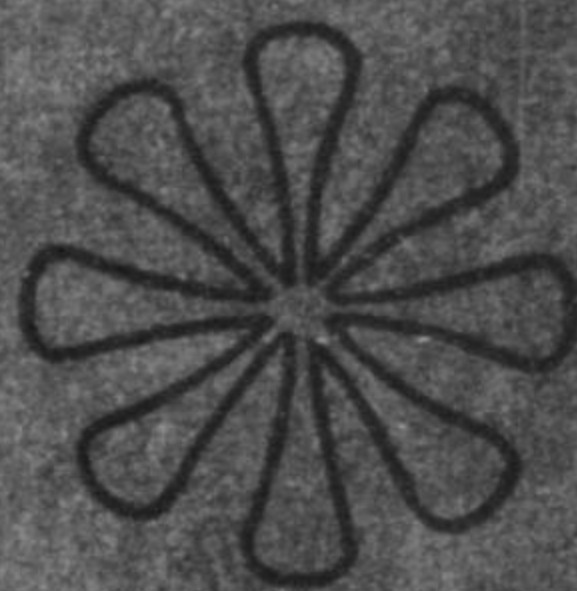


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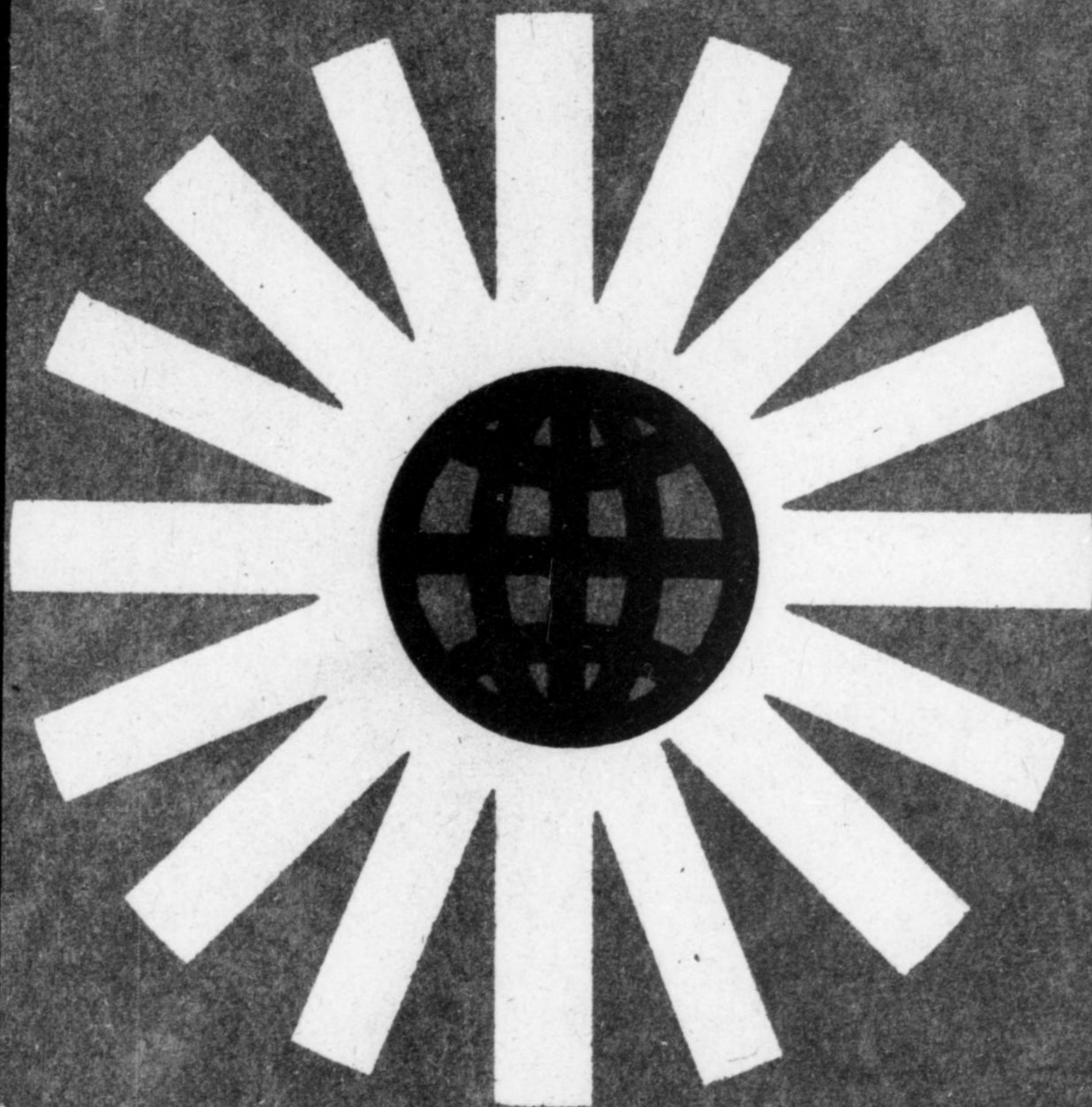
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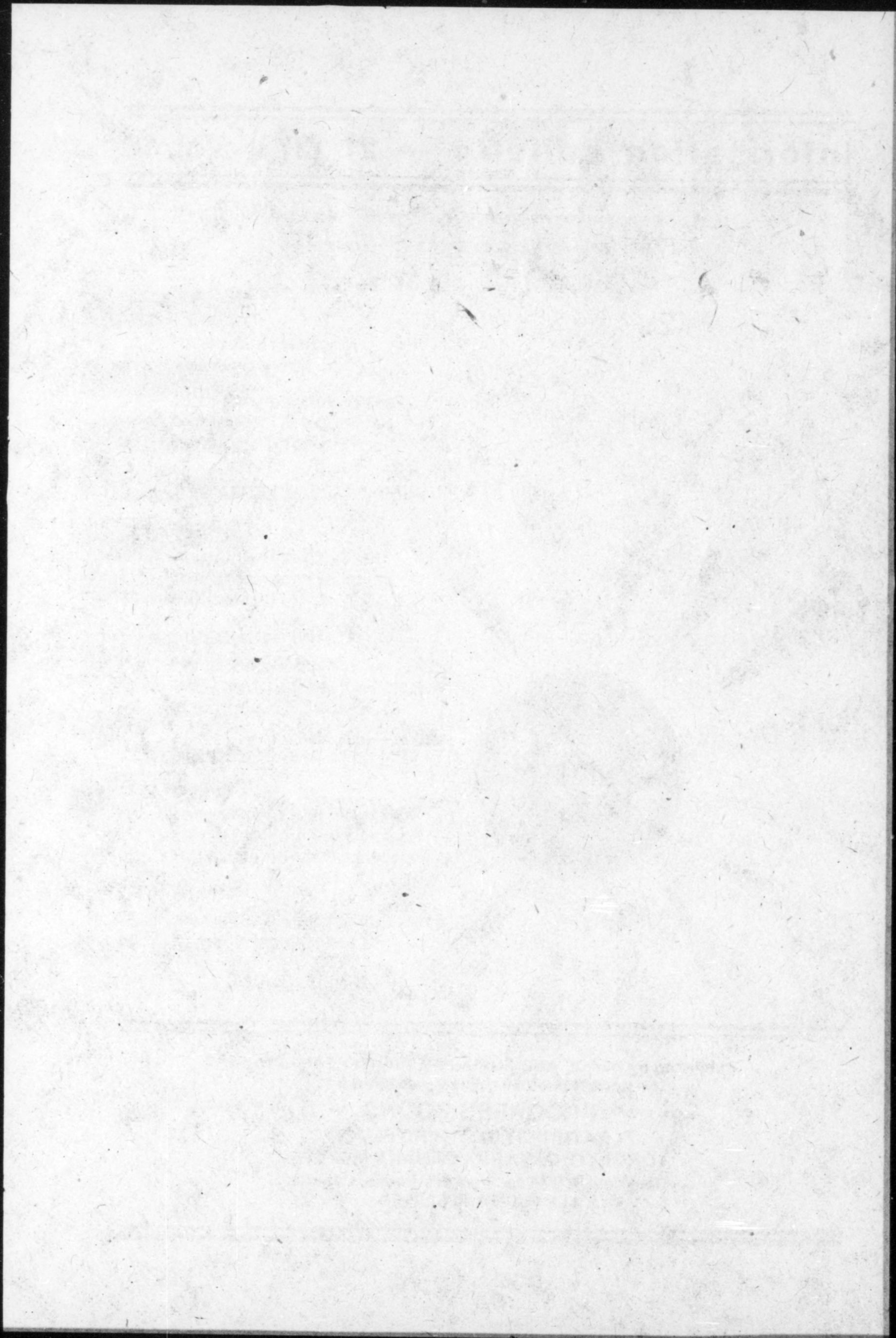
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THE MAIN TASK OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY

Excerpts from Leonid Brezhnev's speech at the meeting in Baku

Dealing with international questions, Comrade Brezhnev said:

As you know, we recently held what might be called our traditional summer meetings in the Crimea with the leaders of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries — Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland and Rumania.

With each of these countries we have manifold and very rich ties, they are developing year by year. The cooperation between the fraternal countries has great new prospects before it. Life confronts us with new questions that have to be considered and decided. We regard this as a party matter of the first importance. After all, it concerns our relations with our closest friends, allies and comrades-in-arms in the struggle for our common communist goals.

We attach great value to such a form of coordinating positions as bilateral meetings. They help to chart the common line that the Warsaw Treaty countries decide upon jointly at the sessions of their Political Consultative Committee.

In our discussions great attention was paid to the crucial problems of the international situation.

And, as you know, this situation is a complicated one. Its present aggravation stems from the unwillingness of the most die-hard imperialist circles to soberly assess the balance of forces in the world, from their completely unrealistic and peace-endangering plans for gaining a military superiority over the socialist countries and dictating their will to them.

The Washington session of the NATO Council proclaimed a policy entailing a new escalation of the arms race calculated in terms of decades. This lays bare the true aims of those who organize all the hullabaloo about an alleged "military threat" to the West from the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty. These fabrications were needed to justify NATO's desire to acquire a longer and sharper sword, to return to the "positions-of-strength" policy.

And is this not also the reason why it still proves impossible to

complete the draft of a mutually acceptable agreement with the U.S. on limitation of strategic offensive weapons? The distance between the positions expounded by each side during the negotiations is not so great and, given good will and political wisdom, would be quite surmountable. But it appears that the solution of this problem is not to the liking of those in the United States who want not a lasting peace and mutually advantageous cooperation, but a fresh round of cold war.

The same aims, in effect, are served by the noisy propaganda campaign over the measures taken by the Soviet courts against the illegal activities of a number of persons hostile to the Soviet system, including some paid agents of Western intelligence services.

This campaign is a direct attempt to interfere in our internal affairs and, consequently, the crudest possible violation of the letter and spirit of the Final Act passed at Helsinki. The United States acts in similar fashion toward other socialist countries.

The opponents of détente are eager to extend the front of their offensive against it. In the United States, under artificial, hypocritical pretexts steps have been taken to slow down the development of business connections. This has gone as far as cancelling the already concluded deals and breaking the signed contracts. An ostentatious discontinuing of relations in the scientific, technical and other spheres has also begun. Washington has started brazenly, but so far rather unsuccessfully, putting pressure on its allies to make them adopt the same course.

It looks as if some influential circles in the United States are deliberately provoking the Soviet Union in an effort to aggravate the situation still further. This is a serious matter, comrades. We shall resolutely resist any attacks on the rights and interests of the Soviet state, but we shall not allow ourselves to be provoked.

Our policy toward the countries of the capitalist world, including, of course, the United States of America, has been and remains a policy of peace, of peaceful coexistence, peaceful cooperation. This is why we categorically reject the practice of intervention in the internal affairs of states, of violation of their sovereign rights.

Doing everything to end the arms race, to strengthen peace and security among nations — this is what we see as the basic objective of our foreign policy. We believe that all states — large or small, possessing or not possessing nuclear weapons — have the right to reliable security.

