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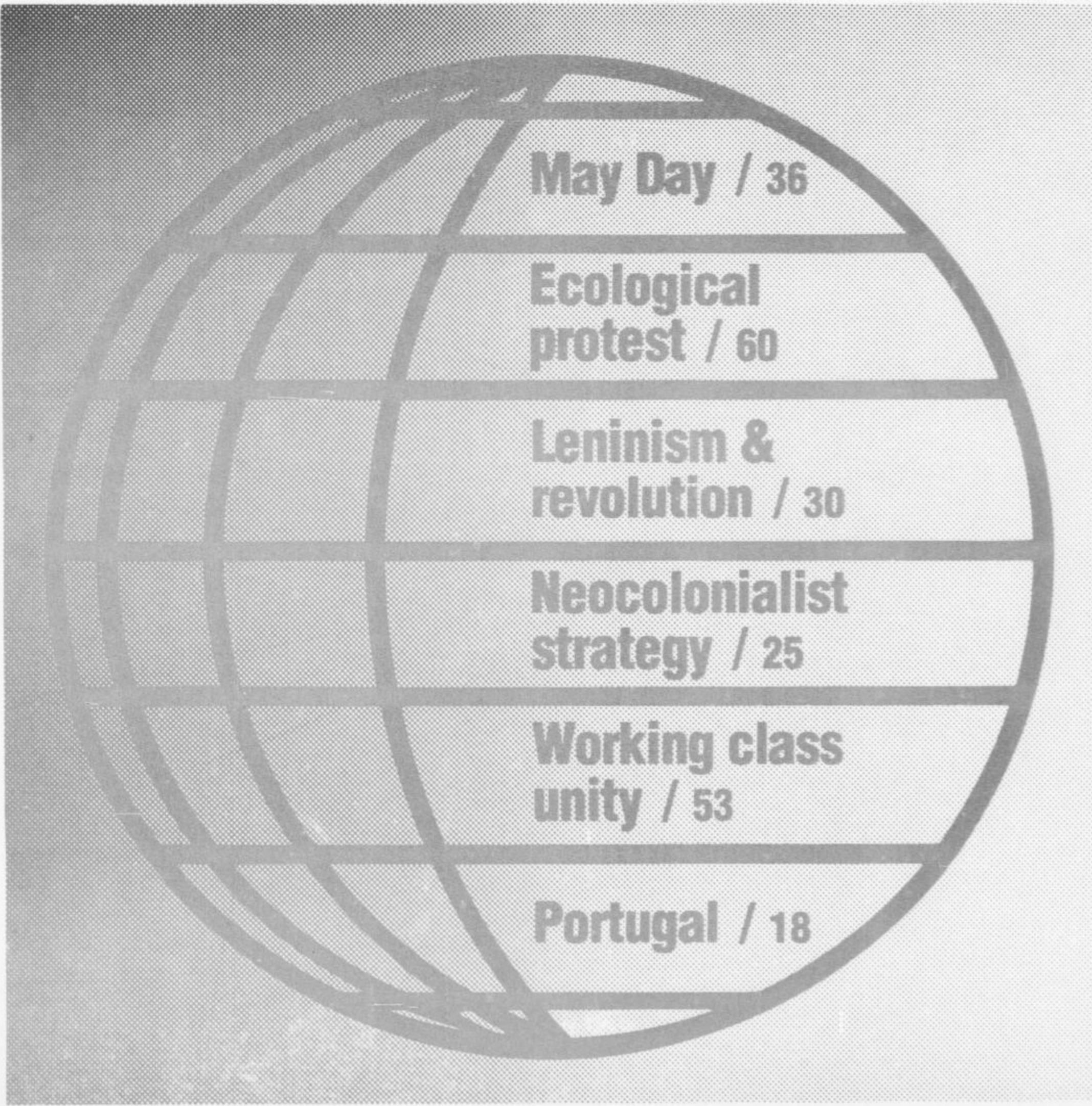
Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

