority over another.

In foreign policy we have taken initiatives to establish fraternal relations with the Iranian people and the peoples of other neighboring countries — Pakistan as well as traditionally friendly India — and to strengthen our links to Moslem states and the non-aligned movement. We shall fortify solidarity with the world's national liberation forces.

However, with their sinister designs relative to our country failing one after another, the imperialist and reactionary circles are continuing their aggression, which remains a grave threat to the national sovereignty and independence of the DRA.

I repeat, an undeclared war in the true sense of the word has been started against our revolution. Pakistan has become its main springboard. The CIA regional headquarters was moved there after the shah was deposed in Iran. In Pakistan it has set up nearly 30 special bases and 50 centers training gangs for incursions into Afghanistan. Between 2,000 and 3,000 tons of military equipment arrive there every day. During the past year they have trained 30,000 thugs. Infiltrated into our country — as you know the frontier with Pakistan (as with Iran) is open, in fact non-existent — they raid provincial centers, townships and villages, loot, kill civilians, including helpless women and children, drive people forcibly to Pakistan, slaughter livestock, burn grain, destroy roads, bridges and power transmission lines, disorganize life in districts and entire provinces, hinder the work of transport, obstruct the supply of prime necessities to the people and sabotage the building of important economic projects.

Peking has joined actively in the attacks on the Afghan revolution. Chinese special services have set up several interventionist training camps in Sinkiang Province. Weapons, supplies and people trained for subversive work against Afghanistan are transported along the Karakoram road to Pakistan. Chinese instructors work hand in glove with American, Pakistani and Egyptian instructors in the camps training infiltrators and terrorists. Tours of these camps by the Chinese Foreign Minister and also by the U.S. President's national security adviser and other U.S. aides during recent visits to Pakistan speak for themselves. The money for training aggressors is given also by Saudi Arabia, Britain and Israel.

Thus, when we say that the situation is returning to normal in the country we mean internal normalization. It does not mean that aggression from without has ceased. On the contrary, it is being intensified. That is why the presence of a limited contingent of Soviet troops on our territory is still needed. For our part, we declare with revolutionary emphasis that we shall fight the mercenaries hired by our enemies with all the means at our disposal.

Q. How do you assess the anti-Afghan smear campaign of the imperialist and Maoist ruling cir-

cles and press, and also the support it is getting from some circles in the Islamic states and the non-aligned movement?

A. First, I shall answer the second part of your question.

The legality of the request for Soviet military assistance from the standpoint of international law and the legality of this request springing from the treaty with the Soviet Union and Article 51 of the UN Charter have been proved and I shall not repeat myself.

It is my firm view that progressive and revolutionary forces should assess the extraordinary complex and tangled world developments mainly from the class angle. As the great Lenin said, the truth is always specific, and one must see the people, the place and the purpose behind every concrete action.

The salient distinctive feature of our day — this is a universally acknowledged thesis — is the struggle between the two social systems and the struggle of the forces of national and social liberation against the forces of imperialism and external reaction unfolding in countries of the so-called Third World.

In this context I will reply to the following question with a full sense of responsibility for what I say: whom, under these conditions, is Soviet assistance helping and who would have benefited by the collapse of the Afghan revolution under the onslaught from without had the Soviet Union not come to its assistance?

For Afghans the answer is obvious: by helping us the Soviet Union reasserts its devotion to its internationalist duty, to its policy of supporting oppressed peoples, their national liberation movements and the forces of social progress. On the other hand, the downfall of the Afghan revolution would have quite apparently benefited imperialism.

Further, I feel I must touch on another aspect of this problem: there are people who censure the Soviet Union's actions in connection with the events in Afghanistan on the alleged grounds that these actions conflict with détente. It is strange for us Afghans to hear this. Détente, as it is understood by progressives throughout the world, including of course, the socialist countries, has never implied renunciation of the national liberation struggle, of assistance to it — of all-sided, including military, assistance. The correctness of this responsible and revolutionary understanding of détente has been proved in practice in Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique and other countries. And now the war that we Afghans are fighting and which was imposed upon us by the imperialist and Peking aggressors, is a just war. By the same logic the countries of the Third World, the non-aligned countries and the Islamic countries should give us their support.

You may ask why this stand has not been taken by all these countries.

Of course, it is hard to speak for others. But it seems to me that I will be making no mistake if I say that precisely the character of our liberation struggle, of our revolution (in combination with the traditional anti-Sovietism of its adversaries) induces imperialism to incite and prod chiefly reactionary regimes of the type in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan

and elsewhere into hostile actions against us and the Soviet Union.

As regards other countries, which regard the USSR as their natural ally (and these are in the majority as the Sixth Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement in Havana has confirmed), i.e., countries with whom we are united by common aims — independence, the abolition of backwardness, the attainment of a higher living standard for the population, and non-alignment — I believe that the reason for the misconceived stand of some of them is that they are poorly informed, that they are dominated by imperialist mass media.

As soon as imperialism felt that it was failing to strangle our revolution it began, by virtue of its nature, a drive to isolate us from our friends. We regard the Islamabad conference of Moslem nations in precisely the light of these, we are confident, ultimately futile attempts of imperialism.

Some of its participants, as everybody knows, alleged that the Soviet Union and the USA were equally threatening the Islamic nations. This posture, this attempt to take an 'equidistant stand' between the socialist and the imperialist world was reflected in the concluding resolution of the conference. But how can one to this day remain blind to the fact that a sharp struggle is going on in the world between the forces of revolution and progress and the forces of reaction and imperialism, a struggle that is directly influencing the destinies of the non-aligned states, including the Islamic nations? The posture of an 'aloof observer' of this struggle only helps the imperialists to divert the attention of the Islamic countries from the fact that they and what they hold sacred are menaced by the disgraceful Sadat-Begin conspiracy and Carter's claims to U.S. 'special vital interests' in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, by his threat to 'protect' them by military force.

At the Islamic conference some of the participants, obviously echoing the imperialist and Peking press, declared that the Soviet Union has 'intruded into a forbidden zone,' the Islamic world. But we Afghans know that the USSR is true to the policy proclaimed as early as 1917 in the message of the Council of People's Commissars of the then young Soviet republic under the heading 'To All Working Moslems of Russia and the East': 'You must arrange your own way of life by yourselves. You have the right to this, for your destiny lies in your own hands.' We Afghans now indeed have the possibility of determining our own destiny and building our life. As a matter of fact, should the concept of Islamic world be associated — in the last quarter of the 20th century — with backwardness and benightedness? In our country we have decided to put an end to backwardness and benightedness. The unholy alliance of the imperialists, the reactionaries and the Maoists is out to block our road — and this is nothing less than interference in our internal affairs. And since this is backed up by military force, it spells out aggression.

As regards the Soviet Union, it is helping us to uphold the path we have chosen. And we are deeply grateful to it.

We are quite certain that our efforts and the solidarity displayed for us by all revolutionary forces will disperse the hysteria and those who are presently in error will understand the true significance of the Afghan events and Soviet assistance.

To the extent that this concerns us Afghans, we are by our foreign policy doing everything to broaden this solidarity and give everybody a truthful picture of what is happening in our country. Our foreign policy is antipodal to the insidious policies pursued by Amin, who fuelled discord between Afghanistan and neighboring nations. We shall be tireless in our efforts to normalize our country's position on the international scene.

Further, I should like to emphasize that we Afghans are not surprised that the imperialist attitude to developments is likewise dictated by class interests.

We are convinced that the response of the imperialists, chiefly the response of the ruling circles of the USA and also of Peking to the latest developments in our country and to Soviet assistance fits into a broader context, into their latest overall strategy on the international scene.

Actually, the USA, the Carter administration above all, has set a course toward reviving the cold war and intensifying the military confrontation with the socialist community, chiefly with the Soviet Union. These intentions of the aggressive imperialist circles are borne out by the facts: the procrastination over SALT-2 and the attempts to undo that treaty, the project for producing the neutron bomb and the B-1 bomber and the imposition of nuclear missiles on Europe; in our region — the Camp David plot, the formation of what virtually amounts to a military alliance between Egypt and Israel spearheaded at the Arab national liberation movement, the military buildup in the Indian Ocean with the 'Iranian crisis' as the pretext, the decision to form a 'quick response force,' and long before the revolution in Iran, the steps to form a military alliance with Peking, the threat of sanctions (the first-ever, let it be noted, food sanctions against a poor country, Afghanistan, were applied by the European Economic Community and the U.S. government), and so on and so forth.

As you know, only recently this strategy of aggravating international relations was formulated as a 'doctrine' in Carter's State of the Union Message to the U.S. Congress.

We are therefore convinced that if it were not the events in Afghanistan, the pretext for aggravating the international situation and sharpening the confrontation with the Soviet Union would have been found all the same — it might have been for instance, the events in Iran (which is now being intimidated with the Soviet threat myth and set against Afghanistan), the situation in Southeast Asia or something else.

Q. Nevertheless, some progressive forces in a number of countries are censuring the change of leadership in Afghanistan and the request for Soviet military assistance.

A. Frankly speaking, we Afghans are puzzled by the attitude adopted on the international scene by

some progressive forces representing the interests of the working class.

You are quite right, it is being asserted that the actions taken by the Soviet Union at our request contravene the basic principles of peaceful coexistence, principles which are part of the finest traditions of the international working-class movement.

The first of these principles is formulated in some press commentaries as defense of and respect for national independence and sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs. All the progressive forces agree with this. But should this principle be understood as something apart from reality.

Indeed, what is the meaning of non-interference when it is a matter of aggression from without against a revolution, of aggression by an alliance of reactionary forces? It means allowing these forces to use aggression from without to trample the national independence of a nation accomplishing a revolution, as happened for example in Spain in the late 1930s. As I see it, in our day it is no longer possible to fail to understand that non-resistance to imperialist aggression means to encourage it. When the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is demanded, we reply that precisely this is interference in our internal affairs, for the presence of Soviet troops in our country is our own business.

Further, it is said that the actions taken by the Soviet Union at Afghanistan's request are in form reminiscent of the interference of imperialist powers in the affairs of some Third World nations. But, as everybody knows, the principal criterion for revolutionaries has always been not the form but the content, the purpose of various actions, the understanding whether they are or are not in the interests of the masses. However, in form as well (and I believe that I have shown this in this interview) the very form of Soviet assistance to our country is both entirely consistent with the norms of international law and also as far from imperialist interventions and the hegemonistic 'lessons' taught other countries as the sky is from the earth.

One other principle now being mentioned is the well-known Marxist-Leninist tenet on renunciation of the 'export of revolution.'

I feel that it must be clear to everybody that the revolution in Afghanistan was threatened and all of our country's patriots rose to defend it — the Soviet troops did not, I emphasize, bring it to Afghanistan on bayonets.

Also, it is said that the progressive, patriotic forces of Afghanistan should settle their internal disputes themselves. We find these assertions ludicrous, as though their authors do not know that in Afghanistan it is a matter of armed aggression from without. Indeed, does one seriously have to take the renunciation of 'export of revolution' to mean that the export of counter-revolution should be encouraged, as happened in Chile? Do they want us to permit a 'second Chile,' with the difference that there would be more bloodshed?

The third principle is formulated as the need for an untiring quest for peaceful, political instead of military solutions.

Our adversaries charge that the Soviet Union and Afghanistan have created a threat to peace, equate the policy of the USA to that of the USSR and assert that the recent events, especially Soviet military assistance to our country, have made it more difficult to mobilize the masses for the struggle for peace, for solidarity with peoples acting against imperialism.

Of course, we do not deny the need for a quest for peaceful political settlements, and the Soviet Union in particular, has proved its striving to act precisely in that manner by its numerous steps and initiatives that proceed from the nature of its social system. But a peaceful settlement of the 'Afghan problem' was renounced precisely by the enemies of the new Afghanistan — the imperialists, the Peking leaders and their ilk.

It seems to us that there is now a good opportunity to see who is a dedicated champion of peace and who is its enemy. Suffice it to glance at a map of the imperialist military bases to see who is threatening peace — imperialism or socialism. Had the USA, which lost its bases in Iran as a result of the revolution in that country, entrenched itself in Afghanistan and set up its spy installations and missiles here against the Soviet Union, would that have benefited peace? I do not think this is very hard to explain to people.

Indeed, does the international solidarity of revolutionaries consist only of verbal declarations and can it be confined merely to moral and diplomatic support? There is no denying that statements of solidarity are likewise needed and important and we value them, but in our view international solidarity means above all deeds, the chief of which is action, and this means — under extraordinary conditions — material, including military assistance. Otherwise, I repeat, imperialism could go on imposing its will on peoples rising against it. To enable the principles of peaceful coexistence to triumph in international relations it is necessary to wage a long and unremitting struggle and create a balance of strength making it possible to force imperialism to accept these principles.

In conclusion I should like to state the conviction that having felt the blessings of détente, one of whose forms is exemplified by the successes of the national liberation movement, the working people of the world will not permit imperialism to carry out its bellicose plans. More, they will compel their governments to return to the tested and only possible road — that of peaceful coexistence.

I should like to take this opportunity to thank through your journal, our people's many friends, the communist parties and progressive forces of different countries and continents, who have come forward in defense of the Afghan revolution. I should like to assure them that the Afghan people, who throughout their history have time and again repulsed foreign encroachments on their independence, will this time too, effectively repel aggression by imperialism and reaction, uphold their country's freedom, independence and territorial integrity and stand firmly on guard of their revolution.

The anti-imperialist tide in Iran

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The anti-imperialist struggle in Iran is gathering momentum as a logical result of the February 1979 revolution, which overthrew the shah's despotic regime and has since carried out many democratic and anti-imperialist measures. These developments are evidence that a people determined to have freedom and independence can break the most brutal resistance of dictators and their imperialist masters and achieve its goals. The Iranian revolution is pursuing two fundamental aims: the first is the anti-imperialist aim to make the country independent of imperialism politically, economically, militarily and culturally; the second is the democratic aim to effect far-reaching social changes in favor of the working people, in other words to bring democratic rights and freedoms primarily to all wage and salary earners.

The fall of the shah's hated regime was brought about by the armed people and a section of the army at the height of the revolutionary movement in February 1979. This historic event marked the end of the first stage of the revolution, which began with isolated protest actions and massive demonstrations that were put down with brute force. The movement of the working and oppressed masses went from strength to strength. A milestone was the big strikes called in the closing months of 1978, which paralyzed the regime and greatly hastened its inevitable downfall.¹

The February victory swept away the shah's regime — the main obstacle to Iran's social advance. Following it, a new stage had set in, that of struggle for the democratic and anti-imperialist objectives mentioned above. However, there was dual rule for nearly nine months. Functioning in those months along with revolutionary institutions (the Revolutionary Council, courts, committees, guards) was a government pursuing a liberal bourgeois, conciliatory policy. The reason for this was the peculiarity of the previous period, when the leadership of the revolution, which expressed the interests of large sections of the people, and the liberal bourgeoisie, which saw the only evil in autocratic rule, were still at one. And while the liberal bourgeoisie was alarmed by the powerful movement of the masses and ready to compromise with the shah's regime, objective developments compelled it to join the revolutionary forces as a fellow-traveller. But it never succeeded in imposing its conciliatory policy on the revolutionaries, who were staunchly fighting the dictatorial regime. Indeed, it had to make a show of loyalty to the revolutionary leadership and readiness to respect its will. After the February revolution, the administration of public affairs was entrusted to a provisional government composed mostly of advocates of a liberal bourgeois policy. In

the very first days of its existence, its head, Mahdi Bazargan, frankly advised against destroying the existing system in the hope of creating a new one. He affirmed that although revolutionary feeling was still running high among the people, his government was 'an ordinary government.' 'We are not a revolutionary government,' he stressed.

Our party defined the class nature of the provisional government later. 'This government,' said a PPI Central Committee statement, 'was not devoted to the Iranian people's big revolution. It personified the conciliatory stand of the liberal bourgeoisie that wanted to prevent the revolution from going beyond their narrow class interests.'² The Bazargan cabinet set out to protect big business and the rich landowners. It raised obstacles to a quick and thorough purge in the armed forces and state apparatus and to publishing the records of SAVAK, the shah's secret police. The Prime Minister himself and his backers aspired in general to preserve the existing social relations.

The provisional government's weakness, conciliatory policy and connivance at reaction gave hope to demoralized and disorganized counter-revolutionary forces, which began to recover from the blows they had received. Former SAVAK agents became active and some counter-revolutionaries ventured back to Iran. The U.S. imperialists believed that the time was ripe for more overt hostile actions against the Iranian revolution. And it was then that the ex-shah was invited to the United States.

The conciliatory policy of the provisional government — a policy that suited foreign and domestic reaction — was an ominous threat to the revolution. The situation called for resolute action by the masses to end this policy. And the revolutionary leadership headed by the Imam³ made this choice. The provisional government was removed and its functions were, on Khomeini's instructions, taken over by the Revolutionary Council, which consists of all the more important ministers.

On shedding the shackles of the liberal bourgeoisie's conciliatory policy, the revolutionary leadership adopted a firm and explicit line aimed at severing the country's political, economic and military links with imperialism. The fight against imperialism rose to a new plane. 'A most salient feature of the current stage of the Iranian revolution,' said Nouredin Kianouri, First Secretary of the PPI Central Committee, in an interview with the Hungarian daily *Nepszabadsag* last January, 'is its anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. thrust. Faced with political and economic pressures as well as the undisguised threat of armed intervention by the USA, the Iranian

people are building up their anti-imperialist unity from day to day."⁴

The radicalization of the revolution is seen today in both foreign and domestic policy. The forces in power have declared for an effective solution of economic and financial problems. The Revolutionary Council has instructed the Ministry of Agriculture to settle the agrarian and peasant question and allot land and implements to the landless and land-hungry. The PPI has given these plans its support. We are convinced that these and other progressive measures are paving the way for a more confident transition to the third stage of the revolution, when the social order will be reorganized in the working people's interest. This stage will not come until the final results of the struggle between the opposed class forces are known and the fundamental question of the revolution — "Who will win?" — is settled in the people's favor. Then the masses, having set up their government institutions, will be able to ensure the realization of their hopes and aspirations. But at the moment (this article was written late in February) a bitter struggle is going on between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution. The issue of who will win is still the order of the day for the revolution.

