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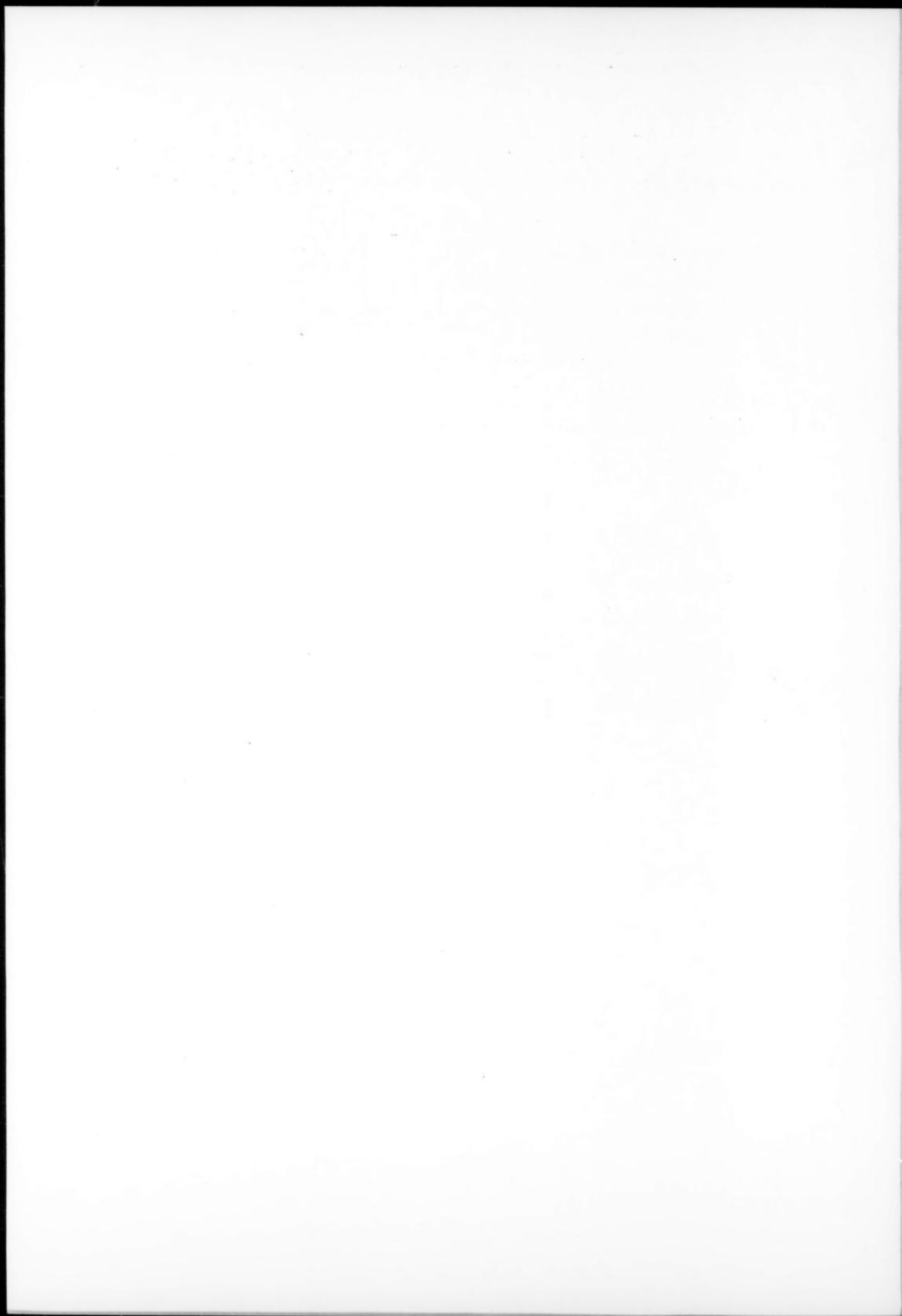
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## **information bulletin**

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## To My American and British Readers

The texts of more than 30 speeches and reports made by Leonid Brezhnev between 1970 and 1979 have been published by the British publishers Pergamon Press. We publish below the special preface written for the book, *Socialism, Democracy and Human Rights*, by Leonid Brezhnev.

I hope this book will satisfy the curiosity of those readers who wish to know what Soviet socialist democracy is really like, how we view human rights and how these rights are exercised in the Soviet Union.

Democracy has been a subject of debate since the time of Ancient Greece, and human rights have been discussed for centuries. Although the concept of human rights is of comparatively recent origin, one could no doubt say that it was in a struggle for their human rights that Spartacus long ago led the slaves of Ancient Rome.

The movement of history has always been toward a fuller realization of democracy and freedom. Already in the last century Frederick Engels said: "In our time democracy means communism." Today this truth — a theoretical one in Engels' day — has been confirmed by life, by the practical activity of millions upon millions of people.

I am aware that in the West ideologists of capitalism are impressing upon the public a different view, extolling the real or imagined merits of bourgeois democracy and playing down, slurring over or sully-ing the meaning and essence of socialist democracy.

To establish the truth it would be only fair to avoid prejudging the issue and to get first-hand information about Soviet democracy. This book contains a selection of statements made on the subject in question over the past 10 years. Knowledge makes for better understanding, and for our countries and peoples mutual understanding is especially important — if only because no argument of principle on historical or ideological issues can be settled by a nuclear duel. By destroying each other neither side would prove the merits of its interpretation of democracy or human rights.

So let us place first among all human rights the most sacred of them all — the right to life, and, consequently, to a lasting peace.

Our countries have different social and political systems, and so arguments and comparisons are unavoidable. In recent years these arguments and comparisons have centered on problems of democracy and human rights.

The Soviet people have great respect for the American revolution and for the democratic traditions of Great Britain, and they realize that the concern of the Americans and the British for human rights is backed by their history. Karl Marx, for one, called the American Declaration of Independence "the first declaration of human rights." We consider

the rights and freedoms proclaimed in it a tremendous achievement for that time, but from the standpoint of today they have become elements of formal bourgeois law, which are restricted by the very nature of bourgeois society in which actual rights and privileges are enjoyed by the propertied classes, and the formally democratic institutions serve to further the interests of these classes.

It may be recalled, for instance, that neither the Declaration of Independence nor the Bill of Rights abolished slavery. This is not the only example of discrepancy between what is proclaimed and what is practised — and not only in the past either.

When among various rights the "sacred" right to private property is given priority over all the rest, in actual fact those other rights and freedoms are curtailed or even emasculated. It becomes the old issue of both the poor man and the rich man having equal rights to sleep under the bridge.

When the United Nations Charter was being drafted, it was the Soviet Union which suggested that a clause on respect for basic rights be included in it. The USSR is a signatory to many international agreements on human rights. However, we believe that, with each country, concern for human rights should begin at home. And this is where we started. Readers may find it interesting to learn that the aim of the October 1917 Revolution actually was to affirm the most basic human rights for the overwhelming majority of the people in our country.

Soon after the Revolution, the Soviet government issued the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, which abolished all privileges and restrictions on grounds of nationality and religion. It was followed by the Declaration of the Rights of the Toiling and Exploited Peoples.

The establishment of socialist public ownership of the land, natural resources and the means of production became the main guarantee of not only the political but also the social and economic rights of man in the USSR.

President Carter once said that there were many injustices in life, and the rich could afford what the poor could not. It is precisely this injustice that we strove to abolish, believing that it was an inherent part not of life in general, but of the character of social life, of the social system. It is for that reason that Soviet people reorganized their society; by making social production serve the interests not of groups of people or individuals but of the whole people, they were able not only to proclaim but also



actually to secure every person's right to work, health care, education, material provision in old age and housing. In other words people were given freedom from anxiety for their future, they acquired a sense of security.

Proclaiming and ensuring economic, social and cultural rights, together with denying any person the right to exploit others and to appropriate the fruits of other people's labor, marked the transition from formal equality to real equality and put the political rights and freedoms of citizens on a material foundation.

A distinctive feature of Soviet democracy, and of socialist democracy in general, is the involvement of millions of working people in managing both production and the affairs of state.

From the very first days of Soviet rule an immense role in the building of a new society was played by the direct participation of millions not only in elections but also in everyday management of public and state affairs. And today, at the stage of mature socialism, ever broader and more active participation of working people in running their country has firmly established itself as the main trend in the political development of Soviet society.

Thus, over the past 20 years, 20 million people have worked directly in state administration as deputies to government bodies at all levels — from the USSR Supreme Soviet to the district or village Soviet; a further 30 million citizens have been giving

voluntary assistance to government bodies, taking an active part in their work.

During the more than 60 years that the Soviet state has existed, socialist democracy has been constantly developing, growing deeper and richer, but its essence has remained unchanged — the involvement of masses of people in running public and state affairs.

The Soviets are improving the democratic principles and methods of their work, which include accountability to the electorate, open conduct of activities, criticism of shortcomings, and combating bureaucracy; new forms of people's participation in running state affairs have appeared, work collectives — those primary cells of our socialist organization — have become more active, and the role of public organizations, of which there are many, has increased.

We shall continue to develop and improve our democratic traditions which have grown on socialist soil and have passed the test of time.

In 1977 a new constitution was adopted in the USSR. For several months prior to its adoption it was thoroughly and extensively discussed by the entire Soviet people. In this book readers will find answers, given in the light of that constitution, to their questions about the rights, freedoms and duties of Soviet citizens. It is my hope that this will help readers to form a better idea of how the ideals of socialist humanism are being implemented in Soviet society, where the free development of each is the condition of the free development of all.

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## Message of Greetings from the CPSU CC to the CC of the Italian Communist Party

Dear comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union wholeheartedly congratulates the communists and all the other working people of Italy on the 60th anniversary of the Italian Communist Party.

The revolutionary party of the Italian proletariat which arose, under the leadership of Antonio Gramsci and Palmiro Togliatti, in 1921 on a tide of intense class battles for the liberation of the working man from capitalist exploitation, resolutely rejected reformist conciliation and opportunist time-serving, took its stand under the banners of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the class internationalist stand in the struggle for the ideals of peace, freedom, democracy and socialism.

The Italian Communist Party has actively fought against fascism and imperialist reaction both at home, in the course of the resistance movement, and abroad. Italian communists have written many fine pages into the heroic annals of the battles against fascism. The Soviet people remember that Soviet

and Italian communists, like the communists of other countries, fought side by side in the International Brigades in Spain, and that over 5,000 Soviet patriots took part in the Italian democratic forces' war of liberation on the territory of Italy against fascism.

In defending its country's national interests, the Italian Communist Party has done a great deal to strengthen solidarity with the forces of freedom, peace and progress, it has organized mass demonstrations involving thousands of people against the arms race, and has exposed the aggressive substance of imperialism. These efforts acquire special importance within the framework of the common struggle of the whole communist movement in support of détente and against the efforts by imperialism to tilt the world balance of forces in its own favor, and to discredit the forces of socialism, peace and progress.

Advocating the unification of the working class, the toiling peasantry and all the other democratic forces, the ICP has carried on a struggle in defense of



the working people's vital interests, for curbing the power of the monopolies, and for its country's democracy and social progress. The Italian Communist Party is a political force in its country without which it is impossible to solve the problems of economic, political and social development facing Italy.

The Soviet communists wish you, dear comrades,

every success in consolidating the party's ties with the masses, in the working people's struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, and for friendship between Italy and the Soviet Union.

Central Committee  
Communist Party of the Soviet Union  
*Pravda*, January 21, 1981

## Direction of Post-Election Fightback

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party USA was held on December 13, 1980. Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, made a report, in which he described the new political situation in the country after the presidential elections and identified the aims and tasks of struggle of the Communist Party. Gus Hall said, in part:

Based on an assessment of the total picture I think it is correct to reject any concept that we are entering a period of only defensive struggles. The period ahead will most likely start with both defensive and offensive struggles.

The new situation and our experience in the election campaign call for a fresh look at our approach to mass initiatives, to coalitions, alliances and united front formations.

### FORCES FOR CHANGE

Our fresh look must start with some estimate of the potential composition, the possible participants in the struggles and movements of resistance against the reactionary conservative policies.

These forces must include the seven and one-half million people who voted outside the two party system. It can include the majority of those who voted for Carter, not because they supported him but because of their fear of Reagan's anti-labor racist views.

We cannot set narrow preconditions as the basis for the movements of such diverse socio-political forces in struggle against the ultra-right and reaction. The new situation calls for a more flexible and broader approach.

There is no question the election results make victorious struggles somewhat more difficult. The ruling class offensive against working people is emboldened by the election.

However, in the minds of many the new difficulties and obstacles loom bigger than they really are. This adds to the problems because people, including members of our party, join struggles they think there is some possibility of winning.

### TACTICS

Therefore, in this period we have to think more carefully about the issues, the forms and the demands from the viewpoint of how the masses will respond to them. We have to give more careful consideration to tactics.

A new and highly significant feature of our 1980 campaign was the considerable participation of non-party people in active promotion of our literature, petitioning and fund-raising.

These examples and many others, like the invitations to participate in the Vermont and California primaries, should provide evidence that our concept for an electoral front of party and non-party forces is timely and realistic.

Many communist parties are participants in such electoral front formations. In a Canadian city the local communists are candidates with non-communists who are supported and run as candidates of a Committee of Progressive Electors.

I propose we take a fresh concrete look at the possibility of setting up such formations in a number of cities and electoral districts.

There is always the danger that this can become a substitute for the party. However, because we know it can feed liquidationist tendencies we can also fight against them.

Following are some of the more basic political and ideological issues that we must begin to present in a clearer, more popular way. We must keep in mind when dealing with these questions that we must not stonewall or evade these more difficult issues. These are the kind of questions our educational ideological departments, the *Daily World* and *Political Affairs*, must deal with and find better answers to.

— The Big Lie. It is a fact of political reality that as long as people are convinced that the United States faces a military threat from the Soviet Union they will hesitate, and most will not join in the struggle against the mounting military budgets or the MX missile or the B-1 bomber. And, in many cases, they will not do so even if it means less funds for socially necessary programs. I feel we made an important contribution on this in our election campaign. Just saying it is a big lie is not convincing.

— As long as people are convinced that the national liberation struggles are directed by the Soviet Union, or that they are a feature of "Soviet expansionism," either directly or by forces from other socialist countries, most will not join in the struggle against policies of U.S. imperialist aggression.

— As long as people are convinced that the "national interests" of the United States include all the waterways of the world and most of the developing



countries, the people can be misled by the forces of reaction.

— As long as people are convinced that the Soviet Union is out to cut off the oil supply to the United States and the other capitalist countries, many will not protest against the rapid deployment force.

— As long as people are convinced that U.S. policies in the Middle East are reflections of its concern for the people of Israel, they will not condemn the Camp David accords.

— As long as people believe that the goal of the Soviet Union in Africa is a step in their drive to expand and take over the lands and oil of the Persian Gulf region, most will tend to support the U.S. policy of condemning the Soviet Union in relation to Africa.

— As long as people believe in the Big Lie and are convinced that everyone is "dumping on the United States," they will support concepts of military superiority ...

Most of the roadblocks in the area of foreign policy have a direct negative effect on the struggles on the domestic front.

— For instance, even if people see the relationship between the military budget and the reduced standard of living they are not ready to make an issue of it as long as they believe the Big Lie of the Soviet threat.

— As long as workers do not relate their problems of speedup, layoffs, wage cuts, inflation and payroll deductions to the inherent exploitative nature of capitalism, or at least to "the system," they tend to accept the hopeless "that's how things are and that's the way they'll always be" syndrome. As long as the class nature of exploitation remains covered up, workers will tend to go along with policies of class collaboration and even with wage cuts and layoffs.

— As long as Jewish masses are confused and influenced by Zionism they cannot fully be won over to the struggle against imperialism, for détente, peace or even to the struggle against anti-Semitism.

— As long as white Americans are addicted to white superiority, as long as they believe racism is in their interests, as long as they do not see the link between racism and class exploitation and racism as a source of extra profits, and the connection between racism and their own self-interests, it is difficult to draw them fully into the struggle against racism.

— As long as people believe that concessions to big business, tax cuts and production incentives, will induce corporations to invest and create jobs — or, as Reagan says, "will put America back to work again" — workers will hesitate to take up the struggle for plant takeovers or to fight to put the tax burden on the rich.

— As long as masses see socialism as a foreign phenomenon and relate it to some distant developments and not as a basic solution to their own problems of today, socialism will remain just that — foreign and distant.

## THE PARTY

If we agree that the above are ideological and political roadblocks, then we must also agree that these are the questions we must work on. These must become the points of concentration of our propaganda and agitation.

In the election campaign we — as a leadership — spent very little time, if any, on how to transform these correct electoral policies into concrete initiatives and actions. When this happens the good policies tend to remain just that — good policies. Our style of work must include not only policy discussions, but discussions on — how, who, what, where and when.

The key word for mass work is *outreach*. Reaching out must be a continuing never-ending activity. Outreach should be the main point on the agenda of every club meeting in one form or another. The club should discuss new steps on how to reach out and check up on how all these efforts are being carried out. The beginning, small steps taken to reach out are not going to seem very earth-shattering. These steps must be reasonably attainable.

Outreach gives a party club a purpose. Outreach will give the party club an inner life that is lively, rich and meaningful.

The elections and the rise of right-wing organizations have given the struggle for democratic rights a new importance.

We communists must associate with and become known as the most uncompromising fighters for the expansion of people's democratic rights in every area of life.

Because the struggle for democratic rights is basically a fight for reforms, this should not in any way inhibit our party from joining and leading the struggles in this field. The struggle for democratic rights is an inseparable feature of the anti-monopoly struggle.

We should not lose sight of the fact that struggles for democratic rights are related to political power. The movements around these struggles can be the broadest. They can be majority movements.

## CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

The rise of class consciousness molds the thinking process and thinking patterns of all workers. It becomes the point of reference, the bottom line of all questions.

In this sense, it is important to understand that Black workers are in a unique position. They are a key force in both the struggle for class unity and the development of class consciousness.

Black workers will respond if their unique role as class conscious workers is understood. Black workers will unite with white workers much more readily when white workers demonstrate an understanding of the need for this unity based on their own class self-interests. Black workers do not in the same way have the problem of developing an understanding of the need for unity. Separation, segregation and all forms of racist divide-and-rule have been the main instruments for the exploitation and oppression of Black workers.



We need to put greater emphasis on the "class approach" in the struggle for working class unity, for our policies of united front, coalitions and alliances.

We need to do much more in the whole area of the struggle for class unity. This is important precisely because of the continuing development of class consciousness.

This "class approach" in one way or another should influence our attitudes, our approaches, our tactics in all areas of struggle.

### **BUILDING THE PARTY**

Most of the campaign reports from the districts in one way or another say there is a new respect for our party, that "we have established new relationships with leaders of mass organizations," that "the party's influence is much greater."

Our party must always reflect changing reality. For example, one of the new elements of our party's reality is that for the past number of years we have

had a new kind of in-migration of people.

