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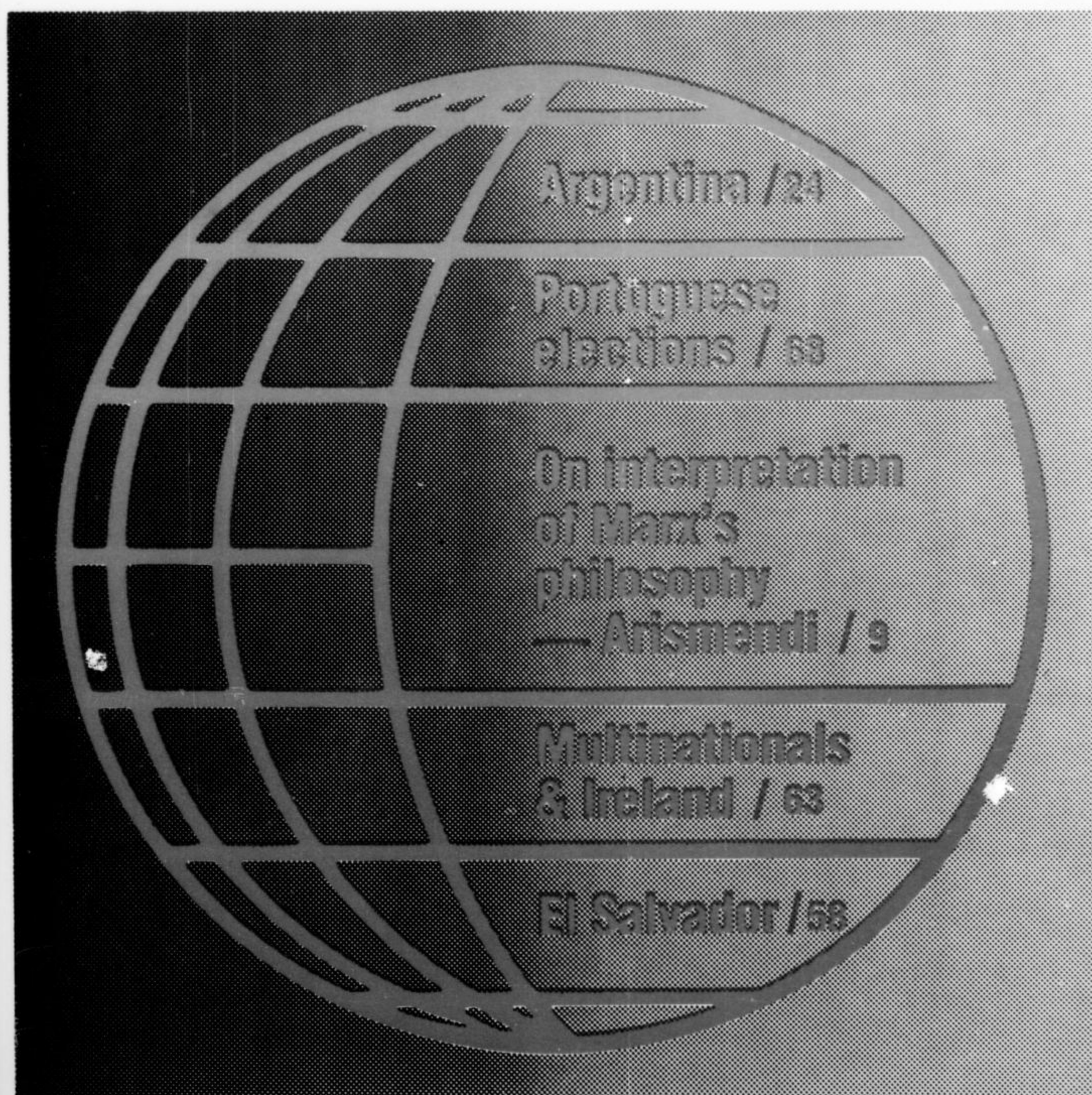
Problems of

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The communists of the globe say: the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin are our banner

In commemoration of the 165th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx and the centenary of his death, *World Marxist Review* held a correspondence round table to discuss the meaningfulness of the ideological legacy of the founder of the scientific world view for the communist movement and the working class struggle. Below we publish contributions that have come in.

OMNIPOTENT BECAUSE IT IS TRUE

Stoyan Mikhailov
CC Secretary, Bulgarian CP

For 135 years now, since the 1848 revolution, which struck a deadly blow at the vociferous, motley and ostentatious forms of pre-Marxian socialism,¹ the theory of social development whose foundations were laid by Karl Marx, has constituted the ideological backbone of the communist and working class movement. In the countries of existing socialism, it has provided the scientific foundation for radical transformations and the working people's historical gains. Its role serves as one of the most striking confirmations of Lenin's prophetic words, when in 1913 he said that the coming historical epoch would bring to Marx's doctrine an even greater triumph than that which was brought to it by the history of the working class and communist movement; he added that Marx's doctrine was omnipotent because it was true.²

The viability of Marxism-Leninism lies in its scientific nature and proletarian class substance. Its most characteristic feature is its capacity ceaselessly to enrich itself creatively with the development of life itself and the accumulation of historical experience by the masses. The Marxist doctrine was perfected at every turn of history, social progress and the working class struggle. The greatest contribution to Marxism was made by Lenin, under whose leadership the principles of the new society formulated by Marx were translated into reality. The doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin was capable of winning the minds of hundreds of millions of people in a short historical period because it relies on humankind's actual ex-

perience and reflects the interests of the working class and all the other working people.

Lenin's example shows quite clearly that steadfast and uncompromising adherence to Marx's theory and methodology and their enrichment on the basis of historical experience and the doctrine's own inner logic constitute the only way of creatively mastering, applying and developing Marxism. It is important to emphasize this because even among those who regard themselves as being close to the working class movement there is now and again talk of it being time to "overcome" Marxism and to leave it behind. They contrast the "young" Marx and the "mature" Marx, and Marx and Lenin. But both past and present-day experience of the world communist movement indicates that attempts to leave it behind lead to opportunism, to fatal mistakes and heavy defeats.

The representatives of fraternal parties have repeatedly noted the organic unity of Marxism and Leninism. At an international theoretical conference in Sofia in 1978, which dealt with the problems and role of existing socialism, Todor Zhivkov said that "there are some people who advise us to abandon Lenin and Leninism allegedly for the sake of Marx and Marxism, in the interest of the struggle ... No, it is impossible to divide that which is indivisible. It is impossible to do that because the working class struggle, which was led by both titans, is the same struggle for the whole world." A similarly principled stand is taken by most of the other leaders of the contemporary international communist and working-class movement. Alvaro Cunhal says: "The truth is that those who deny Lenin thereby also deny Marx. No one can be a Leninist unless he is a Marxist, just as no one can be a Marxist who is not a Leninist."

The Bulgarian Communist Party was among the first Marxist parties to emerge in Europe and the world. Dimitr Blagoyev and Georgi Dimitrov always believed that it was of fundamental importance to devote primary attention to the ideological education of the communists and the working people. Concern for the working people's ideological maturity is one of the

key lines of our party's activity. The ideas of scientific socialism and scientific communism, which have been adopted and profoundly assimilated, have become a powerful transformative force influencing the destiny of our society.

A thoughtful study of the development of socialist society is of special importance for successfully guiding it. Departures from the objective uniformities of the development of socialism and the stringent inner logic of our theory lead to breaches in the social and economic spheres. That is why here again we turn to Lenin's experience, his experience in comprehending, creatively developing and using the theory of scientific communism, which sets forth the principles underlying the formation of the material and technical basis of the new society and the transformation of economic relations, the political system, spiritual life and the relations between people. In the socialist countries, the communists not only guide the construction of the new society but also constantly reckon with its results. Here again we are helped by the theoretical genius and ideological legacy of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The role of Marxism-Leninism in the transformation of the world has been brought out in bold relief by present-day conditions. The practical outcome of the revolutionary activity of the international communist and working-class movement are historical achievements, and the chief among them is the establishment and steady progress of the socialist community led by the Soviet Union. The socialist world continues to expand. This will be seen, for instance, from the fact that a number of newly-fledged states are building their society along a non-capitalist way. They have before them the prospect of overcoming, in a relatively short period of time, the gap between colonial backwardness and the modern level of economics and culture.

The ideas of Marxism-Leninism live and triumph in the struggle against anti-Sovietism and anti-communism. These ideas are the banner in progressive humankind's great battle to remove the threat of another world war, and for disarmament and peace. In acute confrontation with bourgeois ideology and resisting diverse ideological subversions and stepped-up attempts by "left" and right revisionists to falsify Marxism-Leninism, our party, like the other fraternal parties of the socialist community countries, is intensifying its ideological offensive, creatively developing and translating into reality the great doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

ECONOMIC THEORY AND THE PARTY'S POLICY

Otto Reinhold

CC member, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences under the SUPG CC

For the SUPG, Marx's theory, which was developed by Lenin, provides the theoretical foundation for its economic and social policies designed to shape a developed socialist society in the GDR. In its activity, our party is guided by the general uniformities of socialist construction which were substantiated by Marx, Engels and Lenin: the necessity of the leading role of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the establishment of social property in the basic means of production, and proletarian — and in the new conditions, socialist — internationalism. The viability and meaningfulness of these scientific propositions crucially depend on the capacity of the Marxist-Leninist party to make creative use of them in accordance with the requirements of the day.

We regard the conception of developed socialism, which was elaborated by the CPSU and other fraternal parties of the socialist-community countries, as a most important achievement of the creative approach to Marxist-Leninist theory. This conception is based on the key conclusions drawn by Marx and Engels concerning the development of the communist formation as an exceptionally dynamic process in the course of which the advantages and motive forces, the values and ideals of socialism are translated into practice. Here primary importance is attached to Marx's conclusion that the development of the new society would go through two phases: the socialist and the communist, the lower and the higher.

Marx and Engels did not say anything about how long the socialist phase would continue. But they did formulate the fundamental tasks that need to be tackled in that phase. Thus, according to Marx and Engels, the crucial condition for bringing about the advent of the period when "all the springs of cooperative wealth flow more abundantly"³ is rapid and all-round development of the productive forces.

On the strength of Lenin's ideas, the SUPG considers that in the socialist phase, or at the stage of building and perfecting the developed socialist society, considerably higher labor productivity must be achieved than in the industrialized capitalist countries. The development of the productive forces creates the material prerequisites for gradually overcoming the essential distinctions between town and coun-

try, and between mental and manual labor. That is also a crucial step along the way to a classless society.

Let me recall that Marx regarded the conversion of labor into a vital need as a condition for the entry of society upon the higher, communist phase.⁴ We now find that the intensification of economic development and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress most eminently depend on the attitude to labor.

Marx's economic doctrine is of decisive importance in building socialist society. For objective reasons, he could not, of course, work out the political economy of socialism. But he did give us a number of fundamental propositions stemming both from his analysis of the general uniformities underlying the history of economic development and from the capitalist mode of production. Of equal importance is Marx's political economy of capitalism. It gives the understanding of interrelations and uniformities which have, when freed from a capitalist form of manifestation, substantial influence on our own economic policy.

The core of our economic and social policy is Marx's conclusion which we find in his *Critique of Political Economy* (rough outline of 1857-1858), in which he stressed that the view according to which "man ... is the goal of production appears to be much loftier in comparison with the contemporary world, where production is man's goal and wealth, the purpose of production." Under socialism, satisfaction of the constantly growing material and spiritual requirements of man determines the whole economic strategy and policy of the socialist society.

The main factor for this is our going over to intensive extended reproduction, as the vast program for the GDR in the 80s adopted by the 10th SUPG congress points out. The program is based on Marx's economic theory and its application today. Exceptional importance is attached to the theory of reproduction, Marx's comments on the role of "saving time" and his realization of the great function of science.

Modern history has not only demonstrated the justice of the conclusions drawn by Marxist-Leninist science concerning the uniformities of the formation and development of the new social system, but also shown how very correct is its analysis of capitalist society.

The current crisis of capitalist economy and society proves Marxist-Leninist political economy correct, just as it demonstrates the bankruptcy of the bulk of bourgeois political economy. Marxist-Leninist political economy has shown that it is in a position to analyze the essence and nature of the contemporary crisis,

proceeding from the operation of the objective laws of the crisis cycle formulated by Marx and taking account of the peculiarities of crisis processes at this stage, which have been manifest ever since the mid-70s. Unless this fact is recognized, it is impossible to give any scientific explanation of what goes on in the capitalist world.

The collapse of the basic bourgeois conceptions of economic and social development is one of the most important signs of the general crisis of capitalism. Let us consider some of them by way of example.

One conception claims that under the influence of some kind of "internal" forces, the crises and basic contradictions of capitalism can be modified and overcome to the point at which a new society will emerge. Marxists have constantly criticized this theory. It is now quite clear that they have been right all along: it is the entrenched inner uniformities of capitalism that have prevented its "rejuvenation."

According to another conception, the scientific and technological revolution could help to bring about an "affluent society" in which all the basic social contradictions are reduced to a point at which they can ultimately be overcome. "Affluence" was one of the demagogic promises of the ruling class. Today the aspiration for "affluence" is said to be wrong and to constitute one of the reasons for the current crisis. The "latest word" in bourgeois ideology is farewell to the "affluent society."

The third idea was that the state could help to guarantee the "unhampered" development of capitalism. Many of Marx's detractors claimed that he had altogether failed to anticipate the capability of the capitalist state. Marxist-Leninists have made a thorough analysis of the development of state-monopoly capitalism and have produced a scientifically grounded assessment of its facets and capabilities. It is, of course, quite wrong to say that Marx failed to anticipate the role of the state under capitalism. He wrote, in particular, that so long as capital was weak it itself looked around for external support. When it feels strong, it discards these crutches and moves in accordance with its own laws. When it begins to sense itself as the limit of development and when it comes to be regarded as such limit that needs to be overcome, it seeks refuge in forms which, while appearing to be the consummation of the domination of capital, are nevertheless, because of the check on free competition, the harbingers of its disintegration and the disintegration of the mode of production based on it.

It turned out, in effect, that state activity, which was so important and necessary for

capitalism and without which it cannot exist in the future, is one of the factors deepening its present contradictions. The conclusion drawn now is that state activity needs to be reduced.

Finally, a fourth conception insists on the disappearance of the class struggle, but this is now being disproved by practice.

I think that the lot of these four conceptions alone fully bears out Marx's assessments of the uniformities of capitalism.

The validity of Marxism follows both from the uniformities which Marx and Engels discovered and formulated, and also from the fact that their scientific conclusions are being developed and creatively applied by revolutionaries in the new conditions. By all this, as well as by fighting unrelentingly against bourgeois ideology, constantly defeating it and relying on Marxism-Leninism for support, the revolutionary parties of the working class entitle us to say now, in this year of Karl Marx, that our position is correct and realistic. Life shows that Marxism-Leninism will retain its immense significance.

ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF JUSTICE

N.K. Krishnan

CEC member, National Council Secretary,
CP India

Humankind is at a crossroads of history. The world either coexists in peace or co-perishes in a thermonuclear devastation. The thermonuclear weapons of all types and the highly sophisticated delivery mechanisms, sure to be used in the event of a third world war breaking out, are likely to wipe out all vestiges of life over a large part of the globe.

Why is thermonuclear energy, man's greatest scientific advance, now posing the threat of death and devastation?

Reflecting on the prospects of scientific and technical progress and the promise it held for humankind, Marx emphasized: "We know that to work well the new-fangled forces of society, they only want to be mastered by new-fangled men — and such are the working men."⁵ Marx repeatedly said that the possibility of using the productive forces for the purposes of construction and, consequently, for the purposes of progress and prosperity depended on the society's social, economic and political system, on the relation of class forces. History has proved this to be true, and this is most evident today, in the period of the scientific and technological revolution.

Where capital rules, science is forced to develop new types of weapons based on the use of

lasers, nuclear energy, and so on. It is obvious that the powerful scientific and technological potential built up in the course of historical development carries the threat of countless calamities to humankind so long as it remains under the control of capital. That, we believe, is yet another reason for the need to do away with the capitalist system, which still rules a sizeable part of humankind as an objectively alien force. Only when humankind is rid of such rule, Engels wrote, "will man himself, with full consciousness, make his own history — only from that time will the social causes set in movement by him have, in the main and in a constantly growing measure, the results intended by him. It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom."⁶

That is not a utopia but a goal that can be achieved in practice, as will be seen from the experience of the USSR and other countries of existing socialism, which are putting into effect great construction projects. Socialism seeks to demonstrate and has already demonstrated its unquestionable advantages over the capitalist system in peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems but not through any military confrontation. The idea that an armed clash between these states and their mutual annihilation are fatally inevitable reflects the ideology of despair, which is inherent in capitalist society. The communists take the opposite view. The Marxist-Leninists and all the advocates of socialism will never use armed force to assert their superiority. They will win out in the battle of ideas, in the battle for people's minds.

The socialist community practises the principle of peaceful coexistence but not from a position of weakness. On the contrary, this is a reflection of its confidence in its strength, and in humankind's radiant future. Concrete confirmation of this is the declaration based on the principles of humanism, by the Soviet leadership that the Soviet Union will never be the first to use nuclear weapons. The peoples of the world rightly demand such a declaration from the other nuclear powers. The U.S. administration's refusal to follow the USSR's example has aroused humankind's just wrath.

People do not want total destruction in atomic flames. Their will will prevail if they unite in "simultaneous denunciations" of the militaristic policy of imperialism and vindicate "the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations."⁷

In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the

first programmatic document of the communist movement, Marx and Engels put forward the idea of the formation of a national front (even if they did not use that very term).⁸ This idea was enriched by Lenin in, among others, his work *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* and in the "Report of the Commission on the National and the Colonial Questions" at the second congress of the Communist International.⁹ In its fight against neo-colonialism our party relies on the Marxist-Leninist principle of uniting mass action. We are sure that in present-day conditions, too, the realization of this principle will bring on the period when "a great social revolution shall have mastered the results of the bourgeois epoch, the market of the world and the modern powers of production, and subjected to the common control,"¹⁰ discarding all the remnants of colonial and imperialist oppression.

The anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist front is essentially a front of struggle for peace and national liberation. In its vanguard is the working class, which has established a solid alliance with the peasantry. Such an alliance is the basis of the front. That does not, of course, rule out the possibility and the need for involving other strata of the population in it: the petty urban bourgeoisie and a sizeable part of the national bourgeoisie.

Socialism has been victorious over approximately one-third of the globe's surface, while the forces of national liberation have made giant strides in liquidating the old classical colonial regime. But the struggle is far from over. The imperialists use new methods for subverting the national independence of new states, seeking to implant neocolonialism, a concealed way of asserting their imperialist exploitation, and creating in the developing countries a dependent class of big bourgeoisie to defend their interests.

The developing countries are extremely dissimilar. While some of them are searching for their own way to socialism in the process of non-capitalist development, others, India among them, are building a capitalist economy of their own. The rulers of a third group of countries help U.S. imperialism in carrying on the arms drive and make national territory available to aggressive military blocs for military bases.

The preparation for war which is being conducted by U.S. imperialism is aimed to undermine the national sovereignty of non-aligned states. The stronger the resistance to militaristic policies the more solid their sovereignty. India under the present capitalist regime of the na-

tional bourgeoisie provides a good example of this.

On the other hand, the extent to which Pakistan has lost its national sovereignty corresponds to its subordination to the arms drive and preparations for war being carried on by the United States. Today the missile bases in Pakistan installed by the U.S. imperialists are a source of acute danger to the entire Indian sub-continent.

Having won national independence as a result of almost a century of struggle, India seeks cooperation with the socialist states so as to ensure and consolidate its national sovereignty. Our republic is aware that in the strengthening of its national independence it can fully rely on the socialist community. This certainty is reflected in the foreign policy of the ruling national bourgeoisie, a policy of peace and non-alignment, which is a substantial factor in defense of world peace. Explaining the substance of this policy, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru repeatedly declared in the 1950s and 1960s that on the question of war and peace, India most resolutely inclined to peace.

Supporting the policy of non-alignment, the communists and other left-wing democratic forces in India say that in its consistent pursuit our republic should establish closer relations with the socialist community. To act otherwise, giving preference to ties with the economy of imperialist states, which is now in the throes of a chronic crisis, is to create a potential threat to the country's national sovereignty.

On the single issue of world peace, the biggest and the broadest mobilization of humanity is already under way. The march of humanity for peace is the joining of ranks of practically all the sections of human population who stand for life. It is directed against the handful of monopolies and warmongers. In the final analysis, it is also the march of humanity for a just social order based on the principles of social justice formulated and substantiated by Marx.

SCIENTIFIC EXPRESSION OF WORKING CLASS INTERESTS

Willi Gerns

Presidium and Secretariat member,
German CP Board

War and peace are now the main problem facing humankind, and this is especially true of our country — the Federal Republic of Germany — which lies in the heart of Europe, a continent to which the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism want to confine a "limited" nuclear war. The FRG already has the highest

concentration of nuclear weapons, but now, under a NATO decision, it is also to be the site of the largest number of new U.S. medium-range missiles, which are designed for a first nuclear strike.

This threat has generated in our country a broad anti-missile movement involving representatives of social and political forces with the most diverse ideological orientation. The anti-missile front ranges from the workers to some employers. It includes the communists, social democrats, the Green Party and also some members of the CDU/CSU. Atheists, Christians and other believers have joined in action for peace.

This movement has become so important that no political force, no government, no party, no church, trade union or business association can discount it. The advocates of the sinister NATO decision seek to infect the peace movement with the germs of division. In their efforts, they have made use mainly of anti-communism, denying that the communists want peace, and stepping up their attacks on the socialist countries. The inhabitants of the FRG are being intimidated by the specter of a Soviet armed threat.

It cannot be denied that the anti-communist campaigns are having an influence on some participants in the peace movement in our country. Above all there is the effect of the idea that the USSR and the United States are "two super-powers" which are allegedly equally responsible for the arms race. This conception finds fertile soil among participants in the movement for peace because even in the working class in the FRG, to say nothing of the other social strata, the class approach to the question of war and peace, the class view of the problem is still embryonic. In the course of comradely discussions and businesslike exchanges of views with friends from the peace movement, the West German communists are trying hard to help the right assessment of the situation prevail. Here we are greatly helped by Karl Marx's explanation of the origin of wars.

A statement by the Presidium of the GCP Board on Karl Marx Year said that Marx showed that war and the preparation for war — the build-up of armaments and the corresponding psychological orientation of the masses — spring from capital's urge for super-profits. At the same time, he emphasized that "in contrast to the old society with its economic miseries and its political delirium, a new society is springing up, whose international rule will be Peace, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same — *Labor!*"¹¹

When giving a reminder of Marx's idea, the

communists say that socialism needs peace and builds peace because the establishment of social property in the basic means of production does away with the material basis for the arms race and for the starting of war. Under the proletariat's political power, which acts in alliance with the other working people, international and domestic policies are determined by the class interests of the working class, among which a primary one is the urge for creation, and that means for peace.

Marx not only showed the close ties between capitalism and war, and between socialism and peace. He also urged the working-class movement, even under capitalism, when the ruling circles call for war, to fight for disarmament, to invalidate military preparations through the international fraternization of the working masses, to form alliances with other forces acting for peace, and demand peace.

The socialist revolution in Russia raised high the slogan of peace. One of the first juridical acts of the Soviet government was the adoption of its Decree on Peace, which contained a call to end the world slaughter immediately and without any preliminary conditions.¹² The socialist community countries, led by the Soviet Union, are now in the front ranks of the spreading movement for peace and against aggressive U.S. imperialism and its policy of "pre-emptive," "limited" or "protracted" nuclear war, of "victory" in it. Evidence of the socialist community's peace offensive also comes from the proposals contained in the speech delivered by General Secretary of the CPSU CC Yuri Andropov at the ceremonial meeting in Moscow on December 21, 1982, and the Prague Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty countries. The West German communists believe that their task is to intensify the propaganda of these proposals among the population of their country and, not least importantly, among the participants in the peace movement.

We also want the FRG population to have a better understanding of why imperialism has now taken the line of stepping up international tensions and what the reason is for the sharpening of the social confrontation within the country itself. Here we turn to an analysis of the socio-economic situation in present-day capitalist society.

In the past, the FRG monopolies, resorting to all manner of "novelties" in economic policy, made an attempt to ease the contradictions of present-day capitalism. When the social democrat-led coalition government was formed in 1969, an attempt was made to stabilize state-monopoly capitalism through reforms, to make

it competitive, to ensure domestic "social peace" and to create a "German model." It was expected that this would make West German society more attractive not only for the industrialized capitalist countries and developing countries, but also for the socialist community.

In consequence of the aggravation of the economic crisis of capitalism in the mid-1970s and the switch by U.S. imperialism to stepping up tensions and spiralling the arms race, the conception of "novelties" was replaced even under social-democratic government, by the practice of switching the constantly growing burden of the crises and the growing military spending onto the shoulders of the masses.

This policy was further toughened up by the CDU government. Harsh measures are being taken to cut back expenditures on social needs, rents and service charges are growing, and the arms race is being stepped up. As a result, according to official data, the FRG now has more than two million unemployed. More than a million people are working less than a full week. There is growing fear among the population of tomorrow, fear for its own existence.

Regardless of the kind of recipes on which this or that political force of capital — in the United States or Great Britain, in Italy or the FRG — has acted or is acting, we find the same kind of crisis process. This is evidence of the futility of the attempts by bourgeois science to produce any meaningful analysis of economic and social problems and shows the uselessness of the most diverse cures to improve the health of the society.

By contrast, the communists have long had a precise knowledge of the main factor behind the contemporary capitalist crisis, precisely because they rely upon Marx's doctrine. It is the basic contradiction of capitalism between the social character of production and the private appropriation of its results. That, Marx emphasized, is the most important reason for the periodical sharpening of the contradictions between production and the market, between the monopolies' urge for the unlimited expansion of production and extraction of super-profits and the population's limited purchasing power. The new crisis phenomena and processes (the structural crisis, the crisis of the monetary system and state finance, the energy crisis, the destruction of the environment, etc.) all have common roots with the capitalist crisis of over-production, which Marx analyzed. That is why our great teacher has also provided us with the basic theoretical starting points and methodological instruments for their analysis.

Marx's theory helps us not only to gain an

insight into the substance of present-day crisis processes and the greatest evil of them all, unemployment. This doctrine makes it possible simultaneously to put forward alternatives in the interests of the working class and to propose ways of combating mass unemployment, redundancies and the closure of enterprises.

First, the FRG communists keep explaining that the reasons for the worsening of the condition of the working class are rooted in the capitalist system of the drive for profit and that this can be eliminated only with the elimination of the system itself.

Second, we have constantly put forward our demands or supported the demands of other social forces for reducing mass unemployment (for instance, the program of ensuring employment at a total cost of DM 50 billion, which is being backed by the Federation of German Trade Unions).

Third, we have made concrete proposals with respect to enterprises threatened with redundancies. We insist on a cutback of military production and the use of resources for protecting the environment.

These three aspects should always be borne in mind. If we confined ourselves to working out programs for ensuring employment and making demands on the level of individual enterprises, this would ultimately amount to producing reformist illusions. If, on the other hand, we oriented the masses exclusively toward a principled social alternative — socialism — and forgot about current demands, we would find ourselves outside the current struggle, without which there can be no advance toward radical social transformations.

COMPASS FOR PRACTICE

Rene Mauge

General Secretary, CC, CP Ecuador

Karl Marx equipped the working class and all the other exploited with a theory which helps them to organize their struggle for emancipation, and for the victory of socialism and communism. Marx emphasized that theory becomes "a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses."¹³ When speaking of this material force we have above all in view the political organization of the working class and its revolutionary party, which expresses the proletariat's supreme interests. It is capable of carrying the working class to victory in alliance with other sections of the working people.

Marx was the first to demonstrate that there can be no neutral ideology, no supra-class social theory. This scientific principle is of in-

valuable importance for the struggle against all the scenarios of reformism, the false conceptions of "class concord," "harmony" of labor and capital, and "convergence", which are designed to divert the working people from the class battle which they are carrying on for their interests. Marx also showed that there can be no reconciliation between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

The Communist Party of Ecuador regards the Marxist-Leninist theory not as dogma but as a guide to action. This approach enables our Marxist-Leninist party to study the concrete reality (i.e., the class and economic structure of society), to draw the relevant conclusions and to determine the tactics of the struggle which best fits the time and given conditions. We actively resist dogmatism and sectarianism and polemicize with the political forces which do not have a scientific assessment of the situation and succumb to prejudice and subjectivism.

In the *Communist Manifesto* and in other works, Marx reached the conclusion that because of its socio-political position, the working class is the most revolutionary and consistent force capable of carrying its emancipation to the end, and that this emancipation will become the emancipation of humankind as a whole.¹⁴

This conclusion also holds for the developing countries. They have a small working class but it is a vehicle of the most advanced social ideology, a platform on which broad revolutionary, democratic and patriotic forces can be united. The working class itself must, naturally, be the core of such an alliance.

The program of the CP Ecuador and the political resolution approved by its 10th congress (1981) map out a policy of uniting in a common front all the anti-imperialist, democratic, revolutionary and patriotic forces against U.S. imperialism and the monopolies, the main enemy of the Ecuadoran nation's development and sovereignty. Our party believes that the working class must be assured of reliable allies in every battle which it carries on.

The party's strategy and tactics are determined with an eye to the present conditions in Ecuador, which is being subjected to neo-colonialist exploitation. There arises the task of establishing a revolutionary, popular, democratic and patriotic government capable of overcoming dependence at the first stage and then going on to socialist-type transformations.

The communists of Ecuador have been working hard to establish the closest alliance between the working-class and peasant move-

ments, and to have the idea of unity also accepted by the intelligentsia, the artisans, students, and left-wing political circles. The establishment of a Broad Front of Left Forces in 1977 produced some highly useful experience. We are now seeking to activate it, for which purpose we are publicizing the program of the CP Ecuador to ensure that the working people gain a better understanding of its main provisions. This will help to create the subjective prerequisites for shaping a united front — an important condition of the Ecuadoran people's successful advance to liberation from imperialist and neocolonialist dependence. At the same time, we believe that the front cannot be limited to Marxist-oriented left-wing circles. An alliance can also be established with reformist and populist groups and parties in a joint struggle for the people's democratic and anti-monopoly demands aimed to improve its living conditions and to raise a reliable barrier to any reactionary coup.

In accordance with this policy, our party advocates the establishment for the period of the 1984 electoral campaign of a broad coalition of left-wing and center forces on the basis of an anti-imperialist, democratic program for agrarian and social transformations.

Marxist-Leninist theory serves the working class as a reliable compass to overcome any possible isolation and find allies among the laboring sections of the population, the forward-looking intelligentsia and other forces concerned with social progress. That is a guarantee of success in our struggle.

1. See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 582.

2. See *ibid.*, pp. 582-585, and Vol. 19, p. 23.

3. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 19.

4. See *ibid.* and *Capital*, Vol. III, pp. 799-800.

5. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 656.

6. Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1959, p. 391.

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

8. See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 519.

9. See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, pp. 97-99 and Vol. 31, pp. 241-245.

10. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 499.

11. *The General Council of the First International, 1870-1871. Minutes*, Moscow, 1967, p. 328.

12. See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, pp. 249-253.

13. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 182.

14. See, e.g., Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, pp. 496, 497, 505-506 and following.

On interpretation of Marx's philosophy

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"Marx is a creator of the *Weltanschauung*,¹ but what is the role of Ilyich in this case? ... The explanation is to be found in Marxism itself — science and action." "It would be absurd and idle to draw a parallel between Marx and Ilyich in order to place them on the rungs of something like a hierarchical ladder; they represent two phases, science and action, which are at once homogeneous and heterogeneous."

— Antonio Gramsci

One hundred years after Marx's death

This year it will be 100 years since the death of Karl Marx, the German thinker with the luxuriant hair and beard. Marx's theory, concretized in the revolutionary thought and practice of millions, radically changed society and its history. The "chief thing" in Marxism "is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat" as the gravedigger of capitalism and the builder of socialist society.²

Marx defined the essence of his world view in the famous aphorism: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to change it."³

This conception, which has deep philosophical roots and enormous political implications, expresses itself in the category of unity of theory and practice called "practical-critical" activity by Marx and *praxis* by Gramsci.

Marx was a contemporary of the great democratic revolutions of the 19th century, in particular of the European storm of 1848, in which the proletariat appeared for the first time as an independent class. But he also witnessed the first working-class revolution ever, the Paris Commune, described by Engels as experience in proletarian dictatorship.

Marx and Engels founded the first proletarian party. They wrote the splendid historic *Manifesto* of 1848, which is the definitive theoretical substantiation and political program of scientific socialism or communism. They founded and led the First International. Marx's and Engels' whole vast intellectual production is always of practical revolutionary

significance. Marx's great work, *Capital*, a critique of political economy, reveals the secrets of the capitalist mode of production based on surplus value and is the scientific foundation of the class struggle of the proletariat. Lenin wrote afterwards: If Marx did not leave behind him a "Logic" (with a capital letter), he did leave the logic of *Capital*. Speaking of this work, Marx said that it was the biggest rock ever hurled at the head of the bourgeoisie.⁴

Marxism signified a great philosophical revolution, the culmination and surmounting of the entire previous history of philosophy. It was with this theory that the science of history was born.

In the founding, shaping and development of Marxism, among its sources and its "parts," so to speak, a tremendous role was played by Hegelian philosophy with regard to the elaboration of dialectics. Engels wrote that without Hegel's philosophy scientific socialism would never have come into being. Marx and Engels took up and qualitatively transformed Hegel's dialectics; they straightened it out, turned it "right side up," and discovered the "rational kernel within the mystical shell." It was "our best working tool and our sharpest weapon," Engels wrote. To depart from the dialectical mode of thinking is to lapse into vulgar materialism, positivism, and dogmatism, into a concept running counter to the Marxist demand for the indissoluble unity of theory and practice; it means failing to understand the revolution.

Marxism took critical stock of all the cultural achievements of the 19th century and recast them in a higher synthesis. It built the edifice of the dialectical materialist world view and founded the science of the socialist revolution and communism. Engels said that Marx's two fundamental discoveries were the theory of surplus value and the materialist conception of history.

Marx's intellectual legacy is immense; it ranges from what he wrote as a young man to *Critique of the Gotha Program*, through *The Poverty of Philosophy*, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, *Capital*, *Theories of Surplus Value*, and others, and in-

cludes diverse investigations (his manuscripts⁵ are in themselves theoretical contributions), historiographical essays, and political documents of amazing profundity and highly distinctive in style. Marx's writings always went hand in hand with those of his close friend, Frederick Engels. Indeed, writings of the young Engels like *Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy* (1843-1844), produced at the same time as *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, delighted Marx, so much so as to induce him to abandon his philosophical studies and devote his energies to economics. From then on, the theoretical personal collaboration of Marx and Engels was complete.

It is wrong to believe that there are differences in philosophical or any other conceptions between the founders of Marxism, as some affirm. Work defining Marxism, such as *The German Ideology* and *The Holy Family*, or *Critique of Critical Critique*, were written jointly, and so was the great *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the historic portico of the entire movement.

Marx's and Engels' cooperation in the sphere of theory, accompanied by a constant exchange of news, discoveries, opinions and bibliographical data, is confirmed by the vast correspondence between them. *Anti-Dühring*, one of the books disputed more than any other by those who talk of a difference between Marx and Engels in philosophy and dialectics, was written in the course of a permanent dialogue between the two great scholars. Marx repeatedly read the manuscript and touched it up, apart from writing the chapter on political economy. After Marx's death Engels in 1888 published the former's *Theses on Feuerbach* along with his own work, *Ludwig Feuerbach*, another debated book. Had Engels considered that the two works differed in philosophical trend, he would have noticed it and warned the reader, particularly when putting them in one edition.