A feature of the present stage of social development in Iran is that there is growing differentiation in the camp of those who fought against the shah's tyranny. The peasants, workers, white-collar employees, shopkeepers, handicraftsmen, progressive clergymen, intellectuals (teachers and students), lower echelons of the army and non-commissioned officers want a further deepening of the revolution. But this does not suit the liberal bourgeoisie and its political organizations, the reformists, the 'left' opportunists, some counter-revolutionary groups and elements posing as spokesmen of religion. These forces are out to arrest the revolution and divert it into ordinary bourgeois democratic channels serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie, of the exploiters and oppressors. However, the masses refuse to live in the old way. They flatly reject the idea of an order merely refurbished on the pattern of the old order based on class oppression. They hailed the radicalization of the revolution and call for radical changes in every sphere of public life, for a consistently anti-imperialist Iran and the transformation of the country into a mighty bulwark of the national liberation movement.

The alignment of class forces today is characterized by the existence of two internal fronts: revolution and counter-revolution. The revolution has on its side millions of urban and rural working people and the radical petty bourgeoisie. Our party is an active member of this front pursuing a policy of alliance and criticism and confident that this approach makes it possible to fight for the goals of the revolution more effectively. Our point of departure is that for a relatively long time to come Iran will continue developing along the lines of revolutionary-democratic renewal, which will assure its political and economic independence and pave the

way for radical reforms in the working people's interests.

The Iranians know that they are not alone in their heroic struggle. The solidarity shown by the liberation and revolutionary forces of the world and above all, the staunchness of our people themselves have cut short many attempts to mount imperialist aggression against the Iranian revolution. We have been threatened by U.S. imperialism. But the united will of the Iranian people and the stern warning given by the Soviet Union as far back as the end of 1978 restrained the imperialists and prevented them from stepping in. Late in 1979, when U.S.-Iranian relations deteriorated again, the imperialists' tendency toward aggression was curbed once more by the resolute actions of the Soviet Union. At the UN Security Council in January 1980 the USSR vetoed the U.S. plan to impose an economic blockade on Iran. The threat to our revolution from without is also countered by other socialist countries and by many independent and progressive nations. The communist and workers' parties and the other forces of peace, freedom and democracy are on our side.

However, the threat from without still hangs over the Iranian revolution. U.S. imperialism cannot reconcile itself to its victory and this stand finds support in West Germany, Britain and Japan. Our people's enemies include the rulers of Israel and Egypt and the reactionaries of Saudi Arabia and Morocco.

The ex-shah and his family, former cabinet ministers, generals and a large group of big capitalists and landowners who have fled the country are carrying on a vicious subversive campaign from abroad. To this end they use the large amounts of money earned by the blood and sweat of our people and deposited in foreign banks.

One of the enemies of the Iranian revolution is the present Peking leadership. The fact that Iran, once a U.S. imperialist bastion against national liberation movements and the Soviet Union, has taken the road of freedom and independence does not suit Peking.

The greatest danger is that foreign reaction gives increasing support to the internal counter-revolution, which includes big capitalists and landowners associated with foreign capital, former high-ranking officials of the shah's regime, SAVAK agents, some sections of the army and the bureaucracy and the reactionary clergy. Maoist groups in Iran are carrying on subversion against the revolution under cover of ultra-left slogans. The political conduct of the liberal bourgeoisie objectively links up more and more with the activity of outspoken enemies of the revolution. Now that the shah's autocratic rule is over, the liberal bourgeoisie is hardly disturbed by the threat of new imperialist bondage. Some liberal bourgeois elements are becoming flunkies of U.S. imperialism. The latter uses its agents and counter-revolutionary scum to incite counter-revolutionary activity in various parts of Iran and weaken the central revolutionary authority. It provokes unrest by exploiting national and religious differences in Kurdistan, Iranian Azer-

baijan, the area inhabited by Turkmenis (northern Iran), Baluchistan and the south.

The People's Party has always fought national oppression and championed the right of the ethnic minorities to self-rule within a united Iran. Now as before, we favor a search for a just settlement of this burning issue and contribute to correct solutions. Our party calls on progressives among the ethnic minorities and on the government to work for a peaceful settlement of inter-ethnic problems, such as would meet the interests of the people's liberation revolution while at the same time taking account of the minorities' legitimate right to self-determination.

Counter-revolution, which occasionally uses revolutionary verbiage and the banner of religion, plays the role of U.S. imperialism's Trojan horse. The reactionaries resort to acts of terrorism and subversion, sow panic among the population and infiltrate their agents into government bodies. Counter-revolutionaries undermine the economy and instigate the working people to resist the revolution. Incidentally, the recent invitation of the shah, a criminal, to the United States was indicative of a steep uptrend in U.S. imperialist plotting against the Iranian revolution and was aimed by U.S. leaders at encouraging Iran's reactionaries to act with greater resolve. After that, U.S. imperialist pressure on Iran grew in every direction. The issue of the hostages being held at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, who admittedly include many CIA agents, was blown up into a worldwide anti-Iranian campaign. The USA imposed discussion of the so-called Iranian question on the Security Council and sent a large naval force, including aircraft carriers, to waters washing our shores. The USA is resolved to take every possible action to safeguard what it terms are its interests in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. This is President Carter's frank formulation of his doctrine of international brigandage.

Nor is that an empty threat. In fact, U.S. imperialism is the chief organizer of the undeclared war against free Afghanistan, a war involving tens of thousands of mercenaries sent from Pakistan and China.⁵

The imperialists' bellicose ambitions are unlikely to frighten our people, who for a quarter-century fought against the shah's U.S.-bayonet buttressed dictatorship and made enormous sacrifices in the cause of justice and freedom. Ever since our revolution was accomplished, Iran's struggle on the international political scene has been spearheaded against U.S. imperialism. Our people and the leader of the revolution, Imam Khomeini, justly regard U.S. imperialism as the cause of all our hardships and suffering. Imam Khomeini calls it the Big Devil and urges the Iranians to use every means for defeating it. The progressive and revolutionary forces expose agents and accomplices of imperialism in our society and take steps to head off conspiracies by foreign reaction and the local counter-revolution.

The revolutionary forces adhere to four fundamental guidelines, known as the Imam's line. They are:

— the chief enemy of our revolution is world imperialism led by U.S. imperialism;

— the Iranian revolution is a revolution of people living in hovels against those who live in palaces;

— defend and respect the people's democratic freedoms;

— united action by the revolutionary forces in repulsing the attacks of counter-revolution and defeating its sinister plans.

The People's Party of Iran supports Imam Khomeini's line because it is based on principles consonant with our program and policy. At the same time, we propose to apply these principles in ways which our analysis has shown to be in harmony with the exigencies of the present stage of the revolution. The PPI stands for uniting the masses on the basis of consistent anti-imperialism and advances the slogan of a broad popular front implying the unity of all patriotic forces supporting Imam Khomeini's line.

Our party has no doubt that guaranteeing the people's democratic freedoms and rights is a major condition for the further advance of the revolution. Now as in the past, we readily offer the revolution our experience and knowledge and make constructive proposals serving progressive aims.

A little more than a year has passed since the revolution began and yet the situation in Iran has changed beyond recognition. One of the most tyrannical regimes ever known in human history is gone. The ex-monarch is roaming the world, without finding a haven. Our long-suffering people have passed their sentence on him and his rule.

The achievements of the revolution are great. It has dismantled one of the most sinister institutions of the shah's regime, SAVAK. Political parties and organizations, our party among them, which had contributed enormously to the fight against the neo-colonialist dictatorship now function legally. There have been important political developments, such as the referendum on declaring Iran an Islamic Republic, the referendum on the new constitution and the presidential elections. They revealed the people's growing participation in national life. A number of socio-economic transformations have been carried through: large-scale industry, formerly controlled by the imperialists and their Iranian allies, private banks, insurance companies and the property of the shah's family have been nationalized.

The revolution has dealt imperialism powerful blows. Until very recently Iran was a trusted ally closely cooperating with Israel and racist South Africa; it supplied them with enormous quantities of oil to help their reactionary regimes survive and suppressed the liberation movement in our region.

New, revolutionary Iran is an ally of the liberation forces of the world. It has committed itself to provide fraternal support to the Arab people of Palestine, established relations with the PLO, denounced the traitorous U.S.-Israeli-Egyptian deal at Camp David and broken off relations with the Sadat regime. Its attitude on the international scene is actively anti-imperialist, anti-racist and anti-fascist.

Iran is no longer a CENTO member and has repealed many shackling treaties with imperialist powers, including its 1959 military treaty with the United States. Our country has joined the non-aligned movement.

The Iranian people have registered notable gains in liberation battles and inflicted telling reverses on the counter-revolution and its foreign patrons. The counter-revolutionary attempts to provoke an internecine war have failed, in the main. The masses have condemned the conciliatory line of the liberal bourgeoisie. They deeply abhor the old order. They have learned to tell friend from foe better than before and they now see who is really loyal to the revolution in Iran itself and is their ally in the

international arena. All this gives us historical optimism and makes us confident of the radiant future of our country. At the same time, the Iranian people are aware that much remains to be done to consolidate the revolution.

1. For details of this stage of the revolution, see Nouredin Kianouri, First Secretary of the PPI Central Committee, 'Start of a New Stage of the People's Revolution,' in *WMR*, April 1979.

2. *Mardom*, November 7, 1979.

3. Title now used in reference to Ayatollah Khomeini. — Ed.

4. *Nepszabadsag*, January 19, 1980.

5. See Babrak Karmal's interview, 'The Afghan People Will Safeguard the Revolution,' in this issue. — Ed.

The new cultural reality

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A basically new cultural atmosphere linked to the building of socialist society is a characteristic feature of existing socialism. This atmosphere, naturally, has always been more or less closely linked to the historical conditions under which the various nations developed and distinctly bears the imprint of the national specifics of their cultural traditions. But in all cases the emergence of a new culture has always accompanied socialist transformations and therefore has common features and is governed by general laws.

After fascism's defeat by the Soviet Army, the difficult problem of an anti-fascist democratic-rejuvenation of the GDR's cultural life was tackled under communist leadership in parallel with economic and social transformations. As part of the coherent revolutionary process it evolved into a socialist cultural revolution — sweeping revolutionary reforms dictated by the transition period (up until the early 1960s) were inaugurated and will be continued throughout the process of building and perfecting a developed socialist society. Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee, said in this connection: 'When some decades ago we set about effecting a socialist cultural revolution we were aware that this . . . would take a long time. Today, with experience to lean on, we can say even more definitely that the cultural revolution by no means ends with the establishment of socialist relations of production. It involves moulding of the whole of society's life in accordance with socialist principles'.*

In postwar Germany the anti-fascist democratic rejuvenation of culture was one of the major factors furthering the people's social and ideological

maturity and making it possible to begin the transition to socialism.

The communists made sure that all cultural life was cleansed of fascist and reactionary scum. Everything bearing the stamp of nazi ideology, racism, chauvinism, hatred for other nations, homage to aggression and war and glorification of the reactionary predispositions of Junkerism and militarism was removed from libraries, museums, newspapers, films, school curricula and textbooks. The symbols, images and names evoking memories of the reactionary past disappeared. All the ideological proponents of German fascism were removed from secondary schools and institutions of higher learning, the legal profession and cultural and art establishments — though at the price of temporary difficulties — with the result that their influence on the nation's cultural life was erased.

This total dissociation from reaction and renunciation of the use of culture for anti-humanitarian purposes are basic to the cultural life of our republic and all other countries of existing socialism; they are a major characteristic of the new cultural atmosphere of the life and development of socialist society.

Another essential feature of the cultural reality under socialism is that new social forces are contributing to the formation and development of culture. Socialist culture does not tolerate a situation in which the masses are no more than consumers of the cultural and artistic values created by a so-called artistic élite. In our country in particular, cultural development is more and more distinctly becoming a collective creative process, with the working class and all other working people as its main subject, a process in which the artistic, scientific and pedagogical intelligentsia and other intellectuals are active.

*Erich Honecker, *Die Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Verwirklichung der Beschlüsse des IX. Parteitag der SED*, Berlin, 1978, p. 9.

Under socialism, cultural progress is guided by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party and this is precisely what chiefly determines the basic spectrum of socialist cultural values, which stem from exploitation-free creative socialist labor and reflect the new relations between people and the new human qualities: a spirit of creativity, initiative, the striving to achieve a higher level of labor productivity for the good of socialist society, a sense of social responsibility, political commitment, a spirit of collectivism, comradely cooperation and mutual assistance, and a will for knowledge and cultural enrichment.

Cooperative farmers, too, are drawn into the socio-cultural processes in socialist society. The conditions of life in the GDR countryside somewhat more than 30 years ago exemplified the age-long cultural backwardness of the rural areas. They are now a thing of the past. The transition to socialist relations of production in combination with the rapid growth of the productive forces and the erasure of the fundamental inequality between town and country in school education and distribution of basic cultural values have transformed the cultural makeup of rural communities and wrought visible changes in the relationships between the peasantry and culture.

The alliance of the working class with the scientific, technical and artistic intelligentsia is a powerful motor of cultural creativity under socialism. In the GDR the relentless removal of the intellectual proponents of fascist, reactionary ideology from social activity was accompanied by the setting up of broad alliances with humanitarian bourgeois intellectuals who had not compromised themselves under the Nazi regime. Subsequently, this made it possible to integrate the democratic values and the genuine, profound humanism in the German cultural heritage more comprehensively into the developing socialist culture. This cooperation produced friendly relations and mutual trust, respect, good will and cultural enrichment with the result that as time passed many prominent members of the 'old' bourgeois intelligentsia became front-rank proponents of the all-sided development of new, socialist culture.

More than 90 per cent of the GDR intelligentsia today are people who began their careers after 1946. Most have a working-class or peasant background. Our socialist society constantly replenishes the intelligentsia from these sources bringing the composition of the student body into line with the social and demographic pattern of the GDR population.

The cultural policy of the SUPG and the socialist state requires the cooperation of all citizens. Everybody is called upon to make a personal contribution to cultural progress, regardless of his or her attitude to the Marxist-Leninist outlook. In cases when the class struggle grew acute on the world scene, some intellectuals misinterpreted the character of our state's policy and lost their bearing. But the overwhelming majority invariably displayed selflessness in working on important tasks of cultural development.

There are quite a few people active in culture in

our society who have not completely accepted the socialist world outlook. This is in many cases a difficult process and is attended by conflicts. The Party and the government are facilitating this process with tact and patience. Energetic support is merited by the contribution of the art workers, scientists, teachers and heads of cultural establishments who, while not being communists, enrich the cultural life of our society with genuine humanitarianism or religious ethics as their motivation, thereby asserting democratic (anti-fascist, anti-imperialist) values.

Socialist culture is developing in the entire range of its content and forms, at a high aesthetic level. This has won socialist literature and art broad international acclaim. Those who have helped to build the foundations of the new cultural reality in the GDR include such world-renowned personalities as Johannes R. Becher, Bertolt Brecht, Anna Seghers, Arnold Zweig, Hans Eisler, Paul Dessau, Ernst Busch, Gret Palucca, Wolfgang Langhoff, Helene Weigel, Hans Grundig, and Max Lingner.

However, considering the development tendencies and requirements of our society, it would be wrong to assess socialist culture only on the basis of its artistic and aesthetic elements. The new cultural reality taking shape under socialism presupposes an all-sided and harmonious development of the people at most diverse levels of activity. Our party sees socialist culture as a sum of the material conditions, lines of activity, practical forms of people's life and behavior, cultural achievements, knowledge, views and ideals helping to promote the free and all-round development of the individual.

Under socialism, political leadership of culture implies in no small degree the ability to blend various aspects of socialist culture, such as for instance, labor aesthetics, a healthy environment, truly humanitarian relations in every sphere of life, the further elaboration and dissemination of the scientific world outlook, the promotion of science and education, concern for the cultural heritage and its assimilation by the working people, progress of the arts and enhancement of their social significance and effectiveness, concern for maintaining a high level in the industry catering for rest and leisure, and encouragement for the people's creative gifts and talents. It is safe to say therefore, that a new content and new patterns are today taking shape in the culture of the countries of existing socialism (as compared with the culture of industrialized capitalist countries).

This comprehensive approach is what best ensures the many-sided, coherent and differentiated development of socialist culture.

In assessing what we have achieved in this sphere, mention should be made first and foremost, of the impressive changes in general education and vocational training. Within the past decade the GDR has completed the transition from 8-year to 10-year compulsory school education (10-class general-education secondary polytechnical school). Furthermore, 99 per cent of the school-

leavers who do not continue their education receive vocational training.

In the early 1980s, we expect that about 80 per cent of all factory and office workers and cooperative farmers in the GDR will have a full 10-year polytechnical education. The 1971 population census showed that the working people's educational level was changing substantially under socialism: 82.9 per cent of the people aged between 18 and 30 had received a full secondary (or higher) education (for people above 50 the proportion was 33.8 per cent).

The all-round development of the individual under socialism is proceeding on the basis of unprecedentedly broad and democratic access to the entire cultural wealth society has to offer. Naturally, the results of this policy cannot be judged merely by figures indicating the extent to which various cultural benefits and services are actually used by the people. But even these figures are impressive (in many cases they outdistance analogous indicators in such a highly developed capitalist country as the FRG). In 1978 nearly 96 per cent of factory and office workers' families had TV sets, while the per capita output of books and periodicals was 8.3 and 14.5 copies respectively. That same year attendance in terms of per 1,000 of the population (covering all age groups) was 302 visits at public libraries, 634 at theaters, 4,795 at cinemas, 3,467 at houses of culture and clubs, 189 at concert halls, 1,920 at museums, 840 at zoos and in the same terms 755 people travelled abroad.

At a certain stage in the building of the new society socialist cultural reality is characterized not only by people's opportunities (and ability) to use available cultural values, but by something much greater, namely their broad participation in the making of culture.