May 1981, Volume 24, Number 5 \$1.00



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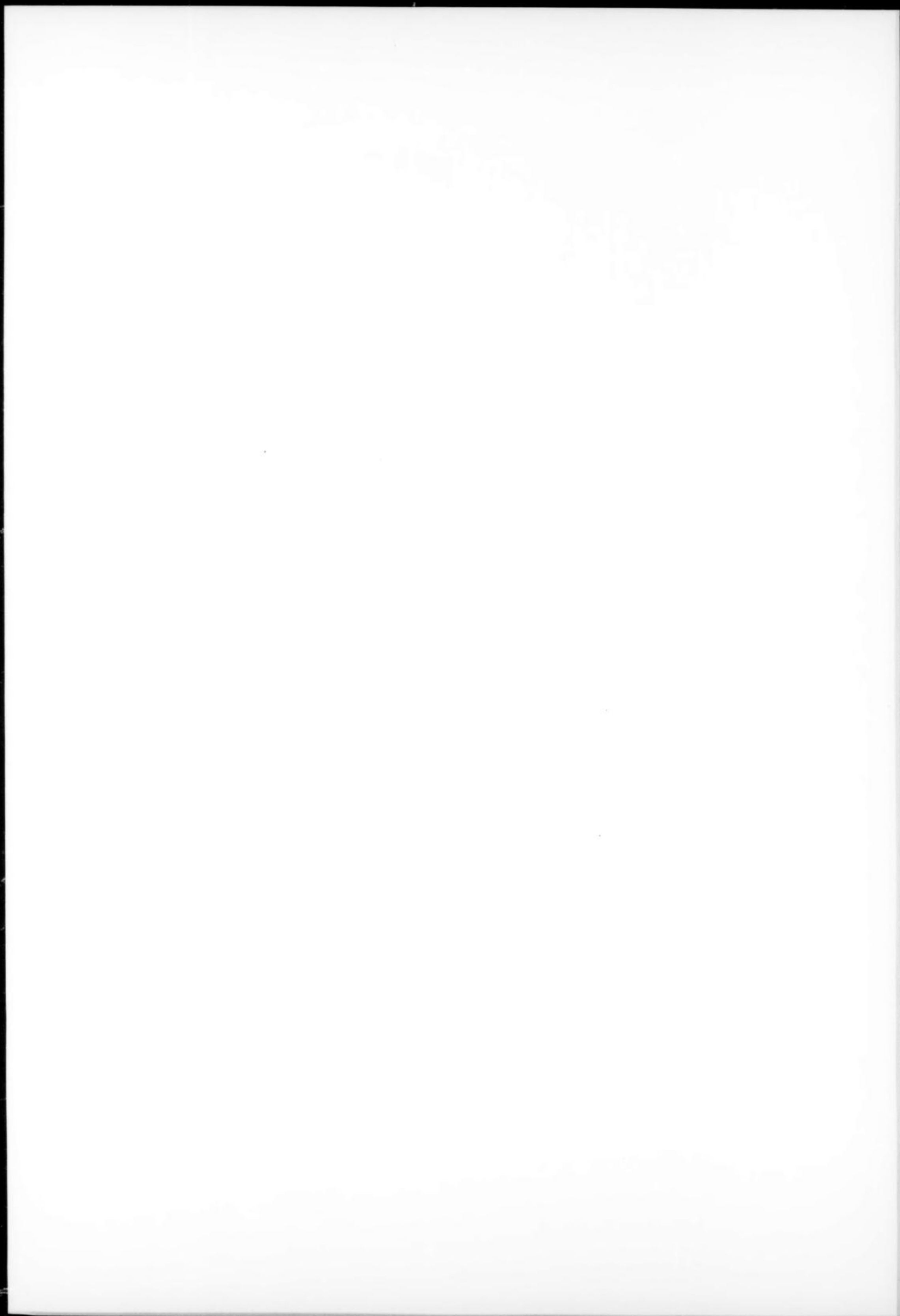
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Theoretical and information journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties

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Second class mail registration number 2352.
Printed in Canada. ISSN 0043-8642

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is the North American edition of the monthly journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM published in Prague.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Canada and U.S., \$7.50 a year. Other countries, \$11.50. Institutions, double rate.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is also published in Arabic, Bengali, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Finnish, Amharic, French, German, Greek, Gujarati, Hebrew, Hindi, Hungarian, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Malayalam, Mongolian, Norwegian, Oriya, Persian, Polish, Por-

tuguese, Punjabi, Romanian, Russian, Sinhalese, Spanish, Swedish, Tagalog, Tamil, Telugu, Turkish and Vietnamese.

