

WORLD

Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

July 1982, Volume 25, Number 7 \$1.00





WORLD

Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

July 1982, Vol. 25, No. 7

Theoretical and information journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties

Features

- 1 USSR: key component of Soviet socialist democracy
V. Kuznetsov
- 8 WFTU: for unity of action
S. Gaspar
- 14 Old and new elements in the policy of anti-communism
C. Perez, C. Zuniga

The party

- 20 India: a program for radical change
N.K. Krishnan
- 24 Fundamental aspects of press management
O. Cmolik
- 28 Portugal: why the PCP is gaining in strength and influence
A. Nunes
- 34 New experience

Viewpoints

- 36 Bulgaria: the food problem — search for new solutions
T. Bozhinov

- 40 Poland: a hard road
J. Carrera, D. Lopes, J. West
- 48 The Anglo-Argentine conflict and the attitude of the communists
Breaking the Stranglehold of Neocolonialist Bondage
- 54 Ghana: will of the people
A. Asamoah
- 56 The Comores: front of struggle for genuine independence
S. Abdallah
- 59 Lesotho: changes in the alignment of strength
J. Mosotho
- 62 Italy: who benefits by terrorism?
A. Boffi

Exchange of views

- 66 Latin America and the Caribbean: New trends, old shackles
International symposium

Book reviews

- 79 Disproving the theory of "cultural incompatibility"
S. Mark



Key component of Soviet socialist democracy

Vasily Kuznetsov

Alternate member, Political Bureau, CC CPSU

First Vice-Chairman, Presidium,

Supreme Soviet of the USSR

A few months hence, it will be 60 years since the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was founded. The Soviet Union is, as the world can see, a united family of republics enjoying equal rights and jointly building communism.

Anyone who looks back at the road travelled by the Soviet federation may well ask: What makes this "state of states" never seen before, this union of 15 sovereign republics and more than 100 nations and nationalities, so strong? What makes it immune from the destructive effect of centrifugal trends, which inexorably undermined all multinational states in the past? What enabled the Soviet Union to hold its ground against the military and political onslaught of international imperialism, which has never concealed its hostility to the socialist system? How is it that in a relatively short period of history it has become a mighty power and a dependable bulwark of progressive humanity in the struggle for world peace and the freedom of peoples?

In answering these questions, it is necessary to mention a number of factors, primarily the common economic and social foundations of the components of the Soviet Union, the common class objectives and tasks of its member nations and nationalities, the leading role of the CPSU, the humanist principles of the socialist nationalities policy — complete mutual confidence and mutual assistance of nations and their voluntary agreement to association ruling out all inequality — and, needless to say, the comprehensive process of further development of socialist democracy, for "there can be no victorious socialism that does not practise full democracy" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 144).

One of the fundamental factors for the indestructibility of our union of nations is the constructive activity of Soviets of People's Deputies, which constitute a system of people's representation and full-fledged mass bodies of state authority integrated from top to bottom. It would be hard to overestimate the role of Soviets in the formation and development of the USSR. Their very rise was a result of revo-

lutionary creative effort by the mass of the proletariat. During the 1905 revolution, workers' collectives in industrial centers involved in strikes set up government bodies of their own to unify and coordinate their action and elected deputies to these bodies. That was how the early Soviets came into being, with deputies linked by the closest ties with factory workers and fulfilling their mandates. Historical credit is due to Lenin and the Bolshevik Party for discerning the embryo of revolutionary authority in the organs of revolutionary initiative of the masses that sprang up spontaneously and for appreciating their great future.

In 1917, Soviets reconstituted anew and grouping a vast majority of workers, peasants and other working people took state power by revolutionary means. "Not a parliamentary republic — to return to a parliamentary republic . . . would be a retrograde step — but a republic of Soviets of Workers,' Agricultural Labourers' and Peasants' Deputies throughout the country, from top to bottom," wrote the leader of Russia's proletariat in charting the path of the socialist revolution in the country (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, p. 23).

Soviets, being profoundly democratic by their very essence, expressed the class interests of the proletariat and working peasantry as well as the interests of numerous formerly oppressed nations and nationalities; an internationalist form of undivided authority of the working people, they paved the way for the people's own national statehood. They became the political foundation of all nation-state formations that came into existence on the territory of the one-time Russian Empire. It was on this common political basis that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a voluntary association of sovereign states enjoying equal rights, took shape.

Soviets of People's Deputies have travelled a long road. At each new stage in history, the forms of their activity as government bodies putting the ideals of socialist democracy into practice reflected the trends of social progress and accorded with the tasks facing the country

and the pressing requirements of society.

Our people's government bodies are at a qualitatively new stage now. Operating among the masses and in close connection with them, the absolute majority of Soviets show dynamism and imagination; they actively influence production and the social and spiritual life of society as they strive for order, proper organization and discipline everywhere.

Soviets have entered the contemporary stage equipped with ample experience of directing state, economic, social and cultural development. All conditions have been provided by now for them to show still greater consistency in implementing the policy of the party, which expresses the people's vital interests, and to influence every aspect of the life of state and society concretely and effectively. A dependable basis for this is the provisions of the constitution, legislation on Soviets, and the policy of the CPSU aimed at steadfastly increasing their role. This policy, carried forward in decisions of the 26th party congress, is an embodiment of Lenin's ideas under mature socialism.

I

Lenin's definition of the function of Soviets implies that the inseparable interconnection of democracy and socialism can only be assured by representative bodies of a new, socialist type. But it should be obvious that, now as in the past, different countries lay and strengthen the foundations of socialism and build a socialist society differently. Marxism-Leninism declares without qualification in favor of searching for nationally distinctive forms of organizing working people's power, forms meeting to a maximum degree the concrete historical conditions in which the peoples concerned are building socialism and communism. In the process, it may certainly happen that parliament is used for revolutionary purposes. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that it is wrong for communists to stay out of parliamentary activity (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 58). The main thing, he said, is not the form but the content, which depends on whom the power apparatus serves and what class interests it defends.

The ideals of real democracy can be vindicated and a truly representative system of people's rule shaped only if power is taken over by the working people. "It is the people," Lenin said, "who even in the most democratic bourgeois republics, while possessing equal rights by law, have in fact been debarred by thousands of devices and subterfuges from participation in political life and enjoyment of

democratic rights and liberties, that are now drawn into constant and unfailing, moreover, decisive, participation in the democratic administration of the state" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 465).

By establishing a new and higher type of democracy, socialism actually ensures application of the Leninist principles of a socialist representative system. They comprise unity of power (i.e., the supremacy of representative bodies), the dependence of deputies on the electorate, close links between elected bodies and the people, the accessibility and answerability of these bodies to the masses, the participation of working people in the management of affairs of state and society, periodical replacement of elected bodies, and the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party.

"At the stage of mature socialism, in the conditions of the state of the whole people," wrote Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Chairman of the Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet, in his article "A Historic Stage on the Road to Communism" published in *WMR*, "the increasingly broad and active participation of the working people in administering the life of the country has firmly established itself as the central trend of the political development of Soviet society."¹

The history of Soviets is a history of establishing and fostering real socialist rule by the people. In accordance with Lenin's demand that steps be taken without delay for the training of all working people and all the poor "in the work of state administration" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 113), 19 million people were elected, in the first post-October decade alone, as delegates to congresses of Soviets and members of Executive Committees in the Russian Federation and came in this way to exercise real power. Since then, further tens of millions have been trained in state administration in Soviets; the Soviet system has shown the world what socialist democracy can accomplish.

II

Thus, the salient characteristic of Soviets is real and not nominal democracy for the masses. It manifests itself in whatever is associated with the activity of Soviets. I shall begin with the procedure of their formation.

Elections under socialism are not a shrill campaign of warring bourgeois parties and their candidates whose selfish aims induce them to use any methods or devices so as to catch more votes and bar progressives from government bodies as far as possible. In Soviet society, elections are an act of real self-government by the working people, who dur-

ing the election campaign sum up the activity of their government organization, specify its tasks for the next term and empower deputies to fulfil these tasks. Along with this, the working people reaffirm during elections confidence in their political vanguard, the CPSU, and entrust it with continuing to lead socialist society and state.

Election campaigns in the Soviet Union take place in a businesslike atmosphere. Citizens decide directly on the composition of representative bodies. This is ensured primarily by the fact that, under the constitution of the USSR, preparations for elections, the elections themselves, the organization of voting and the tallying of votes are a function of the working people themselves and the election commissions formed by them. And who is to be entered in the lists of candidates for election depends directly on the will of the electorate. These candidates are put forward by work collectives or the branches of public organizations. Before they are included in electoral lists, their eligibility is carefully discussed at election meetings which have (and often exercise) the right to reject candidates recommended for nomination and replace them by others. This is evidence of the real and not fictitious democracy of our electoral system, which guarantees a proper selection of candidates prior to voting. Lastly, elections for Soviets encompass virtually the entire adult population of the country. Conditions are provided everywhere for citizens to freely take a stand on candidates and express their will. The fact that practically every Soviet citizen who is entitled to vote takes part in elections is an indication of the Soviet people's deep confidence in their electoral system and its high efficiency. The primary reason for this confidence is that Soviets do not represent a particular social sector or population group but the people as a whole, the expression of the people's will being the only basis on which both the composition of deputies and their tasks are determined.

The working class of some capitalist countries has made appreciable democratic gains in struggle. This enables the workers and their parties to influence the policy of the ruling quarters to a certain, occasionally a very considerable extent and defend their interests in greater measure in the course of class struggles. To minimize the significance of this or the democratic aspirations of the masses would be wrong. However, it is perfectly evident that for as long as capital remains in power, bourgeois democracy will be unable to express or represent the interests of the masses, guarantee execution of their will in regard to fundamental

social issues or ensure that they influence the destiny of the country. Understandably, numerous working people in capitalist countries express their lack of confidence in elections by ignoring them.

Also worthy of note is that the popular character of Soviets finds expression in their close everyday links with the people and in their being under the control of the electorate and answerable to it. Electors' mandates are one of the most effective of these links. They are expressive of the working person's concern for the affairs of his state, the interests of society, and the needs of the population of town and countryside alike. Electors set out in them what they expect of those in whom they have put their trust by sending them to democratic government bodies. Millions of deputies work hard to ensure that electors' mandates are fulfilled and produce the results needed by the country. Of the more than four million mandates given to Soviets over the past 10 years, upwards of 90 per cent have been carried out.

The constitution binds deputies to stay in daily contact with the electorate and account to it for their work, including the fulfillment of mandates. The law stipulates that these accounts shall be presented at definite intervals; as well, deputies must render account at the request of electors or work collectives that had nominated them for election. Last year alone there were over 3.9 million meetings at which 207 million people heard reports from 2.2 million deputies.

Last but not least, the constitution entitles electors to recall their deputy before expiry of his term in office — a right which Lenin considered a fundamental principle of true democracy (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 336). This right is formalized by Soviet law and serves the working people as a means of influencing the composition and work of Soviets. By exercising it, electors have since 1959 recalled about 8,000 deputies who did not live up to the trust put in them, including more than 100 deputies to the Supreme Soviets of Union and autonomous republics and 12 to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

In short, all political activities in our country and other facts confirm that Soviets embody the ideas of the great theorists of socialism about truly democratic government bodies and meet the working people's age-long aspirations — to be masters in their own country and shape their own destiny.

III

The internal organization and working methods of Soviets assure them growing sup-

port and assistance from the masses; they encourage the masses to show creative initiative and join actively in the everyday management of public affairs. This is one of the major indicators of real democracy.

Soviets are not in continuous session. In fulfilling their functions, deputies spend much of their time among the population without dissociating, however, from their professional field of activity. This is why they have a sound knowledge of public opinion and electors' interests and requirements and use it when the Soviet concerned meets. As well, in between sessions, over 80 per cent of deputies take part in the activity of the diverse standing commissions of Soviets. As of January 1, 1982, local Soviets alone had over 335,000 such commissions.

A special effort is made to enhance the role of these commissions. They have substantial powers covering a wide range of problems; last year standing commissions at all levels submitted more than 330,000 reports and co-reports to sessions of Soviets. The two chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR have 32 standing commissions comprising 1,140 of a total of 1,500 deputies. During their five-year term in office, they study numerous problems of state significance, hear communications and reports from leading officials of ministries and other administrative bodies and submit draft laws to the Supreme Soviet. Participating in the work of Soviets and their commissions are not only deputies but activists representing diverse population groups. There are over 30 million such activists in our country today.

Steps are taken to perfect the working methods of Soviets. The range of problems discussed by them has widened and they are prepared for discussion more carefully. Prior to sessions, these problems are studied in a preliminary way, which helps take account of the experience of the masses to a greater extent and more effectively. This system makes for the growing activity of deputies. Last year two-thirds of all deputies took the floor at sessions to discuss problems of the state, showing deep interest in them and a keen sense of responsibility. Sessions generally proceed actively and, more important still, in businesslike fashion. On many occasions, speakers frankly criticize this or that executive, this or that enterprise, institution or ministry. Fairly often, deputies use their right to table a question to government bodies or officials, who are obliged to answer the question at a session of the Soviet within the time limit set and according to the procedure established by law, saying what measures are being or will be taken in response to this or that

question. In 1981, deputies tabled 82,000 questions indicating their sincere concern for the state of affairs in their constituency, the region or republic concerned or the country as a whole.

At the Third Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR, for instance, deputies' questions were answered by the Procurator of the Republic, a Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, the First Vice-Chairman of the State Planning Committee of the republic and the Minister of the Building Materials Industry. The supreme body of the republic adopted appropriate decisions on all these questions, which concerned various spheres of life. It instructed the government agencies concerned to see to the solution of the problems involved, remove the shortcomings pointed out and exercise everyday control over a state of affairs causing concern to deputies.

Deputies' control over the work of executive and administrative bodies and officials is an effective means of carrying out plans, enforcing laws and strengthening state discipline in the interest of society as a whole. The USSR Supreme Soviet has considerable experience of discussing the activity of the government, ministries and central departments at sessions as well as at meetings of its Presidium and the standing commissions of its two chambers. The control powers of local Soviets in regard to organizations functioning in the area within their jurisdiction and subordinated to diverse agencies enable them to obtain the necessary information on progress in fulfilling state assignments and plans for the development and distribution of enterprises, hear executives' reports on matters within the jurisdiction of Soviets, make decisions, including decisions on personnel, and submit proposals to higher bodies.

Recent years have seen a trend toward an increase in the number of control matters. This is logical, for the role of Soviets in directing every sphere of state, economic, social and cultural development has grown. To be sure, control is important in terms of both quantity and quality. We shall yet have to do much to ensure that control by Soviets and their commissions is permanent and deep-going and, above all, proceeds from the need to achieve definite results, improve work and do away with shortcomings.

The 10 million people's controllers are very helpful to Soviets in exercising control functions. The 26th CPSU congress stressed that comprehensive people's control over the work of administrative bodies and officials is an indispensable component of the Soviet demo-

cratic system. Soviets of People's Deputies are a key component of the system.

IV

The authenticity and effectiveness of socialist democracy manifest themselves primarily in the fact that Soviets have always been at the center of the people's effort to accomplish highly exacting tasks in building socialist and communist society. At this stage too, they see their paramount duty in implementing the program charted by the 26th party congress for further socio-economic changes and the all-round development of the society of mature socialism.

The growing scale and intensification of the economy and the quickening pace of scientific and technological progress make it imperative to raise the standard of management faster and bring the entire economic mechanism into line with present-day exigencies. This means thoroughly perfecting the management system, improving planning and making greater use of economic levers to advance production, as well as intensifying ideological education and increasing the role of moral incentives.

Soviets direct economic development ever more efficiently, concentrating on pivotal problems of intensifying and comprehensively developing the economy and on the activity of managing bodies. Their powers in this field have been extended and their actual role has grown notably. The working people, operating through them, influence to an increasing degree measures needed to raise production efficiency and the quality of work in every sector. Thus the increased economic role of Soviets is indicative of the continuing progress of socialist democracy in the economy, the decisive sphere of public life.

An important area of activity of Soviets today is their participation in the implementation of the food program adopted by the CC CPSU at its plenary meeting last May. The main purpose of the program is to ensure that the population is supplied with high quality foodstuffs continuously and on a stable basis and that industry gets the necessary agricultural raw materials. In line with the CC decision, Soviets must improve the management of agricultural production, above all at the district level, concern themselves more specifically with the activity of collective and state farms and help more in increasing the efficiency of agriculture and making better use of machines, fertilizers and other facilities and resources.

A standing concern of Soviets is to increase consumer goods output and ensure the regular operation of shops and the service sector as a

whole. To meet growing consumer demand in our conditions, it is necessary to produce more in enterprises within local jurisdiction as well as in enterprises specializing in a different type of output. Much depends in this respect on the attitude of local government bodies. A practice gaining ground is the drafting on the initiative of Soviets of combined plans for the production of goods by all enterprises in a given district irrespective of what agency they are subordinated to, and naturally, permanent control over fulfillment of these plans.

Modern housing and smoothly functioning utilities are admittedly very important for everyday life. The party's invariable policy is to ensure that Soviets become the main organizers of both and concentrate all state-owned housing resources and public utilities in their hands. Combining the funds allocated by enterprises and institutions for the construction of homes and public buildings, local Soviets operate more and more often as the only client in signing contracts with building organizations. This enables them to carry on construction comprehensively and according to up-to-date standards of architecture and lay-out and hence to provide the population with adequate amenities. Soviets are also closely associated with the implementation of measures mapped out by the 26th party congress with a view to using steadily growing social consumption funds, improving the health services and public education, and promoting science and culture. This is our concrete policy of raising the living standard. The social program is part and parcel of the law on the State Economic and Social Development Plan for the 1981-1985 Period enacted by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Soviets play a big role in educational activity and the molding of the new man. They are intensifying their cultural education functions by using past experience and growing material facilities. They now command an extensive network of cultural, educational and sports institutions forming an impressive complex of educational means worthy of the epoch of mature socialism.

Socialist emulation is a powerful factor in our conditions making it possible to carry on ideological and cultural education with due regard to the realities of life and to accomplish production and educational tasks as a complex. It is typical of the work of Soviets that they now participate more widely in the organization and promotion of this patriotic mass movement. The vanguard of the movement comprises deputies active in the production sphere; they comprise up to two-thirds of the total

number of deputies. Leonid Brezhnev pointed out the significance of their participation in the emulation movement and the valuable example set by deputies who excel as efficient workers and production innovators.

Patriotic internationalist education of the working people and an uncompromising fight against every manifestation of nationalism and chauvinism constitute an important field of the cultural education being carried on under the leadership of the CPSU. Fraternal friendship among the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union, a friendship varying greatly in form and content, is a reality of our country; in accordance with a thoroughly humanist tradition, they develop fruitful cooperation within a common multinational state.

The manifold activities and responsibilities of Soviets are entirely in harmony with the letter and spirit of the 1977 constitution of the USSR, an important milestone in consolidating and furthering socialist democracy. It reflects the qualitatively new realities of Soviet democracy and has raised the prestige of Soviets and increased their role in directing state, economic, social and cultural development.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Supreme Soviets of Union republics today carry out complex tasks, coupling legislation with administration and control. Describing their activity at a meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Leonid Brezhnev said: "Without neglecting legislation, which is developing vigorously and systematically in our country, we must step up active organizing effort to ensure that laws and plans are put into effect punctually and unfailingly. The policy of our party and socialist law proceed from common principles and have a common goal, the good of the working people. Our laws must operate in full measure to this noble end."²

The foregoing invites the conclusion that the increased role of Soviets — an increase prepared by the development of our society and fully meeting the policy line of our party — is a most important law governing the life of mature socialist society.

V

In a state of developed socialism, the working people exercise their will at the state level both nationally and internationally. And since our people aspire above all else to peace, Soviets as really democratic bodies see the main purpose of their foreign policy activity in struggle against the war menace, for the preservation and promotion of international détente. The work of socialist representative bodies emphatically confirms Lenin's discerning statement

that "democracy is most clearly manifested in the fundamental question of war and peace" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 319).

The Soviet Union is working steadfastly for peace, international security and disarmament, vindicating the ideals of real democracy and equality in international relations. The peace program for the 80s adopted by the 26th party congress is a logical continuation of Lenin's foreign policy of peace and implements the relevant provisions of the 1977 constitution enshrining the humanist principles of relations between states. These objectives are also served by the new peace initiatives which Leonid Brezhnev advanced at the 17th congress of Trade Unions of the USSR and in his speeches in Tashkent and at the 19th YCL congress. "Peace is no gift from heaven, it takes a hard everyday struggle to preserve and strengthen,"³ he told the highest forum of Soviet youth. In this way, our heartfelt desire for peace was again demonstrated to the peoples of the globe.

Soviets at all levels, above all the Supreme Soviet of the USSR as the highest body of state authority, contribute notably to the implementation of our country's foreign policy. Their relations with representative bodies of other countries are gaining in breadth and depth. In the past five years, the Soviet Union has played host to 50 parliamentary delegations from 46 countries. In the same period 59 Soviet delegations visited 56 countries at the invitation of their parliaments. The Foreign Affairs Commissions of both chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Parliamentary Group of the USSR and the municipalities of sister towns actively maintain mutual relations. About 130 territorial, regional and city Soviets are linked by friendly relations with their counterparts in other socialist countries, to mention only these.

Expressing the people's will, the USSR Supreme Soviet in June 1981 adopted an Appeal to the Parliaments and Peoples of the World on Leonid Brezhnev's initiative. The Appeal found worldwide response. It was supported by the parliaments of socialist countries and the leaders of numerous Asian, African and Latin American states. Even our political adversaries are compelled to admit that in an atmosphere of mounting tension, the Kremlin speaks out calmly and judiciously time and again in favor of peace, détente and international security, calling for negotiation and not confrontation. The humanist, open and profoundly democratic policy of the Soviet state meets the interests of all peoples and the whole of peace-loving humanity.

VI

Before concluding this analysis of the main activities of our government bodies, I should like to note that they have vast opportunities for transforming reality, raising the people's living standard and molding the man of the new epoch. The task is to use these opportunities to the utmost. The party is well aware of the unsolved problems, difficulties and shortcomings slowing down our advance. The 26th CPSU congress set the task of drawing on past experience to resolutely remove obstacles to the country's progress. One of the more important ways of doing this is for Soviets to perform their ample and promising functions more actively and effectively. The party encourages the people's government bodies to work more efficiently and purposefully, to provide an adequate standard of leadership in every government, economic, social or cultural sphere, to be more exacting in regard to managing bodies and make their control, especially in spheres directly involved in satisfying people's needs, more and more effective. Fulfillment of this task reveals the deep democratic meaning of one of the main development lines of Soviet statehood, which is to raise the role of our government bodies to a higher plane and steadily further Soviet socialist democracy.

The Communist Party is the leading force and the life and soul of the comprehensive democratic process going on in every sphere of the life of our state of the whole people and in its international policy. Its example and vast experience are a precept of real democracy for Soviets. Without interfering in the actual functioning of government and managing bodies and without substituting itself for them, the party guides and coordinates the work of Soviets and helps them accomplish their tasks in building communism and fighting for lasting peace on earth.

"The functions of party collectives," said the RCP(B) program adopted by the eighth party congress (1919) under Lenin's leadership, "should under no circumstances be confused with the functions of government bodies, which is what Soviets are . . . The party should carry out its decisions through Soviet government bodies, *within the framework of the Soviet constitution*. It strives to guide the activity of Soviets but not to replace them."⁴ To this day, the CPSU carries on its manifold activities

according to this Leninist principle stated in the constitution.

Party organizations see to it in practice that the policy line of the CPSU is consistently implemented by Soviets and other government bodies. They do not do this by decree or injunction but by drawing on the communists' high political prestige, the confidence and support of the masses and the exemplary work of party members in government bodies.

The party is the initiator and chief guarantee of the democratic development of Soviet statehood. By expressing what the people are conscious of, it encourages all that is new and progressive in the work of Soviets, which it gears to steadily raising the people's living and cultural standards. The tone and mood set by the party condition the political atmosphere in the country and help increase the role of socialist democracy in every public sphere.

The experience of building socialism in the Soviet Union has shown the superiority of representative institutions such as Soviets over their capitalist opposite numbers as well as the superiority of socialist democracy generally over bourgeois democracy. This is a major factor which has made possible the free and indestructible union of the nations and nationalities of our country and enabled the Soviet Union to win the battle against foreign invaders and become one of the mightiest states of the world. However, the Soviet Union "does not try to impose on anyone standards or 'models' of government organization ignoring the distinctive features of the country concerned," says the CC CPSU decision on the "Sixtieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." "It exerts growing influence on the course of history by the very fact of its existence, the actual application of a new type of relations between social groups and nations and by the force of example in solving highly complicated problems which capitalism cannot cope with."⁵

This example will undoubtedly continue serving all forces of peace, democracy and socialism as a source of confidence.

1. WMR, December 1977.

2. Pravda, April 2, 1981.

3. Ibid., May 19, 1982.

4. KPSS v rezolyutsiakh i resheniakh syezdov, konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1970, p. 77.

5. Pravda, February 21, 1982.

For unity of action

Sandor Gaspar
President,
World Federation of Trade Unions

OBJECTIVES OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION MOVEMENT TODAY

Never in the nearly 40-year history of the World Federation of Trade Unions had a meeting of workers been looked forward to with such interest, nor had it had so wide an international echo as the 10th World Trade Union Congress (Havana, February 10-16, 1982). And it was symbolic that this time the review of the largest mass organizations of the labor movement took place on the soil of the western hemisphere's first socialist country, on a continent where the workers of many countries are carrying on a grim struggle against exploitation and against imperialism, which flouts the interests of peoples.

The congress owed its significance primarily to a tense international situation. Delegates' speeches and the documents adopted by it showed that the trade union movement realizes the gravity of the war danger and the concomitant threat to the workers' socio-economic condition and that, on the other hand, there is reason to hope for the success of the fight against militarism.

An open and democratic debate furnished new evidence of approval of the Federation's consistent policy of organizing joint actions by trade unions of different orientations. While there are still many obstacles to this, delegates put it on record that a beginning had been made of real, solid unity of action based on working-class solidarity. The Havana congress drew differing views on important issues closer together and proved that the WFTU is a mighty force in the worldwide movement for the interests of the workers and other employees, intellectuals, farmers and students.

The congress demonstrated the Federation's ability to meet the economic and political challenge of the 80s. Its decisions gave the trade unions new strength and provided a guide to solving economic and social problems. They will enable us to curb the domination of transnationals, those international exploiters and contribute to social and economic progress in a way satisfying the people's everyday needs to a greater extent, and will help us put an end to the insane arms race.

Joint actions by the trade unions as a militant contingent of the world labor movement are the path to follow in order to eliminate poverty and hunger among millions, deliver the exploited in capitalist countries from social insecurity and defend the world from the threat of a nuclear war that would destroy all material and spiritual values and life itself throughout the planet. Hence the fundamental conclusion of the congress, which decided that trade unions everywhere must search in common for solutions to the workers' common problems.

The delegations of the socialist countries were the most consistent in formulating the tasks of trade union organizations. Nor was this surprising, for the unions there have achieved indisputable successes in defending the interests of the working people and their families, contributing to the construction of the new society, organizing the masses and educating them in a socialist spirit. They have also done much to promote international relations on the basis of solidarity. All this gives their position weight even though the development of the countries where they are operating is not exempt from problems and the unions themselves will yet have to do much for effective defense of the working people's interests.

In socialist countries, the governments and the agencies in charge of the economy look on the trade unions primarily as partners enjoying equal rights with them. The state expects them to support its initiatives aimed at serving the good of the people and to help mobilize the workers for the fulfillment of plans. And it must be stressed that the goal of the governments of these countries is to continue perfecting the new, just society.

There is no ignoring, however, that economic difficulties may arise and socio-political stability may be upset even under socialism. Therefore, the interests of international trade union unity demand an answer to the following question: What new features does the trade union movement acquire in building socialism and what are the conclusions to be drawn from this?

The socialist world has the objective prerequisites of harmonious interaction of the state

and its citizens as two components of the social system. To be sure, these prerequisites do not operate automatically, nor is the harmony complete. The extent of the latter depends on the specific aspects of the social and economic development of the country concerned.

Socialist society is not free of objective contradictions. But unlike previous social formations, socialism can cope with these contradictions and overcome objective and subjective difficulties.

An issue under discussion in the international trade union movement is that of the character of relations between the trade unions and the state in socialist countries. Experience has shown, however, that the phenomena which occasionally give rise to criticism are not a product of the principle of solidarity between the trade unions and the state but of mistakes in choosing ways and means of achieving it.

Thus the point at issue is not only the prerequisites of such solidarity but the actual ways of bringing it about. The important thing is that the trade unions, being well familiar with the condition, sentiments and aspirations of the working people, should formulate as autonomous organizations their own opinion on every specific question relating to socialist construction, correctly reflect the working people's interests, embody these interests in economic and social programs and effectively defend them at every level of public life. The purpose of trade union programs is to find solutions to economic and social problems enabling the working people to enjoy to a maximum degree the benefits of putting state plans into practice.

As regards industrial capitalist countries, trade union work there goes on amid insoluble contradictions between exploited and exploiters. At present it is influenced by a critical situation in the economy. Besides, the pressure of unemployment and the rigid stand of the employers compel trade unions now and then to be careful in formulating their demands and choosing action methods.

The trade union movement in the capitalist world is undergoing big changes. It reacts to new developments in the social system (the accentuation of state monopoly forms, changes in the composition of society, etc.) by devising new working methods to resist the monopoly offensive and defend the interests of labor more effectively.

While defense of the working people's interests centers, now as in the past, on the enterprises, trade union activity cannot confine itself to the shop floor. It is now a question of the unions taking part in the formation of the productive forces, which are the basis for social

policy. Their first duty in this respect is not merely to back or reject government measures but to work out programs of their own proceeding from the workers' interests and capable of competing in realism and concreteness with the proposals of governments.

The social role and influence of trade unions have always depended on the degree of their militancy. In capitalist countries the employers seek an interrelation of the struggle between labor and capital, on the one hand, and their cooperation, on the other, such as will enable them to intensify exploitation. The workers resist this as they defend their positions. Many of them know that their "participation" in management, whatever its form, cannot eliminate the fundamental causes of social and economic tension, which affects their condition. Nevertheless, they do not reject this "participation," for it determines the scope of trade union struggle and creates greater opportunities for it.

Pressure on the trade unions in capitalist countries has increased of late; it is reminiscent in many respects of the pressure exerted in cold war years. In expressing and defending the interests of the employers — whether private monopolies or the capitalist state — the authorities want the unions to "swear allegiance" to the bourgeois system. A psychological war is unfolding against the left on the pretext of combating "terrorism." Greater efforts are made than before to discredit the WFTU and limit its sphere of influence.

With an eye to undermining the prestige of unions in which communist influence is considerable, bourgeois propaganda centers try to compromise communist ideals and activity. They misrepresent the place and role of the trade unions in socialist countries. While ignoring the indisputable achievements of these countries, they gamble on their real or alleged internal problems. As for mistakes made in building socialism, they attribute them to what they describe as the "irremediable evils" of the social system.

A slander campaign is going on in the capitalist world against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as well as against progressive political alignments. By fomenting anti-Sovietism, defenders of the capitalist order want to prove that socialism has "failed" and that Marxist-Leninist thought has "worn out" its effectiveness. What they are after is to divert the working people's attention from the general crisis of capitalism, cause disappointment with socialism and rob the peoples fighting against backwardness and exploitation of the hope they derive from their faith in socialist ideals. It is regrettable that some leaders of the labor

movement objectively help reactionary forces by making ill-advised statements.

Lackeys of the capitalist system stint no effort to undermine the trend toward the unity of the working people, whom they set on one another to split their trade unions and encourage the formation of so-called autonomous unions. Reactionary international and national trade union centers, primarily the AFL-CIO, are out to bring into being an alignment opposed to the revolutionary trade union movement and to use it for subversion against socialist countries and countries following a progressive path.

In the newly-free countries, the working class is still weak. In those countries that have chosen a socialist orientation, the trade unions developing there concentrate on ending economic backwardness, solving social problems and resisting imperialist intrigues. As concerns new independent states remaining within the capitalist system, trade unions under social democratic influence have lately been winning stronger positions there. This is a result of the growing effort of parties of the Socialist International to bring the labor movement in the Third World under their banner.

It follows that the trade unions are operating in a complicated situation all over the world. However, this does not prevent them from realizing more and more that they must not restrict themselves to problems of everyday politics. They need to think in terms of the historical perspective, extend their activity beyond the economy, to all other public spheres, react seriously to criticisms and mark positive estimations of their work. This is an assurance of loyally serving the workers' interests.

The trade unions should, of course, not abstract themselves from the international political situation irrespective of whether they are operating under capitalism or socialism. In other words, they should adjust their tasks to the actual possibilities of accomplishing them in the situation shaping in the world and its various regions and countries. Every step, however small, toward meeting the working people's legitimate demands requires sustained struggle.

We must follow world developments more closely. The trade union movement should counter every attempt at an offensive against labor by strengthening its unity nationally and internationally, stopping internecine rivalries and organizing joint actions.

Global problems are becoming more acute with every passing day. They affect the whole of humanity directly or indirectly. We cannot afford to stay indifferent, well knowing that innumerable people are literally starving. We

register with anxiety the effects of wasteful use of natural energy resources. The environment, which is being destroyed, calls for help.

But the paramount issue is that of war and peace. In the early 80s, the problem is whether the process of détente will continue or whether the new round of political confrontation and arms drive begun by imperialism will cause a chain reaction fraught with unforeseeable consequences.

All sensible people, whatever their ideology and political likes or dislikes, declare for peace and mutually beneficial international cooperation. By campaigning against the war menace, they are defending their inalienable right to a life of good hope, a life free of poverty and ignorance, hunger and disease, a life fit for human beings. World opinion is increasingly alarmed by the deterioration of relations between socialist and capitalist countries, imperialist attempts to back up neocolonialist policies with gross pressure and the growing threat to world peace.

The uptrend in international tensions is a direct result of the renunciation of détente by extremist monopoly capitalist forces in the United States and other NATO countries, by a desire to extend imperialist influence in the world and teach the "recalcitrant" a lesson. Washington's stubborn attempts to gain military superiority over the socialist world are most preoccupying.

It is an open secret that every new round of the arms race is imposed on the Warsaw Treaty Organization by NATO, and yet militarist quarters blame the Soviet Union for a worsening international situation. Advocates of "Cold War II" distort the peaceful nature of the foreign policy of the socialist countries, which are prompted by the peoples' desire to live in a climate of cooperation and mutual confidence.

Members of the older generation have gone through the icy atmosphere of cold war. They are concerned about the similarity of the current policy of bellicose monopoly capitalist circles to imperialist policy after World War II.

However, there is also a powerful encouraging factor at work. The balance of world forces has changed radically in favor of peace supporters and social progress. Besides, millions upon millions of people have satisfied themselves of the benefits of détente. It has given them a sense of security and a better life and rid them of the fear of war. To countries with different social systems, peaceful coexistence means expanding economic, scientific, trade and cultural relations and opening frontiers to tourism, which helps nations know each other's lives and induces them to look on neighbors far and near

with trust and goodwill. Also, the disastrous effects of the arms race and a militarized economy have become more evident. People are more aware than ever of the apocalyptic consequences of a nuclear conflict.

Trade unions played an important part in the past in easing international tensions. Even before the Helsinki Conference, they came out at the national level against the policy and propaganda of cold war and joined in initiatives serving détente. And when, at the threshold of the 80s, imperialism launched a new offensive, the trade unions which in the climate of détente had concentrated on defending the immediate interests of labor and its union rights joined at once in the campaign against militarism. Champions of a durable security system in Europe are becoming more vocal. We hear ever stronger warnings to the effect that the renunciation of the policy of détente injures the working people's living conditions and is apt to drag humanity into a nuclear holocaust.

To remove the war menace and curb the arms race is an urgent necessity. We believe all trade unions should realize this irrespective of their policy line or international affiliation. There is no defending the workers' fundamental economic and social rights without defending peace. The international trade union movement has no loftier task than to frustrate the bellicose ambitions of monopoly capital in common with other peace forces.

Unquestionably, the struggle against unemployment and inflation is an important matter for the trade unions in capitalist countries. However, the problem of problems for them, too, is to stop the arms race. Our path lies through a demilitarized economy to extension of the workers' social and economic rights and to a better material and spiritual existence for them. The trade unions have real possibilities of following this path.