In its recommendations to governments the 1976 UNESCO General Conference noted that cultural values could be made accessible to all people provided the socio-economic conditions were created enabling them not only to enjoy the blessings of culture but also to be active in entire cultural life, in the process of cultural development. It must be admitted that this recommendation is viable only in the socialist countries, due to the specifics of the new system. Lenin pointed out that unlike the bourgeois revolutions that preceded it the proletarian revolution calls upon the working masses to fulfill not only 'negative or destructive work,' its principal task is 'positive or constructive work,' and therefore it can be carried to its successful end only 'if the majority of the population, and primarily the majority of the working people, engage in independent creative work as makers of history' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 238, 241).

No matter how much the work of professionals in the cultural sphere may be valued in socialist society and however great the support given to talented scientists and artists, the actual power of socialist culture lies in its mass character. Socialism discharges its historic cultural mission mainly by promoting mass cultural processes, by drawing the entire population into the sphere of culture.

Freedom from capitalist exploitation, which comes with socialism, has far-reaching effects. Socialist labor is becoming one of the pillars of cultural creativity, of the new social relations and the new values that are closely linked to continued cultural progress.

The immense creative potential of the masses crystallizes in socialist emulation, in the movement of production innovators and in the work of inventors and rationalizers. In the GDR today 4,500,000 people compete for the state title of socialist work collective, 1,700,000, or 32.1 per cent of all gainfully employed people, are coming forward as innovators and 2,400,000 young people take part in reviews of youth technical achievements. All these forms of cultural activity are linked to the general, every broader invigoration of cultural life that covers the most diverse spheres of individual and collective interests, ranging from work to everyday life, rest and leisure, association and so forth.

Large sections of the population are drawn also into the implementation of socialist democracy at all levels of society's life, including cultural and political activity. For example, the Kulturbund has a membership of 212,000; tens of thousands of deputies are members of the cultural commissions of people's representative bodies; and there are 680,000 elective members on the various parents' advisory groups and councils at the schools. More, a huge number of people are engaged in amateur scientific, technical or art activity, sports and so on.

In the ideological attacks on the GDR by international imperialism, specifically West German imperialism, extensive use is made of the slogans like 'cultural unity of the German nation' or 'integral national culture.' I will not deal here with the political (hegemonistic, chauvinistic and revanchist) implications of these slogans. But any objective approach will make it clear that the imperialist culture predominant in the FRG has nothing in common — even in its trends — with the socialist German national culture developing in the GDR, either by its social specifics and content, or by its place in the history of the German people or by its structure and functions.

In our country culture has long ago asserted itself as the German culture of existing socialism, formalizing the right of the people to national self-determination and developing as the culture of the working class and all other working people. It rests on its own principles inherent in socialism and is largely determined — for all the specific nature of individual forms of culture — by the fundamental laws governing the building of a socialist society. It is part and parcel of the development and consolidation of the socialist German nation in the GDR.

The features typifying a socialist nation manifest themselves chiefly in culture. These features do not emerge by themselves in the course of history. They form mainly in the interaction of specific social, economic, cultural and other processes in the course of which a developed socialist society is built. Combined with proletarian internationalism, socialist patriotism is the underlying indication of a socialist national culture.

Our socialist national culture reflects the GDR's place in the history of the German people as a whole. It promotes a new type of national historical relations in a tireless struggle against national egoism, chauvinism and racism, and also against every sign of national nihilism and cosmopolitanism. Our culture is firmly bound to the entire history of the German people (which implies a historically objective assessment of this history from Marxist-Leninist positions), to all its humanitarian, progressive and revolutionary achievements; to the material, cultural and moral values created by the people; to the rich historical and cultural heritage of the revolutionary German working-class movement; to the major cultural gains of existing socialism on German soil.

No historical type of national culture, much less the socialist type, forms in isolation, within the boundaries of one society. Fundamentally, socialist culture is open to the whole world. Its hallmarks are a spirit of friendship and respect for the humanitar-

ian and progressive cultural attainments of all nations. In this context, consolidation of international ties with the multinational Soviet culture and with the cultures of other socialist-community countries is yet another objective law of socialism's cultural reality. The burgeoning of each socialist national culture and their interaction and mutual enrichment are one of the major mainsprings reinforcing the socialist character of our culture. At the same time, it is open to all elements of progressive, anti-imperialist and democratic culture in capitalist and developing countries. These cultural links become especially productive when they directly express the relations of anti-imperialist solidarity, of joint anti-imperialist struggle.

By developing its own socialist culture on a broad scale, the German Democratic Republic, like the other countries of the socialist community, contributes to the international culture of socialism, which is a key phenomenon in the development of world culture today.



Goal: left unity

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Commenting on the 36th Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain (November 1979), we have good reason to speak of progress in carrying out its decisions which play an important role in the life and activity of every party branch and every communist.

The Congress met at a time of mounting struggle against the Conservative government. The government under Mrs. Margaret Thatcher had demonstrated within its short six months of life up to our congress that it was out to turn the clock back on social advance. The applied to home and foreign policies alike.

Not only was there the government's determination to hold down wages and push up unemployment. A concerted attack was made on the system of social services through a program of public spending cuts to finance tax concessions to the rich. Parts of the nationalized industries were sold off and the attack on public assets went ahead with a drive to make profitability the sole criterion of success in the state industries' sector.

With some of the most primitive sections of the Conservative Party holding dominance in the Cabinet, the ax was directed against the working people — to make them foot the bill for higher profitability in the circumstances of deep economic instability and crisis.

To round off the aim, not just to stop advances but indeed, to claw back gains won in the course of decades of struggle by the labor movement and other democratic forces, the Conservatives had also mounted an attack on democratic rights. The police were strengthened and their loyalty buttressed with pay increases of a scale denied to the workers. Democratic rights for women, whether pregnancy benefits or abortion rights, were under attack. A new, overtly racist, Nationalities Act was promised, to pander to extreme right-wing forces by intensifying color-bar qualifications on immigration from the Commonwealth.

Of greater significance in this attack on democratic rights were the plans for undermining legal protections for traditional trade union activities: a program to make picketing ineffective, make forms of solidarity in struggle illegal and open up the way for direct state intervention in deciding the content of trade union rule books.

On foreign policy matters the government identified with and in some cases, led in promoting a cold-war atmosphere. Expenditure on armaments was increased while spending on social benefits was cut. The Soviet peace initiative — withdrawing Soviet troops unilaterally from the GDR — was spurned and the big drum banged about alleged Soviet expansionism. Every opportunity was seized

upon, whether it was to defend Chinese aggression against Vietnam, support for the murderous Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea, alignment with pro-imperialist forces in the Middle East or the welcome to U.S.-controlled new missiles in Europe.

While an intense struggle for greater control of their Parliamentary representatives was being conducted by the left within the Labour Party, no real challenge was presented by that party to the policies of the Tories. The effect of the Labour Party's own conduct of policies to manage the capitalist economic crisis under staunch right-wing leadership when in government, and also of attacking living standards, prevented it being an effective or creditable opposition to the Tories in the eyes of the people.

Throughout the period since its previous congress in 1977, the Communist Party had fought hard against the right-wing policies of the Labour government of James Callaghan. It gave leadership in the struggles against the austerity policies of the Labour government which under the 'social contract' class collaborationist policies, held down wages while cutting the 'social wage.' Within the trade union movement its members gained high recognition as the movement was won to oppose incomes policies after the bitter experiences of the 'social contract.'

During the same period more communists became active in local politics, part of the movement to protect communities against the ravages wrought by the ruling class as it introduced factory closures and industrial contraction in a desperate drive to maintain the rate of profitability at a time of economic slump.

In Scotland and Wales, the party's active participation in the campaigns for devolution of rights to the peoples of those two nations contributed to building unity in these great battles for democracy.

The party helped in the building of bodies to campaign against racism and the establishment of many anti-racist committees. It played a major part in winning the labor movement to take up the cause of women's emancipation more actively and on many broader issues that were being raised within the women's liberation movement, especially on the question of abortion rights and making women equal to men before the law.

It produced and circulated a Charter of Democratic Rights to demonstrate and argue for its commitment to democratic advance as a long-term strategy of the party in line with its program for winning socialism in British conditions.

At the culmination of its own campaign 'Cut the Dole Queues,' its lobby of Parliament included a meeting in a room at the House of Commons attended by seven Labour MPs.

The party participated in campaigns of solidarity with the communist parties and democratic movements in Chile, Iraq and Iran, in support of the independence of Cyprus and in solidarity with the struggles in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Palestine. It has also promoted support for victims of repression in countries including Turkey,

Uruguay, Dominica, St. Vincent, Guyana, Kenya, Iran, Nicaragua, Brazil, Argentina, El Salvador, Paraguay, Jamaica, West Germany and Israel.

Yet, despite such breadth of activities, and only a few examples are given above, it was not possible for the party in alliance with other left forces to win sufficient understanding and conviction among the people so as to generate mass support for left economic and social policies as the alternative to those of the Conservatives and right-wing Labour.

The betrayal of electoral promises by Labour in power, the deception practised on the people by the right wing, was so severe as to open the way in those circumstances to the election of a Conservative government on a program of false promises to better life for the people, coupled with real promises to attack the labor movement. In British conditions the next stage of advance requires a left Labour government. The policies of the previous Labour government temporarily discredited this idea among wide sections of the people.

Our party went to congress with a severe decline in membership and a fall in circulation of the daily *Morning Star*. In his report to congress on behalf of the retiring Executive, General Secretary Gordon McLennan identified some of the causes of this decline. Factors not in our control were noted, but he concentrated on the subjective ones which include a tendency not to make the case for the party effectively enough in the course of working for left advance. He said: 'There must be no illusions in our ranks that spontaneously, as the mass movement grows and our role in it is seen and appreciated, there will be a growth of the party.' There had been some areas of struggle in which the party had been weak, such as on peace, Northern Ireland and youth unemployment. There was a need for more attention to improving branch activities. There needed to be more attention to electoral work and the application of the ideas of the party's program *The British Road to Socialism* in the form of specific policies and activities in localities and industry. More than that, said comrade McLennan, 'we must argue the case that the big social and economic problems we face today can only be finally resolved by putting an end to capitalism and establishing socialism.'

He also said: 'While ensuring that there is the fullest democratic discussion in the party, we need to combat tendencies to turn the party inwards at the expense of public work and involvement in the struggles of working people.'

These criticisms were made in the context of a report which paid great tribute to the tremendous work done by the party over the past two years in generating mass movement for left and progressive policies.

The Congress unanimously adopted a major resolution, 'Defeat Tory Attacks. Win Left and Communist Advances,' in which the election earlier in the year of a Conservative government was characterized as 'a new and dangerous shift to the right in British politics,' and 'a severe set-back to the labor movement and all the left and democratic forces.' The situation required building a broad

anti-Tory movement, based on winning in individual struggles and repulsing the Tories' political and ideological offensive.

The prospect of forcing an early general election was advanced, in which the Tories could be defeated. The resolution however, stressed that support had to be won among the people for the alternative economic and political strategy of the left so that the Tories were replaced by 'a new type of Labour government committed to left policies and compelled to implement them by constant popular pressure and struggle.'

The resolution analyzed the past two years, including the reasons for the Tory electoral victory. It advanced a series of policies around which struggle could be generated to build the broad democratic alliance of class and social forces for political advance in Britain.

Opposition to the domination by the institutions of the Common Market, the IMF and other bodies which operate in the interests of the multinational companies was spelled out. Support for all those in struggle against British imperialism was called for — in Northern Ireland, in Southern Africa and elsewhere.

The 36th Congress reaffirmed its commitment to democratic centralism. Following intensive discussion within the party around the findings of a Commission on Inner-Party Democracy, a series of proposals to make the workings of democratic centralism more effective were agreed: to stimulate greater branch initiative; strengthen the ability of the Executive Committee to give leadership; raise the level of participation by lay members in the leadership; more closely define the relationship between all party structures, subcommittees and advisory bodies; improve procedures for inner-party discussion and much else. The new Executive has much to do in following up and implementing new styles of work.

As recommended by the retiring Executive, Congress decisively rejected a series of moves which would 'radically limit democratic rights in the party and undermine the party's ability to fight for the policy of the party in a disciplined and united way.' Proposals were rejected which would have legitimized the formation of factions; permitted members of the leadership to take a minority position downward into the party; characterized the relationship between full-time and lay membership of the party's leadership at different levels incorrectly, and removed the system of a recommended list followed by a secret ballot in the election of leadership.

Congress discussed new technology, adopting a program of demands around which struggle was to be developed to ensure that the great new advances in science and technology were harnessed to promote the well-being of working people and not used to intensify the rate of exploitation of labor.

There was a significant debate on the subject of nuclear energy. The Tories were then threatening (and have since taken steps along the road to implement their threats) to go, hell for leather, for nuclear energy development. Resolutions pro-

posing a total halt to nuclear development or no further development until the safety issue had been resolved were rejected by the delegates. The policy remains that was contained in an earlier Executive Committee statement, which is for a limited development of nuclear power under stringent safety conditions and within the framework of a balanced energy policy giving priority to coal.

The party's strength and roots among the people were particularly evident in some of the debates. Leading trade unionists, members of the TUC General Council included, came into discussion. Recognized rank-and-file mass leaders spoke on the fight-back to stop mass closures in the steel industry, attacks on militants within the giant British Leyland motor company and against racism.

Congress unanimously voted to welcome steps taken by the outgoing Executive to strengthen its work in industry and instructed the new Executive to take further steps in this direction.

The party's great involvement in a tremendous breadth of activities was reflected in decisions to campaign on a whole range of issues in opposition to the Tory attacks, ranging from defense of the public services, for democratic control over the police, greater rights for women, to industrial mobilization in defense of living standards and against the production and deployment of new nuclear weapons in Britain and the rest of Western Europe.

The internationalist character of the Congress was underlined time and again in the welcome given to the delegates from the 12 fraternal parties and liberation movements who were invited to address the Congress and to the messages of greetings received from those in 45 other countries.

The separate resolutions on international questions adopted by Congress dealt with Ireland, Cyprus, Guyana, the German Federal Republic (Berufsverbote), Portugal, Vietnam, Suharto's visit to Britain. There were declarations adopted on South Africa, the Middle East, Chile and Iraq. In all of these, a continuation of solidarity activities was pledged.

Congress elected its new Executive to give leadership over two years. It includes a large proportion (15 out of 42 members) who are elected for the first time. Within the Executive is a higher number of comrades from industry and members of workplace branches than in recent memory. The average age is down on that of the previous Executive, as was the average age of Congress delegates.

The 319 full delegates represented 114 workplace branches, 33 student branches and 624 local branches. The largest group of delegates (173) were in the 26-40 age group and the largest group according to length of party membership (138) had been in the party from 2 to 10 years.

Trade union members totalled 270. According to trade and profession, the breakdown was metal workers 11.6 per cent, building 6 per cent, transport 7.5 per cent, mining 3.4 per cent, print and publicity 3.8 per cent, distribution 3.4 per cent, local government 6.6 per cent, teaching and higher education 15 per cent, professional and technical

4.7 per cent, students 5 per cent, full-time trade union workers 3.8 per cent, full-time party workers 5.6 per cent.

In recent years the party has conducted wide-range discussions leading to the revision of its program *The British Road to Socialism* two years ago at the 35th Congress; on the nature of the *Morning Star* and on the whole area of inner-party democracy.

Discussion coupled with a high level of campaigning must be integral to our party's work. The tone of this 36th Congress was strongly one demanding a clear turning outwards by the whole party at all levels, placing stronger emphasis on the need to develop greater public campaigning. The desire was strongest for a united and more cohesive intervention into the political, industrial, social and democratic battles in all spheres to build a massive movement for advance to socialism in Britain.

In the three short months since our congress the developments in Britain both with regard to our congress' assessment of the reactionary character of the Thatcher government and the Congress' alerting the movement of the new attacks being prepared against the working people's living standards, and the dangerous foreign policy, have been more than justified.

Further cuts in the social services are being projected, deliberate measures to starve the nationalized sector of funds, as in steel and the

state-owned motor enterprise — British Leyland — are forcing tens of thousands on the ever lengthening dole queue. Anti-trade union laws are being rushed through Parliament.

The Tory government is taking the lead in Europe to undermine détente, is acting as Carter's agent in exerting pressure on our European neighbors to provide bases for Carter's new and more dangerous generation of nuclear weapons.

But the Congress resolution which called for a fight-back, for developing mass movements to frustrate Thatcher's objectives is also realizing itself. The solid steel strike, the halting of imported cheap coal as a result of the joint action of miners and dockers, the 1,100 strong rank-and-file conference called by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions at the end of January was the first step in the fight-back against the proposed anti-union legislation. The mass demonstrations and stoppages against the cuts of social services have assumed a breadth of mass involvement unprecedented in our times.

The peace movement against the new nuclear bases is being revived and peace activities are escalating.

In this fight-back our party is playing an important role and its initiatives have been strengthened by the discussions and greater clarity gained at our 36th Congress.

Crucial battles ahead

Carlos Costa
Member of Political Commission and
Secretariat, CC, Portuguese CP

It is six years since the April Revolution. All these years, the Portuguese communists have carried on a persevering struggle to realize the ideals of the revolution and build a truly democratic society in our country.

The struggle has run along many lines. One important even if not decisive line is the winning over by the democratic forces of a majority of the electorate and consolidating such a majority. In all the elections since the collapse of the fascist regime on April 25, 1974, the Portuguese people have voted for freedom and democracy, for a socialist perspective. They did so again in the latest intermediate elections to the Assembly of the Republic and in the local elections on December 2 and 16 of last year. On both occasions, the democratic forces once again won more votes than the rightists. An impressive victory was scored by the Alliance for the People's Unity, an electoral coalition in which the Portuguese Communist Party plays a leading role. But although the reactionary forces won less votes than the democratic forces, they got a majority of

the seats in Parliament, and so formed the government.*

Why has such a situation taken shape? What are the conclusions to be drawn from the results of the elections? What are the potentialities for successfully defending the democratic system and the socio-economic transformations which the Portuguese people have won since 1974?