And let no one have any doubts that the Soviet Union and other

countries of the socialist community will continue to make a worthy contribution to the solution of these problems that are of importance to all humanity!

The crucial problems that have to be solved if we want a lasting peace and international stability include, of course, the problem of achieving a just and peaceful settlement in the Middle East. The situation there remains complex and potentially dangerous, both for the countries of that region itself and for the international situation in general.

The reason for this is the stubborn refusal of Israel and the forces on which it relies to consider the legal rights and interests of the Arab peoples, and Israel's desire, whether by force of arms or by diplomatic means, but in either case from positions of strength, to impose its will on the Arabs.

The chosen method lately for achieving this aim has been that of behind-the-scenes, separate dealings with those who are prepared to trade in Arab interests. The object is absolutely clear: to split the Arabs, set them against one another and impose on each Arab country separately terms of a settlement that suit the aggressor.

But all attempts to ignore the basic prerequisites of a valid solution to the Middle East problem, to rule out or circumvent one or another of the legitimate participants in the settlement, to sacrifice their interests, to dictate conditions to them can achieve nothing but the illusion of a settlement. No matter what framework is given to a separate deal concealing the capitulation of one side and reinforcing the fruits of aggression — Israel's aggression — for the other, it can only make the situation in the Middle East even more explosive.

This is precisely what emerges from the experience of the recent American-Israeli-Egyptian negotiations at Camp David. We are confronted with yet another anti-Arab deal between Israel and Egypt, devised with the active participation of Washington.

Now attempts are being made to force other participants in the Middle East conflict to submit to the terms of this deal that has been arrived at behind their backs and in direct contradiction to their interests. To be sure, this is no easy task. It is already apparent that the Arabs are firmly condemning the separate Camp David deal and indignantly dissociating themselves from it. And these feelings are not difficult to understand.

Many years of experience irrefutably prove that there is only one way of achieving a valid solution to the Middle East conflict. And that is the complete liberation of all Arab lands occupied by Israel in 1967,

complete and unambiguous respect for the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to set up their own independent state, and ensuring reliably guaranteed security for all the countries of the region, including, of course, Israel. Such an all-embracing settlement is possible only with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization. And the sooner it is achieved, the sooner the Middle East will cease to be a hotbed of tension.

As I am in Azerbaijan, it is natural to say a few words about another international event of fundamental importance which occurred not long ago in Afghanistan, a country that is traditionally friendly toward the Soviet Union and lies near to your republic. There, as you know, a popular revolution has taken place, the semi-feudal regime has been overthrown and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan proclaimed.

The imperialists, who in effect do not recognize the right of peoples to freely determine their own destinies, their right to social progress, have rushed in with that tired legend about the "hand of Moscow." These inventions slander the policy of the USSR and are at the same time an insult to the freedom-loving Afghan people, with whom we are linked by strong ties of sincere friendship and mutual respect.

We welcome the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, an independent, peace-loving, non-aligned country, and are convinced that it will become a significant factor of peace and stability in this region of Asia. We share the intention expressed by the new Afghanistan to develop and deepen the friendly relations between the two countries.

Our relations today are already animated and meaningful. We are convinced that they will continue to develop for the benefit of both countries and the cause of peace in Asia, and without the slightest detriment to the interests of other states. We shall do everything for the further consolidation of our traditional friendship with a good neighbor.

Pravda, September 23, 1978



THE REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE OF OUR PEOPLE IS INSEPARABLE FROM THE WORLD REVOLUTION

*Extracts from speech by Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister
of the SRV, at a rally in Hanoi, September 1, 1978**

“On the occasion of the 33rd anniversary of the Victory of the August Revolution and the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, I convey warm, heartfelt greetings and congratulations on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to our compatriots all over the country and to all Vietnamese living abroad. It is my sincere wish that you should go on building up monolithic national solidarity and striving for greater independence and sovereignty, relying on your own strength and being resolved to build socialism and defend the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, thus making a valuable contribution to lasting peace, national independence, democracy and social progress throughout the world.

“At this solemn ceremony the Vietnamese people send the warmest, most heartfelt greetings and best wishes to the fraternal people of the Soviet Union, the peoples of other socialist countries, the fraternal people of Laos, the fraternal people of Kampuchea and the peoples of friendly countries of the world . . .

“Three years are a very short span in the history of any country but the past three years have seen highly important events in every sphere of the life of Vietnam and its people, in our people’s great revolutionary struggle led by our party . . .

“Analyzing our activity over the past period and our struggle against the enemy’s intrigues and sinister designs, we are glad to note that we have accomplished two tasks of tremendous importance. First, our people reunified their country at an early date, carried out elections to the National Assembly throughout the country and set up government bodies of the SRV. Secondly, our party, the Communist Party of Vietnam, held its Fourth Congress. The congress shaped our party’s revolutionary line at the new stage, the line of building socialism throughout Vietnam. It specified the targets of the Second

*Released by the Vietnamese Information Agency. — Ed.

Five-Year Plan (1976-80), adopted new Party Rules and elected a new Central Committee . . .

"The priority objective of our party and state is to rapidly rehabilitate and advance our economy and culture and expand socialist changes in close coordination with socialist construction in every region of South Vietnam while at the same time maintaining political security and public order, stabilizing and gradually improving the people's standard of living . . .

"In the past few years our party and state have been carrying on in the South, with the people's sincere and enthusiastic support, a revolutionary struggle to effect socialist changes in relations of production, in culture and ideology. We are all glad to note that the results achieved are commensurate with the efforts made by us and meet the exigencies of the situation. The whole country is advancing rapidly, vigorously and firmly along the socialist path. We have completed the introduction of a common monetary system all over the country. The new currency issued by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has become an effective means facilitating the progress of national economy, throughout the country.

"We have taken a series of fair and reasonable measures to transform private capitalist trade and industry and transfer capitalist businessmen into the production sphere by applying the method of persuasion and helping them. This has involved no confiscations but only compensation by the state; nor has there been any coercion but only explanatory work and the use of the method of persuasion.

"In agriculture we have launched a broad movement to switch the rural areas of the South to collectivization through appropriate measures, which are being applied gradually, from top to bottom, and by going over from simple to more complex forms. The working peasants are taking an active part in this movement everywhere (they have set up cooperatives for diverse purposes) and many of them may be commended for their effort. This movement is making steady and rapid headway.

"A further important achievement is that we firmly maintain political security and public order in the very complicated circumstances prevailing in the South since the victory won in the spring of 1975 . . .

"After our people had achieved victory and established their revolutionary rule, millions of officers and men of the Saigon puppet army and civil servants reported to the appropriate authorities in their districts to register. The vast majority of them were allowed to go back to their families in order to live a normal and honest life under

the new system. We only detained those who had held high positions or had been in power in the former regime's military machinery and committed grave crimes. We did so to reform them so that they may become Vietnamese having a country, loving their compatriots and useful to themselves, their families and society.

"Those who made headway in this re-education process were released and their citizenship was eventually restored. Most of them have proved that they are worthy of the lenient policy being followed by the government and of the help they get from the local population ...

"While the Vietnamese people are doing their utmost to carry on their peaceful labor and socialist construction, there have been very serious events in our country of which I am now informing you, countrymen ..."

Speaking of the conflict with Kampuchea, Pham Van Dong stressed that "we invariably seek a fair settlement of relations between the two countries in line with the statement made by our government on February 5, 1978."

"We are convinced that justice will prevail in the end and genuine friendship between the peoples of Vietnam and Kampuchea will be re-established.

"On the disturbances connected with the problem of the ethnic Chinese living in Vietnam:

"Our people and world opinion have been informed of these disturbances in fairly great detail. Let us recall that Peking, as well as using coercion in an attempt to induce tens of thousands of ethnic Chinese living in Vietnam to leave our country for China by various means (by land and by sea), alleges groundlessly that 'Vietnam ostracizes, persecutes and expels ethnic Chinese'.

"By provoking this development, Peking wants to kill at least two birds with one stone.

"It is unilaterally discontinuing all economic aid, recalling all Chinese specialists and abrogating agreements signed between the two governments. These are very arrogant and gross moves, both legally and morally.

"It is creating economic and political difficulties and complications in many parts of our country. Why has Peking used every possible means to induce tens of thousands of ethnic Chinese living peacefully in Vietnam to leave for China? To what end? And now it wants to drive some of those people back to Vietnam. We must see through

this breach of the law, which is as an ill-intentioned and treacherous scheme on the part of China.

"In reply to our proposal, the Chinese side agreed to begin talks but not in good faith, with no real desire to solve the problem. Riots at the Bacluang border control post and in Hanoi, our capital, and the very recent criminal acts committed by the Chinese side at the Hungi border check-point (at Friendship Gate), as well as at the bilateral talks, are all vivid evidence of Peking's hostile policy toward our people.

"On the incidents on the Vietnamese-Chinese border:

"Those who are stirring up a war on the southwestern frontier of our country and riots over the ethnic Chinese are at the same time creating tension on the border between the two countries.

"They organized an illegal crossing of our frontier, and used armed force to violate our frontier, military aircraft to violate our air space and warships to invade Vietnam's territorial waters. They are building fortifications and massing troops along our frontier.

"As for us, we have always wanted to make the boundary between our two countries a frontier of peace and friendship. It is quite obvious that Peking is trying feverishly to turn many border areas of the two countries into zones in which it can at any moment launch hostile actions and subversion against Vietnam. These are designs fraught with serious danger, and since we are faced with this danger, we must remain vigilant.

"In addition to these acts, Peking has lately been whipping up anti-Vietnamese hysteria among the Chinese people, inventing fables to the effect that 'vietnam ostracizes ethnic Chinese,' 'takes a stand against China,' and so on.

"In the diplomatic sphere Peking has been using every means at its disposal to conduct anti-Vietnamese propaganda and distort the truth about the incidents that have taken place between the two countries.

"Nevertheless, our experience shows that truth and justice have a very great force of conviction, a force of lasting impact. On this front, too, common sense and justice will prevail.

"For a long time now, Peking has been making great-power hegemonist plans for expansion in regard to our country and other countries of the region. As early as 1975, when our people won the war against the U.S. aggressors and their South Vietnamese accomplices, Peking came to the conclusion that the emergence of a peaceful, independent, united and socialist Vietnam would become an obstacle to China's plans for expansion in Southeast Asia. . . .

"It is perfectly clear that the reactionaries among the Peking rulers are pursuing a policy hostile to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam which is against the Chinese people's interests. We, the people of Vietnam, cannot tolerate this. We are determined to resist encroachments on our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, defend our people's revolutionary gains and protect their peaceful labor socialist cause.

"However, we do not at all mistake the reactionaries among the Peking rulers for the Chinese people or true Chinese revolutionaries. As regards the Chinese people, President Ho Chi Minh taught us to strive for closer friendship between those whom he described as 'both comrades and brothers'

"The Vietnamese people have set out to accomplish a task of great and profound historic significance to our great revolutionary cause, a task which is also important internationally. The task confronting our people is to build socialism according to the line charted by the Fourth Congress of our party and closely coordinated with the defense of Socialist Vietnam. We must all see clearly that the task of national construction must now be closely coordinated with national defense, and vice versa. This means that we must not separate economic progress from national defense or production from combat readiness. We must all clearly understand this extremely important and urgent task, never forgetting it. It must always be part of our thoughts, sentiments and actions in carrying out the state plan — the plan for 1978 and the five-year plan (1976-80).

"To fulfill these highly important tasks, we must make still greater use of two valuable assets, of two strong points of our state.

"First, we must build up our national unity, the unity of our thought and action, and mobilize and judiciously use our economic manpower resources. Every Vietnamese must be a fighter on the economic front and in strengthening the nation's defenses, in the production sphere and on the battlefield, and must always be prepared to fight.

"Secondly, we must make wise use of the vast natural resources of our country, and of the equipment and materials we have. Ours is a small country but it has very valuable natural resources. Besides, its situation is important and advantageous both geographically and politically. We must take this into account so as to use the brilliant opportunities open to us.