Unity of the trade union movement is a historical imperative today. Only by uniting can we bring about an improvement in the social and economic condition of labor and promote peace. Conversely, discord will enable our enemies to set the workers on one another and reduce our militancy in battles with monopoly capital.

It is, however, possible to achieve the unity of diverse, often so heterogeneous organizations? Sadly enough, there are many people even in trade unions who doubt this. Besides, quite a few people outside unions offer advice that foments distrust and drives labor unions to confrontation. We certainly must not dismiss so important a matter. But neither must we speak of only what divides us. It is much more

useful and promising to ascertain on what we are agreed.

First and foremost, we must take account of the effects of the historic change which set in with the rise of the family of socialist countries and the emergence on the world scene of dozens of countries that had won freedom from colonial dependence. It provided new opportunities for joint defense of the interests of the working class and other working people.

At the same time, we must not forget that in recent decades the trade union movement has become much more varied both internationally and nationally. Trade unions today group people of the most diverse views and convictions. They differ in militancy and political orientation as well as with regard to the nature of their relations with parties.

The foregoing explains why the international trade union movement is taking no organized form today and is, indeed, unlikely to do so in the foreseeable future. Besides, on joining in political activity, which is inevitable in present-day conditions, trade unions often find themselves opposed to one another.

And yet, while contradictions and the resultant difficulties are considerable, unity of action is possible even now. Its prerequisites are realization of the community of goals arising from the community of interests, the incorporation of these goals in programs and struggle to attain them.

Obviously, no unity of views can be sought in the ideological sphere, for ideology is predetermined by the interaction of philosophical, political, social and other factors. What predominates in this case is probably disuniting and not unifying factors. And this means that it is unadvisable to seek unity of views among trade unions of different trends on this or that social system. Such attempts merely narrow the basis for cooperation on practical issues.

However, the question arises: Would not trade union cooperation in that case be reduced to pointless declarations guaranteeing no unanimity in estimating the situation, no unity of program and no joint action? Would it be anything more than a naive wish?

Our answer is: It would certainly be something more than a wish. We are equal to bringing about solid and lasting unity provided it takes into account the community of interests of millions of workers and their everyday and long-range needs.

Of course, the unity we are championing will not be "global." It will not cover all problems and in some cases, not even most of them. This kind of cooperation necessitates neither a

change of view, nor a renunciation of principles. Unity is not surrender but joint implementation of what unites organizations of different orientations.

The character of the given social system and the social and economic development levels of the countries involved have their effect on the specific goals and forms of trade union activity. But even so, the experiences gained by individual unions merge into a common pool of experience to one degree or another. In spite of the diversity of conditions in which the unions are operating and the dissimilarity of their concrete tasks, there are problems which concern them all.

Whatever the divergences and contradictions, the chief goal of the trade unions is invariable. They must defend the interests of each worker in particular and workers' collectives in general. Employment, the distribution system and income policy are the main spheres in which unions formulate specific demands day after day and seek their satisfaction.

The Fourth European Trade Union Conference, held in Geneva late in November 1981, may be an indication of the realistic character of the trade union movement's quest for new paths and of its readiness to engage in united action. On carefully discussing problems arising from the impact of modern technology on working conditions and employment, the delegates, who represented organizations of 27 countries, reached agreement on measures that should make it possible to use the positive potential of production rationalization in the workers' interests and reduce its negative aspects to a minimum. The conference demanded that governments should contribute to international détente and promptly work out measures for controlled disarmament.

The conference furthered mutual understanding among trade unions of different orientations and demonstrated their common desire to solve key problems for the workers' good. The very fact that leaders of national trade union centers affiliated to both the WFTU and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions attended the conference was an encouraging sign of the ability of unions to achieve mutual understanding even against the background of bitter political confrontation.

The 10th World Trade Union Congress urged the WFTU and the national trade union movements of the socialist countries as well as the communist-influenced trade unions of capitalist countries to advance new initiatives in favor of closer relations with trade unions of a social-democratic, Christian-democratic or other orientation so as to bring about coopera-

tion. A task of paramount importance is to ascertain common interests making it possible in spite of ideological, political, personal and other considerations to take joint steps and advance in one and the same direction, with every participant in cooperation retaining his identity. We are convinced that there are ample opportunities for this kind of activity.

Thus, a search could be made for more effective ways of *defending trade unions*. We mean struggle against the restriction of their rights in developed capitalist countries as well as against their persecution in developing countries and in less developed capitalist countries oppressed by dictatorial regimes. This struggle would benefit from realizing the WFTU proposal to establish a common international service supplying information on persecution for trade union activity and offering relevant legal advice.

It would be useful to organize support for persecuted unions, seek the release of active trade unionists from prison or an easing of their lot as well as improve the condition of prisoners' families in the capitalist world. Such manifestations of working-class solidarity could count on the support of all progressives irrespective of political allegiance, for they would fit entirely into the framework of defending democratic freedoms and human rights.

There are also many common tasks in regard to *improving occupational safety*. It would be a good idea to exchange information on safety laws, on methods of providing safety and on aid from the trade unions of socialist countries to miners and factory workers who had suffered an accident. We think it would be advisable to formulate general safety standards under the aegis of the International Labor Organization or at least to help evolve them.

Vast opportunities exist for a more extensive comparison of notes on *labor legislation*. It would help improve the principles of regulating working conditions in capitalist and socialist countries alike. Among other things, it would be worthwhile to examine facts relating to the right to strike existing in the capitalist world and to its actual exercise. This could help, in particular, dissipate fairly widespread illusions. It would also be useful because the trade unions of some socialist countries have yet to take an explicit stand on the problem of strikes.

It is very important to extend cooperation with various trade unions of a non-Marxist orientation to *anti-war actions*. We have said that this is a field in which joint actions can be taken on practical issues, with each participant

retaining its organizational independence and its views.

The vital importance of the struggle against the war menace calls for cooperation on a broader basis and a higher level. However, it is essential in each particular case to take account of realities and possibilities and have a clear idea of their limits. Contacts are useful in themselves, since they open up channels for bringing viewpoints closer together.

There is also scope for joint action on environmental protection. Effort on this basis, especially in industrial areas, where pollution is worst, could provide a platform for further actions of various kinds.

Everyone knows that all international trade union centers and certain national centers contribute to the organization of trade union movements in developing countries. They want to acquaint these movements with their own programs and activities and to win them over. In view of the danger of setting the various contingents of the relatively small and weak working class of these countries against each other, trade union centers affiliated to the WFTU and the national centers associated with it should promote unity of trade union action in newly-free countries and form united trade unions if possible.

Material aid to children and the starving population in developing countries offers an extensive field for action. Many international and national charity organizations, religious groups and some governments render such aid already. It is now the turn of workers' organizations. By emphasizing humanist principles, we could win massive support for this cause and draw trade unions closer together on this basis.

It would be advisable to intensify exchanges of information on the activity of trade unions affiliated to the WFTU and organize the acquisition of such information from unions belonging to other centers. The media and lecture tours could be very helpful.

We should generalize the experience of trade unions, analyze the workers' gains and draw lessons from their struggles. Also, we should work out principles and methods of international trade union diplomacy. The need has arisen to carry out scientific and political research in our sphere. The WFTU is willing to make its research facilities available for all these purposes.

In developed capitalist countries and developing countries as well as, indirectly, in socialist countries, we come up against the

problem of counteracting transnationals. It is becoming necessary to jointly analyze the effects of their growing strength on the working people. The results of such an analysis would make it possible to evolve a dynamic program of defending the interests of labor against the offensive of international capital.

Effort to bring about unity of action and cooperation on a wide range of issues is the main line in the work of WFTU member unions. In defining our position, we are prompted by a desire to steadfastly defend the interests of the working people of all countries. The labor movement cannot stay within national boundaries. It is international by nature and should concern itself with the problems of workers all over the world. This is one of the important lessons of history.

International working-class solidarity is one of our most valuable traditions. The Havana Trade Union Congress, for its part, launched an appeal to establish extensive relations with the labor organizations of the world. There are increasing opportunities for this and I am convinced that joint action is destined to become a decisive factor in the development of the trade union movement.

Labor leaders should not quarrel among themselves, for this injures the interests of labor. Let them compete in efficiency and stop ignoring one another.

Only by building up their unity can the trade unions of the world meet the challenge of the 80s, overcome eventual dangers and use favorable conditions. Being the oldest and most numerous organizations of the working people and having gained vast experience in struggle, they strive to express and defend their interests. The trade unions will be equal to the exigencies of life provided they use specific forms of struggle and combine loyalty to principle with tactical flexibility and resolute action with reasonable compromise.

I need hardly say that we are not trying to impose our views on anyone and that this is not why we seek joint action on a larger scale. The problems engendered by our epoch cannot be solved unless the trade unions draw closer together and cooperate internationally. There is no organization now which could cope with these increasingly complicated problems by itself. All that trade unions of different orientations have done together in the past decade shows that the common goals and tasks uniting us outweigh and are more important than the disputed issues dividing us.

Old and new elements in the policy of anti-communism

Cesar Perez

CC member, Dominican CP

Carlos Zuniga

CP Chile representative on WMR

The bourgeois mass media have been drumming into people's minds slogans which may differ in form but which are essentially similar in meaning: "Rout terrorism!", comes the order from the citadel of imperialism. "Halt Soviet intervention!", echo its satraps. "Totalitarianism dominates Nicaragua!", chimes in the chorus of reaction. "Join forces to defend the West!", is the alarm sounded in the army barracks. These slogans are an expression of the fierce anti-communist campaign which has been mounted across Latin America. It is a campaign by means of which the anti-communists are trying to dull the consciousness of the masses, to entrench the order existing in our countries and to deny the peoples the choice of a revolutionary alternative.

There is no doubt that the numerous and diverse efforts aimed to attain these goals are directly connected with the successes of the peoples' liberation struggle, the change in the balance of forces in the world arena and the growing influence exerted on international development by the socialist community and also, of course, with the sharpening crisis of the capitalist system itself. That is why imperialism has been desperately trying to rally diverse states and governments, parties and other social organizations and political leaders on an anti-communist basis.

The collapse of Carter's "human rights" policy has forced the U.S. ruling circles to send anti-communism on another tack, concentrating efforts on support of regimes headed by men like Pinochet, Duvalier and others of their stripe, and setting up anti-communism as the ideological and political basis for an alliance with the most reactionary and fascist-minded circles in Latin America. As in the past, attempts are being made to adapt anti-communist policy to the changing conditions and to reckon with the policy failures of the past. With that end in view, new postulates are being combined with old ones, use is equally made of newly invented and long tested methods, and "bold" forms of propaganda and violence are

employed. This mix is designed to clothe anti-communism in new garb and to make it more effective. The present face of anti-communism is, in effect, the result of this alchemy.

For U.S. "national security"

There is a need to have concrete knowledge of anti-communist conceptions, first, in order to be aware of their goals, and second, to tackle the tasks posed by the upswing in the people's revolutionary struggle.

Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff General David C. Jones has declared: "We live in an age when a coup, a major strike, a terrorist attack or an on-going war between two neighboring countries can cause, more than ever before in the past, worldwide consequences affecting our national well-being and security. We need to have a broad strategic outlook that would put regional problems into a global framework."¹ U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig and Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger have made even more explicit statements. Their numerous statements show the precise point of the "U.S. national security problem" on which the main ideological and political emphasis is now being made.

Up until the end of the 1950s, Washington's aggressive military-political doctrine spearheaded against the socialist world, was based on the strategic "massive retaliation" concept. As a result of the crisis of imperialist domination, one of whose manifestations was the victory of the Cuban revolution, the basic propositions of the U.S. national security doctrine were revised and replaced with the "flexible response" concept. In Latin America, this doctrine gave preference to the need to prepare and improve repressive government agencies for fighting patriotic and revolutionary forces. These forces were designated as the "internal enemy" and the source and vehicle of "subversive activity." According to President Kennedy, "subversive activity is a different type of war, one that is new in strength but old in origin: guerilla warfare . . . We shall have to use a new

strategy, other armed forces, and this will require new forms for their preparation and training."² In the 1960s and 1970s, imperialism concentrated its efforts precisely along this line in the military, political and ideological spheres.

Now, as General Jones insists, crucial importance is attached to the global aspects of the "national security" doctrine. The main emphasis is on the geo-political definition of the world which is divided into two opposed military-political blocs. Any socio-political event in any country of the world whatsoever is evaluated and declared to be a component part of a war allegedly being carried on in the Soviet Union's "hegemonistic interests." Let us note that there is no contradiction between the "internal enemy" concept and the geo-political definition of the world. On the contrary, being two sides of one and the same coin, they are closely bound up with each other, and constitute an organic part of the said doctrine, whose realization has become the definitive line in the whole activity of the U.S. authorities.

But whereas in the past anti-communism was intent on fighting "subversive activity" as its main objective, today it tries, without in any way abandoning that struggle and even intensifying it, to explain any shift in the world as resulting from a clash between the so-called blocs. This is clearly reflected in a document prepared by the State Department and made known to the Latin American governments through the U.S. embassies. It says: "Cuba's policy is determined by its relations with the Soviet Union. By its interference which promotes armed struggle in Latin America, Cuba adds to local conflicts the dimensions of the situation which has taken shape between East and West."³

There is, of course, more to it than armed struggle. Every popular movement, every revolutionary, anti-imperialist or democratic action is now instantly declared to be a component element of "extra-continental aggression" on the part of the USSR or is condemned as an act helping to promote "Soviet pretensions."

Diverse means are used to vindicate the anti-communist policy. Here is only one example which was reported in a conversation with the leaders of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica by the journalist G. Neuberger, who has exposed in that country 36 CIA agents, and altogether nearly 200 U.S. spies in Central America and the Caribbean. According to Neuberger, these agents concentrated their efforts on "inducing public opinion to believe that Central America has become the objective of a sinister plan to establish Soviet-Cuban domina-

tion which has already allegedly led to the establishment of a bridgehead in Nicaragua and is now aimed to take over El Salvador."⁴

The recipe worked out by Washington's "think tanks" for fighting the patriotic and democratic movement in Latin America is a simple one: concentrate all attention on anti-Sovietism and make it central to anti-communist activity. Despite the obvious limitations of this kind of policy, especially in present-day conditions, its consequences should not be underestimated.

Since the emergence of the world's first socialist state, world reaction has been trying hard to spread anti-Soviet myths and prejudices. Anti-Sovietism is being used to deny real and deeply rooted causes which make our peoples fight for genuine independence. The charges of "outside intervention" are designed to camouflage the fact that these real causes of the struggle for social change and progress are rooted in the ruthless imperialist exploitation, the lack of political liberties and repression by the ruling classes. The imperialists are trying to scare the fighters for democracy with the prospect that a victory for the revolution would allegedly amount to the first step of involvement in a "Soviet sphere of influence." All of this is meant to distort the Soviet Union's role in the international arena and to smear not only its tremendous efforts to safeguard peace from a nuclear catastrophe, but also the steadfast stand taken by the socialist community in support of the peoples' right to self-determination and solidarity with the liberation struggle.

Enshrined as state policy

The elevation of anti-communism to the rank of state policy is one of the means used by imperialism and the oligarchy in their efforts to consolidate their power in Latin American countries. That is precisely what some fascist-minded dictatorships on our continent have done. Anti-communism has been the key ideological and political factor which determined their installation in power and their continued rule. These dictatorships have framed and enacted constitutional norms proclaiming communism to be the arch-enemy. In these conditions, the whole activity of the state is geared to "eradicating the Marxist tumor." All the resources of the state, its whole potential and instruments of influence, primarily the official and secret repressive apparatus, the army, the mass media, the education system, juridical institutions, diplomatic departments, and so on, are thrown into the fight against communism.

Imperialist propaganda is virtually saturated

with attacks against the communists and the Soviet Union and with fraudulent reports, articles and commentaries. The communists are prevented from holding office in government agencies and they are fired from private enterprises. Children and young people are being subjected to systematic ideological brain-washing so as to prevent future generations from being "infected with communism." Official methods of instruction at schools and colleges in some countries distort history in every possible way, while fascist-type books and pamphlets are allowed to circulate, and Hitler's *Mein Kampf* is once again on sale here and there. The "national security" doctrine is an obligatory subject in colleges and universities, and "pro-communist attitudes" are even fished out from folklore and folk culture.

The dictatorships which seek to present themselves as "modern and technocratic" are also doing their bit in fighting communism. This is being done along two lines. On the one hand, referring to the defective practices of corrupt bourgeois parties heading governments in some countries and simultaneously attacking experiments of mass participation in running the state, they reject bourgeois democracy as such, extolling in its place an "authoritarian" or "limited democracy" which is aimed against those who pose a threat to the powers that be, i.e., primarily against the working class and the communists.

On the other hand, the most refined ideologists of reaction argue that Marxism-Leninism is "obsolete." For instance, the reports, lectures and conferences arranged for army officers, members of management in industry and university rectors are designed to convince audiences that Marx had failed in his "predictions" and that Lenin's doctrine is "insidious." In accordance with such assertions, the crisis of the world capitalist system, the successes and strengthening of socialism, and the unbridled arms race started by the military-industrial complex of imperialism allegedly refute the uniformities of social development discovered by Marxism. As for Leninism, attempts are now being made not only to pit Lenin against Marx, but also to prove that Lenin's revolutionary methods used by the communists are "sinister." Consequently, intimidation continues to be the anti-communists' main weapon.

Similar tendencies and the political trends expressing them are in evidence even in Latin American countries with bourgeois democratic regimes. Reaction keeps plugging the idea that the "communists are alien to the social environment of our continent and the interests

of its peoples." Progressive organizations and democratic-minded leaders are accused of being communists. The drumming in of this idea and its conversion into a stereotype now and again yields some results. Thus, the Colombian CP said, the introduction and broad application in the country of the "security status," the local offspring of the U.S. "national security" doctrine, were due precisely to such causes. A Colombian CP document says: "This does not imply any new circumstances calling for a response to an actually emergent short-term situation, but the maintenance by legislative means of an atmosphere of constant war against left-wing parties and organizations."⁵

Even when dictatorships with anti-communism as state policy mount electoral farces, they merely provide evidence that their policy remains unchanged. It is perfectly obvious that a change in names at the helm in countries run by such dictatorships does nothing to alter the basic orientation of their anti-communist line.

Thus, in connection with the forthcoming electoral farce in Guatemala in March 1982, the Party of Labor emphasized: "Virtually all the main reactionary programs coincided in their urge to 'save Guatemala from communism,' i.e., to preserve a regime of domination, exploitation and injustice under which we continue to live. They differed in nuances: some accentuated demagogic measures in the economic and social sphere, and others, criminal repressive activity by the fascistized state apparatus. This process as a whole is being put through within the framework of the overall counter-revolutionary line of imperialism."⁶

It is true that for the bourgeoisie, bourgeois democracy continues to be a more reliable means than a fascist or fascist-type dictatorship in realizing its class domination in some of the countries on our continent, and that is why it has retained its importance. But it is equally evident that the viability of such democracy is limited, and that in some cases it even poses a threat to the capitalist system. The events which occurred in Chile with the installation of Popular Unity in power; the successes of the Broad Front in Uruguay, which may not have won power in 1973, but did constitute the main political force in the country; the victory of the revolutionary and democratic forces in Bolivia in the 1980 elections — all of this served as a warning to imperialist circles. Reaction drew this conclusion: if legality hits at the interests of capital, let us put an end to it. And that is precisely how it began to act.

Trampling on bourgeois democracy, the dictatorial regimes seek to maintain power with-

out any changes in the form of state administration and to prevent the use of bourgeois-democratic institutions for the people's interests. In this way, some strata of the bourgeoisie abandon their own rules of the game.

It goes without saying that despite the difficulties and temporary reverses in our struggle, anti-communism does not in any sense testify to the strength of the counter-revolution but, on the contrary, provides evidence of its weakness. On the Latin American continent, there is an ever wider spread of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and a strengthening of the mass movement for changing the existing social system and for truly just living conditions for the working people. Ever broader strata of the population are beginning to connect the nature of the necessary changes and ways of putting them through with the doctrine of scientific socialism. This is a reflection of the main trend of development. Revolutionary-minded Christians, democrats and intellectuals share many of our positions, and this opens up fresh opportunities for mutual understanding and unity.

In the past, religion was one of the main ideological bases of anti-communism in Latin America, and because 85 per cent of the inhabitants of our continent were religious, anti-communism managed to attain its goals. But after the Second Vatican Council and due to the process of "renewal" which began shortly thereafter, the atmosphere within Catholicism has markedly changed. The Church no longer pins its hopes on the "pillars" of anti-communism to the extent it did in the past. Millions of believers have joined the communists in action against imperialism. There is an ever more ideologically active dialogue between Christians and Marxists in search of joint positions in the anti-imperialist struggle. That is a phenomenon which is characteristic for Chile, El Salvador, Brazil and some other countries, and which was most pronounced in the course of the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua.

One could say, therefore, that the potentialities of imperialism in standing up for its interests on the continent have been narrowed down. That is why the Reagan administration has been using all the available economic, diplomatic and military means to involve Latin American states in its efforts to fan anti-communist and anti-Soviet hysteria. But for all that, Washington has far from achieved nor is it likely to achieve unanimity of views and actions in the region. For a long time now, far from everyone in Latin America is responsive to the influence of anti-communist hysteria.

Catering for reactionary violence

As in other parts of the world, which still remain dependent on imperialism, the bourgeoisie which continues to rule most of the countries of our continent has stepped up its repression against the peoples. The scale of terrorism is growing and the methods are being constantly improved, and this repression now and again develops into sanguinary and devastating wars. The acts of violence are numerous and they are condemned in the most diverse strata of the society. Massacres, treacherous killings, abductions and disappearance of people without trace, physical and mental torture, incarcerations and exile — such is the day-to-day reality on the continent. The UN General Assembly has repeatedly issued condemnations of this barbarism.

Since its origination, anti-communism has always allowed something of a free hand to its votaries, giving them the "right" to commit any crime against the representatives of the popular forces, notably against the communists and all revolutionaries and democrats. Modifying their arguments and adapting them to the concrete conditions of the class struggle and their own requirements, Latin American reactionaries have always used anti-communism as a cover for their repressive policies. The material and technical equipment of the punitive agencies, especially the armed forces, is being sharply intensified for the purpose of expanding these policies. Their personnel are subjected to intense anti-communist treatment. A paramilitary fascist apparatus is being built up and consolidated for the purpose of wiping out communists and all other consistent democrats.

The Argentinian Anti-Communist Alliance and the Death Squad in Brazil, the Avengers of the Martyrs Squad in Chile, the MAS ("Death to the Abductors") which has taken over from the "Black Hand" in Colombia, etc., are notorious on the continent. Far from hampering the activity of such outfits, the dictatorships and some bourgeois-democratic governments maintain contacts with them, give them patronage and inspiration in their fight against communism. In Bolivia, for instance, there is a kind of symbiosis between the government security organs and the military intelligence service with local fascist bands, criminals and powerful clans of drug traders. Well-known nazis provide services as "consultants." These groups were used as a shock-force in the 1980 military coup and have continued their operations to this day.

U.S. imperialism is supporting army intelligence services and outfits for combating "sub-

versive activity" on the scale of the continent as a whole. This will be seen, in particular, from the decisions of the 14th Conference of OAS armed forces commanders. With Reagan's installation in power, the fight against the so-called Soviet-Cuban international terrorism has been set up as a political axiom. The result is a close interlacing of the policy of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, on the one hand, with brutal anti-popular repression, on the other. Anti-communist "arguments" are used to whip up terrorism and those who carry it out fabricate such "arguments" in great number.

One has to ask this question: what is the reason for the emergence of the idea of "Soviet-Cuban terrorism" in Latin America? What was it that induced the imperialist propaganda machine to fabricate this myth?

Following the victory of the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua, many other peoples on the continent took the path of armed struggle for their liberation. They are left with no other alternative by the dictatorial regimes. In the ensuing situation, it is important for the imperialists to accuse the Soviet Union and Cuba of interference in the internal affairs of other countries and to pin on them the "responsibility" for the violence which arises in the course of the class struggle. By clutching at the term of "terrorism" the imperialist circles are trying to equate the just armed struggle being carried on by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front in El Salvador and the terroristic acts being perpetrated by Italian "Red Brigades" or to equate military operations by Guatemalan guerrillas and the barbaric dynamiting of a synagogue in France. In this way the anti-communists are trying to kill the class content of terrorism. By labeling revolutionaries as "terrorists" they are trying to cover up and legalize reactionary violence.

Against unity

Unity is the key to success for the revolutionary and democratic forces. In view of the internationalization of the class struggle, this formula — as the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua once again confirmed — is acquiring universal significance. The masses in many countries seek to learn the lessons of the Nicaraguan experience. Imperialism, for its part, also tries to learn some lessons, making extensive use of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism as instruments of division, in its efforts to separate from each other various trends working for social change. The imperialists resort to this tactic also in order to hamper or prevent the development of victorious revolutions. Tomas Borge, Nicaragua's Minister of the Interior, re-

ferring to the Santa Fé document⁷ drawn up by a group of U.S. presidential advisers, says: "Military support for reactionary governments is combined with ideological escalation based on anti-communism and subversion in the sphere of ideas." Anti-communist campaigns, he said, "are carried on for the purpose of diverting us from the solution of urgent problems."⁸

It is important at this point to indicate a phenomenon which frequently makes itself felt in the countries of the continent. Democratic circles which are subjected to repression under the banner of anti-communism may nevertheless themselves frequently adhere to this reactionary ideology. Now and again, even some representatives of revolutionary forces take an anti-communist and anti-Soviet stand. This phenomenon could be regarded as paradoxical if it were not tragic. It is one of the most serious obstacles making our struggle more difficult and hampering the attainment of victory. Not only is it a point of whether that section of the revolutionaries among whom anti-communist prejudices remain have differences with the communists. Such differences are quite possible and even inevitable. There is no doubt that the anti-communist attitudes of some revolutionary groups⁹ among whom there are many people prepared to sacrifice their lives for the ideals of the struggle against imperialism, are in some cases caused by sectarianism. It still has to be expelled from the daily practice of political struggle.

Instructive in this context is the conclusion drawn by the Meeting of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean (Havana, 1975). Its final declaration emphasized that it is a different matter altogether to be non-communist and to be anti-communist. The stands taken by these groups are largely due to causes which spring from the class origins of their individual representatives and the influence of anti-communist propaganda.

How are these class factors manifested? What is their interaction with anti-communism? The answers to these questions are highly important, because the victory of the revolution largely depends on the consolidation of unity between the communists and other revolutionary forces. To provide answers, there is, of course, a need for precise knowledge in each concrete situation. But let us try, however generally, to consider some of the aspects of this question.

Democratic circles in the countries of the continent undoubtedly include parties and organizations which are bourgeois by nature, but which do not belong to ruling blocs, which do not accept terroristic methods of domination

and carry on a struggle against them. Of course, such a struggle is essentially aimed only at modifying the forms of the bourgeoisie's state administration and does not cast doubt on that power itself. It is not surprising that, while exposing and resisting dictatorial regimes, these parties and organizations actively take part in anti-communist ideological campaigns. Their class affiliation determines the limited nature of the changes which they demand. But among such political organizations there are groups and individual progressive members who, while actively exposing the ills of the capitalist system and making anti-war demands, take the road of joint action with the communists, while not entirely abandoning their anti-communist views. That, too, is a manifestation of the success of the ideas of scientific socialism on the continent.

As for the revolutionary-democratic forces in Latin America, their attitude to anti-communism is a more complicated phenomenon. They take an open stand against capitalism in virtue of their petty-bourgeois origins, their social status and their experience, while trying to find some intermediate solution for the basic contradiction of our epoch, by constructing theories for the establishment of "democratic socialism."

Many of these trends (movements or parties) are not moving away from Marxist-Leninist views, but toward them. In their theoretical and practical activity, they frequently switch from bourgeois ideological conceptions to scientific positions. But this process is not consistent and may be hampered by various factors, not least importantly by the propaganda of the bourgeois mass media. Unfortunately, it does manage now and again to score by exerting an influence on the more primitive sides of human mentality rather than on consciousness.

The spread of stereotypes and prejudices amplified over and over again by various channels and combined with downright intimidation of the masses — such is the arsenal of anti-communist methods in Latin America. It is not surprising, for instance, to hear statements about the need to combat this or that terroristic dictatorship while seeking to avoid the establishment of some "red dictatorial regime." Such prejudices and stereotypes are merged into the pursuit of a single goal: they are designed outrageously to equate fascist regimes and methods, such as those used in Uruguay and Chile, and the system and modes of government under socialism.

Speaking of anti-semitism, Einstein once asserted that it was much easier to split the atom than to outlive prejudice. In this way he em-

phasized the difficulties of eradicating the survivals of old ideas in the minds of people. Many democrats and revolutionaries in our countries are confronted with similar difficulties. Anti-communism, based on prejudice and stereotype, also addresses itself to the minds of those who seek answers to the most diverse questions of national and international social life.

The situation in the world today hampers even a temporary flourishing of apologetic concepts of imperialism, like the theory of "convergence" or the "post-industrial society." The difficulties now facing capitalism are much too great. Also of the utmost importance is the fact that over the past 20 years there has been an immense spread of true ideas about existing socialism throughout Latin America. The new Cuba stands as a shining example for the peoples of the continent.

To counter this, the ideologists of anti-communism seek in every way to undermine the authority of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. That is why the struggle against anti-communist stereotypes and prejudices is becoming one of the main tasks of the revolutionary forces of the continent.

We have been unable, of course, to consider in one article all the aspects of anti-communism in Latin America today. We have left out, for instance, the essential matter of the specific conditions for its spread in the armed forces and in the organized working class and trade-union movement. Nor have we dealt with many of the immediate problems of the struggle against anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

Our purpose has been above all to show that anti-communism is not the main trend on our continent. The growing anti-imperialist mood is helping the masses to find out from their own experience who their friends and who their enemies are. Everywhere there is more vigorous joint action by the most diverse strata of the society against imperialism, and the circle of forces they involve is not contracting but expanding. All of this helps to bring about the failure of the anti-communist policy.

Nevertheless it is not right to underestimate particularly now — as never before — the importance of the struggle against anti-communism and the need to expose its forms and methods.

1. "Le Monde diplomatique", in Spanish, September 1981, p. 19.

2. Quoted in: S. Rojas, "Reflexiones sobre la Doctrina de la Seguridad Nacional en Chile," *Araucaria de Chile*, No. 9, 1980, p. 48.

3. Quoted in: *Que Pasa*, January 7-13, 1982, p. 22.

4. *Libertad*, November 13-19, 1981.

5. *Documentos Politicos*, January-February 1979, p. 13.

6. *Verdad*, September 1981.

7. WMR, July 1981, and January 1982.
8. Quoted in *Granma*, January 28, 1982.
9. We do not mean, of course, the Maoists and the

Trotskyists, who have converted anti-communism into the pivot of the whole of their activity, which is why they are increasingly losing their influence on the continent.



A program for radical change

N.K. Krishnan
Secretary, National Council,
Communist Party of India

The 12th congress of the Communist Party of India, held at Varanasi (State of Uttar Pradesh) last spring, was a significant landmark in the history of the communist movement and the whole liberation movement in our country. The party arrived at its highest forum firmly united politically and organizationally and enjoying considerable influence and prestige among the masses. This found reflection in the debate on the main documents submitted to the congress, their unanimous approval and the equally unanimous election of the leading party bodies.

For several days, over 1,500 delegates representing nearly half a million party members were busy summing up the results of the party's activity since the previous congress (Bhatinda, 1978) and analyzing the situation at home and abroad. The presence of delegations from 37 fraternal parties and national liberation movements was a source of inspiration and pride to all of us. Over 40 fraternal parties that could not attend our congress sent us messages of greetings and solidarity.

Congress documents and speeches pointed out that national and international developments and the vast experience of political struggles and mass movements in which the CPI invariably played a prominent role had fully confirmed the correctness of the line adopted by the party four years earlier. The 12th congress defined the tactics and main lines of struggle for the period ahead, elaborated and concretized the Bhatinda line of uniting the left and democratic forces and charted the ways of winning mass support for a left and democratic national alternative to bourgeois power.

Prominent in the congress deliberations were international problems — the fight for peace, against the threat of a nuclear disaster arising from the conspiracies of warmongers headed by the U.S. imperialists. These forces

have launched a reckless war drive; they attack détente and are out to step up military and political confrontation with the socialist community, the newly-free countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and national liberation movements. "The central issue of the present international situation," says the Political Resolution of the congress, "has become the issue of peace or war and how to avert a thermonuclear war."¹

U.S. imperialism with its militarist insanity has a direct helper and accomplice in the present Chinese leadership. The aggressively expansionist tendencies of Washington and Peking, which are in collusion, endanger all peoples. They also pose a serious threat to India. The United States and China are jointly arming Pakistan, whose nuclear ambitions they support, and setting up bases on its territory. The Chinese military is establishing itself with growing confidence in the part of Kashmir occupied by troops of Zia-ul-Haq, the Pakistani dictator. The rapid military build-up in the Indian Ocean and the pro-imperialist stance of the current regime of Bangladesh indicate that India is being virtually encircled. Preparations are under way to strike our country from within. Washington, Peking and Islamabad encourage and support separatist forces in the north-east and northwest of India that are trying to undermine our national unity and territorial integrity.

A sober analysis of the situation on the South Asian subcontinent and in the world, led the congress to the conclusion that a task of the first importance today is to mobilize the masses against the danger of a nuclear catastrophe and the policy of stepping up tensions, military provocations and threats that the U.S. imperialists and their allies are pursuing, and to steadfastly expose the great-power, hegemonist ambitions of the Peking neo-Maoists.

Noting that the Indira Gandhi government is committed to a policy of peace, nonalignment and anti-colonialism and is following what is basically a positive line, the congress called for the broadest possible unity of all anti-imperialist patriotic forces behind this nationally accepted policy. The communists defend it against reactionary, pro-imperialist forces but criticize it when the government shows vacillation or inconsistency. This inconsistency expresses itself in statements about India being "equidistant" from the United States and the Soviet Union and allegations about "conflict and rivalry between the superpowers" being the source of the current worsening of the international situation.

Speakers at the congress pointed out that the policy of promoting bonds of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries fully meets India's national interests. It is also in the interest of world peace. The realization of Soviet proposals, primarily the far-reaching and realistic Peace Program adopted by the 26th CPSU congress, as well as subsequent initiatives put forward by the Soviet government and by Leonid Brezhnev personally, would play a highly important part in defending and strengthening peace. To give their resolute support to these proposals and initiatives is a prime task of the peace forces of our country and a direct duty of their most purposeful and active contingent, the communists.

The eventful four years that have passed since the 11th CPI congress may be divided into two periods: the period before the fall of the Janata Party government (1979) and the period after the elections for the Lower Chamber of parliament (1980) and the accession of the Indian National Congress led by Indira Gandhi (INC (I)) to power. In spite of this transition, however, the country's deep social, economic and political crisis has been going from bad to worse throughout these past years.

A halting and meager increase in production, a decline in the gross domestic product per head and inflationary spurts in prices are only some of the more salient aspects of the economic situation. The real earnings of the workers and other employees are falling off despite some increase in dearness allowances won as a result of bitter struggles. The agrarian reforms have virtually been suspended. A price spread increased by inflationary pressure has a most negative impact on the plight of the peasants and agricultural workers, who are ruthlessly exploited by monopolies as it is. Prices of agricultural products, in comparison with manufactured goods, declined by 4.4 per cent

in 1978-1979, 14.4 per cent in 1979-1980 and 22.2 per cent in 1980-1981. The number of registered unemployed nearly doubled between December 1976 and October 1981, rising from 9.7 to 17.5 million.

The sixth five-year plan is in a total mess due to run-away inflation. Hence the "pruning" of the state-controlled "core sector." Even this sector has now been opened up to imperialist monopolies and transnationals.

The new industrial policy announced by the INC(I) government in July 1980 formalized the beginning of a reversal of the nationally accepted policy of self-sufficiency, with reliance on the state sector controlling the commanding heights in the national economy. The new policy reduced the role of this sector to laying the groundwork for an infrastructure. Then came steps toward an "export-oriented economy" and "import liberalization" which further undermine self-reliance and the state sector and aggravate the crisis.

To meet the heavy deficit in budgets, recourse is had to undue currency expansion, which gives rise to further inflation. And to remedy an adverse balance of trade, the government takes large loans from the IMF and other imperialist financial institutions. Granted on stringent terms that have been even more stringent since the Reagan administration came to power, these loans seriously undermine the economic independence of our country.