The winning by the democratic forces of a majority in the Constituent Assembly elected in April 1975, and the struggle by the working people and the whole nation together with the military supporting the April Revolution made it possible to adopt a progressive constitution, which alongside the working people's rights and freedoms recognized nationalization, agrarian reform and workers' control as the irreversible gains of the Portuguese revolution. These gains, like the democratic elec-

*Reaction used the split in the left-wing forces and the formation of an electoral coalition of rightist parties, for the electoral system favors coalitions winning the largest number of votes. — Ed.

tions to the organs of supreme and local power in accordance with the principle of proportional representation, cannot be abolished according to the Constitution, even when Parliament has the right to review the Constitution (from October 14, 1980).

Soon after the promulgation of the Constitution on April 2, 1976, the first elections to the Assembly of the Republic were held in which the Socialist Party and the Portuguese Communist Party once again won a majority of seats. This majority could and should have become the parliamentary basis for the formation of a stable democratic government pursuing a policy ensuring transition to socialism. That is the goal, envisaged in the Constitution, which meets the popular aspirations as expressed in the elections.

However, the Socialist Party leadership brushed this perspective aside. The policies, the composition and the goals set by the succession of governments not only failed to solve the problems facing the country, but in fact aggravated them. The policy of these governments, described by the PCP as a policy of re-establishing the positions of the capitalists, latifundists and imperialists, was aimed to boycott and discriminate against the state sector of the economy and return the enterprises which the working people had taken away from the owners who had sabotaged their operation. A drive was started against the agrarian reform, frequently assuming brutal and violent forms. There was growing subordination of the economy to the International Monetary Fund and the transnational monopolies, as ties were fortified with the EEC and NATO. Prices kept rising, and all manner of difficulties were created in collective bargaining and discussion of higher wages, freedoms were curbed and redundancies ever more widely practised. Purges were carried out, as communists and other democrats were subjected to discrimination in appointments to many posts, which were willingly made available to reactionaries. The government mass media were handed over to the reactionaries or defended the right-wing line pursued by the Socialist Party. As the PCP had anticipated and had repeatedly warned, the right-wing policy for which the Socialist Party has the main responsibility to bear, resulted in a sharp worsening of the living conditions of the working people and the rest of the nation and in an aggravation of the economic and financial crisis in the country.

This policy was such a far cry from the actual needs of the country, it so blatantly ignored the transformations carried out since the April Revolution and had such insignificant social and political support, that within something like three years there was a cavalcade of five governments.

The right-wingers demanded, supported and welcomed such a policy. Now and again they participated in the governments headed by the Socialist Party or endorsed by the Assembly of the Republic with its blessing (one need only recall that 15 members of the present reactionary government have already been members of earlier cabinets). Delighted at the fact that their policy was being pursued in practice, the reactionary and right-wing

parties mounted a broad slander campaign designed to put the blame on the disastrous consequences of this policy on the Socialist Party and the left-wing forces generally, on the Constitution, on the April 25 Revolution, on the 'left-wing majority' and especially on the PCP, which tirelessly fought against the right-wing line and the governments pursuing it and which consistently advocated a democratic alternative.

At the December 2 elections, the rightists had two main purposes: first, to obtain a majority of the seats in the Assembly of the Republic and to form a reactionary government; and second, to win more votes than the democratic parties (the PCP and SP), so as to 'prove' that they would be victorious in the event of a 'referendum' on the revision of the Constitution, something they had vainly sought to achieve by non-constitutional means.

The rightists achieved their first purpose by winning a majority of the seats and forming a reactionary government. They were defeated in their second important purpose. The Portuguese people, having cast a majority for the democratic forces, showed that it stood for the Constitution and the democratic system. Indeed, the rightists won 80,353 votes less than the democratic forces (Alliance for the People's Unity and the Socialist Party) and 200,000 votes less than the opposition as a whole (which also includes leftist groups).

The PCP is well aware of the tremendous danger for Portuguese democracy posed by the existence of the reactionary parliamentary majority and the reactionary government set up on its basis. The PCP warned the people about the danger. At the same time it emphasized that the existence of a right-wing majority in Parliament and the rightist government was temporary, because in accordance with the Constitution, new elections are to be held to the Assembly of the Republic in the autumn of 1980. Besides, in the latest elections the democratic forces won more votes than the reactionaries, while the 45.1 per cent of the votes won by the rightists do not reflect any stable opinion among the electorate; nor can one discount the contradictions within the parties and groups constituting the reactionary coalition which presented itself to the electorate as a 'democratic alliance.'

These results are connected with a temporary polarization of forces resulting from a growth of discontent over the right-wing policy pursued by the succession of governments (including Socialist governments) ascribed to the activity of left-wing forces. One should also take into account the fact that a broad propaganda campaign was launched with generous financial support from foreign reactionary organizations. These results also spring from the illusions among broad sections of the population who had trusted the demagogic electoral promises which were soon to be blasted by the government's practical activity; finally, they spring from the serious curbs on freedoms in many parts of the country, from economic, social and especially religious pressures on the part of reaction and clerical circles, the numerous electoral frauds and other breaches of the electoral process, especially during

the polling and the counting of the votes (use was made of counterfeit ballots, people illegally voting for absentees, delegates of democratic forces who could have monitored electoral procedures being removed from polling stations, etc.). Let us also note that had the small number of votes cast by the petty left-wing and leftist groups been added to those of the PCP and the Alliance for the People's Unity, the PCP would have had one deputy more in each of five electoral districts. That means that the democratic forces would have had not only a larger proportion of the poll but also a larger number of seats than the reactionaries.

The Socialist Party suffered a major defeat in the December 2 and 16 elections. Indeed, in April 1975 it won 38 per cent of the poll, in April 1976 — 35 per cent, in December 1976 — 32.5 per cent, and now 27.4 per cent. It had earlier had 108 seats, and now it has 74. As for local organs of power, it had a majority in 115 municipal councils, and now only in 60. The steady weakening of the Socialist Party's positions in the elections, a characteristic feature of all the electoral campaigns, which is most noticeable today, does not result from a decline in the Socialist Party's prestige because of its stay in power, as its leadership claims. After all, prestige tends to be undermined in power when it is used against the working people's interests. The Socialist Party's discredit results above all from its policy of re-establishing the positions of capitalism, latifundism and imperialism, its policy of concessions to the rightists and its alliance with them, and its abandonment of alliances and mutual understanding with left-wing forces. It is also the result of its policy of primitive anti-communism and acts aimed to split the working-class and trade union movement.

Despite the fact that the PCP and the Alliance for the People's Unity had to carry on their electoral campaign in difficult conditions (terroristic acts by reactionaries, curbs on freedoms in some parts of the country), the voting on December 2 and 16 has, in the opinion of the communists and even their adversaries, resulted in an impressive success for the PCP and the Alliance for the People's Unity. In the elections to the Assembly of the Republic, they won 1,122,239 votes, or 336,619 (42.9 per cent) more than the PCP won in 1976. The PCP's parliamentary group now numbers 44 deputies (40 in 1976). In addition, three deputies were elected from the Portuguese Democratic Movement, which is also a part of the Alliance for the People's Unity. These results are all the more impressive considering that the total numbers of deputies has been reduced from 263 to 250.

The Alliance for the People's Unity scored especially remarkable successes in areas where reaction is well entrenched. There, the number of votes cast for its candidates increased by an average of 100 per cent, and in areas like Braga by 177 per cent, and Aveiro by 132 per cent. PCP deputies were elected to the Assembly of the Republic in these areas for the first time. Evidence of the growing authority and power of the PCP as a party of the working class comes from the massive votes for the candidates of

the Alliance for the People's Unity in areas where there are large concentrations of workers. Thus, in the industrial area of Setubal, it won 189,593 votes or 47 per cent.

Finally, the elections demonstrated the broad and incontestable support for the PCP's policy on agrarian reform. On the whole, in the agrarian reform zone areas, the Alliance for the People's Unity won 44.2 per cent of the poll (an increase from 175,322 in 1976 to 214,795 in 1979). The PCP and the Alliance also scored a tremendous success in the local elections: their candidates to the municipal assemblies won 1,041,985 votes, that is 285,577 more than three years ago. In 1976, the PCP and the Alliance had a majority in 37 municipal chambers (267 seats) and now in 50 (322). The number of parishes where the PCP and the Alliance have a majority increased from 195 to 300, the number of seats in municipal assemblies from 674 to 1,785, and in parish assemblies from 2,336 to 5,079. These successes are due mainly to the PCP's consistent policy of firmly standing up for the gains of the April Revolution and the democratic system, the vital interests of the working people and the whole nation, and its policy of working for the unity of the democratic forces and against reaction and the policies of the rightists and their attempt to return to the old order. It is this consistent policy we are sure, that has generated and will continue to generate the people's growing trust and support.

At the same time, these successes also spring from the correct tactics of the PCP during the electoral campaigns. Its financial resources are markedly smaller than those of the two big political associations ('democratic alliance' and the Socialist Party) but it made use of its superiority in winning the people to its side, established closer contacts with the masses and gained a greater understanding of national and local problems, offering concrete ways for their solution.

Meanwhile the existence of the reactionary parliamentary majority and a similar government has enabled the right-wing forces to try to put through a far-reaching operation which, in the party's view, could be a veiled blow at democracy along the following seven main lines:

1. Re-establishment of the pace of capitalist exploitation and the accumulation, centralization and concentration of capital, which would lead to a restoration of the power of big capital and latifundists and the worsening of the living conditions of the working people and the middle strata;
2. A curb on freedoms through their regulation, the use of repressive and administrative measures and actual seizure and establishment by reaction of a monopoly on the mass media;
3. Elimination through government measures of the main gains of the revolution, above all of the agrarian reform, nationalization and control of management;
4. Unconstitutional and anti-democratic laws in the Assembly of the Republic within the framework of a global 'legislative counter-revolution';
5. Preparation of a new electoral law ignoring the principle of proportional representation and other

measures designed to create an anti-democratic atmosphere for the next elections to the Assembly of the Republic with frauds ensuring the reactionary parties a majority in Parliament;

6. Adoption, contrary to the Constitution, of a 'referendum law,' so as to get down to an unconstitutional revision of the country's fundamental law, ignoring the concrete limitations contained in Article 290 and a need to obtain the support of a two-thirds majority;

7. Confrontation with the President of the Republic and the Revolutionary Council, creation of an atmosphere of political impasse so as to carry out a coup, if it proves to be impossible to continue their unconstitutional government and legislative activity within the framework of ostensible legality.*

But the goals of reaction are one thing and the potentialities for putting them into practice are another. The PCP believes that in the next few months the Portuguese people will truly have to tackle important tasks in order to stand up for the freedoms and April gains to frustrate the plans of reaction, to maintain the democratic system and to ensure national independence.

Attainment of these goals will be crucially promoted by the results of the elections in September and December 1980 to the Assembly of the Republic and the Presidency. In the elections to the Assembly of the Republic, which will have the right (however limited) to review the Constitution, it will be necessary to confine reaction once again to a minority in Parliament, with the democratic forces once again in a majority, so as to form a new democratic government and to strengthen the PCP parliamentary group.

In the presidential elections, the main task will be to defeat the candidates of reaction and to elect a president prepared firmly to stand up for the democratic system enshrined in the Constitution.

To do all this, the PCP Central Committee believes that it is necessary to start right away a broad explanatory campaign whose main purpose is to win away votes from the rightists and to maintain and strengthen dynamic unity during the elections. Mass action and party work in every sector will be crucial in fulfilling these tasks.

Of key importance for the future of Portuguese democracy will be the working people's struggle for collective agreements, for higher old-age pensions, the fight against the growth in the cost of living, unemployment and redundancies, against discrimination and for the rights of women, struggle by the young people, intellectuals, small and middle landholders, merchants and owners of enterprises, a strengthening of the unitary trade union movement, the commissions of the working people and the whole of the working-class and popular movement, and unitary actions by the local organs of power. In each of these sectors, the communists will continue to play a leading and crucial role.

Another important line of work is activity in the Assembly of the Republic and contacts with the

Revolutionary Council, the President of the country and the government itself, despite its reactionary substance.

Mass struggle in every sector with their specific goals and peculiarities will provide in Portugal's concrete conditions an appropriate form of resistance to the moves by the government and the reactionary parliamentary majority supporting it, in order to put up strong resistance to the anti-popular policy and the putschist plans of reaction. At the same time, the mass struggle is a means for preparing the defeat of reaction and the success of the forces of democracy, the forces of April 25 in the coming elections.

The plans of reaction are highly dangerous. The PCP's success in the December 1979 elections is of crucial importance for maintaining the democratic system. Indeed, if the mass struggle is a crucial factor in defeating the plans of reaction, it is the PCP's role that is most important as the soundest and strongest bulwark in the defense of the April gains and the democratic system.

The success of the PCP and the Alliance in the elections means that the forces most firmly and consistently standing up in defense of April 25 have gained in strength and that the working-class and popular movement itself has become more consistent, militant and organized.

What is undoubtedly characteristic of the current political situation in Portugal is that as dark clouds loom over Portuguese democracy and as the government and the reactionary parliamentary majority itself are preparing for another and more savage attack on democracy, there is a growing spirit of militancy and confidence both in the party and within the working-class movement. In response to this atmosphere in the country, the Plenum of the PCP Central Committee (January 25, 1980) decided to stage campaigns by the leadership of regional organizations to recruit at least 10,000 new members to the party by mid-1980. It is also indicative that in this year of new elections to the Assembly of the Republic and the regional assemblies of the Azores and the Madeira Isles and the presidential elections, the PCP Central Committee has decided to take a number of steps and initiatives in the first half of the year like active participation in the celebrations to mark the anniversary of the Constitution (April 2), the sixth anniversary of the Revolution of April 25, May Day, conferences on Common Market problems, local power, public health, a congress of the Portuguese Communist Youth, a sports festival and a festival of the newspaper *Avante!*, which is to be marked on an unprecedented scale, apart from the numerous other measures in the localities.

At the same time, a number of major acts are to be staged with other forces for the purposes of strengthening unity, like the Third Congress of the General Confederation of Portuguese Working People, the National Intersindical, a meeting of the National Confederation of Agriculture, a congress of the Democratic Women's Movement, the Fourth Conference on Agrarian Reform Problems, the Fourth Conference of the Pensioners and Aged Persons Movement, etc.

*O PCP face ao plano subversivo PPD-CDS. Documento aprovado no plenário do CC do PCP de 25.1.1980.

The PCP warns the people of Portugal of the impending danger, urging democrats and working people to struggle, emphasizing the crucial role of mass action and the importance of the communists' work in the Assembly of the Republic and local organs of power, coming out for the unity of the democratic forces and calling on all party members to strengthen their unity. At the same time, it looks

to the future with confidence, seeking to ensure success in the struggle in defense of the democratic system and the April Revolution, and especially victory of the democrats in the 1980 elections. As the January Plenary Meeting of the PCP Central Committee declared, 'the Portuguese people will have the final say. Reaction will be routed. April Portugal lives and will continue to live!'

New experience

OUR INTERVIEWS

A LOOK AT THE ELECTIONS

Ib Nørlund

CC Executive Committee and Secretariat Member,
Communist Party of Denmark

At the latest Folketing elections, the Communist Party of Denmark, whose successes have had coverage in the Journal, lost all of its seven seats. What lies behind this outcome of the voting?

Ib Nørlund. The election results came as a surprise for the communists and even for most of our adversaries. The communists are a major force in the working-class movement of Denmark and other democratic movements. To have a correct idea of the actual balance of strength it must be borne in mind that had we received another 3,000 votes we would, according to Danish electoral law, have garnered four seats. It is thus not a case of some catastrophe for the party. On the contrary, its membership is growing and our press is being read by more and more people. The party has no reason for feeling itself isolated. Last summer, together with other opponents of the EEC, it scored a major advance in the elections to the European Parliament in the list presented by the People's Movement for Denmark's Withdrawal from the EEC: one communist was elected. The party's economic policy is winning support as a result of its many initiatives in the trade union movement and on the shop floor. Some weeks after the elections the CPD marked its 60th anniversary with unprecedentedly large rallies.

Nevertheless, you cannot ignore the facts: at the latest elections the party lost many votes precisely at a moment when these votes were vital and it was possible to forge ahead. We feel that this is serious. By frank discussion in its own ranks the party sought to get to the reasons for this reverse and self-critically analyzed its work. This discussion identified a number of circumstances whose concurrence, in our view, affected the election results.

1. The elections were held on account of a sudden change in social-democratic tactics. In a coalition with the right-wing bourgeois Venstre party (the government coalition), the Social-Democratic Party had for more than a year been pursuing a policy leading to increasingly more drastic steps to enable monopoly capital to extricate itself from the

crisis of the capitalist economy at the expense of the working people. This policy encountered growing resistance, particularly in the trade union movement, causing anxiety in the Social-Democratic Party. Nevertheless, the leadership clung to the coalition with the Venstre party in the belief that there was no other alternative. In early September of last year the Prime Minister Anker Jørgensen virtually begged the Congress of the Social-Democratic Party to endorse the continuation of this policy, but several weeks later he nonetheless felt it expedient to yield to the demand for a halt to collaboration with Venstre and called for new elections.

Encouraged by the concessions they had wrung from the coalition government, the right-wing forces launched a massive offensive, proclaiming a broad right-wing 'new force' coalition in Danish politics. With self-assurance they announced the principles of a policy envisaging stringent anti-democratic steps to reduce real wages and expenditures on social and cultural requirements. The Social-Democrats confined themselves to a low-key enunciation of the program they were planning to implement in the event they won the election. In this situation many voters saw the Social-Democratic Party as the only real alternative to the danger from the right. At any rate, they regarded it as the lesser evil.

The Social-Democrats thus masked their responsibility for the coalition government's unpopular policies. During the election campaign we did not see through these maneuvers, although after the elections it proved that there had been every possibility for laying bare the substance of this tactic. As its first step the new Social-Democratic government presented a larger package of state-monopoly measures to cut real wages than had ever been proposed by a Danish government.