"To benefit from this strong position, produce material wealth, develop the economy and culture, strengthen the national defense,

provide the material and technical basis for socialism, raise the people's living standard and make progress in the construction and defense of our socialist country, Vietnam, we must meet a decisive condition stressed by the Fourth Congress of our party: the working people must become collective masters of socialist society.

"The Vietnamese people, who have a 50-year record of struggle under the party's leadership, including 30 years of fearless armed fighting, began this struggle virtually empty-handed. By fighting their way to the victory at Dien Bien Phu and the great victory of the spring of 1975, they went through revolutionary schooling and a training of exceptional historic significance.

"As a result, our people are fully capable of acting as a master, an efficient master, in building and defending socialism in Vietnam. There is nothing more valuable than independence and freedom, for these are the only conditions in which socialism can be built. We all see more and more clearly that the difficulties we are now encountering in every sphere of the revolution and in our everyday life, difficulties facing various organizations and areas, will be overcome step by step by the working people, who have become masters of socialist society, mainly within the framework of the socialist state led by the party. What we have is, in effect, a proletarian dictatorship, an instrument of socialist change and socialist construction in our country.

"We often say and with good reason that our people's revolutionary cause is inseparable from the world revolution. This has been true in the past and is true today. The peoples of other countries, our comrades as well as our people's close and true friends will become still more strongly aware of their international duty, which is to unite with the Vietnamese people, support and help them for the sake of the Vietnamese revolution and of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress all over the world.

"The Vietnamese people express their deep, heartfelt gratitude to their comrades and friends . . .

"We will continue to expand friendship and all-round cooperation, will go on strengthening friendship between the people of Vietnam and the peoples of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our country has now become a full member of the socialist countries' Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. This is a logical result of the relations that have long linked our country with this economic organization, whose international importance is grow-

ing. We are making vigorous efforts to advance to socialism rapidly and steadily. Cooperation and mutual support and assistance between our country and the CMEA and each of its member states, which assume a variety of increasingly useful forms, offer excellent opportunities for the comprehensive and harmonious growth of our national economy. This will also help meet the corresponding interests of the countries concerned.

"We will strive to promote friendship, cooperation and good-neighbor relations with Southeast Asian countries. The recent period has witnessed inspiring events making for mutual understanding and closer relations between our country and its neighbors. The period ahead will be one of relations developing in the spirit of many-sided cooperation between our country and these countries on the solid principles of mutual respect, support and benefit with a view to contributing to durable peace and the independence, sovereignty and neutrality of the Southeast Asian region, which plays a growing role in Asia and the world, as a region of stability and prosperity. At the same time we will expand our friendship and multilateral cooperation with countries of the Indian and Pacific oceans . . .

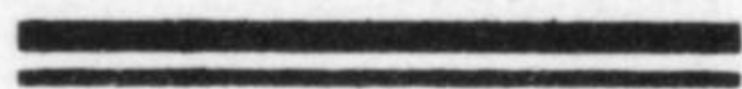
"As regards Western countries, we have lately been giving much attention to the need to develop relations between our country and these countries on the principle of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit. Life has shown this to be a correct and promising line beneficial to all concerned and meeting the interests of peace, friendship and cooperation between various countries. This is an inevitable trend today . . .

"The world situation since the end of the Vietnam war has been characterized by further and more extensive development of the three revolutionary currents while imperialism is bogged down in an economic, political, social and ideological crisis. The imperialists and reactionaries the world over are devising various ways and means to repel the pressure of the revolutionary forces advancing from all directions. But they certainly cannot turn back the evolution of humanity. Ever since the Great October Socialist Revolution, the peoples of the world, who are carrying on their own revolutionary struggle, have had the initiative in shaping their historical destiny and have been winning ever greater victories . . .

"Lenin said that to build communism, we must know how to apply creatively the wealth of knowledge accumulated by mankind. Our party always reminds us of the fact that man is the greatest asset, for

he is the embodiment of energy, intellect and creative power. We know that there is no ready-made model for every country. We must build socialism and ultimately communism in our country, which was a semi-feudal colony and was hard hit by war and is now faced with innumerable difficulties caused by our enemies.

“This is why every one of us must think of his work — not only of what he must do today but of what he must do tomorrow and the day after — so as to find the most effective ways and means that will be both revolutionary and scientific. Ever since the Stone Age, man has been doing everything with his own hands, using his own wits. The Vietnamese people are all the more equal to great achievements in any sphere, under all circumstances and on any front. A big problem to solve now is to release our working people’s creative energy from the shackles hampering the progress of every one of us. It is a big and burning problem, as the Fourth Congress of our party pointed out, and it can be solved by the working people exercising their right to be collective masters of socialist society ...”



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PLENUMS, CONFERENCES

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION: THE MOST IMPORTANT EVENT OF THIS CENTURY

Speech by Enrico Berlinguer in Genoa

L'Unita has published a summary of the speech made by Enrico Berlinguer, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, in Genoa at the close of the *Unita* festival.

With reference to the clamorous slander campaign being carried on against the ICP, Berlinguer said its purpose is to achieve a "swing to the right" in Italy. "Political relations" in the country "are unsatisfactory, of course," for "they do not fully meet the nation's demand for renewal," but the needed change must "be effected with a view to advancing and not to turning back. . . .

"I would describe one of the forms which the anti-communist campaign takes as an 'ideological ultimatum.' 'Unless you renounce Lenin from A to Z, unless you sever your relations with the CPSU,' we are told, 'you are not Westerners but Asians'."

Do you think they would stop at that? No, because the renunciation of Lenin would have to be followed by the renunciation of Marx. The break with the CPSU would have to be followed by the statement that the proletarian revolution of October 1917 was a pure mistake or even (going back to earlier history) that the French Revolution would have been better had it been accomplished by the Gironde alone and had there been no Jacobins.

Nor would that be all. Indeed, some of our critics insist on our renouncing not only the teachings of Marx and Lenin but also the theoretical writings and ideological and political innovations of Gramsci and Togliatti.

Subsequently, step by step, we would be expected to go as far as to declare that our entire history (which also has some negative sides) had been nothing but a series of mistakes, that several generations of

communists had been fighting in vain and working fruitlessly to alter Italian and world reality.

What do all those people hope for in carrying on their offensive?

They expect to wrest fundamental concessions from us and to force us into a historical apostasy that would result in our ceasing to be an internationalist, revolutionary and class party. Or they would want us to confine ourselves to sectarian and dogmatic positions, to make us shed our character as a democratic, national mass party which has been trying continuously to carry forward its experience and its special political and ideological heritage.

But let all those people stop deluding themselves whatever the posture they assume. Their conduct will yield a result that will be the opposite of what they seek.

In fact, it is becoming evident that the offensive being carried on against us is increasing the class consciousness and strengthening the internationalist, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist spirit of the communists and the mass of workers, other working people and youth.

This principled attitude to democracy does not conflict with the anti-capitalist substance of our struggle.

On the contrary, it enhances it, for democratic institutions and freedoms are sapped more and more by the contradictions and crisis of capitalism and imperialism, which tend to hamper and limit democracy, to rob it of all substance, and in some cases to undermine it.

It should be recalled that the big bourgeoisie of Italy, Germany and other countries did not hesitate to resort to fascism and nazism, that in many countries of the so-called Western world there still exist tyrannical, authoritarian regimes subservient to foreign interests, regimes under unlimited presidential power.

Lastly, it should be recalled that even in those capitalist countries whose regimes are liberal and democratic a process of fragmentation and degeneration of society's democratic life is under way.

Italy, too, shows alarming signs of an anarchist and corporative degeneration of democracy even though the democracy we are building in our country is developed and broad.

So, it is a proven fact that under capitalism democratic institutions become less and less capable of solving the problems of the masses, lose prestige and enter a period of crises, which is fraught with the danger of authoritarian solutions. This is why the way to defend and carry forward democracy today is to fight for the abolition of capitalism. From this point of view, the working people's fight for

democracy also has its specific class content. And this sets our concepts apart from liberal and social-democratic ones.

Speaking of social democracy, Berlinguer said that its history is an alternation of "ugly and positive chapters."

The former include "the support given to the national bourgeoisie in the imperialist war, wrong solutions which led to the division and suppression of working people's movements and contributed to the advent of nazism and reactionary regimes to power in Europe," as well as the "black chapters of colonialism."

This "historic responsibility . . . had a strong negative impact on the manner of development and the quality of socialist society in the Soviet Union"; on the other hand, "the mistakes and responsibility of the communist parties and the international communist movement (mistakes which consisted in schematism and sectarianism) made it impossible to contribute effectively to anti-fascist and democratic unity and prevent a swing of the social-democratic forces to the right."

Among the "positive chapters" Berlinguer listed "the social-democratic forces' contribution to the struggle against fascism and nazism," the fact that in various countries "the social-democratic parties and the trade unions founded by them are an expression of broad movements of workers and other working people, that is, of the masses, movements in which the prevailing factors are an anti-fascist and democratic orientation, the demand and desire for social justice, peace and civil progress," and the fact that "the social democrats have promoted a reformist policy aimed at achieving social progress and bringing about some improvements for the good of the working classes."

It is necessary, however, "to remember well that historically what has set the social democrats apart from the communist and revolutionary movements is that the social democrats do not pursue a policy of real transformation and renewal but a reformist policy intended to ease the more glaring inequities and contradictions of capitalism, always within the framework of the capitalist system. . . .

"The road we propose is an original and democratic road which always involves struggle and requires great commitment and militancy on our part. Our road is characterized by the intertwining, integration and fusion of freedoms, of civil and political freedoms, on the one hand, and social freedoms, on the other. However, all this is in keeping with the provisions of the republic's Constitution.

"In this sense, our road does not coincide with the road travelled by Russia and other East European countries.

"The road is different, and the results and goals must be different.

"When the Russian revolution was being planned and carried out conditions were entirely different from those in our country. We Italian communists have devoted numerous and serious historical studies and critical discussions to the Russian socialist revolution and to Leninism. Why is it, then, that some socialist and other party leaders refuse to take into account the results achieved by us after 20 years of sustained effort beginning with Togliatti's works? Besides, that camp is not exactly short of people who indulge in frankly anti-Soviet and anti-communist propaganda. We want free discussion exempt from all bias. However, a dialogue between deaf people is no discussion.

"We have critically analyzed the experience of 'military communism', which Lenin himself subsequently amended by announcing the New Economic Policy, or NEP, after serious socio-political losses. We did not restrict ourselves to explaining the political mistakes made from 1918 to 1921 as being due to extremely harsh objective conditions. We also searched for their roots in the uncertainties and ambiguities of Marxist thought. We concentrated our critical study on the change effected by Stalin in the 1928-30 period. I could go on by speaking of Stalin's repressive measures from 1935 to the war years, of the economic hardships of 1948. We have drawn lessons from all that. One must plan and orientate economic development but not force it.

"The economy can and must have a public sector, a cooperative sector, a private sector. The manifestations of political (party), legal, cultural or religious life do not depend mechanically on the economic structure. They have their own autonomous reality and autonomous value, although they are dialectically linked with the fundamental socio-economic structures.

"We want to arrive at socialism, to build a socialist society and manage it in conditions of political (party) pluralism, democracy and various forms of autonomy.

"I have made but a passing allusion to why we are following an original road and studying its further stages. To be sure, it is not the road travelled by Russia and East European countries, but neither is it the road chosen by the social-democratic parties of Europe.

"However, it must be perfectly clear that by affirming this, we do not equate (historically speaking) the experience of the October

Revolution and the Soviet Union with the experience of the social democrats.

"Indeed, while criticizing the Soviet experience and refusing, of course, to accept it as a model, we recognize that the October Revolution and the subsequent construction of a new society in that area of the globe had the value of a historic change which influenced the whole further development of human society and initiated the process of liberation of the oppressed masses and peoples.

"We agree that it was not a socialist revolution in the classical sense of the term, in the form which Marx himself visualized in rough outline. (Gramsci was the first to notice its anomalous nature.) And indeed, as foreseen by Lenin, the chain of capitalism was first broken, not at a high level of capitalist development, but in the weakest link of imperialism, of the system of exploitation of underdeveloped peoples.