Economic relations with socialist countries have an entirely different trend. An important positive aspect of the government's activity is the significant expansion of scientific, technological and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. By helping our country to resist the pressure of imperialist monopolies and transnationals, this cooperation helps to build an independent national economy.

The party's socio-economic guidelines set out in the 24-point Action Program adopted by the congress include the demand that the economy be developed on an independent plan basis. This implies a dominant position for the state sector and the promotion of economic relations and trade with socialist countries and newly-free states. The CPI advocates the nationalization of foreign and domestic monopoly capital, a revision of all agreements on cooperation with transnationals and curbs on the transfer of their profits to other countries. We consider that the state should take over all foreign trade operations as well as wholesale trade in foodgrains and essential consumer goods, whose sale should be put under the supervision of popular committees. The pro-

gram envisages certain other measures intended to ease the plight of the working people in urban and rural India, protect them to some extent from the destructive effects of the crisis that has gripped the country and help to improve the working and living conditions of the masses.

Recent developments have on the whole confirmed the correctness of the following estimation made at Bhatinda four years ago: "... The crisis of the capitalist path of development pursued by the ruling class since Indian independence has sharpened and developed into a crisis of bourgeois class politics, a crisis of bourgeois class rule." As a consequence, the domestic situation is becoming more and more complicated and dangerous.

After two years in power, the political influence of the INC(I) is visibly on the decline. The deep internal crisis of the party is coming out more and more, both at the center and in the states, manifesting itself in various forms, such as rampant corruption and sharp factional struggles. This tends to paralyze the administrative apparatus, undermine public order and create a situation of virtual lawlessness. Dacoities, daylight robberies, molesting of women and atrocities against the Harijans² are becoming a common occurrence. To put down discontent and mass resistance, the authorities ever more often resort to repression and attacks on democratic and trade union rights. The trend toward an authoritarian regime is growing.

At the same time, bourgeois opposition parties and groups are undergoing further splits and further disarray. Having tied their fortunes to the bankrupt capitalist path, they cannot offer a policy differing essentially from the current policy of the ruling party and this is creating a dangerous political void.

Against this background, the bourgeois opposition parties are once again making serious efforts to put up another bourgeois alternative to INC(I) rule on the Janata Party pattern of 1977. The role of shock troop is going to be assigned to the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the political wing of the paramilitary Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS) organization.

The BJP is rabidly Hindu, chauvinist, pro-imperialist, pro-monopoly, pro-feudal and anti-communist. The hard core of its cadre is made up of RSS fanatics. It is operating all over the country and is particularly strong in some areas of the Hindi-speaking states. It is now spreading to non-Hindi-speaking areas. In this way reaction wants to fill the void created by the declining influence of the INC(I) and to counter the growing influence of the left.

A bourgeois alternative headed by a right reactionary party like the BJP would have direct consequences for the country. The 12th congress laid special emphasis on the need for an ideological and political struggle in two directions simultaneously. First, against the retrograde internal policy of the INC(I) government, which tries to appease the monopolies and other vested interests and hits the interests of the working class and other working people. Second, against the BJP and other reactionary chauvinist and separatist forces, which are becoming more active in different parts of the country as they try to exploit growing mass discontent. The only way to stop the anti-democratic, anti-popular activity of the authorities, defend the working people's interests and defeat the plans of right reactionaries aspiring to power is by joint effort, by launching a militant mass movement.

The crisis of the capitalist path and capitalist policy has gone so deep that no bourgeois party is in a position to lead the country out of it, any more than to safeguard the country against authoritarianism. We are deeply convinced that this can only be brought about by implementing the left and democratic alternative whose concept was worked out by the Bhatinda Congress.³

The 12th CPI congress focused attention on this issue not only because the burning problems of the people cannot be solved without radical socio-economic transformations marking a transition to a consistently anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and anti-feudal path of development, but also because the urgency and possibility of these transformations stand out against the background of impending events. The coming period will be stormy, rich in sharp political and class struggles and characterized by swift realignments and possibly by sharp twists and turns in the political situation.

Concretizing the task of evolving a left and democratic alternative in the context of the growing instability of bourgeois power, the congress pointed out the primary importance of strengthening and deepening left unity. "Without a strong and united left," the Political Resolution says, "a left and democratic alternative cannot emerge in our country."⁴

The CPI is of the opinion that while agreements with bourgeois parties or sections of them on some occasions and on specific issues are possible, they are bound to be of a limited and temporary nature. They cannot minimize the crucial importance of left unity. For democratic sections of the bourgeois parties to accept joint action with the left, the left itself must be

strong enough and possess the ability to inspire confidence in success.

The emergence of the left and democratic alternative will probably take place differently in different states depending on the given situation. But an indispensable condition in all of them is the strengthening of left unity, which means, above all, joint action by the CPI and the parallel communist party (Marxist) — CPI(M) on a new and higher level. Considerable headway has been made over the past period in this direction. This was made possible by the perspective of left and democratic unity, with emphasis on unity of the communist movement, which the Bhatinda Congress called for. Closer relations between our two parties and the further elimination of differences between them were also facilitated by shifts in the CPI(M) policy on several questions, such as the recognition of the need to defend and strengthen Indo-Soviet ties of friendship, and the CPI(M)'s critical re-evaluation — if partial, qualified and sometimes self-contradictory — of its attitude to the policies of the Chinese leadership.

However, the present situation demands much stronger and closer unity of thought and action, unity at the political, programmatic level, which necessitates patient and sustained effort in the political and ideological spheres. This could pave the way for the communist movement in our country to reunite at long last on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. We are for reunification on this principle.

Speakers at the 12th congress stressed time and again that to strengthen left unity and evolve a left and democratic alternative, it is indispensable to strengthen our party and mass democratic organizations and to build them up as dynamic weapons so as to enable the CPI and its supporters to take timely and effective initiatives on issues concerning our country and our people. Never before has the independent role which our party and mass organizations must play in the mobilization of the popular movement and in the ongoing political struggles been of as decisive importance as today. This is why communists stressed the need to concentrate on increasing the party's influence and extending its political base among the working class, agricultural workers, the rural poor, the Harijans, weaker minorities, the students, youth and women. There are favorable conditions for this now.

The Organization Report approved by the congress criticizes the weaknesses and shortcomings hampering the further growth of our party and mass organizations. It urges the party to fight without compromise against alien class habits, strengthen Leninist standards and

forms of party life, improve the functioning of branches and exercise unrelenting control over the training and promotion of young cadre members. It is necessary to improve party work at the grass roots and see to it that communists steadily raise their political standard.

Loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is an inexhaustible source of strength for the party. The CPI, it was said at the congress, resolutely combats Maoism and other alien trends and beats off all slanderous attacks on the Soviet Union and other countries of existing socialism. It spares no effort in strengthening the world communist movement from positions of principle.

The decisions of the 12th CPI congress will serve the party as a dependable guide in the stormy period ahead. An assurance of the successful implementation of the party line is the solid ideological and political unity of our ranks, the continuous strengthening of ties with the working class and other working people, and creative application of Marxism-Leninism in Indian conditions.

1. *Political Resolution. Adopted by 12th Congress of CPI, Adhikari Nagar, Varanasi, March 22-28, 1982.* New Delhi, 1982, p. 3.

2. Members of the lower castes.

3. C. Rajeshwara Rao, "An Important Landmark," WMR, July 1978. — Ed.

4. "Political Resolution," p. 24.

Disarmament and the Economy

R. Faramazyán

A comprehensive study of not only the economic and social effects of the arms race, but also the effects of converting a military economy to peaceful uses.

A book which supplies the facts and the arguments to counter the idea that disarmament would cause unemployment.

cloth 172 pp \$4.95

PROGRESS BOOKS
71 Bathurst St.
Toronto, Ontario M5V 2P6

Fundamental aspects of press management

Otto Cmolik

CPCz Central Committee alternate member,
department head at the CPCz Central Committee

The importance of the mass media is particularly great under socialism. They hold a central place in the system of ideological education, serving as the spokesman of and helping to mold public opinion, contributing to studying the people's sentiments, and constituting an element of society's spiritual culture and, at the same time, an informal channel of administration. The significance of the press, radio, and television is steadily growing at the present stage of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia, a stage characterized by a further enhancement of the party's leading and guiding role.

The Czechoslovak press fulfils its social functions in a sharp struggle with imperialist centers of ideological subversion operating abroad and endeavoring to undermine confidence in the CPCz policies, in socialism, and in the socialist mass media. Unable to refute that there is ideological and political unity in our press, bourgeois propaganda alleges that this unity stems from "communist dictation" and is evidence that there is no "freedom of the press" in Czechoslovakia.

To give these allegations a semblance of plausibility our ideological adversaries frequently refer to Lenin's postulate on the place and significance of the press in party work. Indeed, in "Party Organization and Party Literature," written in 1905, Lenin noted that "literature must become part of the common cause of the proletariat, a 'cog and a screw' of one single party mechanism motivated by the entire conscious vanguard of the whole working class (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 10, p. 45). In order to run a dividing line between partisanship and democracy, the champions of bourgeois "freedom of speech" accentuate one aspect of this proposition, namely, the conversion of the press into, figuratively speaking, "a cog and a screw." But they are studiously silent about the main point of Lenin's postulate, namely, consistent service in the interests of the working class and all other working people and the inadmissibility of speculation with the ideals and slogans of socialism for anti-socialist purposes.

Bourgeois propaganda regards as "free" only

an anti-party, anti-socialist press. However, in Czechoslovakia, where the building of the new society has become the affair of all the working people, such a press would under no circumstances express the opinion of the masses; it would be alien and hostile to them. The crisis development in Czechoslovak society in 1968-1969 demonstrated that controlled by a handful of "intellectuals" and provocators pursuing anti-socialist aims, the media became a means of confusing the people, coercing public opinion, exercising moral terror, and making a caricature of democracy.

Our party constantly makes sure that the mass media articulate and protect the people's interests. This is the essence of the management of the press springing from the political unity of Czechoslovak society shaped as a result of the historical process of socialist reconstruction, from the unity of all classes and social groups and of the National Front organizations recognizing the CPCz program and supporting the party's leading role.

Far from conflicting with the norms of democracy, the partisanship of the socialist press is the guarantee of the consistent observance of these norms. Everything boils down to the approach to democracy and freedom of the press. We communists abide by the class approach and regard as democracy and support and deepen only what serves the cause of socialism.

For the sake of ensuring the continued sovereignty of the people, in other words, democracy for the working people, it is not only permissible but justified to restrict the possibility for the spread of views directed against the people. This understanding of the freedom of the press has always been implicit in progressive journalism. In keeping with Lenin's behest, we preserve this understanding along with all democratic elements of national and world culture. In Czechoslovakia propaganda of war, fascism and racism, and the preaching of violence and views contravening socialist morals are forbidden by law. However, there is no censorship — observance of this constitutional norm is maintained by media workers themselves.

The unity of our society and the democratic substance of party leadership of the press are mirrored in the structure and social status of the press. Our constitution enshrines the principle that publishing houses and newspaper and magazine printshops are placed at the disposal of organizations of the working people united in the National Front. Our adversaries ignore this fact and try to create the impression that the entire press is controlled by the communists. However, only 31 of the national newspapers and journals are run by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, while the remaining 96 are brought out by the other organizations of the National Front. Central dailies with a fairly large circulation, in proportion to their influence in society, are issued not only by the CPCz but also by other political parties, the trade unions, and the Socialist Youth League.¹ As was noted at the 16th congress of the CPCz, these organizations are making a large contribution toward explaining the aims of the Communist Party's policies to the people and toward mobilizing the people for the fulfillment of adopted plans. Newspapers and journals expressing the specific interests of various social groups contribute to strengthening unity between the party and the people.

In our country diverse concrete methods are used in the management of the press. But there is no and never has been allowance for administration by injunction, for administration by directive on any particular issue. The party influences the press, defining the ideological orientations and their functions at this or that stage of social development. The manner these tasks are carried out in concrete cases and by various publications depends mainly on the journalists themselves, on their political maturity, ideological commitment, and professional skill. At the same time, thanks to the accountability of editorial staffs, the party and other National Front organizations are able to follow their performance and prevent any weakening of the ideological criteria of published matter.

Another important form of press management is the direct work of communists in newspapers and journals. Members of our party work not only in CPCz but also in other publications, doing much to explain the aims of socialist construction and make the printed word more effective. The party trusts journalists. However, having drawn conclusions from our own experience we attach considerable importance to having our media employ only persons with a socialist world view and commitment and vitally interested in the attainment of the aims of socialist construction. Much new blood has come into the media during the past

decade. This has ensured the restoration of a healthy, businesslike, and creative atmosphere in editorial offices and the promotion of the democratic traditions of the Czechoslovak press.

Party leadership of the work of the press stimulates their political and professional development. In view of the steady growth of the people's educational, cultural, and social consciousness level, the CPCz orients the mass media on a constant improvement of their standard. In assessing the work of the media, it continuously reminds journalists that propaganda does not tolerate stereotypes, that only absorbing and creatively-written material will have a response from the people. "The mass media, as all our politico-educational work," Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CPCz Central Committee, said at the party's 16 congress, "must resolutely rid themselves of remnants of formalism, hollow rhetoric, stereotypes, and vulgarization."² Although there have been successes, much still remains to be done to meet this requirement.

A natural feature of the socialist society's mass media is that they have their roots among the people. In an effort to prove the opposite, hostile propaganda alleges that under socialism there is a "dual consciousness" — the party's official view expressed by the mass media, and the actual view of the people supposedly at variance and sometimes even in opposition to it.

These fabrications are pulverized by the facts about the publication and circulation of the press in Czechoslovakia. Statistics of the past few years indicate that the readership of the central party press has grown notably among non-party people. In 1975-1980 the communist membership increased 11.2 per cent, while the number of non-party subscribers rose by almost 15 per cent. Subscription is going up also for other party publications, both newspapers and journals. This is indicative of the great prestige enjoyed by the CPCz's publications. They are read by people who are not party members but are keen to know its stand on key problems. In the face of these facts what is the worth of the talk about "dual consciousness"? Publications that seek to impose an alien view on the people will not be subscribed to or bought voluntarily. When newspapers and journals circulate without compulsion and their printing grows, it means they attract readers and answer the questions the latter are asking.

The popular roots of the press in socialist countries are expressed also by its steadily consolidating links to the people. In Czechoslovak society the reader is not a passive "consumer"

of information "supplied" by newspapers and journals, but an active participant in their work. It will be recalled that Lenin considered that the proletarian press neither can nor should be the product solely of professional journalists. Its viability and militancy depend on the creative participation of the people themselves, on a constant influx of their comments, contributions, letters, opinions and advice. The stable and constantly widening link of the socialist press with its readership is one of the guarantees of its popular roots. At the same time this is an effective form of generalizing the people's collective experience, a way of expressing public opinion, and a tangible means of implementing the right to participation in the administration of the country's affairs. Day-to-day contact with readers helps to provide interesting material for articles, cycles and columns, produce ideas for campaigns run by newspapers and journals, and improve the forms and methods of their work.

Letters from the people on current problems are published regularly in *Rude pravo* and other newspapers. Of course, the flow of reader response is far greater than the space that can be given to it. For instance, *Rude pravo's* mailbag in 1981 consisted of more than 40,000 letters. Roughly between four and eight per cent of the entire mail finds its way to the pages of newspapers and journals. These are most interesting, socially significant and topical letters, which convey the feeling of the people most lucidly. But the other letters are processed: they are generalized in reviews and used as material for editorials, commentaries, and so forth. Readers receive prompt replies to questions and comments, and their suggestions are forwarded to the relevant party organizations, government agencies, and economic bodies.

An effective form of the people's participation in the work of the press is their critical contributions. The party attaches the utmost importance to such criticism and to the removal of the shortcomings it brings to light. We see this not only as a mechanism of people's control but also as a manifestation of socialist democracy in practice. In the CC report to the 16th congress of the CPCz it is stated: "The creation of a broad platform for exchanges of views and the encouragement of constructive criticism is of great importance for the promotion of socialist democracy, of the activity and initiative of the people. We should make it a mandatory rule that leading bodies should respond to people's comments so that criticized shortcomings are removed and the public is notified of this."³

Of course, in criticism too, there must be a principled, class approach. The party is doing everything to encourage constructive criticism that serves socialism and helps to perfect our society. The significance of criticism, as was noted at the 15th plenary meeting of the CPCz Central Committee in 1980, "is that it should induce creative quests for new ways of eliminating shortcomings hindering an improvement of the quality of work and the promotion of efficiency."⁴ The main requirement of criticism is that it should be concrete, constructive, addressed to the proper quarters and, above all, truthful. We make sure that the press is not used for the villification of socialism, as was the case in the 1960s. The media are closed to slander and unfounded criticism, but room is always found for honest criticism sincerely motivated by the desire to help the people's cause. Our party's purpose is that the reply to such criticism should be the elimination of shortcomings. This serves the people as explicit evidence of the efficacy of criticism and of the authority of the press. Newspapers and journals regularly inform their readers of the steps that have been taken in accordance with their comments and suggestions.

True, there still are people in high positions who do not react to the opinion of the press and try to muzzle criticism. This is censured by the party. At its 15th plenary meeting in 1980 the CPCz Central Committee was emphatic in stating that top-echelon executives, departments and institutions are obliged to respond to criticism and make sure that criticized shortcomings are removed.

The Czechoslovak press regularly becomes the lectern of nationwide discussions of major developments in the nation's life. In the period of the preparations for the 16th congress of the CPCz, the party press published over 5,000 letters and suggestions from the people. *Rude pravo* alone published more than 450 contributions from members of party committees at different levels, other political organizations, and non-party people. The party pays close heed to what is said by members of all sections of society during such discussions.

A large role is played by meetings of journalists with the people. In Czechoslovakia these are a long-standing tradition. Festivals of *Rude pravo* and the Bratislava *Pravda* are held annually, and readers' conferences and exchanges of views are sponsored. During Press Day in November 1981, *Rude pravo* staff members gave more than 40 talks for readers. These talks help journalists to see how effective their work is, and they give readers a better understanding of the policies of the party and the National

Front and how these policies are reported in the press.

The CPCz attaches enormous importance to research into the people's views, thoughts and needs, and orients the press on promoting all forms of links with readers. These links are one of the channels through which we constantly feel the heartbeat of the people's life and obtain the information needed for policy-making.

A responsible function of the Czechoslovak press is to give readers an accurate and exhaustive picture of the situation in the country and the world. The people must know everything and do everything consciously (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 256) — this postulate of Lenin's has been and remains not only a key requirement of propaganda but also a basic principle underlying the unity between the party and the people.

The 16th congress of the CPCz set the task of developing a clear-cut public stand on urgent matters of internal and foreign policy. "The mass media," Gustav Husak said, "must show the prospects of socialist construction with consummate political and professional skill, explain the basic development trends of our society frankly, from Marxist-Leninist positions, and generalize the experience of the people. Moreover, they must candidly explain the reasons for difficulties and shortcomings and indicate the ways and means of removing them."⁵

There is no fact or problem of which the socialist press has not given the people an objective and exhaustive idea. Accurate reporting of phenomena and events with account of the prospects of society's development distinguish the socialist from the bourgeois press, which under cover of verbiage about unbiased reporting of reality distorts this reality, sows myths and illusions, and diverts attention from basic social problems. Our press openly declares that it approaches phenomena not from objectivist but from class positions. The content of socialist newspapers and journals daily mirrors the diversity of particular and more general facts of the overall tendency of the present epoch — humankind's transition to socialism and communism on a global scale. This "bias" is, in fact, objectivity and it is consistent with the ongoing course of world history. The bias of the bourgeois press is that it ignores or distorts this general regularity. With an avalanche of "facts" and gutter reporting it hides the actual course of history from the reader, distracts people's attention from the fundamental tasks of revolutionary transformation and socialist restructuring.

The Czechoslovak press does not go in for

cheap sensations. It gives its attention mainly to vital questions linked to the interests and needs of the working people. Its most characteristic feature is its role of organizer in economic construction. Bourgeois ideologists make the charge that the socialist press has turned away from the problems of "human life" and concentrates much too much on the economy. However, as Marxism-Leninism sees it, the foundation of human life is society's economic development, which, under socialism, opens up the broadest opportunities for the realization of people's creative potentials and for the growth of their material and spiritual culture. That is why our newspapers and journals attach paramount significance to showing the interdependence between the socialist way of life and society's economic development, between the economy's potentialities and the growing requirements of the people.

The building of the new society is the creative work of millions. Hence the all-out efforts of the press to constantly focus people's attention on the cardinal questions of this truly national cause. In Czechoslovakia, as in other socialist countries, the printed word ensures the constant and systematic accountability of the political leadership and administrative apparatus to society. During the past decade there has been a doubling of authoritative contributions from Czechoslovak party, civic and government personalities to newspapers and journals. On the eve of the party's 16th congress, the media carried 42 articles written by ranking members of the CPCz Central Committee and officials of ministries and trade unions.

Socio-economic problems are constantly dealt with in our press under headings such as "Together We Shall Carry Out the Congress Program," "Economy, Efficiency, Quality," and "Talks on Cooperation." Special significance is attached to the popularization and dissemination of advanced experience and the most effective methods of work and production. Important material on this general theme is carried practically in every publication.

The press gives much of its attention to social relations, science, culture, the health services, education and sport. A reading of any issue of a newspaper or journal will make it clear that all key aspects of life in socialist society are closely followed by the press.

The media link the fulfillment of economic tasks with social progress, showing through the prism of the life-stories of our contemporaries that this asserts new relations among people. With warmth and attention the press shows how people building the new society change in

the course of socialist construction, which is reshaping the nation's make-up. *Rude pravo*, for instance, runs a regular column headed "People of Our Epoch." By writing of the professional skill, social maturity, and moral perfection of the finest people, journalists help to heighten the educational impact of their example.

The Czechoslovak press, as our society as a whole, is in constant development. The 16th congress of the CPCz, which set the media important tasks, also noted shortcomings arising from journalism's lag behind dynamic social development. Measures are being taken to improve the conditions of the work of newspapers and journals. The basic functions of the state Federal Press and Information Bureau, set up more than a year ago, include coordinating the work of the media, giving them assistance and helping them to obtain information quicker. In recent years the ramified network of periodicals has been enlarged with new publications and circulation has grown. The only obstacle to a fuller satisfaction of the steadily growing reader demand for newspapers and journals is the shortage of paper. Much is being done to modernize the material and technical resources of the media. The ideological, political and professional level of editorial staffs is rising systematically as a result of the efforts of party organs, the Czechoslovak Union of Journalists, and the media themselves.

All this work is guided by the CPCz. The further improvement of party leadership is the guarantee that the socialist press will serve the people more successfully than ever.

1. The CPCz Central Committee issues the newspaper *Rude pravo* (circulation — over 1,000,000), the weeklies *Hospodarske noviny* (95,000), *Zivot strany* (124,000), *Nova mysl* (50,000), *Tvorba* (80,000), and *Tribuna* (82,000), and the popular socio-political journal *Kvety* (360,000). The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia has the Slovak-language newspaper *Pravda* (circulation — over 370,000), the weekly *Nove slovo* (58,000), and the Hungarian-language newspaper *Uj szo* (94,000). District and town party committees have their own newspapers.

The Czechoslovak People's Party puts out the newspaper *Lidova demokracie* (circulation — 219,000), the Czechoslovak Socialist Party runs the newspaper *Svobodne slovo* (230,000), the Party of Slovak Revival has the newspaper *Lud* (12,000), and the Slovak Party of Freedom the weekly *Sloboda* (5,000).

The Central and Slovak Councils of Trade Unions have the newspaper *Prace* (circulation — 350,000) and *Praca* (230,000), the weekly *Svet prace* (85,000), and the fortnightly *Odborar* (122,000). The Central Committee of the Socialist Youth League has the Czech-language newspaper *Mlada fronta* (255,000), the Czech CC of the SYL publishes the journal *Mlady svet* (450,000), while the Slovak CC of the SYL has the newspaper *Smena* (135,000). The Czech and Slovak women's unions issue the journals *Vlasta* (810,000) and *Slovenka* (232,000).

2. XVI. sjezd Komunisticke strany Ceskoslovenska, April 6-10, 1981, Prague, 1981, p. 45.

3. XVI. sjezd Komunisticke strany Ceskoslovenska, p. 41.

4. *Rude pravo*, March 27, 1980.

5. XVI. sjezd Komunisticke strany Ceskoslovenska, p. 45.

Why the PCP is gaining in strength and influence

Albano Nunes

CC member, Portuguese Communist Party

THE CHARACTER OF A COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION

It is universally recognized that at present the communist and workers' parties are operating in different and dynamically changing conditions as they solve largely dissimilar problems. A living and steadily developing organism, the party reacts, as is only natural, to the impact of the environment, acquires new features and varies its "form... to meet the requirements of the moment," as Lenin put it (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 401). At the same time, the party's structure and activity must retain their fundamental class principles which always distinguish it as a revolutionary organization.

Experience indicates that only by preserving its class "pivot" can the party adapt effectively to changing circumstances and choose a correct policy even in the most unexpected and difficult conditions. This idea, expressed in a number of contributions on the character of a communist organization,* is also elaborated in the following article.

The Portuguese revolution is at one of its most complicated stages. The battle over a revision of the constitution is decisive for the future of Portuguese democracy. The reactionaries, who

*WMR, January, February, March and June 1982.

control the government, command a majority in the Assembly of the Republic and hold key positions in the state apparatus, are out to take all power. Their paramount aim is to bring the armed forces under the government's control and make them an instrument of the rightists' offensive against the achievements of the April Revolution of 1974. If they were to achieve their aim this would be tantamount to an anti-democratic coup.

The danger threatening Portuguese democracy is real and serious. However, we communists trust that reaction's plans will be defeated and Portugal will continue on the road opened by the April Revolution. The revolution has already experienced dangerous moments but each time it proved strong enough to hold its ground.

It must be admitted that in seven years of counter-revolutionary offensive (under cabinets headed by the Portuguese Socialist Party — alone or in alliance with conservatives — to say nothing of frankly rightist governments) reaction has succeeded in gravely injuring the gains of the revolution. However, it has been unable to nullify them altogether.

This is because the far-reaching gains of the revolution really meet the objective exigencies of the social and economic development of the country and the interests of the workers and the people as a whole and have been finalized in the constitution, which reaction wants to tear to shreds. They have survived because they are being defended with heroic staunchness by a powerful working-class and popular movement in which the PCP plays the decisive role.

Doing its utmost to weaken and divide this movement, nullify the gains of April, restore the power of monopolies and latifundiums and make Portugal dependent on imperialism as in the past, the class enemy sees its primary task in isolating the party, bleeding it white and splitting it. The weapons used by him against the PCP comprise shameless lies, gross distortions of its policy, vicious anti-Soviet and anti-communist propaganda, discrimination in the media, manipulation of people's religious sentiments, a combination of repressive measures and demagogical promises, and coinciding or even coordinated actions on the part of reformists, "leftists" and right-wing parties.

All this notwithstanding, our party goes on building up its unity and winning new members, and strengthening its positions both where it is strong already (as in the large industrial areas of Lisbon and Setubal and in the agrarian reform areas) and where its leverage is not strong enough yet (as in various districts of the North and Center, on the Azores and on

Madeira). The PCP is the only national party whose rallies and other meetings draw many thousands or even hundreds of thousands of working people. Our electorate is growing (it now exceeds 1,100,000, that is, equals 20 per cent of the total), with more and more communists winning seats in local government bodies.

Some had expected certain setbacks of the revolutionary process, the transition from the period of progress of the revolution to the period of reactionary counter-offensive and the difficulties created by rightists entrenched in the government and key echelons of the state apparatus to weaken communist influence among the masses. But the party continued to grow. The steady growth of its numerical strength, while uneven, continued throughout the revolutionary period.* Contrary to all enemy plans, the PCP is establishing itself more and more as the chief obstacle to counter-revolutionary designs and has become such a force that no major national problem can be solved without, let alone against it. There is increasing evidence of the party's decisive and unique role in defending the interests and aspirations of the working people, democracy and national independence.

We Portuguese communists are often asked how we account for the continuous growth of our organization and its influence. We answer that we owe it mainly to the correctness of our party's policy line and overall activity, both of which are in harmony with the objective dynamics of the revolutionary process and with the aims and tasks of the current stage of the revolution. At this point I wish to note the historic significance of the sixth PCP congress, held illegally in 1965. The congress approved a party program whose main provisions are still valid.

The sixth congress defined the contemporary stage of Portugal's development as a stage of democratic and national revolution, and formulated fundamental theses that subsequent practice proved correct. It called for orientation to the armed overthrow of fascism and stressed that national independence is inseparable from the complete liberation of colonial peoples and the deliverance of Portugal from subservience to imperialism; that there is a close connection between political democracy, on the one hand,

*The PCP had 30,000 members in October 1974; by the time its seventh (extraordinary) congress met, 100,000 in May 1975; 115,000 in November 1976, at the threshold of its eighth congress; 164,000 in May 1979, shortly before its ninth congress; and 187,000 in June 1980 (according to the latest organizing campaign), not to mention the 36,000 members of the Portuguese Communist Youth.

and socio-economic democracy, the abolition of monopoly and the latifundium system and the winning of ample rights for the working people, on the other; that the fascist state must be destroyed and replaced by a democratic power mechanism; and that the working class and the masses must play a decisive part in the process of change. The Portuguese revolution confirms, now as before, the correctness of the PCP analysis, the conclusions drawn from it and the tasks set.

PCP policy at this stage centers on defending the achievements of the revolution and preserving the constitution which gives them legal form, as well as on fighting for a democratic and patriotic alternative to the present government and its policy. We are convinced that this is the only policy corresponding to the objective development of the country and the interests of the people and making it possible to settle serious national problems and preserve national independence.

Portugal is faced with very serious problems. As regards the PCP, the revolutionary party of the working class and other working people, a party which sees the purpose of its existence in changing reality and not in contemplating and explaining it, the important thing for it is to carry the fulfillment of the tasks of the democratic and national revolution — the present stage of the struggle for socialism and communism in our country — through to the end.

Experience has shown that it is not enough to define, however accurately, the stage and general tasks of the revolution and that it is absolutely necessary to answer correctly questions that arise every day.

One of the main reasons why the PCP is gaining in strength and influence is its persevering effort to understand the situation in Portugal and its ability (admitted even by the class enemy) to find sound solutions to the nation's big economic, social and political problems and to lead the movement for the demands and aspirations of the workers and peasants, of all anti-monopoly classes and sectors whose interests are strongly affected by the policy of reactionary governments.

Characteristically, the most important PCP documents contain both an estimation of the general situation and specific proposals for the solution of the urgent problems mentioned above. It is safe to say that every worker can see in our proposals an expression of the vital interests of his class, social stratum or professional group.

This attention to the working people's needs and requirements is prompted by the party's vanguard role in the struggle of the people, its

close and permanent links with the masses and the energetic and creative everyday effort of the communists, who reject all demagoguery and carry on their work according to the "principle of the truth."

I will give two examples to illustrate the foregoing. One example concerns the commissions functioning under the CC PCP and making it possible to feel the heartbeat of people in key spheres of national life. I mean, in particular, the commissions for economic problems, the agrarian reform, trade union work, propaganda and information, work among small and medium farmers and women, in the local government bodies and in small and medium enterprises. There are similar commissions at the regional and local level.

These commissions are not, of course, expected to substitute themselves for the Central Committee or its executive bodies, or to directly guide the party's activities in the fields concerned. Their function is to pool information, analyze experience and draft documents and proposals. Their composition is highly representative. Needless to say, the communists on them are competent people. But in addition to experts, the commissions include numerous comrades who are active in various regional party organizations and numerous unitary structures of the popular movement and so look daily into the problems, maintain close contacts with the masses and have experience of organizing class struggles. Practice has shown that in Portuguese conditions these commissions are an important instrument making it possible to see problems clearly and make the right decisions.

The other example is national conferences of the PCP on matters of national significance. The period since April 25, 1974 has seen conferences on the economic renaissance of Portugal, the development of the nationalized sector, relations between Portugal and the Common Market, local government, and so on. Preparations are under way for a national conference on women's problems, to be held this year.

These conferences have met with nationwide response. To study the conclusions drawn and documents worked out by them (most of them have been published by the party) is a natural thing to do for anyone who really wants to gain a proper insight into problems. The value of the documents is determined by the course of conference preparations. Their drafting is preceded by a thorough analysis of problems. Research teams prepare the early wordings of theses to be submitted to the whole party for discussion. Hundreds of suggestions, amend-

ments and new formulations come in. We heed above all the opinion of comrades active in the field whose problems the proposed conference is to deal with. When this additional information has been generalized we do the final editing of proposals.

This work directly involves experts, members of enterprise party branches, people active on working people's commissions and in the trade union movement and deputies to local government bodies — in short, all who can make a useful contribution to the study of the problems under consideration. Discussions involve many non-communists.

What makes us attach such importance to conferences? The communists know very well that to arrive at correct solutions, we must carry on a dialogue with the masses, must keep in close contact and discuss the party's policy line with them. This is an important principle of our work, a characteristic of all PCP activity.

The right choice of form of action in defense of the achievements of the revolution and the democratic regime also helps directly strengthen the party organizationally and raise its prestige among the masses.

The PCP considers that the main forms today are *mass action, direct assistance by the working people in solving problems of vital importance, appeals to central bodies, work in local government bodies and participation in elections*. All these forms, which require constant attention, are necessary; not one of them may be underrated, for this would seriously prejudice the people's struggle as a whole. The main thing is to properly combine diverse forms, since ultimately they all serve one and the same purpose.

The masses are used to seeing in the PCP a party which has only one face and never fails to keep its word. When, in the 1974-1976 period, the party was represented in provisional governments, its attitude in the government was the same as in factories, cooperatives and the streets, where everyday struggles went on. The communists' presence in the government, far from shackling the revolutionary action of the masses, is a powerful incentive to it.

Our party is pursuing this line in the qualitatively different conditions created by the counter-offensive of reaction. PCP deputies loyally keep their promises to the electorate in the Assembly of the Republic, in relations with other central bodies and in local government bodies controlled by the party as well as where the communists are a minority. Ours is not an "electoralist" or "parliamentarian" party. It participates in elections in close connection with the people's overall struggle. We give

elections much attention without ever making an absolute of them, since otherwise there would be a negative shift in the party's emphasis on issues of fundamental importance.

Popular action is a decisive form of defending the gains of the revolution and the democratic regime, and the principal factor in resisting the offensive of reaction, a factor capable of bringing about badly needed changes within the framework of the democratic alternative. The working class united behind the General Confederation of Portuguese Workers — National Intersindical — is the cementing force of the popular movement.

The struggle of factory workers, agricultural workers and peasants in the agrarian reform area, teachers, civil servants, pensioners, elderly people and members of the intermediate strata, actions by population groups for demands of a local nature, large-scale demonstrations on April 25 and May Day, and protest demonstrations against government policies — all these popular initiatives are supported by the PCP and promoted with the active and constructive participation of communists.

Also worth mentioning is a less known PCP activity such as the mobilization of working people for a positive solution of specific problems. What I mean is that in democratic Portugal, where far-reaching revolutionary changes — nationalization, an agrarian reform and workers' control — have been effected, the attitude to labor has changed entirely. For the first time in our national history, this finds expression in the working people's active political and revolutionary struggles. Against the background of the ruinous economic and financial policies of successive reactionary governments which block the functioning of the nationalized sector, attack the agrarian reform and cut budget appropriations for local government bodies, the working people exert a beneficial influence on the production process by transforming labor into a weapon used for the good of society and the national economy.

The party plays a unique role in this. In nationalized enterprises, cooperatives and collective production farms of the agrarian reform area, factories operating on the principles of self-management and local government bodies, communists aided by the working people solve most important financial and economic problems in the interest of the people and country, demonstrating in this way the very possibility of such solutions.

All this is evidence that the growing strength of the PCP is inseparable from the communists' role in the struggle of the masses. What enables the party to grow is the thousands of strong

bonds linking it with the masses, its policy which sees a criterion of the party's life and struggle in those of the people.

Ours is a vanguard party of the working class and other working people. The class roots and class goals of its struggle make for its strength and prestige. We strive to extend our influence in large industrial areas, above all in key enterprises, and to form more party branches in the workplaces. The PCP has long been the most authoritative political force in the main working-class centers of the country from the point of view of the strength and influence of its organizations and election results. In some big enterprises the proportion of communists ranges from 10 to 25 per cent.