2. On the basis of its analysis of the pre-election situation the Communist Party pursued a line founded on the belief that there would be no elections in the immediate future. Its main task was to

stiffen resistance to the policies of the coalition government and consequently, offer an alternative policy consisting of anti-monopoly measures leading to a democratic way out of the crisis. On this foundation it started a long-term political campaign which required a large effort and was essentially speaking, not linked to elections. In particular, it collected signatures under a demand for the socialization of production and the distribution of energy (currently this is arbitrarily controlled by the monopolies). In addition, the communists conducted their annual fund-raising campaign to finance the party press. The fund-raising campaign was extremely successful, bringing a record sum of nearly 4,300,000 kroner. But this unquestionably diverted a lot of energy.

It was therefore hard for the party to readjust its work quickly enough for an effective election campaign that was to last only a few weeks.

3. The election struggle unfolded chiefly over domestic issues. Crucial issues such as the new armaments in Europe, the Soviet proposals for talks on medium-range missiles and opposition to the plans for deploying Euromissiles were given priority only at the closing stage of the election campaign. As subsequent developments showed these were the issues that set large sections of the population in motion and compelled the government to speak out in favor of postponing (for at least six months) the adoption of the NATO plan for deploying Euromissiles. But later the government did not insist on this stand and changed it under pressure from the USA.

These issues should have been raised more energetically during the election campaign.

4. Further. A group of persons in the CPD found the eve of the elections a suitable moment for openly attacking the party's policies: they made public statements and tried to form a 'left'-radical faction. It was a small group and as we found later, the damage it inflicted on the party was offset by the influx of new members. But the very fact of this action was of course, used assiduously by the mass media and could raise doubts about the party's policies.

Moreover, our problem was chiefly to ensure a wider front of united action and at the same time prove the need for a stronger Communist Party. At present the CPD is examining precisely the experience gained in this context. The party is unshakable in its belief that united action is indispensable for releasing the energy of the working people in order to reshape society, and it therefore repulses every attempt to distract it from this belief. At the same time, the communists are clearly aware that the general struggle will bring the party's independent role and long-term aims into bold relief.

The Danish communists are making the utmost use of this experience in their struggle against the new, drastic post-election social restrictions, the curtailment of the democratic rights of the trade unions and the attempts of international reaction to suppress popular resistance by means of another cold war. In this context we are preparing for our coming 24th Congress.

FROM DOCUMENTS

PORTUGAL

Local organs of power

The Communist deputies elected recently to local organs of power have had their first national meeting. A statement issued by the PCP Central Committee's Department of Information and Propaganda notes that an exhaustive survey had been made of the work and leadership of local organs of power and the main orientations for this work in the future. The statement says that the experience gained during the three years since the previous municipal elections is the guarantee that the highly democratic and competent administration by deputies elected from the lists of the Alliance for the Unity of the People will bring the champions of democracy and revolutionary gains the support of new sections of the population.

At the meeting it was stressed that it was necessary to achieve unity of action by all the deputies in local organs of power regardless of their political persuasion and that it was important for large numbers of people to participate in the work of these organs.

MEXICO

Basic guidelines

A resolution passed by a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party under the heading of 'Basic Guidelines in Party Building' declares that the immediate central aim of the Mexican communists is to win the support of the bulk of the working class for the party's policies.

This document underscores the substantial changes that have taken place in the nation's political life and in the party's status since its 18th Congress. The communists had their first-ever opportunity to nominate candidates for the elections to the Congressional Chamber of Deputies and during the election campaign they were able to come into contact with millions of people. Now turning into a mass party, the MCP has become a major factor in the nation's political life. However, despite the party's impressive headway, the document says, there are serious shortcomings in its political, theoretical and organizational work. Unless these shortcomings are remedied quickly through the efforts of the entire party, they may develop into an obstacle to its further advance.

The resolution notes the significance of the party's numerical growth, particularly among workers. Until recently this growth had been largely spontaneous and lagged behind the rise of the MCP's political influence. The reason for this lay in the shortcomings in the work of party organs. The party, the resolution says, can fulfil the tasks confronting it only by changing the methods of organization, by adjusting them to the present political situation. This will make it possible to draw thousands of new members into active political work and into the life of the party.

In party building, the resolution declares, one of the main orientations is to set up party locals at all the principal industrial enterprises. All the communists, without exception, should contribute to this work.

Emphasis is laid on the need for working out a comprehensive political guideline and the party's stand regarding the ways and means of accomplishing a democratic and socialist revolution in Mexico. The Central Committee, the resolution notes, should concentrate its analyses precisely on these problems.

Questions related to the democratization of inner-party life and the organization of a party system of political education are given considerable attention. It is stressed that there is a need for more

effective party propaganda through the Central Committee's organ *Oposicion* and also through radio and television, to which the party has now been given access. The CC plans to begin the publication of a monthly theoretical and political journal and to increase the output of books and pamphlets.

The resolution reiterates that the MCP is a revolutionary organization of the working class and that every communist is duty bound to be guided by its line and to take part in its political and internal life. A detailed analysis is given of the ways and means of improving the work of its leading organs and great significance is attached to the work of communist deputies. This work is directed by the CC and its Executive Commission.



The historical fortunes of capitalism in Latin America

Alvaro Delgado

CC Executive alternate member, CP Colombia

Anatoly Shulgovsky, D.Sc. (Hist.) USSR

For many years, Marxists have focussed their attention on the specific evolution of capitalism in Latin America. Whether capitalist relations have or have not been developing in the countryside is no longer a matter of discussion, but there is still a debate on the more intricate problems, above all that of the level of capitalist development generally and the trends of its transition to the monopoly stage in particular. The point is to establish the extent to which the objective prerequisites have matured for a democratic, anti-imperialist revolution and its growth into a socialist revolution.

There are different views of this problem among Marxists, and these could be reduced to two basic ones: some say that Latin America has long since passed the initial phase of capitalism and is at its middle stage, others believe that Latin American countries as a whole are still to reach what could be called the medium level of capitalist development.

We think that the former view is applicable to the overwhelming majority of Latin American countries, while the latter is true only of some countries, the more backward ones. It would be wrong to regard the whole region in this light. The incorrect approach apparently stems from the fact that there

This completes our publications prepared on the basis of an international exchange of views on the development of the productive forces and relations of production in Latin America and the capitalist society which has taken shape there (see *WMR*, June, August, November and December 1979). The editors intend to publish in an early issue the first few comments from readers in response to our invitation to join in the discussion of this important subject.

is a mechanical identification of concepts like 'economic backwardness' ('economic dependence,' 'distorted economic growth') and 'level of capitalist development.'

The relative economic backwardness of Latin American countries as compared with the progress in the advanced capitalist countries is not in itself an indicator of low development of capitalist relations. Let us recall that when the Russian populists insisted that the poverty of nations hampered the formation of capitalism, Lenin objected by emphasizing that 'the impoverishment of the masses of the people,' a low level of national income per head of the population, does not hinder the development of capitalism (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 1, p. 102). He noted that the criterion here could and should be the nature of the social relations taking shape in the process of production.

Lenin used various indicators, but accentuated two main ones. He wrote: 'The degree to which the commodity form of labor power is developed is an indication of the degree to which capitalism is developed' (*ibid.*, p. 102). Subsequently, he used a broader criterion: 'The degree of the development of the home market is the degree of development of capitalism in the country' (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 69). Both these criteria are closely interconnected because at the capitalist stage the internal market is a sphere not so much of the sale and purchase of goods as of wage labor.

It does not, of course, follow that the attainment of the medium level of capitalist development just about automatically leads to the next and higher stage.

After these preliminary remarks, let us consider the question of Latin America's place in the world capitalist system and the influence on it of the fundamental trends and uniformities of international development. Some analysts unconditionally refer the Latin American countries to the so-called Third World and consider their conditions and problems in close connection with the processes going on in Africa and Asia. We think that this is a schematic approach. Its deficiency is revealed in a comparison of the states of these regions according to level of socio-economic development and in identifying their political and social orientation. But the main thing is that it fails to take into account the historical circumstances and concrete features of the origination in the region of politically independent states and the development of the capitalist mode of production in them.

Latin American Marxists have long since drawn attention to this problem. Back in the mid-1920s, Jose Carlos Mariategui, the founder of the Peruvian Communist Party, suggested the need to study not only the national but also the worldwide causes and factors which had predetermined the winning of independence by the former Spanish colonies and to take into account the influence exerted on the emergent states by capitalism, then on an upgrade.

'The ideas of the French revolution and the North American constitution,' Mariategui wrote, 'fell on fertile soil in South America because there a bourgeoisie, however embryonic, was already in existence, which in virtue of its economic requirements and interests could and had to adopt the revolutionary spirit of the European bourgeoisie . . . In terms of world history, South America's war for independence is determined by the requirements of development of Western, or, to be more precise, of capitalist civilization'.¹ It is the inclusion of Latin America in the capitalist orbit that determined, he believed, the development of capitalist relations in the region and made for the similar type of processes that led to the formation there of the capitalist mode of production. Some countries (Argentina, Brazil) advanced faster along the capitalist road, their economy and culture 'gradually acquired the functions and structure of the European economy and culture';² other states were delayed in their development, this being 'hampered by numerous tenacious survivals of feudalism'.³

In other words, Mariategui's conception contained several important ideas: (1) in Latin America capitalism is above all a product of internal conditions; (2) it had to face important obstacles in the form of sizable feudal survivals, and (3) it had to develop under strong influence from external factors. His works make it clear that, despite the many impediments and negative distorting elements, there has been a steady development of the capitalist mode of production in Latin America. In the colonial epoch, private capitalist property and the exploitation of wage labor were still largely embryonic, but with the emergence of independent states these gradually became domi-

nant: capitalism became a system-forming sector and then a social formation.

There is also another point. If one is to go to the heart of this problem, one's analysis must be closely tied in with the phenomena that were characteristic of the period in which world capitalism was on the rise and was moving into the imperialist stage and subsequently into the phase of deep crisis caused above all by the victory of the October Revolution.

In this sense, a comparative historical analysis of the situation in Latin America and other regions of the world gives a wealth of facts for scientific conclusions and generalizations. Thus, a comparison of the first revolution in Russia (1905-1907) and the Mexican revolution (1910-1917) helps to bring out many common features, the chief of which is that these two revolutions went beyond the traditional bourgeois-democratic revolutions and bore the hallmarks of the epoch of imperialism, which is characterized, in particular, by a sharpening of social contradictions, a growth of the national-liberation struggle and a political awakening of broad masses of people. We feel that their typological similarity springs from the level of socio-economic development and the specific features of the formation of the capitalist mode of production in both countries.

This analysis, which could well be continued with other examples, also implies a comparison of the specific features in the formation of the capitalist sector in the other regions of the world, notably Europe. In this case, we think 'belated' capitalism would be the most precise term for Latin America because, first, it does not define Latin American capitalism as a 'specific' phenomenon developing in accordance with specific laws. Second, it helps to comprehend the problem in a world context and to bring out more clearly the common elements characteristic of capitalist evolution in Latin America and say, Russia, and also in the countries of East and Southeast Europe. In his early works, Lenin gave a profound analysis of this type of capitalism. It was also considered by Antonio Gramsci in his works on the southern question in Italy. Third, such an approach helps to sort out in greater depth the causes of the differences between the countries of 'classical' and 'belated' capitalism and in particular to establish the specific features of the origination of the capitalist mode of production, primitive accumulation and the industrial revolution. Fourth, this concept helps to make a more fundamental approach to the question of dependence, because the countries of 'belated' capitalism have been and continue to be fully or partially subjected to the developed capitalist countries.

No Marxist has denied that the Latin American countries are dependent on imperialism and that the power of foreign capital exerts a tremendous distorting influence on their economic structure and social life. The differences originate in the assessment of the phenomenon proper. Is dependence to be regarded as the sole factor of development or should one refrain from regarding it as an

absolute and consider the internal factors behind its origination alongside the external ones? We think that in this case one should start from the exceptionally important fact (from the standpoint of the historical perspective) of the winning of political independence by the overwhelming majority of the Latin American countries back in the early 19th century. What is important is not only that this event necessarily left a profound imprint on the whole of Latin America's subsequent development and in particular on the shaping of the capitalist mode of production in the area. The main thing is that a study of social, civil wars and movements in the past century and a close analysis of their results help to establish the internal factors which led to the growth of the Latin American countries' dependence, especially with the onset of the epoch of imperialism. In other words, the concrete historical approach helps to bring out the difference in the extent and forms of the individual countries' subjugation and the attitude of the individual classes and social groups to that phenomenon itself.

The problem of dependence was broadly discussed back in the 1920s and was reflected in the works of the early Latin American Marxists. Thus Mariategui, considering the existence of politically independent countries in the region, explained the attitude of the local bourgeoisie to imperialism as follows: 'So long as imperialism does not nominally affect these countries' national sovereignty and "spares" their national feelings, so long as it is not forced to resort to armed intervention and military occupation, imperialism can fully expect to have the cooperation of the local bourgeoisie'.⁴ He reached the important conclusion that it is the nature of dependence that made some countries of Europe akin to the Latin American countries. 'Although these countries, rather their bourgeoisie, are fully dependent on the imperialist economy, in these conditions the bourgeoisie will regard itself as the master of its fate, as it does in Rumania, Bulgaria, Poland and other "dependent" countries of Europe.'⁵

In 1926, Victorio Codovilla, a prominent leader of the world and Argentinian communist movement, emphasized the need for a concrete historical approach to Latin American realities. He wrote: 'Although oppression by imperialism lies heavy on all the countries of Latin America, the extent of this oppression differs depending on the various economic and political forms in this or that country'.⁶ He classified the Latin American states in that period into three groups: (1) Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Guatemala and several others. All of them, he stressed, are heavily dependent on imperialism, which constantly threatens their independent existence; (2) Peru, Bolivia, Colombia and several other countries are in an intermediate position both in level of economic dependence and the extent to which they have national sovereignty; and (3) Argentina, Brazil and Chile. There, Codovilla wrote, imperialist policy is conducted through more cautious and camouflaged methods. He said that these

countries were to some extent akin to the European countries and stressed that they had large-scale modern enterprises employing thousands of people as in Europe.⁷

Julio Antonio Mella, a founder of the Communist Party of Cuba, in his polemics against the ideologists of the petty-bourgeois nationalistic APRA movement, which originated in Peru in the early 1920s and which had a considerable influence on Latin American social thinking, exposed their assertions concerning the allegedly specific character of development of the countries on the continent, predetermined they said, by their virtual colonial status and complete dependence on imperialism. Echoing Codovilla's ideas, Mella wrote: 'We find that the laws of social development in accordance with which capitalism produces the proletariat are fully borne out in America. Here, not only is a proletariat taking shape but, as in Europe, the antagonistic classes are locked in a historical struggle.'⁸ He also noted that 'imperialism cannot dominate without internal support in this or that country.'⁹ He drew attention to the growing cooperation between the local bourgeoisie and imperialism and the latter's stake in fortifying the capitalist system in Latin America.¹⁰

We have quoted these authoritative judgments in order to emphasize, apart from everything else, the need to formulate criteria with respect to the theory of dependent capitalism, which has been given fairly wide currency in Latin America in the recent period. While giving credit to some of its authors, notably the Brazilian sociologists Theotonio Dos Santos and Henrique Cardoso, who produced the clearest picture of the mechanism by means of which the transnationals penetrate Latin American countries and who have done a great deal to expose the new forms of dependence, one has to point to some serious defects in their current or earlier views, above all those involving the absolutization of dependence.

Dos Santos, for instance, brought to the fore the struggle between socialism and fascism as the only possible alternative for Latin America under its total subjugation to imperialism.¹¹ We believe that the one-sidedness of this formula is obvious. The ruling classes can and do use not only fascist methods of rule. This formula fails to take into account that the anti-fascist struggle, the movement for social progress also involves strata of the population which are not yet prepared to accept the ideas of socialism and regard it with suspicion.

For his part, Cardoso, referring to the emergence of new forms of dependence, claimed to have 'improved' Lenin's theory of imperialism. In defiance of the facts, he asserted that Lenin did not anticipate the possibility that foreign capital would promote the development of capitalism in backward countries. In saying this, he identified the Latin American countries with colonies and ignored the fact that they are politically sovereign countries even if they are in heavy economic dependence.

The French sociologist Alain Touraine has expressed the pessimistic view of the possibility of eliminating or reducing dependence and a victory for the revolutionary alternative on the continent. He sympathizes with Popular Unity in Chile and writes with respect about the activity of the communists, who sought to mobilize the masses for tackling vital economic and social tasks, but in his view Popular Unity merely paved the way for a society of modernized capitalism. He asserts that some other Latin American countries are also getting down to the establishment of such a society.¹²

Many advocates of the theory of dependence, for all the nuances and differences in their lines of argument, refer Latin America to the colonial periphery of capitalism and regard the specific features of capitalist development in the region exclusively from the standpoint of the influence exerted by the metropolitan countries. This results (often unwittingly) in an echoing of Kautsky's conception of 'ultra-imperialism' and his thesis concerning some 'super-empire' arising and existing under the sponsorship of the monopolies.

For a correct assessment of the dependent-capitalism conception it is important to take into account that some of its advocates have been markedly altering their stand, drawing closer to the Marxist-Leninist view of the problems of social development. There is the characteristic evolution of the views held by a group of Mexican sociologists and economists of whom Alonso Aguilar is a prominent spokesman. They have on the whole moved away from this conception and in their works ever more frequently refer to Lenin's theory of imperialism and his works on the development of capitalism in Russia.

It is of exceptional importance for us to keep track of the shaping of new forms of dependence, to assess them scientifically and analyze in due time the process in which the Latin American bourgeoisie seeks to adapt itself to the 'spirit of the times.' First of all, it is necessary to establish the correlation of external and internal factors in the modernization of capitalism on the continent. The most serious attention should, naturally, be paid to the activities of the transnationals aimed to give 'dynamism' to some sectors of the Latin American economy and to set up modern enterprises, which certainly leads to an improvement of capitalist structures. This must be seen as a change in the strategy of imperialism, which seeks to bolster the capitalist system in regions of the world where it is vulnerable.