"Because the revolution in developed capitalist countries of Europe in the early postwar years failed and the Soviet Union was isolated, encircled and shaken by civil war and the invasion of foreign armies in catastrophic conditions inherited from the tsarist regime, the impossibility of building a classical socialist society was almost inevitable in the circumstances. Add to this the mistakes, and not only the mistakes but also the aberrations and repression. Nevertheless, that change and the subsequent durable gains initiated a world revolutionary process opening a new epoch in man's history.

"Today socialism in its complete form, as a socialist democracy, will assert itself by overcoming capitalism (primarily through the struggle of the communist parties of Western Europe) in new ways and in other parts of the world, repelling and overcoming various manifestations of isolation, hostility, threats of pressure on Third World countries wanting to follow a non-capitalist road, on the peoples who want to build a new social system for themselves in freedom and peace.

"We offer our free criticisms of Soviet history and the realities existing in the socialist countries, being aware as we do so of the world significance of the socialist revolution and the construction of new societies. We are not and never will be among those who, proceeding from a legitimate and necessary critical review of the history of the socialism built to date, go virtually as far as to deny or belittle the world significance of the cause of Lenin and the October Revolution, to deny or belittle the most important historic event of this century, what this cause has meant and means, in spite of all its

seamy sides and high cost, to the struggle of the revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces of the world.

“Let those who want to renounce all this do so. We will certainly never do it, for this would be contrary to our innermost conviction.”

ON THE FULFILLMENT OF THE DECISIONS OF THE 26TH CONGRESS OF THE CP NETHERLANDS

From a CC plenary meeting resolution, CP Netherlands

In the present-day conditions, the Communist Party of the Netherlands deems it necessary to concentrate on strengthening the mass movement for peace, and against the policy of armaments and the danger of atomic war. Recent events abound in contradictions: on the one hand, there are extensive possibilities and prospects for détente and progress, and on the other, a grave danger for the nations. It has become clear in the recent period that the capitalist circles have taken a course toward resuming the cold war.

The desperate attempts to breathe new life into the cold war must be exposed and cut short as an urge of the most aggressive imperialist circles to exacerbate the international situation. The imperialist circles' propaganda offensive, together with the step-up in the arms-drive spiral, the diplomatic intrigues and interference in the internal affairs of other countries cause tensions in East-West relations.

An immediate danger for peace has arisen in connection with the imperialist intervention in the Middle East and on the African continent, where the multinational monopolies vie with each other for booty, fiercely putting down the liberation movements of oppressed peoples that have firmly decided to throw off the yoke of neo-colonialism.

The armaments drive of imperialism is a reflection of its crisis, which has gripped absolutely every sphere of life. The magnates of big capital are unable to eliminate the contradictions that have arisen, to settle their trade and monetary conflicts, or to put the economy on

a sound footing. Militarization is their way out of the existing situation.

The only force that can show the way out of this crisis are the masses, the movement for deep-going social transformations and peace.

Considering that international development is now at a crossroads — either another cold war of détente — our whole struggle must be aimed at making the Netherlands government take concrete measures. The Dutch people have rejected the neutron weapons, and it can no longer tolerate a situation in which atomic weapons are still being stockpiled on the territory of the Netherlands.

Directly connected with the arms drive is a frontal offensive on the working people's living conditions. The so-called "1981 Guidelines Plan" envisages a sizable cut in spending on social needs. Far from reducing unemployment, this program will, in effect, increase it. Among others, young people and working women are faced with a grave threat. The government's policy boils down to a steady reduction of the population's purchasing power, a worsening of social, cultural and medical services, and falls as a heavy burden on the shoulders of the working people.

The CP Netherlands Central Committee urges all peace-loving Dutch men and women not to accept the line being imposed by the right-wing forces. It is necessary to create an opposition capable of effecting positive changes through tireless struggle.

The CP Netherlands Central Committee notes that in the period since the party's 26th Congress in January a broad movement was launched against the neutron bomb, for the establishment of action committees against the closure of enterprises, and for the establishment of progressive communal councils.

The successes of the party's policy are largely due to a growth of its ranks. In the 50s, the CP Netherlands suffered substantial losses in membership, a trend which prevailed up until the early 70s. At present, the party has more members than it did in 1956. If this growth is to continue, and if the party's influence is to grow, there is a need for intensive party work. Despite the overall increase in the number of meetings and the number of persons attending them, it must be said that meetings are still held irregularly in many party organizations. It is necessary to discuss national and international problems at party meetings. A good example of this was provided by the Party Congress itself and the preparations for it.

The CP Netherlands Central Committee has discussed the state of

ideological work, the spread of the party's policy and communist principles among the masses, work at the enterprises, and the work of the communist press, and has decided to organize our propaganda work in accordance with the present day requirements and with the new potentialities which have arisen as a result of the party's numerical and ideological growth. As regards the party's work at the enterprises, there is a need for even greater vigor to translate into practice the decisions of the party Congress in the new spirit.

The CP Netherlands Central Committee has noted the further growth in the number of readers of *De Waarheid*. The increase in the number of its pages from six to eight must be used to enrich its content, which is of great importance in the effort to recruit new members for the party and in the struggle for the interests of the working class and peace.

The Dutch people know our party as a party which has always vigorously fought for human rights, and against those who had killed people and who are now in high posts in the Federal Republic of Germany. West German imperialism seeks, mainly through the CDU/CSU, to use a European Parliament to establish its domination in Western Europe. That is why the elections to a European Parliament are an extremely important political battle for our party.

The Dutch communists will make the necessary efforts for the election to a European Parliament of Dutch deputies who represent the country's national interests. The CP Netherlands urges all Dutch voters to get a Dutch communist into a European Parliament.

In a European Parliament, the CP Netherlands plans to fight against the *Berufsverbote* (bans on professions), for the right to strike, for the prosecution of war criminals who are still at large or who have been detained in the recent period under public pressure.

The CP Netherlands regards defense of the working people's social gains, struggle against economic stifling of such key regions of the country as Groningen, Limburg and Nord-Holland, maintenance of employment in Rhein-Mond, and against the tariff and tax policy imposed on Holland by the EEC, as the main lines of its activity.

On the European level, attention should be given to such problems as protection of the environment, and improvement of the system of education and public health. The EEC must never be allowed to invalidate the decisions of the Dutch Parliament. It is also necessary for all the progressive and peace-loving forces in the EEC countries to cooperate in the struggle against the establishment of a European atomic arsenal and against European weapons programs.

In this context, the CP Netherlands is engaged in talks with the Communist Parties of Italy, the FRG, Belgium and France, and it will maintain contacts (both bilateral and multilateral) for the purpose of cooperating with other communist parties. In the light of the party's Congress Directives, the Central Committee has worked actively to strengthen its ties with the communist parties in other countries, capitalist and socialist.

On the strength of the results of the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Europe, which emphasized the autonomy of individual parties, our party wants not only to normalize relations with all the fraternal parties, but also to take joint action in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. The imperialists' attempts to sow discord in the international communist movement needs to be countered with cooperation, above all in the struggle for peace. It is no secret that there are differences within the international communist movement, but these have to be discussed without any interference in each other's affairs.

De Waarheid, August 24, 1978

Understanding Marxism

A CANADIAN INTRODUCTION

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STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

STEP UP NATIONAL RESISTANCE TO FASCISM, FIGHT FOR THE REAL DEMOCRATIC POWER ALTERNATIVE

Statement of the CC, Communist Party of Bolivia

On July 9, 1978, presidential elections and elections to the National Parliament were held in Bolivia. It was obvious that the home reactionaries and imperialism were set on taking advantage of the elections to give the dictatorship they imposed in 1971 a semblance of democratic legality. To achieve this aim, they maintained throughout the election campaign a climate of intimidation of the citizens and set up a veritable machinery to rig the election so as to guarantee the victory of Gen. Juan Pereda, ex-minister of the interior in the Banzer cabinet.

The anti-fascist opposition forces cooperated in the elections and denounced the dictatorship's anti-national and anti-popular maneuvers and policies. The official presidential candidate was opposed by the Popular and Democratic Unity Front (PDUF), which comprises the Revolutionary Nationalist Left Movement, Communist Party of Bolivia, Revolutionary Left Movement and other parties. They nominated Dr. Hernan Siles Zuazo for the Presidency. The Democratic Alliance of the National Revolution, composed of the Historic Revolutionary Nationalist Movement and Authentic Revolutionary Party, backed the candidacy of Dr. Victor Paz Estenssoro and the Christian Democratic Party, that of Gen. Rene Bernal.

In spite of the opposition's lack of funds and the fraud used by the government (duplicated lists, doctoring of the results, and so on), the democratic opposition won the elections by an ample margin. The three candidates mentioned above collected over 70 per cent of the votes. The PDUF polled the greatest number of votes and won the absolute majority in the biggest cities, proletarian centers and some rural communities.

Faced with the victory of the popular democratic opposition, the regime garbled the election returns. The fraud assumed such proportions that even the observers sent by the Organization of American States had to denounce it. It was also admitted by the official candidate, Gen. Juan Pereda, who asked for annulment of the election results. At the same time, however, he opted for a coup on the basis of the resignation tendered by President Banzer to the Army High Command on July 21, 1978.

The meeting of the Central Committee of the CPB in August 1978 examined all these developments and released the documents published below.

The July 9 elections confirmed that fascism cannot play at democracy with impunity. The fascist rulers tried to prolong their power through the elections so as to bolster the system but the elections exposed them, cut them down to size and showed them for what they are: a camarilla representing the most reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie linked with monopoly, lacking any real social support and based solely on force. They tried through fictitious democracy to widen their field of maneuver and entrenchment but the exercise of democracy by the masses effectively blocked this "variant" of theirs and isolated them to such an extent that they can only be seen as evidence of the untenability of a system lacking a historical future.

UNPRECEDENTED MASS OFFENSIVE

The formidable offensive of the masses overwhelmed reaction and revealed their ability to go in the confrontation between democracy and fascism beyond even the limits which had been considered as too optimistic. The election campaign was a real test for our party's tactics and for the program and policy of united action of the Popular and Democratic Unity Front. Hundreds of thousands of workers, peasants, members of the petty bourgeoisie and even other classes gave a massive backing to the Front's program and the democratic alternative providing an extraordinary stimulus for the struggle. Publicity on an unprecedented scale enabled the democratic forces to develop greater capacity and initiative than expected.

The PDUF and its candidate, Hernan Siles Zuazo, showed immense rallying power that mobilized the masses to strongly resist the dictatorship and choose the only democratic and popular option acceptable to the people. We saw for ourselves that we had greater leverage in the struggle for mass democracy than we had imagined.

This involves enormous responsibility; we must build up this democratic movement organizationally, carry it on to a victorious conclusion and bring its organized core to power.

The elections, which were an occasion for the partisans of democracy to express their massive opposition to *continuismo*,¹ became the greatest act of universal rejection of fascism by the people. At the same time, they were one of the most valuable experiences of political struggle. They roused to action important classes and social sectors showing a high degree of political maturity and independence of opinion and adhering to an explicitly anti-fascist position.

THREE BASIC ASPECTS OF THE GREAT NATIONAL RESISTANCE TO CONTINUISMO

The peasants showed themselves to be the most radical sector. Their outstanding role in terms of massive involvement contained a highly important generalizing element making it possible to specify the tactics of democratic struggle; it offers an invaluable social basis for revolutionary action. In spite of the "military-peasant pact," the intimidation, persecution and violent repression of recent years, the peasants displayed extraordinary cohesion, overcoming difficulties due to a general lack of unity.

Their outspoken rejection of fascism found expression in an active position and their maturity manifested itself forcefully in resolute defense of their vote. They set impressive examples of sacrifice, daring and ingenuity in striving not to let their vote in support of the PDUF and against fascism be ignored. Their numerical strength was undoubtedly a most important factor in this respect, and on the whole they ceased to be a reserve of the reactionary bourgeoisie.