More examples could be cited. It seems that Gramsci stated an elementary truth in saying that Engels is Engels and Marx is Marx. However, this truth applies to individual traits, literary style, preferences in studies and in theoretical work, and a distinction in stature (Marx was a genius, Engels noted modestly).

Epoch-making role of Lenin and Leninism

The significance of Marxism in terms of world history is illustrated best of all by the gigantic and continuing revolution of our time. In concrete historical practice, the working class is the protagonist of our epoch, an epoch ushered

in by the Russian Revolution and the establishment of socialism on one-sixth of the planet. Its development has in essence been following the coordinates traced by the theory of the teacher from Trier. Practice is a criterion of the truth, according to gnoseology. So is, as far as the fruitfulness of theory is concerned, the latter's confrontation with historical movement. The great socialist revolution was not a single act, as Marx and Engels had thought it would be. It took place as foreseen by Lenin, the chief continuer — in the creative sense of the word — of Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and socialist revolutions. But it was essentially a confirmation of Marxism.

Contemporary history is, in regard to the principal trends of its development, the best homage to Marx 100 years after his death. After Russia, the revolution triumphed in 14 countries of three continents, with a population totalling about one and a half billion. With it and intertwining with it there arise new states in Africa, Asia and Latin America that aspire to socialism while still in bondage to millennial backwardness, a legacy of colonialism and dependence. The working class in developed capitalist and imperialist countries is fighting for the hegemonic role which Lenin substantiated theoretically and brought about in practice and whose theoretical study Gramsci continued along with others.

Our epoch has shown itself to be the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale. Taking place around the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, and merging with the worldwide socialist revolutionary process, are the most diverse anti-colonialist, democratic, on the whole anti-imperialist revolutions, which accord with this process dialectically while showing many forms and following the most different paths, as Lenin foresaw. The colonial system has fallen. All this is brilliant proof that Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action. Going on simultaneously is a scientific and technological revolution having no parallel, for all historical processes merge dialectically into one history; modern culture with its contradictions and adversities, is revolving around the spiritual axis of socialism. (Let us recall what Gramsci wrote about the philosophy of an epoch.)

Those who talk about the "crisis" of Marxism and Leninism with reference to the mistakes, tragedies, splits and reverses that have occurred in the brief period since this doctrine began to be put into practice, are forgetting that the crisis of a theory is always an expression of its antagonistic negation by historical practice. The theory of Marx and Engels, developed by

Lenin, and the experience of the world revolutionary movement are a source of inspiration to more than a billion people in the countries of victorious socialism; they orient the communist parties, serving them as a theoretical instrument, and influence the liberation movement in general. This theory has tangible impact on the loftiest manifestations of the human mind, on the many forms of youth insurgency and protest against the alienation of man under capitalism and imperialism, and inspires these actions to a degree.

In the early 20th century, two fundamental roads to socialism were open to the proletariat: the social democratic road, and Leninism, whose adherents referred to Marx and Engels, each group in its own way. Humanity has gained immense historical experience since the Russian Revolution. Leninism was actually leading to socialism, being the road to the revolution. The social democratic road was leading at best to certain economic and political reforms, leaving capitalist production relations and imperialism intact, as is also the case today. The fundamental difference between social democracy and Leninism always implies an option between "social reform or revolution" (title of Rosa Luxemburg's work).

As for the difference in terms of theoretical and practical identity, it is radical; but it cannot be an obstacle to the pursuit of a systematic, intelligent and flexible policy of united front with the social democrats, the Socialist International, and parties — often bourgeois democratic or national reformist — which are in their political orbit, as in Latin America. The struggle for peace and democracy and against fascism and tyranny, for national independence and "change," for deep-going social and political reform, requires the use of every form of unity — with the social democrats, with all supporters of economic and political self-determination, with all anti-imperialists. This strategy is also valid internationally. It may well be that the process of forging a united front will lead in concrete historical conditions to the merger of the communists and certain parties of social democratic origin into one party. However, this merger must always be effected on a socialist revolutionary basis. Furthermore, given favorable conditions, communists, socialists, and parties of social democratic origin may join together in the winning of power and in the building of socialism.

At their Bad Godesberg Congress (1959), the West German social democrats declared all references to Marx in their program to be obsolete. Other social democratic parties followed suit. The victory of socialist and national libera-

tion revolutions also amounted to Leninism's theoretical and political victory over social democracy. The task facing the international proletariat is not to equate and overcome both paths in order to find a middle road but to carry forward Leninism. This necessarily means overcoming mistakes, inconsistency and dogmatization, which have occurred and may yet occur in applying Leninism and in developing it in theory and practice.

I think any attitude of self-satisfaction or disregard of the fact that our theory is highly critical, as Lenin pointed out, and does not admit of tolerating shortcomings, lags or deformations would be a fatal mistake. It seems evident that the elaboration of our theory is, for all the achievements there are, lagging behind the complex, infinitely rich and varied, and often unusual, development of the contemporary revolution. This also applies to the problems of developing existing socialism in breadth and depth. Occasionally there persist dogmatism and doctrinairism, an analogical approach which prefers comparison with what has already been to a scrupulous study of the mobile and variegated reality, that is, to "a concrete analysis of a concrete situation." Texts are repeated instead of considering them in the context of the infinite and contradictory dynamism of politics.

Sometimes this idealism "above" (Engels) coexists with vulgar materialism and pseudo-academic and bookish pedantry. All these phenomena — survivals of past mistakes and reluctance to engage in a big theoretical and critical debate — persist to our disadvantage in various, even vast sectors of the movement. Understandably, this makes for sectarianism, dissociation from the masses, orphanhood, and poverty or absence of a real policy — the art and science of the possible, as well as the highest form of the class struggle. All this takes place against the background of a lag of the subjective factor in many cases whereas the capitalist system as a whole is ripe for the socialist revolution. To be a real "political force" (Lenin) is the first pressing demand that working-class parties must meet.

Marxism, and hence Leninism, is intrinsically creative and critical; it is a guide to action. There is nothing in it like a "closed system" (Engels and Lenin); it is thought and action, practice and theory in constant motion.

Mention may also be made of a lag in the theoretical (critical) elaboration and synthesis of the results achieved by the natural sciences at a time when the scientific and technological revolution is in full swing, a revolution in which the socialist countries play a role of the

first importance. There is also a certain "isolation" (in the sense of criticism and assimilation) from the whole of contemporary culture. Lenin pointed to this already in *What Is to Be Done?*

Recently a debate broke out in Italy between two prominent scholars and politicians.⁶ The motive was a negative review of an essay by Vittorio Strada, included in a new volume of *Storia del marxismo* (A History of Marxism), a collective work edited by Professor Eric Hobsbawm of Britain; the author of the review is Aldo Tortorella. I take a critical view of the general theoretical and historiographical concept set out in the book, as well as of some of the articles included in it. Besides, I disagree with the approach of both Strada and Tortorella. Both proceed from the assumption that Marxism-Leninism, which dominates in the countries of existing socialism and is shared by the majority in the communist movement, is a dogmatic Marxism and has become a "purely ideological machine" (sic). But Strada notes in spite of his own negative view that this Marxism is real and is the one that matters, above all, for it is the Marxism linked with all socialist revolutions.

Strada's remark is sagacious and valid although Tortorella says that Strada criticizes dogmatism and then proffers it his hand. What a "shrewd" theory, that of Marxism and Leninism! It is accused of being dogmatic, ideological (in the sense of "non-scientific"), denounced as an "anachronism" (valid in Lenin's days but not now), and blamed for having "lost" its renewing historical impetus. And yet it is the only doctrine linked with people and parties who have accomplished, accomplish, and will go on accomplishing revolutions, who are building and will continue to build new socialist societies, having no models! It is not only the "collective intellect" and the majority of old parties that turn to Marxism-Leninism but also movements which turn in the course of their own revolution to Marx, Engels and Lenin in order to interpret it correctly and be in a better position to lead it.

Is it incongruous that not only old communists but people and movements that have grown on the fruit-bearing tree of the contemporary revolution are drawn to a theory that, had it been dogmatic, would have been unable to spell out the specifics of the course of the revolution and, moreover, would not have allowed the revolution to be steered toward a new harbor? Everyone — from Fidel Castro to the best leaders of the Third World — calls for taking inspiration from and carrying forward the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The

Soviet Union and the whole community of socialist countries (Strada is right in saying that the Soviet Union is not an accidental reality) play a fundamental role in international politics, especially on the key issue of war and peace, and in the entire dialectics of our epoch.

I have already concerned myself with the epoch-making significance of Lenin and Leninism within Marxism in several articles published in this journal⁷ and in my books. In them I refer to the two-fold function of Leninism, which re-established and developed Marxism, to its role — which has found expression in Lenin's theoretical writings — in overcoming the "double revision" (Gramsci), that is, revisionism and orthodoxy, and to the role of Leninism in transforming the world.

Lenin and his party led the Russian Revolution, having creatively worked out its theory, and developed the theory of the international socialist revolution, having investigated imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism, including the initial processes of the stage of state-monopoly capitalism. I have written elsewhere that Togliatti pointed out, perhaps too restrictively, three great contributions to Marxism made by Lenin: a theory of imperialism, a theory of the revolution and the state, and a theory of the party. It is easy enough to point out other contributions of Lenin's although the three listed above are apparently the fundamental ones. Suffice it to stress the infinite and multidimensional dynamism of dialectics restored to Marxism by Lenin as an essential feature of its method and theory. It is also fair to say that *Who Are the Friends of the People* . . . is, after Engels' famous explanatory letters on the dialectics of the superstructures, the first authentic presentation of historical materialism. Lastly, Lenin the theorist and outstanding master of dialectics is both of these not only in *Philosophical Notebooks* but in all his writings, especially where he analyzes politics, something which seems to have been rightly pointed out by Gramsci.

Antonio Gramsci's contribution.
Is Marxist philosophy
limited to historical materialism?

Among the galaxy of great revolutionaries and brilliant theorists who emerged on the fertile soil of Marxism, Antonio Gramsci stands out by virtue of his intellectual contribution and tragic life. He was a Leninist like nearly all of them, including the admirable Rosa Luxemburg, who returned to Lenin through the Russian Revolution and European revolutions and wrote — by way of a testament — that he and the Bolsheviks had saved the honor of the movement.

There are most noteworthy ideas that Gramsci took from Lenin, as Gramsci himself indicated and as Togliatti illustrated in his famous essay. I am referring to the principle of hegemony and, in a sense, the concept of "historical bloc"; the theory of the superstructures, to which Gramsci contributed a great deal; the idea that the laws of history manifest themselves as trends; the function of the theoretical and ideological struggle in the revolutionary process; the need for the cultural revolution as a great "intellectual and moral reform" of the people; the thesis that a social group may master the science of another group without accepting its ideology; the methodological impossibility of predicting the concrete course of political development with complete certainty, and so on. Gramsci studied Lenin's ideas of the united front, "winning the majority," and the specifics of political action, and brilliantly carried them forward. His writings were notable for the richness of thought and style and for the solidity of cultural background. Gramsci formulated the principles of strategy for some countries. It in no way warrants the undialectical inference that one can rule out the possibility of mobile warfare or separate the dialectics of the offensive from that of the defensive, as the Latin American revolution is proving in certain cases. Nor is such a strategy a model of the road to socialism.

Gramsci's views "amplifying" some aspects of the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin about the state⁸ are very important. His research had to do with the dialectics of the superstructures and the winning of hegemony by the working class, which he distinguishes from the dictatorship of the proletariat methodologically but not organically. He analyzed the function of the so-called ideological apparatuses of hegemony. This meant that the state combines the function of coercion (dictatorship) with that of consensus, ideological leadership and the exercise of social cohesion. Gramsci was perhaps the most prominent Marxist theorist of our time among those who studied the role of intellectuals and the problem of organizing culture. In particular, he examined the contradictory unity of the relationship between philosophy and politics. For Gramsci, Marx's philosophy was essentially a philosophy of praxis.

Usually those who talk about several Marxisms distinguish between a "European" Marxism and another, that of Engels and partly Lenin, or "Soviet Marxism." "European Marxism" is supposed to have some characteristics of the German Marxism of the epoch of the Second International, to have been continued by Korsch, Lukacs, and others and

brought to its culmination by Gramsci. This division is simplistic and fallacious, to say nothing of the impermissibility of lumping together a Leninist like Gramsci, passers-by in Marxism like Korsch, and philosophers of the stature of Lukacs, a self-critical communist for all his serious political mistakes. They are put together in a general negative function, for they were in a sense opponents of positivist and vulgar materialist incrustations, but above all because of their dissent from what they called an "Engelsian deformation of Marxism."

At one time in the past, following the publication of *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, the story was invented that there were two Marxes, and it has been kept up to this day. Those who tell it manipulate various aspects of Gramsci's thought, posing Marx against Engels or against Engels and Lenin. Continuing the same debate, they now also talk about two Lenins. In this way they would like to dispense at one strike with the fundamental in *Anti-Dühring* and *Ludwig Feuerbach* plus Lenin's philosophical articles and a good part of *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*.

Not so long ago, 1980, a second edition of *The Philosophy of Praxis*, an interesting book by Adolfo Sanchez Vazquez, came out.⁹ The author has added a chapter "Lenin's Concept of Praxis" setting out ideas which largely coincide with what I say in my book *Lenin, Revolution, and Latin America*. However, Vazquez writes that in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* Lenin "emphatically" reaffirms "Engels' theses by insisting on theses which are proper to any materialism" (p. 224). Lenin "was to rectify himself" partly (pp. 223-230) in *Philosophical Notebooks*. In other words, Lenin is alleged to have abandoned the proposition that "nature is anterior to man and that matter is a category equivalent to objective reality, that is, exists outside man's consciousness." I completely disagree and this is known. But I wish to note in passing that the author presents Lenin with esteem and admiration.

I think it is appropriate to dwell on this subject by referring directly to Gramsci.

Is there room for dialectical materialism?

Gramsci said¹⁰ that Marx's whole philosophy is the philosophy of praxis, that is, the science of history, or historical materialism. "Malgré lui," this conception served some malignant publicists as a pretext for trying to give pedantic lessons to Engels and Lenin. In Gramsci himself one occasionally comes across formulations that appear extremist if seen only in terms of the letter of his *Prison Notebooks*.

For example, he lucidly showed all division of the philosophy of *praxis* into two elements to be an approach foreign to dialectics: "a theory of history and politics conceived as sociology, that is, to be constructed by the method of the natural sciences (which is experimental in a pettily positivist sense), and a philosophy proper that would be thus philosophical, metaphysical or mechanistic materialism . . ." (p. 132).

But elsewhere he wrote: "If set apart from the theory of history and politics, philosophy can only be metaphysical." I think it is one thing to say that without the "theory of history and politics" philosophy can only be metaphysical and another to reduce Marx's philosophy as a whole to historical materialism and "politics." Why this *and*? Is not politics as the highest form of class struggle a fundamental component of the science of history? Perhaps Gramsci wanted to stress that philosophy and politics, while forming a dialectical unity, do not come down to each other.

On another occasion, Gramsci wrote that philosophy is "historical methodology" (p. 134).

In *Prison Notebooks*, for instance, the letter of some passages does not always coincide with their content. This can be explained by the harsh conditions of work in prison. But, really, is there a reductionism in Gramsci's writings so absolute as to fully deny dialectical materialism any place in Marx's theory? This is what I will try to examine.

Evidently, Gramsci conceived Marx's philosophy as essentially a "philosophy of *praxis*." Those who play the card of "Marx against Engels and Lenin" take a more extreme position, their aim being not so much theoretical as political: attacking the contemporary policy of Marxists. Attempts are made to blacken the history of the communist movement by describing it as a road marked by mistakes and representing Gramsci as the European who anticipated the criticism of Stalin and had not much in common with Lenin — "theorist and practical builder of an underdeveloped socialism." This slanderous historiography can be countered by quoting Louis Aragon, who said: "For me, to be a communist has meant refusing to mistake the petty for the great."

No one today can agree with the form in which Stalin presented dialectical materialism and historical materialism. Nor can anyone think of historical materialism as a simple logical extension of dialectical materialism, verifiable by the operation of natural laws (perceived, moreover, by "false consciousness"). Still less can one fall back on the old notion (in

disguise) of philosophy as a science of sciences — or revive the philosophy of nature, if in a curtailed version, as Hegel did in his *Encyclopaedia* — a science of sciences which is allowed less and less room with the advance of the positive sciences, this room shrinking a little more with every passing day like Balzac's shagreen leather. All this is a caricature of Engels' description of the detachment of the various sciences from philosophy, which meant, as a result of Marx's philosophical revolution, the death of the old philosophy and its renaissance with a different content in the materialist conception of the world.

Gramsci was right in his critique of vulgar materialism and the "positivist incrustations of Marxism," to which so-called "orthodoxy" drifted. Let us not forget that Gramsci grasped the essence of Marxism through Lenin, the great dialectician. Gramsci was also right in refusing to surrender an inch of dialectics and in stressing the role of "activity" in Marxism. But he exaggerated in affirming that Marx never called his philosophy materialist. He seldom used the term "historical materialism." This may have been due to prison censorship or to the fact that he called Marxism the "philosophy of *praxis*," a term proposed by Labriola.¹¹ We must be careful not to take great theorists literally in reading them. Even in Marx and Engels there occur concepts that give us an absolutely wrong notion if extrapolated.

The *German Ideology*, for instance, says: "We know only a single science, the science of history." This obviously implies that the Marxist philosophical revolution reached its culmination with the founding of historical materialism, and not that after it all positive sciences disappeared.

Marx and Engels associated the above words with the following: "One can look at history from two sides and divide it into the history of nature and the history of men. The two sides are, however, inseparable; the history of nature and the history of men are dependent on each other so long as men exist. The history of nature . . . does not concern us here; but we will have to examine the history of men . . ."¹²

Let us note these assertions: (a) the history of nature and the history of men are inseparable, and (b) but they can be investigated from two sides (that is, as two histories separable in terms of logic and the special sciences). Nature exists irrespective of human observation and labor although its history intertwines in practice with man's (man's labor in society transforms nature and man himself).

The former proposition would appear to consider the so-called philosophy of *praxis* and its

absolute historicism correct but the latter warns us that the two aspects can be conceived and even set out separately *although it is obligatory to proceed from the concept of their dialectical interconnection*. This seems to refer directly to the concept of materialist dialectics, that is, the idea of Engels, who reminds us three times — in *Dialectics of Nature*, *Anti-Dühring*, and *Ludwig Feuerbach* — of the fact that in step with the advance of the sciences which he calls empirical, philosophy gives up its positions, which the new philosophy takes over in a different way. This philosophy sums up the connections revealed by the material of each science and deals critically with the results. Thus a moment of synthesis is accomplished, in which empirical science is gradually transformed into a “theoretical science” within the same positive sciences. With the synthesis of the results achieved in this way, it becomes a materialist doctrine of nature. These results are thus integrated into the new world view. The dialectical mode of thinking reflects the real and everlasting motion of nature and society. Thus Marx and Engels arrive at the materialist point of view.

Engels also wrote (*Anti-Dühring* and *Ludwig Feuerbach*) that this “puts an end to philosophy in the realm of history, just as the dialectical conception of nature makes all natural philosophy both unnecessary and impossible. It is no longer a question anywhere of inventing interconnections from out of our brains, but of discovering them in the facts. For philosophy, which has been expelled from nature and history, there remains only the realm of pure thought, so far as it is left: the theory of the laws of the thought process itself, logic and dialectics.”¹³ This should clearly be taken to mean the last autonomous sphere of philosophy which is left but which also changes in content.

Engels defined dialectics as “the science of the general laws of motion, both of the external world and of human thought.”¹⁴ There remain logic and dialectics. “Natural scientists,” Engels noted, “cannot make any headway without thought, and for thought they need thought determinations,”¹⁵ without which there is no correct application of theoretical thought. Here he was alluding undoubtedly to what is generally called dialectical materialism and, in regard to history, historical materialism. Marx and Engels, Lenin pointed out, termed their philosophy dialectical materialism scores of times. We will see further on that there is a certain reunion between Gramsci and Engels, which also means, we think, a reunion with Marx.

The reader will excuse my abuse of quotations. “. . . Professor Lukacs seems to assert,” Gramsci wrote, “that dialectics can only be spoken of with reference to the history of men and not to nature. He may be wrong and may be right. If his assertion implies a dualism between nature and man, he is wrong. . . . But if human history should be conceived as part of the history of nature (also through the history of science), then how can dialectics be separated from nature?” (p. 145).

This is largely what Engels said although it is not *all*. At the source of Gramscian thought are many of Engels’ ideas, well pondered. Added to this is the symbiosis Marx — Engels — Lenin, at which Gramsci arrived through Lenin.

Prestipino¹⁶ and others have reproached Gramsci, saying that nature as such is “diluted” in Gramsci’s concept and that he even slipped into reducing the productive forces to production relations.

This article was almost finished when I received and looked through Lucien Seve’s book.¹⁷ The author remarks that no room for dialectical materialism can be found “by limiting historical materialism.” Still less can this be done outside it. Within it “lies the fulcrum of dialectical materialism . . . of the scientific world view as a whole” (and the materialism of the natural sciences “taken in themselves”). “The science of history refers us not only to production relations but at the same time to the productive forces” (which include relations with nature). Gramsci’s insufficient attention to the productive forces is said to have been his weak spot. It set him apart from Marx (as well as from Engels and Lenin). Marx theoretically investigated the intimate dialectical connection between the development of the sciences and that of the productive forces. Trying to “do away with vulgar materialism,” Gramsci destroyed “the very foundations of the economics of historical materialism.” The sciences do not essentially belong to the superstructures contrary to what Gramsci said. Those who share his view slip into “relativism” and the old mistake of “bourgeois science and proletarian science.” In an effort to break with “the criterion of the natural sciences” attributed to Engels, Gramsci also forgot “the theory of reflection,” which is basic to the concept of historical materialism. There is a contradictory identity between historical and dialectical materialism (the “science of history does not rule out a critical conception of the world”). And “once the concept of nature has been evolved, man’s history appears as a moment of its development.”

Gramsci also denied a place in the philosophical hierarchy to the question of the

existence of nature before and outside man (he called it a "cosmos in itself," historical nothingness). The comments of his Italian critics are not so definitive; they refer to the survivals of spiritualism dating from his youth. Gramsci was always a materialist although he might have resented this definition. However, a subtle idealism creeps through the interstices of his polemic. *Praxis* (meaning materialist praxis) is sometimes an embodiment of the mind, as in Hegel, especially in *The Phenomenology of Mind*; theory goes together with practice, the two being on the same hierarchical level as regards what Engels called a cardinal problem of philosophy. Up to a certain point, this applies to the critique of dualism in Gramsci's note on Lukacs. Gramsci did not spare his critical vocabulary in assailing the presentation of the cardinal problem of philosophy, which is explicit in Marx, Engels and Lenin. For him, all was *metaphysics* of matter. He repeated what Fogarazi and Lukacs had written against Bukharin in 1922 and 1923.¹⁸

All the works of Marx are indicative of his adherence to the materialist point of view although he never devoted any time to didactic or popularizing writings. But did not Gramsci himself feel it his duty to repeat Engels' and Lenin's relevant exposition almost word for word? "Is it possible that matter as seen under the microscope," he wrote, "is no longer really objective matter but a creation of the human mind, something devoid of all objective or empirical existence?" (p. 50).

Does it make any difference if it is not a question of the world as seen under the microscope but the world in general or that part of it still beyond our perception, which is limited historically by instruments, the state of mathematics or something else?

Among the sciences called empirical by Engels, new ones have emerged, ranging from the physics of particles to space navigation. Developing along with them are sciences which treat of the world that existed before man, of the most ancient history of the earth. Other subjects of research are the origin of life and the possibilities of finding it in other galaxies.

"Is it possible that there exists an extra-historical and extrahuman objectivity?" Gramsci wrote. "But who is to judge this objectivity? Who can place himself in this kind of point of view, of the 'cosmos in itself' and what would such a point of view mean? There is very good reason to affirm that what we have here is a residue of the concept of God" (p. 142).

The answer is sharp; but in line with the

lively tenor of Gramsci's dialogue, one could say that he asked leading questions (the question was also the answer) and that this thesis had had a well-known spiritualist past (this judge, who must naturally be at once *inside and outside*, reminds one of Sartre's sophisticated "refutation" of Lenin). We will never stoop to an undignified argument attributing spiritualism to Gramsci, his unfortunate formulation notwithstanding.

Gramsci resorted to a quotation from Engels in which the basic thesis of materialism is implicit: "Engels' formulation, that the 'unity of the world consists in its materiality, and this is proved . . . by a long and wearisome development of philosophy and natural science,' contains the embryo of the right conception, for it turns to history and man to demonstrate objective reality" (p. 142).

This passage can serve as proof of what Gramsci said but it also indicates that the world existed objectively before man.

Gramsci saw "the unity of the components of Marxism" in "the dialectical development of contradictions between man and matter (nature — material productive forces)" (p. 91).

This is a historical materialist point of view. But the whole history of nature is not yet the history of society and its relations, even though a good part of it can be understood by means of hypotheses or scientific reasoning. We know that both histories are, have been, and will always be a process of becoming. There exists no cognition of the entire history of socialized "humanity" — as regards the future; it exists relatively as regards the past and present, according to the historical limitations of the sciences and research. This is also true of cognizing the history of nature (with certain distinctions) in regard to its past and present. As for the future, it is in the lap of the gods. Philosophical thesis: the world is cognizable but its complete cognition and the transformation of what can be transformed are an unlimited and theoretically unfathomable process.

The Marxist-Leninist conception of matter (nature) has a meaning even from this point of view. Not so Gramsci's conception when he insisted that "matter should not be regarded as such but as socially and historically organized for production and hence for natural science." He was very wrong, I must say. We have seen that the philosophy of *praxis* does not comprise all that is encompassed by the materialist world view. It is arguable whether there are two materialisms, one dialectical and the other exclusively historical, but one may stumble the moment one takes one step too many in dis-

tinguishing between the two. True, such a possibility cannot be ruled out in reading Marx, Engels and Lenin by way of study. We do not know what subjects the textbook of dialectics which Marx intended to write was to have covered but then we know Lenin's article "On the Question of Dialectics," which Gramsci seems to have read. Gramsci answered it by citing the well-known example of electricity, which is reminiscent of a metaphor from the great German romantic poetry; it said that until man comes to know electricity and put it in his service, it will be a "historical nothingness" even though it causes an occasional fire. Man has partly subdued electricity but its other part, the "historical nothingness," goes on causing fires in spite of the lightning rod. Both the question and the answer may be said to come under the heading of naive realism.

The dialectical materialist conception (of nature, man, and thought) includes the science of history but at the same time it is what is left of the old philosophy transformed by the Marxist revolution. Gramsci apparently admitted it. "The philosophy of praxis," he wrote, "is sufficient unto itself; it contains all the fundamental elements for the construction of a complete and integral conception of the world, a complete philosophy and theory of the natural sciences ..." (p. 157).

This can only be interpreted as dialectical materialism. In spite of its ambiguity (it only puts a comma between conception of the world and philosophy of the natural sciences, as if they were synonyms), it is necessary to preclude on principle any interpretation in terms of positivism or speculative philosophy, as if it were a question of the philosophy of nature. Consequently, I have only to refer to Engels' approach to the connection between the materialist world view and the positive sciences in *Anti-Dühring* and *Dialectics of Nature*. Engels said that a comprehensive critical examination of the empirical sciences and their results, if critically elaborated by the dialectical method, enables us to rise from empirical to theoretical science. Synthesis interlocks with philosophy and integrates it in a peculiar manner, since the latter is dialectical materialist utilization of concepts and categories.

A word in conclusion

Those who speak of a world anterior to man are operating with a primary but basic thesis of materialism. But this thesis assumes the

character of a real and tragic possibility when one thinks of the nuclear threat posed by the gamble of imperialism. The neutron bomb is a project for a planet inhabited by things alone. There are also the particular views of ecologists, as we all know.

The possibility of a "cosmos in itself" is emerging from imperialist insanity.

The ideas of Karl Marx, the societies brought into being according to his thought, and the millions who aspire to socialism and to combining the struggle for peace with the struggle for revolution are all an assurance of the salvation of humanity.

1. World view (German). — Ed.
2. See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 582.
3. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 15.
4. Letter from Karl Marx to Johann Philipp Becker, April 17, 1867.
5. They are very important. The published manuscripts include "Historico-Economic Studies" (Paris Notebooks), dated 1844, the famous *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, *Grundrisse der Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie* (Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1858), and comments on Adolph Wagner's book. A complete edition of the works of Marx and Engels is being published in the GDR and the Soviet Union.
6. See *L'Unità*, December 18, 1982.
7. See, e.g., *WMR* No. 10, 1978.
8. Cristina Buci Glucksmen, *Gramsci y el Estado*. Ed. Siglo XXI, Mexico City.
9. Adolfo Sanchez Vazquez, *Filosofía de la praxis*, Segunda edición, Ed. Grijalbo, Mexico City, 1980.
10. Antonio Gramsci, *Il materialismo storico e la filosofia di Benedetto Croce*, Turin, Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1955. All subsequent references to this book are given in the body of the article.
11. See Antonio Labriola, *La concepción materialista de la historia y otros trabajos*, Havana, 1970, pp. 252 and 264.
12. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, pp. 28-29. Note: These propositions have been crossed out in the manuscript. In the Spanish-language edition of *The German Ideology* (EPU — Montevideo, Third Ed., 1971) they appear among the "Texts excluded by Marx and Engels" and "included in this edition" by the publishers "because they constitute a development of the propositions contained in the text and help understand them better."
13. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 375.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 362.
15. Frederick Engels, *Dialectics of nature*, Moscow, 1972, pp. 209-210.
16. G. Prestipino, *El pensamiento filosófico de Engels*, Ed. Siglo XXI, Mexico City, 1977.
17. Lucien Seve, *Introduction à la philosophie marxiste*, Editions Sociales, Paris, 1980.
18. Aldo Zannardo, *Actualidad del pensamiento político de Gramsci*, Ed. Grijalbo, Barcelona — Buenos Aires — Mexico City, 1977.

Way to peace: unity of anti-war forces

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The global danger of an incinerating nuclear war has grown unprecedentedly in the recent period. The forces of imperialist reaction have ever more blatantly staked on a "limited" or "protracted" armed conflict with the use of the most terrible means of mass destruction. That is why it is now especially important to rouse the masses to resolute anti-war struggle and to equip them with a knowledge about who is to blame for this situation, and how imperialism is making use of the mechanism of military preparations.

In the light of Turkey's development, I want to deal here with the place and role of NATO,¹ one of the key elements in this mechanism for subjugating the peoples and preparing for another war.

For more than 30 years now, NATO has been a constant source of military danger for the European continent and a cause for the worsening of living conditions in its member countries.

Since its establishment, its anti-communist and anti-Soviet orientation has been its main feature. This has been expressed above all in its military-policy concepts. Repeatedly modified and adapted to the new international conditions, changes in the balance of forces between socialism and imperialism and improvement in the means of armed warfare, these concepts have invariably retained their aggressive substance with respect to the socialist community countries.

The vast military programs imposed by the United States on the West European countries have had a harmful effect on their economic development. The economies of the NATO countries have gone through serious upheavals. The mounting arms drive with mammoth appropriations for military purposes have led to a decline in production, inflation and mass unemployment, and of this Turkey is one of the most characteristic examples. The CP Turkey program says that "the role of satellite to U.S. imperialism and membership in NATO have produced chaos in the country's economic, social and political conditions."²

The communists never neglect the lessons of history. That is why it is worthwhile to recall

the factors which have determined Turkey's accession to NATO. Moreover, these factors still continue to operate, drawing the country ever more deeply into the web of NATO's military and political concepts.

Indeed, how did the Turkish Republic get into this bellicose anti-Soviet bloc in the first place? After all, it did emerge in the thick of the struggle against imperialist intervention. We well recall that it was then that Lenin, the leader of the revolution in Russia, conveyed in a telegram to the Chairman of Turkey's Great National Assembly Mustafa Kemal³ "the most sincere wishes to the Turkish people and its government, which are fighting with invincible energy for the country's independence and prosperity."⁴ The generous assistance which the land of the Soviets extended to the young Republic is also well known.

The basic reason for which Turkey's ruling circles took an anti-Soviet stand even before the war was that the national bourgeoisie, weak and inconsistent in its political views and acts, proved to be incapable of and unwilling to effect a democratic revolution and put through the radical reforms it promised the people. Although it did at first try to take the path of independent development and pursue a neutral foreign policy, fear of the masses induced it to draw closer to the imperialist powers.

The logical outcome of this orientation was the establishment of numerous contacts with the most reactionary circles of the leading capitalist powers. Ankara's unprincipled moves culminated in a secret decision to enter the Second World War on the side of nazi Germany. It was the defeat of the nazi troops at Stalingrad that prevented the Turkish rulers from doing so. The Soviet people's historic victory in the battle on the Volga cooled their bellicosity and forced them to adopt a wait-and-see attitude.

Following the final rout of fascism, Turkey's ruling circles threw in their lot with U.S. imperialism in an effort to safeguard their narrowly selfish interests. This line was entrenched in 1950 with the installation in power of the right-wing Democratic Party.

The "aid" to Turkey under the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, impressive by the

standards of the time, helped to consolidate the positions of the reactionary wing of the bourgeoisie in our country. On orders from Washington, the government started a slander campaign against the Soviet Union spreading inventions about some Soviet "claims" to the Straits. The purpose was to confuse the minds of the people and to provide a pretext for Turkey's entry into NATO, so as to make it follow in the wake of U.S. policy.

When this was achieved, the country became a tool in the hands of the United States and the NATO bloc against the socialist world and the anti-imperialist movements in the Middle East. Turkey's situation was further complicated by its entry, in 1955, into the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), another military bloc.⁵

Participation in imperialist blocs deprived Turkey of any possibility of pursuing an independent foreign policy. Its economic weakness made it vulnerable to dictates from the United States and other major NATO countries. In the 1950s, every Turkish foreign policy decision was taken with an eye to U.S. wishes. Relations with the Soviet Union were trimmed to a minimum. In the United Nations, Turkey undertook to plead the interests of U.S. imperialism in the fight against the newly liberated countries and the national liberation movements.

It is true that new accents appeared in Turkey's foreign policy from the latter half of the 1960s to the mid-1970s, when, as a result of vigorous action by the USSR and other socialist community countries, the leaders of the capitalist world were forced to join in the relaxation of international tensions. It established broad and mutually advantageous economic ties with the socialist countries. This line began to have a positive effect on the country's condition, because it helped to develop the nation's heavy industry. In that period, the USSR helped it to build a metallurgical and aluminium plants, an oil refinery, and other enterprises, and this created tens of thousands of new jobs in the state sector.

However, these budding prospects were not realized because Turkey, deeply embroiled in the Atlantic alliance, continued to move in the wake of NATO and U.S. policy. On the insistence of the latter, for example, it rejected the Soviet Union's repeated offers to conclude a mutual non-aggression treaty. The Washington administration's return in the latter half of the 1970s to the line of confrontation with the USSR at once had an effect on the Turkish government's foreign policy. Following the installation in 1979 of the Justice Party, the

development of cooperation with the socialist states was suspended once again.