A related matter is the revolutionary party's social basis and composition. As of June 1980, 57.8 per cent of its members were workers (industrial workers accounted for 45.1 per cent and agricultural workers, for 12.7 per cent). But the communists defend the interests and aspirations of all anti-monopoly classes and social strata. This is why the party membership includes clerical workers (19.2 per cent), peasants (1.8 per cent), engineers and intellectuals (5.1 per cent) and members of other social groups (16 per cent).

I wish to stress that ideologically, politically and organizationally there are no *ouvrierist* sentiments in the PCP. As for the small proportion of peasants — a negative aspect of the party's social composition — it is due to other causes. In any case, we do not in the least minimize the peasants' role in the revolutionary process; on the contrary, we see one of our most important tasks in strengthening the worker-peasant alliance.

Even so, a "golden rule" of the PCP requires that its Central Committee be made up mostly of workers. At present workers account for 51 per cent of the CC membership. Our experience, like the collective experience of the international communist movement, has shown this to be a dependable guarantee of the strength and militancy of the party, of its ability to take its bearings and adopt a correct line in the most complicated situation. Class origin and experience of class struggle derived from life help understand phenomena to an extent that a mere study of them cannot provide.

The party's entire policy is a reflection of its class essence and we regard this as a guarantee of the party continuing to gain in strength and influence and to preserve its revolutionary character.

An important political characteristic of the party is the solid unity of its leadership and rank and file. This unity is a reality, a concept

and a practice. It has stood an endurance test in the Portuguese revolutionary process — a process abounding in unexpected changes — and held out in a great many dangerous and politically complicated situations. This unity marks the party, which fought in conditions of illegality for 48 years and proved after April 25, 1974 its ability to adapt to democratic legality without serious difficulties. Lastly, it is the unity of an organization that is vigorously pressing forward its activity and has become a party of the masses while remaining a cadre party. Accomplishing big tasks in the PCP leadership along with comrades who have a long record of underground work are new people who have been tested and have attained maturity in the course of the revolutionary process.

We owe this solid unity, which some cannot understand while others, primarily our opponents, see it as a product of "authoritarianism," to the ample and profound democracy existing in the party. The party's work is based on the Leninist standards of democratic centralism laid down in the party rules.

However, neither internal democracy, nor statutory discipline, which demands that the minority submit to the majority and binds the membership to carry out the decisions of higher bodies, is a result of mechanical adherence to the rules. Both are a way of thinking and living under which respect for a comrade's opinion, a thoughtful attitude to everyone's experience, and awareness of the fact that the collective mind is better than the individual make inner democracy and discipline an everyday necessity for communists.

Free and frank discussion of PCP policy in all party organizations is a common practice with us, an important condition of furthering and perfecting party work and maintaining conscious and firm discipline. Inside the party, members discuss every problem unhampered, and outside it they uphold a common line.

Inner democracy is a way of life, a way of thinking and acting closely associated with respect for the members' opinion and a desire to take account of the contribution made by everyone (that is, not only communists) to the elaboration of a correct decision. The organic unity of democracy and centralism in the party structure is inseparable from the approach to work that has crystallized in 60 years of party history.

"A class spirit," documents of the ninth PCP congress point out, "is inherent in the entire activity of the party. Collective work combines with individual effort, fraternal criticism, simple and natural self-criticism, comradeship, mutual respect, brotherhood and solidarity

among the communists, democracy as a principle, a line of work and ordinary behavior, prestige that is a result of work and not of formal considerations, respect for comrades fulfilling the most modest tasks, constant and direct contact between the leadership, party organizations and the rank and file, dynamism, energy, initiative and devotion — such are the fundamental aspects of our party's approach to work."

The PCP is a Marxist-Leninist party whose policy line is shaped on the basis of creative application of Marxism-Leninism in Portuguese conditions. It is not in textbooks or "models" devised in advance that we look for answers to questions arising in the course of our struggle, nor do we try to answer them by merely imitating experience that has proved effective in a situation differing from the situation in our country. Aided by Marxist-Leninist theory, the party finds these answers in common with the workers and people in Portuguese realities.

Marxism-Leninism does not at all move communists away from Portuguese reality, nor does it prevent them from analyzing it. On the contrary, it is an indispensable and irreplaceable guide to revolutionary action. Marxism-Leninism teaches communists to take into consideration the particular features of the given country without losing sight of the international context. We see it as an effective instrument of examining Portuguese conditions, revealing new phenomena and development trends and evolving a creative and independent policy line. To us, Marxism-Leninism is not a set of ossified dogmas but a science which is developing continuously and is enriched by the revolutionary practice of the workers and peoples of all continents.

Application of Marxism-Leninism is the very foundation of our ideological work, our education of cadre members and our struggle against opportunist concepts and practices that the enemy constantly galvanizes in the working-class movement and tries to smuggle into the PCP. The party's creative application of Marxism-Leninism in Portuguese conditions and unrelenting defense of it against attack, "correction" or distortion are another important factor for the strength and influence of the PCP.

The entire activity of the PCP is inspired by love of the people and country. However, we never confine ourselves to a narrow national framework, well remembering that our people's fight is part of the fight of all peoples for complete liberation. We remember that the Portuguese revolution fits into the revolutionary process, which is becoming more varied

and richer in content but is, nevertheless, a common worldwide process leading to freedom from capitalist exploitation and to socialism and communism. Patriotism and internationalism are inseparable. This is why the policy of the PCP is at once national and internationalist.

Our party has always seen proletarian internationalism, a class internationalism based on the identity of the fundamental interests and aspirations of the international working class, as the centerpiece of internationalist solidarity and the cementing basis for friendship and cooperation between communist parties and other revolutionary forces. We remain loyal to this fundamental principle.

In line with the ideas of proletarian internationalism, Portugal's communists strive to contribute to stronger unity of the international working-class and communist movement and to closer friendship and mutual solidarity among the main revolutionary forces of our epoch — the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole, progressive countries,* the working-class movement in capitalist countries and the national liberation movement. Inspired by proletarian internationalism, we are fighting against imperialism's militarist and aggressive policy. The PCP regards U.S. imperialism and the more aggressive NATO quarters as the chief menace to peace and the independence and freedom of peoples.

Our party firmly resists the reckless anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaign of reaction, which tries to undermine the faith of the masses in socialist ideas, weaken the world anti-imperialist front and justify the imperialist policy of aggression and war by grossly distorting realities and the policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Reactionary and reformist forces in Portugal would like our party to repudiate its internationalist convictions. To this end they are carrying on an all-out anti-communist offensive to weaken the PCP, taking advantage of well-known events of recent date and whatever else they can derive from the international situation. They want us to prove our "independence" and "democracy" and to abandon an independent class position. But we will never yield to the pressure and blackmail of the class enemy. The Portuguese communists' independence and democracy are confirmed by

*The communists of Portugal consider (this is reflected in their documents) that the realities which have shaped in liberated countries following a socialist road call for a special classification. Hence they use the term *progressive countries* (see *O Militante*, No. 79, 1982, p. 23). — Ed.

their daily struggle. Our party, remaining loyal to proletarian internationalism, is continuing to build up its prestige and influence among the masses.

Such are some of the fundamental factors guaranteeing the growing influence and organizational strength of the PCP. The 60th anniversary of the party (1981) was celebrated

under the slogan of consolidating the positions won and removing shortcomings in inner-party life and in party work among the masses.

The communists will spare no effort to ensure that the PCP accomplishes the tasks facing it as the revolutionary vanguard of the working class and other working people and the decisive force of the Portuguese revolution.

New experience

THE STORY BEHIND THE FACT

AIMS OF THE PUWP IDEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGN

The first All-Poland ideological and theoretical conference was held in Warsaw on April 2-3, 1982. It was attended by more than 400 persons representing scientific Marxist thought, party cadre at large industrial enterprises, party leaders of central and voevode levels, and the staff of mass media.

— from press reports

The following comment is by Wieslaw Rogowski, deputy editor-in-chief of the journal *Nowe drogi*.

In the opening speech Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, said: "This conference is indicative of the rejuvenation of our party's ideological front. Although it is taking place under conditions of martial law, it touches on not only basic issues of the day but also immediate and long-term prospects. . . . That which took place in Poland fully bears out the well-known truth that any departure from the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism and a lack of a creative, responsible approach to national conditions inevitably lead to distortions and difficulties that are promptly used by the external and internal enemies of socialism." Linking the lessons of the past with a view of the future, these words were the keynote of the conference, which was of great significance to the party and socialist Poland.

It heard and debated reports on Leninism as the foundation of the party's work, current and long-term aims of the ideological front, the historical consciousness as the sphere of ideological and political struggle, the social problems of the economic reform, the general and national features of socialist construction in Poland, and other matters. The debates on these reports took place in four thematic sections: general laws of socialist construction, the par-

ty's leading role in the system of socialist democracy, the main problems of the ideological struggle, and the theoretical foundations of party propaganda.

The conference made an in-depth analysis of the events of 1980-1981, went into the causes of the Polish crisis, and considered the processes to be observed in the Polish United Workers' Party. The speakers examined these questions against the background of imperialism's ideological, political, and economic attacks on the world of socialism. In particular, it was noted that nothing had come of the innumerable attempts made since the Second World War to demoralize and undermine the socialist community from within. However, imperialism did not lose its hope of eroding the new social system and kept looking for a vulnerable link.

The capitalist world's centers of political subversion saw Poland as the most receptive of ideological and propaganda influences. The ideological concessions that accompanied the growth of the nation's foreign debt and the spread of pro-Western feeling among a section of the population were, in the view of subversive centers, fertile soil for the sprouting of anti-communist seeds. However, they underrated the strength of socialist ideas, the strength of the party, and the socialist patriotism of the working people. The internal counter-revolutionary groups failed to win the masses, secure a re-orientation of the country's foreign policy, and seize power.

In their analyses of the causes of the economic crisis and of the social and ideological difficulties, the speakers noted Poland's excessive dependence on imports and credits from capitalist countries, the weak resistance to the influence of bourgeois ideas and way of life, and the serious deformation of the principles of party building and socialist democracy. Taken together, the loss of class criteria in assessing and shaping the nation's policy in 1971-1980 and the misconceived foreign and domestic economic course created the basis for the infil-

tration of alien ideology and the appearance of political counter-revolutionary programs. The activities of internal centers of anti-socialist diversion in 1980-1981 coupled with the most severe political and socio-economic crisis ever to hit People's Poland led to a weakening of the socialist elements of the public consciousness and a recurrence of bourgeois influence on that consciousness.

The firm and sovereign decision of the Polish government to proclaim martial law cut short the plans of the counter-revolution. The party began restoring its influence among the different sections of society, notably young people. In the PUWP itself an offensive was started against the most pernicious opportunist and undisguisedly right tendencies, which, while they were not predominant, inflicted considerable harm on the party.

The restoration of the PUWP's influence and strength, it was declared at the conference, is linked to a return to the ideological foundations of Marxism-Leninism, to the creative application of its universal principles. The strengthening of the party's prestige and role requires the cohesion of all its members, the consolidation of the ties linking it to the working class, and the assertion of Marxist-Leninist principles in its life and work. Only by restoring in full its leading role in society can the party carry out the tasks confronting it: bring the economy back to health, create the economic mechanisms of development, ensure Poland's independence of the West, and reinvigorate its broad cooperation with the socialist countries in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

An imperative of the day, the speakers pointed out, was to promote the party's ideological work to embrace all party organizations and all social groups, the workers of big factories and young people in the first place. Quite obviously, a major role in this work must be played by the party's centers of theoretical thought that bear direct responsibility for enhancing the prestige and social attractiveness of Marxism-Leninism.

The sphere of the historical consciousness, it was said at the conference, was turned by the class enemy into a sphere of ideological and political struggle that grew extremely sharp in the period of the social crisis. It became one of the directions along which efforts were made to seize power. Enemies sought to distort the history of People's Poland, around anti-Soviet feeling, and attribute the neglect of research in history and ideology not to the political mistakes of the past and ideological deformations but to Marxism-Leninism. This, the speakers

said, is why it is important for the party to remove the distortions of the nation's past and create the conditions for a Marxist understanding of history and of the world today. Facts and historical specifics must be approached with care, without empty talk, without rhetoric. The central tasks in the social sciences, it was stated, are: to develop Marxist studies and, shape the historical consciousness resting on scientific achievements and understanding of the laws of social development and helping to assert socialist views and ideals.

The civil movement for national concord is a new development in Poland. This movement commenced after December 13, 1981 as an expression of public support for the Military Council of National Salvation. It expresses the people's will to halt the disruptive activities of anti-socialist forces, restore order, and stabilize life in the country. National salvation committees are springing up spontaneously, with the massive participation and initiative of lower party organizations. These committees are composed of members of the PUWP, the United Peasants Party, and the Democratic Party, and also non-party people, including religious people. Their principal purpose is to safeguard socialism, stabilize the socio-economic and political situation, and promote the nation's alliances and its cooperation with other CMEA countries. By embracing a wide spectrum of ideological and civil forces, these committees provide the foundation for a front of national concord and the restoration of Poland's strength in the spirit of the resolutions of the ninth extraordinary PUWP congress. The line toward national concord, it was pointed out at the conference, is also a line of struggle against the enemies of socialism.

Close attention was given to problems such as the party's functions in society, its leading role, and the character, aims, and methods used by the socialist state. The party's role, it was noted, remains immutable in the present, extraordinary conditions as well. The PUWP charts state policy and draws up the program for overcoming difficulties and for the country's future development. It performs this mission on the basis of its gains in the period of socialist construction. This is confirmed by its day-to-day work, especially among the working class, and its efforts to promote socialist relations in all areas of national life.

The class essence of the state, it was said, and also its political foundation — the worker-peasant alliance and the socialist character of social relations, which determine the aims, methods and foundations of the government's functions — are decisive. The misconceived

theories about the "moral and political unity of the people" obscured the actual state of relations in Polish society and the dimension of the influence exercised on it by alien ideologies. The thesis that Poland had entered the stage of developed socialism was likewise contrary to reality, because there was a sphere in which socialist social relations were not predominant. Note was made of the need to assess the course of events, of society's development realistically.

By its examination of many urgent political

and ideological problems the conference thus enriched the analysis of the situation in the country and in the party and brought to light possible ways and means of ending the crisis and ensuring the unity of socialist society. It emphasized that there has to be a determined stand against the influence of the enemies of socialism and helped to arm the party ideologically. It can thus be said that the all-Poland first ideological and theoretical conference was a major step in consolidating the PUWP's unity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory.



The food problem: search for new solutions

Todor Bozhinov

CC Political Bureau member, Bulgarian Communist Party,
First Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers of the PRB

REALITIES OF SOCIALISM

Concern for people is the underlying purpose of our party's program for building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria. The accelerated development of the nation's productive forces, the improvement of the relations of production, and progress in various areas — all have the welfare of people as their ultimate objective. The 12th congress of the BCP reaffirmed that the party's overriding socio-economic task is to continue the line toward the comprehensive satisfaction of the people's growing material, cultural and social requirements by intensifying the economy, consistently applying the new economic approach and the new economic mechanism, and achieving a further improvement of socialist social relations.

Socialist agriculture has an important role to play in the fulfillment of this task. On it depends the level of food consumption, which is a major indicator of the people's living standard. In Bulgaria much has been achieved in this area. Suffice it to note that the nation now annually consumes between two and three times more meat, milk, fish and vegetables than 20 years ago. Our aim is to meet scientific norms of food consumption. But this requires the use of all potentialities — scientific breakthroughs, technical innovations, and effective organization. Where organization is concerned emphasis is made on food self-sufficiency in constellations of population centers.

Before describing these systems and giving an idea of how self-sufficiency works, let us note the most essential point, namely, that the new system of food supply was made possible by the socialist restructuring of Bulgaria's agriculture. Creatively applying the fundamental principles of Lenin's cooperative plan in Bulgaria, our party with Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the CC, at its head charted its agricultural policy at the plenary meeting of its Central Committee in April 1956. This policy has made it possible to unite all the peasants in cooperatives of farming households. In 1958-1960 the cooperatives were enlarged in order to use all the advantages of socialist production. Subsequently, the cooperatives became the basis for agro-industrial complexes that represent a qualitatively new form of organizing work and production. Through concentration and specialization in the complexes, agriculture has been raised to a higher productivity level than in the cooperatives. Bulgaria is now among the countries with the highest level of agricultural concentration: 300 large organizations cultivate 4,100,000 hectares or over 85 per cent of the arable land.

The agro-industrial complexes are patterned on the principle of vertical integration. With their advanced material and technical facilities, they embrace the entire "land — end-product" cycle, in other words, they not only grow produce but also process and sell it. They have a

modern material-technical base. The fixed assets of agriculture have doubled in the past 10 years; in terms of per working person the availability of power has more than doubled. Basic farm work is now almost entirely mechanized. The quantity of mineral fertilizer used per hectare went up from less than one kilo in 1948 to 174 kilos in 1979, placing Bulgaria ahead of the USA, Italy, Canada and some other countries. Over 25 per cent of the cultivated land is irrigated: this is among the highest ratios in Europe.

The rate of intensification of agriculture is growing rapidly. During the past 20 years investments in terms of per 100 hectares of arable land have more than doubled; there has been a dramatic increase in the capacity of mechanical and electrical motors, the number of tractors, and the volume of mechanized work. Every person now working in agriculture produces 3.4 times more output than 20 years ago. The annual grain output averages one ton per person. There has been a substantial increase in the output of vegetables and fruit and in livestock productivity.

Bulgaria's experience of setting up agro-industrial complexes is being used in some other socialist countries and it has aroused interest in many countries that have won liberation from colonial oppression. Our agriculture not only satisfies the requirements of the population and the processing industry but also accounts for roughly 30 per cent of the nation's total export; there is a stable, growing demand for its output abroad. One of the most notable factors facilitating the growth of food exports is the socialist division of labor in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, in which relations are founded on the principles of equality and mutual benefit. The diversity of soil and climatic conditions and the specialization of the production of food in the countries of the community make it possible to maintain the supply of fresh products longer, provide the population with a larger range of food, and make farming more profitable.

The potentialities for further concentration and specialization in this area are, of course, far from having been exhausted. The agro-industrial complexes are the foundation of forms of organizing work and production that widen the sphere for the use of industrial methods. In this context, special attention was given to a *new type of composite teams*.

These teams grow all the crops on the land attached to them. The conditions are being created for the most effective pattern of production on this land, with a more efficient system of crop rotation and farming available land,

including long-fallow land. Specialized technologies requiring machines that are used for only a few days in the course of a year are being replaced by more universal technologies that allow using advanced machinery and rural labor resources evenly, throughout the year.

The new type of team is self-paying and enjoys considerable economic independence. The agro-industrial complexes, with which the teams sign contracts, turn over to the latter part of their maintenance and marketing functions. Moreover, a team may sign contracts with other teams in its own or other complex. This co-operation allows for a more efficient use of labor in seasonal production and for maneuvering resources more quickly. Team organization of the new type ensures a higher level of labor productivity and production efficiency, which are the principal criteria for assessing the results of work.

The big composite teams are given charge of from 2,000 to 5,000 hectares of land, and sometimes even more, depending on concrete conditions. For example, a team in Shable, Tolbukhin District, works 5,000 hectares of land and consists of 100 persons, of whom 39 are machine operators. It expends an average of four man-hours to produce a ton of wheat, which is standard in countries with the highest level of agricultural development.

The grouping of population centers into constellations has given scope to the new forms of organizing work with the result that there is greater territorial and branch specialization and concentration in agriculture. These are constellations in which rural communities engage in joint production and have a common transport and services network. When socio-economic, territorial or cultural problems are decided, each such constellation is regarded as an entity.

The boundaries of the constellations and agro-industrial complexes coincide. Under the former administrative-territorial division some of the large complexes were spread over the territory of several communities and came within the administrative authority of several communal party committees and people's councils. Now there is unity of territorial, party, governmental and economic direction within the framework of one agro-industrial complex and one constellation of population centers. This enables them jointly to discuss and decide any problem related to the improvement of the patterns of production, investments and the efficient use of labor resources. Better use is made of available housing and the material-technical resources of rural communities, and living and working conditions are being

brought up to the urban level more quickly. This reduces migration from rural communities to the big towns.

The dynamic development of the productive forces and the increased maturity of social relations are ensuring a *consistent and comprehensive utilization of the new economic approach* to the management of the economy and other social spheres. Last year, after the principles of this approach were considered at plenary meetings of the BCP Central Committee and national conferences of party activists and managerial staffs, they were approved by the party's 12th congress. These provide for a fuller use of socialist commodity-money relations and the associated economic levers in the interests of building a developed socialist society.

In perfecting the economic mechanism special attention is paid to clearly demarcating the functions of the state as the owner of public property and those of work collectives as the masters disposing of this property. Using the advantages of centralized planning, which is an achievement by socialism, the central organs and the economic organizations are increasingly placing their relations with each other on an economic foundation. Favorable conditions are being created for direct links between the producer and the market, while profits are playing a growing role as the criterion for assessing the work of each economic organization and work collective. This is making for a fuller account in the economy of the law of cost and of commodity-money relations, and consolidates socialist democracy.

"The further use of the multiple approach" (my italics — T.B.), Todor Zhivkov said at the 12th congress of the BCP, "is a major means of improving the structure of production nationwide."* The essence of the multiple approach or the method of multiplying effectiveness lies in organizing the economy in such a way as to allow the benefits — innovations, technologies, developments — obtained in one industry to be used in all other industries where they can be applied. This implies an extensive effort to standardize and unify machinery and technologies and achieve a further deepening of specialization and cooperation.

The new forms of organizing work and production create particularly favorable conditions for the multiple approach in agriculture. The integral material base, the integral technical, production and social infrastructure of the

agro-industrial complexes and constellations of population centers give them the possibility of synthesizing everything advanced that can boost the efficiency of economic management. Unity of branch and territorial interests is being achieved. Many problems that could not be coped with on a branch scale are now being resolved. These include the rational use of labor resources and also of land, water and other natural wealth. Investments are being economized and the cultural and everyday services are being improved.

All these changes necessitated the development of new forms of management consistent with the new economic approach. The Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry was replaced by the National Agro-Industrial Union, a voluntary economic association of state and cooperative organizations. At each of these organizations production covers all the processes of the cycle "land — end-product." The electivity of managerial bodies, cost accounting and mutual benefit are producing new incentives for promoting the efficiency of management and production.

Self-sufficiency does not mean that the supply of food to the population has henceforth been allowed to drift. Social agriculture remains the main source of supply. The entire responsibility for this is borne by the National Agro-Industrial Union, the agro-industrial complexes, and the district and communal people's councils. The executive committees of these councils determine the amount and range of agricultural products to be grown in each constellation of population centers and the food requirements on the basis of scientific norms. If a given constellation is unable to produce all it requires it enters into contract relations with other constellations that can supply it with the products it needs. Centralized state funds are not taken into account — they are only used to supply large industrial centers. These funds are replenished with procurements of agricultural produce, procurements guaranteed by the agro-industrial complexes.

The population's requirements in basic farm products are thus met in the constellations of population centers, and in this lies the significance of "self-sufficiency." For self-sufficiency in basic agricultural products nationwide, a plan is drawn up on the basis of the plans adopted in these constellations, their contracts with each other, and their commitments to meet state procurements. As part of the single plan of socio-economic development of the constellations of population centers, it takes into account the output and sales of farm

*Todor Zhivkov, Report of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party to the 12th Congress and the Immediate Tasks of the Party, Sofia, 1981, p. 44 (in Bulgarian).

products by agro-industrial complexes and personal and ancillary husbandries.

Within the system of self-sufficiency the development of personal husbandries is seen as the continuation of the development of the social economy. This attention to personal husbandries is thus by no means evidence of a return to small-commodity production or a renunciation of the policy of concentration and specialization. From the lectern of the 12th congress of the BCP Todor Zhivkov said: "There are no grounds whatever for counterposing the social to the personal economy. The interests of a socialist society require the harmonious development of the social, personal and ancillary economies ensured by single planning and management at all levels."*

What is the objective need for the further development of personal husbandries? The agro-industrial complexes specialize chiefly in the mechanized cultivation of staple crops, on which the population depends for its supply of basic food products. Basic but not all — the agro-industrial complexes still do not have the equipment for the cultivation of all food crops. Their potentialities are limited in mountainous and hilly country. In such cases the personal husbandry goes to the assistance of social agriculture. In the mountains, on small plots of land which still can only be cultivated manually, the personal husbandry grows a large range of labor-consuming but vital food and breeds domestic livestock. It is important to note that all this is taking place mainly with existing means of production and saves investments and circulating capital.

Labor resources are used more fully with the promotion of personal husbandries. The steady rise of the living standard helps to lengthen life expectancy and keep people fit. That is why among elderly people, whose pensions are guaranteed by our system of social security, many wish to engage in socially useful work under certain conditions. Housewives and, on account of the five-day work week, practically all people have considerable spare time, which they want to use in personal husbandries. Many regard such occupation as active recreation, a life out of doors, and an excellent means of restoring strength. Besides, work in a personal husbandry increases society's wealth, traditionally enjoys high prestige in Bulgaria, and brings people additional income, in other words, contributes to their material well-being. Needless to say, such work is not compulsory. It is done voluntarily and each person

determines what he or she can do. Our laws prohibit the use of hired labor in a personal husbandry.

How does one get land for such a husbandry? Under operating regulations the right to plots of land is enjoyed by families that work a mandatory minimum of work-days in an agro-industrial complex and also by families of peasant pensioners. Plots of land are given by decision of a general meeting of the agro-industrial complex and their size depends on local conditions, the number of people in a family, the family's participation in the work of the complex, and other factors. The maximum size is half a hectare. The general meeting also decides on the number of productive livestock that may be kept in a husbandry.

However, not only people working in a complex can receive land. By agreement with the given complex all people may restore abandoned orchards and truck gardens, cultivate unused land, or receive a plot of undeveloped mountainous or hilly country. Here the size of a plot may not exceed 0.2 hectare. Moreover, people are given small plots (up to 100 square meters) near population centers, on irrigated land, in order to grow vegetables and fruit for themselves. Plots on unused, unproductive, and other inferior land are granted in perpetuity with the right of inheritance.

Other ways are used to obtain more returns from the land. For instance, on mountain slopes and unproductive land the agro-industrial complexes plant orchards and the population is given the opportunity to take in the harvest and pay much less than usual for the fruit.

At present, of the 4,700,000 hectares of land cultivated in Bulgaria nearly 600,000 hectares, or 12 per cent, are used for personal husbandries. It must be borne in mind that this land remains public property. The law forbids its sale or lease. This is a feature of the socialist character of a personal husbandry. This character is also seen in the fact that the state sector provides such husbandries with machines, farm implements, seed and seedlings, livestock for breeding and fattening, and also fertilizers and other materials. The services I have mentioned and also veterinary care and the purchase of output are the concern of local bodies of the National Agro-Industrial Union. Agricultural enterprises likewise provide services such as mechanized ploughing, chemical processing of crops, and other labor-intensive and special operations.

The ancillary husbandries of industrial enterprises and organizations of large towns and of the constellations of population centers are

*Todor Zhivkov, op. cit., p. 53.

being further promoted. Almost all industrial enterprises now have such husbandries. Last year they supplied 95 per cent of the meat requirements of workers' canteens and produced large quantities of milk, vegetables, fruit and eggs. Some of these husbandries not only supply food to workers' canteens but sell surpluses through shops at factories or to procurement agencies.

In some districts ancillary husbandries are being developed as part of agro-industrial complexes. On mutually beneficial terms the agro-industrial complexes provide factories with land, livestock, machinery, and other means of production, while the factories ensure their husbandries with labor and investments. This cooperation has produced pasturages, hothouse and hotbed husbandries, orchards, truck gardens, and small livestock-fattening farms.

As a result of the promotion of self-sufficiency, an additional area of more than 50,000 hectares of unused land has been brought under cultivation. Compared with 1977, last year saw an increase in the output of meat by 70,000 tons, of milk by 350,000 tons, of fruit by 378,000 tons, and of fish by 7,000 tons. The area of orchards, vineyards and truck gardens has been increased and these are now yielding much more produce.

Our party attaches great significance to the promotion of self-sufficiency, seeing its

potentialities in organizing the supply of a large range of high-quality foodstuffs for the population. In order to use these potentialities it is vital that in the current, eighth five-year plan period the nation should bring 99 per cent of the arable land under cultivation, introduce intensive systems of crop rotation and fundamentally new land cultivation technologies, and develop high-yielding varieties and hybrids of crops with improved genetic qualities. This will make it possible to increase farm output by 20-22 per cent. We plan to produce more than 1,200 kilos of grain per person annually. This will resolve the problem of feed for livestock and ensure the priority development of livestock-breeding. Fruit and vegetables will be grown in quantities that will keep the population supplied all year round.

Within the next 10-15 years food consumption in Bulgaria will be raised to scientific norms. In terms of per person there will be an annual average of 80 kilos of meat, 12 kilos of fish, 265 liters of milk, 265 eggs, 180 kilos of vegetables, and 200 kilos of fruit, both fresh and processed. This will be the result of new forms of organizing work and production in agriculture in keeping with the present stage of the building of a developed socialist society. Fulfillment of the BCP's program for raising the people's living standard is vividly showing the advantages of the socialist system and the socialist way of life.

A hard road

Jeronimo Carrera
CC member, CP Venezuela

Domingos Lopes
Staff member, CC, Portuguese CP

James West
CC Political Bureau member, CPUSA

REPORT FROM THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

At the invitation of the PUWP CC, a visit was paid to Poland by a WMR delegation, whose members visited factories, editorial offices of newspapers and journals, the party's city and provincial committees and the PUWP Central Committee. They were received by Stefan Olszowski, CC Political Bureau member and Secretary of the PUWP. This report was prepared by the members of the delegation and tells of the Polish communists' efforts to overcome the crisis in the country and the party.

The threat was issued in the winter. After the attempt by the counter-revolution to seize power was frustrated and martial law introduced in People's Poland in accordance with the constitution, the anti-socialist opposition, which had gone into the underground, issued this slogan: "The winter is yours, the spring will be ours."

First Secretary of the PUWP CC and head of the government comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski responded to this threat as follows: "History cannot be reversed. The spring will be neither 'yours' nor 'ours'. It will simply be Polish and socialist."¹

These words were backed up with weighty arguments. A plenary meeting of the PUWP proposed a plan for overcoming the crisis, a plan subsequently set forth in the draft ideological and programmatic declaration of the PUWP CC "The Goals and Purposes of Our Struggle." The main theses of the plan were: strengthening the party's role, economic reform, unification of all the people's forces under the slogan of national revival. The declaration reaffirmed the solid alliance with the fraternal socialist countries and loyalty to the policy of peace.

We came to the country when the Polish communists were getting down to fulfilling the adopted plan. That was the keynote for everyone, both at the Central Committee and in the factory party organizations. The first thing we did was to visit the factories.

With the communists in industry

Communist workers are the party's main force and its organizations in industry are the most important network of arteries linking it with the working class. If the flow of blood is slowed down in these arteries, the class is threatened with a loss of coordination of its movements, and the party with a loss of blood and emaciation.

Bourgeois propaganda has been trying very hard to prove that in the Polish United Workers' Party this network of links has gone dead and that it has allegedly been converted into a "trade union of party functionaries." Hence the assertion that only the "umbrella" of martial law has allegedly saved the party from final erosion. This main theme is being plugged along with statements that it is not the party but only the "independent trade union Solidarity" that has allegedly given expression to the working people's interests in Poland, while the state and the party, by their latest acts, have finally and irreversibly ranged themselves against the masses.

However, here is what we witnessed at the Rawar factory in Warsaw. We were met at the party committee by the activists of the party organization. Were they staff functionaries? No, with the exception of the first secretary of the party committee, they were workers, technicians and engineers. Indeed, not long ago secretary Mariusz Dylewski was himself a technician. The basis of the leading nucleus consisted of men between the ages of 30 and 40, and this included the first secretary and his deputy, Piotr Tagowski, also a technician. People of this age — and there are many of them in the party — present a blend of experience and unspent strength.

Mariusz Dylewski told us about the factory and its communists.

Rawar is a high-technology enterprise turning out radar installations for small ships. It is 28 years old. There is demand for the sophisticated instruments, the enterprise has been growing, and has a work force of several thousands. Just now, one in seven of them is a communist.

We learned that the factory was a product of Poland's socialist industrialization and that work there meant constant study. The collective's social achievements were worth noting: the factory builds housing for its workers, and runs its own holiday hotel at the seaside and a children's rest center in the mountains.

What he was telling us about his factory was akin in spirit to this statement at the seventh plenary meeting of the PUWP CC: "We have an incontestable trump — the achievements of People's Poland over 37 years. . . . Through a tremendous labor effort we carried the war devastated country from the ruins. We integrated the western and northern lands with the motherland for ever. . . . The people's power provided jobs for millions of industrial workers . . . it gave land to the peasants. Only under socialism could Poland go so rapidly through the first and most difficult phase of industrialization. . . . These achievements are a solid embodiment of the leading thought and activity of our party . . . of all the working people, of the whole nation. These are abiding values."

That is how many Poles think, and only those who are blinded by hatred for the new society or who consciously brush aside the facts to suit speculative political "conceptions" can doubt that the socialist foundations of Polish life which have been subjected to upheavals are standing sufficiently solid. But at the same time, the Polish communists do not at all minimize the gravity of the crisis which has shaken the party and society. They understand that in order to correct the mistakes there is a need to assess their causes and the scale of their consequences realistically. The communists at Rawar frankly shared with us their experiences over the past 20 months. Their stories pieced together the following picture.

The flare-up of public discontent over the erroneous policy pursued by the old party and state leadership was shared by many communists. Like all the other working people, they saw living standards falling, money being depreciated, speculation spreading and corruption making itself known in various places, including the highest levels. But for a long time the sharpening contradictions were papered over, instead of being exposed. Use was made

of a kind of economic varnishing, when wages were raised despite the fact that labor productivity was falling; and there was ideological varnishing as well: an analysis of the actual situation was replaced with panegyrics about actual and imaginary achievements. Many saw this, but an atmosphere was maintained in the party which made it impossible to criticize the distortions of the Leninist principles of socialist construction effectively.

As a result, when the malaise that was being driven inside eventually broke out on the surface, the communists in the localities were — through the fault of the leadership — to some extent left ideologically and organizationally disarmed in the face of the crisis.

The gist of the process in that period is now becoming clear: having failed to find adequate understanding and support from the party in the early months of the crisis, the workers sought a form for expressing their interests. That is when the galvanized anti-socialist opposition smuggled in the idea of an "independent trade union." The opposition had its own purposes, but it managed to involve the working people in realizing them through "Solidarity." Not all the communists by far saw through this move right away. At that time, nearly one-third of the party members at Rawar then joined Solidarity.

How do the Rawar communists assess the activity of Solidarity today? Here are their answers to our question.

Technician Piotr Tagowski, deputy secretary of the party committee, says:

"Initially, the slogans of Solidarity looked attractive: order in the economy, more emphasis on democratic principles, a drive against bureaucratic practices and corruption. But the methods which it began to use tended to turn these slogans inside out. The strikes, the split-up of the collective into groups and hostility with the management led to anarchy and dislocation, and consequently, to an even further worsening of life and even a loss of that which socialism has given."

Veteran worker Stanislaw Zalewski, for 26 years a fitter at Rawar and a PUWP member since 1952, said:

"As a result of all this activity, three trade unions took shape at the plant: apart from Solidarity, also a sectoral and an autonomous union. Does that kind of division benefit the workers? We had arguments about the length of the working week. The sectoral trade union, looking to the interests of the enterprise, proposed 42.5 hours. Solidarity — 42 hours. The Solidarity leaders were not worried that their proposal would further disorganize the work.

In order to win over more people to their side, they resorted not only to cheap demagoguery but also to intimidation. When workers refused to strike they were attacked by 'activists,' as though they were in the wrong. If that is 'democracy,' the workers have no need for it."

The basic ideas were summed up by Mariusz Dylewski:

"By early 1981, we, communists, were beginning to realize that behind the new trade union there operated an organized force which had succeeded in using the support of a sizable section of the workers. Characteristically, we frequently managed to reach agreement with the factory leaders of Solidarity, who were themselves workers. But they went to consult with their regional committee and returned to go back on their agreements. The leaders did everything to push them into confrontation with the communists. The old policy under which the workers' demands failed to find understanding and support led to a situation in which the collective began to express mistrust even for what the factory communists were saying. It was especially hard to defend our stand in the nervous atmosphere maintained at the enterprise by Solidarity, which kept threatening to stage strikes. Still, we began to win over more people in the summer of 1981. There are now very many of them, but there are also quite a few of those who are still in opposition to us. A program for overcoming the crisis has been put forward. It needs to be backed up with action. As the plans are translated into life, the ranks of those who trust and support us will grow."