While it was to be expected that the working class would take a firm stand, the extent of resistance to *continuismo* assumed amazing proportions revealing a massive receptiveness to PDUF policy. It was an explicit class vote indicative of the workers' adherence to the democratic alternative. It is a sound basis for carrying the anti-fascist struggle deeper and holds the promise of democratic rule.

Youth was another front-line fighter. The vast majority of young people, in particular university and other students, took part in the anti-fascist struggle, opposed *continuismo* and supported the alternative put forward by the PDUF.

These are the three basic forces that lent the great national resistance to fascism a massive character, making it almost total. Other strata and sectors, too, made an important contribution. Needless to

say, Bolivia's women exercised their political rights along the same lines.

As well as being a great manifestation of resistance to fascism, the elections reduced vanguardism, the "extreme left," to the most obvious public isolation, confining them within the thick walls of their sectarianism and showing that their claim to revolutionary "purity" is not accepted by the masses.

DEMOCRATIC UNITY: ONLY VIABLE LINE IN THE OFFENSIVE OF THE MASSES AGAINST FASCISM

The massive popular vote also supported the only viable alternative, the only possible option of power for the democrats — the PDUF and its presidential candidate, Hernan Siles Zuazo.

That the fascist program of "constitutionalizing" the regime miscarried completely is seen in the fact that the opposition as a whole, and above all the PDUF, on the one hand, and the DANR and CDP/PBR,² on the other, legitimately polled about 70 per cent of the votes, which reduced the fascist rulers to an insignificant minority.

All these facts enabled us to translate into reality the slogan of our Ninth Conference, which called for an offensive based on action by the masses to give concrete form to the process of real democratization as against the fiction practised by the dictatorship. The masses were able to regain some of the mechanisms of their strength and to win new ones, demonstrating their capacity for development when there is an option of development that is objectively valid historically and politically. And while their victory at the polls did not yield concrete results for the time being, it made the exercise of democracy an instrument of mobilization and unity strengthening the confidence of the masses in the ultimate victorious outcome of the struggle.

THE FORCES BEHIND CONTINUISMO, DEFEATED AT THE POLLS, RESORT TO A COUP TO SURVIVE

The election returns were a condemnation of fascism. But the fascists, defeated by the people, fully used their capacity for maneuver and the dictatorial resources at their disposal to legitimize a monstrous fraud. They exerted pressure on the Electoral Court to lend the fraud a semblance of legitimacy. But in view of the inefficacy of this formal procedure (inasmuch as denunciation at home and abroad had revealed the strength of the opposition in the elections), the fascists resorted to actions intended to destabilize the domestic

political situation. The path of democratization lost its meaning for the regime because it led to the latter's defeat, while a return to violent methods was fraught with real danger of a renewal of fascism which had been defeated at the polls. The course of action resorted to as an emergency device immediately proved to be a reactionary "insurrectional" coup which tacitly confirmed the illegitimacy of the government as such, disregarding the outcome of the elections.

In that brief and extremely tense period, the struggle in defense of the people's vote could not be backed with efficient coordination between the political leadership, the masses and the opposition forces. It proved impossible to act promptly enough to bring about counteraction by the organized working-class movement and the peasants. Even so, the strike planned by the miners' union, the mobilization of the peasants and the elements of attempts at united action in the obtaining situation were an important aspect of the struggle against disregard and misrepresentation of the people's will.

Nevertheless, the fact that the working-class and popular movement was not fully organized at the time slowed down the counteraction. Furthermore, the action of the PDUF, especially of the Socialist Falange, which advanced radical demands with support from some of the military, was marked by irresponsibility, which led the country to the brink of disaster and failed to stave off the coup. In view of this and the possibility that the authorities might use the action of the masses as a pretext, first to consolidate their forces and overcome the crisis in the army caused by themselves, and secondly, to exploit the occasion by initiating a new period of repression, and with due regard to the risk of splitting forces, steps were taken to suspend for a time the strike and the actions planned by the peasant movement and by working-class and popular organizations.

PEREDA AND THE DANGER OF A FASCIST COMEBACK

The success of the reactionary "insurrectional" coup created a new situation. What was typical prior to it was the emergence of democratic options and a real possibility of winning power. There was massive resistance to *continuismo*, a resistance which expressed itself in support for the PDUF and even for bourgeois national reformist and Christian Democratic candidates. With power in Pereda's hands, the danger of regression and a fascist comeback is growing. In other words, the gains of the period before, during and after the elections are in jeopardy. A return to the fascist methods of the past,

fear, intimidation and disorganization of the working-class and popular movement through repression, and the confusion, weakening and political disunity brought on by the new period of tension may complicate the existence of a purposeful and solid leadership faced with the task of consolidating and carrying forward the gains leading toward a real democratization of the country and winning power.

However, there is a fact of great significance for the development of the democratic perspective. It is international solidarity. The peoples of the world and the most diverse organizations — Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, national reformist movements of Latin America, the Socialist International, the world communist movement and others — reject the fascist model and support our people's struggle.

THE CLASS SUBSTANCE OF THE REGIME IS UNCHANGED BUT THE REGIME HAS BEEN WEAKENED AND ERODED

As far as its class nature is concerned, the government brought into being on June 21, 1978 does not differ essentially from the one that took office on August 21, 1971. The basis of the system are the more reactionary and aggressive sections of the bourgeoisie linked with and dependent on monopoly, as well as the camarilla of the new military high command speaking for the armed forces. But the present government is different from its predecessor in that it is weaker and more isolated. Both its civilian and its military bases are precarious. Owing to the disarray and erosion in various sections of the bourgeoisie itself, it is only the bureaucracy and top leaders of the RNM and SFB³ that provide a civilian basis for the Pereda government. The very composition of his first cabinet, which comprises heterogeneous remnants of defunct groups or groups whose social influence is insignificant, reveals its isolation and decay. The frankly critical mood of the armed forces, the division evident in their lower echelons, internal friction and virtual confrontation, and the fact that the government, brought to power through a coup against the will of the military hierarchy, lacks moral authority in their eyes inevitably breeds sharp contradictions and may lead to further replacements. This is why the government is trying desperately to "touch up" its image and increase its chances of survival by calling for "national convergence," for creating mechanisms of "popular participation" that would allegedly bring about a process of "democratization" and achieve "unity" on the centenary of our loss of access to the Pacific. It also

explains the regime's plea for respecting "human rights" and the gains of the trade unions, all of which is intended to disguise its fascist substance and its weakness.

**THE EXERCISE OF DEMOCRACY BY THE MASSES
MUST CONSOLIDATE AND IMPROVE THE BALANCE
OF FORCES IN FAVOR
OF THE DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE**

The masses are at the threshold of a particularly important period. This is due not only to the government's inherent weakness but also to the gains made by the people thanks to organization, cohesion and the existence of a real democratic alternative of power attainable by their own efforts.

The unfolding action of the masses in defense of democracy, for the institutionalization of the rights and freedoms of the people and the trade unions is following its own way found in this period of national resistance to fascism. The masses exercise democracy and are confident of their possibilities. However, it is essential to assess the available forces correctly, prevent division and step up unity of action without going beyond the limits of political necessity. The task is to avoid unnecessary risks in the process of the people's struggle, which should be carried on in step with the consolidation of the balance of forces increasingly favorable to the democratic cause.

NEW ELECTIONS

The government, being weak and faced with unanimous demand of the masses, is compelled to set new elections.

The masses and the opposition must therefore build up the mechanisms of their action so as to join in the election campaign with greater chances of success. Hence the task of great importance — to reorganize and strengthen the mass movement and carry it beyond the still narrow organizational bounds of the PDUF.

Furthermore, if the democratic forces and the people of Bolivia are to realize their legitimate aspirations, they need the cooperation and commitment of the armed forces, which would help defeat *continuismo*. All Bolivians demand that the people's will be respected in elections.

To guarantee this we communists propose that the country and its armed forces should sign a democratic compromise charter binding the opposition, the armed forces and the government itself to respect

democracy in Bolivia, on explicit and precise terms legalizing the action of the masses.

As the Electoral Court instituted and controlled by the government has shown itself to be ineffectual, we also propose establishing a real electoral authority independent of government agencies and involving political and mass organizations.

If the Pereda regime denies this to the people it will thereby invite clashes in other forms, for the working people and democratic forces will make reaction reckon with the people's will by using every method and form of struggle, insurrection included.

**NEEDED: A PURPOSEFUL AND UNITED POLITICAL
LEADERSHIP FIRMLY LINKED WITH THE MASSES
AND SHOWING INITIATIVE IN COORDINATING
THE ACTIVITY OF THE OPPOSITION**

To ensure that the process goes on according to the trend revealed by the elections, it is indispensable to consolidate the gains made and to move on.

This means strengthening unity and establishing alliances at all levels, setting precise goals in common with other opposition forces and, above all, consolidating the political leadership, which must lead the masses toward a real democratization of the country and the winning of power. The PDUF is undoubtedly the political instrument chosen by the people. The paramount political task today is to strengthen this organization politically and ideologically, firmly establish its mechanisms and means of action among the masses and support its initiative whenever necessary.

**OVERCOME ANTI-COMMUNIST PREJUDICE,
MAKE THE COMMUNIST PARTY A MASS PARTY
MEETING THE REQUIREMENTS OF
THE DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE**

The Communist Party must rise to a level enabling it to accomplish these tasks. The imperative task facing us is to transform our party into a mass party before long, step up the ideological struggle with a view to completely eliminating anti-communist stereotypes invented by our class enemies and even by some allies, and show the communists' real image and way of action. In accomplishing this task, we must in no way renounce our principles.

The election process has in the main refuted the opinion that there is anti-communist prejudice among the peasants and other social

strata. We are thus in a better position now to carry on our political offensive, work actively among the masses and promote unity for the victory of democracy and the defeat of fascism. This prospect is drawing nearer and becoming more and more real, forecasting victory for the revolution in our country.

Central Committee,
Communist Party of Bolivia
August 1978, Abridged

1. "Continuity" — policy of maintaining a reactionary social order. — *Ed.*
2. Democratic Alliance of the National Revolution, Christian-Democratic Party, Party of the Bolivian Revolution. — *Ed.*
3. Revolutionary Nationalist Movement and Socialist Falange of Bolivia. — *Ed.*

PROSPECTS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION

*Communiqué of the Central Committee, Portuguese
Communist Party*

The communiqué published by the PCP Central Committee after the meeting held on Sunday, September 10, states:

1. The CC has discussed questions connected with the formation of a new government and the prospects for the development of the political situation.

2. The CC considers that, although this does not correspond to the solution laid down in the Constitution, the proposal to form a government consisting completely or partially of persons who do not belong to any political parties, as a temporary or transitional measure, is not unconstitutional, and that such a course is admissible if it proves impossible to form a government on a party basis and with the support of Parliament. This has been the case with the government of Nobre da Costa.

3. In accepting this proposal the CC considered the concrete case of the Nobre da Costa government. The CC draws attention, among the government's other negative features, to the composition of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fishing, in which the responsible posts have been given to Agrarians and their protectors.

As for the program, which reflects a policy orientated against the interests of the working people, small and medium-sized agricultural

producers and other working classes and strata, the measures against the Agrarian Reform and against nationalization, the payment of compensation, and the fatalistic submission to foreign loans and the dictates of the IMF stand out among others as particularly dangerous.

The CC has reached the conclusion that both the composition and the program of the government are unacceptable.

4. At the same time the CC has concluded that the specific conditions have not yet been created for the formation in the near future of a democratic government on a party and parliamentary basis as the situation demands.

The CC notes with anxiety that the SP leadership is showing no real interest in considering together with the PCP all questions concerning a democratic alternative, while there are serious signs that it seeks to conclude an alliance with the SDC and PDP.

As the experience of previous governments has shown, a SP-SDC government or a SP-SDC-PDP government would not provide a democratic solution to the crisis and would not differ greatly from the present Nobre da Costa government.

5. The CC draws attention to the danger of the destabilization plan devised by reaction, which aims at creating a vacuum and paralyzing democratic institutions or leading them up a blind alley. In this connection the CC notes with particular concern the attempts to block the formation of a new government and warns of the possible paralyzing of effective action by the Assembly of the Republic. It also notes the attempts to restrict the prerogatives of the Revolutionary Council and the campaign to destabilize the activity of the organ of sovereign power — the President of the Republic.