Turkish-Greek relations well illustrate the foreign policy difficulties which stem from membership in NATO. It is Washington above all that stands to gain from the conflict between the two countries, which are bloc allies. Their confrontation helps it to put pressure on both sides and to increase its profitable and growing sale of arms to them. Besides, the conflict between the two neighboring countries tends to inflate chauvinism.

The Cyprus problem became the central and most painful knot of Turkish-Greek contradictions. The imperialist circles have made no secret of their desire to convert the island into their strategic base in the Eastern Mediterranean, something that they can do only if the Cypriots abandon their policy of non-alignment. Largely for this purpose, the Turkish armed forces invaded Cyprus in 1974 and occupied two-fifths of its territory.

Our people are paying a high price for the expansionist policy of the country's ruling circles: a sizable part of the national income is used up on the occupation of Cyprus. The attempts to solve the problem within the NATO framework and with U.S. help have merely produced fresh difficulties, because Washington and its chief allies want to see tensions remain.

The heightened interest displayed by the imperialist circles in Turkey is due to its strategic position, which is unique from the standpoint of NATO's military planning. It has a long border with the Soviet Union and Bulgaria and controls the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. Its Black Sea and Mediterranean coasts abound in bays suitable for naval anchorages. Turkey also has common borders with the important Middle East states of Syria, Iraq and Iran.

Our country has been assigned the role of forward-line bridgehead directed against the Soviet Transcaucasus and the socialist countries of the Balkan peninsula, and also of a base for the ferrying of the U.S. rapid deployment force to the Middle East, notably the Persian Gulf area. In May 1982, the United States and Turkey signed another military agreement, which gave the United States fresh opportunities for using our country for preparing aggression against Middle East states while secret Pentagon directives envisage the actual involvement of Turkish soldiers in operations by the U.S. rapid deployment force.⁶

The Turkish bridgehead is being actively used by the NATO command. It already has something like 60 U.S. military installations,

including 7 major bases. Atomic mines have been laid in Turkey's eastern areas. Turkey's territory is extensively used for intelligence operations against the socialist countries, including the use of four modern radar-monitoring stations. The country's 700,000-strong armed forces are numerically second in NATO to the U.S. forces. Turkish forces are being trained on NATO principles, one of which is that the socialist states, the Soviet Union in the first place, are the "external enemy," and the working people of their own country, the "internal enemy."

In 1979, the government approved NATO's decision on the siting of new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe. Following the military coup on September 12, 1980, the United States was allowed to stockpile nuclear weapons in Turkey. That was revealed, for instance, in a newspaper interview by Robert Strausz Hupe,⁷ one of President Reagan's confidants and now U.S. ambassador in our country. It was, incidentally, he who spun out the "protracted nuclear war" doctrine, and introduced the term into the U.S. strategists' lexicon. This conclusion is inescapable: our generals have doomed Turkey to participation in a thermonuclear war, which the Pentagon is preparing to unleash.

Membership in NATO falls as a heavy burden on the people and worsens the country's economic condition. It is true that the United States has generously paid the Turkish ruling circles for their compliance. U.S. "aid" to the country came to \$450 million in 1980, and is to reach \$815 million in 1983. Turkey ranks third — after Israel and Egypt — in the volume of U.S. loans and credits. But the lion's share of these funds goes to modernize the military arsenal, above all for the purchase of U.S. planes and tanks. Total appropriations under the state budget for militaristic preparations went up from 22.3 per cent in fiscal 1978/79 to 27 per cent in 1981/82. In the three "Atlantic" decades, these appropriations have multiplied five-fold.

A direct outcome of all this is the grave economic crisis from which Turkey has been unable to emerge since 1977. Thus, with a total population of 45.4 million, the number of unemployed has reached nearly 6 million, and continues to grow. In 1982, inflation was over 25 per cent. The country's external debt is in excess of \$23 billion, while the foreign trade deficit is over \$2.5 billion. Both have undermined the Turkish lire. Its value with respect to the U.S. dollar fell by 40 per cent.⁸

The crisis situation is having a sharp effect on the condition of the working people. Last year,

the cost of living went up by nearly 20 per cent, while food prices doubled from May 1981 to November 1982. Taxes and rents have been steadily rising. Over the past three years, the real incomes of workers and employees dropped below the 1979 level by 44 per cent,⁹ and 26 million people live in dire poverty. The *gecekondus*,¹⁰ the slums, have been spreading like a malignant growth. More than one-half of the inhabitants of Ankara, for instance, live in such slums.

The program for Turkey's economic development being imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) threatens to deepen the crisis situation. The idea, for instance, is to have it abandon the plan for industrialization and to concentrate its efforts on the development of livestock farming. But with rational use of Turkey's potentialities, it could have long since overcome the pre-capitalist relations of production, which exert a drag on its economic progress. In the south and east of the country, for instance, more than 800 villages are still in the possession of the *Toprak-agacy*.¹¹

Turkey's active participation in NATO's military and political acts inevitably has an effect on its internal political situation. The working people's growing resistance to capitalist exploitation and the threat of converting this struggle into an open confrontation with the bourgeoisie has always terrified the Turkish ruling classes. They have constantly looked to a "strong government" or "strong man," which means the transfer of power to the militaristic circles and the establishment of a military dictatorship. We have had three coups over the past three decades, and as a result of the latest one — in 1980 — power was seized by the army élite.

The generals' government abolished the 1961 constitution, which, for all its limitations, guaranteed some democratic rights and freedoms to the people. A reactionary dictatorship has been set up in the country, and there are 50,000 political prisoners. Altogether, since the coup, 200,000 persons have been arrested.

Several hundred leaders of the DISK trade union center, which has a membership of up to 600,000 workers and employees, have been placed in the dock. Even bourgeois reformist politicians have been harassed. Thus, Bulent Ecevit, leader of the Republican People's Party and a former prime minister, has been repeatedly arrested.

The most savage reprisals have been directed against the communists. The authorities set themselves the goal of annihilating the best sons of the working class and their supporters.

The police operation started in May 1981 against the CP Turkey and code-named "Red Lamp" has continued to this day, with ever more searches and raids. As a result of this persecution, our party has suffered great losses. Thousands of comrades have been arrested.

The party leadership has been taking steps to safeguard its cadre. Despite the persecution, the CP Turkey has continued to work among the masses, giving a lead to their struggles and working to unite the peace and progressive forces.

Having abolished democratic rights and political freedoms in the country, the military regime has tried to invest itself with a constitutional character. The government has worked out a new fundamental law which was approved in the November 1982 "referendum." We declare with a sense of full responsibility that the "referendum" did not in any sense reflect the people's true aspirations and was staged in an atmosphere of repression.

By means of the "referendum," the head of the military regime, General Kenan Evren, has assumed the post of President for seven years with broad powers. The constitution limits the freedoms of the individual and the press, and lays down a stringent framework for the activity of the trade unions. In particular, the workers' right to strike has been curtailed, while employers may resort to lock-outs. "The dictatorship of the collaborationist monopoly bourgeoisie is covered up with a constitutional mask," said the CPT CC about the outcome of the "referendum" and the new constitution.¹²

Developments in Turkey over the past few years have been closely connected with the activity of the Pentagon and NATO. For many years, senior Turkish military men have been trained in the United States, with only those who deserve trust being recruited to these schools. On Washington's insistence, numerous purges have been carried out in the army and many patriotically minded military men have been expelled from it. The communists have repeatedly drawn public attention to the general spread of the influence of militarism.

What then is the social basis for the militaristic forces in Turkey? What are the social strata that keep it in the NATO camp in defiance of the national interest? In answering these questions one needs above all to indicate the anti-popular activity of the collaborationist monopoly bourgeoisie, which has consolidated its positions as a result of its compact with the U.S. monopolies. It has managed to establish control over the key sectors of the national economy and has tried

to step up the development of elements of state-monopoly capitalism.

This section of the bourgeoisie supports militarism also because it is now hoping for economic advance in the Middle East countries. It expects to become an accomplice in the plunder of their natural resources by supporting U.S. expansion in the region.

In the anti-imperialist struggle, the CP Turkey proceeds from the assumption that in the specific conditions which have taken shape in our country mainly because of its participation in NATO, the national problems which are vital for the future of the working people can be solved only together with a solution of international problems. Accordingly, the activity of the CP Turkey is aimed, on the one hand, to secure a return of democratic freedoms to the masses and improvement of the working people's living conditions, and on the other, actively to work for peace and against the threat of a nuclear war, and for national independence.

Nothing is farther from the truth than the official propaganda inventions that the CP Turkey is an "alien" body in the political life of the state. In actual fact, our party is the country's only organization which has now fought without compromise against imperialism, reaction and the exploitive system for 62 years. In its address to the Turkish people in September 1982, the CPT CC said: "Our is a truly national party. Broad masses of people now share the CPT's views because it stands up for their vital aspirations and the country's national interests."

Turkey's best sons are unsparing of their lives in the struggle for freedom. One of the first to die for the working people's cause was the founder of the CPT Mustafa Subhi (1883-1921), the centenary of whose birth is being marked this year. But despite the terrorism and repression, the Turkish communists confidently look to the future. They believe in the objective inevitability of the triumph of the forces of social progress. New fighters take the place of those who are killed in battle. The party takes care to educate them and to equip them with the advanced theory of the class struggle, the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

Now, following the introduction of the new constitution, the situation in the Republic has been further complicated. Turkey, the communists emphasize, is in deep political crisis. In these conditions, the CP Turkey has worked out a program of action providing for the democratization of society, and defense of national interests and of the vital needs of the workers, employees, peasants and the middle

strata. The meaning and substance of the party's activity is to cut short the attempts to get the working people to bear the burden of the costs arising from the economic difficulties. Resistance to the imperialist enslavement of Turkey, of which NATO is an instrument, is a primary and necessary condition for solving this historical problem.

The party's policy is aimed to unite all the peace-loving and democratic trends and to mobilize broad masses of the working people to struggle for realizing the tasks set out in the address of the plenary meeting of the CP Turkey CC in May 1982. It issued the following call on the people: "If you want peace, fight against NATO, against U.S. hegemony and the military dictatorship. A Turkey free from NATO and the junta will be a bulwark of peace in the region. If you want democracy, fight against U.S. imperialism, the mainstay of the junta, which has trampled on democracy. If you want bread, work and land, fight against armaments, against membership in NATO which results in the bulk of our national resources being wasted for military purposes."

These slogans can and must become a basis for uniting all the democratic forces for the country's liberation from foreign dependence and in the struggle for social progress.

The process of unification was, in effect, started in the course of preparations for the "referendum," which preceded the adoption of the regime's constitution. But for the time being, it has proved impossible to set up a united front. That is why every effort must be made to have the front include, alongside the communists, the bourgeois reformist Republican People's Party, with its social democratic principles, and the Party of National Salvation, which opposes the domination of imperialism and the monopolies from a religious standpoint. It should include broad public circles which have remained true to the ideals of national independence proclaimed by the founder of the Turkish Republic, Kemal Ataturk, bourgeois liberal circles, left-oriented groups and members of the Kurdish national movement.

Nor should one discount the fact that the traditions of the liberation struggle and the ideas of national independence are still alive within the armed forces. Patriotic-minded and Kemalist officers have voiced discontent over the alignment of interests with NATO and U.S. imperialism. A knowledge of military history and an understanding of the trends in the scientific and technological revolution in the area of armaments leads

them to the conviction that the presence of U.S. military bases on our soil, the proposed use of Turkish territory for operations by the U.S. rapid deployment force, and NATO plans generally, subject Turkey to the mortal danger of being wiped out in a nuclear war.

The formal organization of the broad political front could help to change Turkey's political orientation and serve the cause of its national salvation. That is why the address to the people issued by our party's CC in the autumn of last year said: "There is no time to lose! Unite for struggle against the dictatorship of the junta, against its aggressive, anti-democratic policy, and against its line of supporting the military preparations of the United States and NATO!"¹³

The CP Turkey believes that one condition for turning Turkey into a factor of peace is above all the dismantling of the U.S. bases and bilateral military agreements with Washington. It calls on all the peace-loving forces for joint action for the following concrete demands:

- remove nuclear weapons from the country's territory; use the historical opportunity offered by the Soviet Union, which has declared that it is prepared to undertake not to use nuclear weapons against countries where such are not deployed;

- cut short any attempt by the U.S. rapid deployment force to use Turkey's territory;

- stop the spy flights from U.S. and NATO bases in Turkey immediately; remove from our country all U.S. AWACS planes equipped with long-range radar surveillance systems;

- withdraw Turkish troops from Cyprus without any preliminary conditions; solve the Cyprus issue through continued inter-communal negotiations and an international conference under UN auspices; assure Cyprus of independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and non-alignment;

- oppose the plans to deploy new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe; support the Soviet proposals on the maintenance of peace in Europe;

- abandon the increase in military spending and plans for the purchase and starting of production of U.S. military aircraft.

Realization of these proposals would create the conditions for ending our country's dependence on U.S. imperialism and so weaken the positions of its Turkish satraps, the collaborationist monopoly bourgeoisie.

The NATO propagandists claim that Turkey has no alternative but orientation toward NATO, which is allegedly alone capable of defending it from some "threat" from the

North. But we seek to show to the masses of people that the threat to our country's independence and very existence does not come from Moscow but from Washington and NATO's headquarters.

Throughout the whole of its history, the Soviet Union has sought to have good-neighborly relations with Turkey based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation. This socialist foreign policy is especially important now in this atmosphere of heightened international tensions and a real danger of the NATO bloc starting a nuclear missile war, in which, given the present conditions, Turkey would be inevitably embroiled. That is why we keep explaining the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Thus, there has been a great resonance in Turkey to the Warsaw Treaty countries' Political Declaration of January 5, 1983, which they issued at their meeting in Prague. On January 20, 1983, the CPT CC sent a demand to Turkey's National Security Council that it should examine right away the proposals contained in the Prague Declaration which have a bearing on our country.

Experience shows that the development of equitable economic relations with the socialist countries, which have a sizable economic potential, turns out to have a beneficial effect not only on the condition of the workers and peasants, but also of the middle strata and the numerous groups of the national non-monopoly bourgeoisie. In the view of the CP Turkey, such cooperation would help the country to create the material basis for economic independence and would promote our people's struggle for its national liberation and social emancipation.

There is an international law basis for the establishment of such relations. It is, in particular, the 1972 Turkish-Soviet Declaration and the 1978 Political Document. Both diplomatic acts provide for a repudiation by Turkey and the USSR of the use or threat of force in bilateral and international relations, and also of the making available of their territory for aggression and subversive acts against other states. Once Turkey made these principles the basis of its foreign policy, it would ensure its own national independence and could go on to non-alignment and the establishment of friendly relations with all states, the socialist countries in the first place.

* * *

U.S. imperialism and NATO bear the responsibility for the unprecedented arms race,

which keeps diverting more and more manpower, material and financial resources and poses a threat to humankind and life itself on the globe. In the course of NATO's 30-year activity, the peoples have come to realize that it is one of the main instruments used by the aggressive circles of imperialism in their attempts to weaken the forces of socialism, national liberation, and the working-class and democratic movements.

Europe's vital interests and the interests of the working people in our country dictate the need to step up the struggle against the militaristic plans of the aggressive bloc and against NATO as a source of tension. The way to solve our national problems and to strengthen our sovereignty and security is to set up a united front of democratic forces, to cut short the attempts to involve Turkey in Middle East gambles, and to prevent it from being turned into a partner of the United States in preparing another war against the socialist states. It is a way not only for Turkey but for similar other countries as well. That would be their great contribution to the peoples' struggle for peace, which is growing in scale everywhere.

1. NATO was set up in 1949 and initially included the United States, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Canada, Italy, Portugal, Norway, Denmark and Iceland. In 1952, it was joined by Turkey and Greece. In 1955, by the FRG and in 1982, by Spain. In 1966, France announced its withdrawal from NATO's military organization. Iceland is not a part of its military planning committee. Felipe Gonzalez, the Spanish Prime Minister, announced in December of last year his intention to halt the process of his country's entry into NATO's military system and to hold a referendum on the country's participation in the bloc itself. — Ed.

2. *Türkiye Komünist Partisi, Program*, p. 10.

3. *Mustafe Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938)*, founder and first President of the Turkish Republic.

4. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 52, p. 302 (in Russian).

5. It was initially called the Baghdad Pact. Apart from Turkey, it included Great Britain, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan. The United States, while not being a formal member of the outfit, took part in the work of its committees and had bilateral military-political agreements with its members. In 1959, Iraq withdrew from the Treaty, and this led to a change in its name. In August 1979, CENTO was officially dissolved. — Ed.

6. *Die Wahrheit*, January 19, 1983.

7. *Hürriyet*, December 30, 1982.

8. *Milliyet*, January 22, 1983.

9. *Milliyet*, May 9, 1982.

10. The Turkish for "built in one night." These are hovels hastily erected by the homeless from various odds and ends to make use of the hypocritical law which prohibits the destruction of any dwelling which has a roof over it. — Ed.

11. Big landowners leasing land to tenants who pay for the plot in cash and with a large share of their crop and work on the landlord's fields. — Ed.

12. *Yeni Çağ*, No. 12, December 12, 1982, p. 1224.

13. *Atilim*, October 16, 1982.

Nothing has been the same since Malvinas

Athos Fava
General Secretary,
Communist Party of Argentina

The Malvinas events led to a sharp increase in the Latin American peoples' resistance to imperialist designs. They lent fresh vigor to the spirit of Latin American brotherhood fostered by the ideas of San Martin, Bolivar and Marti and uniting the peoples and governments of the continent in solidarity with the just cause of defending the sovereignty of Argentina. Increased anti-imperialist patriotic sentiment upset the mechanism used by the U.S. government for political and military control over Latin America. The positions of the Organization of American States (OAS), TIAR¹ and Inter-American Defense Council were seriously undermined and the Monroe Doctrine was discredited more than ever. In the same period Washington was compelled to slacken its pressure on Cuba, Nicaragua and El Salvador. The victory of democratic forces in Bolivia, which met with widespread response in the South Cone,² delivered a further blow to the system of U.S. domination. It was also a success for the Argentine nation, just as the problem of the Malvinas became the cause of the Bolivian and other peoples of the continent. Siles Zuazo, the new President of Bolivia, put it aptly when he said that Latin America should be "Malvinized."

The Malvinas conflict and the changes brought about in Bolivia gave a new spur to the democratization process in the region. Evidence of this was the outcome of the November 1982 elections in Brazil and Uruguay, where the people rejected reactionary military regimes and expressed their will for progressive changes. Socialist Cuba, heroic Nicaragua and new Grenada are bastions of anti-imperialist solidarity on our continent.

President Reagan himself has admitted that relations between Washington and Latin America deteriorated after Malvinas. But this crisis is not the only cause. There is also the U.S. attitude toward Central America and the Caribbean (support for genocidal regimes, sorties against Cuba and Nicaragua, the "dirty war" against the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala, the construction of military bases in Honduras), as well as toward countries of the

South Cone, where Washington's attempts to back the most reactionary governments fall through.

A meeting of the communist parties of the South Cone held in Lima last November, with a delegation of the Communist Party of Ecuador attending, pointed out that all this had made for the rise of a vast and powerful anti-imperialist movement of Latin American peoples and governments. Events confirmed the conclusions of the Havana Conference of the Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean (1975) about their solid unity and their consensus on the assessment of the situation in the world and on the continent.

Anti-imperialist solidarity rose to a new and higher plane during the Malvinas crisis. The communist and workers' parties of the world demonstrated by deeds their internationalism, which joins together the revolutionary aspirations of the working class everywhere and now finds expression in a most active struggle for peace. Exchanges of opinion effected by our party with the CPSU and the fraternal parties of the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, Portugal, the USA, France, Brazil, Peru, Uruguay, Chile, and other countries resulted in important agreements, joint moves and statements which induced the masses to show greater solidarity with the Argentine people. Emphasis should be laid on the special significance of the actions of the Communist Party and Young Communist League of Great Britain as well as the CPUSA.

The parties and anti-imperialist forces of Latin America took a most active stand. The Lima meeting pointed out in its declaration that the significance of Malvinas "consists primarily in its bringing about an explosion of anti-imperialist sentiment unprecedented in the history of the continent for scale and simultaneity . . . The crisis revealed a new alignment of forces making it possible to call for putting inter-American relations on other organizational and legal foundations."³ Expressing solidarity "with the Argentine people's legitimate claim to their sovereign title to the Malvinas Islands," the meeting called in a separate

resolution for "preparations to give stronger support to the proposal to end British colonial occupation on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of this unlawful act."⁴

The British-Argentine conflict should be considered in the context of the global strategy of imperialism. That strategy is geared to atomic war, which the USA and NATO are planning and in which they assign a corresponding place and role to Argentina and the South Atlantic. Britain was the immediate executor but the United States bears the chief responsibility for the aggression against the Malvinas.

In March 1982, or shortly before the events, our party called attention to the particularly bellicose character of U.S. policy in Central America and the Caribbean. It warned public opinion that both British and U.S. imperialism planned to turn the Malvinas into a bridgehead of their own by taking advantage of the Argentine people's lawful aspiration to regain their sovereignty over the islands.

The bloodshed in the South Atlantic fully brought out the duplicity of U.S. imperialism as the peoples' chief enemy. Discarding the mask of neutral, well-meaning mediator which it had put on at the beginning of the crisis, Washington gave diplomatic and military support to the British colonialists while at the same time preparing to adopt punitive sanctions against Argentina. That was when the so-called Free Ocean Plan,⁵ approved by the U.S. National Security Council in 1980, was made public. Under this plan, Britain is to retain the islands in the South Atlantic, the aim being to set up a military base at the confluence of the Indian, Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Having control of the Diego Garcia and Ascension islands and the Beagle Channel zone disputed by Argentina and Chile, NATO would thus gain control of strategic sea routes for the passage of warships and oil shipping (particularly important if it were impossible to use the Panama and Suez canals) plus something like a master key giving direct access to Antarctica. In other words, an attempt is being made to secure geographical space for an aggressive military bloc to be made up of South Atlantic countries and racist South Africa.

The plan is also geared to a world war and aimed at putting down the liberation struggles of the peoples of Latin America and Africa as well as at gaining access to the immense natural resources of seas and continental shelves (oil, minerals and fish). It encompasses the vast territory of Argentina's Patagonia laid waste by the domination of latifundia owners and imperialist monopolies.

The plan remained valid after the conflict, and imperialism strengthened its military presence in the region. The Malvinas were in fact transformed into a gigantic unsinkable aircraft carrier, a powerful British military base equipped with submarines and nuclear arms and serving NATO. A negotiated settlement of the Malvinas conflict within the framework of the UN is now part of the struggle for world peace and against the arms race being escalated by imperialism.

For the first time in this century, Argentina went bodily through war and all its consequences. Our people learned by experience that in the face of imperialist aggression there can be neither neutrality, nor indifference, let alone political speculation on confrontation. But this was not seen by the Argentine military (some did not want to see and others could not) who misestimated the likely reaction of Britain, to say nothing of that of the USA, which understandably remained loyal to its own creation, NATO, and gave preference to its chief ally in the aggressive bloc.

Prior to the conflict, Argentina's rulers tried to nullify or at least to neutralize the more positive aspects of Argentine foreign policy. Under imperialist pressure they did their best to remove what they called the "dark aspects" of that policy, meaning Argentina's participation in the non-aligned movement, its rejection of the "grain" blockade against the Soviet Union and its steady extension of trade and cultural relations with socialist countries, including Cuba. Also, reactionaries were very much against the principles laid down in the Paso de los Libres communiqué signed by Brazil and Argentina (May 1981) urging respect for the rights of the Palestinian people, condemning the racist regime of South Africa and rejecting the idea of forming aggressive alliances in the South Atlantic. It was a period when plans were being hatched to turn Argentina into an imperialist trading station and a bridgehead for action against fraternal peoples and when the involvement of Argentine "advisers" in the narcofascist coup⁶ in Bolivia, the war against the people of El Salvador and preparations for aggression against Nicaragua was disclosed.

But as soon as the Malvinas conflict broke out, the historical contradictions between Argentina and its Latin American neighbors, on the one hand, and the United States, on the other, came to the surface. Between April and June 1982, Argentina followed a most positive foreign policy. Latin American foreign ministries and international organizations of the region began to stress the need to strengthen relations among the countries of the continent

and voices were raised calling for an end to antiquated Pan-Americanism, for active participation in the non-aligned movement and the promotion of relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which had shown themselves to be "trustworthy friends." With the inevitability of "orientation to the West" called in question, the place of Argentina and Latin America in the world came up for discussion.

Immediately after the end of hostilities in the Malvinas, the U.S. imperialists and their Latin American puppets set out to "de-Malvinize" relations between Washington and Latin American countries in an effort to make our peoples forget who played the role of their treacherous enemy during the conflict.

In this changed situation, Buenos Aires' foreign policy is becoming erratic. The top military, who have regrouped after their defeat, are trying to patch up relations with the United States. In the UN and OAS, however, Argentina seeks a positive decision on the Malvinas problem; it has voted for electing Nicaragua to the UN Security Council and for granting Puerto Rico the right to self-determination, signed a joint document with Mexico and Venezuela concerning the principle of non-interference in Central America's affairs and extended its relations with the non-aligned movement. At the same time Argentina does not support steps to give concrete shape to the new spirit of Latin American unity born of Malvinas by refusing to support a proposal for a restructuring of inter-American agencies that show cracks (OAS and TIAR) or a joint discussion of the problem of the external debt. What is particularly dangerous, however, is the existence of a parallel diplomacy based on militant anti-communism and making itself felt already. It uses secret channels and is coordinated by secret services and cleared with the CIA.

Argentine foreign policy during the Malvinas events tended to get rid of this kind of diplomacy (virtually equivalent to the use of paramilitary "special purpose groups"⁷ inside the country). Afterwards the dominant tendency was to dissociate from the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist impact of those events and to go back to the earlier policy. But it would be wrong to consider that after the Malvinas military defeat Argentina returned to where it had been. Today the international consequences of the conflict show in the unresolved crisis of the inter-American system as an expression of the broader crisis of relations between Latin America and the United States. Argentina has come to know by experience the qualitative difference in the attitude of the im-

perialist camp and the socialist community to developing countries. Hence the increasingly keen awareness of the need for an independent foreign policy serving world peace. Such a policy can only be based on respect for the right of nations to self-determination, Latin American solidarity and active non-alignment, as well as on the principles of mutual respect and mutually beneficial relations with all countries, primarily with those pursuing no imperialist aims.

The Malvinas war called in question the system of dependence on U.S. imperialism throughout Latin America. And now Washington is making feverish efforts to patch up spoiled relations in its "backyard," the "security shield of the New World and the sword of expansion of U.S. global power,"⁸ to quote the "Santa Fé Document." The primary purpose of Reagan's tour of Latin America was to tackle precisely this difficult task. But the aggravation of the crisis in the USA itself and its repercussions in dependent countries south of the Rio Grande are adding to existing contradictions, making for even stronger resistance to U.S. policy and for anti-imperialist sentiments.

To patch up its relations with Argentina and other Latin American countries, the United States did not hesitate to modify its position in the UN. It is trying to disguise its plans aimed at perpetuating our country's dependence by means of what it calls "economic aid" and a "democratization policy." It is prompted by a comparative erosion of economic, political and military influence in a region where there is a mounting trend toward greater independence. This trend is a result of the aggravation of internal economic, social and political contradictions. It manifests itself even among certain sections of the ruling classes themselves showing readiness to reduce in one way or another the degree of subjection to the dictates of the northern neighbor and to strengthen their positions so as to pursue a more autonomous policy. However, the decisive factor for this trend is still the people's anti-imperialist struggle in the most diverse forms. Malvinas made it possible to advance more radical demands ranging from a revision of unequal relations to rupture with imperialism. But this understandably involves serious difficulties.

Our country's dependence on imperialism is still there. Its degree in Argentina as in other Latin American countries is determined by many realities, including an increased foreign debt plus the losses incurred through high interest rates, unequal terms of exchange and a permanent deficit in trade with the United States. Technology and arms deliveries have

become an instrument of U.S. domination. This is what enabled the USA, Britain and the European Common Market to apply punitive economic, trade and financial sanctions during the Malvinas conflict in violation of international law. Washington also uses private banks, primarily U.S. banks, as a means of economic warfare. For instance, their share in the loans granted to Argentina between 1979 and April 1982 rose from 20 to 40 per cent. At a time when the national economy was desperately short of capital and many industries were abolished, a large part of these funds was diverted to financial speculation, with great detriment to production and with increased imperialist penetration of our economy as a result.

The growth and diversification of the industry and exports of some Latin American countries are strengthening their foreign policy positions. Their economy is gaining strength, making for closer economic relations inside the region and more extensive trade with non-aligned countries, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The significance of these factors became all the more evident after the Malvinas conflict. At present over one-third of Argentine exports goes to the socialist community, which allows our country to resist U.S. imperialist pressure more effectively and to carry on a more independent foreign policy.

Malvinas left a deep mark on the Argentine people's consciousness. The fact is that shortly before the events in the South Atlantic (six years after the 1976 coup) a new situation was shaping in the country. Its two basic characteristics were a *political crisis at the top and mounting anger at the grass roots*, with the people demanding democratization and a revision of economic policy.⁹

In the atmosphere of the growing instability of the new military team, a ferment in the armed forces and discord within the ruling clique itself as well as the privileged sectors backing it, the anger and protest of the working class and the people as a whole surged higher than ever. On March 30, 1982 they took the form of powerful demonstrations that were brutally crushed. This happened a few days before the Argentine landing on the Malvinas.

Most of the reasons that accounted for and hastened the government's decision to regain sovereignty over the Malvinas were sound enough. But in analyzing that complex reality (and bearing in mind the Argentines' healthy patriotic sentiments), there is no discounting the regime's desire to escape failure and political shipwreck in that way. However, the results of an action are sometimes unpredictable. Hegel spoke of the perfidy of history. The Ar-

gentine regime's move had unexpected consequences at home and abroad, for it was directed against Britain, one of the closest allies of the United States.

The essential aspect of the situation that emerged at the threshold of the conflict in the South Atlantic was the higher level achieved by the process of building up reserves in the democratic and popular camp. After Malvinas this camp was joined by new forces. The situation was also marked by greatly increased patriotic sentiment. Neither the imperialists, nor the military government suspected that the Argentine people would be equal to taking the defense of their legitimate title to the Malvinas into their own hands and to linking the struggle for this just cause with the fight for democracy, a changed economic policy and national sovereignty with all its internal and external concomitants — territorial, economic, political, cultural and diplomatic. The degree of maturity attained by the masses found concentrated expression in the slogan: "*We demand sovereignty over the Malvinas, bread, peace, work and freedom.*"

Reaction is now trying to make people forget all this. It wants to prevent the struggle for democracy from linking up with the struggle against dependence so as to set up a barrier to the rise of a new Argentina. Malvinas showed like a gigantic magnifying glass many problems and secret links, which imperialist aggression brought to light. It also showed how very illusory is the boundary line separating "conventional" from nuclear war. The "manufacturers of death" turned the area of the conflict into a testing ground for new weapons and the tentacles of NATO reached out as far as the South Atlantic. The Argentine people saw once again that imperialism ignores geographical frontiers, which it extends through a system of aggressive pacts. Any tension may lead to an undeclared war; however, even conventional war involves more and more bloodshed today.

The colonialists' aggression revealed the faces of both the real enemies and true friends of Argentina. To say that everything has been different since Malvinas is not a mere turn of speech. We will never forget Latin America's solidarity (above all on the part of Cuba and Nicaragua) or the resolve of peoples and governments to defend our national cause as they might have their own. This translated into numerous actions and moves of good will, especially by young people who volunteered for active service in their thousands. The Argentines will always remember that the non-aligned movement, the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community backed

them. Inside the country, the dividing line between liberation and dependence, between the condition of an imperialist trading post and the status of a sovereign nation, between those who would like to perpetuate bondage to transnationals and those who advocate far-reaching political and economic changes, became clear-cut. This is why the Argentine people were ready to make any sacrifice, nor was their resolve a mere emotional reaction, let alone an expression of support for a regime they rejected.

By realizing the possibility of a new road, the people of Argentina made an advance toward stronger anti-imperialist consciousness, toward awareness of their place in the struggle, of the independent and decisive role which the working class and the masses had to play. They realized that the outcome of the struggle against the imperialist enemy is not decided by arms alone but also by the action of the masses.

No sooner had the conflict broken out than we communists stated that had there been a democratic government enjoying confidence of the people, the country could have achieved victory, but by other means, by mobilizing the masses, seeking support from international organizations and securing the solidarity of the peoples of the world and friendly governments.

The proletariat was the decisive social force in the Malvinas war as soldiers at the front, workers in the factories and volunteers offering their all — their labor and their blood. It was they who had suffered most from the regime's policy (carried on since the 1976 coup), a policy characterized by illegal arrests, torture, dismissal, the dissolution of trade union organizations, the abolition of the gains of labor, martial law, and a ban on political activity. In spite of all this, in spite of the conciliating, not to say divisive or even frankly defeatist attitude of certain trade union leaders, the working people closed their ranks throughout the country when the war began; they set up people's committees and civil defense centers.

Meanwhile the trade union leadership rejected the solidarity offered by the World Federation of Trade Unions on behalf of more than 200 million working people, and fruitlessly solicited support from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (70 million), whose top leaders came out in defense of Britain and the United States.

In the working-class movement of Argentina, too, everything has been different since the crisis. The working people's political and social awareness has risen to a new level, particularly in the case of those influenced by Peronism, and they have swung farther to the left. A

new leadership — one linked with the rank and file — is emerging in the trade unions. The methods of the struggle for various demands and for democracy have come into line with the new level of consciousness and mobilization attained in a short span of time. This was shown by the April 10 demonstrations, which differed from earlier mass actions against the policy of the military dictatorship by virtue of their anti-colonialist demands and their marked anti-imperialist trend. The same changes found expression in the strikes and demonstrations that took place in the closing months of 1982.

As soon as the conflict began it became obvious that there was no ruling the country any further without heeding the people's mood, let alone against their interests. That is why we communists proposed to channel the people's participation in the struggle organizationally. We called for the formation of *committees for the defense of sovereignty and democracy* to coordinate and back operations on the war front and resistance to imperialism's agents on the home front. It was necessary to rally all patriots and all supporters of democracy and find an emergency political way out of the situation. Yet the military government had no intention of renouncing authoritarian rule. It denied the masses and their organizations proper information on developments and refused to consult them or bring them into decision-making. Some political leaders withdrew into the shell of "patriotic silence" or concentrated on internal quarrels while unity of action at the grass roots was growing.

The war made it still more imperative to lead *Multipartidaria*,¹⁰ the leading civilian political organization, out of a comparative stagnation. The grave situation that had arisen called for steps to unite political forces, coordinate their efforts, and put an end to passivity. It was necessary to establish contact with those among the military who were prepared to go on fighting against colonialism and pave the way for democratic change.

The Communist Party declared itself ready to do its duty and launched the slogan "Long live the country. We shall win." This slogan gave expression to the aspirations of the masses, who were more determined than some trade union and political leaders, to say nothing of the top military.

Political changes occurred among the working class and the people. One of the more important of them was the rise of a movement for the re-establishment of republican constitutional power institutions. The period following the crisis was marked by initiatives on the part

of many political forces, the growing leverage of the Communist Party, an upturn in the activity of Multipartidaria, street actions by the masses, the general strike called on December 6 and the mass demonstration on December 16 in which diverse political currents took part. These developments did not come about spontaneously, nor were they brought about by the military defeat alone; they were a result of the increased consciousness and activity of the masses.