Subscriptions may be obtained through PROGRESS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE, 71 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5V 2P6.

In the USA from IMPORTED PUBLICATIONS, 320 West Ohio Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is published by PROGRESS BOOKS, 71 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5V 2P6.

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Historic significance of the 26th CPSU congress

Mikhail Suslov

Political Bureau member and
Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

The growing impact of the 26th congress of the CPSU on developments in the world today and its historic significance are becoming more obvious with each passing day.

It was an important landmark in the life of the Soviet Union. The fundamental purport of its decisions and conclusions is that it opened up new prospects for mature socialist society. It indicated the most effective ways and means of using all of that society's creative capabilities and potentials, of bringing the objective laws of its ongoing development into full operation. In discharging its mission of trail-blazer of humankind's advance toward the communist future, the CPSU is consistently guided by the immortal teaching of Marxism-Leninism.

The indivisibility of the political line charted by the 24th, 25th and 26th congresses of the CPSU, which may be summarized as congresses of the period of mature socialism, and the continuity in the approach to basic issues of home and foreign policy are evidence of the CPSU's immutable fidelity to the course toward strengthening the nation's economic might, promoting the people's living standards, ensuring peaceful conditions for the constructive labor of Soviet people, and consolidating world peace and security.

At the same time, every stage of society's development brings with it new tasks and new problems. On the basis of its in-depth analysis of the trends in economic and social life in the 1970s the party dealt at its congress with the country's immediate and more long-term future. This approach made it possible to indicate clearly the prospects for the 1980s, and profoundly and substantively elaborate the ways and means of achieving the basic aims of the party and the people in the period of the 11th five-year plan. A distinguishing feature of the congress was the closer interdependence of the approach both to the economic and to the social problems of Soviet society's development.

The congress was held at a time when international relations had deteriorated, when through the fault of aggressive imperialist circles the clouds of a threat of war had thickened

over humanity. To the challenge of the forces of militarism and aggression the congress replied with the unswerving determination of the communists of the Soviet Union to step up the struggle against the threat of war, to bridle the arms race, and strengthen world peace. Once more the whole world was shown that the communists have been and remain staunch champions of these noble aims.

The Central Committee report delivered to the 26th congress by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee comrade Leonid Brezhnev is an outstanding document of political and theoretical thought. In it the most pressing, acute problems of our day are considered comprehensively and profoundly. It is a remarkable model of creative Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present stage of the USSR's development and of the entire world situation.

Our party's customary carefully considered approach to the issues under discussion, its prescience, and its principled and courageous stand in laying bare shortcomings and showing their causes and the optimal ways of surmounting them were to be seen clearly in comrade Brezhnev's report, in other documents of the congress, and in the speeches of delegates. All problems were examined circumstantially, in a businesslike and critical spirit.

The impressive prospects for the development of Soviet society charted by the congress are an inspiring program of action for the Soviet communists, for all the people of our country.

I

The 26th congress focused attention on questions of the party's economic policy, on determining the ways and directions of the Soviet Union's further economic progress. Its decisions on the problems of this principal area of society's life are of exceptional depth and significance.

This close attention to these problems is quite natural. "Our main policy," Lenin said, "must now be to develop the state economically" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 371). In force to this day, this proposition of Lenin's was enlarged

upon in the report of the CPSU Central Committee. Comrade Leonid Brezhnev said: "For it is in the economic field that the foundation is being laid for accomplishing social tasks and strengthening the country's defense potential, the foundation for a vigorous foreign policy. It is here that the necessary prerequisites are being created for the successful advance of Soviet society to communism."

I would say that there has never been a period since the victory of the October Revolution when the adversaries of socialism did not foretell the economic collapse of the Soviet system, did not speak of "impasses" and "crises" in the development of our national economy. There are many such soothsayers today as well. However, these very same people speak in the same breath of the Soviet Union's growing might. For every sober-thinking person it is obvious that our country's international influence and defence potential, the changes in the world balance of strength in favor of socialism, rest on a solid foundation such as the fundamental advantages of the socialist economy over the capitalist, on the steady growth of the economy of the Soviet Union.