One of the problems is that large numbers of people — Italian, Greek, Arab and Spanish speaking — do not speak English.

People who speak these languages and others and who join our party — and most of them are workers — should not have to be less than full members because they do not speak English.

Therefore, there is nothing wrong — in fact it is necessary in some cases — to have party clubs in which the meetings are conducted in the language of its members. There should be no hesitation about organizing such clubs.

To conclude, we must not let the new momentum, influence, prestige and especially our new popular mandate dissipate. What is necessary and timely is to go out *now* and reap the 1980 election campaign harvest.

I have a new, higher level of confidence that we will do just that.

*Daily World, December 18, 1980.*

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## **Statement by Communist and Workers' Parties of the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Zone**

The communist and workers' parties of the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula zone held a conference in mid-December 1980 to discuss mutual relations and ways of strengthening them, and also the international situation and the situation in the Arab world and in the region. The conference adopted the following statement, which is presented here slightly abridged.

### **INTERNATIONAL SITUATION**

In the recent period, the acts of U.S. imperialism and the NATO countries designed to frustrate international détente and return to the cold war have sharply aggravated the international situation. This line is expressed in the increase of arms expenditures in the budgets of the imperialist states, in the manufacture of new types of nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons, the deployment of new medium-range nuclear missile systems in Western Europe, the announcement by the United States of its new nuclear strategy justifying the possibility of conducting a "limited" nuclear war, and the attempts to involve actively the West European countries and Japan in the aggressive strategy of U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialism has used the Soviet Union's international assistance to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the victory of the Iranian revolution as a pretext for sharpening the international situation, and refusing to ratify SALT II and fulfil a number of already approved economic and commercial agreements with the socialist countries. At the same time, the United States got down to concentrating naval forces in the Indian Ocean, the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf and the build-up of

a rapid deployment force whose advance units have already been brought in to the Persian Gulf zone. On the other hand, U.S. imperialism has not ceased threatening socialist Cuba, trying to use Poland's difficulties for deliberately fanning the crisis and weakening the socialist system in that country, and also to use the European security meeting in Madrid to unleash a campaign of slander against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Despite the Soviet Union's effort to strengthen détente in international relations, to bring about a reduction in the numerical strength of the armed forces in Central Europe, despite its calls for the conclusion of an agreement on a balanced reduction of strategic armaments, U.S. imperialism has continued its policy of exacerbating the international situation. A reflection of this line is the installation in power in the United States of Ronald Reagan, a true representative of the U.S. military-industrial complex.

The feverish activity of international imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place, in stepping up tensions presents a real threat to world peace. All of this confronts the progressive forces of mankind as never before with the task of intensifying the struggle to preserve peace, to strengthen the process of



détente, and to rebuff the aggressive plans of imperialism.

For its part, the Chinese leadership has coalesced with the wildest reactionary imperialist and revanchist circles in its activity against the socialist-community countries, mounting provocations against Vietnam and Kampuchea, and weaving plots against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in close collaboration with U.S. imperialism, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the Sadat regime.

The cohesion of the forces of the world socialist community, the international working class movement, the democratic forces in the capitalist countries, and the world national liberation movement is a necessary condition for intensifying the struggle against imperialism, for peace, national independence, social progress, democracy and socialism. The International Scientific Conference in Berlin (GDR) in October 1980 on "The Joint Struggle of the Working Class and National Liberation Movements against Imperialism, for Social Progress" which was attended by 116 communist and workers' parties and delegations from the national liberation movement, is an embodiment of this unity. There is a need to consolidate the cohesion of these three motive forces of the revolutionary process of our epoch, the epoch of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, and the victory of liberation revolutions.

#### SITUATION IN THE ARAB WORLD

The Arab national-liberation movement has continued its struggle against the Camp David plot, the capitulationist imperialist solutions, and against the attempts by the United States and Zionism to establish their hegemony in the region in the form of a tripartite military-political pact between the Sadat regime, Israel and the United States, which serves Washington's aggressive strategic goals in the region and helps to secure the interests of the U.S. monopolies, the oil monopolies in the first place. This pact seeks to freeze the Arab national liberation movement, and to maintain the reactionary and corrupt regimes. All of this confirms the need to resist the Camp David plot by rebuffing these self-seeking goals and exposing their dangerous character, as the only method of fighting against this plot in contrast to the verbal and formal resistance to it, like the one we find on the part of Saudi Arabia and other Arab reactionary regimes. These states oppose Camp David only in words, but in practice collaborate with the United States, helping it to find ways of overcoming the impasse in which the separate settlement in the Middle East now finds itself. They have sought to establish ties with the United States in promoting this settlement, especially since the change of leadership in Washington, which Arab reaction has welcomed. Despite the Saudi rulers' loud and demagogic calls for a "holy war," they have entirely converted their country into a stamping-ground for the armed forces of U.S. imperialism, including its air force, in defiance of the protests and condemnations against such acts. Their brazenness has reached such a point that they have accused Colonel

Qaddafi of desecrating Islam only because he has condemned the U.S. military presence in Saudi Arabia and in the Persian Gulf area. The Saudi rulers encouraged Iraq to start the war against Iran, one of whose aims was to divert attention from the chief problem of the Arab peoples. It is the countries constituting the Saudi Arabia-Jordan-Iraq axis that are behind the convocation of the Arab summit meeting in Amman without the participation of the National Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation, notably Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization, the two main forces opposed to Israel. This has shed light on the polarization of forces in the Arab world and has exposed the position of the reactionary and right-wing regimes, whose purpose in calling the summit meeting was to undermine the decisions of the Rabat and Algiers summits with respect to the PLO, which is recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine, and also to empower King Hussein of Jordan to act on behalf of the Palestinians. In addition, the Amman Conference had the task of getting the Arabs to approve the war which Iraq unleashed against the Iranian revolution.

Meanwhile, Israel has stepped up its sanguinary repression against the Palestinian masses inside and outside the occupied territories, committing ignoble crimes against the leaders of Palestinian Arabs, expelling them from their homeland, and continuing its aggressive sorties in the south of Lebanon. The machinations of imperialism against the Arab national liberation movement, in particular its intrigues over the Palestinian problem, have been stepped up. That is the light in which one should consider the activity of the Socialist International and the West European countries' initiative aimed to take the Camp David variant of a settlement out of its impasse by involving other Arab parties in it. However, for all the difficulties faced by the Arab national liberation movement, it has considerable potentialities for fulfilling the complicated tasks before it and successfully resisting the imperialist plots. This will be seen, in particular, from the steadfastness displayed by Syria in the struggle against the plot of imperialism and reaction, the conclusion of the Soviet-Syrian Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, the heroic struggle being carried on by the population of the West Bank of the Jordan River against the Israeli occupation and the "autonomy" project, the steadfastness of the Lebanese national-patriotic forces and the forces of the Palestinian revolution under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization in resisting the Zionist enemy and the plans to partition Lebanon, and the attempts to deliver a blow at the Palestinian Resistance Movement so as to oust it from Lebanon. Evidence of this also comes from the strengthening of the progressive regime in Democratic Yemen, the strengthening of the National Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation, the process of unification of Syria and Libya on the basis of democracy and the struggle against imperialism, and the success of the Egyptian and Iraqi patriots in uniting their action within the framework of national-patriotic demo-



cratic fronts, including forces and parties coming out against the Sadat regime and the regime in Iraq. An indication of the potential of the Arab national liberation movement is the armed takeover of the mosque in Mecca, the popular disturbances in the eastern districts of Saudi Arabia, the mounting struggle of the peoples of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula for democracy, and against the U.S. military presence in the region.

The need to intensify the struggle of the Arab national liberation movement against imperialism, Zionism, against the policy of surrender and reaction requires a strengthening of the National Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation and the use of every available weapon, and also of the Arab economic potential for the success of this struggle.

It is also necessary to support mass action for democratic rights and satisfaction of national demands, more effectively to tie in this action with the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, to strengthen the people's Arab Congress and to turn it into a real and broad front with the participation of all the national forces and parties of the Arab countries. An alliance of national forces should be built up in each country on the basis of resistance to imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

One of the key conditions for success in the struggle of the Arab national liberation movement is the need to strengthen the strategic alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist-community countries.

Once these conditions have been assured, the Arab national liberation movement will be able to overcome the difficulties before it, to extend the scale of its action against imperialism, Zionism, reaction and the policy of surrender so as to advance the Arab countries along the road of independent development and social progress, to resist the plots of imperialism, to bring about the liberation of the occupied Arab territories and to ensure the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to return, self-determination and the establishment of an independent state of its own on the soil of its homeland. The stepped-up offensive by imperialism requires that the communist and workers' parties in the Arab countries should play a greater role in the Arab national liberation movement, because these parties are the vanguard and an influential force of the movement.

#### **SITUATION IN THE ZONE OF THE PERSIAN GULF AND THE ARABIAN PENINSULA**

In its plans aimed against the Arab peoples and the national liberation movement imperialism, notably U.S. imperialism, attaches ever greater importance to the zone of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula because of the place the region has in the production and export of oil, because of the vast oil resources in its subsoil, and also because across it run the sea-lanes for the transportation of oil. Besides, this region is of great economic and strategic importance and has a growing influence on the world capitalist economy in view of the sharpening energy

crisis and other chronic defects of the world capitalist system.

Imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place, seeks to ensure its domination over the region and the sea-lanes running across it, to establish control over the supply of oil, to hit out at the growing national movement, and to bolster local reactionary regimes which have not been fully able to ensure the interests of the imperialist circles. It is trying to change the balance of forces, which has not taken shape in its or its agents' favor, especially after the victory of the people's revolution in Iran. For that purpose, having got down to implementing the Carter doctrine, U.S. imperialism enmeshed in a network of military bases the Sultanate of Oman, Somalia and Egypt, apart from its base in Bahrain. This threatens the security of the region and is aimed against the progressive regimes in Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia and Afghanistan. U.S. imperialism has deployed its AWACS spy system in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf area, and has built up stockpiles of mass destruction weapons and delivery vehicles, set up a rapid deployment force, staged joint exercises on Egyptian territory, dispatched thousands of advisers and military personnel to states in the Persian Gulf area, concluded agreements on military cooperation and military privileges with a number of countries, concentrated its fleet off the coast of the region, concerting its action with Britain and France and staging joint exercises with them. All of this encroaches on our countries' freedom, independence and sovereignty, and the right of the peoples of the region freely to dispose of their resources and potential, deprives them of the possibility of realizing their democratic aspirations without persecution and oppression, and prevents our countries from pursuing an independent peace policy meeting our peoples' interests.

Imperialism and its henchmen have stirred up territorial and border conflicts between states in the region, an example of which is the Iran-Iraq war.

This war, started by the Iraqi regime with the encouragement and blessings of imperialism and the reactionary countries, increases tension in the Middle East and serves the plans of U.S. imperialism, which seeks to vindicate the build-up of its military presence in the region, to weaken its peoples and to stamp out the Iranian revolution. This requires that all the peace forces should condemn the military operations, call for an end to the fighting, a withdrawal of the Iraqi troops from Iranian territory to the pre-conflict borders and a settlement of the existing disagreements by peaceful means on the basis of good-neighborhood.

World imperialism, led by U.S. imperialism, is our peoples' arch-enemy. Resistance to it and to every form of its presence, especially military presence, is the basic and primary task in the struggle of the peoples in the region, and requires of the national-progressive forces vigorous action against the U.S. military presence, and an intensified campaign for the withdrawal of the U.S. fleets and armed forces.

Saudi Arabia plays a dangerous role in the Persian



Gulf and Arabian Peninsula area, opposing the forces of liberation in the Middle East and throughout the world, seeking to set up regional pacts under the sponsorship and with the participation of the United States, a fact which affects the security and independence of the countries in the region and cuts across its peoples' aspirations and hopes for liberation.

Saudi Arabia supports shady outfits using religion as a cover and openly meddling in the internal affairs of some Arab countries, as exemplified by its support of the Moslem Brotherhood bands in Syria, Northern Yemen and Afghanistan. Saudi Arabia has been using the economic difficulties in some Arab countries with patriotic regimes to help strengthen right-wing trends in these countries. It has been fanning the anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign.

The Iraqi regime started the war against Iran. It interferes in the Yemen Arab Republic, acts against the National Democratic Front, takes a negative stand with respect to Soviet assistance to the Afghan revolution, coalesces with the regime in Saudi Arabia and Jordan and coordinates its actions with them. Iraq's actions against the patriotic regime in Syria, its opposition to the National Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation and no more than verbal condemnation of Camp David, the ill-starred national charter that followed, and the closure of the offices of some Palestinian organizations should also be regarded in that light.

To this should be added the acts of the treacherous Sadat regime, which has offered itself as a force defending the interests of imperialism and the reactionary regimes in the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula area. This was most pronounced after the strengthening of its alliance with the United States and Israel. Egypt has become the staging post and basis for the preparation of the rapid deployment force in the Persian Gulf aimed against the national liberation movements in the Arab and African countries.

The offensive by imperialism and reaction in our region has assumed various forms. This is evidenced by the Iraq-Iran war, Reagan's victory (which has revived the hopes of reaction for a change in the balance of forces in its favor, the attacks on the National Democratic Front in the Yemeni Arab Republic and the refusal of the ruling regime in Sana to conclude an agreement with it, the reports of the attempts to postpone a return to parliamentary life in Kuwait, and the mooted "collective security" agreement between the countries in the Persian Gulf area under the sponsorship of Saudi Arabia. This agreement is aimed to step up the coordination of action between the security services of the Gulf countries, exchange of information and betrayal of patriots to the authorities.

In the economic sphere, the policy of imperialism at the present stage is aimed to establish undivided control over the regions which are not yet under its domination and which are important for the capitalist system. This results in a distorted capitalist development in these regions, because

they are a scene of stepped up activity by the economic institutions of world capitalism, including multinational monopoly corporations. The distorted nature of capitalist development is also manifested in the marked increase in the number of banks and other financial institutions engaged in the pumping of oil revenues to the capitalist markets, the growing influence of the parasitic comprador bourgeoisie and the local financial oligarchy, which constitute the social basis of the influence and hegemonism of imperialism in our region. These elements are used, as an intermediate link, to flood the local market with the capitalist countries' manufactured goods, to preserve the social, political, economic and cultural backwardness and one-sided economic development of the countries in the region, to create jobs mainly in the sphere of services and effect joint projects with the participation of foreign capital catering primarily for capitalist monopolies.

Imperialism has blocked the creation of a developed and well-balanced independent national economy, seeks to swallow up the oil revenues and to use them for strengthening the economy of the imperialist states and toning down its acute crises, tries to prevent the oil-exporting countries from establishing fair prices, ensuring real purchasing power for the oil revenues and their use for our countries' socio-economic development. U.S. imperialism and the international oil monopolies, together with the reactionary regimes in the region, want to assure themselves of oil supplies at suitable prices and so seek to split the unity of the OPEC countries, invalidate the results of the nationalization of the oil-extracting industry and prevent the countries of the region from advancing along the road of independent economic development.

Despite the fact that foreign oil-company concessions have been abolished in some countries in the region and oil production placed under the control of the state, in most countries the extraction, transportation and refining of oil, and also the marketing of oil products and administrative matters are still in the hands of the capitalist oil monopolies. On the other hand, the policy of buying weapons in the imperialist countries and stockpiling them results in the waste of tremendous oil revenues which could be used for the needs of development.

With the growing hegemony of U.S. imperialism and the build-up of its military presence in the Persian Gulf area, with the support of reactionary regimes, the offensive against the national forces in the region and against any manifestation of progressive democratic thinking is being stepped up under the pretext of a "communist danger" and a "Soviet threat." There are ideological subversions, the stoking up of intercommunal contradictions with the use for these purposes of outfits operating behind the veil of religion. The information apparatus and many organs of the press are also being used to realize these plans.

In the difficult conditions, with growing terrorism on the part of reaction and with patriots being subjected to arrests, persecutions, tortures and killings, the national liberation movement in the Persian Gulf



and Arabian Peninsula area continues its struggle against imperialism, its hegemony and its policy of plunder in the region, and against the reactionary regimes. Our peoples are engaged in a struggle to win and consolidate national independence, advance along the road of social progress and independent development, democracy and peace, for the unity of the peoples in the region on a democratic, anti-imperialist basis.

The thrust of the confrontation in our region between imperialism and local reaction, on the one hand, and the forces of the peoples' national liberation movement, on the other, boils down to the problem of liberation from the plundering policy of imperialism and its control of national natural resources, especially oil, and elimination of every form of its aggressive military presence.

The tasks facing the forces of the national liberation movement in the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula area at the present historical stage are completion of national liberation and the national-democratic revolution in the light of what has been done and of the conditions in which these tasks are to be fulfilled in this or that country.

The national liberation movement in our region expresses the interests of broad social forces — the working class, the peasantry, the progressive intelligentsia and the petty bourgeoisie — the objective interests of the broad social strata which are variously affected by the oppression of imperialism and the diktat of reaction. In many countries these strata include the bourgeoisie, and also the section of it connected with local production.

There is a marked growth of the struggle of the national liberation movement in the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula area, evidence of which is the following:

— Consolidation of the progressive regime in Democratic Yemen and a deepening of its progressive political and socio-economic transformations; and the strengthening of the leading role of the Yemen Socialist Party in the state and society.

— The people's Iranian revolution and the overthrow of the shah's regime, which has led to a change in the balance of forces in the region not in favor of imperialism, and has given a powerful impetus to the struggle of its peoples. At the same time, the development of the Iranian revolution and its defense require democratic guarantees for the Iranian people, the cohesion of its anti-imperialist forces, the solution of national problems in Iran on a democratic basis, and the strengthening of friendship with the Soviet Union. This will help to surmount the existing negative consequences and mistakes in the development of the Iranian revolution, and enable it to withstand imperialism.

— The rise of the popular movement and action against U.S. imperialism and local reaction. Thus, in Saudi Arabia popular actions against them were expressed in the uprising in the country's eastern districts and the armed occupation of the mosque in Mecca in November 1979. These actions shook the ruling regime of the absolute monarchy and extended the basis of the popular opposition, marking

the start of a qualitatively new stage in the general struggle against the reactionary Saudi authorities. The Communist Party of Saudi Arabia, together with other patriotic forces, is carrying on a persevering struggle to mobilize all the forces and the whole potential for the overthrow of the absolutist regime, which is connected with world imperialism and the monopolies, so as to establish a national-democratic power expressing the interests of the majority.

— The struggle of the Bahrein people under the leadership of the patriotic forces, with the Bahrein National Liberation Front in the vanguard, for the elimination of U.S. military bases and full independence, the creation of an independent national economy, the release of political prisoners and the return of those expelled from the country, for social freedoms, for the re-establishment of the parliamentary system and the realization of the vital requirements of the masses.