Everything has been different since Malvinas in the military environment as well. The test to which the armed forces were put ended in a moral breakdown. Their duality came out: the patriotism and courage of privates, NCOs and officers, on the one hand, and defeatist sentiments and a kind of inferiority, on the other. Such inferiority is typical of an army trained for anti-popular repression and bred to the doctrine of "national security" and "internal front." The dilemma facing the armed forces is either to be a praetorian guard or the armed fist of the people, Orestes Ghioldi, prominent leader of our party, said.¹¹

Differentiation in the armed forces became more marked than before. It expressed itself at all levels as a nationalist, patriotic tendency that assumed an anti-imperialist character in some cases. This was also seen in the fact that many military men turned in diplomas and decorations received earlier in the United States, considering them an affront.

Furthermore, there emerged a different type of nationalism, one that shows a deeper understanding of the meaning of national sovereignty and is anti-U.S. and anti-colonialist. This is creating the prerequisites of the rise of anti-imperialist consciousness.

Patriotic sentiments, which lead in some troop units to spontaneous rallies and meetings, are strongest among privates, NCOs and some officers. Most of these are young men who distinguished themselves in the battle of the Malvinas. It is they who see the need to reject the Pentagon's doctrine and the idea of training the army for action against the people and who want the country to rely on its own military technology and put an end to dependence on the USA and NATO.

Reactionary army officers are trying to stop this process by brainwashing military personnel and stepping up repression while at the same time putting forward pseudo-nationalist postulates. Those among the military who are more inclined to make up fast with the USA detected the danger of a split in the armed forces and so hastened to set about "de-

Malvinizing" them in order to prevent the development of a healthy nationalist trend. This is leading to greater dependence of Argentina on imperialism and involvement in its ventures and to the preservation of "special purpose groups." The underlying purpose of "de-Malvinization" is to turn the army into a purely professional body, thereby isolating it from the people still more. While joint maneuvers with U.S. troops have been suspended, the relevant agreements stand and U.S. missions have returned to their posts in Argentine army headquarters.

Democratization of the armed forces is a necessity if real and lasting democracy is to be established. In the public debate on this subject now under way, we communists insist on the need to define the functions of the army according to the constitution and to create a genuine army of the people, preserving compulsory military service. Our party considers that the military doctrine proceeding from U.S. imperialist strategy must be renounced in favor of a concept of national defense based on full and undivided national sovereignty. Military training, armaments and appropriations for the army must be in keeping with the needs and real possibilities of the country and help carry on an independent policy for peace ruling out any arms race in the region. We want the army to participate in development programs for energy, industry and agriculture ensuring national independence.

Our goal at this stage is to fight for the restoration of democracy and republican institutions and demand respect for the constitution. Now as in the past, the road to this leads through mass action. True and lasting democracy can be won only under the leadership of the proletariat and provided there is proper unity, organization and mobilization. Conditions for this mass struggle have improved since Malvinas. The war brought repression and the surrender of national positions to imperialism to the limit.

However, there are forces in Argentina that would like to stop the ongoing uptrend in democracy by forcible means, through a coup. Others are trying to stay in power and preserve their positions with the aid of reforms. As for the ruling élite, it wants in general to impose its terms on any future government.

The communists seek elections without any restrictions. We insist on the need for a program agreement on a minimum of problems of this period of transition, of normalizing the domestic situation. This agreement should encourage participation of the masses as the chief motive power for change and reflect the position of all

those sectors — civilian and military, governmental and non-governmental — that are calling for the restoration of republican and democratic standards of life. We have put forward a specific program of struggle for the working class and the people as a whole.

The ideas advanced by the communists have brought response. Their proposal for political unity is already embodied in Multipartidaria, an alliance which can become an alternative authority and should therefore be extended by enlisting the participation of the most diverse population groups. A debate is going on about program agreements to effect a transition to democracy and about the nature and motive forces of the current period. There is growing conviction in society that a halt must be called to the practice of coups fraught with civil war and that the country needs a form of government based on a platform which can lift Argentina out of the morass of crisis and embark it on a policy of national progress and social well-being.

To restore civil freedoms and republican institutions is a requisite of advancing to real and durable democracy and of a further unrelenting struggle for people's power with a new socio-political content, the power that will mark the beginning of more far-reaching transformations and so pave the way for socialism.

Argentina is entering a new stage also because it has been able to prevent Pinochetism from going on the rampage in the country. We have worked for this ever since the 1976 coup.

Our party has a clear vision of the objectives set before the masses by the socio-political development process. In a matter of months, the working class and the people of Argentina have travelled a road which in a different context would have taken them years. Today we communists enjoy greater influence and support among the working people and youth than before. Our immediate task is to secure full and equal participation in the elections, which will offer us better opportunities for further action. We have never stopped fighting for legalization, nor have we ever given ground under the blows of reaction. Tens of thousands of people have sought admission to our ranks since the Malvinas conflict. In a few months, over 80,000 people declared in support of the right of the CPA to join in elections.

The country finds itself in a new situation and so does the Communist Party. There are opportunities for us communists now to reap the fruits of the efforts patiently made by us during the grim and dark period of reaction and to lay the groundwork for the transformation of

our party into a mass party thinking of its new and still more responsible role.

1. Inter-American Treaty on Mutual Assistance, signed in Rio de Janeiro in 1947 — Ed.
2. The countries of the southern part of the continent: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay. — Ed.
3. *Comentarios*, January 1983, p. 31.
4. *PCU Boletín exterior*, 12/1982, p. 32.
5. *Anales. Política exterior argentina*, 3/1982.
6. The military clique that ruled Bolivia in the past was closely linked with international drug traffic. — Ed.
7. Armed groups of terrorists formed by reaction to fight progressives. — Ed.
8. *Estudios*, March 1981, p. 22.
9. For details on the CPA attitude in that period, see Athos Fava, "Argentina: A Political Alternative Does Exist," in *WMR* No. 5, 1981, and Athos Fava, "At the Threshold of Inevitable Changes," in *WMR* No. 12, 1981.
10. Multi-party alliance formed in 1981; it comprises five organizations: the Civic Radical Union, Justicialist Party, Integration and Development Movement, Christian Democratic Federation, and Intransigence Party. — Ed.
11. Orestes Ghioldi, *Escritos y discursos*, Buenos Aires, 1982, Vol. 2, p. 99.

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The CPN and mass movements

Hans I. Kleven

Chairman, Communist Party of Norway

"Peace is the important thing." These are the opening words of the declaration of political principles adopted by the 17th congress of the Communist Party of Norway (1981), which described the struggle for peace as the party's chief task. Subsequently this thesis was carried forward in a number of CPN documents.

Our effort today is spearheaded against nuclear armaments.

This was stressed in the above declaration as follows: "The Communist Party of Norway regards the struggle against the deployment of new nuclear weapons in Europe and for a nuclear-free Northern Europe as the most pressing task of Norway's peace policy. In the face of party and other differences, the Norwegian people demand more and more emphatically that the Storting resolve not to allow the use of nuclear arms by Norway or the launching of such arms from our soil in any circumstances, and that a nuclear-free zone encompassing Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland be established. This zone should be finalized in a treaty guaranteed by the great powers."

To be sure, the struggle against the war menace cannot be a communist privilege. The problem is of vital importance to the whole labor movement and goes far beyond its bounds. The defense of peace is a matter for all democrats, that is, not only for anti-war groups but for political parties, women's and youth organizations, fishermen's cooperatives, agricultural and other associations and sports societies. However, it is to no small degree a matter for the trade unions, or the working people's largest mass organization.

The Norwegian labor movement has a long-standing anti-war tradition. Its struggle for democratic rights and a better life for the working person has always gone hand in hand with actions against the war menace and for stronger international solidarity.

Anti-imperialist sentiments, now widespread, were very strong among workers even before World War II. As for the social democrats, they were visibly influenced by pacifism at the time. This expressed itself in their support of the slogan "Smash your rifle." It was a

tendency due, among other things, to the strong influence of anarcho-syndicalism.

With the development of state-monopoly capitalism and with more than half of the revenues of the state and the municipalities made up of direct and indirect taxes on wages, the trade unions have to tackle new and bigger tasks. They find themselves in an increasingly grim confrontation with the economic policy of the bourgeois state. In fighting on for higher pay, shorter hours and better working conditions, the trade unions are becoming more keenly aware of the need for an economic policy that could become the common policy of the labor movement. And of course, they are also faced with the need to take a more explicit stand on major foreign policy issues of today. The more important of these issues have to do with détente, and end to the arms race, and disarmament.

The trade unions' position on these issues has a long record, as I have noted. Actions against war and militarism, against imperialism and fascism, have deep historical roots in Norway. What is new, however, is that to defend peace and bring about disarmament is now more necessary than ever before in human history. The appearance of nuclear arms has lent a new quality to the consequences of a possible war and hence to the struggle to stave it off. This has understandably had its effect on the position of trade unions. Indeed, for objective reasons, this struggle now holds an appreciable place in their effort. The anti-war movement can no longer be just an activity like any other. Today it involves virtually every aspect of trade union life. More and more people are coming to realize this.

Lately, and more particularly since the late 70s, when U.S. imperialism and NATO started a new round of the arms race, increasing the war danger, the struggle for peace has noticeably gained in intensity everywhere. This is also the case in our country. But changes in the composition and effort of the peace forces are not identical, nor do they follow a direct line either in Norway, or in other West European

countries. They take a variety of forms and differ in content.

Speaking of our country, we are in the presence of a steady extension of the social, political and ideological dimensions of the struggle against war. This is particularly true of the newly-formed nation-wide movement No to Nuclear Arms, which comprises diverse social forces but is neutral in regard to party politics. It includes also individual participants. Any organization may support both the movement and its actions without, however, belonging to it. The platform of the movement contains the following three key demands:

- reduce nuclear armaments in West and East;
- ban the deployment of nuclear weapons in Norway in both peace and war time;
- make Northern Europe a nuclear-free zone.

The majority of Norwegians support these demands. So far over 540,000 of them have signed a relevant appeal to the Storting and the government.

The No to Nuclear Arms movement goes on developing. Its practical demands, in particular the demand for the transformation of Norway into a nuclear-free zone, are widely supported. The platform adopted by the movement is consistently upheld by the movement's leadership. Attempts were made to extend it beyond the framework of protest against nuclear arms alone. However, they were rejected in the interest of concentrating on what is the paramount issue right now.

We communists fully subscribe to the reasonable and correct line of the No to Nuclear Arms movement. Its consistent and determined line is creating the prerequisites of providing a broad base for active effort. In a few years the movement has gained prestige and considerable support among the people. Uncompromising struggle against every nuclear weapon is the common denominator uniting all peace fighters.

Until recently, however, the core of the movement was made up chiefly of young people, women and intellectuals, which, incidentally, is typical of the majority of peace forces. The working class and its unions were not prominent in it.

Last autumn the situation changed noticeably. The trade unions began to take greater interest and join more actively in the defense of peace. A statement released by 19 key representatives of a number of unions said: "Norway must not help build bases for medium-range missiles, and its contribution to the imple-

mentation of the military program must be reduced accordingly."

The struggle for peace and détente finds itself in the focus of attention of all trade union congresses, which have already passed important resolutions on the problem. The congress of the federation of Mining Workers, for one, included in its rules a demand for anti-war action.

Preparations are under way throughout the country for this summer's mass actions against war. The 20-day Peace March 83, planned to start from Eidsvoll in the south on July 10 and finish in the northern city of Trondheim, will be the chief event. Its slogans will be "No to Nuclear Weapons in Norway" and "No to the Deployment of New Missiles in Europe." There are to be many other demonstrations as well as festivals for peace and against the threat of nuclear war. They will involve tens of thousands. The sponsors are the Women's Committee for Peace, which organized anti-war marches in Europe in 1981 and 1982, the Norwegian Peace Committee and a number of other organizations grouping people of different political convictions, professions and ages.

In October 1982 the Central Board of the CPN circulated a directive to party organizations on current political activity for peace. Communists in trade unions, the directive said, must work to ensure that the unions step up their actions against the war danger. We also have a stake in the central leadership of the trade unions joining in this effort to a greater extent.

"The struggle of the trade union movement for better working and living conditions," the CPN pointed out, "must be closely linked with the demand for cuts in military spending." This is particularly valid now that unemployment in Norway is assuming threatening proportions. To stop the reduction of jobs, it is necessary, in particular, that funds earmarked for military purposes be switched to civilian needs. An important task is to show greater perseverance in bringing it home to the trade union membership that the arms race does not help create jobs but, on the contrary, leads to greater unemployment, and at the same time to illustrate the enormous waste of material resources and labor which it involves. Karl Marx was only too right in comparing war in the directly economic respect to a nation's jettisoning part of its capital.

As regards so vast a popular movement as No to Nuclear Arms, which encompasses diverse social and political forces, we do not think that the trade unions should operate in it as a special group. They should join vigorously in common actions, staying on an equal footing with other participants and retaining their independence.

In other words, we agree with the movement on this point.

In the struggle against the war danger there are tasks which the trade unions have in common with other organizations championing détente. At the same time, however, the unions pursue specifically trade union goals. We communists consider that they must also work for peace on their own.

In Norway as in other Scandinavian countries, the labor movement, including the trade unions, is influenced above all by the social democrats. Close cooperation and personal contacts have been established between the Norwegian Labor Party (NLP), on the one hand, and the leadership of the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions as well as leaders of most trade union centers, on the other. Also, a special body has been set up to coordinate the activities of the NLP and the trade union leadership. Every major change in NLP policy finds reflection in the position of the trade unions and vice versa. This applies in large measure to the struggle for peace.

In December 1979 the social democratic government of Norway voted for the NATO decision to deploy U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe. After the general election in the autumn of 1981, power was taken over by the conservative Høyre party. Høyre continued and even accentuated the pro-USA trend of foreign policy. Høyre cringes to Washington more than social democratic leaders did earlier. Norway is one of the NATO countries which respond with particular readiness to the wishes and demands of the United States. The U.S. administration takes advantage of this to keep up pressure on Norway's ruling quarters.

Norway plays a very important role in U.S. nuclear strategy by virtue of its geographical situation. It borders on northern areas of the Soviet Union. Its long coast abounds in fiords with convenient anchorages. Airfields, radio direction-finding stations and submarine bases are going up on our territory. The first batches of heavy U.S. military hardware to be used by U.S. Marines "in the event of a major conflict" are arriving in Central Norway. The 1983 military budget is up four per cent over last year's. In other words, it is not détente in Northern Europe that our country serves but the building up of tension.

Decisions on using Norwegian territory for military purposes are not taken in Oslo but in Washington and the Brussels headquarters of NATO. More and more Norwegians realize that their country's dependent foreign and military policy is pushing the nation to the brink of suicide, for if the United States were to start a

nuclear war, Norway could become one of the first targets. Disquiet developing into fear is spreading among the people. Resistance to the escalation of war preparations and involvement in U.S. militarist plans is growing. An increasing number of people want the country to carry on an independent security and defense policy.

These sentiments also make themselves felt in the NLP (as well as in the trade union movement, of course). Originally they were mostly typical of the party rank and file and the lower echelons of the trade union activists. But now a critical attitude to the government's "security policy" is moving to higher levels. The social democratic leadership is compelled to take account of the people's mood.

Another important fact is that the NLP is now an opposition party in parliament. It is no longer "responsible" for foreign policy and so may be said to have greater freedom of action. But while the social democrats today "oppose" the Høyre government's policy, tomorrow they may "run into themselves in the doorway," as we put it, that is, inherit their own foreign policy, if they come back to power. (I have pointed out that Høyre is virtually continuing the social democrats' policy, except that its version is worse.)

However, we communists support all that is positive in the effort of the social democrats and trade union leaders, especially in the struggle for peace. One of the positive actions taken by the NLP leadership last October was the decision to vote against appropriations needed to prepare for the siting of new U.S. nuclear missiles.

This volte-face caused a great stir, with the Right protesting more strongly than anyone else. International reaction, with Washington in the lead, was outraged in its turn. Predictably, there was a struggle inside the NLP itself. However, mounting powerful pressure from the majority of the membership forced the leaders of the right wing to change their position. The social democratic leadership could no longer ignore the people's growing resistance to appropriations for the stationing of nuclear missiles. Was its decision a traditional maneuver or a real change of policy? It must have been a combination of both.

Late in January 1983, a commission set up by the NLP to study the party's armament policy published its findings. While taking a stand against the deployment of U.S. Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles in Western Europe, the commission declared at the same time for a reduction of the number of Soviet medium-range missiles. With reference to the report of the

Palme Commission,* which stated that there is rough military parity between the United States and the Soviet Union, Norwegian experts expressed the conviction that "neither side can hope to win a nuclear war." They see talks as the only way out of a dangerous confrontation.

The NLP commission supported the idea of freezing all nuclear weapons at the present level whereupon partial agreement should be reached on medium-range systems. It is very important that in its view "negotiations on a freeze should from the outset encompass the manufacture of Cruise missiles and their placing on aircraft and ships in the northern seas."

The present situation, the commission points out, calls for closer and more vigorous cooperation among the Nordic countries. The task of reviving the process of détente based on collective security is particularly important to Europe, for it is on this continent that "military confrontation is more dangerous than anywhere else." Therefore, the document stresses, it is necessary "to evolve forms of cooperation in Europe such as will gradually lead to a lessening of tensions."

In this context, the report notes, the campaign for regional détente, in particular for the establishment of nuclear-free zones, is very important today "for East-West détente." The NLP will join in efforts toward reducing nuclear arms in Europe and creating nuclear-free zones in the north of the continent and in the Balkans. At the same time it declares in support of the Palme Commission's proposal to establish a zone in Europe free from battlefield nuclear weapons.

It is not only a sizable section of Norway's social democrats that tend toward a change of policy. There is a similar trend in other social democratic parties of Western Europe. The Swedish social democrats, for instance, stepped up on returning to power their efforts for the transformation of Northern Europe into a nuclear-free zone that could become part of a nuclear-free continent.

In this context, international opinion showed deep interest in the Swedish government's recent proposal for the establishment in Europe of a zone free from battlefield nuclear arms. The proposal was welcomed by Bulgaria, Czecho-

slovakia, the GDR, Hungary and the Soviet Union, since such a move would help ease tensions on the continent. In turn, the socialist countries put forward some ideas intended to bring about an effective solution of so important a problem.*

Communists are the most active fighters against war. Members of our party and trade unionists make a substantial contribution to this struggle both within the organized peace movement and through other channels, including the trade unions. Our aim is to ensure that actions against the war menace assume maximum proportions and yield the greatest possible results.

We do not think there can be any social, political or ideological boundaries in this struggle. Should a nuclear holocaust come, it would destroy humanity totally and not selectively. This means that everybody has a stake in its prevention, whatever his class or party allegiance or ideas. The new movement for peace owes its vast scale to increasing awareness of this.

However, we communists cannot approach actions against war in isolation from the worldwide class struggle going on in the political and ideological spheres. The imperialists are out to split the Norwegian peace movement, to divert it from its main tasks. This must be borne in mind, and protests against these attempts must be stepped up. We expose the so-called concept of "superpowers." Its adherents equate the United States and its foreign policy with the Soviet Union and Soviet foreign policy. The conclusion they draw as a result is that the two powers are "equally dangerous."

True, even this view is a certain positive change in the thinking and attitude of some people, including many social democrats. After all, a few years ago many Norwegians looked on the United States as an innocent lamb and even as "the West's chief defender of peace and

*Meaning the report of the Independent Commission for Disarmament and Security (occasionally called the Palme Commission after the name of its Chairman), which is composed of statesmen, politicians and other public figures of 17 countries of the world and began its work in 1980. The report was prepared for submission to the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament. — Ed.

*The proposal of the Swedish government led by Olof Palme provides for a zone free from battlefield nuclear weapons that would be 300 km wide (150 km on either side of the line of contact between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries). The socialist countries, however, believe that to make the measure really effective, it would be advisable to establish a much broader zone, namely, 500 to 600 km wide, or from 250 to 300 km on either side. They consider that a 300-km zone would not reduce the nuclear danger to any reasonable degree, for the nuclear warheads removed from the zone could be rapidly moved in again and tactical aviation — one of the main components of battlefield nuclear weapons — would retain its strike force. The position of the Warsaw Treaty countries also takes account of the growing range of operational tactical missiles. — Ed.

freedom" while the Soviet Union was seen as a demon. Thus there are signs of a gradual awakening, of increasing ideological dissociation from U.S. imperialism. Norwegians are becoming "Europeanists," so to speak. But some people still find it hard to take the next step, to realize who is really endangering peace and who is defending it.

We communists have our own foreign policy concept, our own scientific, Marxist-Leninist approach to the problem of war and peace, and our own theory of imperialism. It is important to widely publicize our views among the masses and defend them. Such publicity is a component and one of the main aspects of the party's effort in defense of peace.

The key task is to join more actively in the struggle for peace and help bring diverse political forces into it. This also implies anti-war work in the trade unions. Communists must reckon with differences in views. They must help the masses tell those who are right from those who are wrong. Hence one of our objectives is to try to lend activity against war a more explicit anti-imperialist trend.

The significance of the Communist Party for the peace movement lies in the fact that our party is the only political force in Norway to regard resolute actions against war as its most important effort. However, there is no ignoring or underrating the significance of the peace movement for the Communist Party. By joining in various forms of struggle for peace, we extend contacts with people outside the party and even with those who are very far from our immediate socio-political environment. This is very important for any communist party but is perhaps of special importance for a relatively small party such as the CPN.

Feeling confident of popular support, Norway's communists have called on the government and the Storting to respond favorably to the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty countries for the conclusion of a treaty with the NATO countries on mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations. The Central Board of the CPN points out that most people are disturbed by the dangerous international situation. More and more emphatic calls are heard all over the world for an end to the nuclear arms race. The only acceptable way to avert war is fruitful negotiations between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries, between the Soviet Union and the United States, on freezing strategic armaments and on effecting stage-by-stage nuclear disarmament afterwards.

The CPN has stated that it attaches great importance to the socialist countries' appeal to

nuclear powers to commit themselves after the Soviet example to non-first use of nuclear weapons. The Prague meeting, we stress, confirmed the favorable attitude of the participating countries to the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe and declared for relevant talks. The best solution, they pointed out, would be to completely free Europe from nuclear arms. The CPN considers it necessary that the government and the Storting should support the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty countries, for this would meet the security interests of Norway and create a concrete basis for East-West talks that could lead to détente and disarmament.

The powerful upturn in the anti-war movement and its very scale provide new opportunities to strengthen the positions of the Communist Party among the people. We are not trying to make facile political capital out of the struggle for peace. This struggle is not a matter for any one party; it concerns everybody and no one has a monopoly on it. We reject and oppose unprincipled tactical maneuvering over the issue of war and peace. The people's confidence in us will grow thanks to our disinterested effort to contribute to this struggle in common with diverse forces and to our resolve to achieve real results. This is a big advantage for the party.

In the summer of 1983 Norway's communists, who will join a delegation representing every contingent of the national anti-war movement, will attend the World Assembly for Peace and Life and Against Nuclear War. This international forum is bound to constitute a notable stage in the struggle for global détente.

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OUR INTERVIEWS

SURMOUNTING CASTE PREJUDICES

Jagannath Sarkar
National Council Secretary,
Communist Party of India

Q. *It is well known that in no other Asian country today are caste distinctions so rigorous, strong, closely linked to age-old traditions as in India. What would you say are the reasons for this "viability" of these distinctions and how do they affect the CPI's work in uniting the working masses?*

A. Indeed, one of India's distinctive features is the caste system of the Hindus, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the Indian people. This system divides people on the basis of birth, language, and ethnic affiliation into innumerable separate groups. The castes are in a rigid hierarchical order, at the top of which is the most privileged of them, the Brahmin. At the bottom are harijans,¹ who are called untouchables. Even today affiliation to caste also determines a person's craft or profession.

It would be hard to describe in a few words how and why this peculiar system arose in India and why it survived through the centuries. It is enough for us to state that this archaic system continues even today, albeit in a modified form, to have a pernicious effect on Indian society. By and large, people marry in their caste. When they are born, they are placed at a certain level of the caste hierarchy, according to which they stand above certain castes and below certain others. They do not stand on terms of equality with people belonging to lower castes.

However, in many respects the development of capitalism in India has loosened the rigors of the traditional society, enmeshed in caste relations and prejudices. Following independence the semi-feudal economy has been substantially undermined, and capitalist relations have penetrated agriculture and industry. But since the transformations have taken place not by any thorough-going agrarian revolution but by the painful, slow and devious process of what Lenin characterized as the Junker method, many of the feudal, obsolete methods and practices have remained. Today the caste system receives sustenance not only from semi-feudal survivals in the economy but

also from the new capitalist elements in it. Capitalism has adjusted the caste system to the present situation in order to intensify the exploitation of people belonging to the "lower castes."

Capitalist development has led to a peculiar caste composition of the various classes. Most of the industrial workers in the older industries like mining, textiles and plantations belong to the untouchable castes, a sizable proportion of them belong to other backward castes, and only a small percentage are members of the so-called upper castes. Roughly the same pattern is to be observed in agriculture: most of the poor peasants and share-croppers belong to the lower castes. However, while in the past the feudals were exclusively of the upper castes, today among rich peasants and landowners there is a large segment of people who come from families standing on the lower rungs of the caste hierarchy.

Consequently, far from destroying the system of caste distinctions and prejudices, the development of capitalism in the peculiar conditions obtaining in India has given them a new lease on life. Capitalist elements, particularly in the countryside, skilfully whip up casteism to buttress their political position. For instance, a small but powerful stratum of rich peasants has emerged from the backward castes. This new rural bourgeoisie is fighting the surviving feudals, who, for their part, are using the panchayats² to gain control over rural society, the local administration, and even the government. By fanning the embers of caste hatred, both sides endeavor to mobilize the poor masses. But, in the long run, the exploiting sections of society, to whichever caste they may belong, resort to caste oppression of exploited people.

The masses are protesting against their exploiters, often through distorted caste forms. Their hatred is directed not against any specific rich person or the entire ruling class, but against his caste, including the exploited masses belonging to the caste of the exploiter.

There is a strong tendency in many places to set up mass organizations based on the caste principle, and these organizations are led more often than not by feudal or bourgeois elements. Such organizations divide the workers, the peasants, and the people as a whole. In some places efforts are being made to set up even trade unions based on castes. The harmful ef-

fect of such trade unions can be easily imagined.

This situation, of course, makes the task of building up unity of the working people extremely difficult. The mistrust, the prejudices, and even hatred fanned day after day by the exploiting classes create numerous hurdles for the task of building up trust and confidence among people belonging to different castes.

Q. What is the communist stand on the caste problem?

A. The CPI sees all varieties of casteism as exceedingly harmful. They generate separatism, caste-exclusiveness, and scorn for people of other castes, thus poisoning the social consciousness of the peoples inhabiting India. Communists are forbidden to speak insultingly or disrespectfully of any caste.

The CPI enjoins upon its members working in many organizations to intervene promptly wherever there is any caste tension, stand up boldly against every case of oppression and injustice and, if necessary, physically prevent perpetration of any atrocity against the lower castes. It calls upon peasants and agricultural workers belonging to every caste to rally in support of the victims of caste oppression, to defend such victims.

It is the task of the communists to explain to the working people that in the struggle against their oppressors they should not allow themselves to be influenced by age-old traditions of caste solidarity and inequality. In all party organizations we are exacting in enforcing the principle that no member of the party should display any vacillation in fighting the exploiting elements of his or her own caste. In other words, party members are obliged to fight unflinchingly those of their own caste who practise caste oppression.

The CPI categorically bans its members from joining any organization based on caste. There are, however, some social organizations of scheduled and certain other extremely backward castes among whom class differentiation has not yet taken place. The CPI considers that it is in some cases useful to send staunch communist cadre to such organizations to wean them away from exclusiveness and draw them into the general democratic movement.

We have recourse to the most diverse and sometimes seemingly unorthodox forms of struggle against caste prejudices. I'll give you an example. The caste system is eulogized and enshrined in some "scriptures" like the *Bhagwat Geeta* and the *Manu Samhita*. In spite of this, it must be explained to the people why the system based on caste distinction is harmful and should be given up. Here convincing

arguments are needed. In the Middle Ages there were many social reformers in India — Kabir, Srichaitanya and Ramanuja, to name a few — who preached against caste oppression and pleaded for equality. In order to debunk the pernicious ideas about the caste system in Brahmanical "scriptures," the CPI utilizes the preachings of these social reformers, who continue to have considerable influence even today.

I should like to emphasize that the struggle against the hated caste system has become part of the day-to-day work of the communists, especially in rural communities. But the caste system has a millennium-long history and it is not easy to destroy.

1. Harijans (literally, God's children) are the most numerous and most despised caste in India. Traditionally, they engage in professions prescribed by religious convention as "unclean" (sweepers, leather-tanners, cobblers, and others). — Ed.

2. These are communal self-administration bodies. — Ed.

IN CONFRONTATION WITH REACTION

Representative,
Communist Party of Saudi Arabia

Q. The world knows of the campaign of repression started last year by Saudi Arabia's monarchy against the country's progressive forces. What was the motivation?

A. Let me first make the point that the suppression of popular actions and harassment of patriotic elements are not anything new in Saudi Arabia. Ever since the Saud family established itself in power, our country has been governed not on the basis of a constitution or laws but by arbitrary rule and unbridled terror. The authorities, in other words, the absolute monarchy thereby protects the interests of the exploiting and parasitical classes consisting of remnants of the tribal and feudal aristocracy, the compradore bourgeoisie, the big landowners, and the financial bureaucracy. Known for its close links to international, notably U.S. imperialism, this regime rests on a ramified repressive apparatus directed against the people, who want freedom and democracy.

The new campaign of terror and persecution against the opposition commenced at the close of May 1982, i.e., at the time Israel invaded Lebanon. Using the resultant situation in the Arab region, the Saudi authorities arrested large numbers of patriotic people. Hundreds of democratic intellectuals, workers in culture, industrial workers and students were thrown into dungeons, where they were tortured and subjected to other cruelties. For the first time

women were affected. The Communist Party of Saudi Arabia sees this campaign as an offshoot of the policies pursued by imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction to erode the Arab national liberation movement.

Q. What are the communists doing to counter the massive ideological and religious indoctrination of the people by official propaganda?

A. The Saudi monarchy has harnessed Islam to its class aims, using it as a means of pressuring the masses, including patriotic and democratic elements. All opposition forces without exception are charged with want of religious faith, and this is used as the pretext for the persecutions. The regime uses religious channels for spreading false information about the forces of liberation and progress, and about communism and the Soviet Union.

In the political context, it is of paramount importance that we should be tireless in debunking the methods and subterfuges which the regime employs to justify its reactionary policy at home and abroad. We cite facts to expose the Saudi monarchy's attitude to the Arab and world national liberation movements, show the class foundation of Al-Riyadh's alliance with U.S. imperialism, and denounce the regime's attempts to put a religious complexion on its reactionary postures on the international scene. When the question is raised of unity against imperialism and Zionism, reaction argues that no relations can be established with the Soviet Union because it has troops in Afghanistan and it would be impermissible to normalize relations with a

"country of atheists." In its work among the people our party exposes these shabby, specious arguments. The communists show that the arguments of official propaganda have no credibility either from the standpoint of religion or of realities. In order to spread the truth, we do not confine ourselves to party publications. We use our influence in underground mass movements and in some governmental and other organizations.

Q. What are the relations of the communists with other forces opposed to the monarchy?

A. Despite persecution and terror by the authorities, there are, apart from the Communist Party, various opposition forces acting underground. The most significant of these are the Arab Socialist Labor Party, religious circles, and revolutionary segments of the petty bourgeoisie.

We are doing all we can to strengthen relations with all these forces on the basis of anti-imperialist positions and struggle against absolutism. For the communists it does not matter if their allies are believers or non-believers, if they belong to religious or lay groups. Of cardinal importance are their underlying political views so as to unite all opposition forces for the struggle against imperialism and reaction, for a democratic system.

The tasks before us are important and extremely difficult. But we believe that the people have enough strength and energy to carry them out. As always, we count on international solidarity and the support of revolutionary and democratic circles worldwide.

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Lenin's concept of hegemony in the ongoing class struggle

The following summary of statements at an international scientific seminar on "The Problem of Hegemony and Power. State and Society," held in Prague by *WMR*, completes the publication of the items in this series (for beginning see *WMR*, No. 2, 1983).

Mechanisms of the bourgeoisie's class domination: evolution

Speakers at the seminar stressed the importance of Marxist-Leninist studies of the peculiar present-day forms in which the bourgeoisie exercises its power and ideological and political hegemony in capitalist society, and analyzed the ways and means used to bend the will of the masses to the ruling class and to block democratic and revolutionary change.

In the industrialized capitalist countries, Semou Pathe Gueye (Senegal Party of Independence and Labor) said, the crisis has been deepening and major socio-political transformations have matured. But a closer look at the changes which have taken place there in the running of the state shows that they have invariably swung between social democratic reformism and conservative liberalism. There is apparently in the very nature of social relations something that tends to block the prospect of any radical evolution on the level of state administration.

The political superstructure over monopoly capitalism in the United States, said James West (CPUSA), is an exceptionally intricate even if not always well synchronized mechanism that tends to reduce to a minimum any possibility for the progressive forces' using the state apparatus to pose a threat to the power of capital. The power of big business, whose manifestations the working class and the people as a whole have to face at every step, seeks to implant the mentality that nothing is capable of destroying this giant mammoth. One will frequently hear people say: "You can't beat the establishment."

The ruling monopoly class has been improving the methods of its rule of the society. The country's constitutional system, allegedly es-

tablished to prevent acts of tyranny and abuse on the part of those in office, is a fraud pure and simple. The system is being used to fool the people and to prevent the working class and the oppressed minorities from getting into the government machine.

The complexity of the various mechanisms of the system and the ways of their functioning have naturally blurred the concept of democracy and have produced many difficulties and problems. One of these is that as a result of the corruption, fraud and machinations practised by those in office, many Americans refuse to go to the polls and are indifferent to politics. It is true that under the impact of the effects of Reaganomics, the heavy burden of the arms race and the awareness of the outcome of a possible nuclear war, the situation is beginning to change. Evidence of this comes from the unprecedented growth of mass movements involving virtually every section of the population. Under the extensive and outwardly all-powerful hegemony of capital, one of the main tasks of the CPUSA is to foster in the working class, among the oppressed minorities and the intermediate strata a sense of confidence in the strength of their own united efforts.

The complex character of power in contemporary Britain, said Betty Matthews (CP Great Britain), and the particular ways in which it is secured, mainly by consensus, that is, through the voluntary acceptance of the system by masses of people, but reinforced by coercion, contain the secret of the relative resilience of capitalist rule, despite Britain's weakened imperialist position and the acute economic crisis.

Under monopoly capitalism, the state has expanded enormously. Incorporated in the expansion has been a process of restructuring the state. Important changes have been caused by the aggravation of contradictions between capital and labor. The relation of class forces following the victory over fascism, and the impact of the struggles of a strengthened working class in the post-war period, secured important gains that have made their imprint on aspects of the

state. But these gains are being increasingly challenged and eroded by the ruling class.

An area in which there has been a major extension of the role of the state is that of welfare, social provision and education. In Britain, this development has come to be termed the "welfare state." The "welfare state" has been shaped by the needs of capitalism, which needs to reproduce labor power, to have a labor force which is fit enough to work and is educated. The modernization of production and the technological changes have reinforced this need. But it is an oversimplification to explain the existence of the "welfare state" by this alone. It also reflects the influence of labor, progressive and radical forces. It has meant gains for the people, but provisions in social security, health, etc., are dispensed within a bureaucratic and oppressive framework. The Thatcher government has embarked on a process of amputating the "welfare state."