Fighting for the stability of democratic institutions, the PCP opposes all actions which seek to use discussion of the government program to oppose the Assembly of the Republic to the President of The Republic and evoke a conflict between these two sovereign organs.

6. The CC has analyzed all the most important aspects of the attitude of the PCP parliamentary group to the government program: the composition and program of the government, the foreseeable development of the political situation in the event of non-acceptance or acceptance of the program and the possible alternatives.

The CC has decided that the PCP parliamentary group should propose a vote of no confidence in the government on the grounds that its composition and program do not accord with the demands of the moment. This decision will be revised only if any genuinely new

factors arise to alter the assessment of the present circumstances.

In order to clearly define its position in relation to the aims of other parties that have already emerged in the current political crisis, the PCP parliamentary group will not support any vote of no confidence proposed by other parties.

7. As of this moment the CC draws general attention to this position which it has adopted in an effort to bring clarity to the political scene and restrict maneuvers designed to destabilize the government, which is made more likely by vagueness in the positions of the parties.

8. It may happen that a number of parties will propose their own votes of no confidence and not obtain a majority. In that case the candidature of Nobre da Costa may be passed in the Assembly of the Republic even without the support of the Assembly.

The CC is confident that if this occurs, the government, if it remains in office, will ensure a democratic solution in the shortest possible time.

9. The CC considers that whether or not the Nobre da Costa government is accepted by the Assembly of the Republic, the democratic alternative requires that the following conditions be met, namely: a favorable attitude on the part of the President of the Republic, participation or support of the SP and mutual understanding between the SP, PCP and other democratic forces and strata.

In its activities the PCP is trying and will go on trying to see that these three conditions are fulfilled.

10. The CC also considers that the constitutional ways out of the prolonged political crisis, which is extremely detrimental to the democratic system and the solution of grave national problems, lie either through the formation of a democratic government on a party and parliamentary basis or (despite the difficulties entailed) a general pre-schedule election to the Assembly of the Republic on the condition of its being held on the basis of the new electoral laws and electoral rolls.

11. At this critical hour for Portuguese democracy the PCP Central Committee, fully confident that the present difficulties will be overcome, appeals to the working people and all democrats, and particularly the socialists, for unity and joint actions that are of vital importance for defense of the freedoms and other major gains won by the Revolution, for strengthening the democratic system and ensuring national independence.

Central Committee,
Portuguese Communist Party

DOCUMENTS

JOINT CONTRIBUTION TO RENEWAL OF NLF BY ALL ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES

In connection with the forthcoming Congress of the National Liberation Front, Algeria's Socialist Vanguard Party has issued statement, extracts from which are presented below.

The question of renewing the National Liberation Front (NLF) is now the dominant question of national politics.

Not long ago many doubted that this task could be put on the order of the day. That this can be done has now become quite obvious as a result of the working people's struggle for their social and democratic rights. Workers and peasants, mujahidin,* young men and women, adult women, civilians and military men all have, in connection with their daily tasks or with the preparation and holding of their congresses, expressed a desire that the NLF should play a greater part in accordance with the goals of the National Charter.

The question of renewing the NLF has arisen not only because within a few months it is to hold a congress to consider the problem of further developing state institutions. Apart from the tasks of constitutional construction, the NLF needs to be renewed for the purpose of creating political instruments that the revolution will be in need of for a long time to come in order to carry the great cause of national construction and social transformations to the end and to make it irreversible. What is more, the process of renewal needs to be carried out as soon as possible, because this is vitally important for overcoming the serious disproportions and the dangerous phenomena which could prevent our country from successfully fulfilling the tasks it faces.

Sizable social and political forces are capable of promoting this renewal. Up to now they have stood aloof, but not because they were not stirred by national interests, which are inseparable from their own

*Former participants in the war of national liberation. — Ed.

interests, but because the activity of the NLF apparatus at various levels contradicted their hopes and aspirations.

PRIMARY FACTOR OF RENEWAL

In its present state, the NLF will be renewed mainly through a struggle by the masses and all the other progressive forces to fulfill the vital tasks of the country's development. It cannot be carried out only as a result of internal organizational measures.

This conclusion follows from an analysis of the fundamental causes which have brought the NLF apparatus to its present stage within a period of 15 years. Without going into details, one could safely say that the organizational measures which need to be carried out within the NLF (recruitment of new members, structural changes, appointments and transfers) cannot be considered outside the context of policy, and this has also been borne out by experience. Indeed, policy is here the crucial factor.

When organizational matters are settled at the expense of policy or in defiance of progressive political propositions, there arises the risk of inflicting harm on the process of renewal or even of creating new political problems which cannot be solved at the given moment. The new leadership of the NLF executive organs appears to be aware of the priority of policy.

This does not in any sense reduce the importance of some of the organizational measures the authorities have already taken over a period of several months. The measures designed to resist the systematic takeovers of the NLF apparatus by rightist circles, which they have infiltrated over the past period despite the aspirations of the masses and the grass-roots organizations, should undoubtedly be regarded as useful and correct. Such measures facilitate control of the apparatus by the progressive elements of the leadership, especially at the present time, when the date fixed for the convocation of the Congress leaves little time for sufficiently deep and democratic preparations in the grass-roots organizations and all over the country.

These measures have helped to improve the situation within the NLF above all at the highest and middle level of its organizational structure, where the progressive initiatives of the masses, grass-roots organizations and their leaders met with insuperable obstacles for a long time.

However, the relative success of these first few steps is connected above all with the positive changes that have taken place in the balance of forces on a national scale, with the anti-imperialist, social

and democratic struggle going on at the grass roots and at the highest level . . .

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF RENEWAL?

The NLF's renewal is not an end in itself: being aimed at improving the situation as soon as possible for fulfilling the tasks of construction, it has to be continued in order to forge the chief instruments of revolution. That is why it is now already necessary to take into account the long-term interests and goals, and also the political and ideological requirements of this revolution.

What are these strategic and long-term goals? And why are the communists concerned with renewing the NLF, although they are not organizationally involved in it? Why do they take a broader view of this renewal than a mere inclusion of their party's members in this official organization?

It is not, of course, for any tactical considerations, and not to justify our party's independence before public opinion. For us as well as for other socialism-oriented progressives, the NLF's renewal is not an end in itself or a mere means for fulfilling immediate tasks. It is a key line in creating basic instruments of revolution, by which we mean simultaneously:

— *A broad and united anti-imperialist political movement* created in the course of struggle and for the struggle to fulfill common tasks. This movement should undertake defense of the interests of the middle sections and also of some patriotic circles of the national bourgeoisie. A National Front, whose forms can be determined and forged by life itself, could be the supreme expression of this broad movement.

— *A powerful party playing a vanguard role* established above all on the basis of an alliance of those who advocate socialism. The latter are the most dynamic nucleus of the anti-imperialist movement. By their acts, they must win the leading role in this movement, being guided by the principles and revolutionary laws of scientific socialism.

The creation of these instruments is a protracted process which is connected with the destiny of the revolution itself: this process will develop fairly rapidly. It is not, of course, guaranteed against any possible ebbs or defeats, even if these are no more than temporary.

Any policy of realistic and effective alliance must also take into account the community and difference of interests of the social sections and political forces within it. But it should eventually promote the success of the common goals of progress: each of these forces,

each of these sections, using its own forms of organization and action, must jointly advance the cause of revolution.

Of course, in practice differences and even contradictions are bound to arise between the sections and forces rallied round common tasks and chief interests. This applies, in particular, to the simultaneous existence of the NLF and the Socialist Vanguard Party in a situation in which there is officially a one-party state system.

On the basis of this reality, the right forces want to spark off an antagonistic contradiction in an effort to convert the NLF into a defender of the interests of reactionary, exploiting or backward sections of society. However, the communists and those who favor the NLF's renewal (those who represent the working people and the patriotic sections taking a socialist orientation in the light of their own and national interests) can differ only on the ways and means of attaining their common goal.

Although these differences are also fuelled by misunderstanding, and in consequence also by distorted notions of the class struggle in our country and on an international scale, they are not and must not be antagonistic.

This will be true so long as the forces controlling the NLF direct it along a way meeting the long-term interests of the revolution, that is, the way of socialist orientation. The secondary contradictions or differences will be resolved as a large vanguard party based on scientific socialism is established in the course of the revolution.

This is a realistic perspective not only because of the presence of the communists united in a party whose organizational and ideological features are already the features of a socialist vanguard, but also because many other forward-looking revolutionaries working in individual government organs and institutions have been acting ever more concertedly and efficiently and enjoy predominant influence in them, although they are not united in a party of this type.

All revolutionaries, whatever the organization they are members of, must act in such a way as to transform these real or potential centers of scientific socialism into an additional force, instead of hotbeds of division or subversion. When building up a powerful and united socialist vanguard, they must make use of the positive and negative lessons of international experience. In particular, there is a need to envisage a mode of action which, on the one hand, would help successfully to realize the new potentialities, and on the other, to maintain the old organization of the revolutionary forces for the contingency of a retreat.

WHAT ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS?

Consequently, in our country's specific conditions, the Algerian revolutionaries should skillfully harmonize the legitimate interests of all the revolutionary forces which spring from their nature. That is the only way to find the organizational forms corresponding to the tasks of political consolidation and ideological progress, and to avoid clashes and artificial contradictions.

The progressive forces should seek to have any political progress in the country assume concrete organizational forms. This is bound to benefit them and enable them to create new levers for the anti-imperialist struggle, national construction and further mustering of the masses.

It is important to see that the approach to these organizational measures is *political*, that there is no haste, authoritarianism and administration by fiat. Such trends are usually explained by a desire to solve immediate or partial problems, but this is frequently done without considering the global and long-term interests of the progressive movement and bears harm to revolutionary democracy. In that case, the organizational measures become a drag and cause failures.

There is also this question: is it possible to meet the hopes of the sincere advocates of the NLF's renewal, who, having been convinced of the communists' serious approach, firmness of their political line and urge for unity of action for the purposes of progress, propose instant entry into the NLF so as to help its renewal from "inside"?

Some special cases apart, would it be realistic, timely and useful to demand that the communists should do more than they are doing now for this renewal by acting outside the NLF organs, a contribution which is already considerable?

Do those who propose such an approach reckon with the ideological and practical problems produced by it? Does a political atmosphere and ideological level already exist within the NLF under which the presence of the communists in its ranks would not develop into a subversion the right forces could make use of? After all, there is good reason why the rabid adversaries of progress, on the one hand, reproach the communists or other consistent progressives for remaining outside the NLF, and on the other, as soon as any progressive leader who is considered a communist joins the ranks of the NLF or simply takes up a responsible post in a mass organization there are shouts about a communist threat, about infiltration, etc.

Instead of strengthening political unity both inside and outside the NLF, such an approach would merely compound the already compli-

cated problems, sharpen the contradictions and clashes on the *ideological plane*, and, far from bringing any benefits, would, on the contrary, be detrimental to improving the political situation. Such a step would produce problems which are not yet ripe for solution and which neither the NLF, even in a *stage of renewal*, nor the revolution at its present stage would be capable of solving.

What is more, such a step would further obscure one main point: it would intensify the dangerous illusion that the communists could exist without their own party. What is a communist without his party? Where do the communists receive their political, ideological and practical training, where do they obtain the moral qualities for which other patriots and progressives value their support and contribution? They receive all of this from their party, an inexhaustible source of revolutionary initiative, vigor and spirit, the party which in our country, as in the rest of the world, is an objective result of the growth of the working class and development of the ideas of socialism.

Experience has shown, on the contrary, that it is possible and advisable to find numerous forms through which the communists (or other progressives who are not within the ranks of the NLF for this or that reason) can help to fulfill current tasks.

As a result of joint creative efforts, in the context of real struggle, progressives have already begun to seek and create these unitary and dynamic forms, without limiting themselves to any hard-and-fast patterns or structures. Their primary demand on the forms designed for joint action is that they should serve anti-imperialist, democratic aspirations and the goals of social progress.