— Action by the national-democratic forces of Kuwait in support of the democratic freedoms, for the lifting of the laws which limit them, the establishment of a parliamentary system on a democratic basis, realization of the people's aspirations and the pursuit of a national economic policy.

— The strengthening of the struggle by the National Democratic Front of the Yemen Arab Republic to do away with Saudi influence, to strengthen independence, to realize the democratic demands of the masses and bring about the unity of the two parts of Yemen. The front is now faced with attacks by Moslem Brotherhood bands, which are supported by Saudi Arabia, and the refusal of the Sana authorities to conclude agreements with it on the establishment of a coalition national government.

— The tangible results of the struggle carried on by democratic forces of Iraq, with the Iraqi Communist Party in the vanguard. This was expressed in the establishment of the patriotic national-democratic front, coming out for the formation of a national government in Iraq guaranteeing real autonomy for Kurdistan.

— The continuation of the Oman people's struggle under the leadership of the Oman People's Liberation Front for freedom and independence, and for the elimination of imperialist military bases.

The advance of the struggle of the national liberation movement in the region calls for the unification of the social anti-imperialist, anti-reactionary forces in each individual country for the fulfillment of the basic national-democratic tasks, and also cohesion of the ranks of the democratic parties, organizations and forces in these countries within the framework of a national alliance, with each of the participants remaining ideologically and organizationally independent, as the basic condition for its success.

The communist and workers' parties of the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula area must make a persevering and serious effort to set up such national alliances with respect for the peculiarities of the parties involved.

Coordination of action between our parties and also between the national forces and parties of the



region helps to intensify the peoples' struggle against imperialism and reaction.

The struggle of the peoples of our region and their liberation forces enjoys all-round and growing international support and assistance, including that coming from the socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union, the democratic forces and the world national liberation movement. Striking evidence of this is the extraordinary international conference of solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples in the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula area convened in Cyprus in October 1980.

### **GENERAL NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC TASKS**

The most important general national-democratic tasks of the forces of the national liberation movement in the countries of the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula area are the following:

1. Achievement and strengthening of national independence in the countries of the region, their advance along the way of independent development through the elimination of imperialist influence in them, dismantling of the network of naval and air force bases of imperialism on and near the territory of these countries, the withdrawal of the military privileges granted to imperialism, the removal of intelligence services and military advisers from the region, an end to the policy of stockpiling weapons, resistance to the plans of imperialism and reaction aimed to set up aggressive blocs, abrogation of agreements and treaties with the imperialist powers limiting the independence of our countries, and guarantees of freedom of navigation in accordance with international law and generally accepted rules.

2. Democratic freedoms for the peoples of the region, primarily freedom of expression, of the press and of assembly, the creation of political parties and social organizations, the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles, and an end to the campaign of persecution, arrests, terrorism and killing of patriots.

3. A policy of developing the national economy without its subordination to the world imperialist market, the creation of industry in the countries of the region, complex development of their economy, elimination of multinational imperialist monopolies, banks and insurance companies, the use of the natural resources of the region, including oil and financial revenues from it, for the benefit of its peoples, a national oil policy meeting the requirements of national economic development, and resolute economic measures in the sphere of oil and the financial funds against the United States, the arch-enemy of our peoples.

4. Pursuit by the countries of the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula area of an independent peaceful foreign policy meeting their peoples' aspirations, non-participation in the schemes of imperialism and the blocs it sets up, establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist-community countries, and extension of spheres of cooperation with them.

5. Deepening of ties between the national libera-

tion movements in the countries of the region, and cohesion with the revolutionary forces in the world, especially with the socialist community headed by the USSR. For this purpose it is necessary:

- to extend all-round assistance and support to the progressive regime in Democratic Yemen, support for its efforts to draw the two parts of Yemen closer together, and establish good-neighborly relations between the countries of the region;

- solidarity with the national-democratic forces subjected to terrorism and suppression, in particular with the Iraqi Communist Party;

- active participation together with the national liberation forces in the Arab countries in the fight against imperialism, the Zionist occupation and the policy of surrender, resistance to the Camp David accords, support for the National Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation, the use of the oil and economic potential of the states of the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula area for the Arab peoples' struggle against imperialism and the Zionist occupation;

- support for the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine, led by the Palestine Liberation Organization, its sole legitimate representative, to ensure its legitimate national rights, including its right to return, self-determination and the establishment of an independent national state on the soil of its homeland, and support for the struggle of the democratic forces, including the Communist Party of Israel, against the Israeli aggression;

- support for the patriotic regime in Syria in its fight against the plots of imperialism and reaction seeking to weaken the country's steadfastness;

- support for the struggle of the national-patriotic forces of Lebanon for independence, unity, the Arab character of the country, for its democratic development, and against the Israeli occupation of the frontier zone;

- solidarity with the struggle of the patriotic progressive forces of Egypt against the regime of surrender and betrayal;

- struggle on the side of the peoples of the Indian Ocean area to secure guarantees of its conversion into a zone of security and peace, free from aggressive military bases;

- support for the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, backwardness, racial discrimination, and for freedom, independence, democracy and social progress;

- support for the efforts to consolidate international détente and also for the struggle against the arms race, the U.S. plans for deploying medium-range nuclear-missile weapons in Western Europe, against the new nuclear strategy allowing a limited nuclear war, and for disarmament, the elimination of the threat of a devastating nuclear war, strengthening of world peace, and for making the policy of international détente an irreversible process in international relations;

- support for the strategic alliance with the true friends of the fighting peoples, with the forces of peace and socialism, with the Soviet Union and the



other socialist-community countries in the vanguard.

6. Struggle against all conceptions and ideas being imposed by imperialism and reaction, against right and "left" opportunism, national chauvinism, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, Trotskyism

and Maoism. All of this reaffirms the importance of the unity and cohesion of the world communist and working class movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, cohesion round its chief force, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

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## Unity And Organization Mean Victory

The resolution on the current situation adopted by the Political Bureau of the South African Communist Party in September 1980 is published below.

The current situation is marked by a growing series of confrontations between the people and the ruling class. Not a day passes without some expression of organized militancy flaring up, now here and now there, especially in the factories, among the youth and in the Black ghettos. In general it can be said that the ingredients of a major nationwide upsurge are being built up with relative speed. Events since the beginning of 1980 have already dramatically borne out the main thrust of the analysis contained in the statement adopted by the November 1979 augmented meeting of our Central Committee. That meeting expressed the belief that we were about to enter a decade in which some of the most decisive battles in the long history of our struggle would be fought out. Among all strata of our oppressed people a renewed sense of anticipation and a mood of revolutionary fervor were emerging. That mood has already begun to express itself on a wide front.

*Among the workers* the strike movement has grown in intensity. In the last few months alone more than 75,000 have downed tools in factories over the country in support of their demands for improved working and living conditions, as well as for independent democratic trade unions. The traditional boss-police alliance against striking workers has failed to dampen their militancy. The attempt by the racist regime to impose "good boy" unions is meeting with growing opposition. A significant feature of these workers' struggles has been the support for the striking workers by broader strata of our people, as we demonstrated in the Monis and Fattis and the red meat strikes, in both of which widespread consumer boycotts reinforced the workers' efforts.

*Among the youth* we have witnessed once again an impressive resurgence of the struggle against racist and inferior education. Already this year over 100,000 students have defied police batons and bullets, and many of them have given, and continue to give their lives in protracted demonstrations. These demonstrations covered political slogans and demands going beyond the issue of inferior education.

New regions such as the OFS<sup>1</sup> — the very heartland of hardline racism — which were relatively dormant in the 1970s are also now emerging as storm centers. Although the main impetus came from the Coloured schools and universities, tens of

thousands of students from the African and Indian schools and universities showed their solidarity in many areas of the country. In the teeth of opposition and threats of violence and other reprisals from their government-imposed leaders, the youth of the Transkei, Ciskei, KwaZulu, Venda and other Bantustans, demonstrated in solidarity with students in the rest of the country.

The regime's aim to create division between the students, the parents and the community generally has not met with success, and the solidarity displayed between these sections has become a reinforcing feature of the renewed upsurge in the school boycott movement. In general, the massive intervention of our youth and students in the broad struggle for liberation has become a permanent and distinctive feature of our revolutionary process.

### LABOR RESERVES

*In the Bantustans and other rural areas* the full meaning of the regime's fragmentation policy is daily becoming more evident as more and more of our people are being herded into these labor reserves incapable of providing the inhabitants with even the bare necessities of life. Whatever illusions may have existed about the farce of tribal nationhood have been shattered by the realities of life in those areas which have already been forced into independence. In Winterveldt, in the Soekmekaar region, and in many other areas of the countryside, resistance to resettlement is maintained and resentment grows against the Bantustan structures which are there to receive the mass deportees into the cesspool of "homeland" poverty.

In the towns, too, the deepening resentment against the Bantustans grows by the day as the fight of the urban dwellers to live and work in the towns is increasingly undermined by the monstrous fiction that they are "foreign" workers in the white man's preserve, and by the ever ready use of the Bantustans to provide scab labor, as was demonstrated in the heroic Johannesburg municipal workers' strike.

*In the urban Black ghettos* the communities are resisting the regime's efforts to raise the prices of public services such as housing, transport, etc. Militant responses to threatened rent increases are in evidence everywhere. Bus boycotts lasting weeks and sometimes months have been the people's an-



swer to increases in transport fares. The mood in favor of rejecting the new urban council system remains strong.

Black community organizations and other mass-based bodies are sprouting in all the major urban centers to help defend the people against the regime's predatory manipulation of their lives. Fearless outspokenness and mass involvement in broad political activities revolving around the Year of the Freedom Charter and the Free Mandela campaign have been extremely encouraging. In the Free Mandela campaign, already over 70,000 individuals have courageously put down their names and addresses in a public petition to demand the release of the symbol of revolutionary resistance to the whole system of racist supremacy.

*Among the oppressed Black communities* the enemy's traditional divide-and-rule policy is meeting with serious obstacles. As a result of mounting opposition, the regime has been forced to withdraw its completely farcical separate advisory body for Africans and is frantically attempting to gain collaboration from among strata in the Coloured and Indian communities for its new Presidential Council.<sup>2</sup> This council not only excludes the African majority completely, but also denies the Coloured and Indian participants any form of legislative or executive decision-making powers.

There can be no doubt that those individuals who may be tempted to participate in a body whose clear purpose is to divide the Black people and to perpetuate race domination in a new form, will experience the wrath of the masses. The oppressed people reject with contempt the new racist argument which absurdly claims that South Africa consists of coloured and ethnic minorities. They see it as yet another ideological device to justify and perpetuate minority race rule in our land. The struggle for majority rule in one united South Africa remains the goal of all true patriots.

### ARMED STRUGGLE

The perspective of the destruction of racist rule and the seizure of people's power by mass political action combined with escalating *armed blows against the enemy* has been reinforced as never before by the heroic actions of our people's armed force — Umkhonto we Sizwe. The latest attacks on the Sasol complexes stunned the whole world with their level of sophistication, and instilled confidence among the masses in the growing capacity of our liberation movement to answer the enemy in the only language he understands. For the oppressed majority in our land, names like Orlando, Moroka, Soekmekaar, Booysens, Silverton and Sasol have become inspiring symbols of heroism and courage: they have contributed immeasurably to the militant fervor and uncompromising resistance to race rule in all its forms which is sweeping our land. The tens of thousands who bravely paid tribute to our Silverton heroes represent a people who have become convinced as never before that the revolutionary overthrow of the racist ruling class is the only real way forward.

A significant feature of the current situation is the unprecedented and growing adherence of the mass of our people to *the leadership role of our liberation movement headed by the African National Congress*. With each passing day the stature of our movement and its unchallengeable place in the vanguard of the people's struggles grow. Both externally and internally we have emerged as a force to be reckoned with: a force which is feared by the enemy and its allies and looked to by the mass of our oppressed people to show and lead the way to their salvation. In the four years since the great Soweto upsurge, we have demonstrated through the dedication and sacrifice of our cadre in the underground, and through the caliber of our ideological guidance, that the only real alternative to the scourge of racist exploitation is our liberation front. Our great South African Communist Party, which celebrates the 60th year of its formation in July 1981, can be truly proud of its own contribution to the revolutionary alliance.

The mood of the people and the political atmosphere in which our struggle is unfolding clearly present an urgent and continuing challenge to every sector of our liberation movement. At the moment the outbursts of resistance are gaining in momentum and present a serious challenge to the enemy. But they still lack the necessary level of coordination and the quality of united offensive of the whole people. It is only our liberation front which has the understanding and the leadership qualities to channel and coordinate the people's militancy and to raise it to even higher levels.

Our Central Committee statement of November 1979 stressed that as the new decade dawns we are called upon to be ready as never before to take up the challenge which faces us. It emphasized that the people will increasingly be looking to the ANC and its allies to show the way of struggle and to lead them to final victory. This sense of expectation and anticipation has grown immeasurably since these words were written. It is clear that the tasks which were enumerated in the document need to be pursued with an even greater sense of urgency at this moment.

### GREATER EFFORTS

Although major advances have been made in the areas of general mass political mobilization and organization, and in the strengthening of our organized underground presence, the situation cries out for even greater efforts. We must work more urgently than ever to strengthen our capacity to lead the people above ground, and to strengthen our underground apparatus to the point where it will be capable of responding to and taking initiatives, not only from day to day, but also from hour to hour. Internal collective underground leadership at all levels — national, regional and local — must be reinforced and strengthened with all possible speed.

Everything possible must be done to mobilize and organize the Black working men and women, to arouse their revolutionary consciousness to even greater heights, as well as to sharpen an awareness of their historic mission as the dominant force in the



struggle for national liberation and the building of a socialist society. More immediately, the fight for genuine trade union organization and improved working and living conditions must be vigorously stepped up. We must demand an end to the massive unemployment, an end to the ravages of the pass laws and influx control system and an end to the triple burden of oppression and exploitation from which Black women suffer.

The masses of our people forced to live in their rural slums in the Bantustans must be shown the way forward and organized in struggle against the collaborators and for the utter destruction of the whole Bantustan framework. The struggle against so-called Bantustan "independence" continues to occupy one of the most important sectors of the immediate battles we face.

Gatsha Buthelezi,<sup>3</sup> who presents himself as a friend of the ANC, has lately intensified his campaigns to divert the peoples away from the revolutionary policies and strategy of our liberation movement in many areas of struggle. He has aided the enemy by his persistent condemnation of the people whenever they engage in mass action, whether it be in the factories or in the schools. Despite his continuing positive opposition to the idea of Bantustan independence, it is our duty to oppose and condemn his harmful and dangerous role in the present upsurge.

Unity in action between all the oppressed Black communities occupies one of the prime places in our strategy for the destruction of the racist regime. The struggle against the Bantustans and against the latest Presidential Council has a common content for all the Black oppressed. There can be no compromise on one man one vote in one united South Africa.

The fighting youth of our land, who for years have taken the brunt of the enemy's batons and bullets, must see at their side in ever greater numbers the reinforcing solidarity of all strata of the oppressed people. Our whole liberation movement must

strengthen its underground presence in all the youth centers of resistance.

### FORWARD TO SOCIALISM

Both as a party and as part of the alliance of revolutionary forces, we are conscious of the heavy responsibilities ahead. With absolute confidence in the justness of our cause, we are certain that our people will destroy the racist tyranny, win people's power and move on to build a socialist South Africa. We reiterate what our Central Committee said at its augmented meeting last year.

"We the people of South Africa know that there is no power that can withstand our organized force. Despite the most savage repression, we have demonstrated in action our inexhaustible capacity to develop new forms of mass struggle uniting more and more people and extending mass action and resistance to all fronts. Wherever we are, and at all levels and in all fields, at our working places, in the urban and rural areas where we live, in the schools, universities, churches, cultural and sports clubs we must mobilize ourselves and confront the enemy as never before. We must support every act of resistance and draw it into the mainstream of revolt."

*Unity and organization mean victory!*

*Long live our liberation alliance headed by the ANC!*

*Long live the SACP!*

*Long live the unity of the patriotic forces of our country!*

*Death to racism!*

*Forward to People's Power!*

*Victory is certain!*

*Amandla! Maatla!*<sup>4</sup>

*African Communist*  
No. 84, 1981

1. Orange Free State — province of South Africa. — Ed.

2. A recently formed institution in which several representatives of the Coloured and Indian population have been included for the sake of appearances — Ed.

3. Political careerist and self-styled representative of the Zulu people — Ed.

4. Amandla and maatla, the Sulu and Sutu for power — Ed.

## Eighth Plenary Meeting of the PUWP Central Committee

The eighth plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party was held in Warsaw on February 9. It heard a report from the Political Bureau of the PUWP CC, "The Party's Tasks in Shaping the Conditions for the Activity and Socialist Character of the Trade Unions," which was delivered by Tadeusz Grabski, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee.

The plenary meeting also heard an account by Kazimierz Barcikowski, CC Political Bureau member and CC Secretary, on the work of the Political Bureau of the PUWP CC.

The plenary meeting adopted a resolution "On the Party's Tasks in shaping the Conditions for the Activity and Socialist Character of the Trade Unions."

The summing up speech at the plenary meeting was made by Stanislaw Kania, First Secretary of the PUWP CC. Below is a summary of his speech.

This is the third time that the PUWP Central Committee has met since the end of the dramatic social

conflicts which occurred in July and August of last year. The decisions of the sixth and seventh plenary



meetings of the PUWP CC, Kania said, have played an important role in mobilizing the party and all the patriotic forces of the people for the consolidation of this process. The purpose of the eighth plenary meeting is to discuss the party's tasks in shaping the conditions for the activity and the socialist character of the trade unions.

The trade union movement has always had a tremendous role to play in defending the working people's interests, and in molding the class consciousness and organizing the forces of the working class in the struggle for socialism. The working class is a coherent class, it has a common goal, and this should exert a crucial influence on the necessity of interaction of all the trade unions and favor unity of their action. Our actions have been multifaceted and have yielded results, Kania said. But in the debate many critical remarks were made concerning the shortcomings in the work of the central leadership, in our actions. The need was emphasized for greater precision in administration on the central level. I want to make the assurance that the necessary measures will be taken in this sphere.

All the comrades who spoke here were unanimous in their assessment that the situation in Poland is exceptionally complicated, and that it is developing in an extremely dangerous direction. The party is responsible for the destiny of the people, for socialism and for the Polish state. Today, all these gains are being jeopardized. Our socialist homeland is faced with a grave danger.

Everyone knows of the economic results of the past year. They are evidence of a very grave situation. At the beginning of this year, the economic indicators worsened. This situation is the result not only of old mistakes, but also of chaos and strikes.

We all hailed the progress in stabilizing the situation last December after the seventh plenary meeting of the PUWP CC, Kania went on. In January, this so necessary process was halted. It is hard to imagine that in Poland, which has the most complicated economic situation among all the socialist countries, tension has arisen and strikes are used for the purpose of reducing working time. We take a positive view of the agreement signed between the trade unions and the government on this matter, but we believe that it is not the interests of the workers that underlie the actions of the governing elements of "Solidarity," which create tension against this background. We say this with great concern.