Replying to a question from John Nkosi (South African CP), whether that function was being amputated at the insistence of monopoly capital as a whole or a section of it, the speaker said that a section of monopoly capital realizes that this social function helps them to further their economic and class interests.

In this context, Ernst Wimmer (CP Austria) noted that the methods of state regulation of social relations are not being abandoned throughout the whole capitalist world. In Austria, for instance, efforts are still being made to maintain these methods. In some capitalist countries there is evidence of a switch to monetarist policies. By contrast, in Austria there is no sizable group of capital that does not rely on Keynesianism or post-Keynesianism as the key method forming the basis for a "social partnership" consensus.

Professor Yuri Krasin (USSR) suggested that now that sizable factions of the monopoly bourgeoisie have abandoned the socio-reformist policy and are seeking to direct the country along a tougher line, this question arises: is that a deep-seated historical trend or merely a short-term swing? In my view, he said, a kind of pendulum movement is characteristic of capitalist society. We already find just now that the actual situation in some countries fails to fit into the "shift to the right" trend. Moreover, there is evidence of a reverse trend: a return of the social democrats to power. Wherever a conservative-reactionary policy is conducted in contrast to a bourgeois-reformist one, the former tends to meet with growing resistance. This warrants the following assumption: there could well be a twist in the historical spiral along which the reformist strategy of capital-

ism adapting itself to the changing conditions could reveal itself.

It would be wrong to regard measures restricting social security and returning nationalized enterprises into private hands as a trend toward reducing the role of the state, Betty Matthews said. Indeed, the spheres where this role is increasing stand out clearly in Britain. First of all, the state apparatus is used for deterring, weakening and curbing the working class, its organizations and the trade union movement. This takes the form of laws to control the trade unions and, in particular, to curb wages. Significant changes have taken place in the police and the army, aimed at strengthening the coercive apparatuses in order to cope with present and future unrest. A consequence of centralization has been the diminished powers of local government, with increasing financial control taken by central government.

The situation in which state intervention in the affairs of British society has been extended is marked by an all-pervading crisis that has gripped the economic, political and ideological spheres. It would be an oversimplification to regard the state as a monolithic instrument of the ruling class, although it does ensure its interests. The state expresses a power relationship of domination and dominated. The class struggle influences these relations and permeates them.

The intervention of the state in the economy and social relations has not only extended its control over the lives of workers, but has also brought important sites of class struggle into the orbit of the state (nationalized industries, education, the health services, etc.).

In order to understand the continued hegemonic position of the capitalist class in Britain it is highly important to analyze the relationship between the state and the "civil society." The ruling class achieves the consensus of masses of people through the machinery of the "civil society." In Britain it is many-faceted and highly developed. The media — in the form of the monopoly of the press, television and radio — the dominant political parties, the church, a host of institutions and organizations which are not overtly political, the family, all contribute to the maintenance of the social status quo. It is a strong base for the hegemony of the capitalist class.

Consensus is reinforced in aspects of the institutions of the state. There is an ideological and molding content in various apparatuses as well as the directly coercive. Among the ideological apparatuses of the state maintaining consensus are the educational, social security and health systems. Through these lev-

ers the state reproduces and imposes bourgeois values.

The working class and the alliance policy

The participants in the seminar devoted substantial attention to clarifying the concept of "hegemony." In the light of Lenin's ideas and the experience of the parties, they showed that this concept is a concrete reflection of the attitude of the working class toward the state power and its allies.

The concept of "hegemony," José Riva (Dominican CP) said, characterizes the leading position and role of a class, notably the working class, among the other social forces in the processes of class struggle and revolutionary transformations, and in society as a whole, when it comes to the taking over of state power. It would be wrong to regard the state as something that is "outside" society. Such notions, in effect, suggest the idea of a gradual transformation of capitalist society while the bourgeois state continues to be present. In actual fact, the state in the broad sense of the term, is the politically organized society in which governmental organizations express class domination. Consequently, the hegemony of the working class in society can be secured only through radical transformations.

In analyzing the relations between hegemony and the alliances of the working class, it would be wrong to underestimate the importance of the communist party's conducting an independent policy. The hegemony of the bourgeoisie rests on the institutions of the state, on the predominant ideology and morality. Hence it is clear that the communist party's policy should be aimed to fight the bourgeoisie along all these fronts.

In subjective terms, José Lava (CP Philippines) said, the realization of the hegemony of the working class is determined by the strength of its mass class organizations, the influence and the strategic and tactical skill of the parties, and mass organizations and the class and political alliances. In the struggle for hegemony, it is not right to underestimate the tremendous advantages enjoyed by the bourgeoisie which is in power, controlling the economy, the ideological apparatus and the apparatus of suppression.

In most developing countries, the working class constitutes a minority of the population. But it is the chief force in the struggle for national liberation. In order to win, the working class needs to have allies, and the most important among them is the peasantry (especially the poor and landless peasants) and also the working intelligentsia. Around such an alliance

there should be built up a broad anti-imperialist, patriotic front, that could unite all those whose interests conflict with those of imperialism. In the revolutionary movement in the Philippines, there is an urge to neglect the role of the exploiter strata as potential allies in resisting imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. The problem which is now being discussed in our party is what attitude to take to these classes in building up a broad anti-imperialist alliance. In this context, we have been studying the experience of other parties.

Felipe Rodriguez (CP Bolivia) said: We have always borne in mind Lenin's idea that the strength of the proletariat in a capitalist country is much greater than its share in the population. The working class of Bolivia makes up roughly 14 per cent of the population, but it has repeatedly shown itself to be the recognized leader of the popular mass movement. Under its guiding influence, a United Working People's Center has been set up in the country involving workers by hand and brain, peasants, students, and so on. The organized working-class movement has declared socialism to be its historical objective. Our party has key positions in the leadership of this movement, and its influence had the crucial effect on the attainment of the present democratic gains which were secured through political mass action. The hegemony of the working class, we believe, is asserted in the course of practical struggles. But here, of course, there is a need to take into account that if a revolutionary party fails to contest the rule of the bourgeoisie and tries to adapt its activity to the rules of its "game," it could help to bolster the ideological influence of its class enemy.

Raja Collure (CP Sri Lanka) said that one aspect of the struggle for working class hegemony in the developing countries is connected with the defense of democracy and the deepening of it. Among the causes undermining the democratic institutions in these countries, the main one is the weakness of capitalism and the absence of a clear-cut polarization of class forces.

Our party seeks to unite all the forces acting in defense of the democratic process in the country. In 1950, we proposed the formation of a front to overthrow the pro-imperialist government, but did not receive any support among the national bourgeoisie and the left-wing parties. The latter accused us of class collaborationism. But our stand was a correct one, and we were successful by convincing the masses of the need to form a common front and to take vigorous action.

Costa Rica's bourgeoisie, Manuel Delgado

(People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica) said, has traditionally laid special accent on consensus, which is closely tied in with its reformist policies. The reformism is expressed in diverse political and social programs and has filtered into mass organizations which operate together with the state and which supplement its functions. The economic and social crisis in the country is weakening the alliances established by the bourgeoisie. The important thing is to get the various strata of the people, including the middle strata, which accepted the bourgeoisie's hegemony in virtue of various reforms, out of its ideological influence. Collaboration with the bourgeoisie will not weaken its positions.

Luis Emilio Veintimilla (CP Ecuador) spoke of the specific tactics in the use of bourgeois parliamentarism in the working class struggle.

Samuel Behak (CP Uruguay) remarked that the hegemony of the working class in the struggle for national liberation has been ever more widely realized in Latin America. For us, the main thing in bringing out the factors and conditions for the exercise of such hegemony has been and continues to be a question of the importance of the communist party, the party which effectively expresses its interests.

This idea was supported by Ahmed Salem (CP Sudan), who said that since the hegemony of the working class is impossible without an appropriate role for the communist party, there is a need to work to build it up and keep its Marxist-Leninist views pure.

Rogelio Gonzalez (Paraguayan CP) said that the PCP does not lose sight of its objectives, although it is small and is being subjected to constant persecution. All the features of its present policy are determined by its comprehension of the importance of democracy. The party is carrying on a struggle to win the broadest freedoms for the people, overthrow the fascist dictatorship with the assistance of a broad national anti-dictatorship front and establish a democratic and patriotic government. Such a front is also open for patriotic-minded military men.

In organizing the people for a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution, our party tells the people about the successes of the Soviet Union, Cuba and the other socialist community countries. We would be cheating the people if we called for socialism, patriotism and internationalism while distorting the existing realities in the socialist countries, where the power of the working class in alliance with the peasantry sets an example and provides a stimulus for the struggle of the Paraguayan working people.

Clement Rohee (People's Progressive Party of Guyana) analyzed some aspects of the balance between hegemony and power, which came to light in the course of the struggle for national liberation. From 1957 to 1964, he said, the PPP was nominally in power in Guyana, but actual power was wielded by the British governor. What is more, according to the constitution, PPP ministers were no more than "advisers" under the representative of the colonial power. This produced a paradoxical situation: the revolutionary democratic forces had hegemony, but not real power. In such a situation, the bloc of these forces was unable to make use of the state apparatus.

Referring to the present political situation in the country, the speaker said that, given free and fair elections, the PPP could once again take over the running of the state without support from other forces. But considering the realities in Guyana, we stress the need to work out a system of alliances based on the principle "Winner does not take all." This principle would make it possible for all the progressive and revolutionary forces to join together in running the country. The struggle for such "counter-hegemony" is an important element of the PPP's alternative policy.

In various parts of the Arab world, Rafic Samhoun (Lebanese CP) said, revolutionary strata of the petty bourgeoisie came to power in the 1950s. In the early period of their government, important transformations were put through, and heavy blows were dealt at the positions of imperialism, feudalism and the big bourgeoisie. These achievements expressed the aspirations not only of the petty bourgeoisie but also of the working class and all the other working people. However, the following phenomena began to tell in some Arab countries from the beginning of the 1970s:

- a stratum of the military and civilian bureaucracy whose interests objectively coincided with those of the bourgeoisie took shape in the apparatus of power; this stratum makes use of the state sector for its own enrichment and for obtaining privileges, and promotes capitalist development;

- the agrarian reform is being slowed down to suit the rural bourgeoisie;

- the infiltration of foreign capital and the transnational corporations is spreading; there is a growing tendency for the authorities to flirt with imperialism;

- the polarization of wealth is being intensified, a stratum of big financial dealers is making its appearance; the improvement of the social conditions of the workers, peasants

and masses of the petty bourgeoisie is being slowed down;

— the authorities increasingly curtail the freedoms and paralyze the role of the masses in the political and socio-economic struggle.

In this context, the speaker indicated the specific evolution of alliances in the liberation movement of some Arab countries. A struggle for leadership had begun between its main participants even before the take-over of power by the revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie. This now and again became acute. The thesis of "leading party" is being put forward as a platform in the struggle first for leadership within the alliance and then for power. But there is no "leading party" in the Arab revolutionary movement. At the present stage, the alternative is a conscious alliance of political organizations representing the working class, the peasantry, the petty and middle bourgeoisie, and the patriotically-minded intelligentsia.

In accordance with the historical specifics and traditions, political alliances may assume the most diverse forms, said Ali Khavari (People's Party of Iran [Tudeh]), including a "unilateral" form. Such a view of alliance could at first appear to be contradictory, but this is a form of alliance which our party has practised in the Iranian revolution. This form of alliance is connected with the specifics of the political struggle: in Iran, there is an anti-imperialist popular movement acting under a religious cover and with religious slogans.

The regime existing in the country refuses to recognize the place which effectively belongs to our party both in the preparation of the revolution and in its conduct. The misunderstanding which we meet with on the part of Moslems has not prevented us from supporting the revolution. Consequently, we are practising a policy of alliance with the revolutionary forces which have religious convictions even "unilaterally."

Mario José Grabivker (CP Argentina) said that the character of the alliance policy depends on the phase of the revolutionary process. Argentina's realities show the need for a transitional, democratic, agrarian, and anti-imperialist stage on the way to socialism. Striving to expand the alliances of the working class with other forces to the utmost, we proceed from its vanguard role and work for its unity. The formation of alliances cannot be confined to an understanding at the top alone.

Various views of the problem of the balance between hegemony and coercion were expressed at the seminar. Grabivker said that

the alliance policy does not exclude methods of the revolutionary use of force in various forms. The main condition for determining the revolutionary character of these forms is clarification of the question of how they can promote the organization of the masses and the formation of the necessary alliances.

Hegemony may be established in the political and ideological sphere, in the sphere of non-parliamentary struggle through the use of the powerful influence of the working class and its allies even without coercion, said Josef Schleifstein (German CP). I would not say that hegemony is generally impossible without it. What is more, no element of coercion should be included in the concept of "hegemony." Why not? Lenin's view of hegemony means the relations between the working class and the other laboring classes and strata and is an expression of the political, ideological and moral leadership of the former in the class alliance: in the struggle for power and in the process of stabilization after the winning of power. Hegemony is a matter of political, ideological and moral relations. Such a concept would be superfluous if it were identified with the concept of "state," where coercion is the main thing. Now and again the concept of hegemony is applied — and this seems to be wrong — to the party's position and role in political alliances. I think that the words "leadership" and "leading role" would be more correct here.

It is hardly possible to start the formation of political alliances, John Nkosi said, by at once flatly ruling out every element of coercion. That would be tying one's hands, without knowing where the evolution of these alliances will lead.

When considering the concept of "hegemony," Sergio Vuskovic (CP Chile) said, the assumption is precisely that it is realized in two ways. The Chilean revolution used not only the method of consensus but also of coercion. But against whom? Against the enemies of the people, of the Chilean nation. Among the negative lessons of our revolution is the unpreparedness of the working class, and the people together with it, to defend its democratic power. Experience shows that it is the duty and right of a people's government to rely on both methods of maintaining and consolidating the power which do not at all contradict hegemony.

The unity of the revolutionary forces in our day may have different class origins. Accordingly, the future of the revolution in Latin American countries is determined by who achieves hegemony: the working class or the

petty bourgeoisie. We bring out the role of the working class because it is capable of exercising the role of leader in a democratic revolution, ensuring the possibility of going on to the socialist stage. That is a necessary condition if the revolution is not to stop half way. And the working class comes to comprehend this as a result of its party's activity.

In asserting the role of the proletariat, we do not neglect the progressive role which other social forces, especially the middle strata, can have to play. We believe the fact that a section of them supported the fascist coup in Chile to be also a part of our own responsibility. After all, when the political position of the working class accorded with the mood of the middle strata the latter promoted the democratic development in the struggle against the authoritarianism of the oligarchy. Consequently, action by the middle strata does not necessarily have to be counter-revolutionary. Indeed, we can even come together with them to socialism.

In view of the ideological trends in Western Europe, Latin America and some developing countries, an important task is to criticize the distortions of Marxism-Leninism and explain Lenin's ideas, notably his theory of the proletariat's hegemony. It is also important to come out against the interpretations of Gramsci's legacy which fail to reckon with the fact that he was a Leninist who elaborated the idea. An important contribution to the working-class hegemony conception was also made by theorists like Dimitrov, Thorez, and Togliatti, among others.

Ernst Wimmer said that one could well understand the mistrust of the "hegemony" concept which has arisen as a result of its abuse. According to Lenin, the hegemony of the working class is something that is the opposite of the commitment to put through gradual changes that exclude revolution; on the contrary, it is an instrument for radical transformations. The hegemony of the working class does not imply a necessary repudiation of armed struggle. It is a means for preventing the adversary from using force or, whenever it is impossible to do so, to give it a fitting rebuff.

But what about coercion with regard to one's allies? We say — and actually believe — that the hegemony of the working class is necessary in class alliances. But it is not right to reason on these lines: you, allies, must recognize our right to apply coercion in the event of disagreements. I can well imagine how such alliances would look! We would speak about the leading role of the working

class. But we could lead only ourselves. We would be told that there are strikebreakers and renegades. Is coercion necessary in such cases? Now and again it certainly is. But since when have strikebreakers and renegades become allies? It is inevitable that in alliances some will always vacillate, and in order to prevent them from deviating, there is a need for political, moral and sometimes economic pressure as well. Unless there is a dosage of this pressure, it could well turn into coercion, and then the vacillating ones will not only be unable to maintain a vertical position, but will even fall down, and to the other side, at that. My view is that there should be no coercion with respect to allies so that, whenever necessary, there is even more effective use of organized collective coercion with respect to the enemy.

We think that it is useful to give thought to what our alliances require of the communists. That is an important aspect because the fortunes of blocs depend not only on objective conditions but also on the party's subjective attitude. It goes without saying that each bloc holds within it the danger of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and reformist ideas infiltrating the party, or an erosion of its revolutionary character, and even of its dissolution in an alliance. But that does not mean that we follow the principle: "We are few, but pure." The whole of our experience shows that the broader the alliances, for instance, in the movement in defense of peace, the greater the demands on the party's ideological steadfastness, flexibility and skill — and this goes not only for the leadership but also for its activists.

This means that there is a need for vigilance in that which pertains to the state of affairs in the party and with respect to its allies and their attempts (which will always be made) to use blocs either to weaken the communist party or to get it to accept some ideological conditions. For our part, we set no ideological conditions.

Social perspective

The participants in the seminar exchanged views on the ways of possible revolutionary transformations in a developed capitalist society. In this context, they discussed the conception of anti-monopoly democracy and considered the conditions in which the class struggle could develop into a revolution. Special attention was given to a theoretical analysis of the crisis of the bourgeoisie's hegemony as an element of the revolutionary situation.

What is the meaning of the concept of "anti-monopoly democracy"? Domingos Lopes (Portuguese CP) asked. What is the essence of such a democracy? Does it imply the break-up of the state apparatus existing under capitalism? There can be no freedom or democracy if economic power is in the hands of the monopolies and the latifundists. When in Portugal people speak of anti-monopolism, they mean a democratic revolution, a curbing or liquidation of the economic power of the monopolies as a component part of a broader and general process of the working people's struggle for socialism.

The conception of anti-monopoly democracy formulated by the German CP, said Josef Schleifstein, proceeds from Lenin's legacy. He drew the communists' attention to the fact that the problem of transition, the problem of carrying the masses toward it, would be the crucial problem in a socialist revolution in developed capitalist countries. After Lenin's day, this problem was further elaborated at the seventh congress of the Comintern.

Replying further to the question of whether anti-monopoly democracy results from conventional class struggle or whether there needs to be a revolutionary situation for transition to it, the speaker said that, in his view, such a democracy constitutes a revolutionary break-up. Its establishment signifies a change in the class content of the political power in which the working class must already have decisive positions. Otherwise, anti-monopoly democracy is inconceivable. All of this also implies a radical change in the working class itself, in the character of the trade unions and in social democracy. In the FRG, the crucial factor underlying changes in social democracy is a shift in the trade union movement which comes to constitute its definitive mass basis.

Anti-monopoly democracy is, of course, a process that could well be put into reverse. Everything depends on the weight of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces within the working class, on their maturity, experience and subjective capacity to guide the revolutionary transformations. The concept of anti-monopoly democracy contains two elements: a qualitative change in the economic and political relations of power. Capitalism will not only be undermined but substantially broken down if the monopolies can be nationalized. We connect such transformations with changes in the political power. If there was no more than the traditional democracy headed by a reformist party, if democracy could not be transformed in a revolutionary spirit (as Lenin said, not yet socialism, but then no longer capitalism either,

a revolutionary democratic power) — in that case economic transformations would not be feasible either.

In historical terms, it is impossible to conceive of an anti-monopoly democratic revolution without a revolutionary crisis. But now we are very far away from realizing such a crisis, and must connect this conception with the development of the current class struggle.

Question from Carlos Zuniga (CP Chile): If anti-monopoly democracy is a transitional type of democratic revolutionary power, which does not yet set the task of building socialism, how does this conception differ from the conception of a people's democratic, anti-imperialist revolution for which the communist parties of Latin America have been fighting for years? How does anti-monopoly democracy differ from what has occurred in a number of countries where a revolutionary-democratic transitional power has been established?

Of course, Josef Schleifstein said, there is much similarity in a revolutionary-democratic, anti-imperialist people's power and an anti-monopoly democracy. The difference is the following: We proceed from a society economically and politically dominated by monopoly capital. This means that our analysis and our formulation of the task are determined by a different level of capitalist development. That is why it appears to be essential above all to fight against monopoly capital. We also proceed from the fact that in the FRG the working class already constitutes a majority of the population, and that the crucial political problem is unity of its action and the winning of the social democratic masses over to a different, genuinely working class policy.

There is a difference in approach to the state between the communists and the social democrats, said Betty Matthews. The perspective indicated by Marxism amounts to the need for a revolutionary transformation of society through the state power of the working class. By contrast, the social democrats start from the prospect of activity within the framework of the capitalist state system and do not question it. Theoretically and in practice, social democracy regards the state as being neutral.

In my view, Marx's conclusions from the lessons of the Paris Commune are still valid: the working class cannot take over some ready-made state machine and use it for its own purposes. Giving thought to the problem of how to secure a new state power, we believe, in accordance with the program of the CP Great Britain, that the way lies through democratic struggle aimed to curb the power of monopoly capital. Its objective is to change the structure of

the power relationship, including through the transformation of some state institutions to make them serve the power of the working class.

José Lava's question: What are the more important prerequisites for the British working class in playing its hegemonic role in democratic anti-monopoly changes?

I do not consider that the working class can win state power without achieving a large measure of hegemony in society, since hegemony implies developing an alignment of forces united and powerful enough to take state power, Betty Matthews said. However, I share the opinion expressed here, that the working class cannot fully achieve hegemony until it takes state power. Indeed, it will have to go on consolidating its hegemony even after that. I believe struggle for hegemony and struggle for power are indivisible.

To exercise its hegemony, it is important for the working class to realize the need for a radical transformation of the social system. Under a developed capitalist system like the British, this is a formidable problem whose solution will depend on the development of class struggle on a mass scale leading to a change in public consciousness. What we have in Britain is a deep-rooted social democratic influence, and not until it is defeated can society be transformed on revolutionary lines.

As regards the capitalist relations of production, we consider that the democratic struggles are directed toward stripping the monopolies of their key economic positions. Nationalization would be the means of achieving this goal, but not the kind of nationalization that is effected in capitalist countries today. We favor a nationalization that does not help monopoly but weakens it, and hits big capital.

It follows that the process of building up the hegemony of the working class in society involves conducting struggle in every arena of capitalist power — in the productive process, in all aspects of civil society and in the state. While it is possible to point out some developments in struggle in the first two arenas, there is a neglect on the part of the Left of the state itself. This is due to a long-standing failure on the part of many on the Left to appreciate the role of the state in the maintenance of capitalist power.

The Cuban revolution, said Raul Valdes Vivo (CP Cuba), not only swept away the reactionary regime of Batista, a puppet of U.S. imperialism, but rapidly developed from an anti-imperialist into a socialist revolution. Among the factors behind the success of the Cuban revolution one could note, first, the courage which enabled the revolutionaries to win authority among broad

masses of people, second, flexibility in the use of various forms of struggle, and third, the spirit of unity in achieving the goals in the armed battles, in political actions and in tackling economic problems.

For a revolution to take place, there is a need for a revolutionary situation, when, as Lenin said, neither those at the top nor those at the bottom can go on living the old way and are dissatisfied with the state of things in the country. In such a situation, even a small force, provided it is capable of taking a vanguard position, could set broad masses of the working class and peasantry in motion, because in that case they are capable, literally in a matter of weeks, of understanding that which it would otherwise take them years to comprehend in other conditions.

Is it possible to determine the point at which revolutionary transformations become possible, at which, to use another term, the transition has matured from stubborn "trench warfare" to "a war of maneuver," to crucial contest, be it for half the power or for the whole of it? Ernst Wimmer asked. This point could be roughly determined as a profound crisis of the bourgeoisie's hegemony in combination with certain other important factors. The simultaneous existence of two hegemonies of opposite classes is ruled out. A deep crisis of the hegemony of the bourgeoisie, which continues to maintain power, serves as the prerequisite for establishing the hegemony of the working class at least to the point at which real struggle for power becomes possible.

Let us note that even at such a moment, the hegemony of the working class can be attained only if its relatively stable combat alliances with other strata have already been shaped in the earlier class struggle and if revolutionary parties have real influence and prestige. Such preliminary quantitative changes are imperative. But they do not yet amount to a transition to a new quality. That requires a definite situation. Lenin's conclusion that revolutionary situations cannot be created arbitrarily and that they are a result of objective processes also continues to be effective to this day.

Which other factors can be reckoned with when we seek to determine the beginning of a revolutionary situation? This includes the crisis of the "top" — the state, its institutions, the inability to take practicable decisions within the framework of its own "rules of the game." This also includes a crisis of a part of the political system, when, say, the masses turn their backs on the parties and organizations which they had believed traditionally to represent their interests. Such a social crisis as a rule goes

hand in hand with acute difficulties in the economy. When such a point is reached, can it be transcended? This depends not least importantly on whether there is a military-strategic crisis under which reaction can no longer rely on blind obedience of the army and the police, if it resorts to the use of force as its final argument.

Can this point at which revolutionary transformations become realistic be attained through action by a progressive government with the participation of the communists? That is quite possible, and it is a component part of our orientation.

The Cuban comrade is quite right: there is a need for boldness, for the party's mobility and foresight in assessing the situation. But of crucial importance is whether the masses are prepared to go into battle at the risk of their lives and with strong conviction. Our party's program establishes a close connection between a social crisis, erosion of the bourgeoisie's hegemony and the potentialities of the working class and its allies in making deep inroads or achieving a fundamental change in the struggle. Our program orients us toward a way to socialism without civil war. But we state that the enemy not only in the course of the socialist revolution but even in the attempt to remove monopoly capital from power will try to suppress the popular movement.

If hegemony has been attained (and without

it any general attack is absurd, a gamble), but is not being used in due time to bring about a sharp change in the power relations, it will be lost and there will be a need for years and perhaps decades of waiting and further effort. That is a lesson which history has for decades been driving home to the working class movement in the industrialized capitalist countries. The forms of struggle cannot be anticipated. But perhaps one thing must be reckoned with: when in possession of hegemony, there is a need to use it for crucial transformations that will result in a qualitative change in the character of the state and society.

Papers on theoretical questions in the development of the socialist state system and the leading role of the working class were presented by Girgin Girginov (Bulgarian CP), Jeronimo Carrera (CP Venezuela), and Ho Chi Bang (CP Vietnam).

The participants in the seminar stressed that the problems of power and hegemony are of essential importance in present-day Marxist studies and that interest in them has been growing. Theoretical research into this important subject in the light of the concrete peculiarities of each country is connected above all with a quest by the communist and workers' parties of realistic ways for a revolutionary substitution of socialism for capitalism in present-day conditions, and with a determination of the perspectives of the ongoing class struggle.



Working for intensification

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PERFECTION OF CMEA COUNTRIES' ECONOMIC COOPERATION

The core of the CMEA countries' present-day economic strategy is to work for economic growth with the smallest inputs of manpower and material resources and to make more effective use of the socialist community's vast production, scientific and technical potentialities. The switch of the national economies to a mainly intensive way of development also implies an intensification of their mutual cooperation.

With the entry of most CMEA countries upon the construction of a mature socialist society, there has been a qualitative change in their economic cooperation: their state economic complexes were shaped into a system within which relations of international planned cooperation of social labor have been actively developed. Such cooperation multiplies each country's strength and that of the community as a whole, so promoting solution both of their common and of their specifically national problems.

The common long-term strategy of the fra-

ternal countries' socio-economic development and its main goal — the steady raising of the working people's well-being through greater efficiency of production and the ever fuller use of intensive economic growth factors — has been ever more clearly manifested. The growing economic requirements have brought about the need for changing the structure of production and raising it to the new technical level. Hence the advisability of pooling efforts and extending each country's participation in socialist economic integration and in the international cooperation of production.

When the internal prerequisites for cooperation were still small, traditions in this sphere had yet to take shape and there was a lack of experience, cooperation was effected mainly on the macroeconomic level, in the form of national-economic plan coordination. While it was production activity that was above all to be subjected to coordination, in practice coordination was expressed in agreements on mutual deliveries for five years ahead. From the outset there was, of course, something of much greater importance behind these highly concrete and particular obligations: the CMEA countries were in effect jointly working to shape the conditions for realizing expanded reproduction. Up to then there had been no joint economic practice on such a scale anywhere in the world, a practice that enabled the CMEA countries to take major economic decisions.

Even today, plan coordination continues to be a component element of the economic cooperation of the socialist community countries. But there is now an understanding of the fact that cooperation on the macroeconomic level alone is limited in its capacity for tackling vital economic problems.

Consider, as an example, the stability of cooperation ties. It is well known that the understandings reached in the course of plan coordination are then fulfilled autonomously by each state. The feedback between the partners is usually established through the market (control of prices, volume and quality of mutual deliveries, the application of economic sanctions, etc.). In other words, economic plan coordination merely helps to create a "framework," a "blurred" cooperation link. This form of international economic cooperation alone could not have reliably ensured the joint solution of complex production, scientific and technical problems, and that is why there arose the need to supplement it with new and more concrete forms.

These were defined by the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration of

the CMEA countries (1971), which paved the way for the joint planning of the activity of individual intersectoral complexes, branches and other economic units functioning on the basis of international cooperated production. The next important step forward in this direction was marked by the long-term goal-oriented programs of cooperation and bilateral long-term programs for international specialization and cooperation. Their purpose was to bring about major structural and technological shifts in the economy of the socialist community states (like the collective development of the fuel and energy complex, the technical re-equipment of some industries and lines of production, the solution of the food problem and the development of the international production infrastructure).

Furthermore, conventional coordination of medium-term plans is also inadequate in the contemporary conditions because five years is much too short a period for modifying the national-economic structures and mutually adapting them to each other. Indeed, the course of cooperation itself urged the need to widen the time horizon for planning and lay down a concerted strategy over a period of 10-15 years in advance. That, for its part, implies the coordination of the partners' positions on the fundamental questions relating to the further development of the economy generally. That is why the 36th session of the CMEA in June 1982 decided to supplement the coordination of national economic plans with coordination of economic, scientific and technical policy by countries interested in doing so.

In our day, successful mastery of the reserves of intensification and the collective use of scientific and technological achievements largely depend on the development of integration processes down to the *depths* of the national economies. This implies the organic inclusion in the process of integration of all the national-economic units with a capacity for effective interaction with each other for the benefit of all the participants in international cooperation. In the light of the objective requirements, the CMEA countries decided to switch the center of gravity in their joint economic activity in the 1980s on the *development of specialization and cooperation in the production, scientific and technological sphere and on establishing close links between these spheres*. Of ever greater importance now are the indicators of the results of cooperation: the extent to which it exerts an influence on the qualitative transformation of industries and lines of production, and on changes in the product mix; a reduction in the time gap between the development and intro-

duction of technical novelties; the conduct of a structural policy aimed to economize on every type of resources through their rational distribution and redistribution.

In this new period even greater demands are being made on the forms and methods of economic interaction between the fraternal countries. One of the important tasks facing our community, General Secretary of the CPSU CC Yuri Andropov has emphasized, "is to provide a fresh impetus to the process of economic integration."*

The coordination of economic policy as a whole and a qualitatively new approach to the problems of international specialization and cooperation of production in the CMEA countries requires above all a concentration of their efforts on the general and long-term lines of cooperation. This means the lines which could yield the greatest economic effect, to accelerate scientific and technological progress to the utmost and even revolutionize production here and there, thereby consolidating the community's technical and economic potential and its positions in international trade and in the worldwide exchange of modern technology. This strategy means that there needs to be a selective approach to the objects of international specialization and cooperation. The successes of integration should not be judged on the strength of a mere increase in the number of treaties and agreements or the build-up of a mass of relatively weak contacts which merely go to scatter, to "atomize" cooperation but in the light of thoroughly considered and duly weighed choice of its priority lines.

Such an approach is already being applied in CMEA practice: seven crucial sectors for the priority development of specialization and cooperation, for instance, have been designated in engineering. Thus, the need has been recognized to accelerate the joint development of sets of machines for the open-cast mining of minerals and the construction of gas pipelines, like rotor excavators, heavy-duty trucks, heavy-duty tractors, pipe-laying machines, bulldozers, etc. Priority has also been assigned to the specialized and cooperated manufacture of energy-saving equipment (diesel engines, systems of machines for the power industry, chemistry, petrochemistry, etc.). There is one over-all goal in designating these lines, and it is to improve the state of the socialist community countries' energy balances. It is planned to develop models of progressive machines and

equipment by the middle of the current five-year period so as to start their production and mutual deliveries after the necessary preparations from the beginning of the next five-year period.

In selecting the general lines of specialization and cooperation in engineering, account has also been taken of yet another important component part of the CMEA countries' socio-economic strategy, namely, the tackling of the food problem. With that end in view large-scale cooperation is to be started for the making of machine systems for complex mechanization of agriculture and processing of farm produce.

The importance of the selective approach to the development of production specialization and cooperation is brought out most visually by two multilateral agreements signed by the CMEA countries in the recent period. The first of these contains a program for the technical re-equipment of the basic sectors of the partner economies through the extensive use of microprocessors which have been revolutionizing production in depth, cutting the input of every type of resource, raising labor productivity and markedly improving product quality. The second relates to the production of industrial robots. By 1990, the CMEA countries are expected to have something like 200,000 robots. Apart from the major economic effect,* the realization of this project provides an impetus to the gradual switch to a new level in the organization of engineering, which will be characterized by the introduction of continuous automatic lines with built-in microprocessors and capable of flexible readjustment. The development of robot-making will make it possible to reduce sharply monotonous and low-skilled labor, especially in arduous and unhealthy conditions, make up for the labor shortage, increase the number of shifts in the use of basic technological equipment, and markedly advance complex automation of production, thereby helping to solve a number of key problems in intensifying the economy.

In the fraternal countries' conduct of their agreed structural policy and synchronic modernization of their production capacities, integration measures are aimed more directly than in the past at optimizing national pro-

*Specialists have estimated that in some operations a robot could substitute for 1-3 workers, increase labor productivity by 20-40 per cent, recoup its cost within 1-3 years and yield an annual economy of 4,000-9,000 rubles. The overall effect of using such a robot comes to 8,000-12,000 rubles a year while their group use helps to raise labor productivity two or three-fold.

*Pravda, December 22, 1982.

duction structures. It should be emphasized, by the way, that the very notion of optimal national-economic complex has changed. Today it is no longer the broad range of sectors and lines of production (in some cases it will evidently be narrowed down — within rational limits), but the capacity to derive maximum benefit from international specialization and cooperation and to achieve the efficient use of the resources of each CMEA country individually and of all of them together. This also applies to countries like Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia, where the shaping of modern sectoral and product-mix structures within the national-economic complexes has not yet been completed. Their rational profiling enables these countries — less developed in the past — to accelerate their social and economic progress and to join more actively in the international socialist division of labor.

While concentrating our efforts along the leading lines and purposefully shaping production and export, we do not in any sense relax our attention to international cooperation and specialization. On the contrary, the urge to have these processes developed consistently in depth, instead of in breadth (which is typical for the extensive approach) substantially complicates our work increasing the pressure on the CMEA's sectoral and functional agencies and international economic and other organizations.