One example is provided by the mass trade-union organizations, notably those of them which are sponsored by the NLF. Another example of a broad political alliance with a clear-cut goal comes from the society for the promotion of the agrarian revolution which is known for its democratic methods and dynamism. Its importance as a prototype of a future progressive movement was specifically noted in the latest presidential instruction. Both in the center and in the localities many new forms of organization for joint action can and must be found.

Thus, the problems which the revolution will constantly produce in the course of its development will be solved in practice. These are the real successes which are of the utmost importance for the revolution. Revolutionaries must devote attention not so much to the forms of state system as to the goals and aims (progressive or reactionary) by which state institutions and organizations are ultimately motivated.

No state system (whether one-party or multi-party) can of itself provide the guarantee of success. Success or defeat is connected with the key aims within these institutions.

In this respect, the communists seek to display the same kind of broad approach to the stirring problems which they require of other progressive forces. Believing that legitimation of all the forms of their activity will have a beneficial effect on all the forces of progress, the communists support (even when they engage in constructive criticism of some of their aspects) the anti-imperialist and socialist orientations put through within the framework of the present state system.

The progressive forces must rebut all the provocative and splitting moves and make creative efforts for gradually realizing the potentialities of this system so that it should promote:

- *the development of revolutionary democracy*, which is open to the working masses, to the progressive forces and those relying on them,

- *unity of action*, a strategic alliance between the working class, the toiling peasantry and the intelligentsia and revolutionary cadres,

- *cohesion of the army and the people* in the interests of further progress,

- *further development of the ideas of socialism.*

The successes and defeats, the problems which arise in life will help to perfect this state system and to better adapt it to higher tasks, and make more pronounced the need for a clear-cut distinction between a broad National Front and the ruling party. The measures for the NLF's renewal will best promote the specific conditions for creating each of these two equally necessary types of organization.

GOALS FACING NLF'S CONGRESS

Such are the fundamental propositions by which the communists and their party are guided in connection with the forthcoming NLF Congress. In the interests of all the progressive forces, there is a need not only to give the congress theoretical attention, but also to help concretely to turn it into a new milestone in the process of revolution.

What are the criteria for judging success? In other words, what can one expect of this Congress? What should be its goals?

These goals are interconnected:

- *in the economic and social plane*: clear-cut guidelines for improving and strengthening the state sector, with due account of the difficulties produced by imperialism, the disproportions connected with the departure from the agreed development strategy, notably in

connection with the inadequate attention given to the connection between the struggle for production and its anti-imperialist social and democratic content;

— *in the political plane*: efforts to ensure priority growth of the progressive forces and the influence of their goals, in other words:

— efforts to enlarge and deepen the progressive social and political basis of power through an alliance of the most revolutionary sections and forces, with the involvement of the middle sections;

— efforts to reduce the social and political basis of reaction, to isolate the forces which, wittingly or unwittingly, are pushing the country into neo-colonialist dependence;

— efforts to intensify anti-imperialist vigilance, reliance on the world anti-imperialist front and its promotion, strengthening of the relations of alliance, solidarity and cooperation with the non-aligned countries, with the movement for democracy, for peace and disarmament, with the international communist and working-class movement, above all the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community, which is the most reliable support for our country's development and independence;

— *in the organizational plane*: efforts to map out in advance, before the Congress, the line of political and ideological efforts which will help to renew the NLF so as to help it increasingly to play the progressive role assigned to it by the Constitution.

For that purpose, propositions and methods should be worked out for the utmost expansion of revolutionary democracy and the establishment of a broad anti-imperialist National Front in which the NLF could play the leading role. Thus, encouragement of educational work on the basis of the principles of socialism and mutual accord among revolutionaries will help to create definite conditions for the emergence of a large, vanguard, leading party, whose activity will be based on scientific socialism.

These goals can be attained if preparations for the Congress right away assume the form of *vigorous and diverse mass action running in the same direction as action by progressive leaders, actions aimed to fulfill the most acute tasks and solve the most acute problems of the present moment.*

Patriots and revolutionaries need *to unite, to enhance their political consciousness, to find a common framework for joint action and concerted decisions*, including action in open organizational structures or even without any formal arrangements, in order to carry on a resolute struggle within the next few months.

FROM THE PRESS

EVOLUTION OF THE PANAMANIAN ARMED FORCES

Panama is not a country of military castes. It is since the beginning of the current process of changes that the military asserted themselves and became directly involved in socio-political affairs. At the moment Panama has no real army. This is due to the colonial presence of U.S. imperialism, which under the Convention¹ imposed in 1903 could constantly infringe on our country's independence. Fearing that the small republic might come to play an independent role, the United States assumed the repressive functions in Panama and the "defense" of the Canal Zone.

There came interventions with the connivance of the ruling bourgeoisie, for the President of Panama called in U.S. troops whenever the people showed disobedience. Legalized U.S. intervention found its strongest expression during the tenants' historic movement in 1925, with U.S. troops occupying Panama City and taking a toll in killed and wounded. On that occasion the Foreign Minister of Panama signed an abject letter of thanks to the invading troops reading as follows:

"On instructions from my government, I have the honor to express to Your Excellency and through you, to the Governor of the Canal Zone and the Commander-in-Chief of the Panama Canal Department, our gratitude for the effective cooperation of the U.S. armed forces in maintaining order in Panama City during this month's disturbances."

To safeguard itself against criminals and rebellious peasants, the state of Panama maintained a police force which the United States allowed to have nothing but clubs and revolvers. . . . Panama was said ironically to be spared the need to keep its own colonels and generals throughout that period in the republic's history.

There was, of course, no such thing as a military career and as for policemen, they were recruited from the poor peasants. . . .

But the history of Panama began before 1903. In the struggle against Spanish colonialism, we had professional soldiers who fought

under Bolivar's banners. In 1895, three Panamanians accompanied Maceo and Flor Crombet when they landed in Cuba, and took part in the war against Spanish colonialists. They were General Adolfo Pena and the officers Isidoro Noriega and Jose de la Cruz Delgado. There was also the great Tomas Herrera, who fought in the famous battle of Ayacucho. Throughout the period of our voluntary union with Great Colombia there was a Colombian army on the Isthmus that included outstanding Panamanians. Active in the Thousand Days' War (1899-1902) were Benjamin Herrera, Temistocles Diaz, Benjamin Quintero and many other revolutionary officers. It is only under the influence of groundless allegations to the effect that Panama has always had everything without fighting, getting it almost as a gift and without bloodshed, that no serious research has been done to prove the contrary. The participation of military men in the Thousand Days' Revolution, in which they often showed heroism, should be properly appreciated and held up as an example adding to the prestige of Panama's present-day armed forces and Panamanians in general. All this vast experience was committed to oblivion, mainly with the abolition of the army, when Panama separated itself from Colombia and the tradition of Bolivarist military men committed to the cause of freedom was abruptly broken off.

The historical facts we have described above explain to a certain degree the class composition of the Panamanian armed forces, which took political power in 1968 through a coup. In a country reduced to the condition of a U.S. protectorate, the subsidiary character of the National Police did not encourage the bourgeoisie to seek a military career for their sons. They were content with the security offered by U.S. troops, a strategic security they needed to pursue their "everlasting" aim of exploiting the Panamanian people. . . .

From the early period of its existence to the 50s, the National Police recruited the bulk of its small force from the poor peasants. As for its officers, most of them came, not from military academies, but from those among the men who had a suitable service record and proper seniority. Needless to say, this group of the military expressed in a measure the ideology of the peasants. The bourgeoisie strove to secure top posts at the level of so-called commanders (first, second and third; there were no other high ranks) for some of their own men, including civilians from the Creole aristocracy, with majors and a colonel or two of popular origin, that is, peasants or members of the middle strata.

The crisis of Panamanian society in the 50s, the Korean war,

McCarthyism and the intensifying cold war, and subsequently the effects of the Cuban revolution, determined the preventive orientation of the National Guard, which improved its military equipment under the pressure and tutelage of the U.S. Special units were formed to put down risings, military intelligence and the security corps were set up and young Panamanian officers who graduated from military academies of Central and South America began to replace self-made officers. It was a period of intensive interference by U.S. imperialism through its military advisers and various intelligence services honeycombing the Panamanian military establishment. Some of the political authority was gradually taken over by the National Police as the crisis-stricken oligarchy became less and less capable of solving the various problems while the popular movement grew. In 1949 the Chief of Police, First Commander Colonel Remon, faced with a strong popular movement against militarism and for the removal of the three commanders, installed Arnulfo Arias, a politico, as President, only to depose him a year later. Ever since that event, the National Police has been the directing force in national politics. Actually there emerged two political power centers: the Command of the National Police and the Presidency of the Republic.

Except for a few abortive protest actions and attempts at a palace revolution by politicians, and unlike some other Latin American countries, Panama had never been the scene of military coups inasmuch as its precarious institutional continuity was maintained by the military presence of the United States.

Eclipsed by a sharp anti-imperialist struggle that tended to see the National Guard as the sole valid factor, a new current began to develop imperceptibly among some young army officers. It was a product of daily clashes with the masses and revolutionary movements in carrying out orders for repression, a product of the national crisis and world developments. This current was democratic but ill-defined and steeped in anti-communism. It may be said to date from the mid-50s.²

The mid-60s witnessed in Veraguas Province the first instance of cooperation between a chief of the military zone, the popular movement and the trade unions against the latifundium system and political intrigue. These very few flare-ups and efforts in evidence among the young military, and work among them intended to win their support for the people's anti-oligarchic cause were isolated and produced no dynamic trend owing to the anti-communist hue and cry kept up by successive governments and to a wave of repressive measures. Even

so, these antecedents had their value because they played a role in the 1968 coup, an event seemingly unexpected and having no connection with the past.

To establish the facts with historical impartiality, it should be noted that apart from the more advanced civilians who were prompted by various reasons and interests to cooperate with the military, no democratic organization noticed, except for the People's Party, the emergence of anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist elements during the coup or the trends it brought into being. It is a fundamental prerequisite of deciding on a policy line that the military leadership must not be seen as a compact group and that it is necessary to attack authoritarian militarism but without seeking a frontal and total showdown with those who made the coup.

"The tactical line," the Central Committee of the People's Party stated at its plenary meeting in July 1973, "implied popular struggle against authoritarian militarism and provided for the formation of a popular alliance."

In accordance with this fundamental principle, the advanced section of the popular movement — workers, peasants, students and the professionals — began to build bridges between their organizations and the democratic nationalist current among the military and to conduct the necessary dialogue.

It was, of course, not easy for a people educated in the spirit of anti-militarist struggle and repeatedly subjected to repression by the military, to appreciate the change that had come about and strive boldly for agreement with a potentially anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic current. The simplest solution was to oppose the current. For their part, the military, who had been trained to serve as instruments of the oligarchy and saw a "subversive" agent in every organized worker, student or peasant and despised the intellectuals, did not find it easy to bring themselves to seek contact with the progressive forces at a time when the reactionaries were putting up resistance in various ways, including guerrilla operations.

But when the Torrijos current set out to solve some fundamental problems relating to trade union rights and the land and it became evident that the military coup was decidedly taking an anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic direction, those who were inclined to betray their country and seek a deal with the oligarchy and were operating inside the government with help from the CIA attempted a counter-coup. This action, launched on December 16, 1969, was defeated in the end with the help of loyal forces, the workers and peasants. As a result

Torrijos came back to power. This was a defeat of the reactionary current supported by the CIA and CONEP (National Council of Private Enterprise), which had taken part in the conspiracy.

There is no denying that if instead of following a bold line and seeking contact with a potentially democratic current the opposite decision had been taken, that is, on a frontal attack on those who had accomplished the military coup, and sending the workers, students, peasants and middle strata against the military, this would have strengthened the hand of the reactionaries also involved in the coup and so *the possibility of democratic changes in Panama would have been nipped in the bud*. This contribution of Panama's Marxist-Leninists to the Panamanian revolution was of immense value and no one can deny it.