At the same time, the causes of capitalist modernization should be sought within the Latin American countries themselves, in the processes connected with the growth of the local big bourgeoisie, which tends quite consciously to ally itself with the transnationals. Let us recall what Mariategui said about its attitude to imperialism. The formation of this alliance has markedly accelerated with the sharpening of the class struggle in Latin America. What then are the prospects for the counter-revolutionary alternative, which is nothing else but an attempt to consolidate the capitalist system and to prevent a growth of the popular movement? Let us

recall Lenin's assessment of the plans of the Stolypin reaction which were aimed to pave the way for capitalism in Russia and to modernize its structure. Lenin repeatedly stressed that if these plans were even partially realized — and that is a prospect he did not rule out — the working class and its allies would have to face many new and complicated problems (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 13, pp. 142; 243-4; 276-7; 421-2; 455-9; Vol. 15, p. 270-1).

It is not right, we think, to deny that right-authoritarian regimes could well promote capitalist development and even produce a system of state-monopoly capitalism. But it has become clear in the recent period that such regimes are incapable of ensuring long-term economic progress, of ending the stagnation of the productive forces and leading Latin American countries out of their socio-economic impasse. This has been realized even by those who were literally stunned by the 'demonstration effect' of Brazil's economic 'miracle,' which appeared to give ground for the claims by its apologists (like Roberto de Olivera Campos and Mario Henrique Simonsen) that they had managed to set up a system of 'harmonious self-regulation,' which ended the populist policy of 'wealth sharing' without its expanded reproduction and averted the growth of social tensions. In their development, countries with right-authoritarian regimes are confronted with mounting difficulties and problems, their economy is marking time and the social climate is worsening.

There are many factors and reasons for this. There is a sharp struggle among the ruling classes in Latin America over the most efficient ways of controlling the masses. Influential bourgeois groups, say in Brazil, advocate a more flexible 'liberal' policy, believing that this alone — and not greater repression and terrorism — can prevent the radicalization of the masses and channel the process of democratization (which they believe to be inevitable) along the right lines. No wonder these groups ever more frequently resort to the tactic of social maneuvering, seeking in advance to test the various development alternatives. In the near future, this trend is bound to increase and it is necessary just now to anticipate its consequences, especially since it is characteristic not only of countries with right-authoritarian regimes. In other states (Mexico, Venezuela, Costa Rica and Colombia) 'neo-capitalist' programs for social maneuvering are also being implemented ever more widely and this on the whole shows that the processes of capitalist modernization running on the continent independently of the existing political superstructures are essentially of one and the same type.

When assessing the potentialities of right-authoritarian regimes, one must take into account the emergence of patriotic and even anti-imperialist trends in the armed forces and the spread of discontent among the petty-bourgeois strata of the population and the non-monopoly part of the bourgeoisie. For all its efforts, reaction has failed to suppress the struggle of the working class and other working people or to destroy the communist parties and other revolutionary organizations. This ex-

plains, we think, the progressive erosion of right-authoritarian regimes and the inability of the more aggressive, fascist-minded circles to establish a solid system of power. It is also safe to say that Latin American fascism has neither massive social support, no political parties of its own, nor any clear-cut ideological platform.

This helps to clarify the peculiarity of the anti-fascist movement because it cannot be separated from the anti-imperialist struggle, which is filled with ever richer social content and is ever more closely tied in with anti-monopoly tasks, especially in the more developed countries. Indeed, even if the ruling classes tried to effect some superficial 'liberalization' of right-authoritarian regimes, their structure would on the whole remain unchanged. The fact is that foreign capital is increasingly intruding into the socio-economic fabric of Latin America, becoming a component part of it. The interests of the local big bourgeoisie are so interwoven with those of the transnationals that the struggle against the latter is most closely bound up with action against the monopolies. The Chilean

experience shows that one cannot stop at nationalizing individual foreign companies and that one has to go beyond it, increasingly undermining the positions of big monopoly capital. This inevitably leads to a deepening of the anti-imperialist struggle, as it grows into a movement against the monopolies. It is at this stage that the resistance of imperialism and its local allies becomes most fierce, as it did in Chile. Thus, with the sharpening confrontation between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary alternatives anti-imperialist tasks do not recede into the background but acquire new features and even greater importance.

We have dealt with this in some detail to stress the importance of clear and well-thought out criteria of anti-imperialism, so as not to refer to it manifestations of the most diverse contradictions arising between Latin American countries and the United States. After all, many acts by local ruling circles, including the nationalization of foreign property, say the oil industry in Colombia and Venezuela, are not truly anti-imperialist. What is more, the bourgeoisie itself as a rule uses such acts to call for 'national unity' under the banner of a struggle against foreign oppression so as to divert the masses from the movement for deep-going social and anti-imperialist transformations. In other words, the Latin American ruling classes, rather than their nationally minded groups and factions, use the slogans of struggle by the 'oppressed nation' against foreign exploiters for the same purpose as the slogans of struggle by 'poor' against 'rich' nations.

We think that the most serious attention should be paid to these considerations. Only one conclusion suggests itself: the ideological struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois attempts to distort the goals and tasks of the liberation movement needs to be stepped up. In this case, the effectiveness of Marxist criticism and practical work will largely depend (other things apart) on the correct assessment of the phenomenon of dependence.

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Workers' Commissions: a militant contingent of Spanish labor

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To gain a better knowledge of the lines and scale of the activity of the Workers' Commissions* it is necessary to examine various aspects of Spain's transition from fascism to democracy, for they predicated the real substance of the political changes that began after the dictator's death (November 1975). It should be emphasized that this process was carried on above all, by the very same social groups which had been in power until recently. It was only effort by the workers and other progressives that carried the changes deeper and brought about a new balance of forces making it possible to go beyond the initial reforms and break with the past.

The hard road to democratization

In July 1976 the Arias-Fraga cabinet fell.* In April 1977 the new regime legalized the Communist Party of Spain and other democratic parties, as well as the trade unions that had been operating underground. The constitutionalization period culminated in the approval (in referendums) of the country's fundamental law in December 1978 and the permanent autonomy statutes of two historical ethnic regions — Catalonia and the Basque Provinces — in October 1979.

In June 1977 and March 1979 there were general elections and in April 1979, municipal elections. They were preceded shortly before by election of personnel delegates and workers' representative bodies, known as enterprise committees. Having won 43 per cent of the seats, the Workers' Commissions established themselves in the enterprises as the leading trade union force. (The General Union of Workers, which is closely linked to the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, won 27 per cent of the seats.)

We have only listed the more noteworthy milestones of the process of democratic change. But even this much reveals the difficulties which the Workers' Commissions encountered when they began

*For information on the Workers' Commissions — a history of their rise and struggles — see *WMR*, February 1976.

*The government under Carlos Arias Navarro was formed in Franco's days (1974), with Manuel Fraga Iribarne as deputy Premier and Minister of the Interior. After the dictator's death, it gave in to pressure from reaction; it failed to give effect to democratic reforms and discriminated against progressive organizations, including the Workers' Commissions. — Ed.

their struggle for the interests of labor. It also shows why this struggle has a political connotation, so typical of the strategy of class-oriented, revolutionary trade unions and so consonant with the situation.

Let us note first of all, that it took the authorities a long time to legalize the CPS and Workers' Commissions. Besides, the new constitution became effective only three-plus years after the fall of the dictatorship. This was due in particular, to the changed balance of social forces and to changes in the composition and attitude of the political organizations formed by them. We mean first of all, the SSWP and the Democratic Center Union. The situation bred a number of problems affecting the working-class movement. The biggest of these are:

— the progress of political democracy has not been accompanied by democratization in the economic and social spheres; democratization has only involved part of the Francoist political superstructure; its impact on the basis is negligible;

— it is still unclear how far capital is willing to extend political democracy; the legal standards of industrial relations, including trade union activity, are only just being defined; the political structure is still in the making and moreover, attempts are made to interpret the concept of liberal and democratic constitution in a restrictive and reactionary sense. All this adds political and ideological intensity to the class struggle;

— the formative process determining the type of democracy that will prevail in our country is attended by an unexampled aggravation of the economic crisis. It affects shipbuilding, ferrous metals, engineering, textiles, construction, agriculture, fishing and many other industries. Unemployment increases by 300,000 a year and was close to two million by late 1979. Unless this trend stops, three million people may find themselves jobless in the next two years according to some forecasts. In addition, the inflation rate has for years been running at roughly 16 per cent annually.

In defending the interests of labor, the Workers' Commissions must concentrate on the following tasks:

— to combat unemployment and defend real wages through open actions against the government's economic plan (we will spell out its main points a little later);

— to oppose legal standards likely to make it easier for the employers to discharge workers, block the introduction of democracy at the enterprises,

curtail trade union rights won through years of struggle against the dictatorship and lead to the use of trade unions as a means of dividing the workers;

— to take part in the formation of the political autonomy of ethnic regions with the important proviso that the legitimate struggle for their political and cultural identity and the decentralization of authority needed to further democracy shall not result, contrary to the efforts of the bourgeoisie, in a renunciation of class solidarity and a loosening of working-class unity;

— to press for trade union unity through joint actions by the more representative union centers and through strengthening the united trade union bodies existing at the enterprise level.

It will be seen that the Workers' Commissions operate in unusual conditions. Democracy has yet to sink firm roots; existing side by side are structures left over from the Francoist past on the one hand, and new, democratic government bodies formed in the transition period on the other. And there are two interlocking economic crises: the general crisis of capitalism and the crisis of the oligarchic, parasitical, anti-democratic capitalist model devised under the dictatorship. Legal standards are taking shape in industrial relations; they are to replace the rules formed under the impact of fascist-type syndicalism. A state in which central authority is in some respects restricted is in the process of formation. The SSWP and GUW are assuming an ever more distinct social-democratic character and this makes trade union unity of action exceedingly difficult. To all this is added the destabilizing impact of terrorism.

The government's economic program

In August 1979 the government announced an economic program designed to halt the growing crisis. Its main points may be listed as follows:

— the public sector of the economy is to be stripped of its independent role and subordinated to the private sector, for the government sees a way out of the crisis in assigning private initiative the leading role. This will definitively place the government and the state in the service of monopoly capital;

— the restructuring of crisis-stricken industries is to be aimed at raising productivity in these industries and the economy generally, which implies among other things, a reduction of the workforce. As there are no plans for the transfer of workers to other industries or for the creation of new jobs, this will mean more unemployment;

— at the new stage, the government wants to lift the 'stringent' curbs tying the employers' hands in regard to employment and dismissal. This is expected to bring the employed workforce into line with changing production and market requirements. Advocates of this measure consider that present rules inhibit the growth of productivity;

— in analyzing the factors aggravating the crisis, special importance is attached to the rising prices of energy resources. The government plans to cut wages in strict accordance with the growing rate of inflation. In other words, it would like the workers to pay for rising oil prices twice, namely by losing

directly in pay and by paying higher prices for consumer goods, through which the employers will try to offset the added spending for fuel. But even if wages do go up, their ceiling is to be determined not according to the rise of the cost of living in the previous period but according to the anticipated inflation rate;

— the government expects to ease the effects of the crisis by curbing earnings, which means that the ultimate result will be a sharp cut in real wages. This is entirely in harmony with the interests of big business, which considers that the workers' purchasing power should be held down more firmly even though between January 1978 and December 1979 real wages dropped by an average of 7 to 10 per cent anyway. In the longer term there is bound to be a very tangible absolute impoverishment of the workers. This development is now to be hastened;

— direct government investment to create new jobs will amount to 10,000 million pesetas. This is barely enough to create between 2,000 and 4,000 jobs (depending on the industry). Yet there are two million jobless already;

— the government program ignores agriculture, or the most neglected economic sphere, in which unemployment is particularly high;

— tax pressure on capital is to be eased.

To sum up, the government may be said to favor lower wages. Besides, it wants to achieve higher productivity not so much by organizing production more efficiently and modernizing it through new investments as by intensifying labor and reducing per unit costs. Lastly, the government would like to make it easier to dismiss workers and limit trade union rights and the right to work. It has influenced the drafting of the Labor Statute (examined below) on precisely these lines and intends to take a similar stand on the Strike Law, now in preparation.

The government insists on the need for the measures proposed by it, arguing that they will make it possible to raise the profit rate and so increase the accumulation of capital and thus stimulate investment. This policy, its advocates affirm, will result in creating new jobs.

But we know of the negative experience of other countries whose governments had made similar calculations. Due to competition for markets, investments are made selectively; moreover, they go primarily into industries in which they reduce rather than create more jobs. The very nature and depth of the crisis give the employers no hope for extra profit and so discourage them from further investments.

Although the solution offered by the government holds no promise of success, the government is set on carrying out its plan, which is virtually a program of monopoly, of big capital. Thus the aim is not to end the crisis but to use it for increasing surplus value.

The alternative offered by the Workers' Commissions

The antithesis of big capital's ambitions is the position upheld by the CPS in the political sphere and

the Workers' Commissions in the economic sphere.

In visualizing ways of ending the crisis by democratic means in the interest of labor, our Confederation proceeds, first of all from the assumption that the Workers' Commissions, being a trade union, must propose realistic and specific solutions for the problems facing the workers although we realize, of course, that these problems cannot be fully solved under the existing system. This is why the Commissions, appraising reality from every angle, aim at altering the existing economic development model, for reliance on it greatly aggravates the negative impact of the crisis.

Second, the Commissions see a most important task in subordinating all interests to the solution of the central social problem of present-day Spain — unemployment. This explains why a key policy line of our Confederation at this stage is to achieve nationwide solidarity in the campaign against unemployment.

A third premise is that a consistent policy is particularly indispensable during a crisis. While the workers are in no way to blame for the crisis or the acute character it has acquired in our country, the situation demands that the working class should prevent the effects of the crisis from worsening the condition of those who are hardest hit and have little opportunities (for various reasons) to stop by themselves a further deterioration of their already sad plight. We mean young people, women, pensioners and the jobless. The Commission's plan for a nationwide solidarity campaign against unemployment invites job-holders to make some sacrifices in favor of those who have lost their jobs or get no relief.

Lastly, we consider that the only way to achieve a fair distribution of the crisis burden and to influence not only the effects of the crisis but primarily its causes is through talks involving a wide range of economic, political and social forces (including the government, of course). To implement the economic and political agreements envisaged by the alternative we offer, it is necessary that all workers should be represented in the talks by their organizations and be really in a position to supervise compliance with these agreements.

To combat the phenomena causing the crisis, it is indispensable to democratize industrial relations. The trade unions must be enabled to function more effectively and develop more vigorously. This implies in particular, giving back to the workers the trade union funds accumulated under the Franco regime from the imposition of dues. One of the tasks is to guarantee real and effective representation of the workers in social insurance, the management bodies of nationalized enterprises and other state institutions.

Democratic planning of economic development, even within the framework of private property and without changes in the socio-economic system, would help attract more investments and hence create more jobs, use our resources more effectively, reinforce the public sector, foster the development of small and medium enterprises, carry out an agrarian reform, put credits within easier reach, estab-

lish price controls and so on. All this would make it possible to check and reverse the fast-growing unemployment.

We are aware that this is a formidable task. But then we know that this is the only reasonable and democratic objective confronting the whole nation. We are certain that attaining it is in the interest of not only the workers but the majority of employers (except for the owners of big banks and monopolies of course, as well as the political forces representing their interests).

In organizing resistance to the government plan and seeking a democratic way out of the crisis, the Workers' Commissions couple the campaign for talks with steps to mobilize public pressure in favor of talks. In September and the first half of October 1979 there was a campaign of meetings and rallies that involved over two million workers. This first phase of the offensive against the government's economic plan culminated in a march on Madrid by 400,000 workers on October 14 on the recommendation of the Workers' Commissions. About 100,000 of the marchers represented ethnic regions and provinces. The action was unprecedented in character and scale.

Thus the dilemma of our society today is which of the two contending alternatives to the economic crisis will prevail. One is upheld by the DCU government and the manufacturers grouped in the Spanish Confederation of Employers' Organizations and the other by the CPS and the Workers' Commissions. We have shown that these alternatives express conflicting concepts and interests and reflect the sharp social struggles going on in our country today.

The Labor Statute

A major component of the new legal framework of industrial relations is the so-called Labor Statute. The debates it has generated, the attitude of political and trade union forces and the major actions mounted by the workers against this document reveal the aims of the government and the employers as well as the relations among left-wing forces. The socio-economic substance of the Labor Statute and events attending its discussion mirror the domestic political situation and the situation in the trade unions.

The Labor Statute may be said to pursue two aims. First, it tries to formulate and lay down legal principles making it easier to discharge workers. Second, it is expected to help restructure the trade unions.

The DCU and SSWP have come to terms on these two key aspects of the Labor Statute and on many of its articles. As the Socialists have promised to reduce their differences with the ruling party over the issue of dismissals to a simple statement of their position in parliament, the big employers and the government itself are ready to reciprocate by amending the Labor Statute to make it possible to set up trade union structures analogous to those existing in Central and North European countries. It is a question of a social-democratic type of organizational pattern presupposing enhanced influence of

the top union leadership at the expense of enterprise-level committees.

The Labor Statute will not only shift the hardships of the economic crisis to the workers' shoulders but move the GUV away from the class trade union movement and hence from the Workers' Commissions. This can seriously prejudice labor unity.

However, the Socialists are paying dearly for their compromise, because a crisis has broken out in their ranks. In several provinces and regions, including Granada and Asturias, the Workers' Commissions and the unions affiliated to the GUV have called joint strikes against the Labor Statute. The GUV leadership tried to suppress the initiative of its branch organizations but these also joined in the series of strikes begun on last November 22 on the initiative of the Workers' Commissions and backed in some areas by the Trade Union Federation of Workers and smaller trade unions.

In less than one month, about three million wage and salary earners struck in protest against the draft Labor Statute. The majority of working people joined in hundreds of demonstrations, rallies, meetings and other actions. Never before had so many people supported a goal of such tremendous political importance. This was achieved in spite of the fact that the opponents of these actions were backed not only by rightist economic and political forces but by the leadership of the SSWP, one of the biggest left-wing parties and its trade union arm, the GUV.