It was repeatedly and specifically emphasized in the debate that the sectoral trade unions need more effective support, that they are developing, and their influence in the working class is growing. Comrades from these trade unions want to approach the solution of social problems at the enterprises with great sweep, because there is much neglect in this sphere.

There are also many examples of constructive activity by the units of the new trade unions, examples of good and productive contact between party bodies and the economic management, on the one hand, and the factory commissions of "Solidarity," on the other. The Central Committee wants to de-

velop such relations. They are in the interests of the working class.

But not everything depends on us, on the government, on the organs of power. Today we are faced with a deteriorating internal situation. This is all the more dangerous because the international situation is becoming more complicated.

During the signing of the agreements with the representatives of the striking work collectives, statements were made that the losses caused by the strikes would be made good. Meanwhile, five months since the signing of the agreements the situation in the country has become patchy. We have contingents of the working class doing excellent and dedicated work. But the backlog because of the strikes is not being made good, and the losses are mounting.

Statements were also issued to the effect that the new trade unions would not claim the role of a political party. That is the workers' view of the matter. And yet, almost without exception, the strikes of the past few weeks have been political. Now and again methods are used which disrupt the work of communications and transport, sectors that are of essential importance in ensuring normal life in the country and its defense capability. Attempts are made to use force so as to waive the application of juridical measures with respect to persons who make no secret of their activity aimed at overthrowing the socialist system.

There have appeared dozens of printed items aimed against our chief gains: socialism, our international alliances, and the party's traditions. These publications call for incitement and anarchy. Of importance for the shaping of the political face of the "Solidarity" movement are diverse well-experienced people, who have adhered to "Solidarity" and who want anarchy, counter-revolution and the elimination of socialism.

Nor is there a shortage of those (and we are well aware of this) who want bloody confrontation with socialism. Such is the truth which is confirmed by numerous examples. These persons have the backing of subversive imperialist centers. They churn out various initiatives aimed to split the rural self-administration, which is being revived with the support of the PUWP and the United Peasants' Party.

The opponents of socialism who have infiltrated "Solidarity" make up a small part of the trade union association, but they play on emotions and seek to use the existing mood to get the workers to their side. Ever more frequently the slogans of "Solidarity" in practice mean coercion, obedience and submission. This has happened not all that infrequently.

The result of all this is that Poland has become a weakened element of the socialist community, Kania noted. Our situation is a matter of well-justified concern on the part of our friends in the socialist countries. Together we create the guarantees of security based on the cohesion and strength of the whole community. After all, one weak link weakens the whole chain. We must have faith in the maturity of the Polish working class. Counter-revolution will



not succeed in Poland. We have paid too high a price for social emancipation, which thanks to our party merged in a single tide with national liberation. We courageously defended our fledgling people's power and the revolutionary transformations in the early years after liberation. Today, socialism in Poland not only has millions of supporters, but also loyal, impassioned defenders. In Polish soil lie the remains of over 600,000 Soviet soldiers who also created the conditions for revolutionary transformations while liberating our country. No one can obliterate all of this. There is no such force.

In Poland, national security and the defense of socialism are closely connected. It is also a matter for the whole community of socialist states. We speak sharply about this at the plenary meeting because the situation is unusually dangerous. We are faced with the historic task of creating guarantees for preserving the existence of the Polish nation. Our urge to continue the line of socialist renewal, to develop democracy in the party and the state, consistently to continue the line of reforms in the economy, social life, self-administration and cadre policy is inviolable. But we also intend to continue the line of consistent defense of the basic principles of socialism, the line of struggle against acts violating social and state law and order.

Pointing out that the workers are the leading, advanced force of the Polish people, that they have in their hands the bulk of the national wealth, Kania called on them to put up a powerful barrier in the way of anarchy, to re-establish the clear-cut rhythm of work and economic management. He emphasized that it is the workers who bear the brunt of this historic responsibility.

Let broad cooperation with the people's power develop in the countryside, the First Secretary of the PUWP CC continued. Let us join efforts in foiling the plans of those who want to split rural self-administration.

We also call on the representatives of our creative circles, on the Polish intelligentsia: let the country's grave situation induce minds to action for the development of the economy, its modernization, and better organization of social life. We also share the anxiety of Polish women over the danger threatening their families' tranquility and living conditions.

Declaring that anarchy tends to retard, Kania urged Polish young people always to be on the side of progress. The party wants to see the young as comrades in struggle and action. Addressing the people's armed forces, the soldiers of the Polish Army and the members of the public-security organs, he urged them to stand loyally on guard for the Polish people's independence and revolutionary gains. Let everyone know that we shall defend socialism as we would defend Poland's independence, he emphasized.

We call on the veterans in the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation, on the veterans of labor to carry the truth which has been confirmed by life: no sacrifice would be too great for the homeland. Let common sense and the sense of respon-

sibility for the future of Poland grow stronger.

We have the duty to establish order in the country, to put an end to the conflicts and tensions, to restore authority to the state power, and to end the strikes which break out for the sake of private interests aimed against the interests of the whole people. There is a need to direct the process of renewal into the channel of legality, and to create normal mechanisms for democracy. This implies that activity aimed at renewal should serve the creation of strong and stable structures in political, economic and state life. It should not be anarchistic or destructive. Those who attack the party and the existing order in the country need to have their anti-socialist sting pulled out. Our key task, Kania went on, is to re-establish the people's full confidence in the party and state power, so as to enable them to direct the country. This requires the elaboration of a program for Poland's further development that the society would fully support. This also calls for more resolute action aimed at stimulating social activity, timely discussion of initiatives with the people, and the adoption of fair decisions. At the same time there is a need to shed indecision and to stop succumbing to unwarranted protests.

There is a need to seek tirelessly to enhance the people's morale and trust in the policy of the party and the organs of state power.

Our duty is to complete the preparation of an economic reform and resolutely to translate its principles into life as soon as possible.

At the same time, we must do our utmost to bring about a rise in labor productivity, full use of available production capacities, and complete fulfillment in due time of our international commitments. We must swiftly settle by means of legislation the matters which require such regulation, and must improve the state apparatus and its functioning.

Stanislaw Kania then dealt with the improvement of the country's social development.

The crisis through which we are now going, he continued, has brought out not only those who are opposed to, but also those who favor the ideas of renewal in Poland in accordance with socialist principles and the norms of the social order. We shall willingly share the responsibility for our state with everyone who displays a sense of such responsibility.

We want the mass media to enjoy public confidence and provide a good reflection of the aspirations of all the social circles and a rostrum for criticism. At the same time, we expect them and our comrades who work there to display a high sense of responsibility for the developments in Poland, and support for the action taken by the party and the state to stabilize social life.

Just ahead is an important event for the whole communist movement, an event of exceptional importance for all the progressive forces, for the development of the whole of mankind, Kania went on. This event is the 26th congress of the CPSU. The fraternal Soviet party and the whole Soviet people are preparing for this event in an atmosphere of constructive and purposeful work, discussing ways



to improve the various spheres of social, political and economic life.

The Soviet communists, the Soviet people always see their strength in the decisions and resolutions of party congresses. On these decisions they pin their hopes for the future. The countries building a socialist society also turn their sentiments to this congress. Our party and our people have a special occasion to draw conclusions from the results of the congress of the Soviet communists, our neighbors, allies and brothers.

In these difficult moments, we have received substantial assistance from our friends, the Soviet Union above all.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the PUWP, I call on all the members of the party: today we are going through a difficult period for the party and the

state, a struggle for power is under way, attempts are being made to weaken the position and minimize the role of PUWP in the state and the society. We must set in motion the whole power of our economy, overcome the chaos, ensure the socialist character of the new trade unions, isolate the political opponents of socialism, and cut short any counter-revolutionary tendencies or attempts to spread disorder.

This is not a time of tranquility, this is a time of crisis. This is not a time of stabilization, this is a time of struggle. At this moment, the party should muster all its forces and all its strength so as to resist the enemies of socialism, and to create order in social and economic life.

The work of party organizations, the activity of every member of the PUWP must be equal to this extraordinary situation. There is a need to resist the attempts to weaken party discipline, and also to convert our organizations into impotent debating societies. Every member of the PUWP, every party organization must have a sense of responsibility for the development of the situation in the place and in the social environment in which they act. Matters must be got in hand in order to ensure order, discipline and a normal working rhythm. There is a need to anticipate and resist the emergence of any kind of breaches of labor discipline.

Party members should resist destructive strikes, which erode the interests of the whole of society, the interests of the working class. Party members have no right to take part in political strikes.

The communists' tasks and strivings consist in giving a lead to public opinion, explaining the situation in which the people, the state and the national economy find themselves, urging society to display common sense, courageously exposing before work collectives the true intentions of trouble-makers of every stripe.

I urge party members, Kania declared, to support the work of party bodies, the organs of state power and economic management, to support actions which serve the re-establishment of calm and socialist stabilization.

In the obtaining situation, there is no room for ambiguous or passive attitudes. In the party, the time has come for bold and resolute people. We are all responsible for the development of the situation in the country.

We are now preparing for the party's extraordinary congress, we are elaborating programmatic propositions for the development of socialist democracy, a strengthening of the party's leading role in socialist construction and the stabilization of the socio-economic situation in the country. Preparations for the congress should bring on the time of overcoming the crisis in Poland. Even before the congress, we need to do everything to turn our country into a reliable force of the socialist community.

On behalf of the Polish United Workers' Party, we call on all Polish men and women to display the highest sense of patriotic responsibility, Stanislaw Kania declared in conclusion.

## **The Working Class and Its Allies**

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## First Congress of the Egyptian Communist Party

In September 1980, the first congress of the Egyptian Communist Party was held on Egyptian territory. Below are extracts from the party program adopted by the congress.

The national democratic revolution in Egypt is an integral part of the Arab national liberation movement, and is therefore tied in with the situation in the Arab world. Liberation of the whole Arab homeland from imperialism and Zionism is indispensable for Egypt to attain, assert and preserve its political and economic independence.

### THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM

The Arab-Israeli confrontation has led to the outbreak of four wars in the Middle East in less than three decades (1948-1973), to ceaseless aggressive moves on the part of Israel against the independent neighboring Arab countries, to an infringement of their sovereign rights to their territory, and depletion of their resources and potentialities.

The development of this confrontation clearly shows that it is pivoted on the Palestinian problem. So long as the Palestinian people's legitimate national rights are being ignored and denied, there can be no genuine peace in the Middle East that would ensure the security of the region's states.

Israel's aggressive policy proves beyond any doubt that what is happening between the Arab nation and Israel is not just a confrontation on grounds of racial contradictions, not a religious conflict, and not even a regional dispute over territory. It is, in fact, a liberation struggle, which is an integral part of the international struggle against imperialism.

Ever since its establishment in 1948, Israel has been:

- a bridgehead of world imperialism in the center of the Arab world;
- an aggressive base serving the interests of neo-colonialist strategy in the region;
- a racist colonialist entity with self-seeking expansionist goals and aspirations with respect to the Arab countries;
- a hotbed of war, a direct and constant threat to international peace and security.

That is why a settlement of the Middle East crisis continues to be the main element in the life or death struggle being waged by the Arab liberation movement against imperialism, Zionism and reaction in the name of socio-economic progress.

Such a settlement cannot be reached along Sadat's capitulationist course or through dubious separate deals and various partial or global solutions being proposed by imperialism and Zionism. It cannot be reached with the help of loud slogans or stubborn insistence on inadequate and outdated so-

lutions, like Resolution 242, which has been recognized as unsound by most of the world community and which is advocated only by the renegade regime and its masters in Washington and Tel Aviv.

The revolutionary alternative to this treacherous and adventurist policy is to elaborate a comprehensive Arab strategy, which would consciously determine the current and long-term goals of Arab struggle and also the methods of this struggle that would guarantee the attainment of these goals. Such a strategy can mobilize and set in motion the forces of the Arab nation, its manpower, military and economic potentials, primarily Arab oil, revenues and interest on Arab money, which are still seen as the primary source for financing neo-colonialist institutions, the transnational monopolies and their exploitive projects. Such an Arab strategy must clearly distinguish between a strategic solution of the Palestinian problem and tactical solutions of the Middle East crisis. Obviously, the party directly concerned — the Palestinian people led by the Palestine Liberation Organization, the only legitimate representative of that heroic people — must have the initial and final say in determining the most acceptable solution of the Palestinian problem. As a national problem, the Palestinian problem does not allow the usurpation of the Palestinian people's cardinal right, the right to self-determination. In accordance with this concept, our party offers its own standpoint on the strategic solution of the Palestinian problem.

Such a solution, our party maintains, must provide for the formation of a secular democratic state on the entire territory of British-mandated Palestine, where Moslems, Christians and Jews would live together as citizens with equal rights and duties, a state free of both Zionism and anti-Semitism.

Such a strategic solution is a long-term imperative and can be implemented on the basis of brotherhood only through joint struggle by the whole population living on Palestinian territory — Moslems, Christians and Jews — with the use of all means and methods.

Such a solution depends on numerous complex and interrelated factors and conditions, both international and local. Among these are:

1. The need to change the balance of forces in favor of the Arab liberation movement by eliminating the influence and positions of imperialism in the region.



2. Alteration of the class structure of the leadership standing at the head of the Arab liberation movement through the participation in this leadership of representatives of the Arab working class and the victory of socialism in the main parts of the Arab world.

3. Development of a democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist movement in Israel itself and its greater cohesion with the Palestinian people's struggle on the occupied territories and with the Arab liberation movement.

In their persevering struggle for the final goal, the Arab peoples must not neglect to fight for immediate tactical solutions of the Middle East crisis that would help to attain step by step the following goals:

- Full liberation of the Arab territories occupied as a result of the aggression of 1967, with an unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli troops.

- Realization of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination in their own land and the formation of an independent national Palestinian state on the territory vacated by Israel.

- Creation of prerequisites for genuine peace in the region.

Obviously, genuine and lasting peace in the Middle East can only be achieved provided the consequences of the 1967 Israeli aggression are eliminated. Such a peace can only be ensured provided the hot-bed of war is extinguished and the very base of aggression is eliminated. This, in turn, demands:

- elimination of the imperialist nature of the State of Israel and its role as a base of colonialism and a gendarme of U.S. imperialism in the region, as well as of all forms of its political and military alliance with the USA;

- elimination of the colonialist expansionist nature of the State of Israel by ending the immigration of Jews to that state, with Israel dropping the claim that it is the state for all the Jews of the world, and also renouncing its expansionist aspirations in the region, allowing Palestinians to return to their homes, and returning the land and property taken from them by force;

- elimination of the racist nature of the State of Israel, its liberation from the sway of the Zionist movement, renunciation of its racist legislation and policy advocating segregation, and establishment of a democratic progressive regime that would guarantee equal rights for all citizens.

The need to eliminate these colonialist, imperialist, racist and aggressive manifestations by no means implies that Zionist fanaticism must be countered with rampant anti-Semitism or that the Jews living on Palestinian territory must be destroyed or pushed into the sea.

This task (establishment of peace — *Ed.*) can be solved only through a continuation of the Arab liberation struggle, in which the Palestine Liberation Organization plays the major role, and its merging with the struggle of other anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist forces in Israel itself and on the occupied Arab territories, led by the Palestinian Communist Organization in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and the RAKAH Party, which are carrying on a heroic and

consistent struggle against Zionism and its aggressive policy.

The desired Arab strategy must be based on a general confrontation with imperialism and Zionism, and must combine various forms of struggle on a scientific basis.

That is why our party rejects all one-sided views on the methods of struggle against imperialism and Zionism, which discount armed struggle and proceed from defeatist assertions that it is impossible to achieve military superiority over the Zionist adversary or stand up to U.S. imperialism. It rejects the views that fully deny any political settlement, recognizing only the method of a military solution and neglecting political struggle and diplomatic efforts, and also those views which confine armed struggle to combat operations by regular armies, denying the role of the Arab masses in the liberation struggle. Our party also rejects the views that advocate an erroneous understanding of the people's war of liberation, ruling out classical methods of warfare and overlooking the important role of Arab regular troops in resisting the Zionist adversary.

Artificial distinctions between different forms of struggle or the presentation of one of these as the only alternative to the exclusion of all other forms is doing grave damage to the Arab liberation movement. That is why our party believes that combat operations by regular armies and popular armed struggle, popular resistance to the Israeli occupation forces, strikes and other action by the population on the occupied territories, opposition to the reactionary Arab regimes that serve U.S. imperialism and Zionism, and diplomatic efforts in the international arena are all interrelated forms of struggle which supplement and reinforce each other.

One has to distinguish between a political solution of the conflict in its revolutionary interpretation and a political solution in its imperialist, capitulatory conception. That is why our party is against any political solutions serving as a screen for treason, capitulatory attitudes and neglect of the Arab nation's rights. It wants a political settlement which would be the result of the Arab nation's joint revolutionary struggle against imperialism and Zionism.

It is very dangerous to confuse strategic and tactical goals on a non-scientific basis. Substitution of tactical goals for ultimate, strategic goals leads to surrender in the face of imperialist, Zionist policy of *faits accomplis* in the region, to the danger of sliding into the bog of betrayal. On the other hand, when strategic goals are presented as immediate and imperative tasks, one tends to neglect the existing objective and subjective conditions and slide onto the road of adventures, whose results can hardly be predicted.

That is why our party is against any tactical solution of the conflict that would be detrimental to the strategic goal, and supports any tactical solution that would serve the interests of the common Arab struggle to attain the strategic goal and would ensure the most favorable conditions for this struggle.



## SPECIFIC FEATURES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STAGE

Correct definition of the nature of the revolutionary stage is extremely important for a working-class party. Such a definition can help the party to get a correct understanding of the problems arising at a definite stage, to assess its requirements, to determine its tasks and its crucial contradiction, to draw a clear dividing line between those who support the people and those who side with the people's enemies, to understand the substance of the necessary alliance with other forces and put it into effect, and also to formulate the necessary slogans.

To avoid vagueness in defining revolutionary stages, one has to understand two basic truths.

First: the important, substantive changes in the epoch of transition to socialism have affected the nature, mission and tasks of the national democratic revolution, its positions with respect to the world revolutionary process and the development of society.

Second: the nature of the revolutionary stage is determined in the light of the tasks that demand a solution.

When capitalism reaches the imperialist stage and mankind enters upon the epoch of transition to socialism, the main feature of the national democratic revolution is that it has become a part of the world revolutionary process, of the world socialist revolution. The national democratic revolution — the first stage in the revolutionary process — must inevitably develop into the next stage, that of socialist revolution. There is no arbitrary distinction between these two stages. The tasks of the one move to the other in the sense that once the working class comes to stand at the head of a national democratic revolution, it can go on to fulfil some tasks of the socialist revolution. It may also happen that some tasks of the national democratic revolution remain unfulfilled, and then their implementation is completed in the course of the socialist revolution.