Facts are the best answer to those who continue to prophesy the economic instability of the USSR. In 1980 compared with 1970, the gross national product grew by 70 per cent, and the national income used for consumption and accumulation went up by more than 50 per cent. The absolute increment of the Soviet Union's industrial output during the past decade was approximately equal to the contemporary industrial output of Britain and France taken together.

The experience of the past few years has shown that the party's strategic guidelines for economic development are correct and effective. In the decisions of the 26th congress these guidelines are developed creatively for the new historical period.

The congress mapped out imposing targets that will have to be attained in the new five-year period and lucidly defined the methods for ensuring a quantitative and qualitative growth in all sectors of the national economy.

In defining the central objective of the 11th five-year plan, the congress noted that it "is to ensure the further improvement of the Soviet people's well-being on the basis of the steady and constructive development of the national economy, accelerated scientific and technological progress, the transition of the economy to the road of intensive development, the more rational utilization of the country's production potential, the maximum saving of all types of

resources, and an improvement in the quality of work." The concrete ways and means of achieving these targets are stated in the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and the Period up to 1990.

The 11th five-year plan is

— a five-year plan for the further development of the economy in the name of the people's well-being;

— a five-year plan for rationalization, for the economical use of accumulated wealth: natural resources, raw materials, machinery, energy, and equipment — of all that has been created by the labor of Soviet people — a plan for reducing outlays and losses;

— a five-year plan for accelerated intensification of social production, for increasing the returns from investments in the economy.

Essentially speaking, precisely all this embodies the economy's transition to development chiefly with the use of intensive factors, as was noted by the 24th and 25th congresses and reiterated by the 26th congress of the CPSU.

Our country now has huge production and scientific potentialities, and fuel, energy, and raw material resources. Regrettably, in many cases all this is not used efficiently. As comrade Leonid Brezhnev noted at the congress, "It is within our powers now . . . to cope with the biggest and most complex of undertakings. But economic policy is coming to hinge on a matter that would seem simple and quite routine — a thrifty attitude to social property, and an ability to make full and expedient use of everything we have . . . An economy must be economical — that is dictated by the times."

Moreover, pursuance of a course toward intensification is important because the factors complicating our economic development will come into operation in the 1980s. The influx of new labor resources is narrowing on account, in particular, of the consequences of the Great Patriotic War. Outlays are growing on the production of raw materials, an increasing proportion of which has to be obtained in remote northern and eastern regions. More and more funds are being allocated for environmental protection. To this it must be added that the international situation, regrettably, does not make it possible to cut expenditures on defense substantially.

Implementation of the course toward intensification requires an improvement of the planned management of the socialist economy. Long-term comprehensive programs have become a qualitatively new phenomenon in planning and a major means of improving the

management of the economy taking account of its growing scale and complexity. These programs are being drawn up in fuel, energy, transport, food and other vital industries.

At the congress it was noted that the economic structure with which the nation will enter the 21st century will be built in the 1980s. One of its important characteristic features is that big territorial-production complexes are under construction mainly in the eastern regions. Particularly large investments were consistently directed into their development. It is now seen that these efforts have yielded splendid results. An ever larger portion of the nation's oil, gas and coal is produced in the eastern regions. Thanks to these opportunely elaborated and implemented measures our country is sufficiently protected against the energy crisis gripping the world.

Moreover, the comprehensive development of Siberia and the building of the Baikal-Amur Railway allow increasing our economy's mineral, raw material resources. This is playing a big role already today, but will be of even greater significance in the future in view of the rapidly growing demand for raw materials.

Since production cannot be intensified without the use of the latest scientific breakthroughs, the congress defined important measures aimed at *speeding up scientific and technological progress*. The President of the USSR Academy of Sciences A.P. Alexandrov gave the congress convincing examples to show that Soviet science is in an advanced position in the elaboration of problems of fundamental and applied disciplines. The congress charted the ways and means of accelerating the application of scientific achievements in production. Our country's enormous scientific potential is being used to a larger extent than before in order to enhance the efficiency of all social production.

Further, at the congress it was noted that the development of basic branches of the heavy industry — steel, machine-tools, energy and chemicals — is the condition for the fulfillment of all economic tasks and speeding up scientific and technological progress. The party will, therefore, continue giving these branches priority attention.