Gradual revelation of the actual role of the Socialists and exposure of the maneuvers and aims of big business contribute to the prestige and influence of the Workers' Commissions among the masses. One indication of this is that in the trade union by-elections late last year, the Workers' Commissions won 64 per cent of the seats on enterprise committees and among personnel delegates while the number of seats won by the GUV dropped to 19 per cent.

By resisting the conciliatory policy of the GUV, the Workers' Commissions do much to bring about a change of policy in this union center. While the crisis of GUV autonomy and the center's incipient weakening did compel its leaders to modify their strategy (which they believe can bring them certain gains in the foreseeable future), changes of this nature actually injure the working-class movement as a whole. In particular, we do not rule out the likelihood of attempts to create a mechanism of sorts with a view to isolating our Confederation — the French employers did something similar to France's progressive trade union centers in the cold war years. While we are convinced that the Workers' Commissions cannot be isolated even if such a decision is taken, the workers' interests will be damaged nonetheless.

The new government system laid down in the Constitution and elaborated in the autonomy statutes of ethnic regions undoubtedly affects trade union activity. Spain's multinational character and the struggle against centralized authority, are part of

Spanish history. The Workers' Commissions joined in this struggle as soon as they came into being and this is reflected in their Rules. This is why the organizational structure of our Confederation combines elements prompted by both the growth of the productive forces as a whole and by ethnic and regional factors. Accordingly, the Workers' Commissions are composed of two inter-linked structures: industrial federations on the one hand, and ethnic confederations and provincial unions on the other.

This pattern, as well as upholding class unity and solidarity, helps preserve the identity of the ethnic communities, made up mostly of workers. Local organizations of the Workers' Commissions enjoy ample autonomy, which enables them, in following the general guidelines prompted by decisions of congresses and leading national bodies, to take into account the peculiarities of autonomous communities.

The experience gained by the Workers' Commissions in trade union struggles and the forms they use in these struggles are extremely varied. Our Confederation maintains that the workers should participate as much as possible in the decision of questions relating to them irrespective of whether they are union members. This purpose is served by workers' meetings and enterprise unity committees. Trade union sections, an instrument of the Workers' Commissions linking struggles on the shop floor to the general struggle of the working class, have an important role. We urge giving enterprise committees the broadest powers, which would enable them to assure active worker participation in the struggle and seek unity of action at the grass roots level.

Our agricultural proletariat is engaged in a powerful movement. Its struggles take particularly sharp forms in areas of big landed estates and a high unemployment rate, such as Andalusia. An issue under discussion is the need for an agrarian reform to achieve a more judicious utilization of the potentialities of some areas in order to ease unemployment.

The Workers' Commissions are operating on many fronts. The main task of our Confederation is collective bargaining. We want the bargaining mechanism to make possible at least a minimum of gains for all workers. Bargaining should proceed in a way enabling the workers not only to join in it but to tighten its mechanism should it loosen.

Within the understandably limited potential of our trade unions we strive to maintain the best possible relations with the trade union movement of all countries, remaining loyal to our internationalist principles. In view of the geographical, cultural and economic features of the region where Spain lies and with due regard to the objective similarity of our country to other countries of the region, we want to join the European Confederation of Trade Unions, for we believe this would benefit the workers of capitalist Europe and facilitate their joint struggle against their principal exploiters, the transnationals and imperialism.

Foreign-policy aspects of the 'four modernizations'

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A 'four modernizations' program has been drawn up in China so as to turn it by the end of the century into a state 'with a modern industry, a modern agriculture, a modern defense and a modern science and technology.' Large-scale economic measures are being put through within its framework.

The overall idea of the 'four modernizations' was first formulated by Premier Chou En-lai in late 1964. In January 1975, he gave a reminder of it at a session of the National People's Congress. It assumed a more definite contour in Hua Kuo-feng's Report to the 11th Congress of the CPC in August 1977, and its main propositions are written into the new Constitution adopted in 1978.

It is, of course, up to each country to select this or that program for economic development and I shall here consider only the foreign-policy aspects of the 'four modernizations' program, the phenomena it tends to introduce into international affairs which have attracted attention in the social and political circles of the world, including Poland.

Last year, for the first time after an interval of 20 years it was officially confirmed in Peking that the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the CPC relating to the country's internal developments had been correct and a positive evaluation was given to that development in the period until 1958. Let us recall that at that time China, as the Eighth Congress emphasized, was not only successfully rehabilitating its war-ravaged economy, but also building up industries that were new for a once semi-colonial country, including aircraft, automobile and tractor building, the radio-technical and chemical industries and shipbuilding. Substantial results were achieved in metallurgy and the power industry. Consequently, it is unquestionably a return to the truth for the Chinese leadership to give a positive characterization of economic progress in that period.

However, the noteworthy thing in this context is that in its present official approval of the line of the CPC's Eighth Congress, the Peking authorities have conspicuously passed over in silence its fundamental foreign-policy propositions. It would appear therefore, that the way indicated by the Eighth Congress for China's internal development has been recognized as correct, while the foreign-policy program of the same Congress has been implicitly condemned and presented as erroneous and unacceptable.

But is such a contrast right or justified? Everyone

knows that among the crucial factors of China's economic upswing in the 1950s was the intensive development of economic ties with the USSR and the People's Democracies. By the end of the period, the enterprises built in China with the Soviet Union's technical assistance alone produced 30 per cent of the pig iron, nearly 40 per cent of the steel, over 50 per cent of the rolled stock, 80 per cent of the trucks, over 90 per cent of the tractors, 25 per cent of the electric power and over 40 per cent of the heavy engineering products.' Such statistical series could well be continued and they would all invariably testify to the fact that the achievements of the Chinese economy in the 1950s were inextricably bound up with China's foreign policy, which above all implied orientation upon the most intensive international cooperation within the framework of the world socialist system, a strengthening of the alliance, friendship and all-round ties with the USSR and other socialist countries. The program guidelines for internal socio-economic development reflected in the decisions of the Eighth Congress were organically bound up with the principles they established for international policy.

Strictly speaking, it is always this way. Here we have only another example confirming Lenin's well-known proposition that it is 'fundamentally wrong, un-Marxist and unscientific to . . . counterpose foreign policy to home policy' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, p. 43). Similarly the subsequent changes in the Peking leadership's line were never confined to the sphere of domestic or foreign policy alone.

In 1958, China entered a period of measures designated as the 'great leap forward' and the 'cultural revolution.' This swing also included the sweeping revision of foreign-policy principles. The slogan of 'reliance on one's own strength' was put forward. The campaign 'against blind faith in foreign experience' was broadly mounted. In the context of the existing political realities, these calls were a direct expression of the Peking leaders' break with the earlier line of cooperation and interaction with the socialist countries.

The foreign-policy formulas which originated in the period of the 'great leap forward' and the 'cultural revolution' clearly reflected Peking's switch to nationalistic self-isolation and great-power chauvinism. 'Struggle against the wind from the North' became one of the Maoist leadership's chief concerns and anti-Sovietism the main element of China's foreign policy.

When adopting the 'four modernizations' program for practical implementation, the Peking leaders had to cast about for external support for their plans. China's fairly far advanced rapprochement with the United States and other imperialist powers in Mao's lifetime paved the way for a situation in which this search acquired a very definite orientation and assumed the form of a request for help from imperialism. That is why, when considering the 'four modernizations,' one must take note of the foreign-policy element which is inherent in this program, a new — and qualitatively new — step toward China's alliance with international monopoly capital.

The trend toward an expansion of China's economic ties with the capitalist countries could in itself be viewed as a normal development in accord with the requirements of healthy relations among states. The socialist-community countries stand for a development of international exchange in goods, technical know-how and the services. Their own experience in this respect has been marked by the establishment of extensive mutually advantageous business contacts with the capitalist world. Here however, one should note two important points. First, with the greater diversification of international economic ties of the socialist-community countries, their cooperation with each other continues to play the leading role. Second, for the socialist-community countries, the extension of business relations with the capitalist world is an instrument for the overall improvement of the international situation. There is, here, not even a hint of any attempt to infringe anyone's interests.

In the 1970s, Peking tried hard to establish and expand diplomatic ties with developed capitalist countries. This could once again have helped to bring a general normalization of international life. The socialist-community countries' experience shows the fruitful potentialities for strengthening universal peace that are latent in the well-arranged political dialogue with capitalist countries and in the establishment of contacts with them at every level, including the summit.

But what was the Peking leaders' approach? Does the new geography of their external economic and political ties help to advance toward lasting world peace and to restructure the world system of interstate relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation? Let us look at the facts.

At short notice, concrete partners have been found for the 'modernization' of the Chinese economy. Deals were made with U.S., Japanese, FRG, French, British and Italian firms for large-scale projects to develop the steel industry, petrochemistry, transport, nuclear energy, electronics and coal and oil extraction. According to one French paper, Western business saw these as 'fabulous contracts.' It added: 'China's swing to the capitalist West was so sharp and stunning . . . that it aroused wild hopes throughout the world, especially in the industrial countries now in the grip of economic depression.'²

The USA reviewed some of its discriminatory propositions with respect to China, began actively

to arrange economic relations with it and in early 1980 extended most-favored nation treatment to it. Governments and banks in the capitalist world eagerly responded to China's request for credits. There came a cornucopia of loans. No one but the Chinese apparently, have the exact total, and they are not saying much about it, but according to estimates in the world press, these come to \$50 billion.

These concrete facts could be regarded as evidence of a healthy trend in the development of international economic cooperation and as confirmation that China and its capitalist partners have agreed to use the expansion of commercial and financial ties to promote implementation of the 'four modernizations' program. But the attitude taken to the program in the capitalist countries militates against such a conclusion. Indeed, there have been many highly sceptical statements both in the press and in semi-official publications in the United States and Western Europe about the realistic nature of the plans linked by Peking to the 'four modernizations.'

One typical view came from the prominent U.S. China-watcher Doak Barnett in an interview with a U.S. magazine: 'The Chinese will probably fall short of their targets because they're trying to do too much, and they will create problems by trying to go too fast.'³ The same conclusion was reached by a group of congressional experts.⁴

However, in China itself there was also a swing to reviewing the excessively pretentious 'modernization' plan. The press attacked the 'hastiness' and 'blind running ahead' and the method by means of which plan targets 'spring immature in the fevered brain.' In practice, the 10-year plan gave way to a three-year plan, with a much more modest pace of development of heavy industry. There were also some complications in relations with foreign companies: negotiations with some were stopped, while others were required to delay implementation of the contracts. A number of deals, worth a total of nearly \$3 billion, were simply declared as not having entered into force.

Has all of this cooled the ardor of the monopolies possessed with 'wild hopes' and eager to invest their capital in China's economy? Not in the least. And I think there are at least two reasons for this.

First, there is interimperialist rivalry. In principle, the door to foreign investments in China remains open. What is more, a new law on mixed enterprises with Chinese and foreign participation was promulgated in Peking in the summer of 1979. It sets a minimum (25 per cent) but not a maximum for the share of foreign capital. It guarantees immunity of investment and free repatriation of profits. This opens up potentialities which each national group of monopoly capital believes it necessary to use at the initial stages, if only to get a foot in the door — China's 'unprecedentedly large' market — and to keep its rivals out. Hence the eagerness to run risks and the unusual generosity on credits.

Second, the apparently paradoxical urge on the part of the business world to seek to make vast investments in what it has itself described as an unfeasible Chinese program is, in fact, quite natural

and explicable, considering what the capitalist West believes to be the socio-economic substance of the 'four modernizations.' The prevailing view was expressed in an editorial in *Time* magazine, which said that 'Teng and his backers have embarked on what sometimes looks suspiciously like a capitalist road . . . Gone is the once sacred Maoist principle of national self-reliance and independence from outside resources . . . Teng is thus beginning to lock China into the non-Communist orbit. If current trends continue for a decade, it is hard to conceive of China extricating itself from the orbit even if the modernization drive falters within the country'.⁵ There you have the chief hopes. One should like to think that they are indeed wild hopes. It is something else again to ask whether the Peking leadership's policy, the hard facts give any ground for refuting these hopes.

In the autumn of last year, the head of China's government paid an official visit to Western Europe for the first time in the country's long history, and it would perhaps be hard to invent a more eloquent symbol of the qualitatively new stage in the Peking leadership's rapprochement with the citadels of the capitalist world. Hua Kuo-feng went to France, the FRG, Britain and Italy. Generally speaking, such tours are in accord with conventional international practice of exchange visits by chiefs of state and heads of government and as such Hua's visit to Western Europe could have been in line with the positive trends in world politics. But judging by the information made available to the public, the chief aim of Hua's mission was mutually to adapt the interests of NATO and the rightist parties of the West European bourgeoisie on the one hand, and those of the Peking elite with its hegemonistic urges on the other. This explains why, as the West European press noted, it turned out to be easiest to find a common idiom with the conservatives in Britain and the right-wing opposition led by Franz Josef Strauss in the FRG.

The 'four modernizations' were a prominent item in Hua's negotiations. As his official spokesman said at the end of the tour, the Chinese program was met with fresh expressions of understanding and support in Paris and Bonn, and especially in London and Rome. Judging by press reports, Hua managed to set in motion many projects which had earlier been mapped out by China's capitalist partners but which had been frozen in view of Peking's revision of its own plans. Once again the press spoke of 'breath-taking' and 'fabulous' contracts with China. An Italian weekly, for instance, wrote with delight about the 'stunning proposals' made by the Chinese to the Fincantieri and Oto-Melara companies.⁶

What are the new Chinese contracts that have made the West European businessmen dizzy? The above-mentioned Italian companies are involved in negotiations in Rome on the purchase by China of the most modern warships and artillery pieces. In Britain, apart from discussing details of an earlier project for the supply to Peking of Harrier jump jets, the Chinese delegation displayed a heightened interest in a great many other types of modern

weapons. On the whole, it is safe to say that to the apparently mutual satisfaction of the parties the West European support for Peking's plans has come in practice to promotion mainly of one of the 'four modernizations,' namely the technical re-equipment of the Chinese army.

This, incidentally, fully accords with the overall trend which is evident in how Peking itself has re-allocated attention and resources for each of the 'four modernizations.' Take the report by the Chinese Minister of Finance at last year's session of the National People's Congress, from which it follows that no changes were to be made either in the revenues or expenditures of the 1979 budget. But military spending was to go up from 16.8 billion yuan to 20.23 billion, an increase of 20 per cent. While there has been a general pruning of the original targets of the 'four modernizations' program, the far-reaching propositions for building up and re-equipping the army were not subjected to criticism or warnings against some 'unrealistic running head.' The troubles which fell to the lot of China's capitalist partners who had to put off implementation of profitable contracts did not at all affect the arms suppliers. Thus, in practice, the 'four modernizations' program as a whole increasingly reveals its connection with the militaristic ambitions of Peking's ruling group.

I should not like to be misunderstood. We would never, of course, have allowed ourselves a single criticism of any program whatsoever reflecting the Chinese people's urge to boost their national economy, to modernize its organization and production facilities. Indeed, in connection with the current 'four modernizations' plans, we do not undertake to make any judgments about their possible contribution to the development of China's economy. But we have found it both possible and necessary to express some considerations which naturally arise as the ties between the 'four modernizations' in China with the 'modernization' of nuclear missiles in Western Europe being put through on the Pentagon's orders are becoming ever more tangible.

But that is not all. In the recent period, it has become fashionable in the West to talk about some 'decline' of bellicosity in Peking since the death of Mao. References are made to the official change in the Chinese assessment of the prospects of world peace and to the fact that the Maoist declarations about the inevitability of a world war have given way to the idea that it can be put off. References are also made to the 'four modernizations' as a program whose implementation requires peaceful conditions. How tenable is this line of argument?

First of all, it is refuted by the Peking leadership's own foreign-policy practice. The aggression against Vietnam speaks for itself. The ceaseless threats about teaching socialist Vietnam 'another lesson,' the provocations against Laos, the support for Pol Pot's bands in Kampuchea do not at all testify to an urge to put off war. The results of the negotiations with the U.S. Secretary of Defense in Peking in early 1980 clearly showed the whole world that China's leaders not only start from the assumption that

their strategic interests run "parallel" to those of the leading imperialist power (as official statements emphasize), but also seek to give these 'interests' the most bellicose expression. It is they who have surpassed the traditional allies of the United States in supporting Washington's January acts aimed at undermining world peace.

Thus, Peking's foreign policy and external economic ties, elaborated with the adoption of the 'four modernizations' program, have become a component part and an instrument of the strategic line based on bellicose anti-Sovietism, on a growing confrontation with the socialist countries and the forces of national liberation and an urge to frustrate détente and aggravate the international situation.

As for the purely verbal refurbishing of Peking propaganda formulas on the questions of war and peace, the idea of 'putting off the war' does not at all imply a policy aimed to avert or exclude it from the life of society. On the contrary, behind it lurks the same Maoist idea about the inevitability of war, but the accent now is on the deadline for a large-scale war. This reveals a direct connection between Peking's new propaganda formula and the 'four modernizations.' These naturally take time to realize. In other words, it is necessary to wait until China modernizes its armed forces, until it raises its economic, industrial and technical potential to a level which allows it to conduct military operations

with some chance of success. And, as China's aggressive invasion of socialist Vietnam has shown, that is something the Chinese army is not yet prepared for.

That is what actually lies behind the 'decline' of bellicosity in Peking's refurbished ideological formulas and that is why the 'four modernizations' do not mean a stake on consolidating the peaceful international situation but on preparing for war.

The danger of this line of the present Chinese leadership must be understood by all the nations of the world. For the Polish people, this danger has an immediate and tangible expression in the Peking leaders' political alignment with reactionary circles in the FRG, who are prepared to play the 'China card' in their attempts to put through their revanchist plans for redrawing the borders in Central Europe.

Such are the political realities in whose context the Chinese 'four modernizations' program cannot but be a cause for alarm.