But although the two stages and their tasks are so closely interrelated and mutually complementary, one must not confuse them or contrast socialist revolution with the national democratic revolution. The main feature of the national democratic revolution of our day makes it qualitatively distinct from the traditional democratic revolutions of the past two centuries — the 18th and the 19th — which were essentially bourgeois. The traditional bourgeois-democratic revolutions were part of the historical process connected with the development of capitalist relations of production, and their aim was to build a capitalist society on the ruins of the feudal society, to develop capitalist relations on the basis of the backward social relations of the Middle Ages, and to establish bourgeois political power.

Present-day national democratic revolutions are not directed solely against feudalism. The national question is no longer an internal question arising in the various individual countries, but has become an international problem facing the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Present-day national

democratic revolutions are directed both against feudalism, the internal enemy; and against international imperialism, the external enemy. That is why the national democratic revolution in individual countries has become a part of the global anti-imperialist struggle. Hence, it is directed both against feudal and capitalist exploitation in the epoch of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism. National democratic revolutions have to cope both with the backward socio-economic situation at home, which has to be changed, and with the inequitable economic relations with developed capitalist states, for whose restructuring they also have to fight. They will be unable to carry out their historic mission and defeat their enemies — international imperialism and its local accomplices — unless they rely on a close alliance with the world socialist system and enjoy its political, economic and military support.

In view of the changes in the substance of the national democratic revolution and its tasks, this revolution can successfully advance toward its goals only if it is headed by the working class led by the Communist Party, and if a broad class front of struggle is mobilized for the fulfillment of the tasks posed by the revolution, and the material groundwork is laid for a transition to the next revolutionary stage, that of socialist revolution.

The Egyptian Communist Party defines the nature of the present revolutionary stage in Egypt on the strength of this conception of the national democratic revolution. Although the ECP's ultimate goal is to establish a classless communist society in Egypt without any exploitation of man by man, it believes that this strategic task cannot be put forward today as an immediate goal of struggle before the necessary objective and subjective conditions are created.

That is why at the present stage the ECP does not aim at socialist transformations, because the objective and subjective conditions for these have yet to mature.

The seemingly leftist and adventurist assertion that the present revolutionary stage (in Egypt — *Ed.*) is the stage of socialist revolution is in effect an extremely rightist view, for it overestimates the revolutionary potentialities of the national bourgeoisie, presupposes that it is capable of carrying the national revolution to completion, and underestimates the dangers of the counter-revolution, which has been going on in Egypt since May 1971, and also its pernicious political consequences, taking no notice of the fact that the necessary subjective prerequisites for socialist construction are limited. That is why the Egyptian Communist Party defines the present revolutionary stage as that of struggle against the counter-revolution and fulfillment of the tasks of the national democratic revolution to pave the way for a direct transition to socialism.

The ECP's definition is based on the following considerations:

First, although the July revolution scored significant successes in the course of the national democratic revolution, many of its problems remained unresolved, for the July revolution was unable to



create the necessary political and socio-economic prerequisites for a transition to socialism. A number of the problems which it did solve are once again on the agenda, for after the coup of May 15, the counter-revolution took the road of abandoning many of the measures launched by the July revolution, attacking many of the workers' and peasants' gains. That is why the revolutionary forces today demand fulfillment of the tasks of the national democratic revolution, primarily:

1. Liberation of the Sinai Peninsula from the Israeli-U.S. occupation and its return to Egypt's sovereignty.

2. Elimination of the basis of imperialist domination over Egypt's economy and restoration of its economic independence from the international monopolies.

3. An end to Egypt's subordination to international imperialism.

4. Solution of the agrarian problem by carrying out a radical land reform and supporting the cooperative movement in the countryside on a democratic basis.

5. A fundamental restructuring of the state apparatus and its institutions, a return to democratic norms.

Second, to maintain that the tasks of the national democratic revolution in Egypt have been fulfilled is to ignore the scientific truth, according to which the crucial problem of any revolution is the problem of power, and the national democratic revolution implies the need for a transfer of power to the country's revolutionary national democratic forces. Obviously, this crucial problem has yet to be solved. Power in Egypt is in the hands of venal anti-national, anti-democratic class forces. Hence the need to overthrow it and to establish the power of a national democratic front.

Third, in view of the equilibrium between the major class forces and in the light of objective and subjective factors, the Egyptian working class cannot regard socialist revolution as its immediate task. This is because the necessary subjective factors for building socialism have yet to be ensured, including awareness by the working class of its historic role, the winning over of the peasantry for the working-class cause and its release from the influence of the bourgeoisie, and the leading role of the working class led by the Communist Party in the revolutionary process.

Before going on to socialist revolution and putting forward this task as the immediate one, it is necessary to traverse a whole strategic stage under national democratic power led by the Egyptian working class. Socialist society, on the other hand, can be built only under a socialist power, that is, the revolutionary power of the working class in alliance with other classes and sections of the working people, a form of proletarian dictatorship. That is why the working class in present-day Egypt, which has as yet been unable to assume leadership in fulfilling the tasks of the national democratic revolution, cannot regard socialist revolution as the immediate task in its struggle.

## THE BASIC CONTRADICTION

The basic contradiction of the present revolutionary stage is that between the working class and its allies, on the one hand, and imperialism, Zionism and its local accomplices, on the other. The demarcation between the motive forces of the revolution and the counter-revolutionary forces runs along the following lines:

### 1. *The Motive Forces of the Revolution*

The working class is the main force of the revolution. The revolution is supported by the allies of the working class in town and countryside, who have a direct stake in striking a blow at the counter-revolution and advancing along the road of the national democratic revolution. Among these are the petty bourgeoisie, the urban semi-proletariat, the revolutionary intelligentsia, the unpropertied sections in the countryside (agricultural seasonal workers), the poorest peasantry, small and middle peasant holders, the nationally-minded part of the technocratic and bureaucratic strata. By strengthening the revolutionary worker-peasant alliance, the working class can paralyze the vacillations of the middle sections of the national bourgeoisie connected with national production and middle commercial capital and which in their basic activity rely on the markets of local manufactured goods and farm produce, and win them over to its side.

The socialist countries led by the Soviet Union, the world national liberation movement, especially in the Arab countries, and the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries are among the allies of the revolution.

### 2. *The Counter-Revolutionary Forces*

International imperialism, U.S. imperialism above all, is the main adversary of the revolution. Other enemies of the revolution are Israel, a creature of imperialism, the local agents of imperialism and Zionism, including the representatives of parasitic capital, the remaining feudals, the upper strata of the technocratic and bureaucratic bourgeoisie, and the representatives of big industrial, commercial and agricultural capital connected with foreign monopoly capital.

## ALTERNATIVE POWER

The Egyptian Communist Party sees the future new power as an alternative to the power of the parasitic bourgeoisie and its allies and defines it in the light of the above-stated understanding of the nature of the present revolutionary stage, its basic contradiction, and also in the light of the division between the allies and adversaries of the revolution. Such an alternative at the present stage, the ECP believes, must be the power of all social classes and strata, all the political forces coming out against the mercenary renegade regime in Egypt and its policy, for a continuation of the national democratic revolution until its ultimate victory. So, while taking a stand against the sectarian theses that urge an immediate struggle for a dictatorship of the proletariat, and against the anti-democratic and imperialist al-



ternatives to people's power, the ECP advocates a national democratic alternative to the doomed renegade regime. This is not a socialist alternative and does not presuppose the power of the working class, and it is not just a nominal democratic alternative empty of national content and implying complicity in the policy of betrayal and surrender by way of liberalism. Nor is it a national alternative without a basis in democracy and imposing on the masses some form of tutelage. Our country's experience shows that when a national leadership does not rely on a solid and genuine democratic platform, which fully releases the potentialities of the masses and gives them freedoms, it inevitably engenders self-destructive factors, and strengthens the policy of apostasy, betrayal and subservience to imperialism.

That is why our party puts forward the slogan "Power to a national democratic front" as a stage on the way to socialist power. This power should not belong to only one social class or political force. Classes as political forces which at the present stage seek to maintain power alone or believe themselves capable of doing so are making a mistake fraught with grave consequences, which history will not forgive.

The power of a national democratic front is the power of a broad class alliance capable of eliminating all the pernicious consequences of the policy followed by the renegade regime, and of destroying its economic basis. That is not to say, however, that all the social classes and sections within such a new ruling coalition are on the same footing. The historical record and scientific conclusions show that among these classes and social strata only the working class can head the struggle to attain the goals of the national democratic revolution, for it is the largest, most conscious, well-organized, revolutionary, numerically strong and selfless class, which has an extensive influence on the masses.

This new power — the power of a national democratic front — while enabling the working class to develop its initiative to the utmost, should eliminate all the obstacles hampering it from exercising its leading role and speed up the ripening of favorable objective and subjective conditions that would allow the working class to head the national democratic revolution. Such power will provide the historical platform which will pave the way for establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat at subsequent revolutionary stages.

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## Austria's Road to Socialism

From the Draft Program of the Communist Party of Austria:\*

The CPA's goal is communism: a classless society in which the sources of production will be so abundant, and the people so developed in every way that it will be possible to carry out the principle of "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs," a society where the freedom of each is a condition for the freedom of all, and vice versa.

Socialism, the first phase of the communist social formation, is the most immediate historical alternative to state-monopoly capitalism, an exploitive system. Socialism still implies class domination, namely, the class domination of the working class and its allies. But for the first time in history it signifies the power of the people, that is, the power of the majority. The socialist state does not aim to perpetuate class domination, but seeks to bring the classes closer together and gradually to eliminate them over the long term. By socializing the means of production, socialism eliminates exploitation and crises, and class privileges give way to the principle of "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work." Its main feature is the steady and balanced raising of the people's material and cultural standards, their utmost well-being and prosperity,

and the release and development of all their creative potentialities.

### SOCIALISM IS A CONSISTENT, QUALITATIVELY NEW DEMOCRACY

The socialist revolution is the most democratic, profound and effective revolution in history. Freedom for capital always implies lack of freedom for many and dependence in various forms. Since the great slogan "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" was proclaimed in the course of the bourgeois revolution, life has daily shown it to be false in the conditions of bourgeois reality. The development of the working-class movement is contingent on the awareness that, in the final count, the possible measure of liberty, equality and fraternity at any given time is primarily — though not exclusively — determined by the relations of property and power.

The bourgeois constitution, which promises equality before the law, ignores the social inequality inevitably engendered by the bourgeois society in ever new and more acute forms. "Equal rights for all" imperceptibly turn into rights for the economically strong, into a sort of fist law.

Being unable to harmonize liberty and equality, the advocates of the system based on profit-seeking assert that liberty and equality are incompatible opposites and that equality can be enhanced only at the

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\*Put up for discussion after the 24th congress of the party and will be adopted by a special congress of the CPA in early 1982. — Ed.



expense of liberty. But liberty and equality are not irreconcilable opposites. The great advantage of socialism is that under socialism liberty and equality mutually condition and develop each other. Freedom from social insecurity, from poverty, unemployment, exploitation, ordering about, false education or ignorance can be guaranteed only by socialism, as it creates the material and spiritual conditions for free social development.

Socialism is not an "ultimate state." It is also subject to the rule that the degree of freedom attainable in a given period can never be higher than that which the objective and subjective conditions allow: the development level of the productive forces, the level of culture, the masses' consciousness, the social structure, and the conditions of the national and international class struggle.

Solidarity and human dignity manifest themselves in numerous ways in resistance to injustice, to the arbitrariness of the exploitative system. Solidarity, awareness of one's responsibility for one's fellows and for the whole of society can be the distinctive feature only of a society free of any exploiters.

Under capitalism, there are irreconcilable class contradictions, social development is haphazard, and things created by man turn against him. By eliminating the basic contradiction — the private appropriation by a few of the social production of many — socialism creates prerequisites for the greatest emancipation in history; when people, acting in their common interests and with an ever fuller understanding of their condition, consciously, harmoniously and with human dignity build their community life, when their abilities and requirements, their creative spirit and personality develop together with these relations, and when the results of their activity approximate to their intentions. Material production under socialism is not an end in itself, not the whole point of life, but a necessary means for a fuller life.

The main question of the working-class movement, which brings into focus all the questions relating to justice, liberty, equality, and freedom from exploitation, is the question of property. The central question is for the working class to win power in order to deprive capital of its basis, to wrest its privileges from it. Here, there is no "third way".

### NATIONAL SPECIFICS AND UNIFORMITIES

Socialism already bears the colors of many nations. As socialism spreads ever wide, and as its forms, state structures and political systems are diversified, its general features stand out ever more clearly. There are no uniformities "as such," without the corresponding concrete historical and national peculiarities, just as there are no national peculiarities independent of uniformities. Both the former and the latter have to be considered in every instance. Consequently, any "models of socialism" are invalidated, for in every "model" one of the two aspects is bound to be limited. There can be no substitute for a creative application of scientific

socialism, of its universally valid propositions to the existing national conditions.

From the standpoint of the development of the productive forces, Austria is already more prepared for socialism than any other country at the time of their socialist revolutions. In contrast to most countries, where the material foundations of the new society had to be created only after the revolution and often with great privations, Austria is in a more favorable position owing to its highly developed industry, its large public sector, highly skilled working class and intelligentsia that has taken shape over many generations, and also its highly organized agriculture. All this does not guarantee an "easier way" to socialism, but provides a real basis for it. Other favorable factors are the existence of the system of developed socialist states, the strength of the international working class movement and liberation movements, and last, but not least, the experience of other peoples — both positive and negative — which helps to reduce and ease the birth pangs of the new society. Socialism in Austria will undoubtedly have its own features, it will bear the colors of Austria.

### THE ECONOMY IN THE SERVICE OF THE PEOPLE

Even science cannot make detailed prognostications for the long term. The forms of socialism are not least of all determined by the conditions of its origination. Moreover, they are already determined in the course of the struggle leading up to socialism. Nevertheless, its basic features can be described with a view to the long-term national peculiarities, and also common experience. People's property in the major means of production and exchange is to constitute the economic basis in socialist Austria. Local and foreign enterprises, banks, insurance companies, foreign and wholesale trade are to be nationalized to free the economy from the dictates of profit, to eliminate exploitation and plan the country's development in accordance with the people's material and spiritual requirements.

The immediate conversion of all the means of production into social property, far from being a uniformity, is simply impossible. Having ensured people's property in the major means of production, the new state can still cooperate in building the foundations of socialism with small and medium private enterprise, which can help to meet the population's requirements. The possibilities for this depend not least of all on the attitude of these sections to the new system.

In a socialist Austria, property based on personal work, and also its inheritance will be protected by the constitution. The state will encourage the development of cooperative forms in the handicrafts.

Large-scale landed property will be divided or transformed into cooperative property (people's property or cooperative ownership). Big forest estates will be nationalized and handed over to the federal lands, districts and communes for administration and use. The state will encourage the



development of cooperatives for the production, procurement, marketing and processing of farm produce as a part of the socialist sector of the economy.

Association into cooperatives — both in agriculture and in the handicrafts — must be carried out exclusively on a voluntary and mutually advantageous basis.

Both the state and cooperative sectors under socialism are fundamentally different from these forms of property under capitalism: the fruits of labor in part go to those employed at these enterprises, and in part to the whole of society. Exploitation has been eliminated. Socialist property allows and at the same time demands constant democratization of labor. All the top executives in these sectors are subject to constant democratic control by the elected representatives of the enterprise collectives and the members of cooperatives. All of them have to submit regular information and reports on their activity. The elected representatives have the right to take part in decision-making on all questions of planning, working conditions, and also wages, output rates and bonuses. The socialist principle of "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work" is incompatible either with egalitarian distribution, or with a wide spread in incomes. The gap between the remuneration of highly skilled workers and that of top executives in the economy and state officials should be narrowed so that there are no incomes far removed from the living conditions of the bulk of the population.

Socialization of the means of production makes it possible to plan and manage the economy on a national scale. Democratic centralism is its main principle. Every decision adopted by the appropriate legislative bodies must be preceded by its democratic public discussion. Overall planning must be combined with the utmost independence of enterprises and combines, with broad opportunities for independent decision-making by the federal lands and communes. The purpose of socialist planning is to expand the highly productive material and technical basis, which provides for stable and rapid economic growth; to increase labor efficiency and reduce costs as a prerequisite for a steady rise in living standards; to extend socio-political gains; and develop the new, socialist way of life. A conjunction of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism is an essential condition for this. The socialist planned economy makes possible and demands fundamental changes in financing: taxation of the masses will be radically reduced. Profit from the socialist sector of the economy will be the main source of state revenue.

### THE STATE OF WORKING-CLASS POWER

Workers' power, the new state, implementation of a qualitatively new, socialist democracy is the crucial condition for the socialist transformation of society. Marx and Lenin scientifically characterized this state of the new type as a "dictatorship of the

proletariat," seeking to emphasize that wherever and so long as hostile classes exist, with the exception of extraordinary situations, the state is an organ of class domination. The degree of democracy that is compatible with such domination ultimately depends on which class is in power. Domination by the working class and its allies means democracy for the overwhelming majority. But if the economic and political power of capital is not broken, its dictatorship also remains intact in the sense that in all crucial matters monopoly capital eventually manages to ensure its special interests and the interests of capital in general with the help of laws, state power and organized coercion. The socialist state will from the very beginning meet the interests of the working class, of the overwhelming majority only if it is able to uphold its interests and realize its will in all crucial matters, resisting the special interests and the profit-seeking that are incompatible with these, only if it can defend the people's new gains from external and internal encroachments.

The new state needs everyone who wants to serve the people's cause. It must have close links with popular organizations. It does not need those who are connected with the old exploitive system.

The socialist state has the broadest social basis: the working class and its allies. The greatest power of the socialist system lies in the consciousness of the masses, in their ability to make independent judgments and to be guided by their own interests, their vigorous involvement in the solution of all vital problems. Consequently, if this system is to exist and develop, a continuous cultural revolution has to be carried on to convert into "people's property," in the literal sense of the word, all the progressive, useful and beautiful products of culture and science.

### THE POLITICAL SYSTEM UNDER SOCIALISM

In a socialist Austrian republic, elective people's assemblies will be the supreme organs of state power. These will be elected by direct, equal and secret ballot and will radically differ from the ostensibly representative organs under capitalism, among other things, in that their decisions will be binding for the whole economy, and that they will perform not only legislative, but also executive functions. The deputies of all representative organs must be accountable to the electors and can be recalled in the period between the elections. The socialist organs will rely in their activity on various forms of voluntary non-staff cooperation, on committees in different social spheres as organs of direct democracy.

In a socialist republic, there will still be different world views and religious trends. In the course of major class battles leading up to socialism, parties and organizations will apparently be formed where the influence of big capital or the ideology of "reconciliation" with it will no longer prevail. In view of this, the CPA aims at transition to socialism through a multiparty system. Such a system is particularly probable if the way to socialism runs through the stage of anti-monopoly democracy.