Improvement of the production, scientific and technological cooperation helps to set in motion major reserves in the division of labor within the framework of the community. Some experience has already been gained in this area, especially in the realization of long-term cooperation programs, both multilateral goal-oriented and bilateral. For instance, the overall volume of deliveries of electronic computer hardware is expected to be valued at more than 15 billion rubles from 1981 to 1985, with about 80 per cent of it involving items covered by international specialization and cooperation. Cooperation is similarly organized in the making of equipment for nuclear power plants.

However, up to now international production specialization involved mainly finished products, that is, the end product. The new feature of the agreements now being realized in the current five-year period is a switch to in-depth specialization and cooperation in the making of standardized parts and components, whose mutual deliveries are to be rapidly increased. Cooperation in parts, components and technological phases is not only an effective way of linking up lines of production which had up to then existed in

parallel with each other. It is also the basis for sharply enhancing the technico-economic indicators of the finished product quality and a factor of accelerated expansion of mutual trade.

Another and also highly important feature of cooperation agreements and contracts in the current five-year period is the *shaping of direct production, scientific and technological cooperation* between competent institutions and economic organizations of individual countries. In the solution of many problems in production cooperation, direct cooperation ties turn out to be the most effective, because they make such cooperation most flexible and operational. This relates, in particular, to areas like the modernization of products or the switch to the making of new types of products. Thus, practice shows that it is not always possible to set the terms and deadlines for the delivery of parts and components in the development of experimental models under the relevant long-term international agreements. It is also hard to fix in advance the contract prices for products whose technico-economic characteristics can be determined only after these have been developed and applied in production. There is a need here for operational contacts which largely differ from the conventional foreign-trade transactions. Consequently, the aim of direct ties between the economic organizations of CMEA countries boils down to effecting the utmost economy of socially necessary time for the development and engineering of products embodying the latest technical advances.

Direct production ties are also important from another angle. Let us bear in mind that the effectiveness of specialization and cooperation agreements largely depends on the extent to which international-law obligations are converted into inner-state assignment to concrete performers, namely, industrial enterprises. If inter-governmental understandings are to become more reliable, more realistic, it is advisable to involve more broadly the major producers of export products in coordinating sectoral cooperation and to back up the participation by such enterprises or associations in the framing of long-term perspectives, plans and concrete measures through the establishment of direct ties with foreign partners. In this way the coordination of every stage of international specialization and cooperation is worked out in practice as a complex process.

The role of associations, combines and large enterprises has markedly increased in some CMEA countries over the past several years. This helps to create more favorable prerequisites than in the past for establishing direct production ties between them, although

here again many unsolved problems remain.

The prospect is that direct contacts in production, science and technology should play the role of an important instrument in the shaping and developing of international production complexes or socialist-type systems. This involves various forms of international organization of production based on the participation by partners from various countries in the overall process in which regular direct and feedback ties between the participants have been arranged. The development of direct relations is a manifestation of the mutual adaptation of individual elements of national economic mechanisms, of the complex process of their approximation to each other.

Finally, there is yet another reserve for further advancing economic cooperation, namely, the scale on which individual branches and lines of production are involved in international specialization and cooperation. In this context, there are great potentialities, for instance, in the manufacture of consumer goods and in the agro-food and investment complexes. In other words, when determining new lines of cooperation in branches with enough experience it is important simultaneously to "pull up" to their level others where cooperation ties are not yet intensive enough.

The objective conditions for the development of the socialist countries' economy at the present stage tend to produce ever more complicated problems which can be optimally solved only through the close interaction of production, scientific and technological potentials. This requires an organic blend of production, scientific and technological cooperation. Much is now being done along these lines both in the fraternal countries and in the CMEA agencies.

In order to increase the returns of our countries' major scientific and technological potentials and to enhance their impact on social production, there is a need consistently to align national scientific and technological policies. This will ultimately help to formulate one concerted scientific and technological policy, the key element of socialist economic integration. That is precisely the kind of collective course that is designed to determine the basic structural and qualitative shifts in the national economies of the partner countries and the long-term system of international division of labor. This line is already being implemented.

There are three important features to the present-day scientific and technological cooperation of the CMEA countries. First, its practical edge is being intensified to perfect the

socialist division of labor both between industries and within them. This feature reflects the rising role of science and technology in the development of production generally and in overcoming the resource, ecological and other constraints to economic growth, in particular. Considering that the tightness of mineral raw material, fuel and manpower balances in some community countries is rooted in the shortage of effective machines, equipment and technology (which for its part tends to increase the per unit inputs of raw and other materials), the further development of complex scientific, technological and production cooperation will make a substantial contribution to the solution of these national economic problems.

Second, in our day, the development of scientific and technological ties does not run so much through the expansion of the research, development and engineering potential (in most socialist community countries it is fairly large) as through its ever fuller use and perfection of its structure.

Finally, the third feature is that CMEA countries are helping to accelerate scientific and technological progress in Vietnam, Mongolia and Cuba. In 1980 and 1981, multilateral agreements were signed to define the concrete lines and forms of such aid. The emphasis is on research projects which allow the utmost use of these countries' resources and potentialities and also help to involve them in the realization of some important programs of international cooperation (for instance, on alternative sources of energy, microprocessors, etc.).

In future, the general line in the development of the CMEA countries' scientific and technological cooperation will consist in intensifying its applied aspect and in establishing a close connection with the solution of key problems in material production.

The successful interaction of the socialist community countries in this sphere largely depends on its mechanism. The forms and methods of such cooperation were determined in the above-mentioned Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration, but in the early 1970s, when the program was being adopted the prevailing form was an exchange of completed results of research. The emphasis was later switched increasingly to a pooling of scientific and specialist forces. A rational division of labor between the partners made it possible to concentrate more fully on the solution of priority scientific and technological problems. The task now is, we believe, to improve substantially the economic and organizational forms of this mechanism and to create inner-economy prerequisites to ensure the unity of

economic and technological motives for specialization and cooperation of production.

As for basic research, exchanges free of charge still prevail in this field because of its specific features. A steady division of labor has taken shape: in the USSR science is specialized on basic research to a much greater extent than it is in the other CMEA countries, and this has enabled other members of the socialist community to make large economies and to use their scientific and technological potential mainly for applied purposes. This is concretely epitomized by cooperation, like the development and joint use of space communication systems and meteorology, and the launching of the series of Intercosmos and Prognoz sputniks carrying equipment made in fraternal countries.

In the applied sciences, there is a broader spread of new forms of joint activity, including coordination of national five-year research and development plans and agreement of plans for the solution of the major problems. Multilateral and bilateral long-term programs of cooperation include scientific and technological measures required for their realization. In this area there is a gradual spread of the use of elements of economic calculus and some projects are jointly financed. Scientific and technological ties are being increasingly coalesced with production ties. Joint design and development offices are being set up to develop models of machines, equipment and technologies which are subsequently to be mastered on the basis of cooperation.

The joint planning of all the elements of the "science — technology — production — marketing" line is being shaped as an important instrument in tying in scientific and technological cooperation with production cooperation. This element of the management mechanism is designed to ensure that the cycle is coherent and uninterrupted and to speed up the application of the results obtained through the rational distribution of production tasks between partners.

This helps to assert the complex approach to the solution of various problems in scientific and technological progress and production cooperation. The practical realization of this approach is illustrated by the activity of the international organization known as Interelektro, which covers every basic sector of external economic ties, ranging from joint prognostication, coordination of plans for the development of production and investments to the detailed agreement of mutual deliveries and the organization of scientific and technological cooperation.

Another instant of successful complex interaction is the joint work in the sphere of electronics and computer hardware and technology. Under a long-term agreement, Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR, Cuba, Poland, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia have pooled the forces of a number of research and development organizations and production collectives numbering thousands of people.

On the strength of available experience, the ministries and departments of the CMEA countries have recently begun to make wider use of the complex approach in tackling the tasks which arise in priority areas of international cooperation. This involves, in particular, the organization of the making of robots, microprocessors and components for nuclear power plants. Thus, in nuclear power the interaction between the partners involves not only research and development but also the creation of special materials, the most modern types of equipment and the construction of production capacities.

Consistency in managing international cooperation makes it impossible to break it off even after the manufacture of the new product has been arranged through common efforts. Constant attention must be given to joint measures in introducing in practice "partial novelties," maintaining high technical level of long established lines of production, perfection of technological processes and improvement of product quality and cutting costs. In order to move tangibly in this direction, there is a need to change through coordination the ratio between capital investments into new construction and the modernization of existing enterprises in favor of the latter. It is important to start the manufacture of equipment for such modernization and reconstruction and to create the economic, organizational and legal prerequisites for the ever more operational use of technical novelties in all the socialist community countries.

General inter-governmental or inter-ministerial agreements formalizing cooperation between the fraternal countries for the whole reproduction cycle have already been concluded in some sectors of the economy. These documents provide the basis for the subsequent conclusion of contracts for the joint conduct of research, development of specialization and cooperation and extension of deliveries. Practice provides convincing evidence of the imperative need to reckon with the interests of scientific and technological progress in all the agreements on international specialization and cooperation of production. The advisability of drawing up a type of agreement

covering the whole cycle of conditions for the preparation of production, the issue of specialized and cooperated products and its subsequent technical perfection is being considered. Now that the countries of the socialist community are collectively mapping out the priority lines of their joint activity which will provide a strong impetus to technological progress and enhance the efficiency of many sectors of the national economy, the need to conclude such complex agreements is especially important.

The tasks of expanding and consolidating

cooperation between the fraternal countries in every possible way are central to their communist and workers' parties. At their latest congresses, the prospects for the development of socialist economic integration in the 1980s were linked above all with the extensive advance of international specialization and cooperation of production. Consistent fulfillment of the decisions adopted serves further to boost the economy, raise the well-being of the fraternal peoples, strengthen the whole socialist community and enhance its international prestige.

Existing socialism and the working-class movement

Bruno Furch
Representative of the
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In my country public attention is focused on the major issues of the day. These include: How to remove the threat of a thermonuclear war once and for all? How to end exploitation and oppression, crises and mass unemployment, violence and corruption, declassing and demoralization that bedevil the life of peoples ruled by capitalist monopolies? How to halt the destruction of the environment that is acquiring menacing proportions in some regions (not only in large industrial zones)? Can nuclear power engineering and other rapidly developing branches of science and technology, the productive forces, be made to serve life instead of destruction? What must be done to save hundreds of millions of people from the scourge of hunger and disease?

Not only the communists, but also the socialists, social democrats, Christians, and "uncommitted" people are looking for the answers to these global problems. A growing number of people are coming round to the realization that the problems of our day cannot be resolved without scientific intervention and, in the long run, without joining in the struggle to abolish the historically outworn capitalist relations of production and property, relations that continue to exist in a large part of the world, relations that gave rise to and constantly aggravate social conflicts. People are realizing that they can no longer accept the liberal principle of *laissez faire, laissez passer, le monde va de lui même*.

In the efforts to resolve these problems, in Austria as well, a steadily growing material and

spiritual role is played by scientific socialism and by socialism that has become a reality with the latter's aid. Not only the communists but many other forces recognize that the problems of our day cannot be resolved without existing socialism or in struggle against it. For a long time now it has been impossible to imagine the world without the socialist community countries and the other states that have embarked upon socialist construction. They exercise a tremendous influence on the life of the peoples of other countries, give the impetus to their development, an impetus that is not appreciated by everybody because it has become as natural and habitual for us as the air we breathe.

The turn in history started in 1917 by the October Revolution in Russia created the "field of forces," which today influences everybody — both the proponents and opponents of this turn, and social progress in general.

Let us take Austria and consider life in it so as to use the example of this country, situated in the very heartland of Europe, to show the significance of existing socialism.

The Soviet Union helped the second Austrian Republic to come to life. This is a fact no Austrian will dispute. During the war the other members of the Anti-Hitlerite Coalition either gave no thought to Austria's future or were devising selfish plans for Ostmark, the name given our country by Hitler. But as early as October 1943, at the Moscow Foreign Ministers Conference, the USSR raised the question of restoring an independent and democratic Au-

stria. It got its allies to agree to this idea and at once got down to translating it into reality when in heavy fighting the Red Army was expelling the nazis from our soil.

After Vienna was liberated and the independence of Austria was proclaimed, the Soviet Union facilitated the formation of a provisional government consisting of representatives of three democratic parties: People's, Socialist, and Communist. The CPA won the right to participate in the country's administration by its heroic struggle against the nazis, a struggle that cost it many lives. As early as in the night of March 11-12, 1938, when the Nazi troops crossed into Austria, our party called upon the people to fight for their country's liberation from foreign rule.

The formation of the provisional government laid the beginning for the USSR's beneficial influence on post-war Austria. Another milestone on this road was the signing of the State Treaty in the context of the policy of peaceful coexistence pursued steadfastly by the Soviet Union in contrast to U.S. imperialism's doctrine of "rolling back" socialism. Moreover, signed in 1955 and providing the foundation of Austria's present international standing, the State Treaty has demonstrated the realism of Soviet foreign policy, proving that it is possible to steer a course toward world security and cooperation. There is every justification for saying that the conclusion of the State Treaty was one of the first steps toward ending the cold war and achieving détente in Europe.

This is only one of the innumerable examples of the USSR's unceasing efforts to democratize international life and eliminate tension in the world. The Soviet Union succeeded in having democratic principles of relations between countries recorded in such key documents of international law as the UN Charter and the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation, the provisions of which are of great import not only for our continent. The USSR and other socialist community countries are backing the just efforts of the developing nations to end neocolonialist exploitation and establish a new international economic order. Existing socialism's growing economic and defense capability and its foreign policy, which it pursues with initiative, are paramount factors averting another world war.

But let us return to Austria. Our republic's permanent neutrality, enshrined in its constitution, is one of the positive elements of European politics. It allows Austria to play a prominent part on the international scene. The State Treaty and neutrality have given Austria a solid

foundation for a rate of economic and social development that would otherwise have been inconceivable.

Nor would it have been conceivable without the Soviet Union's good-neighborly relations toward Austria. The history of the first and second republics knows of no instance of Soviet action directly or indirectly jeopardizing Austria's interests. Not even rabid enemies of socialism can deny this. The Soviet stand contributes to the growth of Austria's international prestige. The constructive relations between the two countries benefit all sections of the Austrian people: the working class, the peasants, the merchants, the artisans, the small and medium entrepreneurs, and the people employed in nationalized industries.

The relations of the socialist community countries toward Austria are characterized by stability and friendship, and are free of mercenary considerations. Over the past decades the cases of tension between our country and this or that socialist state were due chiefly to the fact that in Austrian foreign policy (with the agreement or under pressure of stronger capitalist powers) the upper hand was sometimes gained by a "selective approach" to socialist neighbors. But the Austrian people know from their own experience that there is no irreconcilable clash of interests between Austria and the socialist countries.

These are the conditions, and they are taken for granted, under which Austria lives and in which its class-conscious workers are fighting for socialist changes.

In this situation, chiefly on account of the geographical proximity of the countries of existing socialism, the Austrian big bourgeoisie has had to make concessions to the working class in social and civil rights and also in wages, which it would not have made had the situation been different. Needless to say, it feared action by the Austrian working class, whose militancy (of which the bourgeoisie is aware to this day) has never waned, although the "social partnership" system created by the social-reformists together with the entrepreneurs to augment regulation by state-monopoly capitalism could give the reverse impression because there have been no serious class collisions in Austria for a long time.

The Austrian communists are firm in their belief that no advance can be made toward socialism with nothing more than hopes for concessions from the monopolies. Our party's stand was reiterated in its program adopted in early 1982 at its extraordinary congress. In addition to offering a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the questions of struggle for socialism under

the new conditions, the CPA program gives a rebuff to those who are advising the party to dissociate itself from existing socialism and suggesting a vague "third" way, that is absurd if only because except for the revolutionary road travelled in its own way by the working class of the countries of existing socialism there has been no second way to society's socialist restructuring.

The Austrian workers have their own bitter experience about the "third" way to socialism lying between what was proposed by the "classical" revisionists Eduard Bernstein, Karl Kautsky, and Rudolf Hilferding, who said that capitalism would automatically evolve into socialism with the concentration of capital, and the way of the Russian social democrats through a proletarian revolution and the establishment of working-class state power. After the October Revolution the leaders of the Austrian social democrats sought to adopt an intermediate stand between the Second and the Third International. They developed what is known as Austro-Marxism and tried to give it a theoretical foundation. In 1918-1919 the Austro-Marxists prevented the workers of our country from following the example of the proletariat of Russia. They spoke of a more "dependable," "more democratic," "third" way to socialism entailing less sacrifice.

What did this "third" way lead to? In 1933-34, the "knights of the Two-and-a-Half International," as Lenin called them, were rewarded by the class adversary for saving the rule of the industrialists, bankers and big landowners after the monarchy had collapsed. This reward was the abolition of parliament, the banning of parties and trade unions, and, lastly, the brutal suppression of class-conscious revolutionary workers who rose at the 11th hour in armed struggle against the fascist Heimwehr.¹ A "corporate" state was proclaimed and set up on the pattern of Mussolini's Italy. Four years later Austria fell easy prey to Nazi invaders.

Leading Austrian social democrats are now seriously making the ludicrous allegation (lately, with reference to socialism's difficult problems in Poland) that in 1918-1919 Friedrich Adler, Friedrich Austerlitz, Otto Bauer, and others had shown the "true" way to the workers, "dissuading" them from following the example of the working class of Russia.

The latter-day exponents of the "third" way, claiming that it is possible to attain socialism without the working class winning power, want to be seen as the sole champions of society's peaceful socialist transformation (in other words, without a civil war). However, the Austrian communists militate against this so-called

third way not because it is "peaceful" but because it represents an impasse, because it is confined to the framework of the capitalist system. The CPA program, taking the favorable new historical conditions as its starting point, indicates that in its transition to socialism Austria can avoid a civil war if the "people's movement is sufficiently strong and determined."²

The CPA program is a document applying Marxist-Leninist theory to the objective class situation in Austria today, in the new conditions of struggle that have taken shape under the influence of existing socialism.

Whenever the new society encounters serious problems, bourgeois prejudices and negative attitudes toward it come to life even though they have been disproved by developments time and again. One needs only to recall the dismal future predicted for the young Soviet Republic by the Mensheviks, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the leaders of the "Two-and-a-Half International," and the anarchy-inclined "lefts" in the initial years, in a period in which it was faced by the formidable problem of restoring the economy and fighting starvation, epidemics and mass poverty. Recall the hooting when the New Economic Policy was launched! Some people saw it as evidence of the "failure of the Bolshevik experiment," of a "return to capitalism," others lamented and condemned it. Or take the angry polemics over the decision on the first five-year plan, the fulfillment of the plan, and the collectivization of agriculture. "Impossible!" "Bound to fail!" or "A Utopia!" was the reaction of the pundits to every step requiring the surmounting of incredible difficulties. However, despite all these dreary forecasts, socialism was established in the USSR and it was subsequently established in other countries.

In 1921, dealing with the substance of the criticism of the Bolshevik line, Lenin wrote of the petty-bourgeois wavering which was to be observed at every turn in history "alongside the proletariat, and which, in one degree or another, always penetrates its midst."³

"This wavering flows in two 'streams': petty-bourgeois reformism, i.e., servility to the bourgeoisie covered by a cloak of sentimental democratic and 'Social'-Democratic phrases and fatuous wishes; and petty-bourgeois revolutionism — meandering, blustering and boastful in words, but a mere bubble of disunity, disruption and brainlessness in deeds. This wavering will inevitably occur until the taproot of capitalism is cut."⁴

Opportunist views about the theory and practice of socialism have lately revived among

the petty-bourgeois elements that have penetrated the working-class movement. The problem that is again arising before us had been neatly characterized by Lu Xun, the Chinese Gorky. At the constituent meeting of the League of Left Writers on March 2, 1930 he spoke of how easy it was at the time for a "left" writer to become a "right." First, he said, if one had no contact with the real social struggles but wrote of and studied problems in an ivory tower, it was very simple to be a radical or a "left"; but as soon as that person came face to face with reality his ideas crumbled.

"Second," Lu Xun said, "one easily moves to the right if one does not understand the realities of a revolution . . . A revolution is, first and foremost, a reality, and it demands all kinds of burdensome and uninteresting work. It is by far not as romantic as poets make it out to be. Of course, in a revolution there is destruction, but it demands creation to an even larger extent, and whereas destruction comes easy, creation is extremely hard. For that reason people with romantic ideas about revolution quickly lose their illusions once they see a revolution that has been accomplished."⁵

There are such "romantics" to this day, but there are many more of them in the petty-bourgeois milieu than in the working class. They are held captive by notions of the old society to the extent that they are unable to comprehend elementary processes of revolutionary changes, the objective and subjective reasons of the difficulties of socialist construction. The castles in the air into which the "romantics" put society fall apart at the slightest jolt. But imperialism's propaganda centers are an entirely different matter. These are by no means romantic and use the "criticism of socialism" as a component of their "psychological warfare" and to justify the build-up of armaments. In their mass media imperialism's spokesmen readily back this criticism of socialism by the "romantics," gratifying the gross vanity of many of them. Not least is the purely opportunist calculation of petty-bourgeois elements to acquire some political benefits in exchange for dissociating themselves from existing socialism, benefits that are in the long term withheld by capitalism.

However, we should not underrate the revival of Menshevik, Socialist-Revolutionary, "Two-and-a-Half," and "left communist" views, although they have been unable to stop socialism. They have become weapons of imperialism. These views penetrate the working class where the mass of the workers is not armed ideologically: Austria is one of these places. That is what underscores the significance of the program adopted by the CPA in

early 1982 and places such a high responsibility on the communists and all other progressives.

In analyzing the lessons of the Paris Commune and, in this context, the attitudes of armchair theorists, Karl Marx wrote; "The working class did not expect miracles from the Commune. They have no ready-made utopias to introduce *par décret du peuple*. They know that in order to work out their own emancipation and along with it that higher form to which present society is irresistibly tending by its own economical agencies, they will have to pass through long struggles, through a series of historical processes, transforming circumstances and men. They have no ideals to realize, but to set free the elements of the new society with which old collapsing bourgeois society itself is pregnant. In the full consciousness of their historic mission, and with the heroic resolve to act up to it, the working class can afford to smile at the coarse invective of the gentlemen's gentlemen with the pen and inkhorn, and at the didactic patronage of well-wishing bourgeois-doctrinaires, pouring forth their ignorant platitudes and sectarian crotchets in the oracular tone of scientific infallibility."⁶

Revolutionaries can see how complex the road is that is being travelled by the working class and its political vanguard in the socialist countries. From the very beginning this has by no means been a paved highway with no intersections. Every step forward, particularly in the Soviet Union, had no precedent. There was no experience to draw from. The building of the new society was also started with people carrying a heavy ideological ballast and burdened by the patterns of behavior, habits and morals formed by the old society.

The situation was the same in the other socialist countries. Nowhere did the working class give effect to the ready-made and finished utopias of armchair academics, to "ideals" and "models of socialism," instead it released elements of the new already in existence in the old society. In the course of a long struggle it changed people and circumstances, consummating a matter of unfading significance: by "expropriating the expropriators" it abolished exploitation of man by man and supplanted the profit-seeking capitalist economy with its anarchy and struggle of all against all with the socialist planned economy, whose supreme economic law is the steady growth of the people's living standard. The working class abolished the privileges of the propertied classes in education and carried out a cultural revolution in order to encourage all talents and promote the all-sided development of the indi-

vidual, of the socialist individual, of the exponents of an improved way of life. The working class thereby unfettered the creative strength of the masses on an unprecedented scale; it brought people social rights — to work, housing, medical care, social security and so on, creating the conditions under which the human being has incomparably greater freedom from the depressing concern for his and his children's existence than in the most highly developed "welfare state." This social liberation is the foundation of the individual's freedom, which is in capitalist countries spelled out with a capital letter but is at best the privilege of the propertied classes.

People acquainted with socialist countries note, of course, that there are distinctions in the maturity level of the main characteristics of the new society; these distinctions are due to the dissimilar economic base that each of these countries had as its starting point and to the circumstance that they did not begin socialist transformations simultaneously. However, it must be seen that these countries are steadily drawing closer to each other in the main socioeconomic indicators and in the level of cultural development. Socialism's indisputable achievements give the communists of the capitalist world strong incentives not only for their revolutionary propaganda but also for their day-to-day work among the working people, for their practical policies. A prerequisite for this is an unbiased knowledge of the realities of socialism. The internationalization of socialism's experience (both the positive and the negative aspects) is of the utmost significance because it enlarges the ideologico-political armory of the forces of progress and enriches the constantly developing theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Frederick Engels wrote that ever since socialism became a science it "demands that it be pursued as a science, that is, that it be studied."⁷ While appreciating the need to study the theory and practice of scientific socialism, the Austrian communists take into consideration their country's national, historical, economic and cultural features in order to decide on the best ways and means of preparing the working class for society's socialist transformation and to accomplish that transformation. This approach to the problem, of course, has nothing in common with the anti-scientific "copying of models," of which the communist and workers' parties of many capitalist countries are accused by the adversaries of socialism.

However, we believe that to assimilate the experience of existing socialism scientifically

there must be, above all, a class attitude to the socialist community, an attitude based on proletarian internationalism. In the CPA program the socialist community is defined as the "most significant achievement of the international working-class movement."⁸ The Austrian communists hold that any departure from the class analysis or loss of the class orientation inevitably comes into conflict with the basic interests of the working-class and all other progressive movements.

* * *

"The political superstructure of this new economy, of monopoly capitalism (imperialism is monopoly capitalism), is the change from democracy to political reaction,"⁹ Lenin wrote in 1916. Decades have passed since then, but the nature of imperialism has not changed. It still wants to abolish democratic institutions, suppress social, civil and political rights, set up dictatorial reactionary regimes, and remove all democratic forces, the revolutionary working-class movement in the first place, from the public scene. But imperialism is no longer in a position to lay down the law for society as when its rule was unchallenged. The struggle waged against imperialism by the three great revolutionary currents of our time, which rely on the political and economic might of existing socialism, substantially limits monopoly capitalism's possibilities for displaying its anti-humane content to the extent it would have liked.

The CPA program states: "From the day it was proclaimed, the state of the liberated proletariat, the Soviet Union, has been the inspiration and mainstay of the international working-class movement, the oppressed peoples, and the struggle for peace."¹⁰ Characterizing the Soviet Union's internationalist policy as the key factor preserving world peace and extending the world revolutionary process, the program notes: "Reaction's unbridled anti-Sovietism is directed not so much against the Soviet Union itself as at undermining the solidarity of and isolating the forces of progress throughout the world. For that reason closer links with the Soviet Union are in the interests of all progressive forces in the world. For the communists they are something that goes without saying."¹¹

Indeed, the communists see the overriding guarantee of the successful solution of mankind's burning problems, chiefly that of preserving peace, in the cohesion and unity of all who are fighting for socialism and democracy, for social progress, and against imperialism and reaction. In this struggle an ever-growing

role is played by scientific socialism and socialist society.

It is the task of the communists to help the people get a clearer understanding of the importance of the historic function of the countries of existing socialism because this is one of the paramount conditions of the successful revolutionary renewal of the world.

1. An armed organization that was in existence in 1919-1938. It was set up by the bourgeoisie to fight the working-class movement. In 1930 it became openly fascist. — Ed.

2. *Sozialismus in Österreichs Farben. Programm der Kommunistischen Partei Österreichs* (Further — *Sozialismus in Österreichs Farben*), Vienna, 1982, p. 43.

3. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 21.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Lu Xun, *In tiefer Nacht geschrieben*, Leipzig, 1981, pp. 190-91.

6. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 224.

7. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 170.

8. *Sozialismus in Österreichs Farben*, p. 6.

9. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 43.

10. *Sozialismus in Österreichs Farben*, p. 6.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

Combat drive and political initiative

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Armed struggle has become the principal form of socio-political confrontation in our country today. For more than two years the Salvadoran people, led by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMNLF) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (RDF),¹ have been waging a just war to overthrow the reactionary regime backed by U.S. imperialism. The Communist Party of El Salvador holds a fitting place in the ranks of the FMNLF and RDF. It has won high prestige among large sections of the population and the recognition of its associates and allies; it has shown itself to be an organization consistently upholding the principle of unity of revolutionary democratic forces, a unity without which the triumph of our cause is unthinkable.

The upsurge in the Salvadoran people's struggle came at a time when official Washington had escalated the adventurist trend of its foreign policy based on arms race, interventionism, exaltation of the mythical imperial rights of the United States, and frank disregard for the interests of sovereign states. The Reagan administration hopes that if the Salvadoran revolution is defeated this will create a convincing precedent for making direct U.S. interference in the affairs of other countries with a view to suppressing the effort of their peoples for freedom and social justice a normal international practice.

Ever since our revolutionary movement entered the phase of upturn, Washington has been carefully planning armed intervention in El Salvador on a much larger scale than so far. White House strategists believe the intervention will help settle the Salvadoran conflict

in a short time, avoiding a repetition of the mistake made in Vietnam by waging a protracted losing war. However, the U.S. rulers need an excuse they can offer to both their own people and international opinion, which undoubtedly influences the attitude of the West European allies of the United States. This is why it makes out the revolutionary process in El Salvador to be a projection of the "expansionist aspirations" of the Soviet Union, Cuba and Nicaragua and a particular case of global collision between "East and West." As for its real military-political interference in El Salvador, the Reagan administration hypocritically describes it as a requisite of consolidating the rule in our country of a "moderate government," said to be able to end bloodshed.

However, the heroic resistance of the Salvadoran people and the power of international solidarity are upsetting the imperialists' plans. The revolutionary organizations of El Salvador, which are operating in unity and enjoying the support of the overwhelming majority of the population, are advancing confidently to victory.

When the people's revolutionary war broke out we had no experience either in combat or in politics and diplomacy. Not all members of the FMNLF and RDF were clear enough about the need to organically combine their efforts in both directions. By now we have considerably improved our skill in beating off the attacks of the enemy and in striking him crippling blows. The insurgent army has mastered many techniques of warfare in heavy fighting. All the

organizations at war with the criminal regime are deeply convinced today that they must not only actively engage in combat operations but also in politics at home and in the international arena. Today the justice of our strength and the strength of our justice are recognized both in the country and far beyond its frontiers.

The offensive mounted by the FMNLF on January 10, 1981 proved the ability of the Front to operate effectively and synchronously throughout the whole of the national territory. However, the offensive could not last long for lack of arms and ammunition. After a critical analysis of the situation, the Front put forward the slogan "Resist, develop and advance," which reflected the tasks immediately ahead: strengthening the rear, concentrating forces to the utmost, and ensuring their mobility and active operation so as not to be bogged down in trench warfare.

The revolutionary army achieved its goal in seven months (beginning with February 1981). A strategic equilibrium was brought about, that is, a situation in which the enemy could no longer gain the upper hand over us while we were not strong enough as yet to win the war. Nevertheless, from August 1981 to October 1982, the FMNLF carried out six major military campaigns. As early as December 1981, it launched a large-scale offensive which lasted virtually till April of the next year. Notwithstanding repeated attempts to push us back, thrust deep into territory controlled by the FMNLF, and crush the Front's power, the regime had to fall back on the defensive.

The battle of Mt. El Moscardon on June 5, 1982 showed that the scales had begun to tip in our favor. During that month FMNLF units put a crack battalion of government troops out of action. They killed the commander of the 6th Infantry Brigade in battle and captured Col. Francisco Adolfo Castillo, Deputy Minister of Defense, one of the four members of the high command. The enemy was dealt a heavy blow that added to the disarray in his ranks. The defeat seriously affected the morale of the whole government army, for it had lost a battle in spite of careful preparations and the concentration of large troop contingents and great fire power. At El Moscardon the regime massed over 4,000 troops and entrusted them to its most experienced commanders. The enemy intensively bombed and shelled our positions and used heavy helicopters and airborne troops. Besides, government troops were supported by Honduran forces, which advanced from border areas deep into Salvadoran territory with the intention of catching the insurgents in pincers.

On October 9, 1982, the FMNLF started a new campaign. Our combat operations assumed such dimensions that the Defense Minister, General José Guillermo García, hastened to leave the battlefield so as "not to be caught in the trap set by the guerrillas," as he said. Trying to justify himself, the general alleged that the insurgents' gains were not very important.

The facts tell a different story. The puppet army itself became a supplier of arms and ammunition for us. Between June and October 1982, we captured 650 items of firearms, over 20 guns, mortars and heavy machine-guns, and about 80,000 rounds of ammunition. The enemy lost over 1,700 in casualties. We took 235 men and officers prisoner.² As for the Front's own casualties, they totalled 63. The question may be asked: What about the hundreds or even thousands of guerrillas said by government war communiqués to have been killed? Actually those were civilians (men, women, old people, and children) massacred in the same way as the inhabitants of the Vietnamese village of Song My or the Palestinian refugees' Sabra and Shatila camps. When unable to overcome insurgents, the military vents its fury on defenseless civilians.

The gains made by the FMNLF in battle surpassed all expectations. The enemy suffers growing casualties and is forced to withdraw from many areas where he had been based. Desertion and individual or even collective disobedience (occasionally on the part of whole companies) have become a common occurrence among enemy troops. More and more government soldiers surrender as soon as the first shots are fired. This is a result of our policy, which provides for humane treatment of prisoners of war. The FMNLF abides unilaterally and strictly by the relevant Geneva convention. This contrasts strikingly with the attitude of the enemy, whose principle is "kill guerrillas on sight."

To prevent a further decline in the morale of government troops, and the internecine strife eroding the army and the whole of oligarchic power, and assure the stability of the high command itself, which is threatened with plots, the regime needs some sort of victory, if only a local one, over FMNLF units, and so it uses every opportunity to show off its "military gains."

At the same time, the enemy command realizes that a continuation of the current military policy is fraught with a sharp deterioration of the physical condition and morale of its troops and a further aggravation of conflicts between diverse factions of army officers and

may therefore bring the army to the brink of disintegration.

The regime is revising its strategy and tactics in an attempt to avoid new reverses. It now gives priority to the defense of key military-political objectives and the preservation of the economic resources under its control. What I mean is big cities, government offices, military and political headquarters, telecommunications, the coffee and cotton crop, farm machinery, power stations, and transport. In other words, the regime's primary aim is to strengthen the defenses of the central and southern zones, which Gen. Garcia has described as particularly important in demographic, economic, political and military terms.

There is every reason now to say that the plan of the Reagan administration, which had expected to "pacify" El Salvador after the March 1982 elections, has fallen through. Washington had hoped that the Christian Democratic Party (which it considers moderately centrist) would win the majority of seats in the National Constituent Assembly. What happened, however, was that the ultras won that majority through political maneuvering. The Assembly is now headed by Roberto D'Abuissou, the fascist chief of the "death squads" who was behind the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero of San Salvador, a defender of the people's interests.

Up to October 1982 Washington, acting through its ambassador in El Salvador, Dean Hinton, and other emissaries, played a game behind the scenes to give the bloody regime a "clean" facade. The result was a new alliance composed of the Christian Democratic Party (CDP), National Conciliation Party (NCP), and Democratic Action Party (DAP). The coalition includes the Defense Minister and the military group led by him. The aim was to strengthen the "democratic center," which would make it possible to relieve D'Abuissou, an offensive figure, of the post of Chairman of the National Constituent Assembly.

Now what is the substance of differences between the Reagan administration and the Salvadoran fascists? As a matter of fact, Washington has proved unable to convince D'Abuissou's party, the Nationalist Republican Alliance, and the fascist wing of the NCP of the necessity for a few reforms. Indeed, Washington feels that it must put a good face on the matter by posing as an advocate of change in our country. It would like to convince U.S. public opinion and the Congress opposition that after the March elections in El Salvador a "democratic" type of government took over.