That is how the factory communists sought out these developments, and the whole party is doing the same thing. There is a special commission under the PUWP CC whose task is to analyze the country's development over the past several decades and to bring out the causes behind the crisis phenomena.

The party believes that an important factor in preventing a recurrence of mistakes is the creation of a favorable atmosphere for constructive criticism and vigorous observance of Lenin's principles of democratic centralism. Just now, for the first time over the past 20 years, there is a discussion throughout the whole party of the document "The Goals and Purposes of Our Struggle." The purpose of the discussion is to unite the party on a coherent ideological and organizational platform.

There is also a discussion throughout the country on the shape the trade unions are to take. The re-establishment of the trade unions is now being prepared by social and everyday affairs commissions working at enterprises and

other establishments. They deal with all the problems relating to the work and rest of the members of their collectives. The communists are taking an active part in the activity of these commissions.

Conversations are being held in party organizations for the purpose of helping each communist to define his social stand more precisely. During the crisis, many confused or disappointed men and women left the party. At the time, some careerists reckoned that they would benefit by switching from the party to Solidarity. In that period, the party organization at Rawar shrank by roughly 15 per cent, and, as we were told at the Warsaw city committee, by 10 per cent in the whole of the capital.

Both the factory communists and workers of the party's governing bodies whom we met, were unanimous on this point: the main thing in the party is not the number of members, but their conviction and activity. In the course of these conversations, it strengthens and purifies its ranks. Just now, most of those who had failed to stand the test are gone, so that relatively few are being expelled in the process of purification: by mid-April, when we were at the Warsaw Committee, they numbered 400 out of more than 170,000 communists in the capital.

One of the primary tasks, the Polish communists told us, is to re-establish the working-class character of the PUWP. Just now, the communists are not satisfied with its working-class foundation: in a party of 2.5 million members, workers make up some 40 per cent. The pyramid of the party's social composition still tends to narrow down somewhat to the bottom, and there is a need to enlarge its base.

The most striking impression from our meeting with the Rawar communists was their urge to get down to "real work." There is a lot of meaning in these simple words of the party secretary Mariusz Dylewski, and it includes their determination not to sidestep the difficulties, not to keep silent about the shortcomings, and to translate all their plans and promises into deeds. Such an urge is a necessary condition for coping with the highly difficult problems facing the country, including economic problems, the most vital ones.

If not we, then who?

An economic program for pulling out of the crisis was put before the country and the people in the summer of 1981 by the ninth extraordinary congress of the PUWP. By then, the party leadership had been renewed. An assurance of stronger ties between the leadership and the

party masses was the election of the Central Committee with the broadest representation of the working class and the peasantry on the highest party body in the party's history. All of this showed that the party was beginning to move out of the crisis and was capable of leading the country, and that the vector of social attitudes, which swung from one extreme to another, was gradually turning away from Solidarity. In an effort to preserve its positions, the counter-revolution put its stake on inflating a confrontation between the anti-socialist forces, and the state and the party. Its purpose was an ambitious one: to decapitate the popular power and the PUWP. But this stake was beaten. Nevertheless, the counter-revolutionary forces managed to delay the start on fulfillment of the economic renewal program. The time to do this has now come.

The eighth plenary meeting of the PUWP CC was held in April to discuss economic problems. Only a party enjoying broad support from the working people and capable of applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism in a country's specific conditions can hope to inspire and organize the people for tackling economic problems that require the utmost effort, the plenary meeting emphasized.

Poland's specific conditions are complicated and multifaceted, but they are in evidence on every hand. We travelled to the major industrial center of Lodz during the spring farming operations. The fields were mostly long strips of land with an area from one to several tens of hectares. (In order to make use of all the fallow land — and it comes to about 1 million hectares — a decision has now been taken to increase the size of allotment to 50 hectares, and in the western and northern lands to 100 hectares.) More than three-quarters of the Polish farmland is owned by 2.8 million individual households. We had occasion to see how the farmland was worked by small tractors, while many peasants strode across the fields behind horse-driven ploughs or harrows. Although socialist agrarian transformations were effected in Poland in the preceding period, this was done slowly and on a limited scale.

We were some 10 kilometers away from Lodz when we caught sight of the impressive dome of a cathedral on the outskirts of the city. We heard that it had been built not very long ago. The Catholic Church is extremely influential in the country, especially among the peasants, and this influence is to be reckoned with in putting through any political decisions.

On the whole, Poland is at a somewhat different stage of socialist development as compared with its neighbors. The eighth plenary

meeting of the PUWP CC said: "Only if we succeed in deepening and strengthening the socialist principles in our social life will we be able to speak of entry upon the stage of developed socialism."² That is why it is wrong to extrapolate to all the socialist countries any conclusions drawn from an analysis of Polish developments. Polish contradictions are also deeply rooted in the inadequate development of socialist elements in the society.

Incidentally, we had the impression that this was evident even in the face of Lodz itself. The city once took shape almost spontaneously, from textile mills and barrack-room workers' settlements around them as these emerged in the middle of the 19th century. Of course, in the years of people's power, new roads were laid and major public buildings and well-appointed working-class neighborhoods built, but for the time being, the new and the old continue to neighbor here virtually on an equal footing. That is why, among other things, some social problems, including the housing problem, continue to be acute in Lodz. More than one-half of the Lodz working class are women. Solidarity managed to use the specifics of Lodz when in September of last year, staging its action against fulfillment of the decisions of the ninth congress of the PUWP, it organized a women's demonstration provocatively called a "hunger march."

There were supply difficulties, but "hunger" was a long way off. But there is no doubt that such mass action has a strong influence on people's mentality and can determine the thinking and feelings of their participants for a long time. What is now the mood among the women textile workers?

We spoke with several spinners at the Gwardia Ludowa, one of the biggest worsted mills. The women did not, of course, feel any delight either over the martial law conditions or of the food rationing system now in operation in the country, but we were still left with the impression that they understood the forced necessity of these measures.

One woman told us: "It is quieter this way. Of course, prices are high and there is a shortage of some foodstuffs, but everything that is due is issued under the card system (for instance, workers are allowed 3.5 kg. of meat a month), the rationing system is fair and is well organized."

This woman was a participant in the September march but, it is true, she did not want to speak about it. When we asked her what, in her view, should be done to overcome the economic difficulties, she replied:

"One must work. If one is to have food and

clothing, someone has to make them."

Communist Jan Czyz, the veteran director of the mill, told us after our conversation with the spinners:

"Many have now come to realize that one has to rely above all on oneself, on one's work. That is a new mood. In the past, they expected someone else to solve their problems for them."

The communists are doing everything to maintain this mood and labor discipline. On the whole, they are succeeding in their effort. Of the 2,800 persons working at the factory, 650 are communists, or nearly one in four. They are working actively to implement the reform which was expressively characterized for us by the mills economic director Wieslaw Muszel, who said:

"The formula for action is 'Three S': self-sufficiency, self-management and self-financing."

It is true that before this formula has been fully implemented yet another factor is helping to arrange production: raw materials and intermediate products from the Soviet Union. In the past, the bulk of the wool and synthetic fiber was received by the Gwardia Ludowa mill from capitalist countries. The "sanctions" mounted against Poland by the United States and its allies have cut off these deliveries. Production would have stopped but for the aid from the USSR, which has helped to keep the mill running at 70-80 per cent of capacity.

Upon our return from Lodz to Warsaw, we had a circumstantial conversation at the Council of Ministers of the Republic with Professor Zdzislav Sadowski, deputy government representative for the economic reform (a post equal to the rank of minister). We heard much of what was said in the conversation as a kind of commentary on what we had seen in Lodz. But you can judge for yourself.

Concerning the dependence of enterprises on capitalist deliveries:

"Those who directed economic policy in the 1970s," Zdzislav Sadowski said, "assumed that credit and extended purchases of licenses could help to develop industries which determine scientific and technical progress: electronics, chemistry, engineering, and so on. The change in the structure of industry should have led to a change in the structure of exports. It was assumed that Poland would be able to export not only coal and copper, but also high-technology products — something that would be much more profitable. But practice showed the flimsiness of these schemes based on hopes of obtaining boundless 'aid' from the capitalists. Of the 400 purchased licenses, one in ten turned out to be unprofitable. Besides, the new technologies were poorly applied while our

own going lines of production were closed down. The credit debt was run up to tremendous proportions, and the economy found itself technically dependent on foreign industry. Imports kept growing, while exports increased insignificantly, and the structure of exports changed slowly. Poland found itself in a credit trap out of which it was hard to escape."

Concerning the shortage of foodstuffs and prime necessities:

"Investments in the heavy industry were unjustifiably large," Professor Sadowski said. "Several large-scale programs were being implemented simultaneously. Hundreds of billions of zlotys were invested in hydrotechnical works on the Wisla, and in the construction of the Katowice metallurgical combine. None of this could have brought in returns earlier than 20-25 years. Meanwhile, investments in agriculture, in industries working for it and in the manufacture of consumer goods were small.

"The government failed to ensure the correct price policy, the growth of wages was not backed up with rising labor productivity and the purchasing power of money declined.

"In effect, the country lived beyond its means, spending more than it earned. Some economists and party leaders warned of the dangers of neglecting economic laws, but unfortunately their warnings went unheeded."³

Concerning reliance on one's own strength, on reform, i.e., the 'Three S': self-sufficiency, self-management, and self-financing:

"First of all," Professor Sadowski said, "the reform is not confined to these 'Three S'. It is also important to improve centralized planning, which must ensure the interests of the whole state in economic strategy. This means that planning must be more solidly grounded and start from long-term prognostication. It must also rely to a much greater extent on the advantages offered by socialist integration within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Indeed, the 'Three S' mean that enterprises are to have considerable freedom in the sphere of economic tactics. They are to work out their own plans, the structure of production, in short, to shape their economy. Wages are made directly dependent on the production results achieved. Everything must be calculated in the light of one's own resources, potentialities, flexibility in the use of the situation, enterprise and initiative. Tactics are geared to the interests of society as a whole through the use of economic regulators which remain in the hands of the organs of the state.

"Just now, in the critical conditions, the greatest advantages will be given to the industries on which supplies for agriculture and

the production of the prime necessities depend. That is the first priority. In order to fulfil it, encouragement is being given to the development of small-scale production which can do a great deal in the sphere of the services. Poland has to provide itself with food, clothing and footwear."

Concerning the importance of assistance from the fraternal countries:

"The socialist countries," Sadowski continued, "have given Poland in this hour of trial tremendous and gratuitous assistance running to billions of zlotys. Over and above the existing agreements, we were additionally supplied with large quantities of foodstuffs and consumer goods, transport facilities and tractors. The Soviet Union responded to the proposal to make use of unloaded production capacities in Polish industry and has been supplying raw materials for our textile mills which had been imported from freely convertible currency countries. Soviet-Polish cooperation is also being extended in the electronics industry, and in ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy.

"Poland is not giving up its trade with the capitalist world. But, I repeat, extension and deepening of relations with our closest friends, the CMEA countries, will be the main aspect of our external economic policy."

We find, therefore, that what we encountered in Lodz tends to be projected to the overall processes of economic development in Poland.

"The present period is marked with unusual difficulties," it was said at the eighth plenary meeting of the PUWP CC. "But from the historical standpoint it is no more than an episode that is soon outlived. We must find the main reserves in our own selves, in our own strength."⁴ As we read these words, we seemed once again to hear the voices of the spinner from Lodz, the factory director Jan Czyz, and Professor Zdzislaw Sadowski. They were, in effect, saying the same thing: if not we, then who?

For national accord

The seventh plenary meeting of the PUWP CC dealt with the normalization of the inner political situation and the re-establishment of the party's leading role. The economic problems of pulling out of the crisis were considered at the eighth plenary meeting. In May, the Sejm met in session to consider the attainment of national accord. The party and the state began to implement consistently the program for overcoming the crisis.

The party is carrying on its struggle for national accord under this slogan: "He who is not against us can be with us." Under this slogan,

national revival committees are being set up in the country. Together with the communists, they include members of the United Peasant and Democratic Parties, non-party citizens, young people and Catholics. The day-to-day work in the committees includes the explanation of the program for overcoming the crisis, a thousand and one apparently minor things on which tranquillity of life in the home, in the street, in the district depends. Without these everyday capillary actions it is impossible to re-establish normal life in the society. How many national revival committees are there? During our visit to Poland in April, there were 150 of them in Warsaw, and over 6,000 throughout the country.

From the end of last year and the beginning of this one, the PUWP has gradually been invigorating its activity as the main generator of the centripetal forces in Polish society. So long as that activity waned, the party was "demagnetized," the field of its influence weakened, the power lines of the social bonds broke up and were tangled. The party is now re-establishing them.

The draft of the PUWP's ideological-programmatic declaration emphasizes that the line of the Polish system constituting the alliance between the PUWP and the United Peasant and Democratic Parties has stood the test. The Sejm and the people's councils are working. The party seeks to solve the question of the activity of the trade unions and is discussing it with the workers.

However, apart from the centripetal forces in the Polish society there are also the centrifugal forces which inject chaos into the structure of social ties. There is an underground extremist Solidarity leadership, which from time to time sharply pulls the strings which still run from it to some groups in Polish society. It was no accident that at the time when the Sejm was discussing the question of national accord, in the same hours, anti-government disorders orchestrated from similar scores broke out in several large cities in the country. One is left with the impression that the extremist forces do not want to see martial law lifted, do not want to have stabilization.

This Polish martial law, what is it? Is it actually the way some bourgeois papers and journals report? Well, there is of course, nothing pleasant in the curfew under which no one may leave his home after 23.00 hours without a special pass, or in the military patrols one will meet in the streets of Warsaw. But in the daytime there is the usual hubbub in the city streets and the famous Polish theaters are packed — even if their performances start an hour earlier.

Much play was made of the martial law situation in the musical entitled "A Festival for One Hundred Zlotys" which we went to see at Warsaw's Syrena theater.

The measures which help to ensure the normal operation of enterprises or to cut short the activity of counter-revolutionary elements and also of robbers, thieves and speculators are, of course, exceptionally important and they remain in force. When the anarchy was in full swing, these anti-social elements had a field day. Now they find the going tough. We were told that the crime rate has dropped sharply.

The external and the internal anti-socialist forces constitute a united front. They are now trying to create the impression that in Poland the state and the party are putting through their plans only with the use of force. That has nothing in common with the reality which we witnessed.

The Polish communists are now taking a principled stand to work for the fulfillment of the program to overcome the crisis through persuasion and explanation. The authorities resort to administrative measures only in the most extreme cases. The ideals of socialist construction cannot be renewed through martial law — and the party has never expected to do so. It regards martial law as an instrument for combating counter-revolution and anarchy. The in-depth hotbeds of the crisis are being put out by different means. Political problems will be solved by political means. The moral and ideological crisis, which is also in evidence in the society, was largely caused by the fact that some of its age and social groups — young people and intellectuals — assumed that the ideals of socialism had been devalued. "A neutral field increased in the minds of the young generation. It overgrew with weeds. Is that not the source of the disappointment, the ideological emptiness, which our adversaries so easily invade?"⁵

Only purposeful and honest ideological work can help to weed the field of spiritual interests and to plant it with fruit-bearing crops. The party is renewing this sphere of activity. A Polish Ideological and Theoretical Conference held in the spring marked a turning point in the consolidation of the PUWP's ideological forces.⁶ In his speech at the conference, Wojciech Jaruzelski said: "Some claim that we now suffer not so much from a lack of theory and ideology as from a shortage of goods, that is, roughly speaking, bread. That is not true! There is here no either-or dilemma. There is a need both for the former and for the latter. The shortage of bread is caused, in particular, by the neglect of ideological principles, by the

voluntarism, which over the past nearly 20 months were amplified by demagoguery, the ideology of social destruction which is alien to socialism and the vital interests of the Polish people."⁷

Creative ideological work, Jerzy Mazurek, Secretary of the PUWP's Warsaw City Committee, told us, will help to re-establish the true ideals of socialist development in the minds of the young people and intellectuals.

The comrades with whom we spoke at the PUWP CC emphasized that in working for national accord the party has no intention of making any ideological concessions. Nor does it accept the old slogan of moral and political unity, which was spread about in the 1970s and which merely served to cover up the contradictions which were developing in Polish society. It also rejects the demand made by Solidarity for a "big coalition," in which the PUWP, the opposition and the church are to be partners with equal rights. National accord, as the decisions of the seventh plenary meeting of the PUWP CC reaffirmed, is possible only on the basis of recognition of the country's socialist way of development and the leading role of the working class party in this development.

Toward the end of our trip we had a conversation with comrade Stefan Olszowski, who dealt with some of the most important or insufficiently clear aspects of the situation in the country.

"Tragedy?" Stefan Olszowski queried, when one of us used the word to assess the developments in Poland. "No, I would still prefer the word 'crisis.' Of course, the experiences of many people were tragic, but developments stopped short of a national tragedy, although that is what the extremist leaders of the opposition were preparing. They spoke of an uprising, fanned hysteria in the society, and were not deterred by the danger of civil war. These men and their sponsors from abroad, including those in the imperialist intelligence services, believed the task to set up their own order in the country to be an easy one. Things turned out differently. The state and the party were weakened, although they retained considerable forces which the counter-revolution underestimated. When we discovered that it was altogether impossible to reach agreement with the Solidarity leaders, we took a difficult but necessary decision to introduce martial law. Of course, the Polish communists would have continued the struggle for people's power even without martial law. We are also sure that even if the struggle had developed into a civil war, it would have ended in a victory for the socialist

forces. But then the victory would have cost many lives."

The party seeks to make an in-depth analysis of the mistakes for which, Olszowski said, the responsibility falls even on those who took a critical attitude to the policy pursued before the crisis and who were removed from the leadership. Major mistakes were made in the economy. The "sanctions" now being enforced by the United States and its allies against Poland complicate the situation, but they will not make us change Poland's policy whether foreign or domestic. The Polish people have reliable friends, who are helping them to overcome the crisis. And we shall overcome it, he added, although the counter-revolution still has definite strength and the struggle against it will be protracted.

The nature and structure of trade unions in the country is one of the key political problems now at the stage of solution.

"Without anticipating the results of the discussion," comrade Olszowski said, "I should like to express my own view. The trade unions must defend the interests of the workers by industry. The regional structure of the trade-union organizations induces them to lose touch with the life of the enterprises and other establishments, and to undertake functions which are not proper to the trade unions. They must be an independent organization, and not one ranged against the party, but one recognizing its leading role."

Considering some aspects of the on-going economic reform, Olszowski said that the party pinned great hopes on it. Of course, there is a need to keep close watch on how the various innovations influence practice, and on whether they have any side effects. For instance, there is some surplus of labor-power in the country. The reform will lead to a reduction in the number of workers at the enterprises. But the party and the state believe it to be their duty to prevent unemployment. For that purpose, social activation funds are being set up to help provide jobs.

The reform of wholesale and retail prices has had an important role to play. There has been a two or three-fold increase in retail prices. This is a tough reform, because it has absorbed all the objectively necessary changes that had not been put through earlier on. Although various kinds of compensation are being introduced for low-income families, the living standard has declined because of the higher prices. Understandably, this cannot cause any joy, and still the majority has met the reform with understanding.

The main thing is to supply the population

with foodstuffs and the prime necessities. In order to solve this problem as swiftly as possible, much attention is being given to small enterprises and the development and consolidation of agriculture in all its sectors: state, cooperative and peasant family holdings.

Ahead lies difficult work in every sphere, in party and state construction, in ideology and culture. This work is both diverse and uniform in character, because it is determined by the main principle: Poland's future lies on the way of continued socialist construction.

In winter, the party promised that the spring will remain socialist. The few days we spent in Poland in the spring of 1982 testified that the party's word is its bond. The three of us, communists from capitalist countries lying on three continents, returned from this short trip with the profound conviction that the PUWP is truly doing everything to overcome the crisis and assert its leading role by winning broad support from a majority of the people. We are well aware that Poland's problems are difficult ones. Besides, external anti-socialist forces, headed by the U.S. imperialists, have not given up their desperate attempts to complicate these problems and to undermine the cause of socialism

by organizing anti-Polish campaigns and plots. It seems that these problems will take a long time to solve. We voice our full solidarity with the PUWP in its present activity and its plans for the future.

The Polish people are resolved to build a strong socialist state, and we wish them every success in this endeavor.

1. Trybuna Ludu, January 25, 1982.
2. Trybuna Ludu, April 26, 1982.
3. In the capitalist countries, communists are now frequently asked this question: "Don't the events in Poland prove that crises are organic to socialism?" In its declaration "The Goals and Purposes of Our Struggle," the PUWP replies: "In learning the lessons of our defeats, we must bear in mind that the source of our weaknesses lies in the departure from the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It lies in the inability to make creative use of them in Polish conditions. In their stereotype interpretation. In the bureaucratic and technocratic tendencies which emerged and grew in the 1970s in economic and social policy and in the exercise of power incompatible with the interests of the working class. We are deeply convinced that crises do not have to accompany the development of socialism." The PUWP believes that the crisis is not rooted in the nature of socialism, but in its deformation.
4. Trybuna Ludu, April 26, 1982.
5. Trybuna Ludu, January 25, 1982.
6. For details, see the article in this issue by W. Rogowski.
7. Trybuna Ludu, April 3-4, 1982.

The Anglo-Argentine conflict and the attitude of the communists

The following two contributions were received before the British invasion of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) got under way. The communists of both Argentina and Britain see this conflict as an offshoot of the vicious policies pursued by imperialism, and the entire responsibility for the dangerous effects of this new hotbed of war must be imputed to it.

IMPERIALIST ROOTS OF THE CRISIS

Mario José Grabivker

CC member, Communist Party of Argentina

For almost a century and a half Argentina has been trying to regain sovereignty over the Malvinas, which the British had taken by force. Essentially speaking, the problem boils down to eradicating the shameful and painful legacy of the epoch of colonial bondage. The main obstacle has been that official London wrecked all attempts to have constructive talks, and this wrecking grew increasingly more blatant with the confirmation of the assumption that in the

zone of the archipelago there are large deposits of oil, manganese, and uranium in addition to the enormous wealth in the offshore waters.

The Argentine people have always upheld the principle of national sovereignty. This is their stand relative to the Malvinas as well. The working people regard this issue as part of the general struggle of the continent's peoples against colonialism and, at the same time, as a major element of the movement for democracy in Argentina. This is precisely how the issue is addressed by our party's program, adopted by the 13th congress in 1969. The program stresses that it is vital to secure "the return of the Malvinas, the withdrawal of the United States from Panama, the independence of Puerto Rico, the transfer of Guantanamo to Cuba, and the return to their rightful owners of those territories of the American continent still under colonial rule, or the granting of independence to them."*

*Programa del Partido Comunista de la Argentina, Buenos Aires, 1974, p. 51.

The conflict over the Malvinas brought Argentina into confrontation not only with Britain, but also with the USA. Washington has long had its eye on the South Atlantic, but lately it has been sharply escalating its efforts to draw Argentina into its expansionist plans and, at the same time, seize control of the wealth of the Malvinas.

The Reagan administration is out to reinforce U.S. domination throughout the Latin American region, which was at one time seen as the "backyard" of American imperialism. Its objective is to break the liberation movement of the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, a movement that has now reached unprecedented proportions. The White House is not fastidious about the means it is using in its attempts to reverse the progressive changes in Nicaragua, brings pressure to bear on Cuba, and helps the junta in El Salvador.

In the context of its imperial plans Washington regarded Argentina as a potential ally and a suitable candidate for the role of its policeman in our region. To this end it was planned to have military bases on the Malvinas and in south Argentina and exploit natural wealth for the profit of U.S. and British monopolies. In the long run, this spelled out economic, political and military control of the whole of Argentina's Patagonia, the Malvinas, and the expanses of the Atlantic Ocean washing our shores, in other words, the strategic zone of the contemplated military bloc to supplement NATO.

Washington maintained unceasing pressure on the successive governments in Argentina. Relying on the most reactionary elements in the country, it interfered in Argentine politics and gave its backing to the military regime that has been in power for the past six years but found no support among the people.

Democratic rights have been abolished. Hundreds of Argentines are in prison or listed as "disappeared." Political parties and trade unions have been banned. The economic policy, geared to suit the imperialist monopolies and the financial oligarchy, has led to unemployment, emigration, and a cutback of the working people's living standard.

The crisis gripping the nation has evoked the growing anger of the people, who are taking the road of an organized struggle. Sharp conflicts have erupted even in government circles. This has generated a new political situation.

Actions by the people are undercutting the strength of the military regime and, despite resistance from it, are leading to some liberalization of political life. But the most important thing is that the consciousness of the working

people is rising gradually and their actions are becoming more organized.

The mass demonstrations conducted on March 30, 1982 were events of immense significance. The working people filled the streets to protest against the policy that has brought our country to the brink of catastrophe. They demanded freedoms and democratic rights. In the face of repression the people articulated their aspirations and demonstrated the growing unity of the democratic forces.

This was the situation just before April 2, when the Argentine Government decided to regain sovereignty over the Malvinas.

There are a number of reasons and factors motivating this step. These include the justified patriotic feelings of the Argentine people, many generations of whom had fought remnants of colonialism, and the influence of various nationalistic trends, both civilian and military. It is not to be excluded that this was a political maneuver of a government hoping to divert the working people's attention from internal difficulties.

As regards the method used by the military regime to liberate the islands, our party believes that had Argentina had a democratic government enjoying the support of the people it might have achieved these legitimate aims by other means. It might have been possible, say, to mobilize the working people for political actions, to rely on international organizations, and have recourse to the assistance of friendly governments and states.

But whatever motivated the decision of April 2, its significance cannot be denied. At the sitting of the Political Commission of the CPA's Central Committee on April 16, General Secretary Athos Fava declared: "The return of a colonial enclave to the Argentines after almost 150 years of British rule is objectively an anti-imperialist act. It cannot be assessed otherwise, although this does not depend on the will of those who accomplished it."

The liberation of the Malvinas caused an eruption of patriotic feeling among the people that has nothing in common with chauvinism. Political parties (with the CPA among the first), the workers' and public organizations declared their unequivocal support for the restoration of national sovereignty over the archipelago. But, at the same time, they demanded economic, political and social changes, and the restoration of civil rights.

The declaration issued by the Political Commission of the CPA Central Committee on May 12 speaks of the need for a faster quest for a non-military settlement in order to keep the peace and safeguard Argentina's inalienable

rights. It names the priorities: the immediate cessation of hostilities; negotiations with the participation of the UN Secretary-General to lay down a reasonable time-limit for the restoration of our sovereignty over the islands and establish norms to protect the interests of the present inhabitants of the islands, the convocation of the UN Security Council to consider these issues.

The Communist Party, the declaration says, holds that regardless of the character of the mutual concessions that may be made at the negotiations, Argentina should under no circumstances relinquish its sovereignty over the islands. No foreign power should be allowed to have military bases on the islands. Moreover, it is the firm conviction of the communists that mediation by the U.S. government cannot be accepted.

To pursue this course, which has the support of the vast majority of the Argentine people, steps must be taken to reconsider the economic policy that has weakened the nation's defense capability through the cutback in production. It is important to ensure the participation of the people in decision-making through representative bodies, for which purpose the ban on political parties and trade unions must be lifted and the operation of the constitution restored.

In the view of the communists, the military government should invite all parties and public organizations to discuss and adopt a joint minimum program. A decision must be taken on the ways and means of implementing this program and on the character of the government needed to ensure victory for the nation's just cause.

The people of Argentina have emphatically denounced the imperialist policies of the USA and Britain. This is unquestionably contributing to the shaping of an anti-imperialist public consciousness. Moreover, all strata of the population, including the armed forces, have seen the vicious and aggressive policy of international reaction in all its ugliness. On the other hand, they are becoming increasingly convinced that they have the growing solidarity of the peoples of Latin America (of Cuba, Nicaragua, and El Salvador in the first place), the countries of the nonaligned movement, and the socialist community.

The Anglo-Argentine conflict has taught a major lesson in the context of understanding the specifics of the international situation. Being a clash between countries belonging to the world capitalist system, it has demonstrated that today the big imperialist powers do not shrink from bringing military pressure to bear even on countries whose govern-

ments are on the same side of the barricades as themselves. Further, it has become obvious that the present tensions in contradictions between them may quite possibly lead to military conflicts within this system. Lastly, Britain's Conservative Government and the White House, which supports it, have dropped the mask of "champions of the sovereign rights of nations" and shown once more that the world is threatened not by mythical "Soviet expansion" but by imperialism's very real policy of aggression.

By siding with Britain, the USA stands opposed to the whole of Latin America. Washington has flouted the very same inter-American mutual assistance treaty it has imposed on the continent. A critical stand toward the USA has been adopted not only by those of the region's nations that are pursuing an independent foreign policy but also by governments that have traditionally taken their cue from the White House.

The situation in the South Atlantic springs from the general crisis of the capitalist system, indicates the extent to which that crisis has been aggravated, and imperils world peace. Deep cracks have appeared in the edifice of imperialist domination in Latin America. This is what has prompted the sharp activation of aggressive actions by imperialism. Relying on international solidarity, in this situation Argentina's communists and other progressive forces are orienting themselves on the defense of national sovereignty and stepping up the struggle for social progress.

THE MADNESS OF MILITARY GAMBLES

Gerry Pocock

EC Political Commission member,
Communist Party of Great Britain

We write at a time of major armed conflict between Britain and Argentina over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) that has already resulted in the loss of many lives and an enormous economic cost. It is a chilling reminder of how near we are to catastrophe that could have incalculable consequences for world peace. These developments are evidence of how terrifyingly easy it is for even a minor dispute to escalate into a major international military conflict.

The Communist Party of Great Britain sees its first and main task in the period of the conflict to do all in its power to change British policy from a course of escalation to a negotiated settlement. That is why the immediate demands must be for a ceasefire, an end to hostili-

ties, and negotiations through the United Nations. We welcomed the motion, now supported by 76 Labour MPs, one Scottish National MP, and two Plaid Cymru¹ MPs, calling for an immediate truce in the war before more lives are lost.

The CPGB Political Committee issued a statement on April 9 in which we demanded the recall of the task force, condemned the Argentine military takeover, and called for negotiations through the United Nations. We made clear our view that Britain's claim to sovereignty over the Falklands is a hangover from this country's colonial past and should be ended.

The labor and all peace and progressive movements in Great Britain owe an enormous debt of gratitude to the *Morning Star* for its consistent advocacy of a policy in stark contrast to the jingoism, bluster, and sheer irresponsibility of the other mass media.

It is highly important that our party was able to respond speedily on an issue that caused confusion and hesitation in the labor movement and among some of the left in the parliamentary Labour Party. It was vital to speak out straight away. We did so. We could do so because we had a reference point of principle to speak from. This has made it possible for our comrades to play a key role in shaping the response of other organizations in and outside the labor movement.

The communists rejected completely the notion that Britain had to send the task force in order to strengthen its negotiating hand. It is this disastrous belief that has been the basis of the Labour Shadow Cabinet's support for the Tories. It is disastrous because it completely undermines the principle that must be the basis for international relations: renunciation of the use of force, and settlement of disputes by negotiation — in the given case through the United Nations. It is a principle that puts the maximum pressure on the imperialist powers who want to use their superior power — military and economic — to impose their policies. It makes possible the most effective mobilization of world opinion, of the UN majority, in support of countries facing aggression. Any other approach raises the prospect of war, escalation, and possible world war involving nuclear weapons.

The frightening implication of the "negotiation from military strength" position is that it leads inevitably to the use of force, and the escalating use of force. That is why in opposing the Tory use of military might, we also condemn the Argentine junta's seizure of the Falklands. The Argentine Communist Party correct-

ly makes the point that a different sort of government would have mobilized world opinion and the support of the non-aligned movement and the socialist countries to win its claim.

In our statement we underscored the dangers of the Tory Government's policy and declared that Britain was in violation of UN Resolution 502.² Our stand is an important one also because of Britain's position in the world. The dispute over the sovereignty of the islands cannot be separated from the fact that one of the disputants — Great Britain — is still a major world power with a particularly bad record in supporting UN policies. Britain is one of the Western Contact Group on the question of Namibia, of which South Africa has been in illegal occupation for 17 years. The Group's latest proposals have been justifiably criticized in sharp terms by SWAPO and the Frontline States. Britain has condoned by inaction the South African aggression against Angola. While opposing and arguing against UN sanctions against South Africa, the Thatcher government has mobilized sanctions outside the UN against Argentina through the EEC, Japan, some Commonwealth countries, and the USA, producing a worldwide lineup of the rich and powerful capitalist states. As far as Britain is concerned there will be a price to pay — increased pressure from the EEC to soften on the question of Britain's contribution, and increased subservience to U.S. strategy.

Consistently the Tories have undermined the UN: in violating Resolution 502, in misusing Article 51,³ in the contemptuous way they brushed aside the statements and appeals of the Secretary-General. Resolution 502 was quite specific in calling on both parties to refrain from the use or the threat of force and to cease hostilities immediately. Article 51 has been distorted by the Tories to suggest that it gives the green light to any and every action by the government and was used to justify the 12-mile blockade of Argentina.

The Tories have been in breach of the spirit and letter of this Article. Despite the UN resolutions, they have given priority to military preparations and actions — although simultaneously negotiations were being conducted through the mediation of the U.S. Secretary of State. The Tories are hell-bent on military victory. Even after the tragic disasters of the *Sheffield* and the *General Belgrano*⁴ there was a repeated threat of further attacks, the choice being between a direct assault on the Falklands and bombing of the Argentine mainland. The government has categorically rejected the idea of a truce.

The Tories know that they will never win UN support for their claims and actions, that the countries of Latin America and the rest of the Third World, along with the socialist states, will support Argentina. They are out to achieve the maximum by military action. That is why they have rejected a ceasefire. But there is little doubt that for all the cynical lineup of the major capitalist states at this stage with the Tories, Britain is likely to face increasing isolation.

The Argentine junta is a brutal and repressive regime. One factor in its decision to seize the Falklands was to try to boost its popularity at home, in the face of mounting opposition. But the natural feelings of repugnance at the brutality of this regime cannot be the determining factor in the CPGB's attitude to the dispute. Still less can we subscribe to the belief that the sending of the task force or the use of sanctions will cause the downfall of a fascist dictatorship. Such an attitude plays right into the hands of the Tory jingoists.

Our party has for many years acted in solidarity with democratic forces in Argentina. That solidarity will continue, beyond the present dispute and until democratic rights are restored. The Tories have never shown any concern before at the brutality of the Argentine military junta. They have backed it with arms sales as they have backed other fascist regimes.

But it would be wrong to see the dispute simply in terms of Tory jingoism. Important military, strategic, and economic interests and motives are involved. The USA has been engaged in attempts, with the full backing of the Tories, to set up a South Atlantic Treaty Organization, and draw Argentina into it as a U.S. policeman for South America.

What is underlined by this whole episode is the urgent need for disarmament, the ending of military bases, resolving peacefully the remnants of colonialism, strengthening the UN, and reaching equitable agreements on sharing raw materials in the ocean depths and Antarctica.

Throughout this crisis the Tories have cynically manipulated the hopes and fears of the Falkland islanders themselves — though only a few months ago in their Nationality Act the Tories denied many of the islanders the possibility of becoming British citizens. The CPGB has said from the outset that the interests of the islanders must be protected, interests which have been seriously undermined by recent Tory actions and the repeated failure over the years of successive governments to resolve the Falklands issue and provide a secure and dignified future for the islanders. Their interests lie in a peaceful settlement based on ceding

Britain's untenable claim to sovereignty. They must have the full right to settle in this country if they so wish, with assistance from the government.

The crisis has had a very big effect on politics here in Britain. Tory jingoism has been prominent, quite overwhelming in the first days and forcing the resignation of the Foreign Secretary, Carrington. Opinion polls have shown, on the one hand, strong support for government policy, but coupled with an opposition to the prospect of loss of life.

It would be quite wrong, of course, to simply talk of jingoism. Many, many people are deeply worried, opposed to the Argentine action and the brutal nature of the junta. But they are opposed to war as a means of solving the crisis. These feelings and reactions have nothing in common with Tory arguments. All the more disastrous then has been the policy of the parliamentary Labour Party. A different policy by Labour could have provided leadership for a different public reaction, which could have stayed the hand of Thatcher and the Tories and reduced the risk of military action. As it was, the people of Britain have been faced with an overwhelming parliamentary lineup backed by an irresponsible press. The Shadow Cabinet supported the sending of the task force, thereby right from the start undermining the reference to a negotiated settlement.