The striving for an alliance with all the forces that



want to help attain the common goals is an inviolable principle of the communists, both before and after a socialist revolution. In its relations with its partners — be it parties, organizations or trends — the CPA is guided by the proposition of scientific communism that one has to take into account all the forces, groups, parties and classes operating inside the country instead of elaborating policies solely with a view to the aspirations, attitudes, the degree of class consciousness and readiness for struggle solely of one group or party.

If the working people are to be finally freed from exploitation, and socialism is to be built, there must be a leading force: an organized working class and its revolutionary party. In view of the need for an alliance with other classes and strata, this leading role must be effected on the basis of equitable cooperation with the others, on the basis of a consensus on the chief issues and, at the same time, with due consideration for the existing differences in interests and views.

A revolutionary party's leading role cannot be prescribed, but can only be the result of its ability to orient its partners toward jointly attainable goals on the basis of scientific socialism, developed inner-party democracy, unity and discipline. It calls for selfless, circumspect and model activity for the emancipation of the working class and all the other working people, in the interests of the new society. So, like the confidence of the masses, this leading role has to be won over and over again.

Integral trade unions as the broadest class organization of industrial and office workers, representative trade union and production bodies, women's, youth and other mass organizations play an important role in the political system of a socialist society, especially in the development of various forms of direct democracy.

In a socialist state, the press and the publishing houses are handed over to democratic public organizations, and society has a monopoly of radio and television. Extensive truthful information, discussion of all important social matters, spread of humanism and a new morality ensure real freedom of opinion and criticism. There is no longer any freedom to purvey socially dangerous lies, to glorify exploitation, crime and militarism, to spread racism and national strife, to debase and brutalize the people and to cripple them spiritually and morally.

The socialist state ensures freedom of faith and conscience, religion and atheism by separating church from state.

The socialist state ensures and realizes the basic human rights and freedoms, to which capitalism pays lip service, but which it constantly limits, violates and fails to realize:

- women's equality de jure and de facto;
- the right to education and opportunities for every citizen to develop his talents and abilities;
- unlimited equality of national minorities;
- the right to decent housing on the basis of a broad system of social housing construction and incentives for building private homes;
- the right to health care in the broad sense of the

word with the help of a national health service.

The socialist state will seek to protect the environment as the source of life, prosperity, health and happiness.

## THE DEMOCRATIC ROAD TO SOCIALISM

Undoubtedly, any road to socialism can only be democratic: it can be traveled only if the masses support it. Such a profound revolution can be carried out in spite of resistance by the highly organized adversary — the concentrated power of the state and the monopolies — only if the masses no longer agree to tolerate the former domination, plunder and fraud, and are resolved to do their utmost to achieve fundamental transformations.

Transformations — anti-monopoly or socialist — presuppose that the working class, guided by a strong revolutionary party, becomes the leading political, ideological and moral force of the people, in other words, that it wins "hegemony." This is a prerequisite of any revolution. But the winning of hegemony does not mean that the adversary has already been deprived of its political and economic power. So long as capital is in a position to wield power in the state, the economy and the mass media, it will seek to sow strife and confusion among the people, to destroy their solidarity, resorting to corruption, intimidation and, if possible, to terrorism in order to hurl back the working class.

There are no models of revolution, just as there are no models of socialism. One thing is indisputable: nowhere has socialism yet been achieved through gradual, steady evolution, through gradual transformations. Development is always uneven, and at crucial moments it is in fact leaplike. Sooner or later, whatever the intermediate stages, it becomes necessary to dismantle the old state machine of oppression and manipulation so as to clear the way for the new system.

The CPA wants to arrive at socialism without civil war. It would be naive to hope that the exploiters will voluntarily give up their rule. The way without a civil war is possible — although it is not guaranteed — only if the popular movement is sufficiently strong and resolute, and if it manages to win over to its side or at least to neutralize a section of the army and the police.

The way to socialism without civil war is by no means a smooth, "parliamentary way" free of any struggle, even while it is very important for the working class to use parliamentary positions. The power of capital is not rooted in parliament. Its struggle is primarily "extra-parliamentary," and is being carried on with the use of all the means at its disposal.

The internal forces are decisive in any revolution. Revolutions cannot be imported or exported, just as they cannot be replaced with putsches, coups or daring plots, in which only adventurists and doctrinaires believe, not hoping to win the masses over to their side. But to utilize the possibilities available in the country, Austria's progressive forces must have international solidarity, primarily the solidarity



of the socialist states, a favorable international balance of forces in order to prevent or effectively resist massive intervention by external reaction.

The chief prerequisite of any revolution — anti-monopoly or socialist — is a social crisis combined with a sharp tilting of the balance of political forces in favor of the working class: a strong Communist Party, battle-tested unity of the working class, a solid alliance with other strata, and the overcoming of anti-communism and the illusion being constantly spread by the exploitive system that the basic social problems can be solved and democracy fundamentally renewed without changing the relations of property and power, beginning with monopoly capital.

There have been many instances in the history of the working-class movement when the social-democratic majority was unable to advance even a step to socialism, showing again and again that concessions to this illusion do not ensure a "longer, calmer and more reliable way" to the socialist goal, but result in a different way, a different goal: that of correcting, mending the exploitive system, all of which merely increases the holes in it.

The doors to the new society were opened only where the working class movement largely managed to overcome within its own ranks and to dampen the illusory hopes in the intermediate strata for a "compromise in the interests of all" and to pool the energy of the mass movements for a concerted attack against the centers of the system.

#### FOR ANTI-MONOPOLY DEMOCRACY

Austria's way to socialism will probably run through the stage of anti-monopoly democracy. The objective basis for this is the deepening crisis of the state-monopoly system, the profound antithesis between the interests of the system and those of the overwhelming majority of the population, an antithesis which, despite its still inadequate impact, affects even those parties which still accept the system.

Socialism cannot be foreseen in every detail because, among other things, these details also depend on the way in which it is ultimately attained, the battles that precede it, and the role played in these battles by various institutions and organizations. The Communist Party's initial orientation is toward the state of anti-imperialist democracy. This will be achieved as a result of a revolution, even if it takes many steps to do so. Dismantling of the social-partnership system, a new and militant role for the trade unions, and a considerable strengthening of the Communist Party and the alliances with other socialist and consistently democratic forces are necessary prerequisites for such a democracy.

The masses can be won over for the establishment of a revolutionary-democratic power — a state of anti-monopoly democracy — only on the basis of their own experience in the struggle for their interests, as they come to realize that if their democratic and social rights are to be ensured and extended, the political and economic power of

monopoly capital must be consistently limited until its total elimination.

A revolutionary-democratic power would already make it possible to carry out broad political and economic transformations: by withdrawing the state sector from the profit-oriented system and converting it into the basis of the working class, by nationalizing all monopoly enterprises, agricultural monopolies, banks, insurance companies and commercial concerns and by removing the spokesmen and advocates of the state-monopoly system from state institutions and the monopolized mass media.

In the course of the struggle for these decisions, internal and foreign monopoly capital will apparently do its utmost to prevent the elimination of its power, even to the extent of trying to set up an openly reactionary dictatorship. The task is to thwart its reactionary attempts and, once its power has been eliminated, to rule out its restoration.

In a state of anti-monopoly democracy, it will already be possible to plan the economy, primarily through the state sector, its expansion and control over capital investments and credits. The profits obtained in the state sector could be used in the interests of the population.

At non-monopoly enterprises, capitalist relations of production would still be maintained. Consequently, there would still be exploitation and elements of anarchy in the economy. An anti-monopoly democracy would mean great progress, but this democracy itself cannot be seen as the ultimate goal. Its revolutionary-democratic power would make it easier for the masses to carry on the class struggle from below, supporting and supplementing it with governmental instruments, and adopting political, economic and social measures in the interests of the people, to create favorable conditions for the struggle for socialism, for a victory of the socialist revolution.

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# Uruguay: a New Political Situation

In early December 1980, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay in exile met in plenary session. It analyzed and unanimously approved a report made by comrade Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the party's Central Committee, on the new political situation that had taken shape in Uruguay after the plebiscite of November 30, when the people resolutely rejected the draft constitution proposed by the dictatorship. The meeting adopted a political resolution, plan of work, a resolution on the struggle to save the life of Antonio Maidana, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Paraguayan Communist Party, and a resolution on solidarity with the heroic struggle of the people of El Salvador. It also adopted an address to all Uruguayans living in the country and abroad, and also to all the democratic forces supporting the Uruguayan people. Below is the text of this address.

In the plebiscite on the constitution held on November 30, 1980, the Uruguayan people won a resounding victory. As the Communist Party's leadership in the country has emphasized, this is a triumph of great importance, because the people said "no" to the fascist draft constitution, in effect repudiating the dictatorship's seven-year rule and voicing resistance to it.

The regime failed to achieve any of its goals. It wanted to obtain a mandate that would enable it to continue the policy it had followed for the past seven years, and also to institutionalize the fascist structures, seeking at the same time to present a new face to the world. It also wanted to break out of the isolation by neutralizing the traditional political parties and isolating our party, the Broad Front, the left forces. All these schemes collapsed when the regime suffered a crushing defeat in its very first step along this road.

The magnitude of the popular and national victory of November 30 is particularly impressive because it was achieved in spite of all the fraud and falsifications used by the dictatorship before and during the voting. The figures speak for themselves. The dictatorship staged the plebiscite in a climate of psychological terror, exercising monopoly control over the mass media and persecuting those who called for a "no" in the plebiscite; in a climate when thousands of people are in jail or are being victimized and hundreds of thousands are in exile, when all freedoms have been stifled, and even those who take part in the few activities still being allowed by the authorities are persecuted. In spite of all this, the people came up with a clear and unambiguous "no," going out into the streets and voicing their resolute protest against the dictatorship's attempts to perpetuate its rule.

The victory for the "no" campaign is a national verdict. At this stage, it culminated the working people's resistance — which manifested itself so forcefully, for example, on May Day — the resistance of the people, the vast majority of the

Uruguayan society, its parties, the trade union movement, diverse peasant organizations and associations of national industrialists. Nor did the church and other social forces remain indifferent. The "no" slogan helped to unite the Broad Front and the traditional political parties, bringing out the points of contact between the various political and social forces. An important role here was played by the establishment outside the country of a group called the Democratic Convergence in Uruguay, a historic event from the standpoint of the present and future stages of the struggle to find a real way out of the existing situation and to overthrow the dictatorship, in other words, to restore democracy. An encouraging fact here is that Wilson Ferreira Aldunate, the leader of the National Party, has voiced his solidarity with the Democratic Convergence and its role as a valid partner in the dialogue for all the democratic forces of Latin America.

The multifaceted activity of the Broad Front, the Working People's National Convent, and the Federation of University Students in the country and abroad, and also the vigorous international solidarity of other peoples and governments with the Uruguayan people's democratic and patriotic struggle were among the most important factors in the people's remarkable victory.

The people expressed their will clearly and unequivocally. But the fighters for democracy have no illusions. The fascist forces in the dictatorial government are trying to entrench themselves in power, ignore the people's verdict and replace the projected measures that have been struck a mortal blow, with other formulas aimed at preserving the present regime. They have persisted in prohibiting the activity of political parties, and have not yet been crushed. Meanwhile, the forces that have rallied together on the "no" platform also have not the least intention to retreat or abandon the political positions they have won. Hence the need to preserve the national unity that manifested itself in the course of the plebiscite, the need for further activity by this alliance of various forces in every field in order to assert the sovereign will of the people, who demand a release of all persons jailed for their political or trade union activities, an end to the practice of having people "disappear" without trace, an abolition of political exile, a return of the exiles, and the free functioning of all parties, trade unions, public and other mass organizations. The people also demand a national reconstruction to improve the economy that has been seriously undermined by the policy of subservience to the big banks, foreign capital, and other anti-national forces. All this is symbolized by the demand unanimously supported throughout the country: to convene on the basis of free elections a National Constituent Assembly in order to draft a truly democratic constitution.

Since the plebiscite, various political forces have been accentuating the need to look for a way out of



the present dramatic situation. The National Party and the Colorado Party issued a joint statement to this effect, formulating some of the demands listed above, particularly the demand for elections to a National Constituent Assembly, adding that on such a basis they are prepared to start a national dialogue with a view to finding a solution. The working class and the people as a whole support these postulates, realizing that the outcome of the quest for a solution will depend on their activity in this field. The release of the prisoners can be a reliable criterion of how authentic is the advance along this road.

So, the order of the day now is further struggle to attain these goals in the new situation that has taken shape as a result of the "no" vote. Our party, which is the core of the resistance movement, will continue to promote this struggle in every way in its desire to restore democracy in Uruguay and go on working for unity among all forces that want to regain the country's trampled freedom and win back the home-

land, unity that would be free of any sectarianism.

The Communist Party addresses an ardent appeal to the Uruguayan people, thanks to whom this victory has been scored, to continue fighting for a resolute refusal to support the present or other similar projects of the regime, for overthrowing the dictatorship.

Finally, the Communist Party salutes all those who have contributed to the people's triumph with their efforts, resolve and patriotism, regardless of their political views or social origins. The Communist Party also salutes those of its leaders and members who are languishing in jail, all patriots who have been thrown behind bars, regardless of their political affiliations, all the victims of the dictatorial regime, all the fighters who want to see a new, genuine democracy dawn in the Republic.

Communist Party of Uruguay  
December 1980

## New Conditions of Struggle

### Statement by the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party:

The victory of the broad association of political and social forces, who cast an impressive majority for General Ramalho Eanes in the elections of December 7, 1980, has led to *important changes in the political situation in Portugal*.

The full-scale reactionary offensive suffered a serious defeat. The subversive plan of Sa Carneiro and Freitas do Amaral, aimed at eliminating the democratic regime and securing the election of General Soares Carneiro as President of the Republic, was a complete fiasco.

The electoral defeat of the Democratic Alliance (AD)\* and the election of General Eanes signify that the democratic regime has been saved from the reactionaries' attempts to usurp power, and that for the time being it has been possible to prevent the wave of repression, lawlessness and persecutions that could have been unleashed across the country to pave the way for a new dictatorship. It also means that democracy has been strengthened and that new favorable perspectives have been opened up for the Portuguese people's struggle in the period ahead.

In the elections of December 7, the Democratic Alliance lost its social basis and the electoral support it had obtained in the elections of October 5, with the help of anti-democratic measures. Consequently, the government lost the juridical basis for carrying on its previous policy. So, there is every reason to say that the election of December 7 "rectified" the

results of the elections of October 5.

The PCP Central Committee believes that although the defeat of the AD and the victory for democracy on December 7 have considerably strengthened the democratic regime, these have yet to be expressed in concrete initiatives, decisions and changes that would fully agree with the electoral results.

These results, which checked the reactionary offensive and thwarted the subversive plan of the Democratic Alliance, have strengthened democratic institutions and freedoms, and improved the conditions for the popular and democratic struggle to implement a policy that would correspond to some of the major lines mapped out by the PCP:

- restoration of democratic legality in all the spheres of national life in which the Sa Carneiro — Freitas do Amaral government had in effect created an anti-democratic situation;

- defense of democratic gains enshrined in the constitution (primarily the agrarian reform, nationalization, the working people's rights and control over management of enterprises);

- guarantee of the citizens' rights and freedoms;
- introduction of pluralist principles in the mass media;

- improvement of the people's living conditions;
- a foreign policy aimed at defending the country's national independence, at peace, friendship and cooperation with all other peoples without subordination to any foreign interests.

### THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

The struggle of the masses continues to be decisive in Portugal's social and political life.

\*Democratic Alliance is a bloc of three right-wing parties (the Social-Democratic Party, the Social-Democratic Center, and the People's Monarchic Party) and the so-called "reformers," representatives of the right wing of the Socialist Party, which has withdrawn from it. — Ed.



The Central Committee emphasizes that continuation and development of this struggle is essential for defending the people's interests and freedoms, the agrarian reform, nationalization and other gains of the revolution, for defeating the anti-popular policy of the Democratic Alliance and effecting the necessary democratic turn in national policy.

The working class, which is known for its militant spirit, resolve and powerful organization, was in the very midst of the popular movement of 1979-1980 directed against the reactionary offensive, which had intensified after the AD's victory in the elections of December 2, 1979.

The Central Committee re-emphasizes that the major social gains of the working people are the result of their vigorous struggle. It was owing to the people's struggle that the AD was forced once again to allow the signing of labor contracts, to shorten the period of the established wage scheme, and give up the attempts to impose a wages "ceiling." It was owing to the working people's struggle that the government projects on labor and the decree on work schedules, with the help of which the government wanted to destroy the people's important gains in the sphere of labor legislation, went by the board.

The working people's goal is not only to improve their living conditions. They resort to various forms of struggle, strikes and street demonstrations in the first place, to defend freedoms, the gains of the revolution, and to ensure a democratic policy that could resolve the country's grave problems.

The victory of the reactionary alliance on October 5, 1980, confronted the working people and the masses with fresh threats and dangers; arbitrary action by the employers further intensified. The defeat of the reactionary forces and their candidate in the presidential elections of December 7, and also the government's brutal measures aimed at worsening the people's living conditions, created new prospects for a fresh upsurge in the mass struggle, which is now in progress.

The working people are resisting an offensive by the employers, who, with the connivance and support of the government, the Labor Ministry in particular, have been attacking the working people's rights and their class organizations with impunity.

The employers have been extending their repression: the use of "gorillas" at the enterprises, the growing recourse to disciplinary measures as a method of intimidation and arbitrary rule, dismissals, selective promotion and recruitment of new personnel turn the enterprises into centers of oppression.

Trade union activists at the enterprises are being persecuted and subjected to discrimination; rights and freedoms are being violated, and the activity of class organizations of the working people is being limited or prohibited.

The working people's exploitation is intensifying and its forms are becoming more diverse, with the use of such methods as overtime work, special shifts, egalitarian bonuses, and piece-work.

The conclusion of temporary labor contracts\* has taken on unprecedented dimensions, reaching 100 per cent at some enterprises. These contracts create conditions for arbitrary action and discrimination, and are a serious factor behind the instability of labor.

Unemployment is on the increase, although the government tries to understate the danger in this area. There have been more collective dismissals, especially at enterprises owned by multinational corporations.

The working people's determination to fight is growing stronger. The government is again threatening to put a ceiling on wage increases, this time at 16 per cent. One of the chief goals of government policy is to intensify the exploitation. While fighting against this grave danger, it is also necessary to intensify the struggle to defend the gains that have been made, against repression by the employers, in defense of trade union freedoms, against unemployment and dismissals, against temporary labor contracts, and against the rising cost of living.

Collective contracts are still of decisive importance in improving the living and working conditions of most working people. The Central Committee believes that in view of the vast number of workers involved and the fact that collective contracts entrench many of the gains that the employers seek to eliminate, the trade union movement must devote special attention to this front of struggle.

The broad and diverse struggle of the working-class movement has a powerful instrument: organization. Apart from the united trade union movement, special note should be taken of workers' commissions.