After getting rid of most of the reactionary elements, the military proceeded to seek solutions to such problems as the country's backwardness and its colonial and neo-colonial dependence. At first they did this timidly and inconsistently. Their policy, based on the principle "You make progress as you go," was characterized by spontaneity and chance solutions aimed at coping with pressing social problems and winning public support, especially after the government had wiped out pockets of guerrilla resistance.³

The measures that were adopted indicated the future trend of the process of change. They consisted in expropriating the enormous 250,000-hectare latifundium of Panama Boston Coconut, establishing rural settlements where migrant peasants could work on the land, releasing political prisoners, withdrawing authorization of the further use of the Rio Hato military base by the United States and setting up a Panamanian military fortress there, expelling the so-called Peace Corps, ousting the U.S. military advisers, reopening trade union centers and rejecting the anti-national draft treaties with the United States known as "Three in One." The democratic nationalist trend of the process had become obvious. Panama's military were joining in the popular movement for national liberation. But as they were revolutionary democrats, their action was still within the bounds of political eclecticism expressed by the slogan "Neither with the left, nor with the right . . ."

Faced with various problems that are new to them, the military fear, of course, that they may lose control of the situation or be pushed farther than they intend should they join in the social movement. They also have reservations about the radicalization of the process, especially when they believe it to be a result of interference

by leftists or the communists ... The military tend to search for a "third position" that would be neither capitalist, nor communist and would not be linked with either the imperialist or the socialist camp, the United States or the Soviet Union.

There is a strong belief in development at the "lowest social cost," following a formula that, without breeding animosities, would hasten the process of bringing together the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the poor peasants and the landowners, that is a formula ruling out class struggle.

However, experience shows the military that the class struggle is an objective necessity and that reaction is not marking time and goes as far as assassinating champions of the revolutionary process or attempting to destabilize the economy. Wariness of a radicalization of the revolutionary process in Panama — a wariness justified insofar as it is prompted by the real balance of forces and by consideration of the pressure of the bourgeoisie and imperialism and the immaturity of the people's social consciousness regarding change — is expressive, on the other hand, of the reservations the military still have about the masses, and of the old anti-communism fomented in our country for decades by the oligarchy and imperialism ...

Now that the current revolutionary process is nearing its tenth anniversary, the principal feature of the evolution of the armed forces is its democratization. While still showing eclecticism, the military have become much more aware of Panamanian reality, of the country's history and the international situation, and are more receptive to the dialogue and more willing to appreciate the diverse revolutionary trends within the popular movement. Torrijos is a real architect of unity who correctly sees the key factors for the required convergence ...

A question generally asked by international analysts is: What would happen if Torrijos stopped directing the process? Torrijos has certainly put the stamp of democracy on his leadership. He is the undisputable leader of an anti-colonial nationalist policy and an advocate of non-alignment and important socio-economic changes. But while it is certain that he is the man holding together the general staff and maintaining the balance between the diverse components of the government, the process has yet to create the legal instrument needed to steadily guide a revolutionary government program that would be the "driving belt" between the masses and the military.

This reality causes concern among the supporters of the process. The attempt to found a "Party of the Revolution" failed, among other

things, because the idea was to build it on a bureaucratic basis; then, there was a lack of faith in it among the military commanders, who feared they would have to share leadership, and also because the civilian conglomerate backing the government showed different trends. Needless to say, there are other men besides Torrijos who have risen from the ranks and would be equal to lending the regime continuity.

The new danger lies in the intention of the bourgeois reformist forces in and outside the government to steer the process under way in Panama along neo-colonialist lines, with a smiling Carter looking on. Carter brought pressure to bear and demanded — as a condition for completing the talks — “democratization” of the country, respect for “human rights” and the return of political exiles, including the most notorious reactionary among them, Arnulfo Arias, who now heads the opposition to the regime and is doing his utmost to nullify all that the process has accomplished.

If the military rise to a correct understanding of the need to define the process as one aimed at changing the balance of political forces and bringing the worker-peasant alliance to power and into the production sphere against the resistance of imperialism and home reaction and with the international support of the peoples of the world, Panama will be able to continue fulfilling the tasks of this stage in the history of national liberation and the military will be in a position, unlike those who have failed elsewhere in Latin America, to confirm the possibility of leading the revolution to higher stages together with other popular and democratic forces.

Changmarin

Abridged from *Sintesis*, March-June 1978

1. Article VII of the Convention on the Canal authorized the United States to maintain public law and order in the cities of Panama and Colon and in the adjacent territories and bays should the Republic of Panama be unable, in the judgment of the United States, to maintain it.

2. “To this day, I do not remember a single incident from the time I commanded special troops maintaining public order in which the group our bayonets were aimed at was in the wrong.” (Gen. Torrijos, Letter to Kennedy, May 1970).

3. The guerrillas, organized by reactionary backers of Arnulfo Arias, were infiltrated by the CIA and for some time misled public opinion at home and abroad.

AGAINST THE FASCIST TERROR

Report from Leeds

Bombs posted to the *Morning Star* and Collet's London bookshop at the end of July carried a West Yorkshire postmark.

But a closer look at one West Yorkshire city and its more unsavory connections suggests more than mere coincidence.

For Leeds, the county's largest city, has had more than its share of fascist activity lately.

And there is an unsettling link with this year's earlier wave of letterbombs — at Peace News, the NUPE union offices and the Communist Party's King Street headquarters.

The day before the King Street bomb exploded, Ms. Angela Devaney, Yorkshire district Communist Party organizer, answered the telephone in the party's Leeds offices to be told: "You're going to get the same as your headquarters in London."

She dismissed the threat — "just another fascist nutter" — until she heard the next day's news. That wave of bombs came from York, just 23 miles down the road. And there was a break-in overnight at the party's Leeds offices.

Leeds, Britain's fifth-largest city, has old-established communities of almost every ethnic background. It has a long history of fascist activity — and an equally long record of the local population decisively rejecting the fascists.

Mosley's British Union of Fascists claimed some strength in Leeds in the 30s, until an abortive Blackshirt rally ended with Mosley being stoned off Holbeck Moor by a large hostile crowd.

Some hardened nazis remain from those days. They have re-emerged at times over the years, as one fascist group after another has tried to stir racial violence in the city.

The old British National Party was active in Leeds in the 60s. Then, early this decade, the inappropriately-named National Democratic and Freedom Movement was born in Leeds, bringing its own particularly ugly street violence and open nazism.

It dissolved to regroup as the scarcely-distinguishable new British National Party which, after spreading its tentacles as far as Strangeways Prison, in Manchester, broke up at the end of last year.

After a period of relative peace, marred by isolated confrontations in 1975 and 1976, Leeds' latest wave of fascist violence broke early last year. A Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament meeting in the Art

Gallery, addressed by Mr. Frank Allaun MP, was invaded by a gang of fascists.

It was a foretaste of worse to come. The next 18 months brought a succession of outrages in Leeds — “reminiscent of the streets of Berlin in the 1930s,” as a witness said after one incident.

On *May 12* last year, Labour and Communist election workers were attacked at a pub by a uniformed gang. Three needed hospital treatment, one for stab wounds near his spine . . .

On *July 30*, a Right to Work meeting was attacked by armed thugs . . . Later that day, the Communist Party offices were invaded by a similar gang, which broke up a Young Communist League meeting and smashed furniture.

September 14: This message was scrawled on the door of Red Ladder Theatre Company's headquarters: “Listen Red scum. You've got three weeks to get out, or we burn you out.” Their fire insurance was tripled and cover for malicious damage withdrawn . . .

Nov. 5: A student at Leeds University received a depressed skull fracture when a gang chanting fascist slogans attacked six students leaving a university building. He was on the critical list for a week.

April this year brought another burst of activity. It began with the wave of letterbombs to London and the threat to the Communist Party in Leeds. Then came the rumor of a National Front march on St. George's Day, through the old Jewish and West Indian area of Chapeltown.

Whether or not the Front really intended to march, the timing was perfect — midway between a march for racial harmony on April 10 and the May Day demonstration on April 29. One of them was sure to be hit by a blanket ban, by then established practice throughout the country.

The racial harmony march was not affected, but two trade unionists were arrested for attempting to lead the May Day march, banned under a blanket order that treated a labor movement tradition and a racist provocation as the same “problem.”

Nor did the ban stop the Front holding a “public” election meeting on *April 22* — the scene of further violence when the public was prevented from entering.

Later that day, five Front supporters beat up two West Indians in the city center. One of the victims was detained in hospital for several days . . .

Those are just some of the more serious incidents which have attracted publicity over the past two years in Leeds.

There have been others — harassment of leafleters and paper-sellers, physical attacks on colored people and their property, and a death threat to a witness in a court case against a National Front member . . .

Mr. Gordon Wardman, Leeds area Communist Party secretary and secretary of the All Leeds Coordinating Committee against Racism, explained a serious problem:

“One of the things I am particularly concerned about is that these attacks on the left are just the tip of the iceberg. The left are chosen because they demonstrate in public, etc. But beneath that lies a mass of attacks on Asians’ persons and property.”

Certainly, the decline over the past three months in spectacular public attacks on the fascists’ political opponents has not brought any peace to the Asian communities. In recent weeks, politically-inspired vandalism has scarred the Beeston area of the city with broken windows and obscene racist graffiti on Asian shops.

And only recently came a reminder that individuals and organizations are still singled out for campaigns of intimidation.

The Leeds-based *Jewish Gazette*, which has given good coverage to anti-racist work in Leeds, received a series of threatening telephone calls, including the threat of a bomb . . .

Nor was Leeds the only West Yorkshire city to suffer political violence in the past two years. In nearby Bradford, there were scenes to match any in Leeds.

The man from Brazil arrived in Leeds for a meeting of the ultra-right League of St. George.

His name was Manfred Roeder, a leading nazi who faces a six-month jail sentence in West Germany. He is another link in the web of fascist command spinning through the Leeds connection.

Government authorities knew of his visit, but no attempt was made to stop him.

In the face of the mounting terror-tactics during the past two years, the Leeds anti-fascist movement has grown from strength to strength. In the autumn of last year, the first of many local broad-based anti-racist bodies was formed in the Armley area. In response to assaults on its members, the University Students’ Union held a widely-supported march and rally against racism.

In October, the Trades Council provided the impetus for the All Leeds Coordinating Committee Against Racism, instrumental in this year’s Racial Harmony Week and the April 15 march, joined by 3,000 people of all races and creeds.

Leeds Anti-Nazi League began organizing at the turn of the year and has spawned several smaller active locality and specialist groups. These efforts have paid off. The National Front in Leeds has lost the offensive, with a decline in numbers. There are now only 40 fascists active in the city and popular support has dropped.

Votes for the National Front fell again in the May local elections, to just 1.9 per cent of the poll.

But, fascists in Leeds have always preferred physical assaults on their opponents to other forms of political activity. It has been noted by both the Communist Party and the Anti-Nazi League in Leeds that fascist-inspired violence increased immediately after the fascists were soundly defeated in each of the past two local elections.

There seems to be a reluctance on the part of the police to make arrests for certain violent crimes by fascists — even when complaints have been made and witnesses have offered to identify suspects.

Such a case was the attack on Labour and Communist election workers in May last year. The British National Party as good as claimed credit for the incident . . .

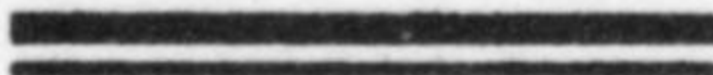
But 16 months later, there are still no charges. The police have refused to meet a delegation from the Communist Party to discuss the matter on the grounds that it is “sub judice” . . .

Official attitudes at a higher level have also had their consequences in Leeds. And this is not confined to a reluctance to use the race relations laws to prevent local racist provocation.

Anti-racist and anti-fascist movements in Leeds have helped prevent ultra-right organizations gaining popular support. What these movements cannot do is prevent a handful of dedicated fascists using terror — the bomb or the bottle — to intimidate their enemies or racial minorities.

Tough action by the police and courts is what is needed to counter this. It is the least that all democratic people can expect, if democracy is to function without fear or hindrance.

John O'Leary
Abridged from *Morning Star*,
September 12, 15, 1978



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