There have been some courageous exceptions — Tony Benn, Judith Hart, Tom Dalyell, most notably — who have argued against the reckless folly of the task force. They have represented the views of many people, not only within the Labor Party but throughout the population.

The Labour Party's stand reveals its main weakness — its failure to grasp the nature of imperialism and inability to formulate a clear-cut alternative to the Tory foreign policy. It is this failure on the part of Labour's leadership to grasp the real danger inherent in the aggressive nature of imperialism that allowed the Thatcher Government to exploit the jingoism whipped up by the mass media under government pressure to involve Britain in this dangerous military adventure. In this way the Tories tried to divert the people from expressing their anger against the government's disastrous domestic policy. The Labour Party failed to assume the leadership in the rapidly growing movement against war, and thus prevented it from gaining sufficient strength and stopping the mad drive for war.

But whatever the situation, the British communists are confident that the movement of the

people and the organized labor and peace movement in Britain will redouble their efforts and evolve into a powerful movement to bring the war to an end and restore sanity and peace.

1. Welsh Nationalist Party. — Ed.
2. This resolution was passed by the UN Security Council in April of this year, and its first article calls for an immediate cessation of all hostilities. — Ed.
3. This article speaks of the right to individual or collective self-defense. — Ed.
4. The British and Argentine warships sunk in the conflict. — Ed.

REFERENCE MATERIAL ON THE ANGLO-ARGENTINE CONFLICT

FALKLAND (MALVINAS) ISLANDS

The Falkland (Malvinas) Islands are situated in the South Atlantic 500 kilometers from the Argentine mainland. They consist of two big islands: East Falkland (Soledad) and West Falkland (Grande Malvina), and some 200 islets. The total area is roughly 12,000 square kilometers, and the population numbers about 1,800.

According to Argentine records, the islands were discovered by a Spanish navigator Esteban Gomez in 1520. British records claim the discoverer was a Captain John Davis in 1592. In the early 18th century the archipelago was visited by a French naval squadron. In a map published in Paris in 1722 it is marked as French territory. In 1766 France ceded the islands to Spain.

In 1816 the United Provinces of La Plata (modern Argentina) proclaimed their independence of the Spanish crown. The new nation claimed the archipelago, and on November 6, 1820 an Argentine military garrison was established and the national flag was raised. In 1833 Britain sent a military expedition which seized the archipelago and proclaimed it a British colony.

Ever since then Argentina has been demanding the return of the islands. The question was considered time and again by the UN General Assembly. The UN declaration on the granting of independence to all countries and peoples kept in any form of colonial dependence covered the archipelago as well. In the 1961 resolution its Spanish name was given priority for the first time. In view of the fact that for a long time Britain had pursued a policy of settling people of British origin on the islands, no UN provision was made for granting the right of self-determination to the population of the Falklands (Malvinas).

Argentina's demand for the decolonization

and return of the islands invariably had the support of the nonaligned nations.

Talks to settle the dispute opened between Argentina and Britain in January 1966. At first London advanced the idea of gradually turning the islands over to Argentine sovereignty provided they were leased to Britain for a lengthy period of time. But later Britain insisted on resolving the issue by a referendum. The fundamental differences in the stand of the sides led the talks into an impasse.

Following the landing of Argentine troops on the islands on April 2, 1982 and the dispatch by the Thatcher government of a British task force to the archipelago, the UN Security Council urged Argentina and Britain to resolve their differences by diplomatic means.

At Argentina's request the situation was considered by the Organization of American States at the close of April. By a vast majority of votes the OAS aligned itself with Argentina. The USA, a member of the OAS, refused to comply with the adopted resolution.

Anglo-Argentine talks carried out under the aegis of the UN Secretary-General were cut short on May 20.

On May 21 the British task force began a large-scale operation to seize the islands.

Techniques of Propaganda

Information Abused

V. Artemov

Essays on nature and forms of
anti-communist propaganda
since beginning of the 70s.
paper 215 pp \$1.95

Broadcasting Pirates

A. Panfilov

External political radio programming
from the U.S., Britain and FRG.
paper 200 pp \$3.95

Television in the West and its Doctrines

N.S. Biryukov

How TV shapes public opinion.
cloth 207 pp \$4.95

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 Bathurst St.
Toronto, Ont. M5V 2P6

Breaking the stranglehold of neocolonialist bondage

In Africa the struggle against neocolonialism is proceeding along a wide front. The signs are innumerable as are the conditions under which these or those governments, parties and movements are challenging pro-imperialist forces and neocolonialist practices. This struggle has its mainstay in the masses and its vanguard consists of revolutionary-democratic circles, communists, and all the other genuinely patriotic elements. Their activity under diverse circumstances is described in some detail below.

GHANA: WILL OF THE PEOPLE

Ansa Asamoah

Special Adviser to the Provisional National Defense Council, Ghana

A radical change occurred in our country at the close of last year. Power passed to the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) headed by Flight Captain Jerry John Rawlings, marking a high point of the struggle of the patriotic forces, of the people against the pro-imperialist policies of the former government.

The need for change was seen long ago, as was demonstrated in 1979 by the first action of the military led by Rawlings. The Revolutionary Council set up at the time, took some steps to fight corruption, nepotism and abuse of power, and this brought it the support of the masses. At the same time, it was announced that the military leaders would soon restore a civilian regime and turn the reins of government over to an administration freely elected by the people.

But when this happened it was found that the ruling élite led by the then President H. Limann had no intention of taking Ghana along a path consistent with the people's interests. Under Limann and company, socio-economic policies were decided by the big financial magnates and businessmen linked to foreign capital. Corruption acquired unprecedented dimensions, affecting government circles. The annual inflation rate reached 100 per cent. Parasitical elements continued to thrive through the exploitation of peasants, miners, and other working people.

Relying on the security forces, the government unleashed a campaign of repression. Those who opposed its practices were arrested

and imprisoned, and there was nothing the authorities would not do to crush the spreading patriotic movement. What Limann feared most was the urge of liberative sentiments in the armed forces. He ordered a "reorganization," with the result that the command of key units was placed in the hands of ethnic elements agreeable to Limann. He counted on their tribal solidarity. But, ironically, during the revolutionary events of the close of 1981 these units were active in deposing the discredited élite. As the socio-economic situation deteriorated, prominence was gained not by tribal but by class contradictions. There was nothing the government could do to paralyze the solidarity of the patriotic army units with the oppressed masses.

Much was done to awaken the people to revolutionary activity by organizations such as the June 4 Movement, the New Democratic Movement, the People's Revolutionary League of Ghana, and the African Youth Command of the Kwame Nkrumah Revolutionary Guards. The committee set up by them started campaigning among the working people. Branches of these organizations were formed at some enterprises, where they engaged in politically educating the workers and mobilizing them for a struggle against the reactionary regime. In parallel, work was conducted in the army and among the police.

The dilemma facing progressive circles was either to wait for social contradictions to grow more acute or to take resolute action. By November of last year the condition of the masses became unbearable, and the revolutionaries saw that any delay would be suicidal. The people were demanding changes and, naturally, the patriotic action of December 31, 1981 was enormously popular. People saw it as much more than a military coup. This was reaffirmed by the first political and socio-economic steps taken by the PNDC. Parliament and the State Council were dissolved, people implicated in corruption and other crimes were arrested, and a drive was started against profiteers and other anti-people elements. A group of foreign businessmen, who had artificially raised prices for consumer goods, were expelled from the country.

These quick measures produced results. The price of bread fell sharply, rents were reduced

and transport rates were cut. Persistent profiteers, corrupt elements and smugglers were put on trial or taken into custody. These actions to uproot glaring injustices won the approval of large sections of society.

But the most important thing was that the government leadership proclaimed a fundamentally new orientation for Ghana's development, steering a course toward far-reaching economic and social changes in the interests of the masses. The events of December 31, 1981 signified a rupture with the past, and their aim was to create the conditions for transferring power to the people.

Today the revolution is the national cause of all Ghanaians, and it requires honesty, an awareness of national duty and self-sacrifice. The success of the changes depends largely on the unity of the masses, on their determination to join in the process of restructuring.

The people's defense committees, formed on the advice of the PNDC, are a shoot of what is really new and progressive. United in these committees, the people have received the actual possibility of participating in the running of the affairs of the government and nation. The slogans of these committees are discipline, organization and direction, and their aim is to attain the objectives of the revolution. They are now engaged in ensuring the basic needs of the urban and rural population, such as work, food, clothing, housing, education and health, and also educating the people politically and exposing the enemies of the revolution. Committees are formed in villages and urban neighborhoods, where they handle many local affairs and day-to-day problems. At factories these elected committees are usually composed of workers and members of the middle-level managerial personnel. In the armed forces the defense committees unite the lower ranks; commissioned officers may not be elected.

The committees do not replace the management or the trade unions and other public organizations. All work in close contact with each other. At the same time, the people's committees perform the exceedingly important function of supervising the fulfillment of decisions passed by the revolutionary leadership. This gives them the function of organs of the people's power. It is our aim that their social composition will in fact express the will of the working people.

The National Defense Council is taking steps to consolidate the patriotic forces. The above-mentioned progressive organizations, which played a major role in clearing the way for the revolutionary events of last December, are being united. The former Youth Council, an

amorphous reactionary organization, has been dissolved. Guided by advanced ideology, the recently formed Organizing Committee is heading the restructuring of the youth movement. It is planned to set up a new progressive women's organization. The mobilization of the masses has reinforced the position of the forces that want to see Ghana really free from the chains of neocolonialist oppression, and its people the motive force of deep-going social changes.

Our country is at the stage of a national-democratic revolution with the working class, the peasantry, a section of the petty local bourgeoisie, and progressive intellectuals as its mainstay. The revolution is opposed by the compradore bourgeoisie, which is linked to transnational corporations, and by foreign bourgeois elements residing in Ghana (Lebanese, Syrian, and Indian). Hostility for the new government is also shown by a section of the petty bourgeoisie and some professional groups (for example, lawyers and doctors who have a private practice). The opposition includes members of the local bourgeoisie, who had it good under the deposed regime, and the reactionary politicians for whom the events of December 31 cut short their influence and careers.

Such, in general outline, is the alignment of strength. However, the revolutionary authorities take various specifics into consideration, specifics characterizing the behavior of one class or another, of one social group or another. Let me give a few examples.

As in other African countries, we have a small (1-2 per cent of the population) but influential petty-bourgeois stratum of women, who are known as market women. They control much of the distributive network. They buy imported and other commodities from wholesalers and try to sell them at the highest price they can get; to create scarcities they are not above hoarding. This disorganizes supplies and creates other economic difficulties. To obtain the commodities for which there is the greatest demand, including imported goods, they bribe officials. The market women are disliked by the population. During the recent celebrations of the 25th anniversary of Ghana's independence their participation in demonstrations aroused anger and they are virtually pushed out by the festive crowds.

The nation needs a new system of distribution, but this will take time. On the other hand, for the market women retail trade is the sole means of making a living. In planning the restructuring of the economic mechanism we are thinking of how to provide new work for

these women, but this is not easy in view of the old age of many of them.

Or take another example, which points to the need for a specific approach to Ghanaian realities. I am speaking of the specifics of explanatory and propaganda work among the peasants.

The problem is how to inculcate new views, a new outlook. In countries where feudal relations were predominant the peasant physically felt feudal exploitation and rebelled against it. The situation is different in Ghana, where the relations of production are not feudal. Apart from capitalist plantations, there is a fairly large agrarian sector in which the land is passed on from one generation to another. Subjectively, the peasant does not feel he is exploited. That is why he must be shown that there is a real contradiction generated by agriculture's exploitation by the capitalist sector as represented by the merchant, the middle-man, and the profiteer. This truth can be brought home to the rural poor by the cadre trained by us.

A revolution cannot triumph in isolation. Imperialism continues to weave conspiracies around Ghana, seeking to consolidate its hold on West Africa with the support of reactionary regimes. There already have been reports of plans for using mercenaries to attack our country. On our continent quite a few revolutionary nations have been targets of this sort of armed adventures.

The present international situation is causing us grave apprehension. The Reagan administration refuses to reckon with the realities in the world. Having started an unprecedented arms race, U.S. imperialism is now trying to revive the cold war. The efforts of progressive and democratic circles championing peace on earth and the freedom and independence of nations are now acquiring special urgency.

Jerry Rawlings, Chairman of the PNDC, has declared that Ghana is pursuing a policy of positive neutrality, that it has adopted a posture of solidarity with the liberation struggle and is opposed to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. We want to promote diverse contacts with progressive countries in Africa and other continents. Although colossal economic difficulties make it hard to extend material support to the liberation forces in South Africa, Namibia, and El Salvador, such support is a matter of the immediate future. Ghana's solidarity with the struggle of patriots is unshakable, as has recently been demonstrated during the visit to Ghana by a delegation of the African National Congress of South Africa.

Lastly, we are well aware of the solidarity of socialist countries with peoples fighting for

independence and progress. The experience of these countries will in many ways help our movement to advance.

THE COMORES: FRONT OF STRUGGLE FOR GENUINE INDEPENDENCE

Said Abdallah

Executive Bureau member,
National United Front — Union of Comoreans
(FNUK-UNIKOM)

Five years have passed since the patriotic government of the Comores¹ headed by the late President Ali Swalih was deposed. The anti-imperialist battles are now headed by the National Liberation Front — FNUK-UNIKOM. This is the name of the still young movement of supporters of Ali Swalih, a movement that has acquired considerable experience of struggle and acts under the banner of revolutionary demands for the genuine independence, rejuvenation, and territorial integrity of the motherland, and radical social changes.

The organized Comorean national liberation movement came into being abroad two decades ago. MOLINACO,² the first political organization of patriots, was set up in Tanzania in 1963. From Dar Es-Salaam it conducted regular anti-colonialist broadcasts, which were heard on all four islands. Propaganda material was secretly sent to the islands.

Two fronts of struggle against French colonialism subsequently took shape: one mobilized the people in the country itself, and the other functioned outside it, organizing a broad international movement for our country's independence. The awakening of national consciousness was largely due to the efforts of the MOLINACO, and this bore fruit at the second phase of the mobilization of the people — with the formation of political parties in the archipelago.

The status of a French overseas territory was forced upon the Comores, while in 1968 the islands were granted so-called internal self-administration. That year began with stormy anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist demonstrations. Frightened by these developments, France and its local servitors put 150 patriots behind bars. At the same time, the colonialists tried to maneuver. Paris gave its "blessings" to the formation of two conservative political parties: the Democratic Association of the Comorean People and the Democratic Union of the Comores. Both were constantly pressured by the French High Commissioner in the capital, Moroni.³

Left parties came upon the scene in the same

period. These were the PASOCO (Socialist Party of the Comores) that fought for national independence, and the PEC (Party for the Evolution of the Comores), which represented the MOLINACO on the islands. The UMMA Party took a patriotic stand for liberation. Ali Swalih, who became one of its leaders, was the first person on the Comores to begin popularizing the socialization of the land and the formation of peasant cooperatives. There were a number of other anti-colonialist organizations. The left parties were the factor deciding the course of events, compelling France, on June 15, 1973, to recognize the archipelago's right to independence. A referendum was held on December 22, 1974: 95 per cent of its participants reiterated their determination to exercise this right.

Paris reacted to this demand for independence with further procrastination, with attempts to dismember the Comores in order to maintain its hold on the archipelago, which is of no little strategic significance in the Indian Ocean. The people became increasingly convinced that the foreign rulers had no intention of seeing the country free. The Organization of African Unity and the UN Special Committee for Decolonization were active in helping our cause. African, Arab and, most importantly, socialist countries were on our side. Massive solidarity by international public opinion helped to broaden the liberation movement.

The independence of the Comores was proclaimed unilaterally on July 6, 1975. The people surrounded the building of the National Assembly and forced that body to comply with the will of the overwhelming majority of the population. The large demonstration was headed by progressive elements, and they conducted the struggle for a further deepening of the liberation process. The National United Front, set up by the left parties, soon overthrew, without shedding a drop of blood, the reactionary administration of the right parties led by the merchant Ahmed Abdallah, a puppet of the colonialists.

For almost three years the Comores were ruled by a regime that opened a new era of the struggle for national liberation. It was headed by the ardent patriot Ali Swalih.

The revolution on the islands passed through three phases.

At the first phase, that of national consolidation (from July 1975 to August 1976), the main task was to hold out. France challenged us, recognizing the independence of only three islands — Great Comoro, Anjouan, and Moheli — retaining its administration on Mayotte. French bourgeois newspapers branded the

Comores as a "disloyal archipelago." Under cover of a brazen colonialist slander campaign, attempts were made to destroy the new nation. On November 28, 1975 the French representative in Moroni announced his government's unilateral decision to recall all French employees and technical advisers and cease all financial and other assistance to what it termed an unsubmitive nation. This was a very critical moment. The progressive regime had not yet gathered strength and depended on the most diverse social forces — from working people to the bureaucratic administration, the big landowners, merchants and financiers. It had to cooperate with them all to avoid economic collapse.

However, they failed to force us to our knees, although it was hard for France's ruling circles to believe that a small nation could repulse French imperialism. The country avoided catastrophe. People gradually got used to the idea that it was possible to live without French suzerainty. Objectively, the policy of trying to throttle the independent Comorean nation pursued by the colonialists helped to reinforce patriotic, national feeling. The slogan of national revolution advanced by the new power allowed mobilizing the most diverse social strata.

The slogan of the second phase (August 1976 to April 1977) was struggle against feudalism. Headed by Ali Swalih the government took steps to end medieval customs. Restrictions were placed on the activities of pseudo-clericals claiming leadership of the peasantry but in fact engaging in bribe-taking and other abuses in rural communities. The struggle against feudal prejudices and customs opened the door to the third and most important period of the nation's life at the time.

It embraces a short in time but very significant length of the road traversed by the Comores since the attainment of independence. It witnessed a clear-cut tendency toward demarcation in the ranks of the national forces that had only recently acted together against colonialist intrigues. A class struggle flared up with the feudal landowners and compradore bourgeoisie on one side, and workers by hand and democratic youth on the other.

The progressive leadership took steps to organize a new life. It removed the anti-democratic bureaucracy from the administration and steered toward drawing the population into active participation in public affairs. The moudiria was to become the key element of a new system of self-administration. This is the name of the district centers whose formation commenced at the third phase of the revo-

lution. This experience was to be spread to the entire archipelago.

The moudiria heralded the birth of a new administration linked closely to the people and was to be the foundation of the economic, social and cultural development of territorial units with a population of from 3,000 to 6,000 each. The civic center of the moudiria was a square building with a large inner court. The building housed an abattoir, a power generator, a pharmacy, an out-patient clinic, a secondary school, a state-run shop, and a creche. In it were the offices of the territory's administration. A model state farm with 10 hectares of land was formed at the moudiria. Ali Swalih and his associates saw the organization of such farms as the commencement of an agrarian reform leading to the transfer of land ownership to the people with the objective of setting up cooperatives.

This third phase was marked by a series of achievements. Although we are a Muslim nation, women began working alongside men. During the drive to abolish illiteracy more than 87 per cent of the population learned to read and write in their native Comorean language.⁴ Economic planning was introduced. The anti-imperialist orientation was further consolidated: the course was taken toward genuine national liberation, economic independence, and the building of a socialist society in the long term.

When it meets with resistance from the liberation movement, imperialism does not shrink from any crime. This incontrovertible truth has been reaffirmed by the experience of the Comores. On May 13, 1978, as a result of aggression by European mercenaries recruited by the notorious bandit and adventurer Bob Denard, our revolution was brought to a temporary halt, Ali Swalih and other patriots fell at the hands of butchers, and a night of terror descended on the motherland.

French imperialism and the local feudals set up a pseudo-government with Ahmed Abdallah as president and Bob Denard as one of the co-presidents. A Frenchman from Bordeaux, a mercenary, a paid agent of imperialism at the head of a country! This is unheard of in the history of Africa or any other part of the Third World.

Later, in order somehow to whitewash the regime, Denard was removed from high office. He even went so far as to announce his retirement. But this changed nothing. Although he now lives in Paris, he travels regularly to the Comores, remaining in control of repressive services and of the personal bodyguard of President Abdallah, who is a puppet of the neo-

colonialists. The imperialists and their hirelings remain the actual masters of our country.

The consequences of their administration have been ruinous. They have nothing to offer our people, our youth. Unemployment is on the rise, as is the death rate among adults and children on account of the scarcity of medicine and the shortage of medical personnel. The authorities continue arrests of patriots and encourage the activities of reactionary elements and their yes-men from some petty-bourgeois organizations such as the Association of Comorean Probationers and Students. At one time this Maoist group was closely linked to the PRC Embassy on the Comores and even conducted a fundraising campaign to hire mercenaries to kill the patriotic administration. In our country the Maoists collaborate with the authorities but call themselves "revolutionaries."

The regime is finding itself in growing isolation both at home and on the international scene. Assistance for French imperialism's plans is leading to the further militarization of Mayotte Island, which is being turned into a strongpoint of the forces of aggression in the Indian Ocean. This policy cannot win support either for its architects or their accomplices. Many nations are now pressing for the conversion of the Indian Ocean into a peace zone.

The temporary setback to the revolution has taught much to the Comorean patriots now united in the ranks of the FNUK-UNIKOM. First, although it was headed by a national front with Ali Swalih as its leader, we lacked a vanguard party adhering to scientific positions and capable of providing the masses and society with effective leadership. That is one of the basic lessons of our experience.

Second, even though it made significant headway in the mid-1970s, the national democratic revolution was unable to surmount its isolation from the world revolutionary movement. Fraternal, friendly relations with progressive forces abroad, with friends and brothers in the socialist countries, were underrated. We now know that in order to come out with flying colors there must be an unbreakable alliance with other national revolutions and that the liberation process on the Comores must be regarded in the context of global revolutionary changes.

The third lesson is that because it had no trained revolutionary cadre of its own, the Ali Swalih regime became the target of sabotage by the old bureaucracy that had served the colonialists and was kindling hatred for the patriotic government.

The fourth and last lesson springs from the essence of the strategy of national liberation

used by the patriots. Its foundations had been laid in the early 1960s. The proponents of national independence believed that the struggle should be purely political and diplomatic, ruling out recourse to arms. This strategy remained unchanged even after Ali Swalih became the leader of the revolution. The accent was placed on political and diplomatic pressure, chiefly in order to make France withdraw from our lawful territory, the Island of Mayotte, while other means and possibilities for the liberation struggle were underrated. This is another reason of the defeat, for which the unforgettable Ali Swalih paid with his life.

The FNUK-UNIKOM is determined to liberate the Comores from domination by the imperialists and their mercenaries. As the natural continuer of the revolutionary movement born on our islands in the middle of the past decade, it is pressing for genuine independence in order to establish a democratic people's system in the archipelago in the future. An important aim of the patriots is to recover the Island of Mayotte, which has been and remains an integral part of the Comorean nation. Many thousands of people prepared to devote themselves to the liberation of their homeland are uniting in the ranks of the FNUK-UNIKOM.

1. A nation in the Mozambique Strait of the Indian Ocean composed of Great Comoro, Anjouan, Mayotte, Moheli, and some lesser islands. It has a population of over 350,000, and the principal religion is Islam. — Ed.

2. National Liberation Movement of the Comores. — Ed.

3. Until 1961 the capital was the town of Dzaoudzi on Mayotte Island. The French colonialists moved the capital to Moroni (Great Comoro Island), and were already then planning to keep Mayotte and use it as a military springboard. After the independence of the Comores was proclaimed, the island was made an overseas department of France with the connivance of imperialism's menials.

4. The Comorean language is similar to Swahili and contains many Arabic words.

LESOTHO: CHANGES IN THE ALIGNMENT OF STRENGTH

Jeremia Mosotho

Communist Party of Lesotho

To a detached onlooker it may seem that time has stopped in Lesotho, a small, poor, and extremely undeveloped country in southern Africa, a country surrounded by the huge territory of South Africa. But this is not so, for the impact of revolutionary changes is tangible there as well, despite the visible presence of racist South Africa along the entire frontier.

Because of this geographical location, the external factor exercises a dual influence on Lesotho's socio-political life.

On the one hand, colossal pressure is maintained constantly by Pretoria: economic, political and military. Our economy and finances are closely harnessed to the economy and fiscal system in South Africa, and the nation serves as a source of labor for South Africa's mining and other industries. South African imperialism is out to keep Lesotho's underdeveloped economy within the orbit of dependence and dictate foreign policy to the country's ruling circles. An analogous strategy is pursued relative to Swaziland and Botswana, both of which directly adjoin South Africa and both, like Lesotho, are in effect integrated into the South African economy.

On the other hand, the situation is influenced by the liberation and revolutionary processes in the southern part of the continent. Moreover, because of this formidable proximity to the racist citadel, the attitude to the liberation struggle in the region and to the apartheid regime, which is seeking to suppress it, has become for us a sort of political watershed affecting the stand of the social forces operating in the country.

Positive changes are most perceptible in the attitude of the ruling party, the Basuto National Party, which came to power with the direct collaboration of imperialist circles; after independence was proclaimed it oriented its policies on dictation from South Africa. But since the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire, the victory in Zimbabwe, and the new upsurge of liberation battles in Namibia and South Africa itself, Lesotho's foreign policy has undergone dramatic changes. The BNP government headed by Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan now pursues a more independent line in foreign policy, supporting the national liberation struggle and participating in the non-aligned movement. Lesotho is strengthening its links with the new African nations, including those that have embarked upon far-reaching socio-economic reforms. The ruling circles are against collaboration with the racists, apartheid and Bantustanization, and reject the idea of forming a constellation of states of southern Africa under the aegis of South Africa with the purpose of turning them into a neocolonialist appendage of Pretoria.

There are patriotic elements also among the opposition forces, represented mainly by the Basuto Congress Party, although in that party they are clearly a minority. Formerly opposed to South Africa, this party has now joined the camp of the extreme right, begun to collaborate with the racist regime, and taken an anti-communist, reactionary stand.

There is a right wing in the ruling party as

well, and in fact a division has now taken place in that party. Many Lesotho political leaders still believe that it is possible to remain in power (to say nothing of winning) solely with support from a powerful neighbor, the regime in Pretoria. Also, there are those who are still openly coming forward as puppets and agents of the racists.

In the first place this concerns Ntsu Mokhehle, leader of the ultra-reactionary wing in the BCP, and his so-called Lesotho Liberation Army. This pretentious signboard is a cover for gangs of terrorists who raid peaceful villages and blow up bridges and public buildings. There is considerable irrefutable evidence to prove that Mokhehle's army is funded and directed by the Pretoria government. Symptomatically, this army became active at the close of the 1970s, when the nation began promoting relations with socialist countries, when it established diplomatic relations with them.

If one compares the foreign policy of the government and the opposition, the BNP and the BCP, one will find hardly any distinctions. The two are identical and represent the interests of the petit bourgeoisie. The struggle between them is not so much over ideology and politics as over matters of a private nature. The demarcation is today not between these parties but in them, where on one side are patriotic forces favoring the liberation movement of the African peoples and, on the other, those who want to rely on South Africa. In any case, this is the situation insofar as the external factor is concerned.

Lesotho is a backward, undeveloped country. As everywhere else, capitalist development is accompanied by the growth of class antagonisms, social inequality, crime and other social evils. The communists say that only by rejecting dependent capitalist development will it be possible to resolve acute problems, give a start to genuine social and economic progress, and raise the living standards and cultural level of the people. The Communist Party of Lesotho sees its mission in doing everything to help create the conditions for a turn toward a socialist orientation. This is hindered, above all, by pressure and direct interference by South African imperialism, that constantly threatens our country's sovereignty and independence.

As long as the patriots are divided the conditions will remain for subversion by traitors conspiring with the South African racists. The communists are doing all in their power to end the division: organizing contacts, working for mutual understanding, and jointly discussing ways and means of improving cooperation

with other patriotic forces. By actively looking for way of exercising a greater influence on the political line, we would carry more weight with progressives, who while remaining in their parties, can take a sober and well-wishing attitude toward the communist view on how to resolve Lesotho's problems.

We have rejected the approach that totally ignores the changes that occurred in the nation's foreign policy in the 1970s. The Communist Party's attitude is one of critical support for the Jonathan government. In other words, while approving the positive elements in the government's foreign policy the Communist Party is opposed to its reactionary, anti-democratic internal policies. Life has demonstrated time and again that if it is not reinforced by a democratic domestic policy, a progressive foreign policy may be denied mass support, and this will be immediately used by our enemies. Without mobilizing the people it will be impossible to stop the intrigues of enemies. The party is opposed to the official economic policy as well. Unlike those who regard the nation's economic difficulties as the outcome of somebody's subjective miscalculations, we believe that they have been generated by the system itself and are the natural outcome of capitalist development. •

The communists are seeking to unite all the healthy forces in a broad national resistance front. Our call is addressed to the patriotic elements in the BCP, the left forces in the ruling party, independent progressives, and everybody else who cherishes freedom regardless of their political views and party affiliation.

A national resistance front would be the organizational core of a broad-based democratic movement uniting workers, peasants, and patriotic elements of the petit bourgeoisie and intellectuals, in other words, the social segments interested in carrying out the task of the present stage, the stage of the national democratic revolution. The work of the communists among the people, notably among the working class, acquires special significance in the context of the aims before us.

The Lesotho proletariat consists largely of migrant workers employed at mines, the railways, and factories in South Africa. More than half of the able-bodied Basuto men and 10 per cent of the women are employed there. They have a dual social status: in South Africa they are workers, but at home most of them are peasants. However, because of their steeling as workers the level of their political consciousness is higher than that of the ordinary villager.

Escalating exploitation is aggravating social contradictions. The working people — both in

town and countryside — are becoming more receptive to advanced ideas. Although by law the land is "national and public property," and each citizen of Lesotho must have a plot of land, the number of landless persons is growing. In most cases owners of small plots of land do not have the means and implements to cultivate them, are compelled either to lease land on onerous terms from the rural rich or work as farm laborers. Dissatisfaction and protests are mounting as the condition of the rural masses deteriorates.

In view of the ongoing struggle against neocolonialist domination in Africa, it is particularly important to take the changes in the sentiments of the working people into account. The Lesotho communists attach immense significance to questions concerning the strategy and tactics of our liberation movement, class and political alliances, and the elaboration of a scientific action program. The CPL's work is geared chiefly to spreading revolutionary ideas among the people, mobilizing them for action in defense of national independence and democracy, explaining that there must be a total rupture with neocolonialist ideology and practices, and clearing the way for a socialist future.

The CPL's emergence on the political scene was an important milestone in the history of the liberation and working-class movement of Lesotho. It took shape as an independent political organization of the working class and recently marked its 20th anniversary as a militant party. Its founding was the natural outcome of preceding development, in the course of which the conditions were created for the formation of a Marxist-Leninist vanguard. Major contributing factors were the spread of the national liberation movement after the Second World War and the support that it got from the socialist community, support which facilitated the popularization of socialist ideas throughout the world. The great revolutionary battles of the oppressed people of South Africa in the 1950s and the early 1960s under the leadership of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party had a wide response in Lesotho, where momentum was being gathered by the struggles of the working people, the students, and other sections of society. Cumulatively these objective factors created the conditions for the founding of the party of the working class.

During the past two decades the communists had to withstand many tests. The critical moment came in 1970 when the party was outlawed and its leaders arrested. This caught the communists unprepared for work under illegal

conditions. The party suffered a severe loss of membership and its sphere of activity narrowed. The greatest damage was the loss of contact with the world revolutionary movement, as a consequence of which the party was beset by enormous political and ideological difficulties.

The fifth congress (1976), held under illegal conditions, gave the party a sober and serious analysis of the political situation in the country and set it new tasks consonant with the stage it was going through. While overcoming the difficulties caused by the ban on legal activities, the communists engaged in vigorous organizational, political and propaganda work among the working people. Much has been and is being done to prepare actions at industrial enterprises aimed at securing the satisfaction of the working people's demands: higher wages, a shorter working day, and better social conditions.

Our comrades are working among the masses and head some of the trade unions. Much of our attention is focused on migrant workers, whom we are seeking to organize — not only in Lesotho itself. Friendly advice from the communists is helping Basuto workers to unite against the ruthless exploitation of their labor by the South African racists, to look for and find contact with South African workers, and join them in serried ranks. While the racists are bent on splitting the working people according to tribal affiliation, on isolating Zulus, Basutos, Kozac, Bechuanas, and others artificially, we and the South African Congress of Trade Unions are doing everything to prevent this division. Tribal strife and ethnic affiliation should not hinder unity among fighters against the oppressive apartheid regime.

It is important for the communists to work in close contact with the rural population, with the peasant unions and rural committees, wherever they exist, or help to set them up, and turn them into centers mobilizing and uniting rural workers. The party attaches significance to promoting the movement for the formation of cooperatives and getting the government to help them go over to more advanced agro-technical methods.

Although the communists are denied the possibility of speaking on their own behalf, by virtue of the ban on the CPL, their ideas, slogans and guidelines are finding their way to the people. This is facilitated to a large extent by public organizations such as student unions and committees of solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia. On our initiative public organizations sponsor meetings, rallies and other undertakings. These

are attended by people from other parties, including people who hold fairly high office in the government. For instance, on the 70th anniversary of the ANC there was a powerful demonstration in solidarity with the fighters against racism. A rally in support of the struggle of the women of South Africa was held on March 8. These occasions give us the oppor-

tunity of stating our views, assessments and suggestions.

The 20-year experience of struggle for the interests of the working people makes us confident that the CPL can win the support of the masses for its progressive alternative and unite genuinely patriotic, anti-imperialist forces under its banner.

Who benefits by terrorism?

Antonio Boffi
Italian journalist

Blood has been shed in Italy — now here, now there — for more than a decade. Although there has been some headway in the fight with terrorists, the latter continue to strike.¹ One of their latest crimes is the murder of Pio La Torre, member of the Leadership of the Italian Communist Party, Secretary of the ICP Regional Committee in Sicily and Member of Parliament, in Palermo on the eve of May Day. Nationwide anger was aroused by this dastardly act, which provided further evidence of the anti-people character of such provocations and the acuteness of the problem of stamping out terrorism in Italy.

What are "black" and "red" terror? What are the Red Brigades? Who directs them? What do they want and what are they out to achieve?

Attempts to answer these questions fill the pages of newspapers and journals and are the subject of the speeches of many politicians. But the only obvious thing is that despite the fact that some ringleaders of terrorist organizations, supporters, and fellow-travellers have been arrested, the actual orchestrators of terrorism continue to remain in the shadow. To this day it is not known who in fact directs and shields the murderers.

If we take "black" (ultra-right) terror, it will suffice to recall that the suspected perpetrators of the massacre in Brescia (8 killed and 100 wounded) were recently released and that nothing was done to find the persons who exploded a bomb at the railway station in Bologna (85 killed and nearly 200 wounded) or those who wrecked the train *Italicus* (12 killed and 48 wounded).

The situation is not much better with the search for "red" (ultra-left) terrorists. Although some of the terrorists have been apprehended, the principals, those who pull the strings, are still far from discovery.

Members of the Red Brigades kill, wound and kidnap people whose only "guilt" is that the terrorists themselves proclaim them "enemies of the people": civil servants, members of security agencies, journalists, trade unionists, lawyers, workers and politicians, who in one way or another champion democracy. This was, in particular, the motivation for the kidnapping and murder of the Christian Democrat leader Aldo Moro precisely at a time when he was preparing to switch to a policy of cooperation with the Italian Communist Party. If it is borne in mind that in many cases it has been ascertained that there is a link between the Red Brigades and the Italian secret services, between these brigades and fascist-type terrorists, and between them and the Mafia, the question will be seen as more complex than ever.

It is vital not only to stigmatize but also to show all aspects of terrorism: to reveal what brought it to life and show its social roots and where it gets its recruits. There are no simple conclusions to be drawn. Indeed, among the supporters and leaders of the terrorists there are persons with extreme left and extreme right views, intellectuals, young people from petty-bourgeois families, Catholics and atheists, lawyers, philosophers, schoolteachers, professors, doctors, medical nurses, workers, technicians and students as well as mafiaosi and other criminals and dregs of society.