In spite of the hopes harbored by the splitters, hundreds of workers' commissions are consolidating their stand, which helps to integrate and mobilize diverse forces. The more active the role played by the workers' commissions in tackling concrete problems facing the working people and whole enterprises, and the stronger the democratic nature of their activity, the higher is the prestige they enjoy and the more difficult it is for the employers to carry on their offensive against this essential form of working people's organization.

In the course of this year, elections are to be held to renew the composition of hundreds of workers' commissions. The party organizations must prepare in advance for this important battle, defending and strengthening the unitary nature of the workers' commissions.

The Central Committee emphasizes that apart from the trade union movement and the working-class movement as a whole, exceptional importance is also attached to the unitary movements of small and middle farmers and tenants, small and middle traders and industrialists, intellectuals and technical personnel, young people, women, pensioners, disabled persons, and representatives of all other anti-monopoly classes and strata.

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\*A labor agreement which does not guarantee permanent employment for the working person. — Ed.



## POPULAR UNITY AND DEMOCRATIC UNITY

In the present conditions and with a view to the foreseeable changes in the economic, social and political situation, and unity of the working class, popular and democratic unity could play the decisive role.

Apart from raising the level of organization, unity of the working class, the working people, the peasantry, of the various classes and social strata that have a stake in fighting the reactionary policy of the AD government, is a powerful weapon in defending the popular and national interests, as well as the democratic regime itself, which is still being jeopardized by the reactionary forces installed in government.

The Central Committee emphasizes that the struggle against the splitters must be seen as a constant and paramount task in the trade union movement, and in all other unitary movements and organizations. The splitters, even those who use pseudo-revolutionary and pseudo-democratic language as a cover, are the right-hand men of internal reaction, big capital, the reactionary employers and foreign imperialism operating among the people. A tireless struggle must be waged against them.

In the sphere of inter-party relations, the Central Committee insists on a policy of dialogue, approximation, mutual understanding and common action together with other democratic parties, and stresses the importance of mutual understanding between the PCP and the Socialist Party (SP) for the defense and consolidation of Portuguese democracy.

The CC believes that, considering the anti-communist position of the SP leaders, conditions have not yet been created for a formal agreement between the two parties. But the way has already been paved — as life itself has confirmed and the elections of December 7 have eloquently testified — for normal and friendly coexistence, mutual understanding, and coordinated or largely convergent joint action by the communists and socialists.

The CC examined the importance and consequences of the marked decline in the influence of leftist groupings, as the presidential elections confirmed.

The CC emphasized the need, while continuing the ideological struggle, to draw into the mass movement the sections that were only recently influenced by leftist groupings.

The CC once again called attention to the experience and lessons of the presidential elections of December 7, and reaffirmed the proposition that these elections had shown the existence of a vast camp of socio-political forces, which includes the majority of the people and potentially supports a progressive turn toward democracy policy.

In this context, it is necessary to point out the influence and role of the independents in national political affairs, and also the importance of the emergence of new unitary structures and movements reflecting the new situation that has taken shape since the presidential elections.

Unity of the democratic forces is of decisive importance for preventing an illegal review of the constitution and guaranteeing the basis of the democratic system, rebuffing the policy of the reactionaries and preparing a replacement of the DA government with a truly democratic government, ensuring national independence and a foreign policy of peace and friendship with all other peoples.

Progress in the cooperation of the democratic forces implies isolation of all those who, like Mario Soares, keep talking about the legitimacy of the DA government and seek to hush up the resounding defeat of the reactionaries on December 7 and its inevitable political repercussions throughout the country.

The CC calls on all party organizations and members to carry on with determination and faith in victory, constant work to strengthen unity at every level, from the enterprises to the Republic's Assembly; to fight against sectarianism, accentuating common interests and goals and finding the ground for mutual understanding and joint action.

## STRENGTHENING OF THE PARTY

The CC believes that this is the right time to emphasize once again that from day to day the facts confirm the importance of the PCP as a necessary, indispensable and irreplaceable force acting in defense of the working people's interests, the gains of the revolution, the democratic system and national independence.

The strengthening of the PCP is in the interests not only of the communists, but also of all other working people, all the people of Portugal, and the democratic system itself.

*Central Committee,  
Portuguese Communist Party*

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# Only the Power of the People Can Lift Martial Law

Statement by the Communist Party of the Philippines:

The announcement of President Marcos that martial law would be lifted before the end of January this year has created varied expectations from different political groups. The Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP), for one, is of the firm belief that the lifting of martial law will not substantially alter prevailing conditions unless all measures which restrict or nullify democratic rights and liberties are abrogated.

The PKP is deeply concerned about the fact that under martial law the broad ranks of the Filipino working masses have been virtually prevented from organizing themselves into a political force to fight against exploitative conditions of work and to advance their interests by their own means. Serious restrictions to freedom of expression, both in terms of action and the printed word, have obstructed the people's path in their struggle for national liberation from imperialist control.

The political and economic developments in the last eight years have been marked by the elimination of nationalist safeguards against the operation of foreign monopoly capital. The main sectors of the Philippine economy have been re-organized by the World Bank and the IMF for the interests of international monopoly capital. The country's financial sector has been opened for deeper penetration by multinational banks and our financial institutions have been converted into conduits of the World Bank. Small and medium-sized Filipino enterprises are being ruined by tariff and other policies dictated by the World Bank-IMF combine. The Philippine constitution has been amended to eliminate nationalist provisions on the exploitation of the country's natural resources. All these constitute a serious setback to the struggle of the Filipino people for economic and political independence. In essence, martial law has been utilized by the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism as their iron hand in strengthening their economic and political position in the Philippines and in suppressing the national movement for liberation from imperialist control.

In view of these developments, there is an even more urgent need for the people to be armed with democratic liberties to enable them to defend and advance their social and national interests. This calls for the full restoration of the writ of habeas corpus, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of association, freedom of assembly, and the right to strike. These democratic rights are the weapons of the people in working for the development of the country's resources toward social and national progress, and not in the service of transnational corporations, the World Bank and the IMF. They are weapons in the struggle to increase wages and improve conditions of work; weapons against graft and corruption in high offices; weapons against arbitrary and repressive official actions and policies; weapons in the fight for nationalist industrialization to fulfil the basic needs of the Filipino people themselves. They are weapons to build an independent Philippines, free from the military and political control of U.S. imperialism and free from the economic stranglehold of transnational corporations.

In this context, the PKP feels there is deception in the fact that the announced "lifting" of martial law is accompanied by the promulgation of such laws as the National Security Code and the Public Order Act — presidential decrees which institutionalize the most repressive features of martial law. To declare the lifting of martial law and at the same time empower the President/Prime Minister under the Public Order Act (P.D. 1737) to order preventive detention, to restrict "the movement and other activities of persons and entities with a view to preventing them from acting in a manner prejudicial to the national security," to close "subversive publications or other media of mass communications," to control admission to educational institutions "whose operations are found prejudicial to the national security," and to take any measure "to prevent any damage to the viability of the economic system" — is not to terminate martial law but to perpetuate it. In this light, "lifting" of martial law is merely in form and not in substance; it does not serve the democratic interests of the people.

Hence, it is the greater task of the organized masses and the progressive, politically-conscious elements of every sector of society to campaign relentlessly for a genuine restoration of civil liberties and the repeal of all laws and decrees preventing the realization of a democratic political life. Only the people, by their own struggle, can create conditions for a genuine lifting of martial law.

Central Committee  
Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP)  
(SGD) Felicimo G. Macapagal  
General Secretary

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## Peace — The Major Challenge of the 1980s

### I. Escalating the Balance of Terror

Not even the most casual reader of the daily press could have escaped an awareness of the massive acceleration in the global arms race over the past year or so. The sickening truth is that the nuclear arms build-up is spiralling out of control. With détente in jeopardy, and the SALT II treaty scrapped by Carter and Reagan, the United States is driving for a complete return to the unrestricted, across-the-board military confrontation that characterized the 1950s.

The first thing to note about this new arms race is that its most basic features are anything but new. As was the case in each previous upturn in the arms race spiral, it is the American side which has rejected negotiated avenues of arms control and has introduced new generations of weaponry together with more aggressive strategic guidelines for their use.

The Soviets, as usual, find themselves in the position of having to respond to U.S. initiatives on America's terms. For example, in the absence of international cooperation to limit the warlike uses of atomic energy after World War Two, the Soviets were forced to counter the American monopoly of atomic weapons with a crash program to develop their own A-Bomb. After arguing against the formation of any military blocs, the socialist countries finally responded to the formation of NATO in 1949 by creating their own alliance, the Warsaw Pact in 1955. America led the way in the 1950s in the construction of strategic bomber fleets, and the introduction of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). In each case vast rearmament programs were sold to the American public with heavy propaganda barrages about a growing "Soviet threat" and alleged American military unpreparedness.

#### THE MAD FRAMEWORK

By the mid 1960s, the rough parity that had developed between American and Soviet nuclear forces led many strategists and politicians on both sides to conclude what the average person already knew: that nuclear warfare had become unthinkable. Missiles were targeted primarily on cities. If one side launched an attack upon the other, it invited retaliation which would wipe out its own population centers. Hence the term Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD).

The only sane route out of the MAD framework was through détente and negotiated arms control. MAD was thus a major premise of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) which began in 1969.

The days were gone when the U.S. could use first

her monopoly of atomic weapons and later her overwhelming strategic superiority to blackmail and threaten the USSR, to attempt to force the Soviets to back off from support of national liberation struggles, and of revolutionary regimes such as Cuba.

#### PRESIDENTIAL DIRECTIVE 59

In September 1980 the White House issued Presidential Directive 59. Essentially, PD-59 makes limited nuclear war, or "enhanced deterrence," the official strategic policy of the United States. The new approach involves a vast increase in upgrading of America's nuclear capability and a massive shift in the types of targets selected for nuclear missiles.

Now, first priority will go to military, command (i.e. governmental), and industrial targets while cities and population centers will be "secondary" targets.

Implementation of PD-59 involves a vast increase in the number of targets. More than 1,000 new "military" and "industrial" targets within the USSR have been plotted in recent months. The pressure upon America's current stockpiles has been so great that it is reported that several missiles formerly aimed at China have been re-oriented to Soviet sites. In the long term, a constellation of new weapons systems will be required: the MX-missile, a more sophisticated submarine missile, a new nuclear bomber and an extensive anti-ballistic missile system, wider deployment of the Pershing-2, Trident, and Cruise missiles in Western Europe, and more sophisticated satellites, anti-satellites and anti-anti-satellites.

#### THE FIRST STRIKE?

The most worrisome question raised by PD-59 concerns American intentions regarding a first strike. The switch from civilian to military targets, and the increased numbers and accuracy of the new generation of U.S. weapons have given rise to the feeling, within the Pentagon, that America could conceivably defeat the USSR through a fast and decisive "pre-emptive strike." Such a strike might neutralize the Soviet Union's ability to retaliate, and cripple her economically and militarily . . . or so runs the reasoning.

The real danger is that whatever the true intentions of the U.S. leadership, their strategic and technological initiatives and their scrapping of the arms control process, has made the first strike option into a real, physical possibility. The USSR, which worked hard and energetically during the 70s



for détente and disarmament, must now, once again, mobilize itself to meet the perceived threat. Where will it end?

American strategic, or nuclear forces are based upon three separate and independently acting components: (1) land-based ICMBs and "tactical" nuclear weapons, (2) an air-borne nuclear bomber fleet, the Strategic Air Command, and (3) some 100 nuclear submarines constantly on station off Soviet shores, and capable of launching a wave of nuclear missiles sufficient to destroy the USSR. During the 1980s, each leg of this strategic "triad" will come in for massive expansion and re-fitting. Some of the key weapons systems:

— *The Trident*. A new, submarine-borne missile with MIRVed (multiple) warheads. The Trident has twice the range of the Poseidon missiles which it is now replacing, and the Pentagon calculates that this will increase by a factor of ten the ocean space within which the sub can hide and fire its missiles. Within the next two years, a nuclear submarine — also called the Trident — will begin entering service. The new Trident submarines will carry 24 Trident missiles each. That amounts to a 50 per cent increase in nuclear firepower over the old Polaris class nuclear submarines which they are replacing.

— *The Neutron Bomb*: Not really a "bomb" as such, the neutron bomb is known as an "enhanced radiation weapon." This means that it has a relatively small blast effect, but generates far more deadly neutron radiation than standard nuclear weapons. The N-bomb is designed to be used in surface-to surface tactical missiles and even in artillery shells. In other words, it is intended for use in "conventional" war situation, against columns of tanks, or troops. Therein lies its great danger, as more and more experts are pointing out, since it would tend to blur the distinction between conventional and nuclear warfare, thus making escalation from one to the next much more probable.

— *The Cruise Missile*. Another weapon now in use that threatens to rupture any hope of stabilizing the arms race is the Cruise missile. Armed with a nu-

clear warhead, the Cruise missile is capable of flying at high subsonic speeds and extremely low altitudes in order to evade radar and hit its target with great accuracy. Cruise missiles are relatively cheap to produce, and therefore can be deployed in great numbers. The Pentagon claims that it is a "tactical" as opposed to a "strategic" weapon, and therefore should not be included in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. This simple deception could make a mockery of future attempts at nuclear disarmament. Any limitation of big "strategic" nuclear missiles would be meaningless if the Americans developed the ability to blanket another country with small, nuclear-armed Cruise missiles fired from bombers, ships, submarines, and surface launchers.

— *The MX Missile Program*: The largest and most costly missile effort ever undertaken by the United States, the MX is essentially a system of missile launchers which would constantly move underground, thus reducing their vulnerability to attack. While military and government personnel are debating the "usefulness" of this program, most observers agree that the main result of the \$36-billion project will be to force the Soviets to embark on a similar effort of their own, thus driving the arms race spiral up another notch.

— *The Pershing-2*: A medium-range "battlefield" nuclear missile which NATO, after fierce internal debate, decided late last year to deploy in Europe. In adopting the weapon, NATO turned a deaf ear to Soviet pleas that the Pershing-2 would upset the precarious balance of forces in Europe, and compel them to launch a program to upgrade their own nuclear capability. With the Pershing-2, for the first time U.S.-controlled "battlefield" missiles will be able to strike targets deep inside the USSR. Besides representing a significant advance over previous weaponry, this development makes a mockery of the NATO-sponsored concept of "limited nuclear war," or the idea that nuclear weapons in any future war might be confined to strictly battlefield uses, and that an exchange of big, inter-continental ballistic missiles could be avoided.

## II. Disarmament

At times it may seem that there is very little happening to challenge the massive world arms build-up, the threat of nuclear war, and to counteract the frightening capabilities of new weapons.

But for millions of people around the world, the struggle for peace is a continuous activity. For them and for all the world's people there are gratifying pinnacles of effort to confirm that the struggle can be won.

The signing of the SALT II (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) agreement by Brezhnev and Carter in Vienna in June of 1979 was such a high point. The fact that it ran aground in the U.S. Senate and has not been ratified is cause of angry and persistent demands by people everywhere.

### PROPOSALS FOR PEACE

The encouraging draft resolution on measures to

lessen the war danger, presented to the United Nations in September by the Soviet Union was another such high point along the road to détente, disarmament and peace.

The successful holding of the Parliament of Peoples for Peace in Bulgaria, in September, with 2,600 participants from 134 countries, resulted in a compounding of peace effort around the world — again an achievement.

Countless multilateral and bilateral meetings of governments and non-governmental organizations, as well as popular demonstrations and petitioning show that, while the peace struggle is not won, such actions are reasons for optimism that it *can* be won.

At the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament in May 1978, Canada's Prime Minister made some excellent proposals, and Ottawa should be reminded of them frequently. Trudeau urged: a



comprehensive test ban to impede the further development of nuclear explosive devices, an agreement to stop the flight testing of all new strategic delivery vehicles, an agreement to prohibit all production of fissionable material for weapons purposes, and an agreement to limit and then progressively reduce military spending on new strategic nuclear weapons systems.

### CANADA'S ROLE

A second Disarmament Session\* was agreed to and scheduled for 1982. Canadians should make proposals to the government on the stand it will take there.

Emphasis on this side of Canada's position would advance the cause of peace far more than its support of NATO's steadily rising war budget.

The UN has debated many proposals for demilitarized zones and non-nuclear regions, as well as a transfer of 10 per cent of arms budgets of the major powers to assistance for developing countries (a Soviet proposal). The Warsaw Pact, which was established in 1955, six years after NATO, has formally proposed to the West the simultaneous disbanding of the two pacts. It is the NATO side which displays no interest.

Among encouraging actions for peace are the initiatives in a draft resolution which the Soviet Union has asked the Secretary-General to circulate at the present session of the UN.

It urges guarantees against the use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states without nuclear weapons on their territories. It urges a treaty pro-

hibiting all nuclear weapons tests. It calls on all states not to expand military-political groupings, or set up new ones. As a step toward reduction of conventional armaments, it would require states not to increase arms or forces as of January 1.

The Soviet Union is prepared to reduce numbers of medium-range nuclear delivery vehicles in its western border areas if no such vehicles are further deployed in Western Europe.

It is important for the people of Canada to know these facts and there are many, many more, so that instead of following the lead of the media of the multinationals, they can step up the demand for mutual negotiation for disarmament in the interests of world peace.

### PEOPLE'S ACTIONS

Steps for peace, contrasted to the multiplication of weapons, ought to be popularized and followed up with people's actions. It has been pointed out that since World War II, direct arms costs have exceeded six trillion dollars (\$6,000,000,000,000), almost equalling the world Gross National Product for 1975!

Going from the general to the nuclear, it was another blow for disarmament when 650 U.S. scientists petitioned Carter and Brezhnev for decisive action, noting: "An all-out nuclear exchange could be complete in one hour, and could destroy most life in the northern hemisphere."

Regardless of political or philosophical views, the struggle for peace is central today to the human race. An enormous quantity of ground work has been done toward its realization. As has been pointed out, at this juncture the actions of people united can be decisive.

*Canadian Tribune*, December 22, 1980

\*The second special UN General Assembly session. — Ed.

## Open Policy, Convincing Arguments

The following is an extract from a speech by Janos Kadar at the congress of Hungarian trade unions.

In the spring of 1980, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party — the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary vanguard of the Hungarian working class and the leading force of our society — held its 12th congress, which considered all the crucial questions of our life and adopted important decisions.

The congress stated that the internal political situation in our country was well-balanced and agreed with the demands of the socialist society. We can repeat this today, so that our friends and our enemies should know: the internal political situation in the Hungarian People's Republic is stable and will remain so in the future.

An important decision of the congress is that our party will continue to pursue its basic internal and foreign-policy line, which has justified itself in practice over the past few decades, and that our people are building a developed socialist society. Our party's policy is an open policy, taking shape in close

contact with the masses. The party has frankly spoken of the difficulties, problems and tasks that have to be tackled. Our party believes the people to be mature and so makes a point of discussing various general problems with them. This practice, which we call the style of party work, must be continued, for we owe all our political achievements to our principled, correct and straightforward communist policy. We shall go on advancing together with the masses, following our well-justified policy of alliances.