What the U.S. imperialists are after is merely outward changes, of course. First and foremost, they want to set up a number of new bureaucratic institutions likely to make a favorable impression abroad. However, they fear that once the regime has started on reforms, it will be unable to control developments due to the extreme aggravation of the class struggle in the country. This reveals the nature of the divergences; the U.S. imperialists would stand to gain from reformist maneuvers giving the regime a semblance of respectability while El Salvador's fascists will not hear of any changes whatever.

Some sections of the Salvadoran oligarchy are against important political decisions being made in Washington and imposed by diktat. They resented, for instance, the U.S. State Department's insistence on appointing its candidate, Alvaro Magana (outwardly less discredited than other right-wing pretenders), as interim President of the Republic. Landowners, merchants and industrialists of the eastern region of the country demanded that deputies to the Constituent Assembly should "refuse to give in to pressure, to the onslaught of external and internal forces." They agreed to stop their economic activities unless the opinion of the Assembly was respected. Magana's election in May 1982 resulted in the disintegration of the right-wing coalition under D'Abuissou, since one of its members, the NCP, backed Washington's choice.

The contradictions dividing the enemy camp are illustrated only too well by recurrent political reshuffles and new splits. The division of the CDP is going deeper; it comprises two factions: the traditional wing led by ex-president José Napoleon Duarte, and the centrist wing, which is intent on forming an independent organization (under the present Foreign Minister, Fidel Chavez Mena). The NCP, which ruled the country for nearly 18 years (1962-1979), has broken up into two groups: the Salvadoran Institutional Authentic Party and the Centrist Republican Stable Movement.

As a result of these metamorphoses, another seven bourgeois parties have sprung up since the March elections. They constitute a most heterogeneous political conglomerate which includes forces favoring the meager draft reforms proposed by Washington.

There are also those who show interest — openly or in disguise — in the position of the Socialist International (SI). Some NCP members were sympathetic to the social democrats at one time. The DAP upholds certain slogans tinged with social democracy. The National Unity Movement, renamed the National Unity

Movement of Left Nationalists, has reappeared on the political scene. Its leadership claims that the movement represents all left currents ranging "from social democracy to Eurocommunism." The movement has proclaimed itself an advocate of resolving the Salvadoran crisis by peaceful means, with the FMNLF and RDF participating.

The hardheaded refusal of the ruling quarters and their Washington patrons to reckon with the real alignment of forces in the country and their desperate attempts to come out of the impasse by escalating military operations add to the disruption of the Salvadoran economy, which is already in a state of severe depression.

A classified report of the International Monetary Fund dated April 7, 1982 said that the government was "practically bankrupt." The report pointed out that El Salvador's foreign exchange reserves had fallen off to 2.5 million dollars during 1981. In the same year (as, incidentally, the year before), the gross domestic product had decreased by 9.5 per cent. The flight of capital had bled the private sector white; over 800 million dollars had been expatriated over the past four years. State enterprises were in a critical state. Their deficit in 1981 totalled 600 million dollars.³ Economic activity is maintained at a minimum level solely with the aid of U.S. loans.

Purchasing capacity in the 1980-1982 period dropped by half.⁴ In the same years, 235 enterprises went out of existence, with the result that about 25,000 people lost their jobs. The Research Department of the Ministry of Planning of El Salvador reported that by the middle of 1980 full unemployment affected 23 per cent of the workforce and partial unemployment, 39 per cent. An analysis made by the Society of Merchants and Industrialists shows that by the middle of 1982 about 40 per cent of the gainfully employed population had no permanent income. These figures imply that there are over one million partly or completely jobless people in a country of less than five million inhabitants.

The Salvadoran economy is a shambles. What is more, the burden of growing difficulties and the everyday struggle for survival weigh heavily not only on the working people — primary victims of the crisis — but also on the middle strata and employers who do not belong to the oligarchy. Most of them subscribe to the policy of the RDF. Many of them, above all clerks, commit themselves to the struggle against the regime by joining in protest strikes and helping the insurgents. However, for fear of losing their livelihoods and their very lives (the massacres perpetrated by repressive agencies

and fascist bands leave no room for doubt that both are likely), many of them shrink from joining the RDF formally and proceed cautiously. But the revolutionary forces persevere in their political work among these population groups, well knowing both their fears and their desire to see the country rid of the horrors of war and dislocation.

Prompted by a sincere desire to end bloodshed and the people's suffering and stave off the danger of the armed conflict spreading throughout Central America, the FMNLF and RDF last October called for a political dialogue.

Does this mean that the insurgents are willing to negotiate with the fascists? No, for the two organizations did not direct their message to the fascists but to the main institutions of the present state power, to those who have not yet been paralyzed by militarist insanity and are still capable of realizing that the war being fought against their own people is hopeless. The initiative taken by us is a sign of our strength and broad vision and not of our weakness. Nor did we decide on it overnight; we took it according to the logic of our own principles, sharing the view repeatedly voiced from the UN rostrum by peace-loving countries, which called for an end to the carnage in Central America. For many years we Salvadoran revolutionaries strove for the materialization of the people's will by political means but the oligarchy and imperialism barred all roads and compelled us to take up arms. Even so, we are willing to use every opportunity of meeting the people's aspirations.

The revolutionary organizations formulated their proposals as follows: the RDF and FMNLF, on the one hand, and the executive authority, National Constituent Assembly, and armed forces of El Salvador, on the other, should proceed immediately to a direct dialogue without any preconditions whatever in order to decide on ways of establishing peace in our country, which would also contribute to the lessening of tensions in Central America. With a view to preparing for negotiations, a special contact group should be set up to establish contact between the two sides and see to it that agreement was reached on all procedural matters. A joint study should be made of possible forms of participation in the dialogue by other political forces and public institutions, including parties, working people's and employers' associations, the church, the academic community, professional colleges, and anyone else who is ready to help stop bloodshed. To indicate our good will and our interest in achieving positive results, we feel it is necessary to invite authoritative observers — Sal-

vadorans or foreigners — to the negotiations by mutual agreement.

We asked Monsignor Arturo Rivera y Damas, Apostolic Administrator of San Salvador, to pass on the document containing the above proposals, which he duly did on October 21, 1982. Five days later, the FMNLF and RDF made their document public. Sufficient time had elapsed for a third "concerned party," the Reagan administration, to acquaint itself with our plan. Alvaro Magana must have promptly informed his Washington patrons. Indeed, they themselves unexpectedly began in the same days to talk about a dialogue, except that they were not at all concerned with ending the war by peaceful means. The purpose of their propaganda was to dispute the priority of the revolutionary forces of El Salvador in seeking a political solution to the conflict. The imperialists created a smokescreen to represent themselves as advocates of such a solution and thus to nullify the effect of the FMNLF/RDF initiative.

When we released our document the Reagan administration could not reject our constructive proposals out of hand. It therefore dodged the issue by making a rather ambiguous statement. So did Alvaro Magana and Gen. Garcia. D'Abuissou was the only one to flatly reject the very possibility of dialogue. Some members of the Salvadoran ruling circles said the insurgents should lay down their arms and then join in the "democratic" process (which Washington and its puppets expect to culminate in the election of the President of the Republic on March 28, 1984). In other words, both the FMNLF and RDF as a whole and every one of their member organizations were told to surrender.

With the advent of the year 1983, however, some U.S. and Salvadoran statesmen began to show an inclination to negotiate. Their "interest" in the matter came out at a time crucial for the oligarchic regime both militarily and politically. The proposals of the FMNLF and RDF for dialogue and their resolve to negotiate increased the number of our supporters in the world. By contrast, the present rulers of the country found themselves in still greater isolation. The reason for our opponents' change of policy is that they hope their declared readiness for dialogue will make a favorable impression in the world. It is merely a further political ploy designed to divert attention from their attempts to split the revolutionary front and ultimately to defeat it militarily.

Last January Reagan again spoke favorably of the Salvadoran government, alleging that the

human rights situation had improved in the country. On these grounds he reaffirmed his intention to go on rendering military assistance to this people-hating regime. The U.S. administration is plainly set on aggravating armed confrontation and is not interested at all in a negotiated peace.

On examining the situation since the FMNLF and RDF put forward their proposals, the Communist Party of El Salvador came to the following conclusion:

The popular revolutionary fight remains the decisive factor in the domestic political, social, economic and military situation. Nobody can afford to ignore the strength and might of the FMNLF and RDF any longer. This tends to exacerbate contradictions in the enemy camp. However, the enemy would shore up his positions as soon as we betrayed weakness.

The revolutionary organizations' proposals for a peaceful settlement of the conflict convincingly showed again that the liberation process in El Salvador is not limited to guerrilla activity. We widely combine armed with unarmed forms of struggle.⁵

War is admittedly a continuation of politics by other means. Experience has shown, however, that as soon as a war breaks out it generates politics of its own, with each side continuing its policy and proceeding accordingly. As regards our enemies, they are trying hard to divide the revolutionary movement. The U.S. imperialists and home reaction are making fruitless efforts to isolate us from the masses by rigging elections, feigning a desire for democratization, and inventing new "reforms." They put out "white books"⁶ and books of other colors, hoping to prove what does not and cannot exist.

Our policy, however, is aimed at using the slightest chance of achieving peace by negotiation. However, the enemy compels us to fight. In this historic battle, the revolutionary forces show more and more that they are strong enough to hold their positions. This line bears tangible fruit already. The working people are closing their ranks behind their fighting vanguard. Our desire for a political settlement is shared by the Salvadoran Catholic church and the mass of believers. More and more Salvadorans are calling for peace, justice, democracy and defense of the country against imperialist interference.

In the face of brutal retaliation by butchers dressed in army uniforms and by fascist bands, the people of El Salvador are determined to win and will never slacken their effort for the

triumph of their just cause. Both the military and the political initiative are in the hands of the revolution.

1. The FMNLF, formed on October 10, 1980, is a military-political alliance of five left-wing insurgent organizations: the Farabundo Marti People's Liberation Forces, People's Revolutionary Army, Revolutionary Party of Central American Working People, Armed Forces of National Resistance, and Armed Forces of National Liberation (combat units of the Communist Party of El Salvador). The RDF, a political alignment which came into being on April 18, 1980, has a broader composition. It groups over a hundred political, trade union, and other mass organizations opposed to the hated oligarchic dictatorship. — Ed.

2. A report presented by the Defense Minister to the National Constituent Assembly in July 1982 admitted that over the past year government troops had lost 3,800 in killed, wounded, and missing in fighting with the FMNLF (the word "missing" was used for prisoners of war and deserters). In a mere 80 days (from October 10, 1982), the Front destroyed 1,170 government troops, captured over 600 rifles, and took about 300 troops prisoner.

3. See *Le Monde Diplomatique (en español)*, July 1982, p. 11.

4. See *Venceremos*, No. 8, September-October 1982.

5. The initiative taken by the FMNLF and RDF last October was by no means the first step toward a search for peaceful solutions. As early as 1980, the FMNLF notified the Carter administration of its readiness for dialogue. It even drew up a five-point program to this end but the program was turned down. Since then the revolutionary forces of El Salvador have repeatedly furnished proof of their willingness for a political settlement. In February 1981, for instance, they approved of a SI plan providing for this organization's mediation in talks. The FMNLF and RDF themselves have repeatedly called on prominent U.S. and Latin American politicians to mediate and proposed a direct dialogue with the Christian Democratic junta in power till March 1982; they accepted the plan for settlement submitted to the UN by President Aristides Royo of Panama in 1981. Lastly, on October 7, 1981, both organizations submitted their own peace proposals to the UN General Assembly through Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Coordinator of the National Reconstruction Government of Nicaragua.

6. Meaning the *White Book* concocted in Washington and circulated in February 1981 as alleged proof of Cuban and Soviet "interference" in the affairs of El Salvador, and hence as an argument in favor of combating "international terrorism." — Ed.

Multinational penetration of the Irish Republic's economy

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The Republic of Ireland has passed through three stages of economic development since the foundation of the state in 1921.

The first stage, 1921-1932, was a period of undisguised neocolonialism. The economy in this period was backward, overwhelmingly agrarian, and had no significant manufacturing industry outside brewing and distilling. The role of the Irish economy was to provide cheap agricultural produce, mostly unprocessed, and surplus unskilled labor for the British market. Agricultural exports paid for imported manufactured consumer goods, raw materials and capital goods. Over 80 per cent of exports went to Britain and a similar proportion of imports came from Britain.

The second period, 1932-1958, was presided over by a more nationally minded section of the native bourgeoisie, who aimed to build an independent, largely self-sufficient capitalist economy. The development of domestic industry was encouraged behind high tariff barriers. State-sponsored industries were set up in key areas where private capital was unwilling or

lacked the resources to invest. Manufacturing output and employment expanded. The foundation for the indigenous industrial base which we have today was laid in this period. However, the strategy of building a self-sufficient native capitalist economy failed. High unemployment and large-scale emigration continued throughout the period, and the resources of the country were still exploited by British imperialist concerns. The entire banking and monetary system was integrated into British finance capital, with our monetary policy being dictated from London until as late as 1979 (when the exchange rate of the Irish pound began to be fixed according to the rules of the European monetary system).

Property relations within the economy favored pro-imperialist policies, and these relations were left undisturbed by the so-called radical bourgeois elements.

The crisis of the 1950s was so severe that the country was forced to choose between a revolutionary, anti-imperialist path to economic independence and growth, and an alternative

strategy based on attracting foreign investment and multinational penetration, finally abandoning the ideal of a sovereign independent economy. Not surprisingly, the bourgeoisie chose the latter course.

In analyzing the economic policy of the Irish Republic, it is the third period, 1958 to the present day, which concerns us. The first step in opening up the economy to foreign penetration was a change in the law which required that the majority of shares in any company be controlled by Irish nationals. This was followed by the lowering and gradual elimination of tariff barriers between Ireland and Britain. Free trade between unequal partners mostly favored Britain.

Foreign firms investing in this period were guaranteed tax-free profits for the first 15 years of their operation. They did not have to pay any tax on profits made from manufactured exports. Multinationals were allowed full repatriation of profits without any time restrictions. Government policy on trade and fiscal measures set the stage for the flood of foreign firms attracted to Ireland in this period. The spearhead of the drive to attract multinational capital was an organization set up by the government for this purpose, the Irish Development Authority (IDA).

Multinational invasion

The IDA offered a sophisticated and comprehensive package of incentives to attract multinational corporations (MNCs) to Ireland. They were given almost complete autonomy from government direction and offered all kinds of attractions, including non-repayable capital investment grants of between 35 and 50 per cent of the capital cost of a project; cheap sites for industrial development; purpose-built advanced factories in new industrial estates, fully serviced by public agencies; generous re-equipment grants to replace obsolete machinery; guaranteed loans at subsidized interest rates; free training programs for employees, up to university level where necessary.

All of these concessions were paid for by the taxes of Irish workers.

The IDA aggressively sold this package in the USA and other advanced capitalist countries, boasting of many other advantages which Ireland had for the foreign investor. They emphasized that Ireland had the lowest wage rates in Europe, that the working class was educated and English-speaking, that the Communist Party and other revolutionary forces were not very strong and that the political climate was "stable," i.e., right-wing political forces were stronger in Ireland than in any other European

country, so there would be no danger of government action against MNCs, no matter which faction of the bourgeoisie was in power.

The IDA policy of national self-debasement proved very successful. Between 1958 and the present, over 800 overseas enterprises established subsidiaries in the Republic. MNCs now employ 80,000 workers in the manufacturing industry, or 34 per cent of the total manufacturing labor force.¹

The bourgeois parties claimed that the strategy of attracting MNCs to spearhead export-led growth in manufactured goods was the only solution to the country's economic problems. They followed the logic of their position by bringing the Republic of Ireland into the Common Market in 1973. This enhanced Ireland's attractiveness as a base for non-European multinationals. American and Japanese MNCs saw Ireland as a convenient springboard to penetrate this lucrative market of 270 million without coming up against European tariff barriers. Fifty per cent of all new industrial investment since 1972 has come from American MNCs. The average rate of return on American investment in the Republic of Ireland is 28 per cent, the highest in Europe — another proud boast of the IDA.

The IDA strategy of industrial development went largely unquestioned at first because it coincided with a period of sustained economic growth in the 1960s and 1970s and with rapidly expanding markets. However, a detailed analysis of the characteristics of monopoly capital investment and its effects on the Irish economy reveals that the pro-monopoly policy has dismally failed to tackle the problems facing the Republic and has created serious imbalances in the economy.

Investment against the national interest

Foreign industries have little stand-alone potential. They are, for the most part, mere manufacturing satellites in a global MNC network. They import semi-finished goods, add one or two components, and then export the output to be finished elsewhere. They use few Irish inputs, so there is very little spin-off benefit for indigenous Irish industry. Accordingly, they contribute little or nothing to the development of a sophisticated, integrated industrial base.

Foreign industries use a low level of skills. For long-term economic growth we need to constantly upgrade the skills of the work force. But MNC subsidiaries do not do this. They mainly provide jobs in sub-assembly type, repetitive operations. Workers made redundant from these firms do not have the high skills urgently needed elsewhere in the economy.

They carry out little or no research and development (R & D) or marketing functions in Ireland. R & D is imported from the parent company as part of a technological package which bears no relation to the needs of the Irish economy. Without our own R & D potential we have no chance of maintaining our position in international markets in the long term. The type of technology imported is a product of advanced capitalist countries like the USA and Japan, with the emphasis on saving labor. This does not suit Irish economic needs, which require industries that will absorb our huge labor surplus.

Overseas industry in Ireland is too capital-intensive. Average numbers employed in foreign enterprises are under 200. They have high levels of job losses. When accepting a project, the IDA "approves" a certain quota of jobs to be created. Of all the jobs approved between 1970 and 1978, only 30 per cent actually existed on the ground in 1982. At the same time 17 per cent of the labor force is unemployed and the numerical strength of this labor force is growing fast.

If these foreign firms generated spin-off development elsewhere in the economy, IDA policy could be justified but this is not the case. Nor are foreign firms in Ireland wage leaders. Average wage rates are slightly less than in the domestic sector.

MNCs do not set up industries for which Ireland has a natural or comparative advantage. They are concentrated in dynamic high-profit areas, primarily petrochemicals, pharmaceuticals, electronics manufacturing, synthetic textiles, health care products and chemicals. Since these industries are not integrated, they do not produce the kind of products for which our resources are suited, nor do they supply the domestic market with the goods needed in these areas.

Overseas subsidiaries are excessively export-oriented. The tax incentives attract industries with an export bias. As a result, the home market has been neglected and many of the needs of the domestic economy are filled by unnecessary imports. For example, in 1979 imports of chemicals exceeded exports by 28 per cent. We exported chemical goods which had a high import content and imported chemicals which could have been produced at home.

IDA statistics show that the inputs used by overseas firms in the past decade had a very high import content. In individual years the total import content of the value of their exported output was over 70 per cent, largely nullifying the gains in foreign exchange.

Most of the trade carried on by MNC subsi-

diaries is done with other affiliates in the multinational chain; 55 per cent of their Irish exports go to affiliates in other countries. Government policy can therefore have no real influence on the trading activities of these firms, which control the bulk of our manufactured exports.

It will be seen that MNCs are not interested in contributing to Ireland's industrial development. A recent survey revealed that 80 per cent of foreign firms were attracted to Ireland for three principal reasons: tax incentives, access to EEC markets, and capital grants, in that order. American MNCs are taking an increasing share of IDA-granted enterprises, followed by the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan. In 1979, the IDA distributed IR£95 million to foreign companies, of which IR£79 million went to U.S. enterprises.

The problems remain

The export-led growth strategy has significantly altered sectoral balances within the economy. Between 1961 and 1981 the share of agricultural output in the gross domestic product declined from 24 to 18 per cent. In the same period, the share of industry grew from 31 to 36 per cent. Employment in agriculture as a proportion of the total labor force fell from 36 to 18 per cent; employment in industry expanded from 25 (17 per cent in manufacturing) to 30 per cent (18 per cent in manufacturing).

In 1974, for the first time, manufactured exports exceeded exports of agricultural and food products. Economic growth averaged four per cent per annum in the 1960s and in the interval between the two recessions of the 1970s, the national product expanded from five to seven per cent in different years. Fixed investment as a proportion of the GNP has remained exceptionally high, averaging 28 per cent in recent years. This is higher than the figure for most advanced capitalist countries, except Japan.

Yet all these impressive figures cannot hide the fact that not one single new job was created during the whole period of multinational penetration. In 1958, the total number at work in the Republic was 1,068,000. In 1978 — a boom year for capitalism in Ireland — only 1,046,000 were at work.

The pro-monopoly strategy has failed to absorb the surplus labor from agriculture; it has failed to find work for the 17,000 young people entering the labor force annually. The extra jobs created in new industry have been offset by the number of jobs destroyed in the traditional industries and the domestic sector of the economy.

In order to attract MNCs, bourgeois govern-

ments have opened up the economy to an extreme degree. Imports plus exports as a proportion of the GNP — a measure of openness — are 155 per cent for Ireland, the highest figure in the OECD,² even higher than Hong Kong.

This has a number of undesirable effects.

Firstly, it forces the economy to operate within a distorted price system. The price system ruling in the developed capitalist economies is not appropriate to Ireland. Our physical and human resources require a different capital-labor price ratio if all our resources are to be fully employed.

Secondly, this price distortion has undermined a large proportion of domestic industry producing for the home market. Over 60 per cent of all jobs and 54 per cent of manufactured output depend on the home market. Foreign competition in the free-trade EEC environment is constantly destroying jobs in this vital sector.

Thirdly, the government is powerless to use fiscal policies to lift the economy out of the recession. Any increase in public spending to boost domestic demand and employment will seep away into expenditure on imports, creating jobs abroad instead.

Fourthly, the economy is extremely vulnerable to international trading conditions. A slight fall in the volume of world trade will cause severe dislocation in Ireland. In the present recession, we are totally dependent on an international recovery to alleviate the unemployment crisis. Within the pro-monopoly framework of its economic policy, the government can do nothing independently to tackle the problems, except to insist that workers accept a cut in their real income.

Fifthly, like many third world countries, we are faced with chronic balance of payment problems combined with high imported inflation.

Unused potential

A country with valuable minerals and highly productive land should use these resources to fuel the engine of economic growth. But in Ireland our biggest industries — agriculture and food processing plus mining — are passive, non-dynamic sectors due to the distorting effects of excessive openness and multinational domination.

Eighty per cent of all imports comprise raw materials and capital goods. The country is unable to use its natural resources to the full and develop capital goods industries of its own. Here is an example. Ireland has one of the biggest lead and zinc mines in the world. They are owned by a Canadian multinational which exports the raw ore for processing elsewhere.

When the mine runs out we will have no jobs in industries which could have developed from it.

Structural problems in agriculture are aggravated by membership in the EEC. High guaranteed prices for milk and beef have led to overproduction of these commodities at the expense of tillage, which has a high employment potential in the processing stage.

High prices for cattle lead to a large export trade in live cattle and cattle on the hoof. As a result, meat-processing factories are denied the opportunities to increase the value, as well as employment at home, by further processing and packaging. And to ban the export of live cattle or interfere with prices would be a breach of EEC rules.

Agricultural output has been so distorted that Ireland now imports hundreds of thousands of tons of foodstuffs annually, much of which was traditionally produced at home, such as potatoes and fresh vegetables. Meanwhile the food processing industry, which is the biggest manufacturing sector and employs 22 per cent of the manufacturing labor force, is being rapidly taken over by the MNCs.

The Economic and Social Research Institute estimates that if present trends continue 80 per cent of Ireland's food-processing industry could be in the hands of MNCs by 1990. Yet this industry is central to the recovery of Ireland's economy. The quality of our soil and climatic conditions are ideally suited to effective and very high-quality agricultural output. Indeed, output could be doubled even with existing capital stock. Processed food would have a low import content. We have a large, skilled agricultural labor force and an excellent state-run Agricultural Research Institute. All of this potential will be lost unless multinational penetration is halted.

Another source of immense potential is our sea fisheries. However, under EEC fishing rules, Irish fishermen are only allowed a fraction of the catch in their own territorial waters, the remainder being allocated to continental fishing fleets. As a result Ireland, a nation rich in maritime resources, has a negligible fish-processing industry.

Many of these deficiencies are due to the policy of successive bourgeois governments, but EEC rules, which favor the MNCs, will remove from future Irish governments the power ever to solve these problems.

The grip which MNCs have on the Irish economy is now so tight that only a radical break with capitalist policies could allow it to achieve its true potential. It is estimated that 50 per cent of the assets of Irish industrial and service firms are controlled from overseas. In

the wake of the industrial penetration, MNCs have moved into banking and insurance, as well as service industries and property speculation.

The IDA strategy for development is now nearing the end of its useful life. It will become more difficult in future to attract new investments. Competition from other countries is increasing and will make it harder and more expensive to set up new industries. When Spain and Portugal enter the EEC they may seem more attractive locations for foreign investment. Capitalism on a global scale has entered a stage of long-term stagnation and the volume of multinational investment in productive industry is bound to shrink.

A different path needed

To sum up, multinational penetration of the Irish economy³ has, to some extent, modernized and diversified the country's industrial base. However this was achieved at the cost of surrendering control over our economic destiny.

The policy of attracting MNCs has brought about an industrial structure foreign to the national economy. It has helped to destroy or damage important areas of the domestic economy and cannot contribute to long-term industrial development.

The framework of economic policy necessary to attract and hold onto MNC investment contributed to severe balance of payments problems, high inflation, distortion of price ratios, dislocation of industry at frequent intervals and chaos in government finances. This policy rendered economic planning impossible, thus frustrating the development of those resources and industries upon which stable, balanced economic growth could be sustained.

The real indictment of this policy is that it failed in its central objective: to provide growing employment. If this strategy is maintained 25 per cent of the labor force will be unemployed within a few short years.

For all these reasons, the Communist Party of Ireland has called for a radical change in government policy. To counter the crisis that exists in the Irish economy, the state must become involved directly in manufacturing and in the provision of capital. The IDA, with its servility before monopoly capital, must be re-

placed by a national development corporation which will be democratic and have full control over all aspects of industrial development. Besides, a complete reform of the pro-export biased company tax system would have to take place, plus an end to all incentives and grants which encourage chaotic and unintegrated industry to establish in Ireland. Instead, our party sees the need for the development of an indigenous manufacturing base by state productive investment, concentrating on exploiting the home market. However, where foreign investment is needed it would be negotiated on terms which force foreign investors to meet specific targets in job creation, linkages with the rest of the economy, R & D and market commitments.

It is vital that the state assumes the commanding heights of the economy and that we develop a proper balance between capital-intensive and capital-extensive investment. This will enable us to meet the job requirements of the unemployed and secure a dynamic base from which further growth can be ensured. Such an interim plan requires centralized state planning. Although indigenous industrial concerns can play a part in this, their overall success would depend on sources of finance being in state hands.

At present the Irish finance and credit system is overwhelmingly controlled by British institutions, and it is a first priority that this be ended. Therefore, the CPI demands the nationalization of the banks and all financial institutions and the placing of their assets at the disposal of the state planning and development corporations.

All of these measures run in stark contradiction to both the policies and regulations of the Common Market. Since these are the only measures that can lead Ireland to a path of economic development and social progress, it is essential that our country withdraws from the EEC.

1. Most of the data given here are based on IDA statistics.

2. The OECD comprises most of the industrial capitalist countries. — Ed.

3. This article concentrates on the 26 counties of the Republic of Ireland. The experience of the six counties of Northern Ireland, occupied by British imperialist forces, is similar in many ways but different in important respects of history, economic structure, government policy and long-run trends.

Portuguese democrats score success

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On December 12 of last year, Portuguese citizens over the age of 18 years went to the polls to elect, by direct and secret ballot, their representatives in the local organs of power: 305 municipal chambers and assemblies and nearly 3,800 parish assemblies. The results of the poll, our party's Central Committee said, was "a crushing defeat for the DA,² and a great victory for democracy."

As a result of the Portuguese people's persevering struggle and their vote, and in view of the complete failure of the rightists' policy, the prime minister handed in his resignation: the DA government's resignation was accepted by the President, and the Chairman of the Social Democratic Center (SDC), the second largest party of the reactionary bloc, decided to withdraw from party activity. The right-wing forces continue to face great difficulties and are rent by deep-seated contradictions.

In January of this year, the President of the country dissolved the Assembly of the Republic — something that the Portuguese Communist Party had insistently demanded — and appointed general elections for April 25, which should leave the rightists in a minority in the parliament. This key victory of the democratic system in the Portugal of the April Revolution, which prevented the DA from putting through its subversive plans, is inseparable from the results of the December 12 poll. This was, consequently, confirmation of the PCP's conclusions, which had repeatedly stressed that these elections were much more important than the specific scale of local elections would suggest.

Crushing defeat for reaction

The failure of the reactionary bloc is the most important result of the December poll. The communists consistently strove to attain that goal, which they regarded as the primary and major one in those elections.

The crushing defeat suffered by reaction was expressed, among other things, in the following. The DA and its constituent parties lost, respectively, 204,000, 634,000 and 163,000 votes, as compared with the 1979 elections to the local organs of power, the 1980 elections to

the Assembly of the Republic, and the presidential elections of December 7, 1980 (in which General Ramalho Eanes defeated the DA candidate). Of every 100 persons who had voted for the DA or one of its parties in the October 1980 parliamentary elections, 23 refused to vote for them in the local elections in December 1982. In 1979, and in the 1980 parliamentary elections, the DA and its parties won over 47 per cent of the votes, but in December of last year they won only 42 per cent.

The Alliance and its parties lost 26 seats of chairmen of municipal chambers and almost 250 seats of chairmen of parish juntas.* They lost their absolute majority in the chambers of Lisbon and Porto, and in many other municipalities and parishes, losing altogether more than 2,000 seats.

The DA's defeat marked the failure of the line which it had conducted in the local organs of power, and of the whole of its policy. The relatively specific nature of the elections to the organs of local self-administration does not minimize the importance of the people's overall disagreement with the rightists' policy on the scale of the whole country. It is highly significant that the DA and its parties suffered the greatest losses in Lisbon, Porto and other major urban centers, where local factors are less important and where there is a prevalence of nation-wide political issues.

The Popular Unity Alliance (PUA) and the Socialist Party (SP) won 551,000 votes across the country, and that is 25 per cent more than the DA got: they were backed by 52.8 per cent of the electorate. This was another and even more powerful demonstration of the PCP's thesis that the DA administration is totally illegitimate and that a majority of the people reject that bloc's plans, which are designed to undermine the democratic system, and that a majority of the people are against its defective economic policies and the line of depressing the living conditions of the working people and of the whole nation.

¹The junta is the executive of the parish assembly. — Ed.

PUA's victory

The victory scored by the PCP and its associates in the PUA is another outcome of the local elections.

The domestic and foreign press controlled by big capital and the reformists had claimed that the number of votes cast for the PUA had been "stabilized." This was a lie that was driven home by constant repetition, and the best refutation of it comes from the figures. Here are some of them.

The PUA won 1,077,000 votes in the municipal elections. From 20.7 to 21.3 per cent of the electorate, that is, more than in any other elections in the past, voted for its candidates to the various organs of local power. The PUA now has 55 seats of chamber chairman (37 in 1976 and 50 in 1979), which makes it the only political force that had not lost its majority in any of the municipalities where it had one. On the municipal level, the PUA will run 30.6 per cent of the country's territory (as compared with 27.8 per cent in the past). It won a majority in 335 parishes (as against 195 in 1976 and 299 in 1979).

Characteristically, the number of voters favoring the PUA in the municipalities of the Agrarian Reform zone topped 55 per cent, which offered another striking demonstration of popular support for the great gain of the April Revolution and signalled condemnation of the government's policy by the masses. The PUA won many votes in the municipalities of Lisbon and Porto and also in the neighboring industrial cities.

Socialist Party's positions

The next feature of the election returns is a partial re-establishment of the Socialist Party's positions. It had claimed to be the chief winner, and the same assertions were also made by a large part of the mass media. But the facts convey a different message.

The Socialist Party won 1,631,000 votes (31.8 per cent), that is, 272,000 more than in the 1979 elections, when it got the lowest number of votes ever. But a smaller part of the electorate voted for it as compared with the 1980 parliamentary elections.³ It has now regained 20 municipal chambers, but that has done nothing to compensate for its loss of 55 posts of chamber chairmen in 1979.

There are contradictory reasons for the partial re-establishment in the number of votes and seats won by the SP. It made use of the profound discontent caused by the right-wing forces' policy and reaped the fruits of the struggle by the communists, the working class and the popular movement against the DA govern-

ment in defense of democracy, a struggle in which the SP did not take part and to which its leadership frequently took a hostile attitude. It was also helped by the rightists' "useful vote" in their efforts to defeat the PUA, and the democrats' vote to rout the DA. Some SP candidates frequently declared that they were supporting the president of the Republic, while the SP leadership openly demanded General Eanes' resignation.

In many instances, SP candidates strove to attract voters by claiming that they were acting as opponents of the right-wing policy of their party's leadership, and that the votes they gained would provide broader opportunities for combating that policy. The support given to the SP was shaky and contradictory, and was aimed mainly against the DA, the People's Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Center. That is why the PCP repeatedly stressed that from the standpoint of democracy it would be intolerable to use these votes in fresh compacts with the rightists to undermine the regime, to fan hostility for the President of the Republic and to conduct an anti-labor and anti-people policy.

Leftists' decline

The electoral returns also indicate the growing decline and disintegration of the leftists.

Their largest outfit — the Democratic People's Alliance (DPA) — lost 33,000 votes, as compared with the local elections in 1979, and 48,000, as compared with the 1980 parliamentary elections (a drop of 58 per cent), in the local authorities it lost 67 seats, or 55 per cent. In a parliamentary election, the DPA would have lost its only seat in the Assembly of the Republic on the strength of the December returns.

Nevertheless, despite the sharp decline of the ultra-leftists, their splitting activity continues to harm the democratic forces. The few votes which had been uselessly cast for the DPA, together with a small outfit using the same symbol as the PCP on its ballot papers for provocative and deceitful purposes, would have enabled the PUA to win in the Sintra municipality (the country's fifth largest) and so to deprive the DA of the post of chamber chairman in the area.

Other conclusions

Finally, the election returns confirm the idea that our country has a large political potential which is not being used. Indeed, the number of those who abstained increased (2,054,000, or 281,000 and 970,000 more than in the two previous local elections) and the number of un-

filled ballot papers went up roughly three-fold. All of this confirms the PCP's conclusion that a part of the electorate refusing to recognize the existing parties constitutes a sizable political reserve.

On the whole, the election returns testify to a clear victory for democracy. The people profound discontent with the DA as expressed in the crushing defeat of the rightists and the obvious superiority of the forces opposing them show very well that the reactionary bloc is becoming ever more a minority in the country. In a parliamentary election the DA would have lost 18 seats, the PUA would have won an additional 10, and the Socialist Party — 8. The DA would have had 116 instead of 134 seats in parliament, i.e., in a minority against the 131 seats of the PUA and the SP.

The election returns demonstrated that in the forthcoming parliamentary elections, the DA faces the prospect of an even heavier defeat as a result of the vigorous activity of the communists and other democrats. This will help to defend the democratic system and the interests of the working people, the whole nation and the country.

Long way

The way to success has been long, and it was the struggle carried on by the working people and the whole nation that had a tremendous role to play in achieving it. Considering the sphere of local self-administration specifically, the activity of the communists and their PUA allies in the period of the electoral campaign ran mostly along these main lines:

- defense of local democratic power;
- enhancement of the importance of the elections;
- preparation of rolls and programs, and organization of the whole electoral campaign in the spirit of unity and reliance on the masses.