To make production more efficient means to secure a *higher level of labor productivity*. During the 1970s it rose by nearly 50 per cent in our country. The congress provided for measures to ensure a further growth of labor productivity. Under the 11th five-year plan it will show an increment of 17-20 per cent.

Taking into account the fact that labor pro-

ductivity is heavily dependent on the machine-to-worker ratio, and level of organization, the congress defined steps to mechanize and automate labor, to introduce rational production processes. The party is doing much to make human labor not only more productive but also more meaningful and interesting. This strikingly demonstrates the great humanist essence of the socialist system, its historic superiority over the capitalist world. In our country the problem of labor productivity is being resolved not with the threat of unemployment, not with a sweat-shop rhythm of work but by improving its organization, by making more machinery available per worker, by creating the conditions ennobling it and bringing its creative essence to the fore. On this road we have achieved substantial headway, while our growth rate of labor productivity is now ahead of the USA.

The tasks of increasing production in the next five years are very closely linked to social problems such as justly and objectively assessing the work of each person in accordance with its quantity and quality, improving working and living conditions, and providing every person with greater moral satisfaction from participation in social production. This approach leads to a high level of labor activity by the people, giving them the incentive to work with a greater yield than before, display initiative, and show concern for state interests.

While continuing to build up the might of our entire economy, the party has set the task of making greater use of the entire accumulated production potential for the steady *promotion of the people's living standard*. The wide-ranging program for improving the well-being of Soviet people adopted by the congress provides for a series of steps that include the growth of wages and salaries, an increase of the social consumption funds, larger supplies of food and consumer goods to the population, and an improvement of the material condition of mothers and pensioners. That the entire economy is organically oriented on these aims is seen from the fact that in the current five-year period the portion of the national income allocated for the consumption fund is larger than in the previous five years. The congress determined that under the 11th five-year plan the growth rate of consumer goods production would be higher than the growth rate of the production of means of production.

The party has underscored the prime importance of improving all aspects of the life of Soviet people, of ensuring the population with an uninterrupted supply of food in the first

place. For this purpose the congress passed a decision on the drawing up of a detailed food program.

In addition to increasing the output of farm products, this program envisages a considerable improvement of food storage, transportation and processing. The congress set the task of linking the production, industrial processing, and sale of food in a single cycle so that the population should receive adequate supplies of high-quality food.

The conditions for this are being created. In recent years there has been a significant expansion of agriculture's technical and chemical basis. Agriculture has become more productive. Although the weather did not pamper us, the annual grain output averaged 205 million tons. The output of other farm products has also increased.

Housing construction is proceeding on a gigantic scale. In the 1970s we built more than 21,700,000 housing units, in other words practically one in every three families received new modern housing. Besides, as everybody knows, in the USSR rents are among the lowest in the world. The Soviet social system does not and will never know such abnormalities as untenanted houses and flats, that, as in capitalist countries, the bulk of the people cannot rent because they are much too expensive.

The program for improving the Soviet people's well-being, charted by the congress, also provides for further progress in education and public health, the development of physical culture and sport, environmental protection, and the satisfaction of people's diverse cultural requirements. The money for the fulfillment of these tasks comes from the social consumption funds, which in the past five years amounted to the enormous sum of 527 billion roubles and will be considerably increased in the next five years. In other words, we are consistently working to achieve our program aim of molding the all-sidedly developed individual, the man of the communist future.

II

The great significance of the 26th congress is that its decisions comprise the program for the party's social policy under conditions of developed socialism, a program that is scientifically substantiated, all-embracing, and long-term.

It gives priority to changes in the social make-up of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia, and also to the relations between them. For the Communist Party these are questions of para-

mount importance. Without studying the changes in the social structure, to use Lenin's words, "not a single step can be taken in any sphere of social activity. The understanding of these changes determines the prospects for the future" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 17, p. 144).

First and foremost, the congress took note of the marked changes that have taken place in the Soviet working class. These are the growth of its numerical strength and the rise of the level of its ideological and political maturity, education, and professional skills. Its public and political activity has increased and it exercises a greater influence on other sections of society. Led by the Communist Party, the Soviet working class has still further enhanced its role in all areas of production and public life.