Our policy of alliances, as we have repeatedly pointed out, is of a class nature, that is, it is based on the cohesion of all working classes and sections, on a worker-peasant alliance, on the unity of the masses of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. In political terms, this means an alliance of party members and non-party men and women; co-operation between people with different world



views — responsible, patriotic church leaders and believers who are prepared to work together with us for the attainment of our socialist goals. The motto of our policy of alliances calls for unity among all the creative forces of the nation, all those who want our people to advance along the road of socialist construction, to find their happiness in this endeavor. We regard as equal allies all those who recognize this and act in this spirit.

The congress of our party gave a high assessment of the results achieved and, considering the existing situation, decided that all forces must now be concentrated on maintaining and strengthening these results. This is the only way to create conditions in every field for continued rapid development in the years to come.

The Central Committee and all the members of our party believe that we have to value the results that have been achieved, because they stem from the joint efforts of all the working people under the party's political guidance. We have every right to say that we have made great progress, but our position should not be idealized in any sphere. We cannot say that everything in our country is already perfect and that there is nothing to correct. We always emphasize that many problems have yet to be solved in the field of politics and political work, working techniques and economic construction, education, culture and living standards. This is very important, for it gives us fresh incentive to advance without pause.

In summing up our achievements, we can say that our people, once oppressed by a brutal fascist dictatorship, have created their power, have made use of their freedom and, in a few decades of intensive and creative work, made up for the age-old backwardness. Our country, once oppressed by feudalism, has turned into a medium-developed industrial country with socialist foundations and institutions. If we continue our purposeful work, in the foreseeable future we can rise on the socialist basis to the level of the industrially developed countries.

We value and rejoice in our results, but at the same time we do not think only of ourselves. For 35 years now, the efforts, work and struggle of our party, working class and the whole people are being carefully followed by the peoples of the world. Many of them are still living in very difficult conditions. We can give them, as other peoples on the globe, the greatest assistance by honestly doing our duty in creative socialist endeavor. In the present-day world, this is the most effective propaganda in favor of the socialist social system and socialist ideas. So, in working together with our people for their benefit, we are at the same time fulfilling our international duty.

In the past 35 years, it is not only our friends, but also the imperialists, the enemies of the socialist system and socialist ideas, who have closely followed our development. Naturally, their assessment of the Hungarian people's liberation and our achievements differs from that of all men of good will. In the early years after liberation, the conditions and developments in this country were loudly

criticized both in Hungary and in the West. Later on, the enemies of socialism in our homeland quietened down somewhat, and some of them have left the country, but the imperialists have continued to meddle in Hungary's internal affairs and have even offered us recommendations as to how, in their opinion, we should solve our problems.

Western propaganda has from the very beginning alleged that the state in Hungary is a "communist dictatorship" and has "too much power," and that the trade unions are "nationalized;" it has shown "great concern" over the condition of the workers, human rights, and the "lot of the Hungarian people."

But what is the truth? Before liberation, the counter-revolutionary regime brutally suppressed all champions of human rights, and then entangled the country in the fascist war, which was against the Hungarian people's national interests. Those who at that time were not concerned about the social condition of the workers, who cared nothing for the absence of human rights or the future of the Hungarian people, are still perfectly indifferent to the condition of the Hungarian workers and the rights of our trade unions. Although the imperialists have recently somewhat modified their formulas, the only thing they are really concerned about is how to reverse historical development.

But since we all live together on one planet, where different social systems have to exist side by side, the imperialists must realize that the working class in Hungary has won out and has established its power in the form of a people's democratic system. This is a fundamental and inalienable gain of the Hungarian people. Hungary will never again be ruled by landowners and capitalists. The means of production will be held as social property and no one will ever again be able to reintroduce man's exploitation of man in Hungary.

Socialist national unity — our major political force — is an equally important gain of our people. When we say that our internal political situation is stable, that we have achieved and are strengthening the nation's socialist cohesion, we mean that the party and the masses, including those who once belonged to other parties and had a different world view, are jointly working under the party's leadership for the benefit of the whole people, building a developed socialist society and doing their utmost to ensure the prosperity of our country, of our nation. We shall not allow anyone to violate this unity and cohesion, and will seek to further strengthen them in every way.

Socialist national unity is led by the revolutionary party of the working class and the working class itself. Our major task is to go on strengthening and extending this unity. The masses can be won over only with the help of an open policy and convincing arguments.

We have sufficient historical experience, and the price we have paid for it must not be forgotten. We have seen many different battles, and it has to be emphasized that our enemies, however hard they



try, can never do us as much harm as our own mistakes.

An analysis and assessment of the situation in the country are constantly on our agenda; we consider the questions that arise at the present stage of development and do not sweep them "under the carpet," because they cannot be solved automatically. We are looking for ways and methods to resolve these problems, further to improve our work, and achieve even greater successes in political work, economic construction, in tackling social and cultural problems.

Our state is not a dictatorship by a handful of men, but a people's democracy in the best sense of the word. A specific feature of our social system is that our state is gradually developing into a state of the whole people. In the future, we shall continue developing our socialist democracy. And it is not the enemies of socialism but we ourselves who will decide how to develop this democracy in every sphere, in party work and state activity, in the life of society, and in the trade unions. And the Hungarian trade unions — and no one else — will decide how they will work out the ways, means and potentialities of shop-floor democracy.

The trade unions in Hungary are traditionally powerful organizations. They were founded under the monarchy, and even in the old social conditions they were true fellow-fighters of the revolutionary party of the working class. We communists have always relied on the trade unions both in defending the everyday interests of the working class and in fighting for its historic goals, that is, in fighting for the victory of a socialist revolution. Today, we continue to rely on them in developing the new, socialist relations. Under the socialist social system, the trade unions also perform very important, necessary functions.

A good factory director naturally takes into account the interests of the workers, but his paramount concern is to fulfil the production plan. A good trade union organizer does his utmost to ensure that the factory fulfils its plan, but he is primarily concerned about the conditions of the workers. A correct approach and practice are elaborated in the course of this cooperation, which is particularly important in view of the specifics of our economic management system. The point is that a sizable share of the investment funds in this country is at the disposal of the enterprises themselves, which decide how to use them. The enterprises also have a definite measure of independence in using wage funds, and also decide how to use the money set aside for social, cultural and sports purposes. This means that the responsibility of party organizations and trade unions at our enterprises, their opportunities to take independent action are very great, that is, the trade unions can duly influence the state of affairs in the country and at the enterprises, and this is precisely what is necessary.

That is why in the future, as today, the party will go on working together with the trade unions, regarding them as associates and comrades-in-arms, and relying on them in matters of local and state

importance. We believe that the trade unions should work independently, and this is the only way for them to be a powerful mainstay of our common great socialist cause. In the work of the trade unions, the party's leading role is being naturally and correctly realized. This is so because party members also work in the trade unions, seeking to implement the party's policy with the help of well-reasoned arguments. Both the party and the unions have their origins in the working class.

We are faced with difficult internal tasks, which call for a selfless effort, and have to live and work in complicated international conditions. The socialist society is a laboring society, we can live only through labor, and not as exploiters. In the present conditions, good work is the most important way to fight for our noble goals.

We have enough strength and a solid international basis to fulfil the tasks ahead of us. The trade union movement, the whole Hungarian people can count on the party to live up to its historical mission, while the party relies on the trade unions, the working class, the cooperative peasantry, the intelligentsia, the whole working people.

Mutual confidence must be the main law in the relations between the party and the people, and, we can also say, between the trade union and its members. This is the fundamental question of our policy. Confidence is a powerful force, which has to be preserved in the future. Confidence, with an open and frank discussion, is a good investment. The party intends to continue this practice and highly appreciates the people's growing political maturity and sense of responsibility, which are evident in the solution of all important problems. We are convinced that this will also be so in the future.

*Nepszabadsag*, December 14, 1980

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# Economic Outlook for Oppressed Minorities in the 1980s

The struggle for genuine equality for Afro-Americans and other oppressed nationalities and peoples in the decade of the 80s takes place in a period when monopoly capital is facing general economic decay, and when the relentless tide of history is flowing against it — toward freedom and national equality for all oppressed peoples. The turn toward militarism and cold war by the Carter Administration means an intensification of the war against the living standards of the people and an escalation of this orgy of obscene profiteering by monopoly. It means a drive toward the intensification of national oppression and racism.

The war against the quality of life and living standards of working people generally has a special, heavy and disproportionate impact on Afro-American, Puerto Rican and Chicano peoples. Economic downturns are coming more often. They are lasting longer and not reaching full recovery. For millions of Black people this means being in a perpetual and deepening economic depression. Except for the few gains of the 60s, this has been the plight of masses of Black people for the past 20 years.

The federal government is pursuing a policy of slow economic growth. A number of bourgeois economists predict that there will be two more recessions during the 1980s. There are plans for "reindustrialization" and severe shrinkage of the auto industry. In each instance the ruling class is aiming to place this burden on the backs and pocket-books of the working people. All sections of the class will not be hit with the same severity. Afro-Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, women and youth are and will be hit the hardest.

The oppressed minorities are entering the 80s already in a depressed economic condition. A look at a few salient facts about the status of Afro-Americans will make the point. These facts are indicative of the situation facing other minorities.

In the 1970s joblessness among Afro-Americans skyrocketed. The 1973-75 recession was probably the deepest depression in 40 years so far as Afro-Americans are concerned. Tens of thousands never got back to work during the "recovery," leaving a higher level of residual unemployment. And job prospects for Black youth went into a tailspin.

Since 1972 the rate of escape from poverty for Afro-American people has constantly declined. Twenty-eight per cent of all Afro-American families lived below the poverty line as early as 1974. Twelve per cent of these families were headed by full-time workers — part of the working poor. At the end of the 70s the income gap between white and Black families was wider than at the beginning. The rate of joblessness among Blacks is more than double that of whites, and climbing. One-third of Afro-Americans in the workforce are without jobs.

Skyrocketing prices for food and other necessities

accounted for virtually all of the increase in inflation last year according to a study made by the National Center for Economic Alternatives. The statistics, translated into human terms, mean that at least 8 million Afro-Americans are trapped in deepening poverty with little or no prospect for escape. This degree of economic deprivation is the direct result of government policies of planned unemployment and racism.

Manufacturers, especially the super-rich monopolies in basic industry, are abandoning factory after factory, plant after plant, all across this land, and leaving in their wake ghost towns, a deeper urban crisis and tens of thousands of workers looking to unemployment compensation and welfare lines for their own and their families' survival. The total count of shut-down or runaway plants is now over 5,000 nationwide. Steel plants are being abandoned by the multinational steel corporations in Youngstown, South Chicago, Pittsburg, Birmingham. Rubber plants have been closed down in Akron and Detroit and auto plants have been padlocked in Michigan, New Jersey and California.

The political impact is already being felt. More and more people are beginning to see that the Republican and Democratic Parties are the political instruments to guarantee that the government — city, state and federal — remains firmly in the grip of the wealthy and serves their interests. That is why more and more people are seeking a way out of the two-party straightjacket. Cities like Detroit, Gary and Newark, which have Black mayors, are among those that are being squeezed the hardest economically. Cities with the highest percentages of Black and other minority populations are the ones that are targeted for the biggest cuts in social benefit funds.

The whole economic and political thrust of the ruling class has a distinct, calculated, racist character. The intensification of racist propaganda; the rise in police brutality and police crimes against minority peoples; the abandoning of housing, and landlord arson in Black and minority communities and the impotence of all levels of law enforcement when it comes to dealing with attacks on and murders of Black and other minority people, all testify to the racism of the rulers in the seats of political and economic power in this country.

One of the aims of this racist thrust is to make suffering among the white workers and masses just a little less than it is for minorities. Then they will say to the white workers, "what are you complaining about, you are better off than they are." The racism is designed to prevent unity in struggle against this austerity drive, to create a state of neutrality on the part of whites, especially on the part of white workers. The ruling class knows that unity of the people in struggle can defeat their plans for maximizing



profits on the misery of the people and the sweat and blood of the workers, Black and white.

In order to defeat this plan, unity of all workers — Black, white, Chicano, organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed — is required. Minority groups should work to form the types of coalitions among themselves that would prevent the ruling circles from playing one against the other in a fight over ever-diminishing crumbs. The immediate goals of this fight-back must be to halt the deterioration in the areas of jobs, education, housing and health care, and to increase funding for social services.

On the economic front such struggles as the fight for the nationalization of the energy industries and the reopening of closed plants, producing products that meet the needs of the people — such as mass transportation and housing — run by the workers and the people need top priority. There will need to be a fight for a massive public works effort to provide jobs for that huge mass of permanently unemployed, especially for the youth. The struggle for a class struggle policy in the labor movement is an essential ingredient in the fight to forge a new direction in this country, one that serves the interest of the people instead of monopoly profits.

The fight for peace and to cut the bloated military budget is an essential part of the battle to make less severe the effects of the capitalist economic crisis and monopoly's quest for maximum profits. It is part of the struggle of the working class to curb the power of monopoly and for socialism.

The establishment of socialism in our land is the only way the horrendous problems created by state monopoly capitalism and imperialism can be solved. It is the only path to real equality for the oppressed minorities. It is the only sure path to an ever-rising standard of living; full employment; high-quality education, health care and housing for everyone; to rebuilding and beautifying our cities; wiping out poverty and crime and guaranteeing real equality.

It is not new for capitalists to close down plants that are no longer profitable, leaving the workers high and dry. They have been doing that for years. What is new is that they are wiping out the jobs of workers in plants that are still profitable. They are not making enough profit from the workers in these plants and the drive is to get the maximum. So they are closing plants in the United States and building new ones outside U.S. borders, with more-than-usual wanton disregard of the consequences for their former workers and their families.

With every dip in the economy, business reacts by first making cuts in production, resulting in layoffs. Afro-Americans and other minorities are concentrated in production jobs; thus they are hit hardest and first. About one-quarter of a million work in industries like rubber, steel, and auto. These are the industries that are in a tailspin. These are the industries that have shown the greatest tendency to shut down their plants for good.

These shutdowns are taking place in the older, less "efficient," less "profitable" plants, like foundries, stamping plants, body plants — the plants at the beginning of the production process. These plants

are usually in large urban centers and employ a larger percentage of Afro-American and minority workers than the industry in general does.

Newer plants with more up-to-date technology have been built in suburbs and in small towns away from the big cities, like GM's huge Lordstown plant some 50 miles from Cleveland, Ohio. Segregated housing patterns and an almost total lack of public transportation between these plants and the cities where the overwhelming majority of the oppressed minorities live result in a much lower level of employment of non-whites than in the older, more easily accessible plants situated in the cities. The result is that a disproportionately high percentage of Afro-American, Chicano, and Puerto Rican workers are permanently furloughed.

Of the 300,000 or more automobile workers now out of work, almost one-fourth are minority workers. They are nearly one-half of the "indefinites," those who have no call-back date or who have no prospect of ever being called back either because the plant has been abandoned or because of the introduction of new technology that results in serious cuts in the workforce.

What is very revealing and somewhat alarming so far as the future employment prospects for Black and other minorities are concerned is the disclosure of some of the plans and moves that the multinationals are contemplating for the 1980s. The nature of these plans is being discussed in editorials and articles of big business publications such as the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times* and others. The most elaborate spelling out of what is being projected in the plush board rooms is in a special issue of *Business Week*, June 30, 1980.

What the overall plan boils down to is that the government, which they own, will drain the pockets of the people and turn the money over to the multinationals to "reindustrialize." The government will then preside over the formulating and enforcement of a "social contract" that spells total sacrifice for the working people. This contract is designed to benefit the richest and most powerful banks and corporations in the land. With the federal government playing a major role, the multinationals can wrap themselves in the flag and brand all opposition and resistance as unpatriotic, just as the military-industrial complex does when there is opposition to increased military spending.

In discussing what caused the decline, under the heading "Expectations That Can No Longer Be Met," *Business Week* states that the decline of U.S. competitiveness in the world market "is rooted also in the emergence of new attitudes toward work, government, and what citizens have a right to expect from institutions."

The article states openly that the aim of the "social contract is to reverse the economic and social attitudes that have generated its economic decline. The U.S. is being asked to consume less and invest more. This means sacrifice." This means sacrifice, that is, for everyone except the obscenely wealthy multinationals so that these economic vultures can reorganize and modernize their industries



on what they glean from the suffering and misery of the working people and especially Afro-Americans.

For the Afro-Americans, in particular, this social contract means sacrificing all the past gains as well as all aspirations for future gains on the long rocky road to full economic, political and social equality. It would mean that the fight against job discrimination, segregated, ghettoized housing patterns, inferior education, inadequate medical care, urban blight and decay would have to be scrapped or viewed as

unpatriotic or downright sabotage of the recovery effort. To expect Afro-Americans, or any of the other minorities, to voluntarily enter into such a social contract, after hundreds of years of ceaseless heroic struggle to win some measure of equality, is a monopolist's pipe dream, to say the least.

Thomas Dennis  
Abridged from *Political Affairs*,  
November 1980

## Programmatic Platform of El Salvador's Revolutionary-Democratic Front

The Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador (RDF) has circulated a programmatic platform for the guidance of a revolutionary-democratic government working on the principles of national independence and popular participation.

"National independence: a country trying hard to survive under the diktat of transnational forces and a policy dictated by interests alien to the Salvadoran people cannot be sovereign or independent. In order to overcome this situation of servitude, the RDF has proposed a political project whose primary task is to satisfy popular and national interests," says the first point of the platform.

Its second point declares: "Deep-going reforms: in order to guarantee such fundamental human values as peace, freedom, well-being and progress, there is a need to put through deep-going reforms so as to establish a system of justice and equality in the political, economic and social spheres."

Foreign policy: the RDF will do its utmost to make El Salvador a voice of truth in the international arena, pursuing a policy of independence and non-alignment.

In the fourth point, the RDF considers democratic participation as one of the basic principles helping to

bring into the government all Salvadorans who display honesty and a truly national spirit, and who have actively helped to rout the dictatorship.

"A new army" is the title of the fifth point. It says that the new state cannot exist without a new army truly defending the interests of the nation and the people, and free from corruption, machinations, abuse of power, arbitrariness and sadism.

"The new army," the RDF emphasizes, "is to be set up on the basis of the revolutionary people's army, and also of the healthy and patriotic-minded circles and individual military men who are now to be found in the existing army."

A special point of the programmatic platform deals with private enterprises. The RDF says that it intends to support "all entrepreneurs who, honestly and without submitting to secret interests", promote economic development for the benefit of the Salvadoran people.

The final point, dealing with the religious aspect, says that the revolutionary-democratic government will at once put an end to the persecution of the Catholic Church to which it is now being subjected.

*Granma*, January 13, 1981

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