The central task was the defense of local power. The point is that in Portugal this power now has a specific character which is determined by the revolutionary process that began on April 25.⁴

Thus, the municipal chambers and assemblies and the parish assemblies are elected by direct ballot on the basis of proportional representation. The total number of their members comes to over 66,000 for the 7 million electors, that is, one representative per 100 persons. Representatives of local mass organizations⁵ take part in the work of the parish assemblies with a consultative voice and may be entrusted to tackle the tasks set before them by the parish organs of power. These organs' financial independence is guaranteed by the constitu-

tion and other laws, and appropriations are allocated in accordance with objective criteria (data concerning the material needs of the local organs of self-administration, population, territory, etc.). In virtue of the concrete features which the local authorities gained in post-April Portugal, they have become an important school of everyday practical exercise of democracy and one of the most important instruments for the PCP's ties with the masses.

The communists believe that it follows from the constitution that local power "is the assertion of the progressive, advanced and explicit popular character of the democratic system which was established after the Portuguese Revolution."⁶

Regardless of whether the communists and their PUA allies are in a majority or a minority, of whether they are in possession of a sizable or modest potentialities for their activity, they have done more than anyone else to tackle the concrete problems of social development. They have worked for the democratic functioning of the local authorities and involvement of the population in their activity, combating corruption, and striving for honest, democratic and independent administration at every level.

The style of the communists' work, as of the whole PUA, has become an important factor in enhancing their authority among the masses, helping to reduce anti-communist prejudice and strengthening democracy and raising the consciousness of the politically most backward sections of the people.

For the same reason, local power has become an objective of fierce attacks by the government and the reactionary parliamentary majority within the framework of their overall offensive against the democratic system. The right-wing forces strove to change the system of elections to the local organs of self-administration and to reduce the number of their deputies, to increase the power of the chairmen and to limit the role of the municipal and parish assemblies. Reaction strove to take away community-owned plots of land, to slash appropriations for local needs, to enable the government once again to allocate these funds arbitrarily, to give it the right to dissolve local organs of power which it regarded as a hindrance to itself and to deprive their deputies of the possibility of re-election.

These reactionary bills were not approved or put into effect before the December elections and that was a major success for the people, the progressive forces and the democratic local authorities.

Another important line in the struggle was to make the elections as significant as possible. In

the months preceding the elections, the Communist Party kept arguing that the DA's stay in power would have a negative effect on the possibility of the people's continued expression of will. That is why, in standing up for the democratic system and genuinely free elections, the PCP demanded the DA government's resignation, the dissolution of the Assembly of the Republic and the appointment of an independent interim government and new parliamentary elections. Life has shown that the communists' demands were meaningful.

For a long time, the PCP and the PUA had no access to the state mass media. We were being stubbornly deprived of such access through ignominious agreements between the DA and the Socialist Party, which monopolized these media. All manner of slanderous inventions concerning the PCP and the PUA, and also the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, were spread about from day to day for months and during the elections as well. Spokesmen for the government and other official institutions mounted a wild campaign throughout the country, abusing their official position, holding forth now in connection with the end of some construction project, now with the start of another, handing out money and promises right and left. In some areas, an undemocratic atmosphere was maintained, freedoms were curtailed and a section of the population manipulated.

Several serious provocations were staged on the eve of the elections, the most important of these being the murder of one of the managers of an enterprise at which the workers and employees were then carrying on a just struggle for their rights. Characteristically, the crime was admitted by a group provocatively styling itself as the "April 25 Popular Forces." All of this reduced the scale of the DA's defeat, although it was great, but such facts show the importance of the PUA's triumph, considering the concrete conditions in which it was scored.

It is true that it was impossible to attain the main demand that would have attached even greater importance to the elections, namely, the government's resignation before the elections were held, but the PCP and the working-class and popular movement, together with all the other progressive forces, have scored a number of important partial successes in this area. Thus, they managed to block the introduction of a new electoral law, which the DA had managed to push through the Assembly of the Republic for the purpose of turning the balloting into a farce; successful control over the elections was ensured on a sizable part of the country's territory; resolute action by the Com-

munist Party and other democratic forces made it possible somewhat to right the situation in access to the mass media and to eliminate some of the more blatant expressions of discrimination on the radio and television; the demagoguery, abuse of power and false promises were actively exposed, criticized and branded.

Mass action

The drawing up of electoral rolls and election programs and the conduct of an extensive information, explanation and mobilization campaign among the masses was a highly important feature of the electoral struggle.

The drawing up of electoral rolls called for tremendous efforts on the basis of unity and involvement of broad masses of the population and with the participation of thousands of activists. The PUA nominated more than 60,000 candidates across the country, one-half of them being independents and 1,250 Socialists, 12,000 were women. Whenever conditions allowed, many rolls were discussed at open meetings, with their participants making proposals and expressing wishes that were always reckoned with and frequently realized. But the broad composition of the rolls does not mean that our party's crucial and definitive role in the PUA was weakened. On the contrary, these rolls testified to the PCP's success in its electoral tactics, reflecting the party's influence among broad democratic sections and helping to strengthen its influence and blasting the myth of the communists "isolation," which was stubbornly spread by reaction and the right-wing opportunists.

In many cases, the electoral programs were drafted on the basis of the results of open meetings with the participation of citizens and the circulation of questionnaires in the neighborhoods and also other forms for bringing out the opinion of the masses.

Broad campaign

The electoral campaign and all the explanatory and information work of the PCP and the PUA demonstrated the fine capabilities, a knowledge of local and regional problems, loyalty to the cause and the authority of tens of thousands of communists and of other PUA candidates and activists. Their efforts were a reflection of their broad ties with the masses, and this for its part helped to consolidate these ties, to fight against the right-wing forces and for a democratic alternative in the country, above all in defense of the democratic system, the independence and democracy of local authorities and their capacity to ensure the solution of the problems facing the population within the

framework of their legitimate powers and potentialities.

The PUA's electoral campaign was marked by the following main features:

- the tasks of self-administration and specific local problems were tied in with the solution of major political, economic and social problems facing the democratic system, the working people and the whole nation. That is why, considering some of the general important aspects of propaganda on the scale of the whole country, the campaign was carried on in a highly decentralized manner;

- thorough planning of forthcoming action was combined with swift introduction of the necessary correctives required by the dynamically changing situation;

- to an even greater extent than in the past, the whole political activity was aimed to attain broad unity, ranging from the nomination of candidates to matters of style and the content of the electoral campaign. This was done without detriment to the PCP itself, and did not require the communists' renunciation of firm commitments on matters of principle, let alone any "glossing over" or abolition of the party's indispensable role, which is determined by its policy and class composition, its loyalty to the cause, its militancy and close ties with the masses.

Fresh perspectives

The PUA's success, the PCP CC said, is due to two important factors: first, "the work done by the PCP and the PUA in the local organs of power and their seriousness, competency and capability in the management of their affairs and the authority of their candidates"; and second, "the support won among the masses by the PCP's orientation and activity and its approach to national political issues."⁷

The 55 municipal districts and 335 parishes where the PUA has a majority, the 9,000 deputies, the important positions held by the PUA that have been consolidated and expanded as a result of the December elections: all of this is an important bridgehead in the battle for the people's interests. It is a battle whose objective is to help the democratic forces achieve fresh gains and bring about the ultimate defeat of reaction, so that Portugal could firmly return to the way indicated on April 25.

Accordingly, our party will continue to pursue, deepen and improve the policy in the administrative regions, municipal districts and parishes which constitutes the basis for the PUA's successful activity in the local organs of power, a fact which even its political opponents have to admit.

This policy will continue in the future as well to meet the following basic principles:

- to express boundless loyalty to the people's cause, to ensure the solution of problems agitating the minds of the people, and to use every means to attain the set goals;

- constantly to involve the masses in local self-administration so as to enable them to take part both in deciding on the priorities and in seeking the best solutions, and also in voluntary work;

- ever more fully to assert the workmanlike superiority of the democrats elected to the local organs of power, a superiority which is achieved through their daily study, collective activity and ties with the masses;

- to cooperate with all the elected representatives seeking to solve the problems of the population, regardless of which political force nominated them;

- to display honesty and independence in the adoption of all decisions, giving "preference" only to the poorest and most needy, resolutely combating corruption, and every other form of abuse and the misuse of official position for personal gain;

- to keep the population informed and to strengthen contacts with the citizens within the framework of each self-administrative unit, to submit progress reports and provide information on forthcoming tasks and the reasons for this or that decision;

- to arrange services, introduce new technical means and methods of administration, develop close ties and cooperation between the municipalities so as to save funds and to raise the level and quality of the services provided to the population;

- make efforts to effect the regular, efficient and democratic functioning of the municipal and parish assemblies, to enhance their role in local self-administration and to defend the principle of collegial work in the municipal chambers and parish juntas, while rebuffing any tendencies toward administration by fiat on the part of their chairmen and individual arbitrariness in the taking of decisions.

Our party believes that at the new stage it will be possible to defend and consolidate the democratic local power through broad and persevering struggle and to improve the people's living conditions to the extent to which this depends on the organs of local self-administration. This will provide fresh confirmation of the basic superiority of its democratic and progressive forms over the reactionary or bureaucratic methods of administration by other political forces. The democratic system of local power generally

and the activity of the PCP in the organs of local administration in particular will continue to promote the defense and consolidation of the system which sprang from the April Revolution.

1. Local Power. — Ed.

2. Democratic Alliance, a bloc of three right-wing parties which had been in power for the past three years.

3. In 1975, the SP won 37.9 per cent of the poll in the elections to the Constituent Assembly, 35 per cent in the 1976 parliamentary elections, and 33.3 per cent in the local elections that same year.

4. Concerning the character and specific features of the system of local power in Portugal see "Local Government: A Gain of the April Revolution" by C. Costa in WMR, No. 9, 1982.

5. Under the constitution, mass organizations, like working people's commissions, tenants' commissions and people's assemblies, may be set up within the parish framework. — Ed.

6. Alvaro Cunhal, *Poder Local no Portugal de Abril*, Ed. Avante!, p. 12.

7. Document of the PCP Central Committee of December 19, 1982.

Lebanon: between the hammer and the anvil

A BRIEF COMMENTARY

A fairly long time has passed since the beginning of the Israeli-U.S. aggression against Lebanon. Many thousands of people were killed, wounded or taken prisoner or are missing. Dozens of towns and villages were razed to the ground. The economic basis of Lebanon was destroyed almost completely. The Israeli invaders overran more than half of the territory of the country. Foreign troops known as "multinational forces," whose backbone is made up of U.S. troops, were stationed on Lebanese soil. It would seem that the time has come for the aggressor as well as for those who backed, protected and defended him to try to derive political dividends from the invasion.

This is the impression made by the early rounds of the Lebanese-Israeli talks (begun late in 1982) in which the United States is taking part on an equal footing. The talks were made possible by the high stake which all the parties concerned have in them, even though each party has its own idea of their nature and likely outcome.

There is no need here to go into the details and fine points of the real attitude of official Lebanon. Speaking generally, however, one may say that Lebanon, the victim of the aggression, is very much in need of removing its effects, ending occupation and restoring its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Lebanese government's desire to start talks as early as possible may seem reasonable. But anyone who approaches the matter soberly should also see the serious negative change in the balance of forces due to aggression, Israel's growing claims and the dangerously unseemly role of the USA. Our party, like large national patriotic sections of our population, is convinced that in the circumstances the

talks cannot have an outcome desirable for Lebanon.

The intervention and the monstrous massacre of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila camps irreparably tarnished Israel's reputation in the eyes of world opinion. Israel is now wrestling with an inner political split unprecedented since the beginning of its armed conflicts with the Arabs. Lebanese patriots operating in the occupied areas daily inflict heavy casualties on the invader. This is why the Zionist top leadership desperately needs an early political victory that would consolidate the results of the aggression and justify the casualties. Israel wants to force Lebanon to its knees, keep part of the territory it has seized and lend occupation a semblance of legitimacy. The Israelis' activities before and during the talks confirmed that refusal to get out of Lebanon is the basis and pivot of their approach. Their consent to talks does not imply willingness to pull out their occupation troops; it is an attempt to wrest concessions on important points from the Lebanese side.

As for the United States, which has invariably sided with the invaders, helped them in every way and covered them up, it needs the talks for reasons of its own. Washington wants to take advantage of the effects of the aggression in order to bring Lebanon under its sway and make it a further component of a modified Camp David, coordinating this operation with steps being taken under the so-called "Reagan Plan"¹ throughout the region. The Americans consider it important to dispel the so-called "moderate" Arabs' cautious doubt that since Uncle Sam cannot have his way in Lebanon, he is even less likely to do it in the Middle East as a whole.

I am writing this when only the initial rounds

of the talks are over. Discussion in them concerned mostly procedural matters, such as what the delegations were to discuss and in what order or how the various items of the agenda should be formulated. But the positions of the parties came out even at this early stage.

The Lebanese delegation demanded the withdrawal of foreign troops from the country, seeing it as the central and primary problem. Its solution was to precede the discussion of measures to "safeguard security" and the future state of relations between the two countries on the basis of the 1949 ceasefire agreement, which Lebanon regards as the legal basis for these relations. The Israelis, however, insisted on putting off the issue of withdrawing their troops; they accentuated the problem of "normalizing" relations with Lebanon, ending the state of war and working out measures to "safeguard security" under a political agreement to be signed by the two countries.

How does Israel visualize these "security" measures and the "normalization" of relations? The list of demands taken by Menachem Begin to Washington last autumn² included the following measures:

- ending the state of war between Israel and Lebanon;
- both sides to agree not to allow the stationing of foreign troops on their territories except mutually agreed contingents, such as "multinational forces";
- granting Israel the right to carry out reconnaissance flights over Lebanese territory until peace is established;
- within the 45-km "security zone" being set up in southern Lebanon, only Lebanese units lacking heavy armaments may be stationed; "local forces" (that is, Saad Haddad's separatist formations) to constitute their backbone until a peace treaty is signed;
- Israel to retain the three military bases set up in southern Lebanon earlier;
- entrusting control in the "security zone" to a joint Israeli-Lebanese commission, and control at sea and in the air, including the territorial waters and air space of Lebanon, to Israel;
- pulling back the temporary UN force from its present lines and moving it 45 to 50 km into Lebanese territory;
- the Israeli-Lebanese frontier to remain open to passenger and goods traffic;
- forming an apparatus for the "normalization" of relations between the two countries.

In reading these intolerably humiliating conditions, one wonders in what way they are better than the signing of a peace treaty, which

Lebanon considers unacceptable. Wouldn't their acceptance (even if partial) be tantamount to giving in to the dictates of the aggressor and invader?

However, the very first rounds of the talks showed Israel to be steadily hardening its position. The "security" measures it wants to impose on Lebanon go beyond those accepted by Sadat in signing the capitulationist "peace" treaty. The establishment of demilitarized zones on Lebanese soil, the stationing of "multinational forces" there and the construction of early warning stations operated by personnel of the U.S. ally no longer satisfy the Israelis. They want these stations to be in their own hands and solely under their control. Without awaiting either agreement on this point, or the conclusion of the talks, the invaders have set out building early warning stations on Mt. Baruk in southern Lebanon.

As regards "normalizing relations," Israel insists, in addition to unhampered passenger and goods traffic across the Lebanese frontier, on establishing close diplomatic, economic, cultural and other relations between the two countries, renouncing "hostile propaganda," and so on. This would be a new big stride toward exploiting its armed aggression politically and legally by carrying on a fait accompli diplomacy.

While the talks are continuing, Israel is going ahead with this kind of "normalization," primarily in southern Lebanon. The state frontier is open to Israelis arriving on the seized lands and to Israeli goods flooding the Lebanese market.

At the same time, the aggressor foments through his agents bloody clashes in the mountainous areas of Lebanon and elsewhere. The result is a situation in which the flames of civil war may flare up again at any moment. The aim is not only to drag out occupation for as long as possible. Israel's rulers are out to partition Lebanon into communal and confessional cantons and Maronite, Druze, Sunnite and Shiite³ mini-states. Israel is no longer willing to content itself with the invasion of foreign lands and their annexation on the spurious pretext of "safeguarding its own security" designed to mislead world opinion. Backed by imperialism, it is trying to carry out plans aimed at dividing its Middle East neighbors along religious and communal lines. The Zionist top rulers counter the national principle with confessionalism, hoping to prove in this way that the state of Israel has an ideological and religious *raison d'être* and to back up their claims to hegemony in the region.

The United States, posing as an "impartial

mediator," agree with the Lebanese, who say that signing a peace treaty at this stage would be inadvisable. Kenneth W. Dam, Deputy Secretary of State, said that circumspection was needed and that normalization imposed by force or effected at an inopportune time could imperil Israel's security if it narrowed the framework of a Lebanese national concord and resulted in the return of hostile forces to the country.⁴ As Washington sees it, Israeli-Lebanese relations need to be "normalized" but this must be done "step by step," by the method which became sadly famous in the years of Henry Kissinger's "shuttle diplomacy." The USA, too, is in favor of "safeguarding security." The leader of its delegation, Morris Draper, said so at the very first meeting of the negotiators. In exchange, that "impartial mediator" declared, Israel would withdraw from only part (sic) of the seized territory — say, the mountainous areas. What is more, the U.S. planned to move in its forces at once to set up "observation points," and so on.

Thus the dust raised by verbal skirmishes over the agenda of the talks and points of procedure could not conceal the obvious fact that both the USA and Israel seek steps to "safeguard security" and at least a tentative agreement on "normalizing" relations between Lebanon and Israel, offering a partial, limited withdrawal of troops in exchange. This shows very well the threat posed to Lebanon by the ongoing talks, at which Lebanon finds itself between the Israeli hammer and the U.S. anvil, and the dangerous consequences in store for our country should its authorities go on relying entirely on the United States.

Meanwhile Washington is playing a foul game by putting pressure, not on Israel, as even some of those in power in Beirut erroneously imagine, but on Lebanon, which it wants to make more and more concessions curtailing the country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and paving the way for submission to double domination by the United States and Israel. The U.S. delegation resorted to arm-twisting from the very start of the talks to impose on the Lebanese an agenda suiting the USA and Israel. Faced with Israel's refusal to compromise and with U.S. pressure, the Lebanese surrendered, agreeing to simultaneous discussion of all the questions raised by the parties, those of ending the state of war and the 'framework of mutual relations' included.

The United States is set on securing the opportunity to lord it over the Middle East by gradually establishing and tightening its control over the region. Its role in the current talks,

whatever its form, never diverts from this objective. Our party is convinced that it is disastrous to entertain any illusions about the Washington "mediator." The experience of Egypt showed earlier and that of Lebanon shows today that the ultimate U.S. aim is to push through Israel's terms, which would guarantee the retention of its superiority over the Arabs, by exerting ever greater pressure on the other side. The partial withdrawal of Israeli troops, proposed in exchange, is calculated to reassure the Arab countries, as it were, and to induce them, primarily Jordan, to show greater readiness to meet the "Reagan plan" half-way.

Collusion with the Israeli aggressor, and unqualified and all-round support for his predatory activity, delivered a painful blow in the Arab world to the prestige of the United States, which had never before been involved in Middle East affairs as actively and directly as today. In this situation Washington would like to dissociate somehow in Arab eyes from the Israeli rulers' frank expansionism. This prompts it to use every insignificant case of friction between the parties to the imperialist-Zionist alliance, to try to create the semblance of differences and contradictions between them. The fact remains, however, that in spite of likely tactical divergences, Israel's aggressiveness and intransigence meet the strategic interests of U.S. imperialism in the region. It was Israeli tanks that paved the way to Lebanon for U.S. troops, which are now entrenching themselves there.

Communists stress continuously that the only way to save Lebanon is to really embark it on the policy advocated by its national patriotic forces and groups representing the majority of our countrymen. Patriots insist on a complete and unconditional withdrawal of the invaders; they reject any agreement affecting the independence and territorial integrity of the country, declare for the re-establishment of sovereign state power over the whole national territory and uphold Lebanon's allegiance to the Arab world. They demand that concrete steps be taken to settle the inner political situation, achieve unity in the fight against occupation and defeat the schemes of those who play into the invaders' hands by fomenting bloody internecine strife.

At the same time, an imperative task of the first importance facing the Lebanese patriots is to put up armed resistance to the invaders. If the aggressor gets the impression that his troops on our soil are not threatened in any way, he will do everything to delay their withdrawal, and will make new and bigger demands. If, however, the occupation troops constantly suffer casualties in manpower and materiel, this will

help make the Israeli rulers retreat under the pressure of their own public as well as of Arab and world opinion, and will bring near the time when the invaders get out.

A further assurance of saving Lebanon is the backing of all forces friendly to it in the Arab world, Europe and the rest of the planet, who do not want the aggressor to reap the fruits of his crimes with impunity and who support the legitimate right of our country to the unconditional restoration in line with the UN resolutions — of the lands seized by the invader. In the vanguard of these forces are tested and true friends of the Arab peoples: the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community. The Political Declaration recently adopted by the Prague meeting of Warsaw Treaty countries re-emphasizes the need for the immediate and

complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied areas of Lebanon.

The Lebanese Communist Party stresses that the danger threatening our country can only be eliminated by offering united resistance to the Israeli invaders, refusing to count on the U.S. "mediator" and relying on friends all over the world.

Rafic Samhoun
CC Political Bureau member,
Lebanese Communist Party

1. For details of the plan, see Meir Vilner, "Break the Vicious Circle of Bloodshed", *WMR*, No. 11, 1982 — Ed.

2. Excerpts from the list were published in the Israeli daily *Ma'ariv* and then reprinted in *Al-Safir*, a Lebanese newspaper, from which I am quoting them.

3. Christian and Muslim sects and currents. — Ed.

4. See *Al-Nida*, December 19, 1982 (Sunday edition).

Against repression and persecution

ANY BLOW AT THE PARTY IS A BLOW AT THE REVOLUTION

Some leading members of the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh), including Nureddin Kianuri, First Secretary of the Central Committee, were arrested in Tehran on February 6, 1983. The wave of repression against the PPI is rising ever higher, acquiring the character of a large-scale campaign aimed at discrediting our party, kindling anti-communist and anti-Soviet feeling in the country, and undermining the Iranian revolution.

From official statements it is clear that the party's leaders are being charged with "spying" and "forging documents." The absurdity of these charges may surprise anybody except champions of the working class, of the entire working population. Ever since the international working-class movement came into existence its class enemies have been inventing fantastic charges against it.

In and outside Iran there is considerable anxiety over the fact that an anti-communist trial of our comrades is being prepared under a smoke-screen of lies. This is the aim of supporters of the big capitalists who have much influence among the ruling circles, and of clandestine imperialist agents in the state apparatus. An assault is being projected against the party because throughout these years it has been advocating, together with revolutionary Islamic fighters, radical changes in the country, stood up for the interests of oppressed people, con-

sistently exposed the enemies of the revolution, showing clearly who its true friends are in Iran itself and on the international scene. The PPI's class positions, its fidelity to the cause of the revolution and the people have become an eyesore to the imperialists and reactionaries of all hues, to those who are motivated by ideological intolerance, to those who have planned a new counter-revolutionary conspiracy, the first phase of which has been this perfidious attack on our party.

The People's Party of Iran had repeatedly warned earlier and now declares that the repression started against it marks the commencement of a large-scale conspiracy against the anti-imperialist, people's revolution in Iran at a decisive, tense stage of its development. The design of the enemies is quite obvious: we know from history that an assault on communist and workers' parties always signals the degeneration and defeat of the revolution.

PPI members are not in the habit of thinking of personal well-being — they had not learned that science in dungeons of the shah. And now, deprived of freedom, there is only one thing that is making them anxious, and it is the destiny of the revolution. All of the revolution's progressive, anti-imperialist gains are now in jeopardy.

The communist and workers' parties of the whole world are unambiguously in solidarity with our struggle, stigmatize the repression, and demand the immediate release of leaders

and rank-and-file members of the People's Party of Iran, of true sons of their people.

Ali Khavari
CC Political Bureau member,
People's Party of Iran

WHY THE TURKISH EDITOR OF OUR JOURNAL WAS THROWN INTO JAIL

Turkey's military regime has continued its repression against the country's progressive and patriotic forces. More than 200,000 persons have already been detained and arrested, a wave of persecution has swept the country. The Communist Party of Turkey reports yet another case of arbitrariness. Here is what it says:

"On January 13, 1983," says the CP Turkey, "the martial law court of Istanbul sentenced

Haluk Seckin Meric, the managing editor of the Turkish edition of *World Marxist Review*, to seven and a half years of imprisonment and two and a half years of exile. He was stripped of his political rights. The charge was one of communist propaganda in two articles published in 1980. One was an article by Ismail Bilen, General Secretary of the CP Turkey CC, entitled: 'National Democratic Forces Challenge Exploitation and Repression' (*WMR*, No. 2, 1980) and the other a round table on the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth entitled 'Lenin's Legacy and Our Day' (*WMR*, No. 3, 1980). The court also ordered the confiscation of both issues of *WMR*, although they were published when the journal appeared in Istanbul legally."

The communists regard the authorities' acts as unlawful and demand the release of all imprisoned democrats.



Forged by class battles

Canada's Party of Socialism. History of the Communist Party of Canada, 1921-1976. Foreword by William Kashtan, Toronto, Progress Books, 1982, 319 pp.

"May 28, 1921, will go down in the history of Canada as marking the dawn of a new stage in the struggle of the working people of our land for economic, social and political emancipation. On that day in Guelph, Ontario, a party of a new type — based on the world outlook of Marxism-Leninism, revolutionary in thought and deed — came into being. From its very first days, the Communist Party of Canada has been inseparably linked with the growth and political development of the working class movement."

These opening words of the book under review are a fitting introduction to what follows. This work, officially approved by our party, was long overdue, considering the wide interest in the activity of the CPC and the fact that the many books which had dealt with this subject had done so from a hostile, anti-communist viewpoint.

The book is something more than testimony of what Canada's communists have accomplished. It is a source of inspiration to party members and sympathizers and a gold mine for those who see socialism as the alternative to capitalism. Furthermore, it will be very helpful to all students of the political history of Canada. All this prompts me to recommend the book to communists, active trade union members, peace fighters, defenders of civil rights and progressive-minded persons at home and abroad.

The development of the communist movement was a product of the class struggle within the country. Its founders were deeply inspired by the Great October Socialist Revolution, the first major breach in the chain of world imperialism. The CPC was born under illegal conditions and then suffered two more periods of illegality, from 1931 to 1935 and during World War Two. On top of this, a law on the "Defense of Quebec From Communist Propaganda" was enacted in the province of Quebec in 1937 and remained on the books for 20 years,

prohibiting the use of premises by the Communist Party.

However, neither bans, nor curbs could prevent the party from operating. One of the most difficult periods was that between 1932 and 1934, when the top CPC leadership was in prison. Massive protest campaigns won the release of the leaders and the removal of the legislation under which they had been isolated from society. The 1930s saw the party playing a key role in a broad movement of the unemployed for public assistance and for jobs. The party also made a decisive contribution to the activity of the Workers' Unity League, a trade union center which was organizing unorganized workers and fighting back against wage cuts and bad working conditions. This was particularly important at a time when most trade union leaders were on the defensive and even gave in to the onslaught of big capital.

The book shows the reader the consistency and continuity of the efforts of all generations of Canadian communists. Having deep roots in the working class, the party has always worked for the building and consolidation of the trade union movement as an important weapon in the struggle for improved living standards and working conditions. It has invariably exposed the reformist ideology and practices of the right wing of the trade union leadership. This line has been vigorously pursued by communists holding posts in the trade union leadership.

Another feature of the CPC activity has been unrelenting struggle for the unity of all democratic forces, against the flouting of national interests by foreign and domestic monopoly, in defense and for the consolidation of civil liberties.

The CPC is the only Canadian party which has consistently championed the adoption of a constitution recognizing the English-speaking nation and the French nation in Quebec as equal partners and providing for a voluntary union, with either nation free to secede.* At the

* The new constitution — the result of a compromise between diverse monopoly capitalist groups — came into force on April 17, 1982. It says nothing about the right of the French Canadians of Quebec to self-determination, ignores the legitimate demands of Indians and Inuits (Esquimos), and restricts the democratic rights of the Canadian population as a whole. The issue of amending the constitution will from now on be decided by the Canadian and not the British parliament, but to introduce any amendment, it is necessary to secure in advance the consent of not less than seven of the ten provincial parliaments accounting for not less than half the population of Canada. In view of the intricacy of economic and political relations in the country, this will make the approval of any important democratic amendment to the constitution an extremely difficult and protracted procedure.

same time, the communists call for the unity of the working class. They are opposed to the secession of Quebec, for it would run counter to the interests of the working people of both nations.

The book details the communists' dedicated fight for peace, a fight carried on both independently and through joining in united front activity with other forces. The CPC was the first in Canada to warn against the danger to world peace represented by the German and Italian fascist regimes and by their military political alliance with imperialist Japan. It rallied support for Republican Spain during the civil war and hundreds of its best members died fighting for democracy in that country. During World War Two, Canadian communists worked to mobilize support for the anti-fascist coalition, and again many of them gave their lives in battle.

Ever since the war, the party has been the chief advocate of the principles of peaceful coexistence between the two social and economic systems, and has campaigned against the arms race and imperialist plans for aggression.

The recent upsurge in the Canadian peace movement reflects a growing realization on the part of more and more Canadians that a nuclear war could mean the end of humanity. By its unceasing fight for peace and disarmament, the Communist Party played a key role in bringing about this significant shift in public opinion.

The book emphasizes that by working out its program "The Road to Socialism in Canada," based on general laws and taking into account the specifics of Canada, the CPC has made a significant contribution to the treasury of the general theory of the struggle for social change. First published in 1962, the program was brought into line with the changes in Canada and the world at large, after extensive and fruitful discussion that lasted nine years. It notes that breaking the control of monopoly, which has become the dominant factor in the economic and political life of capitalist society, will be the first step toward the socialist transformation of Canada. "The ability to forge a democratic, anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist coalition and a government based on it, directed to curbing and restricting monopoly, extending democracy and consolidating Canadian independence, creates the best conditions for a relatively peaceful advance to socialism," the program says.*

* *The Road to Socialism in Canada*. The program of the Communist Party of Canada, p. 52.

On the whole, it is fair to say that this well-written book offers much to anyone who wants to know the truth about the history of our country, in the period under review and the role played by the Communist Party during that time.

However, I believe there is one shortcoming on p. 187, where it states that the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union was suspended from the Trades and Labour Congress (TLC) of Canada in 1953 "for allegedly aiding and abetting the defiance of the TLC constitution." The actual pretext for the drastic measure was an editorial in the union's journal in support of the Vancouver City Employees Union, which had been expelled from the TLC in 1951 for allegedly being dominated by communists. That local union of some 1,700 members was under heavy attack from the Congress, which

unsuccessfully tried, without success, to destroy it. It is regrettable that there is no mention in the book of the long struggle carried out by the municipal workers of Vancouver, who eventually found their way back into the Labor Congress after they beat off all attacks and strengthened their union.

The open-minded reader is bound to conclude that the Communist Party of Canada is truly a party of mass action, a party which combines within itself patriotism, loyalty to the working class and a profound sense of proletarian internationalism, a party forged by class struggle and tempered by grim ideological battles in defense of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Jack Phillips
Alternate member, CEC,
Communist Party of Canada

In Memory of Waldeck Rochet

Waldeck Rochet, Honorary Chairman of the French Communist Party, and a prominent leader of the French and international communist and working-class movement, died on February 15 at the age of 77 years. His whole life was dedicated to the cause of the working class and the working people of France, to the struggle for democracy, socialism and peace.

Waldeck Rochet went to work at an early age. He was a herdsman, an agricultural worker. In 1924, at the age of 19 he became a communist. In the early 1930s, he was elected secretary of the FCP's Lyons Federation, and in 1934, head of the FCP's Agrarian Section, and a member of the Bureau of the General Confederation of Working Peasants of France. In 1935, he took part in the work of the seventh congress of the Comintern as a delegate of the FCP. In the period of the Popular Front, Waldeck Rochet was elected a member of the FCP CC and a member of parliament.

In 1939, following the banning of the FCP, he was arrested and placed in the dock of a court knocked together by French reaction which had betrayed the national interests. Waldeck Rochet courageously defended the honor and dignity of his party that was then persecuted. The communist patriot was sentenced to

hard labor in North Africa. After liberation in 1943, he was one of the leaders of the Resistance movement.

The FCP's first postwar congress in 1945 elected Waldeck Rochet alternate member of the Political Bureau, and in 1950 he became a full member of that body. He was a member of the FCP CC Secretariat, from 1961, deputy General Secretary, and from 1964 to 1972, General Secretary of the French Communist Party. At the party's 20th Congress in 1972, he was elected its Honorary Chairman.

A leading political and social figure, Waldeck Rochet made a contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory, and to the elaboration of the FCP's strategy and tactics.

The readers of our journal knew Waldeck Rochet well as a contributor of articles on various aspects of the French communists' activity, as one who consistently stood for stronger unity of the international communist movement, against the aggressive policy of imperialism, and for peace and the security of the peoples.

Waldeck Rochet will always be remembered by the communists of the world as an outstanding revolutionary, patriot and internationalist who gave all his efforts to dedicated struggle for our communist ideals.

In Memory of Nicholas Chaoui

Nicholas Chaoui, Chairman of the Lebanese Communist Party and esteemed personality of the international communist and working-class movement, has died. He was a staunch fighter for the interests of working people, a committed democrat, an ardent patriot, and a consistent internationalist.

Nicholas Chaoui was born on June 17, 1912 in the northern Lebanese city of Tripoli. He took the road of revolutionary struggle at an early age, joined the Communist Party in 1933 and edited its newspaper *Saut ash-Shaab*. He was soon elected to the party's Central Committee and became Secretary of the CC.

He devoted all his strength and indomitable energy to the struggle for national independence, for freedom and democracy. In 1939 he participated in the National Anti-Fascist Congress. Because of his active communist and patriotic work he was harassed by the colonial authorities, arrested, and sentenced to a term of imprisonment.

At the close of the 1940s and the commencement of the 1950s, after Lebanon had become independent, Nicholas Chaoui helped to organize resistance to imperialism's attempts to form aggressive military blocs in the Middle East. In 1946 he was elected Chairman of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party.

In 1965 he was elected General Secretary of the LCP Central Committee, and from 1979 to

the last day of his life he held the post of Chairman of the Lebanese Communist Party. His work in these high posts strikingly exemplified devotion to the ideals of communism and total dedication to the interests of the working class, of the working masses.

Nicholas Chaoui did much to consolidate and develop the Arab national liberation movement. He was prominent in the Afro-Asian solidarity movement and was one of the founders of the Lebanese Peace Committee. He worked unstintingly to organize cooperation and strengthen unity among the Lebanese national patriotic forces. He contributed greatly to the consolidation of the communist class approach to the nationalities question in Lebanon itself and throughout the Arab world. Nicholas Chaoui was unswerving in championing the just cause of the Arab Palestinian people fighting under the leadership of their legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization. He played a large role in the work of the Lebanese communists to organize the heroic repulsion of Israeli aggression.

Nicholas Chaoui was a regular contributor to *World Marxist Review*. His contributions helped to foster cooperation between the Lebanese Communist Party and the journal.

The bright memory of Nicholas Chaoui will always be cherished by communists, by fighters for freedom, independence and democracy.

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