To fight terrorism today one must have a good idea of what it is all about. Progressive people want the truth. To that end the ICP recently conducted a nationwide poll, sending out millions of questionnaires. People gave their views about the motivations of terrorism, the type of people involved in it, how effectively state agencies are operating, and how necessary it is to fight terrorism.

A false label

Terrorism is alien to the interests of the working people and to the mass movements, whose aim is to restructure society. This is especially true of Italy, where ever larger sections of the population are joining in the struggle to safeguard democratic gains. One may well ask why terrorism is on the upswing in Italy and other West European countries, where there has been a marked growth of the forces of democracy and progress? This will become understandable if one identifies those who want terrorism.

In West Germany, for instance, the acts of terrorism of the "Red Army" faction, whose links to the Red Brigades have been brought to light time and again, prompted the adoption of extraordinary laws and the "radical elements" law that produced the Berufsverbot, which hits out at democrats. In Italy the Red Brigades have, by their strikes, partially succeeded in arousing suspicion of everything associated with communism.

It is quite obvious that the Red Brigades and terrorism are orchestrated by secret forces, who are far removed from championing the interests of the working people and the needy but are out to erode the nation's democratic structures and establish authoritarian practices. Their sights are set on intimidating the population and creating an atmosphere that would discourage the people from defending democratic gains and rights. They are seeking to move the political struggle from representative institutions to the "military" sphere and thereby evoke not only mass fear but also apathy, a reluctance to participate in political life, which is the condition for the establishment of a "strong regime."

All the indications are that the Red Brigades, the "proletarian armed cells," the "proletarian action detachments," and so on have been and are used as a weapon by circles who have taken the cover of "fighting communism" to create a threat to the Italian state, to undermine and destroy it. Indeed, names like Red Brigades have been adopted to underscore the "proletarian" origin of such groups, although this is pure and simple mystification.

Italy's bourgeois press has always sought to put a Marxist label on the Red Brigades, to impute the moral and ideological responsibility for terrorist acts to the parties of the working class, specifically the Communist Party and its ideological and historical traditions. For many years this press has been alleging that the Red Brigades are the brainchild of "irreconcilable communism" and that their members are kindred to the communists. This allegation is designed chiefly to frighten people by identify-

ing the democratic and progressive activities of the parties of the working class with the terrorist acts of those who use the slogans of the working people as a cover for their brutal actions. In this way they are trying to kindle hysterical fear of the "communist menace" exactly as was done by the fascists and other reactionaries.

Writing of terrorism, Luigi Longo noted: "The class party is not a subversive sect . . . As might have been expected, many people have lately begun to analyze the roots and purposes of terrorism. There are even some who would have liked to use this opportunity for attacking the ICP, to find more or less direct sources of present-day terrorism in its history and doctrine. I shall not call these attacks propaganda, but shall only say that they spring from a poor knowledge both of the history of the ICP and of the essence of its activities in the course of the 57 years that have passed since it was founded. There has been no instance of the Italian (and not only of the Italian) communists taking a stand on any ideological or political issue or coming forward with an initiative that even remotely resembles justification of acts of terrorism."²

Acting in keeping with these traditions, many thousands of communists, as other Italians of the most diverse political persuasions, have time and again staged street demonstrations to protest against terrorism and declare their devotion to democratic and republican ideals. They thereby clearly showed that the Red Brigades neither had nor have the right to speak on behalf of the proletariat, of the ideals of communism and social justice. Their transparencies and placards bore the words: "The Red Brigades and NAPisti³ are fascists and enemies of the state," "No terror and violence," "Unite against terrorism, defend the democratic state," "Murder is not revolution," and so on. They proclaimed that defense of the interests and cause of the proletariat was inseparable from the defense of democratic gains and the constitution, which embodies the results of the struggle against fascism.

The working people of Italy fought long for their rights. The most bitter stage was the struggle against nascent and then ruling fascism. This struggle was characterized by unity of the anti-fascist forces, a unity that materialized in the Resistance movement, which helped to defeat nazism. The people acquired experience of the policy of alliance among diverse sections of society, of action related to asserting democratic forms of administration. This goes to show how deluded are those who believed or still believe that the weapon of

terrorism can be used to draw the masses into suicidal adventures, which are alien to the policy and ideology of the working class and its parties.

It would certainly be a mistake to think that terrorism can achieve anything in Italy. However, this does not mean that its use by certain circles is not a serious threat to the nation, cannot upset the balance of strength, and generate difficulties enabling some people to fish in troubled waters. The recent rise of terrorism, despite the blows it has been struck, is evidence that much remains to be done and that there must be vigilance in order to put an end to it.

Social factors

Many quarters attribute the growth of terrorism to the social ulcers embittering people. This view merits attention, because unlike ordinary crime political terrorism uses the cover of revolutionary ideas and relies on ideology that can attract fanatics prepared to go to extremes. Its organizers are trying to benefit by the dissatisfaction precipitated by inflation, unemployment, lawlessness and abuses in the labor market, and the growth of exploitation. Where poverty is concentrated it is not hard to find young social outcasts inclined to believe that revolution can be accomplished by terrorism. The blame for making it easier for terrorists to enlist new recruits must, in the long run, be imputed also to Italy's bourgeois governments that for decades on end have been unable to resolve the nation's basic social and economic problems. More, they have been and still are instrumental in aggravating these problems.

It hardly needs proof that in itself the crisis of society is not the mainspring of terrorism. Nevertheless, convulsions in society can foster its growth. One has also to reckon with the influence of ideologies and morals that eulogize individualism. The bourgeois mass media, literature and films constantly make much of violence, personal affluence (no matter how it is achieved), and "successful" people. The same media are full of reports of scandals and corruption involving large sections of the nation's ruling classes — from the activities of the Masonic P-2 Lodge to the oil scandal, from urban land profiteering to bribe-taking in the highest echelons of the administration. Cases of this kind can likewise induce some people to resort to violence, those who can be persuaded that this situation can be ended only by means of terrorism.

In *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin wrote that in many cases terrorism springs from the sentiments of "intellectuals, who lack the ability . . . to connect the revolutionary struggle and the

working-class movement into an integral whole" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 418). Those who "incite" the masses by means of terrorism, he noted, ignore the fundamental need for educating the people politically and organizing them.

The Red Brigades look for recruits at the factories and the natural question here is: What is the attitude of the working class, of the working people to terrorism? Their reply has invariably been to denounce it. The fact that terrorism is now suffering one setback after another is due, in particular, to the firm negative stand that has always been taken toward it by the working people. Of course, this does not mean that among the terrorists and their fellow-travellers there are no workers, no trade unionists. Some of them, especially young people, succumb to the corresponding indoctrination. For instance, in their documents the Red Brigades reject the stand of the ICP, according to which the analysis of the dual nature of state capitalism made by Engels and Lenin is applicable to the present situation, and claim that the working class cannot use state levers for purposes other than for which these levers were created by capitalism.

Political convictions of this kind can be inculcated among some young people because of the methods of administration used by the Christian Democratic Party in Italy. The contributing factors are the crisis of society and the instinctive rebellious responses of that section of young people who suffer materially from the crisis and see the country's convulsions as a result of long years of rule by the Christian Democrats, who have been unable to justify the hopes of many young Italians. Another factor influencing young people is social inequality in a society where the fabulous wealth of some is in glaring contrast to the benumbing poverty of others.

All these factors make it easier to draw young people to the terrorists. The average age of 37 of those killed in the past 10 years in shootouts with the police was 25. Of the 300 arrested since mid-December 1981 most were under age 30.

Lately, it is noted that there is a close link between the Red Brigades and the Mafia, organized crime. Terrorists are trying to find recruits among the "proletarians" in Italy's jails. Often criminals are found among members of subversive groups arrested by the authorities. It seems that failing to find a mass base, the terrorists are looking for recruits among such elements, as other political forces, the fascists in particular, have done in the past. The present prime minister, Giovanni Spadolini, has time and again said that there is a link between the

Mafia, law-breaking and terrorism. The threads of terrorism frequently go deep into criminal organizations, which in Italy are a "state within a state."

In the Red Brigades there now are signs of a split between proponents of the so-called "militarist" orientation and those who are pressing for a "development of the movement." The former want as many people as possible involved in an armed struggle, while the latter seek contact with new subversive, corporatist movements with the obvious intent of making the nation more ungovernable than it is today. The aims of both trends are identical and represent a threat to democracy.

Internal and international aspects

To this day the authorities as well as some intellectual circles and trade unionists have been tolerant of or, in any case, indifferent to the spread of terrorism. In this connection it would suffice to mention the notorious slogan of some trade union leaders and ultra-lefts: "neither with nor against the Red Brigades," and their absurd and virulent theory that the Red Brigades consist of "deluded comrades." Or that for a long time the IMF-ICTU⁴ trade unions at the Alfa-Romeo factories had opposed the demand to withhold trade union membership from persons implicated in subversion. There also were trade unions and politicians who tried to attribute the formation of terrorist cells at factories to the "inclination of workers to conflict," arguing that the struggle of the working class for its rights inevitably leads to violence.

Postures of this kind, which encouraged terrorism, were a hindrance to organizing effective, nationwide resistance to terrorism.

The affair of the U.S. general Lee Dozier was the high point of recent terrorist activity. It will be recalled that the Red Brigades kidnapped this NATO general and held him prisoner at one of their hideouts near Padua. But on that occasion the authorities made no mistake as they did when Moro, D'Urso, and Roberto Peci⁵ were kidnapped: the police freed the general and arrested his abductors. In this instance, they took a serious view. They did not try to come to terms with the kidnappers secretly, but took determined measures.

Public pressure and support for steps against terrorism are beginning to yield results. In recent months crippling blows have been struck at subversive activity. Massive roundups have led to the discovery of arms caches and hideouts and the arrest of many terrorists. The fact that evidence was given by repentant supporters was significant. Many admitted that they

realized the futility and barbarity of their actions and declared they were prepared to cooperate with the authorities. This is unquestionably a new phase of the struggle against terrorism.

Dozier's rescue was of great significance. There are circles in Italy who would have welcomed a negative outcome of the Dozier affair: in particular, those who were demanding that police functions should be turned over to the army. Moreover, this affair has an international angle: it spelled out the failure of yet another attempt by the Red Brigades to aggravate international relations by attacking Italian and foreign military men and objectives. Actions of this kind, some quarters hoped, might have ultimately led to repressive measures and a curtailment of freedoms and hit not only the Red Brigades. We regard instances like the Dozier affair and the recent attack by the Red Brigades on an Italian army barracks as extremely dangerous provocations designed to prevent an improvement of the international situation in Europe and the rest of the world.

There are quarters that look for external sources of terrorism in Italy. Some people want the truth, others are guided by speculative considerations, by a desire to make trouble (this particularly concerns reactionary circles). But in Italy terrorism springs from local causes. This phenomenon cannot be understood and it cannot be assessed seriously if it is considered that terrorism is the "extended arm" of a foreign center. There are, of course, internal and external forces that, for various reasons, want to see a destabilization of the situation in Italy. Our country holds a special strategic position, has a political life of its own, and is characterized by a bitter struggle between conservative and progressive forces. This has a meaningful international context as well.

However, there is no definitive proof that any external forces are responsible for the terrorism in our country. True, the weekly *Giorni* wrote bluntly: "The kidnapping and subsequent murder of Moro fits into the pattern of a counteraction to the threat discerned by the CIA in the efforts of that statesman . . . It is assumed that Moro was kidnapped so as to use ultimatums to compel the CDP to reconsider its course and induce that party to break with the ICP."⁶ But this is only an assumption, and it is very hard to prove.

In any case, in analyzing terrorism as a social phenomenon, we should base ourselves on simple and clear facts. And these facts are that society can be renewed not by assassinations, bombings and brutality, but only by the struggle of the forces of progress, of the broad dem-

ocratic masses, and in accordance with their will. Terrorist actions are a dangerous provocation and can only serve reaction.

1. According to statistics of Italy's Interior Ministry, in the period from 1969 to the present there have been 13,000 terrorist attacks, resulting in over 300 deaths and more than 1,000 wounded.

2. *Rinascita*, May 12, 1978.

3. NAP is the Italian acronym for Nuclei armati proletari (Proletarian Armed Cells). — Ed.

4. Italian Metalworkers Federation (IMF), which is affiliated to the Italian Confederation of Trade Unions.

5. Giovanni D'Urso, a high ranking government official abducted by terrorists. Roberto Peci, a worker fiendishly killed solely because his brother, Patricio Peci, was a repentant member of the Red Brigades.

6. *Giorni*, May 31, 1978.



New trends, old shackles

WAYS OF CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

It has always been a meaningful task to analyze and comprehend the new trends in the development of capitalism which determine many of the lines in the contemporary revolutionary process. In view of this, the *WMR* Commission on Problems of Latin America and the Caribbean has held an international symposium to discuss the so-called capitalist modernization in the countries of the region.

Among those who took part in the discussion were: from the Brazilian CP, CC member Ari dos Santos and Mario Nascimento; from the Dominican CP, CC member Cesar Perez; from the Colombian CP, CC member Raul Valbuena; from the CP Argentina, CC member Julio Laborde and CC alternate member Leonardo Paso; from the CP Bolivia, CC member Felipe Rodriguez; from the CP Venezuela, CC member Jeronimo Carrera; from the CP Cuba, CC member Raul Valdes Vivo; from the People's Party of Panama, CC member Felix Dixon; from the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, CEC member Clement Rohee; from the Paraguayan CP, CC member Severo Romero; from the Peruvian CP, Cesar Barreto; from the CP El Salvador, CC member Jaime Barrios; from the Workers' Party of Jamaica, CC member Rupert Lewis; from the CP Uruguay, member of the Executive Group Abroad Eduardo Viera and Samuel Behak. Scientists from a number of socialist countries also took part in the discussion, among

them Dr. Karl-Christian Göthner (GDR); candidates of economic sciences Viktor Sheinis and Alexander Karavayev (USSR); assistant professor Ladislav Kubik (Czechoslovakia), and *WMR* staff member, candidate of economic sciences Vladimir Davydov. Julio Silva Colmenares, CC member, Colombian CP, and Hugo Fazio, CC member, CP Chile, took part in the symposium by sending in their theses. The Commission invited to the symposium representatives of fraternal parties from other regions taking an interest in these problems. Among them were Raja Collure, CC member, CP Sri Lanka; José Lava, CC Political Bureau member, CP Philippines; James West, CC Political Bureau member, CPUSA; Peter Boychuck, CEC alternate member, CP Canada; and Camal Kozlu (CP Turkey).

In characterizing the social system existing in Latin America and the Caribbean, the participants in the symposium proceeded mainly from the assumption that capitalist relations of production, even if with an admixture of pre-capitalist elements and a considerable spread of early capitalist economic forms, were predominant in the countries of the region which (unlike Cuba) did not go through any revolutionary changes. Accordingly, social development is regulated by the universal uniformities of the capitalist mode of production. But that does not imply a complete socio-economic homogeneity of the region. The participants emphasized the great distinctions in the level of development and degree of maturity of capitalist structures in the individual

countries. The process of differentiation continues to make correctives to the regional panorama. At the same time, there is evidence of a most important general feature which determines the whole course of capitalist reproduction: the impact of the factor of dependence, reinforced by the growing "transnationalization" of the economy and the ever greater intrusion of the transnational corporations into the economic organism of the countries in the region.

The past two or three decades have been marked by an acceleration of capitalist development everywhere. At the same time, the capitalist society in Latin America and the Caribbean is in the grip of a protracted crisis. This is determined, on the one hand, by the growing contradiction between the dynamic of the productive forces and the existing system of relations of production, and on the other, by the successes of socialism which has been established in the region (on the soil of Cuba) and by the upswing of the revolutionary liberation movement.

The Latin American bourgeoisie and its imperialist patrons are faced with this dilemma: either to rely in their policy on the old economic mechanisms and political institutions, or to try to modify and adapt them to the new realities. The participants in the discussion concentrated their attention on the line of evolution in the capitalist society which is known as modernization.

Abstract concepts and concrete reality

There was a divergence of views on the approach to the concept of "modernization" itself. Are we not confusing it, perhaps, Eduardo Viera, suggested, with capitalist development proper, with the various models of economic policy? Does it not involve, perhaps, more refined methods of exploitation and the use of state regulation? Do we not, perhaps, have in mind more intensive introduction of scientific and technical achievements and concentration and centralization of capital?

Local monopolies and powerful financial groups have appeared in various countries. State capitalism has been markedly developed, and it is even possible in some cases to speak of elements of state-monopoly capitalism, which differ in the degree of maturity but which are highly substantial. At the same time, Latin American countries, including the biggest ones, are becoming more dependent, although alongside of this there is a noticeable increase in the contradictions between the individual strata of the local bourgeoisie and imperialism, above all U.S. imperialism. The penetration of

transnational corporations is becoming ever more tangible. Latin America suffers from inequitable trade, from a worsening of the terms of trade and from the burden of external debt. The system of large land-holdings remains intact in the major part of the region, and there the backwardness and survivals of the pre-capitalist past are most pronounced.

That is why, while invariably objecting to any underestimation of capitalist development in Latin American countries, we do not agree with any kind of exaggeration of this development, for then sight is lost of the structural crisis and of the material prerequisites for the dependent role which Latin America has to play in the world capitalist system. Accordingly, this question arises: it is right, even parenthetically, to define the subject of discussion as capitalist modernization?

Doubts were also expressed by Felipe Rodriguez. The ideologists of the bourgeoisie, he said, have been trying to embellish the capitalist reality and to find some neutrally sounding words for it. They want to cover up the negative sense which concepts like "capitalism" and "capitalist" have in our day. Instead they use substitutes like "market economy" and similar other terms. Hardly anyone will now assert that capitalism has already worked out all its potentialities for modernizing production or that it has lost its capability of moving from one stage to another. But it should not be forgotten that modernization is a term by means of which the bourgeoisie defines its policy in many countries. Why accept a terminology used by our class antagonists?

Recognizing the existence of capitalist modernization does not amount to advertising it, Cesar Perez objected. Life constantly generates new realities of which Lenin, let alone Marx, naturally could have no inkling. The term may possibly not have been used in party documents either, but they should not be likened to a "straightjacket" for those who seek to gain a knowledge of the reality. Many objective processes (technical renovation of production, emergence of monopolies, social shifts, urbanization, etc.) give ground for the assumption that the capitalist society in the countries of our region is pulling itself up to the standards of present-day capitalism, even if this is being done with tremendous "social costs" for the working people. It is still capable of overcoming some survivals of the past by means of reform. That can be called "modernization," even without parentheses. Nor will the term pose any ideological danger if it is filled with a Marxist content. This idea was supported by Jeronimo Carrera who said that we shall not be

distorting the reality by recognizing that capitalism and the Latin American bourgeoisie are capable of attaining some results. After all, we are dealing here simultaneously with the multiplicity of negative consequences of capitalist modernization for our peoples.

The skill of bourgeois apologists in capitalizing on advantageous terminology, José Lava said, undoubtedly calls for caution. So it is with "modernization," a term which it seems everyone has been using. But caution does not mean that we are not entitled to discuss the problem of capitalist modernization. It is an actual fact. The main thing is to clarify its substance and to show its negative aspects as well. At the same time, it is not right to deny the ongoing changes. Imperialism still has considerable reserves, while the exploiter classes, right-wing forces still hold the dominant positions in most developing countries.

In this context, *Raja Collure* drew attention to the objective factors which gave an impetus to the process of capitalist modernization. He brought out, in particular, two aspects of the matter: first, the shaping in a number of Latin American and Asian countries of a system of capitalist structures requiring a further development of capitalist relations; and second, the penetration of foreign imperialism into the entrails of the social organism, as a result of which the imperialist forces are directly involved in modernization and are in a position to direct the process in accordance with their own interests. Highly important is the evolution of the international capitalist division of labor which generates imperatives for economic restructuring in the dependent countries.

Considering the content of the concept under discussion, *Felix Dixon* remarked that the classics of Marxism-Leninism repeatedly pointed to the urge for renewal which was organic to capital. This question should not be reduced to technico-economic changes; it is much broader. There is also a need to take account of the nature of the regime under which the process of modernization takes place and the corresponding distinctions in social consequences.

In order to clarify the problem, *Vladimir Daydov* said, it is worth drawing a distinction between the possible meanings of this term, notably its abstract and concrete meanings. Thus, it is possible to speak in general terms of modernization in a society belonging to a formation which has already passed its peak, and which is confronted with its "opponent," the rising formation. That is all the more evident, considering that the society referred to is re-

tarded and dependent. In this case, modernization will be taken to mean a definite renewal of socio-economic and political structures, as they are pulled up to the level of more developed analogues. This could be regarded as a particular case of capitalist development, as one of its aspects. As for the subject-matter of our discussion, it is highly concrete. What is being analyzed is capitalist modernization under way in Latin American and Caribbean countries, a region in which a special type of capitalist society has taken shape as a result of late development of capitalism, but a late development which shapes the capitalist social system at the monopoly stage, when the export of capital from the imperialist centers rules out the possibility of any autonomous development for capitalism in the periphery. There is evidence of retardation and dependence on the "first echelon," the imperialist powers. The universal uniformities of the mode of production are repeated but in a modified form, and the features of one stage are inevitably superimposed on another. The result is an especially tight knot of social contradictions. The society is in the grip of a protracted structural crisis and, unless there is at least a partial renewal of it, the resultant situation threatens a social explosion.

In the view of *Raul Valbuena*, modernization is a necessity dictated by the imperatives of the growth of the productive forces and conditioned by the laws of competition, the uneven economic dynamic of the individual countries and the region as a whole, and the progressive concentration of production and capital. From this standpoint, the phenomenon being considered is an objective one. But at the symposium attention was also drawn to the other aspect, the subjective one, namely, the theoretical, ideological and practical activity of various groups of the ruling class or foreign imperialist circles for the purpose of bringing about some renewal of obsolete structures and institutions hampering movement along the selected way. In other words, it was a bourgeois policy or strategy of modernization. Thus, *Cesar Barreto* saw capitalist modernization, first, as a definite trend of development meeting the interests of the exploiter classes, and second, as a policy making use of new instruments for the attainment of the goals of the local big bourgeoisie and foreign monopolies. Such a policy does not imply any changes in the fundamentals of the social system. It is aimed to improve its elements, the mechanism of exploitation.

Eduardo Viera formulated the question as follows. The participants in the discussion, he said, are agreed on the main point: everyone

has spoken of capitalist development, of an objective trend toward an unfolding of the productive forces. Why must preference then be given to the concept of "modernization"? There is, of course, a need to see the nuances. A general trend is one thing, and the question of some "modernizing models," the question of concrete policy, is another. In the latter case, there is a need to reckon with the local conditions, with the social forces which are at the head of the state, how the attempts by individual countries to change the nature of their participation in the capitalist division of labor are expressed, and what the specifics of the present international situation are as a whole.

In order to obtain an objective answer to these questions and to verify the various definitions, Mario Nascimento said, there is a need to go beyond abstract reasoning and get down to an analysis of the actual situation in the region and the actual changes. And they are highly significant.

Process of objective change

In the second half of the century, Latin America was one of the most dynamic regions of the world capitalist economy, it was said in the papers presented by Julio Silva Colmenares, Ladislav Kubik and Viktor Sheinis. From 1950 to 1980, the aggregate gross domestic product (GDP) in the region multiplied roughly five-fold, and the product per head — nearly three-fold.

Industrialization has yielded tangible results. At the end of the 1970s, the ratio of the industrial to the agrarian sector (in terms of GDP) was 4 to 1, as compared with 1.5 to 1 in 1950. In terms of heavy industry's share in the GDP, Latin America came close to the indicator for the industrialized capitalist countries. Some elements of local scientific and technical potential emerged in the countries of the region. Profound changes marked the proportions of social reproduction: the accumulation rate went up from 14 per cent in 1950 to 23 per cent in 1980. Local production meets almost the whole of the demand for disposable consumer goods and a growing share of the demand for consumer durables and also for producer goods and materials (which is not equivalent to national production, considering the penetration by the transnationals).

On some parameters, Latin America's place in the international division of labor has been changing. Its share in the GDP of the non-socialist world increased from 5.4 per cent in 1950 to 7-8 per cent at the end of the 1970s. Once suppliers mainly of agricultural and mineral raw materials, the countries of the region

are also developing into exporters of industrial products: petrochemistry, engineering, and consumer manufactures. Manufactured products account for one-fifth of the aggregate exports, in Argentina and Mexico for over a quarter, and in Brazil for nearly one-half. An important indicator is the diversification of external economic ties, especially the entry of Latin American exporters to the non-traditional markets of the socialist states. This line is the most dynamic sector of the foreign trade of many of the countries on the continent. Their relations with the socialist community countries now go beyond the framework of conventional trade, involving delivery of complete equipment, scientific and technical cooperation and the training of personnel.

Consequently, the economic system of the region has been truly subjected to change as compared with the period in which it was dominated by enclave, one-commodity and mainly agrarian and raw-material structures. A permanently operating mechanism of expanded reproduction has taken shape. Economic growth has advanced most of the Latin American and Caribbean countries to a higher stage in the development of the productive forces. Such is one aspect of capitalist modernization, considered in general terms.

However, another aspect is equally impressive. The unprecedented growth of the productive forces has gone hand in hand with an unprecedented spread of poverty and privation. A sizable part of the population (the bulk, in some countries) has not received any benefits from economic development. Progressive structural shifts in production have been paralleled by a deepening of economic and social disproportions. Among these is the increasing lag of agriculture from the other sectors; the unusually wide gap between the structures of production and employment; and the impressive scale of unemployment (considering the substantial accretion of the production potential).

The modernization trend, which has brought about a definite change in the participation by the Latin American and Caribbean region in the international division of labor and the diversification of its export markets, has simultaneously produced — under the impact of un-governed forces in the world capitalist economy and conscious efforts by the ruling classes — new forms and structures of dependence and has led to its "interiorization." This means that highly concentrated international monopoly capital has become one of the chief internal factors in the development of Latin American countries.

Severo Romero emphasized in this context that the type of modernization which is evident in Paraguay constitutes an adaptation by the dependent capitalist society to the new line of development which is determined by imperialist capital. In the view of Cesar Barreto, every scheme of economic organization introduced by U.S. imperialism into Latin America is aimed to attain definite goals in accord with the laws of surplus-value appropriation and the accumulation of capital in present-day conditions. This applies both to the forms of plunder and exploitation of the countries of the region and the deepening of their dependence. A visual example is provided by the Peruvian economy, which is being increasingly subordinated to the interests of the U.S. corporations under the pretext of capitalist modernization.

Eduardo Viera, Ari dos Santos and others drew attention to the accelerated concentration of production and capital, which in some cases has attained the level of the industrialized capitalist states. In some countries, national (on the basis of local capital) and "associated" (merger of local and foreign capital) monopolies have taken shape and financial and industrial groups are being established with a financial oligarchy at the top. A modern capital market is taking shape in the region.

Development connected with the renewal of economic structures and relations is a process that cannot be separated from social changes. These changes, signifying transition to more clear-cut proportions of class composition, Jeronimo Carrera and Cesar Perez said, are an important sign of capitalist modernization. In all the countries of the region, the working class has grown markedly stronger. Over the past decade, its total numerical strength increased by 10 million, to more than 50 million today. Their class consciousness is promoted by the growing scale of production at the individual enterprises, and the concentration of large contingents of industrial workers in a few industrial centers. The conditions for more organized action by the proletariat are being created accordingly. The labor market is being modernized in the sense that there is a rise in the skill-standards of wagedworkers, and the general occupational and territorial mobility of the working population is increasing.

The middle urban strata have been sharply increased through the growth of the technical intelligentsia and various categories of employees. Millions of young people are now attending higher schools. The social status of the middle strata has been noticeably changing, the main reason being the ever faster proletarianization of a sizable part of these strata, both in

consequence of their involvement in industrial forms of labor and the expansion of capitalism's relations of production. Proletarianization is affecting masses of peasants. But on the whole, the economic organism of the capitalist society in Latin America is incapable of "digesting" the labor power which is being expelled from the countryside as the pre-capitalist and early capitalist sectors disintegrate. A modern labor-saving technology is being "superimposed" on unprepared social structures. Industrialization proceeds and industry develops, while providing ever less employment per investment unit. A vast mass of the population is being pauperized and driven into the so-called marginal strata. Marginalization — a process of alienation from society — Cesar Perez says, is a typical by-product of capitalist modernization in the countries of the region and one of the most serious problems which Marxists have up to now inadequately studied.

Ari dos Santos, Hugo Fazio and Julio Silva Colmenares drew attention to the shaping of local monopoly associations going beyond the framework of family clans. This has produced a new entrepreneurial élite which maintains close ties with foreign capital and which relies on a sizable technocratic apparatus. Its interests differ from the ambitions of the traditional oligarchy. With the changes in the upper rungs of the social pyramid caused by the development of the monopoly bourgeoisie, political power in many states of the region has fallen under the control of a more powerful alliance. The traditional alliance of imperialism with the landowners and merchants has given way to an alliance of the imperialists with the monopoly élite subordinating all the other strata of the local bourgeoisie.

Considering the actual changes in the countries of the region, Mario Nascimento, Clement Rohee, Rupert Lewis and others reached the following conclusion: there is some modernization of economic and social structures within the framework of capitalism, but its direction is also determined by this framework. The main features of the capitalist society which has taken shape in the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean leave a marked imprint on the forms, character and limits of modernization.

There are, of course, new phenomena which stood out in bolder relief in the 1970s, Eduardo Viera said. However, bourgeois modernization is a highly contradictory phenomenon which has a different impact in various countries. That is why we say: Mexico, with its vast resources and multimillion population, its sizable market and a reformist-minded big bour-

geoisie (even with its inclination to compromise with the foreign monopolies) is one thing, and the countries of the Southern Cone, another. Here the modernizing projects are a product of imperialism's counter-offensive foisting fascist regimes on the peoples. The consolidation of some sectors proceeds through the suppression of others. In the presence of elements of capitalist development there is adaptation to the plans of foreign imperialist circles. Our peoples are victims of "shock therapy" used by the fascist regimes, which zealously stand on guard of the interests of imperialist finance capital. Nor is capitalism marking time in Uruguay, although there is also evidence — and as much is admitted even by government spokesmen — of an economic depression and an actual failure of pro-imperialist policy. Other comrades also spoke of the destructive effects of the growth of parasitic finance capital in Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, Peru and Chile.

Considering national specifics, *Felix Dixon* emphasized the primary importance of a differentiated approach to analyzing modernization processes. The orientation of these processes, he said, largely depends on the character of a country's regime. If power passes into the hands of the progressive forces, modernization could be used for full-fledged development of the national economy and for raising the well-being of a majority of the population.

Jeronimo Carrera also pointed to the need to proceed from the class substance of developments. To say that capitalist modernization in Latin America is a fiasco simply because it failed to solve the serious socio-economic problems is tantamount to the assertion that it has social interests to pursue in the first place. But that is something that is not, of course, inherent in bourgeois modernization, and in fact conflicts with its very substance.

The exchange of opinion showed that the objective process of capitalist modernization, determined by internal and external imperatives, has variously affected all the capitalist states in the region. But it is a multifaceted process and tends to acquire different configurations in concrete national conditions. The distinctions are revealed in the type of political regime, in the form and extent of state intervention in the economy, in the relations with foreign capital, in the character of participation in the international capitalist division of labor and in the extent to which economic and social structures are renewed. The pace of this process provides further confirmation of the law of uneven development of countries under capitalism.

Capitalist modernization fails to solve the key problems of the dependent and backward countries. But in definite internal and external conditions there can be real shifts, in particular, the expulsion of the survivors of pre-capitalist sectors in the countryside and early capitalist economic forms in the towns, a build-up of the production potential in some industries, and also a temporary acceleration of economic growth. At the same time, Latin America retains fundamental distinctions from industrialized capitalist society. The specifics of the dependent type of reproduction are confirmed in new forms. That is why participants in the symposium accepted the idea of the *two-fold character* of capitalist modernization. On the one hand, it signifies definite technical and economic progress, a higher degree of socialization of production, and the gestation of the higher forms of capital organization, and on the other, growing exploitation and a spread of social ills, and an aggravation of the existing and the emergence of new contradictions. In other words, the crisis of the capitalist society is deepened on a "modernized" basis.

Conceptions and actual policies

Under the protracted structural crisis and the rise of the revolutionary struggle, the ruling classes are alarmed about their future and seek to mobilize forces to discover and use the most effective means to ensure their security. They strive to pre-empt the revolutionary explosion and create the conditions for improving the methods of exploitation, bolstering the positions of the monopolies and maximizing their profits.

This trend surfaced in the 1960s, as Latin America was moving through the final stages of the import-substitution phase of industrialization. The import-substitution methods instituted in place of the primitive orientation toward the export of raw material commodities, *Eduardo Viera* emphasized, could be employed only with massive injections of foreign capital and protectionist measures. Protectionist policies helped to establish a number of powerful entrepreneurial groups sharing control of the domestic market. Alongside the transnationals, they sought higher rates of profit and "economic liberalization" — all to the detriment of the working people's living standards.

In the new situation, said *A. Karavayev*, the conditions for realizing reformist-type programs have been sharply worsened, and this has led to marked changes in the methods of capitalist modernization. The switch to pres-

ent-day scenarios was marked by the 1964 coup in Brazil, which led to the installation of a new type of right-wing authoritarian military regime. Its supporters worked out a strategy which has come to be known as the "Brazilian model of economic development." A similar policy was later effected in Uruguay (following the coup in 1973), in Chile (after the overthrow of the Popular Unity Government, and more aggressively than in Brazil), and in Argentina (after the 1976 coup). Elements of a similar strategy have also been characteristic of the economic policy of Mexico (especially since 1976), Colombia (since 1974), and Peru and Jamaica (since 1980).

The modernization policy is now most often effected "from the right," by leaders with reactionary political views. In contrast to the preceding period, present-day variants are, as a rule, free from the spirit of social reformism, and rest on the theoretical postulates of neo-liberal schools, notably the Chicago school. Earlier on, orientation on broader strata of the bourgeoisie (relying on the domestic market or groups personifying state property) tended to prevail in the modernization policy, but now it is usually realized in the interests of the big bourgeoisie, as a rule closely collaborating with the transnationals or representing their interests "locally." "Modernizers" now put through their reforms mostly in the sphere of economic regulation, and their true purport is to step up the property and social polarization of Latin American societies and to speed their advance toward state-monopoly capitalism.

Modernization with the use of tougher methods entailing measures to depress mass living standards and intensify exploitation requires political regimes capable of putting down inevitable resistance by the oppressed. Hence the ruling circles' urge to restrict or wipe out bourgeois-democratic freedoms and the setting up of authoritarian dictatorial governments in many Latin American countries. In other words, Leonardo Paso declared, the reverse side of the "liberal" anti-étatist policy in the economic sphere is "iron" rule by the bourgeois state in politics and ideology.

Some participants made the point, however, that it was not right to lose sight of the fact that in practice there was a coexistence of different trends. These were three lines of action by present-day modernizers.

The first line, said Karl Göthner, is the policy of reactionary conservative circles closely

allied with U.S. capital. They are those who prefer the neo-monetarist conceptions of the Chicago school. Their main task is to stifle the urge for economic independence and to entrench on a new basis (in the light of a revived theory of "comparative advantage") the traditional role of Latin American countries as suppliers of raw materials, and to lift the protectionist measures stimulating the development of national industry. While suppressing the democratic movement, withdrawing social concessions and cutting back real wages, these circles try to put the whole burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the people. They want to confine the state sector and government spending to a "necessary minimum" and to replace direct government intervention in the economy with measures of indirect influence. This kind of strategy is being adopted by fascist and semi-fascist regimes and — most indicatively — is being taken as the basis of the Reagan administration's economic policy with respect to the southern neighbors of the United States.

Hugo Fazio analyzed the concrete content of the "modernization" line proclaimed by Pinochet's fascist regime. The lifting of the protectionist barriers has ensured free access for foreign capital and goods to Chile. The structure of production is being modified in accordance with the new scheme of participation in the international capitalist division of labor (some export products enjoying demands in the centers of capitalism are given privileged status, while the domestic market is flooded with foreign goods). A series of reforms is being put through to centralize the financial system. State resources are being handed over to private capital whenever this turns out to be profitable for it. A new "labor plan" has put the working people at an extreme disadvantage in relations with their employers. The fragmentation of trade unions and other mass organizations is being provoked and encouraged. Consequently, these are attempts to use the instruments of state-monopoly capitalism to overcome the structural crisis out of which the Salvador Allende government tried to pull the country in a revolutionary way.