1. See for instance, the proceedings of the Eighth Congress of the CPC, Peking, 1956, Vol. 1, p. 87.
2. *Le Monde*, October 18, 1979.
3. *U.S. News and World Report*, January 22, 1979.
4. See *Chinese Economic Post-Mao. A Compendium of Papers Submitted to the Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States*, Vol. 1, Washington, 1978.
5. *Time*, January 1, 1979.
6. *Il Mondo*, November 16, 1979.



Drawing on Lenin's analysis

Henri Claude, *Les multinationales et l'imperialisme* (The Multinationals and Imperialism). Paris, Editions Sociales, 1978, 255 pp.

Much has been written about multinational corporations and their role and place in the imperialist system today.* Even so, the appearance of this book, written by a noted French Marxist scholar, is of undeniable interest. In surveying contemporary multinationals, he draws freely on Lenin's works, which contain a profound analysis of imperialism and more particularly, the existence and role of 'international trusts.'

'The multinationalization of exploitation and of the extraction and realization of surplus value,' Henri Claude writes, 'constitutes the hallmark and

the real content of the multinational character of capitalist monopolies' (p. 20). He stresses that bourgeois political economy does its best to conceal this circumstance. All multinationals, whatever their structure or size, have one object in common, which is to exploit the working people of as many countries as possible and plunder the natural resources of these countries.

The multinationals are inseparable from imperialism, whose nature is unchanged. 'What has risen tangibly is only the degree of monopolization of production and capital, and consequently, the level of their internationalization. While this evolution, which is proceeding in the direction indicated by Lenin, does not modify the substance of the phenomenon, it should not be regarded as negligible, for by associating more and more at world level, finance capital tends to lose its national character, with the result that the finance oligarchies, which

*See, e.g., 'Multinationals: What Kind of "New World"?', a survey of studies on the subject, *WMR*, July 1978.

are its social expression, become increasingly cosmopolitan' (pp. 45-46).

The author traces the evolution of some of the main characteristics of imperialism defined by Lenin. Pointing out that the export of capital is still one of the more salient features of imperialism, he cites this revealing example: from 1897 to 1914, U.S. investment abroad increased fourfold; from 1914 to 1931, more than threefold; and from 1945 to 1976, nearly 17 times over (p. 47).

Speaking of the 'division of the world' among the capitalist powers, Henri Claude calls attention to the fact that 'Lenin distinguished carefully between the two ways of dividing the world which marked the rise of the imperialist stage: economic division, or the division of the capitalist world market among international trusts, and the territorial or political, division of the planet among the big capitalist powers' (p. 71). It is in this sphere that the characteristics of imperialism have undergone marked changes in the course of its evolution, he notes. And he adds that whereas the issue in the economic domain is one of a new redivision of monopoly capital's spheres of influence, in the political domain there is evidence of qualitative changes resulting from the abolition of the colonial system.

'The Soviet Union's decisive role in defeating fascism in its diverse forms — German, Japanese, Italian — in World War II, and the ensuing extension of the socialist sector of the world economy struck it (the colonial system — N.L.) a death-blow ... The downfall of the imperialist colonial system is irreversible in view of the new world balance of class forces. Hence, there can no longer be any question of the imperialist states dividing and redividing the planet on colonial lines' (p. 76). It must not be forgotten however, that imperialism still retains some important positions and levers enabling it to expand. The author points therefore, to the importance of Lenin's warning that finance capital 'is capable of subjecting, and actually does subject to itself even states enjoying the fullest political independence' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 259).

Bourgeois ideologists take advantage of new aspects of contemporary imperialism to allege that the contradictions of the imperialist system are diminishing and all but disappearing and that the development of the multinationals is a factor for social progress and world peace. They use various pretexts to maintain that 'the imperialist phase proper of capitalist development, which Lenin described and on which his analyses were based, is over now, having been succeeded by a new phase which historically lies beyond the imperialist stage and in which previous contradictions do not operate any more' (p. 81). Henri Claude shows that present-day reality refutes these conclusions. He lists three main contradictions of this stage of international capitalist concentration: between labor and capital, between the imperialist powers and the countries controlled by them, and between the imperialist powers themselves.

In regard to the first contradiction, Claude stresses that capitalist concentration at the international

level cannot in itself alter the substance of the exploitation of labor by capital. He deals in detail with the argument of bourgeois economists that the multinationals pay higher wages than national companies in developed capitalist and, above all, developing countries in which these multinationals operate. This leads him to the conclusion that what we have is an average that does not and cannot reveal the actual state of affairs. However, by paying the employees of enterprises operating in industrialized countries somewhat higher wages, the multinationals not only achieve a political result 'to the extent that they succeed in ideologically corrupting part of the working class' (p. 86) but gain economically, inasmuch as even the higher wages paid to workers of a foreign country turn out to be lower than in the country from which the multinational concerned operates, which means that 'alien' workers are exploited more ruthlessly than 'one's own.' As regards the developing countries, exploitation by the multinationals there is even greater although the employees of multinational enterprises earn more than those of national enterprises.

The expansion and development of the multinationals gives the contradiction between labor and capital 'global dimensions.' The book points to the exploitation of a huge body of immigrant workers, who in the 1970s added up in, e.g., the EEC countries to 6.5 million or to 7.7 per cent of the economically active population. 'The existence of this sub-proletariat forming a maneuverable mass for the monopolies provides, along with the exploitation and plunder of developing countries, one of the foundations of the reformist ideology and trend in imperialist countries' (p. 92).

Henri Claude shows that the penetration of the multinationals into the economies of other nations curtails the sovereign rights of these nations or even robs them of these rights. 'A rule that is unwritten yet codified in practice demands that finance capital should lay down the law everywhere' (p. 114). Hence the anti-democratic, reactionary character of the policy pursued by the multinationals. They extended maximum aid to the fascist regimes of Spain and Portugal as well as to the most brutal and murderous dictatorships in Latin American, African and Asian countries.

Probing into the contradictions between imperialist powers and the countries they control, Claude shows that ever since the disintegration of the colonial system, imperialism has been following a new policy, neo-colonialism, but that this policy however disguised cannot change the substance of exploitation by international finance capital. The substance of this exploitation is that the average profit rate from direct multinational investments in developing countries is higher than in developed capitalist countries. A case in point is Brazil, which for nearly a decade 'was an El Dorado for U.S., West European and Japanese investors' (p. 147). As a result, that nation's foreign debt in 1975 reached \$22,500 million, up by \$7,000 million over 1974. Economists estimate that annual payments of interest on this debt will soon exceed the total

amount of new annual investments in Brazil.

In proceeding to analyze contradictions between the imperialist countries themselves, the author writes that 'the world imperialist system has an almost feudal structure . . . U.S. imperialism is virtually recognized as the world suzerain by all other imperialisms, reduced more or less to the status of big or small vassals' (p. 158). This is not to say however, that contradictions between imperialist countries have disappeared or been eased. On the contrary, 'the law of uneven development brought to light by Lenin continues to operate as international concentration goes on' (p. 163).

The book shows up the indefensibility of the viewpoint of imperialist apologists, who assert that the development of the multinationals has benefited détente. What détente really has benefited from is a factor independent of imperialism, namely, 'the extension of the socialist sector and its strengthening since World War II . . . It is on this basis that the national liberation movement has been able to free itself definitively from colonialism and to remove thereby what had been known as the "hinterland" of imperialism, that is, the manpower and raw material resources needed to wage a world war' (p. 168). The same factor has enabled the working class of capitalist countries to fight more effectively for peace and win allies among other sections of the population. 'Thus the world balance of class forces has changed to the detriment of imperialism. It is this change that so far has prevented economic struggles between financial groups and contradictions between imperialist states from erupting into another world war' (*ibid.*).

Henri Claude re-emphasizes however, that the new balance of world forces has not changed the

aggressive nature of imperialism, as the arms race being stepped up by the United States and other NATO countries indicates.

This book is valuable in that it not only investigates contemporary imperialism and the activities of the multinationals but draws practical conclusions for the international working-class movement. It notes that the struggle against the multinationals is growing in the ideological, economic and political spheres. Each of these struggles is important to the working-class movement in capitalist countries. But the decisive role will be played, in the author's view, by the political struggle, for it alone can end exploitation and plunder and pave the way for cooperation, the equality of nations and socialism. 'The struggle for socialism, at once universal and differentiated . . . has common features in spite of considerable, occasionally enormous differences in situations and particular characteristics' (p. 197).

The book draws the conclusion that 'the growing process of concentration and monopolization of capital on the level of the capitalist world, of which the expansion of multinational groups is a concrete expression, . . . indicates a certain deepening of the general, or global crisis of the capitalist system which began with World War I and the October Revolution of 1917' (p. 213). The struggle against the multinationals will be long and difficult because they are still strong enough to put up resistance and maneuver. But this struggle has the aim of 'eliminating the imperialist system from the planet once and for all' (p. 216).

Henri Claude's work is an indisputably important contribution to the study of problems of the current stage of imperialism.

N. Leon

Adding to the Lenin bookcase

Lenin's works are among the most widely read in the world. UNESCO statistics show that his works have no equal in the size of editions and in the number of languages into which they have been translated. As the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth is being marked this year, many publishers in different countries are issuing his works, adding to the Lenin bookcase. Below is information on some of the works by Lenin and the reminiscences about him to be published this year in the Soviet Union and Lebanon.

MEMORIES OF LENIN

In the Soviet Union the works of Lenin have been published in nearly 14,000 editions in 117 languages of the Soviet and other peoples.

Politizdat alone will print more than 60 books and pamphlets containing works by and about Lenin; the total printing will exceed 10 million copies. These will include a new, enlarged five-volume edition of *Recollections About Vla-*

dimir Ilyich Lenin, which will most certainly attract not only a Soviet but also an international readership: in the recollections Lenin's contemporaries write of his personality and character, of his dedication to the social emancipation of the proletariat and all oppressed people. With 11 new additions this will be the largest collection of reminiscences about Lenin.

Most of the first volume consists of the reminiscences of Lenin's relatives, showing how his revolutionary, Marxist views and persuasions took shape in his formative years and how he matured as a revolutionary. The second, third and fourth volumes contain the reminiscences of Lenin's close associates — outstanding personalities of the CPSU and the Soviet government. They reproduce the image of the brilliant thinker and leader of the working people, who founded a new type of party in Russia at the start of this century, headed the October Revolution and launched the building of the world's first socialist state.

The reminiscences of foreign communists, political leaders, civic personalities, scholars, writers and journalists make up the fifth volume. The author of an addition to this volume is Rodolfo Ghioldi, an outstanding personality of the communist movement of Argentina, who writes of a meeting with Lenin at the Third Congress of the Communist International in 1921. Most of the reminiscences in the fifth volume are about Lenin's immense contribution to strengthening the world's revolutionary forces.

P.S.

DAR AL-FARABI — FOR THE ARAB READER

On the eve of the 110th anniversary of the birth of Lenin our correspondent interviewed Gazi Bero, director of Dar al-Farabi Publishers of Beirut, who said:

Throughout the 25 years Dar al-Farabi has been in operation (we marked its 25th anniversary last year), we have published progressive literature, in the original language or Arabic translations, paying special attention to works by Marx, Engels and Lenin. In the coming decade we plan to publish all their works. We have already published Lenin's *What Is to Be Done?, Imperialism the Highest Stage*

of Capitalism, 'Left-Wing' Communism — An Infantile Disorder, Report on Peace and The Right of Nations to Self-Determination, articles about Karl Marx and Frederick Engels and collections headed *Ideology and Proletarian Culture, The Role of the Trade Unions, Peaceful Coexistence, The Press and Combating Dogmatism*.

— Which of Lenin's works you have mentioned have had the widest circulation?

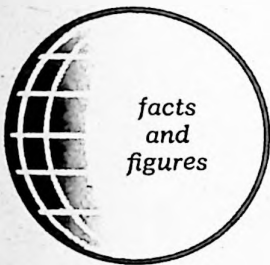
— *What Is to Be Done?, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism and 'Left-Wing' Communism — An Infantile Disorder*.

— To what countries do you send your books?

— To most of the Arab countries and also to countries with Arab communities. In Lebanon and some other Arab countries Dar al-Farabi distributes Soviet literature in Arabic, French, English, Armenian and Russian.

— What are you going to publish for the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth?

— Works by Lenin which have never been published before in Arabic, notably his *Notebooks on Imperialism* and a collection of articles on the peoples of the East. Books that have been sold out will be reprinted. Moreover, we are going to publish a few books about Lenin.



The arms race and the developing countries

Recent discussions on ending the arms race, which is the prime problem today, have devoted increasing attention to alarming tendencies associated with this problem in developing countries. Facts show that these countries are also being drawn into the arms race. In the last 20 years their share of the world's military expenditure has increased from 4 to 14 per cent. Moreover, in the past decade military spending of the Asian, African and Latin American countries has been rising at a rate higher than the growth of their gross national product. Individual regions reveal even more striking figures. In 1977 military spending in the Middle East was roughly \$250 per capita, this being comparable to the corresponding indicator for the industrialized capitalist countries.¹ On the whole, the developing nations are spending three times more for military purposes than they receive in official development aid.²

Imperialism is chiefly responsible for spurring

Prepared by Klaus Engelhardt and Wilfried Klank, researchers of the Institute of International Politics and Economics (GDR), and the WMR Information Department.

the arms race in the developing states. The main purpose of the export of munitions industry-oriented capital and military equipment to economically backward areas in Africa, Asia and Latin America and also of military 'aid programs' is to create 'bastions' for the defense of imperialist interests.

The findings of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute show that the volume of military hardware sales to the developing countries has increased more than 15-fold during the 1952-1977 period.³ In the early 1970s it expanded at an annual rate of 15 per cent and from 1974 to 1978 — of 25 per cent to reach a sum of \$13,900 million in the closing year of this period.⁴

The principal arms importers are states with reactionary, pro-imperialist regimes. Thus, in 1978 Saudi Arabia and Israel accounted for 37 per cent of all the arms imported by the countries of the Middle East, and South Korea — for 57 per cent of all arms purchased in the Far East. Brazil leads in South America, buying 35 per cent of all the arms sold to that region.⁵

The imperialists claim that arms sales are in-

tended to ensure the security of their allies in Asia, Africa and Latin America. However, this assertion is being increasingly criticized in the capitalist countries themselves. Commenting on the findings of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, published in its latest *Yearbook*, the *International Herald Tribune* wrote that the Western nations should 'knuckle down to the business of restraining their arms sales. . . The West is still the major culprit, selling around 70 per cent of the world's weapons exports'.⁶ M. T. Klare and M. Holland of the USA write that 'evidence suggests that foreign buyers of U.S. arms are often motivated more by their own aggressive or imperial ambitions rather than by any commitment to peace and mutual security'.⁷

The political and socio-economic consequences of the arms race are prejudicial to the developing nations. Steady stockpiling of weapons has been generating political tensions between them and has been making them increasingly more dependent on imperialism. It is a fact that the technological and economic level of most African, Asian and Latin American countries is inadequate for the operation and maintenance of modern weapon systems. In addition, these systems call for auxiliary installations, such as shipyard facilities, airfields, electronic equipment and communication centers. These need highly-skilled personnel. In 1965 only four countries acquired supersonic combat aircraft from the USA, and in 1976 — 25. The number of such countries is growing.⁸ Having once become clients of international armaments monopolies, developing countries become increasingly dependent on them. These countries constantly have to acquire additional equipment and accessories for these weapon systems, or to modernize them.

Skyrocketing military spending devours resources the developing countries should have put into the solution of their most acute socio-economic problems. UN findings for 1971-1975 showed that four out of every five of these states fell short of the planned per capita production growth of 3.5 per cent. In Southeast Asia the increase in production was only 1 per cent. Most of the developing countries are suffering from serious shortages of food. They must extend their public health and public education systems. Two hundred million children suffer from malnutrition, which retards their physical and mental development. This will result in most serious consequences for the future generation. Yet even the poorest countries, those with per capita incomes below \$200, spend on average about as much on armaments as on agricultural investment.⁹ A UNESCO estimate reveals that unless the developing countries considerably expand their public education systems one child out of every three of school age will not be able to attend school in 1985. While some of the African and Latin American states have only one doctor per 20,000-

30,000 inhabitants, they spend on arms (on the average) twice as much as they put into public health and public education.

The arms race gives rise to yet another serious problem. Skilled manpower shortages in developing countries are a factor holding back their economic and social progress. At the same time, the better trained part of the population is diverted from the civilian to the military sphere. In developing countries the number of men under arms has been increasing roughly in proportion to the population growth. In view of the fact that the number of people employed in the economy of these countries is only a few times the numerical strength of the armed forces, this diversion of manpower seriously affects the rate of their development.¹⁰

The difficult socio-economic problems of the newly-free countries could largely be solved through partial disarmament measures. The following example illustrates the advantages arising from even minor reductions in military spending. More than one billion people in 66 developing countries live in areas where malaria is endemic. The World Health Organization program to eradicate malaria in the world is estimated to cost some \$450 million.¹¹ This is only one forty-fifth of the annual sum of contracts for military equipment filled by developing countries.¹²

Military spending of the Asian, African and Latin American states has now run up to about \$60,000 million annually. A reduction by one-third would produce a saving equal to the total volume of foreign aid to all these states. The funds thus released would enable them to proceed with a cardinal solution of the most urgent problems.

The arms race contradicts the essential interests of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. It is obstructing the economic and social progress of the newly-free states, depleting their resources, and threatening their political independence. It is clear that these evils can be abolished only through the fight for détente, which should also be extended to the military sphere.

1. SIPRI Yearbook 1979, London, 1979, pp. 1-2.

2. *International Herald Tribune*, June 21, 1979.

3. SIPRI Yearbook, 1978, London, 1978, p. 3.

4. SIPRI Yearbook, 1979, London, 1979, pp. 168, 170-171.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

6. *International Herald Tribune*, June 21, 1979.

7. M. T. Klare, M. Holland, *Conventional Arms Restraint: An Unfulfilled Promise*, Washington, 1978, p. 2.

8. M. T. Klare, M. Holland. *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

9. *Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures*. United Nations, N.Y., 1978, p. 26.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 51.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

12. SIPRI Yearbook 1979, p. 2.

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