Jaime Barrios described the right-wing circles' policy in El Salvador. He said that in his country, capitalist modernization in the 1970s led to a sharp aggravation of social antagonisms. This means a crisis of the whole social system. It determines the material and political context of the present historical situation in the country. The paramount fact

is that the revolution is now an objective and real possibility, and not only a good intention on the part of the revolutionaries. Bourgeois modernization in El Salvador, which has assumed the "reform and repression" formula, is a total fiasco. The attempt to bolster the degraded system — the oligarchic dictatorship — on the basis of dependent capitalism has proved to be clearly impossible.

The structural crisis in the socio-economic system of Paraguay, Severo Romero said, is gaining in depth as a result of the fairly considerable development of capitalist relations of production and a trend toward the use of more modern technology. The building of the giant hydropower complexes Itaipu and Jacyreta is having an especially powerful effect. All of this tends to put pressure on the superstructure personified by the ruling fascist camarilla. Its strategic line is now aimed to "internationalize" the Paraguayan economy via the foreign-trade mechanism, by stimulating foreign investment and increasing the external debt.

The second line is the reformist policy of the big bourgeoisie which has adopted the ideas of ECLA* and interpreted them in its own way. That is a line, Karl Göthner said, which is usually supported by local industrialists and bureaucrats connected with state enterprises. By stepping up capitalist development, they hope to create the conditions for maximizing profits. The reformist circles of the big bourgeoisie are in need of technological and financial aid and also of managerial services for foreign capital, but they also try to lay down their own rules for its behavior in accordance with the "legal" norms. Some representatives of these circles are discontent with the transnationals' activity and take a rigid nationalistic stand. They took an active part in elaborating the conceptions of a new international economic order, and this shows that they want external ties to be more fairly based. Under pressure from the masses, some of the more far-sighted reformists from among the big capitalists are prepared to accept partial social change and some redistribution of income in favor of the poor.

The policy of capitalist modernization in Venezuela, Jeronimo Carrera remarked, has stood out most boldly since the mid-1970s, following the leap in world prices for oil, and also after the nationalization of the country's oil and iron-ore industry, that is, after the

ruling circles got vast financial resources at their disposal. Capitalist accumulation was accelerated not only through super-exploitation of the working people, but also and largely through the appropriation of enormous financial resources coming in as revenue from the sale of oil. In close interaction with the transnationals, the monopoly bourgeoisie has been manipulating the nationalized enterprises and increasing the scale on which the nation's resources are being plundered. The state sector which now covers two-thirds of the economic system operates almost exclusively in the interests of private monopoly groups which over the past several years have managed to bend the organs of power to their will.

In actual politics, Karl Christian Göthner emphasized, the two modernization lines considered above never appear in a pure form but as trends. This is exemplified by the "Brazilian model," which is a mixture of neo-monetarist and neo-Keynesian methods adapted to the country's concrete conditions and meeting the interests of local and foreign monopolies and managers of the state sector. In this sense, the policies pursued by Brazil's military governments differ markedly from, say, those now conducted in Chile, Argentina and Uruguay, where there are more elements of monetarism.

The third line is represented by social-reformist conceptions which are being vigorously preached in the region by the Socialist International under the "democratic socialism" slogan. The gist of these ideas was laid bare by Mario Soares, leader of the Portuguese Socialist Party, at a meeting of the Latin American Committee of the Socialist International in 1980. It entails the use of "democratic" planning, establishment of "free" trade unions, development of a large state sector, implementation of agrarian and tax reforms, and correction of social injustice through a redistribution of incomes and development of "pluralistic" economy. The Latin American members of the Socialist International advocate a new international economic order and criticize West European social democrats for inadequate support of their demands.

It was emphasized in the discussion that the main trends characterizing the dynamic of capitalist development in the region are also reflected in policies which tend to change with the local conditions, the interests of the ruling groups and the balance of forces. One could speak of the formation of a system of

*The UN Economic Commission for Latin America. — Ed.

measures and modernization methods realized in varying degree and designed for a long-term perspective. This strategy is aimed to speed up the concentration of capital, to consolidate the power of the financial oligarchy and to entrench state-monopoly capitalism, to intensify the working people's exploitation so as to maximize profits, and to remove the capitalist structures which no longer accord with the new level of monopolization.

At the same time, far from every declaration concerning modernization amounts to practical activity. Frequently this is no more than demagoguery that does not involve even curtailed projects sponsored by bourgeois conservatives. It is designed to attract not only the gullible, but also young people and intellectuals likely to respond to "forward-looking" views. In some cases, the modern terminological "packaging" serves to cover up the most reactionary and even human-hating projects. That is why it is important to draw a line between modernization in practice and modernization rhetoric, and to see how these are expressed in concrete policies.

Modernization and dependence

Considering the actual changes in the basis and superstructure of the existing society, the participants in the discussion asked this question: can the barrier of "underdevelopment" be surmounted under continuing dependence? How will dependence itself and its influence then change? Will it increase or decrease?

In this context, Peter Boychuck said that half a century ago there was a discussion within the Communist Party of Canada on whether the country should be regarded as a British colony, since it continued to recognize the British monarch, or whether Canada had already become a colony of the United States. It took time to understand that Canada was not a colony at all. It had itself become an imperialist state which, it is true, is under the influence of U.S. imperialism, while representing the interests of its own monopolies. It is, of course, not right to assert that the same thing is happening in Latin America. However, such precedents should not be discounted. He drew attention to how the Mexican and the Canadian governments reacted to the penetration of U.S. automobile corporations. In Canada, it had long been accepted that the domestic market was not large enough to warrant a build-up of automobile-making, from research and develop-

ment all the way to cars rolling off the assembly line. As a result, the industry consists only of U.S.-based subsidiaries. Meanwhile, Mexico forced General Motors and Ford to transfer the larger part of the production cycle to its territory, although its market is much smaller than the Canadian. As a result, the country was able to reduce its import of parts and components and to cut its trade deficit. The Mexicans' labor input into production increased, and with it, the mass of wages, which means an expansion of the domestic market.

Indeed, Leonardo Paso remarked, apart from the dependence which exists in our countries, we cannot but take note of some manifestations of independence. After all, the general crisis of capitalism has been developing within the framework determined by the balance of forces in the world arena. Capitalism's ability to adapt itself to the new conditions, which also includes the ability to make timely concessions to the working people, helps it to survive. Any real advance now made by capitalism is due not so much to its own impetus, as to the potentialities of the scientific and technological revolution, the struggle of the working class and other circumstances which force the bourgeoisie to raise the technical level of production.

James West noted the existence of important factors which tend to weaken dependence, and stressed that in Latin America U.S. imperialism is faced with growing resistance. Even bourgeois governments now and again refuse to accept attitudes which the Reagan administration is trying to push through. Such facts should not be seen as resulting from the acts of individual leaders. They are an expression of the class interests of a section of the ruling circles.

The forms of dependence, A. Karaveyev said, tend to change, but dependence itself remains, being intensified in some spheres and relaxed in others. Besides, the concept of underdevelopment is a relative one. There is a constant rise in the "barrier of underdevelopment" in view of the rapid growth of the productive forces on a world scale under the scientific and technological revolution. The task of overcoming it is complicated accordingly. One serious obstacle is the impossibility of solving — within the framework of the capitalist alternative — the problem of mass structural unemployment which affects up to a quarter of the able-bodied population in the region and the existence of a sizable part of the population which is eco-

nomically and socially alienated. In the foreseeable future, the less developed countries will evidently be unable to eliminate the imperialist centers' technological monopoly. In the past, their domination was based on the superiority of their financial and industrial potentials. To this has now been added a monopoly of scientific and technological achievements. The efforts to overcome the "barrier of underdevelopment" are also being seriously hampered by the exacerbation of global problems which did not exist for capitalism's "first echelon." It is highly unlikely that with the deepening of the general crisis of the capitalist system, the major Latin American countries could develop into imperialist powers and join the "club of the privileged."

That underdevelopment can be overcome is a hypothesis that should not be rejected in theoretical terms, Eduardo Viera said. However, it is based on the speculative conclusions concerning potentialities which cannot, in reality, be effected without radical transformations, without a break with imperialism. But in any case, these will be relatively developed and simultaneously dependent countries, although, of course, there can be no question here either of semi-colonies or of primitive dependence. We do not exaggerate the importance of state-monopoly capitalism. Nor do we want to imitate the scientists who claim that fighting imperialism in their countries amounts to fighting a specter — just because of the entry upon this phase. As if imperialism has not already become an internal (as well as external) factor grafted onto the system of production relations. In this connection, Camal Kozlu remarked that in Turkey, where capitalist evolution revealed many analogies with that of the Latin American countries, structures characteristic of state-monopoly capitalism tend to appear, while dependence continues to be definitive.

Viktor Sheinis held that the trend toward the establishment of elements of state-monopoly capitalism in Latin America was rooted in the objective conditions, and was in accord with the long-term interests of the social forces in power in the imperialist centers. The shaping of "sub-imperialist structures" is a parallel process under way within the framework of modernization. Let us recall, in this context, Lenin's remarks on unequal, dependent, "local" imperialisms among other national (rather, nationally-isolated) imperialisms (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 106, Vol. 39, p. 532). There is no reason to assume that today the entry into the imperialist "élite" is totally

barred for new members (even if only a handful). So long as the laws of capitalism operate, its internationalization proceeds, and the unevenness of development likewise persists.

The key categories for a politico-economic interpretation of the phenomenon of "sub-imperialism" are monopoly and partition of the world. It is a gross over-simplification to reduce the role of "sub-imperialist" forces to that of imperialist agents. Among their assets is the accumulated wealth which cannot be entirely converted into capital on the spot and which is injected into the general flow of international monopoly capital, an arrangement the latter itself favors. Among the "sub-imperialist" assets may be a vast territory, a large demographic potential, and rich natural resources. In other words, even non-capitalist monopoly, structured into world capitalist ties, may have a sizable base. This means broader potentialities for the imperialist transformation of states with established capitalist structures, even if these are less strong than those at the centers of the system. This applies to the major countries of Latin America. Having accumulated a definite stock of material resources and armaments, the "sub-imperialist" regimes come forward with their own ambitions (and not only as intermediaries) with respect to their weaker neighbors. With the passage of time, such regimes display a tendency to become autonomous from the chief centers of imperialism and an urge to use, for their own interests, the struggle between the two systems and even the anti-imperialist potentialities of the national liberation movement.

In determining the character of the contemporary Venezuelan society, Jeronimo Carrera brought out a number of features which could be called sub-imperialist. Because of its rich oil and gas resources, which yield large foreign exchange earnings, and the noticeable capitalist modernization of its socio-economic structures, Venezuela stands out among the Latin American countries. Its present political and economic role in the region is comparable with that of the Big Three: Mexico, Brazil and Argentina. Against the overall background of the region, Venezuela now stands out as a capitalist state of middle-level development, which has left its neocolonial past behind it. It has become a financial power on a regional scale with a growing level of industrialization and living standards which attract immigrants from other parts of the continent.

The thesis of sub-imperialism was questioned by Julio Laborde. In Argentina, he said, there is a growing concentration of capital and an evident process of monopolization. In other

words, the universal laws of capitalism are in operation, even if in highly peculiar conditions. This is occurring in a dependent country where the socio-economic structures have been distorted and where development is extremely uneven. There is a need for the utmost circumspection in applying terms like "sub-imperialism" and "imperialism" to Latin American countries. Let us recall Lenin's classification: dependent, semi-dependent and semi-colonial countries. Such an approach helps to give a correct explanation of the reality and work out positions for consolidating the anti-imperialist front. If we are carried away by the new formulas, we could lose sight of U.S. imperialism, the chief antagonist. This could set our countries off against each other and so weaken our joint struggle against the common enemy.

Raul Valdes Vivo also pointed to the danger of an artificial division of the Latin American states. It is politically wrong to "pull up" Latin America to Western Europe and to minimize the importance of the region's anti-imperialist potential. In any case, it is not right to forget about the fundamental community of the Third World, which is based on the fact that Asia, Africa and Latin America are victims of imperialist exploitation, diktat and blackmail. Every means at our disposal should be used to fortify their united front, especially in the present international situation.

While some countries in the region, A. Karavayev remarked, have "sub-imperialist" functions to perform, there is a great distance between so-called sub-imperialism and imperialism. The latter, as Lenin saw it, implies a monopoly stage, highly developed and rotten-ripe capitalism. One of its characteristics, in particular, is over-accumulation of capital. But in virtually all the Latin American countries, even the most "sub-imperialist" ones, there is a highly acute shortage of capital, and this makes them dependent on the imperialist centers. In the contemporary capitalist system, "sub-imperialism" has a subordinate and ancillary role and that is yet another fundamental distinction between it (however independent its subject may appear) and "real" imperialism.

The use of the term "sub-imperialism," Viktor Sheinis stressed, does not mean that an absolutely equivalent phenomenon is emerging alongside the citadels of imperialism. The prefix "sub" is there for a good reason. It is hardly right to recognize the existence of state-monopoly trends in Latin America, while resolutely objecting to "sub-imperialism." After all, monopoly (private and state) does

generate expansion and imperialist tendencies. The Latin American bourgeoisie, or a sizable part of it, said James West, does link its interests with U.S. imperialism in order to ensure modernization, but that does not mean that it has no imperialist ambitions of its own. An organic feature of capitalism is the urge for expansion, first at home, and then in the external market. Such a tendency has been in evidence since the origination of capitalism, and there is no need at all to wait until it moves into the imperialist stage.

No mechanical causal connection should be established between dependence and backwardness, Vladimir Davydov said. Within the framework of the world capitalist economy, backwardness virtually always signifies dependence, but the latter is not equivalent to backwardness. One could find many modern sectors in the economy of dependent countries. Now and again, a rising level of development may be a function of the interests of imperialist centers. It is obvious, for instance, that the interests of the "raw material" monopolies and the radio-electronic corporations of the United States which operate in the countries of the region are not identical. Dependence, seen as a definite social connection, signifying domination and subordination, is established not only and not so much between state-frameworked economies. It is realized in relations between the classes of dominant and dependent countries and is made meaningful in the alienation and appropriation of the surplus-product. This kind of dependence is inherent in the interconnections within the world capitalist economy. And when dependence is considered within these limits, there is justification for the conclusion concerning the tendency toward its growth and concerning an insuperable threshold which marks off the periphery. The reality taken as a whole is another thing. Dependence is an important element and certainly has an influence on modernization "projects." But it is not absolute in any sense. After all, there is no abstracting from the influence of existing socialism or from the specific interests of the local bourgeoisie. Any modernization "project" which it proposes, must reckon with the limited choice of the international capitalist division of labor. But this may also mean reckoning with factors which neutralize the effect of dependence. It is also important to take account of the autonomy of the superstructure with respect to the basis that is characterized by dependence.

The participants in the symposium stated that in most Latin American countries capitalist

development and modernization proceeded within the narrow framework of dependence, and with the active participation and influence of the transnationals. This determines the tendency toward its growth. But the peculiarities of the existing situation cannot be explained only in terms of dependence. The imperialist monopolies are more than an external force. They are being increasingly converted into an internal factor which leaves a deep imprint on the economy and politics of the countries in the region. But in these conditions, some circles of the national bourgeoisie pursue a policy which does not coincide and frequently even conflicts with the interests of imperialism. At the same time, it was noted in the course of the discussion that in order to win genuine independence, there is a need for profound transformations affecting the power of the oligarchy, and for a break of the ties of dependence on the imperialist centers.

Revolutionary forces' responsibility

Participants in the symposium examined the tasks of the revolutionary forces and linked them with the objective process of change in some economic and social structures in the course of capitalist development. These forces constantly seek to improve the programs on the basis of which the alternative for the "modernization" strategy of the Latin American bourgeoisie and foreign imperialist circles is formulated. Such programs are also of much importance in the ideological struggle against reformist conceptions and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois illusions.

The growth of industrial production and its ever larger scale go to increase the proletarian ranks and alter the conditions of the working people's social being. Capitalist modernization, *Mario Nascimento* and *Rupert Lewis* emphasized, not only intensifies exploitation but also works changes in the labor market. The concentration of labor at large enterprises is markedly raised, and this promotes the establishment and strengthening of working-class organizations. The social basis of the communist movement is objectively consolidated. Accordingly, greater responsibility falls on the revolutionary forces, above all on the communists, in defending the interests of the proletariat and of all the other working people.

The process of capitalist modernization, which has also affected a part of the bourgeoisie, has caused its further differentiation. Lenin emphasized that it was exceptionally important to draw a distinction between the conservative, liberal and reformist bourgeoisie. These differences, he wrote, "are quite minor

and unimportant from the standpoint of pure (i.e., abstract) communism, i.e., communism that has not yet matured to the stage of practical political action by the masses. However, from the standpoint of this practical action by the masses, these differences are most important" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 94-95). The ability to draw a distinction between the various factions of the bourgeoisie, and to sort out allies and adversaries — not only present but also future — is a highly important aspect of the revolutionary struggle.

Capitalist modernization in Latin America is closely bound up with the internationalization of economic life, and this also means internationalization of the working class struggle. The participants in the exchange of opinion emphasized the need for new forms in which class solidarity is displayed. External, international factors are coming to play an ever greater role in the working-class movement. The masses of workers in Latin America and the Caribbean, impelled by a growing political consciousness, respond by their social activity not only to internal but also to international problems, like the defense of peace and the security of the nations, and anti-militarism, and voice their solidarity in support of the peoples standing up for their revolutionary gains and of those suffering under fascist dictatorships.

As social contradictions deepen, the main antagonism, that between labor and capital, comes increasingly to the fore. It has a special content in Latin America. After all, capital, as *Julio Silva Colmenares* said in his paper, is represented in the dependent capitalist society by both its internal and external components. This goes to strengthen the basis for merging the social and anti-imperialist struggle. For its part, modernization results in changes within the society: a monopoly élite ranged against all the other strata is crystallized. This process creates a fundamental basis for the broadest coalition.

Hugo Fazio said, in the light of Chile's experience, that the main thing for the working class now is to establish such broad unity. The unitary policy should reflect the vital aspirations of various strata of the population suffering from "modernization" in the fascist manner. The main goals of the unitary policy should be eradication of the political, economic and social basis of fascism and the creation of possibilities for the working people's mass participation in tackling the problems facing the country. By advancing along this way, it is possible to move nearer to the goals of democratic revolution.

The discussion showed that modernization

policy varies across the broad spectrum: from destruction of a part of the production facilities (as in Argentina, Bolivia, Uruguay and Chile) to real renewal of some structures (as in Venezuela, Mexico, Brazil and the Dominican Republic). But in any case, the revolutionary forces are faced with the task of exposing the plans of the reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie and their imperialist patrons. It was emphasized at the symposium that the communists must bring out and show up the class-limited nature of capitalist modernization projects, without losing sight of the national peculiarities or of the specific features of the subject of modernization. There is a need to see that imperialism seeks, finds and shapes new groups of "partners." The extension of imperialist support could be prevented by timely action by the revolutionary vanguard.

The Uruguayan communists, *Samuel Behak* said, have their own view of their country's future and of the alternative to the policy of the present regime. But we do not yet have any grounds for speaking of socialist measures in the immediate perspective. The party has drawn up a program of action for several stages. The first does not imply any exit beyond the framework of capitalist forms of development. But the movement through these stages will lead the people to socialism. That is no longer an ideal but a perfectly real perspective.

The alternative to the military regime's line in Argentina, *Julio Laborde* declared, is linked with a solution of political problems in any case. That is why the Argentinian communists have raised the question of the establishment of

a progressive independent state capable of ensuring the country's harmonious development in the national interests. There is a need for the classes desiring such change to take over the instruments of government. The progressive forces advocate a modernization program through more effective use of the potentialities of the state in the basic industries, the curbing and regulation of the activity of the transnationals, and the use of new markets, especially development of ties with the socialist community.

The participants in the symposium noted that the revolutionary forces need a democratic platform for class alliances and political unity, the key condition for successfully resisting oligarchy and imperialism. The range of the immediate goals of these forces is extremely wide, while being concrete in the context of national conditions. Each communist and workers' party and the other revolutionary organizations have their own experience. But the action programs they propose make it possible in most cases to reach an accord which opens up the prospect for joint struggle.

The ability of the communists, together with other revolutionary circles, to become the vanguard in the liberation anti-imperialist movement and in the struggle for a democratic transformation of the society and for socialism constitutes the guarantee that this process of change will not be limited to "modernization" the capitalist way, and that extensive potentialities will be opened up for genuine social progress.

The Political Economy of Revolution

K. Zaradov

— the relationship between economics and politics with focus on key questions of contemporary debate: property, power, democracy, and internationalism

A finely argued reply to attempts to "revise" Marxism-Leninism

cloth 232 pp. \$5.95

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 Bathurst St.

Toronto, Ont. M5V 2P6

Whence the Threat to Peace

The Soviet answer to the Pentagon pamphlet — the true picture of East-West military strength, and the approach of the two sides to détente, peace and the arms race.

Color photos, maps and charts
78 pp paper \$2.50

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 Bathurst St.

Toronto, Ontario M5V 2P6



Disproving the theory of "cultural incompatibility"

Steve Talbot. *Roots of Oppression. The American Indian Question.* New York, International Publishers, 1981, 215 pp.

U.S. capitalism used colonialist methods no less than its European counterpart. In fact, the ruling élite of the original 13 colonies all but outdid the old European empires in rapaciousness and fraud. Expansion westward, to the Pacific, was the main goal of U.S. capitalism for 100 years following independence from Great Britain.

The history of how the American Indians were "subdued" is known by and large, and it is not primarily from this point of view that the book under review, written by an American anthropologist, arouses interest. Steve Talbot's work stands out from the vast literature on the Indian question in the United States by its explicit Marxist approach and scientific objectivity. It argues with bourgeois authors whose ultimate aim is to exonerate the U.S. ruling class from responsibility for its brutal treatment of the indigenous population.

The author exposes the class substance of false theories claiming that the Indian question can never be settled because of the Indians' "cultural incompatibility" with the whites and that the hard lot of the Indians is due to their permanent "cultural" and "value" conflict with the environment, for they have to "live between two worlds." "Following this line of reasoning, one can say that poverty, racial discrimination, inadequate education, reservation underdevelopment, etc., are caused by the oppressed rather than the oppressor" (p. 5).

President James Monroe, sadly famed for his doctrine, said in his address to the Senate 150 years ago that the Indians' departure would save them from imminent destruction and benefit them, for their condition prevented them from being incorporated in "our (read 'capitalist' — S.M.) system" in any form.* The author

sharply criticizes the anti-human proposition of bourgeois science, especially anthropology, that it is the destiny of "primitive" peoples to vanish from the pages of history in order to make way for capitalism and its "superior" culture.

Talbot is of the same opinion as Marx, who considered that at the root of the oppression was the drive for the primitive accumulation of capital by the rising class (Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 751). The extermination of the indigenous peoples, their evacuation from their lands and the stealing of their natural resources amounted to depriving them of their traditional means of livelihood and destroying the very basis of their existence as an ethnic entity, that is, were tantamount to genocide. It is surprising that some groups managed somehow to survive as nationalities.

There are now only about one million people in the USA who are officially recognized as Indians (p. 20); 60 per cent of them still live on reservations, where unemployment is three times that of the national average; life expectancy is 44 years and 25 per cent suffer mental illness.

Those active in the Indian movement reject the false concept of "cultural determinism." They are certain that the reason for the indigenous peoples' suffering is not the "inadequacy" of their traditional values to modern civilization but social injustice engendered by the capitalist system.

To this day, the indigenous peoples are denied fair treatment not only by the state authorities but by the Federal government, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department of the Interior. The President himself often takes the lead in actions curtailing the Indians' rights. Talbot details the many ways in which the government and corporations have robbed the indigenous peoples of their lands and natural resources.

The author views the Indian problem as part of the overall problem of national minorities in the USA, where there are 48 million non-whites.

The Indian socio-political movement has been particularly active in the past two decades

* "James Monroe, Senate of the United States, Washington, January 27, 1825," in H. Schoolcraft, *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, Vol. 3. Philadelphia, 1857, p. 573.

under the impact of the worldwide national liberation process. One indication of this was the 1973 events in Wounded Knee, on South Dakota's Pine Ridge reservation. The Oglala Sioux living there rose in protest against the unlawful seizure of their lands and held the settlement for 71 days. The rising was crushed and its leaders tried on infamous trumped-up charges. Referring to Wounded Knee and other places where the Indians' resistance is growing, the author stresses that the working class and all national minorities in the USA have a common enemy, state-monopoly capitalism, which means that the road to salvation and

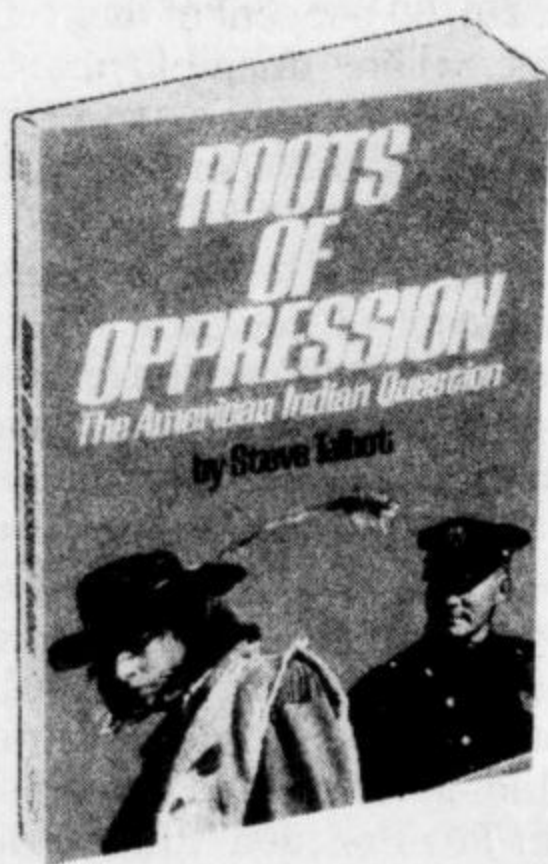
renaissance for the Indian people lies through a broad anti-monopoly coalition of progressive and democratic forces. This is also the opinion of the American communists, in whom the Indians have loyal allies.

Steve Talbot's book — the first of a prospective two-volume study of the American Indian question in the USA — is a valuable Marxist contribution to the literature on the subject, a work that can be very helpful to fighters for national and social liberation in the United States.

Steven Mark
U.S. journalist

ROOTS OF OPPRESSION

The American Indian Question
by Steve Talbot



In the U.S. order from:
INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS
381 Park Ave. South, N.Y., N.Y. 10016
Cloth \$14.00; Paper \$4.75 (U.S.)

In Canada:
PROGRESS BOOKS
71 Bathurst St., Toronto, Ont. M5V 2P6
Cloth \$18.75; Paper \$6.50 (Can.)

Native Land Claims: For a Just Settlement Ben Swankey

A pamphlet which supports, explains and argues for the just settlement of Native people's land claims in Canada.

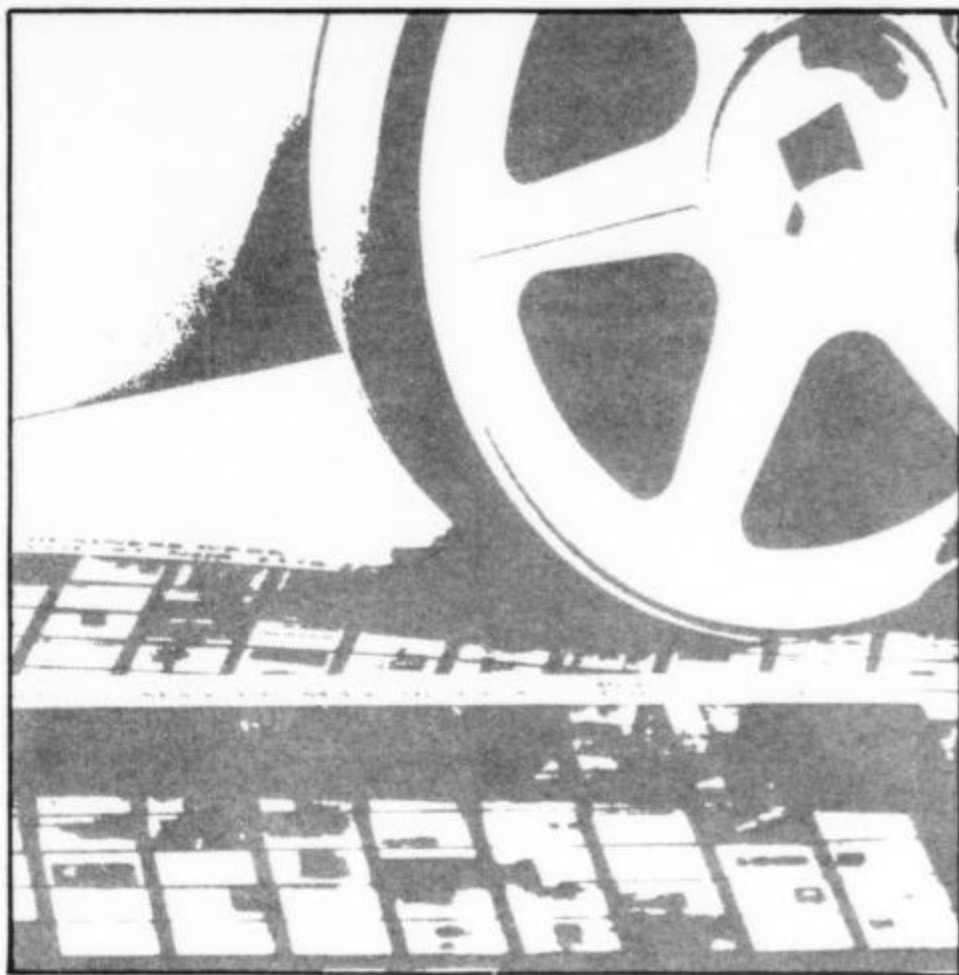
Includes:

- facts on current economic and social conditions
- outline of claims made and organizations involved
- attitude of the government and courts
- proposals for a just settlement
- strategy and tactics for moving the struggle forward

pamphlet 48 pp \$1.50

PROGRESS BOOKS
71 Bathurst Street
Toronto, Ont. M5V 2P6

This Publication is available in Microform.



University Microfilms International

Please send additional information
for WORLD MARXIST REVIEW
(name of publication)

Name

Institution

Street

City

State Zip

300 North Zeeb Road
Dept. P.R.
Ann Arbor, Mi. 48106

Represented on the Editorial Board and Editorial Council of PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM are the representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in the following countries: Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Mexico, Mongolia, Palestine, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Senegal, South African Republic, Soviet Union, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syria, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Vietnam.

Second class mail registration number 2352.
Printed in Canada. ISSN 0043-8642

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is the North American edition of the monthly journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM published in Prague.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Canada and U.S., \$12.50 a year. Institutions, double rate.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is also published in Arabic, Bengali, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Finnish, Amharic, French, German, Greek, Gujarati, Hebrew, Hindi, Hungarian, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Malayalam, Mongolian, Norwegian, Oriya, Persian, Polish, Por-

tuguese, Punjabi, Romanian, Russian, Sinhalese, Spanish, Swedish, Tagalog, Tamil, Telugu, Turkish and Vietnamese.

Subscriptions may be obtained through PROGRESS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE, 71 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5V 2P6.

In the USA from IMPORTED PUBLICATIONS, 320 West Ohio Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is published by PROGRESS BOOKS, 71 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5V 2P6.

Copyright © 1968 by Progress Books, Canada. All Rights Reserved.



Editions of the journal

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

EDITIONS IN ENGLISH:

Central Books Limited,
14 The Leathermarket,
London, SE1 3ER, England
Progress Subscription Service,
71 Bathurst Street,
Toronto, Ontario M5V 2P6, Canada

Imported Publications,
320 West Ohio Street,
Chicago, Illinois 60610, USA

New Horizon Publications,
P.O. Box 2165
Mushin, Lagos, Nigeria

FRENCH EDITIONS:

Coopérative Ouvrière de Presse et d'Editions,
16, rue Christoph Plantin,
Luxembourg/Gasperich

Société Populaire d'Editions,
rue de la Caserne, 33-35
1000 Bruxelles, Belgique

Editions Nouvelles Frontières,
185, rue Ontario est,
Montréal, Québec H2X 1H5, Canada

Gestu BP 2678
Dacar, Senegal

AMHARIC EDITION:

Press Department
Ministry of Information and
National Guidance
P.O. Box 30232
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

ARABIC EDITIONS:

Al-Wokt, POB 6247,
Beyrouth, Liban
32, rue Ledru Rollin B.P. 152
Casablanca, Maroc
Dar Al-Hilal
16 Mohamed Ezz-Arab Street
Cairo, Egypt

BULGARIAN EDITION: Hemus,
Russki 6, Sofia, Bulgaria

CZECH EDITION: Artia,
Praha 1, Ve smeckach, 30, CSSR

DANISH EDITION: Forlaget Tiden,
Bredgade 37, 1260 Kobenhavn K, Denmark

FINNISH EDITION: Aikakauslehti Kommunisti,
Kotkankatu, 11, 00510 Helsinki 51, Finland

GERMAN EDITIONS:

Buchexport Volkseigener Aussenhandelsbetrieb
der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik,
701 Leipzig, Leninstrasse 16, DDR
Brücken-Verlag GmbH Literatur-Vertrieb,
Export-Import, 4000 Düsseldorf,
Ackerstrasse 3, FRG

GREEK EDITIONS:

Papayannis Stephanos,
Menandru 66, Athens, Greece
People's Agency
Tricouppis 53c, Nicosia, Cyprus

HEBREW EDITION: Problems of Peace
and Socialism, POB 9525, Haifa, Israel

HUNGARIAN EDITION: Kultura,
Könyv-és Hírlap, Külkereskedelmi-
Vállalat, Budapest 1, fő u 32, Hungary

INDIAN EDITIONS:

Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi 110055, India.
In: Bengali, Hindi, Malayalam, Oriya, English,
Punjabi, Tamil, Gujarati and Telugu

ITALIAN EDITION: Libreria Rinascita,
Via delle Botteghe, Oscure 4,
001 86 Roma, Italia

MONGOLIAN EDITION: Ulaanbaatar Mongol,
Ulsyn Nomyn, Khudaldaany Gazar,
V.I. Lenin gudamzh 1, Mongolia

NORWEGIAN EDITION: Verden og vi,
Boks 3715, GB Oslo 1, Norway

PERSIAN EDITIONS: P.B. 49034,
10028 Stockholm 49, Sweden
16 Azar Ave.
No. 68, Tehran, Iran

POLISH EDITION: RSW "Prasa-
Ksiazka-Ruch", BKWZ Warszawa,
ul Towarowa 28, Poland

PORTUGUESE EDITION: Revista Internacional,
Av. Santos Dumont, 57,
30 Lisboa-1, Portugal

ROMANIAN EDITION: Ilexim,
Calea Grivitei 64-66,
POB 2001, Bucuresti, Romania

RUSSIAN EDITION: Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga,
Moskva 121200, USSR

SINHALESE EDITION: 91 Cotta Road,
Colombo 8, Sri Lanka

SPANISH EDITIONS:

Ediciones Paz y Socialismo,
Apt. Aéreo 1253, Bogotá, Colombia
Revista Internacional,
Apartado 4665, San José, Costa Rica
Agencia de Distribucion de Prensa,
16 616 Praha 6, Thakurova 3, CSSR
Ediciones Cubanas,
Ministerio de la Cultura,
La Habana, Cuba
Empresa Editora e Importadora C.A.,
Villami 211 y Calderon,
Casilla 6217, Guayaquil, Ecuador
Ediciones de Cultura Popular S.A.,
Filosofia y Letras 34,
Col. Copilco Universidad,
Mexico 20, D.F., Mexico
Revista Internacional,
Calle 46, Este No. 16,
Panama, Rep. de Panama
Ideologia Y Politica,
Jr. Rufino Torrico No. 671-Of. 401,
Lima, Peru

San Pedro a San Francisquito,
Edif. Cantacaro, Caracás, Venezuela

SWEDISH EDITION: Internationell Revy,
Fack, 12206 Enskede 6, Stockholm, Sweden

TURKISH EDITION: Baris ve Sosyalizm
Sorunlari, PK: 41, Sirkeci
Istanbul, Türkiye

VIETNAMESE EDITION: S'ô xuất nhập,
Khẩu sách báo 32, Hai Bà Trưng,
Hà-Nôi, Vietnam