Notable changes are taking place in the social status of the collective-farm peasantry in parallel with the industrialization of agricultural production, the drawing together of the two forms of socialist property, the rise of the cultural standard, and the improvement of life in the countryside. An ever larger role is played not only in science, education and culture but also directly in production by the people's intelligentsia, whose numerical strength is growing rapidly.

Having probed these qualitative changes searchingly, from Marxist-Leninist positions, the congress drew conclusions of fundamental theoretical and political significance. In the first place, it concluded that the cardinal tendency in the development of Soviet society's socio-class structure was toward the coming together of all its classes and social groups, toward confident progress in building a classless society. A thesis advanced at the congress was that in our society a classless structure would take shape mainly within the historical framework of mature socialism. Our experience is that the essence of this process is the law-governed evolution of all the classes and groups of Soviet society into a society of people of a new type. The working class is the motive force of this process. "Its revolutionary ideology and ethics, its collectivist psychology, and its interests and ideals," comrade Brezhnev noted, "are now being adopted by all the strata of Soviet society."

The congress made an important contribution to the further elaboration of the CPSU's policy in the field of relations between nationalities, which is one of the most intricate areas of society's life. The total abolition of the enormous gulf between the development levels of the center of Russia and the non-Russian areas, a gulf inherited from the past, was called

a historic achievement by the congress. All the republics are developing steadfastly and dynamically. This is eloquent evidence of the efficacy of the CPSU's Leninist nationalities policy, of its tested principles: equality, fraternal cooperation, and voluntary choice.

The party unalterably demands respect for the national sensibilities and dignity of every person and educates the people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism. "The CPSU," comrade Brezhnev emphasized, "has fought and will always take a determined stand against such attitudes alien to the nature of socialism as chauvinism or nationalism, against any nationalistic aberration, whether it is, say, anti-Semitism or Zionism."

The congress' conclusion that the fraternal friendship among all the peoples of the multinational Soviet Union is growing steadily stronger at the stage of mature socialism is of paramount theoretical and practical importance. This tendency is expressed in the accelerating all-round coming together of the country's nations and ethnic groups, in the development of the Soviet people as a new social and international community.

The point of departure of the policy pursued by the CPSU is that socialist society can be none other than a society of working people. Hence the close attention given by the congress to the assertion of the new attitude to work among all Soviet people, to the development of the system of material and moral incentives, to effectively increasing control over the measure of work and consumption. The task has been set of closing every opening for parasitism, unearned incomes, profiteering, bribery, and infringements upon socialist property. Phenomena of this kind are fundamentally at variance with the nature of socialism as a society of working people, with the equality implicit in the Soviet way of life.

Socialist society's successful development creates an increasingly pressing need for citizens who are ideologically and politically mature, culturally rich, and dedicated to and capable of creative work. This means that the molding of the new man as an all-sidedly developed individual is gradually turning from a remote ideal into a practical task of the party's work. The congress' large contribution to the theory and practice of the communist education of the people is that it defined the ways and means of using the material and cultural potentials of Soviet society for the ever fuller development of the individual, for bringing to

light, as Marx said, the "creative gifts of man."* The main thing here is to ensure coherence between education and socio-economic policy, an active and purposeful molding of the individual's needs and interests.

The decisions of the congress on questions concerning the Soviet political system are permeated with concern for the consistent implementation of the new constitution of the USSR. In comrade Leonid Brezhnev's report, great emphasis was placed on the need to make full use of the immense democratic potentials of the Soviet system, potentials defined in the constitution of the USSR. Commitment to the common cause, comparisons of views, principled criticism and self-criticism, and the enhancement of the socio-political activity of every citizen constitute, as was noted at the congress, the essence of Soviet democracy in the broad and businesslike, truly nationwide discussion of the Draft Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR. More than 121 million people, in other words, over four-fifths of all working people, took part in the discussion.

The congress pointed out that today the improvement of Soviet society's political system is linked to the fulfillment of tasks such as the consolidation of the Soviet state of the whole people, the development of representative and direct democracy, the further enhancement of the role played by the Soviets of People's Deputies of all levels, the trade unions, the YCL, and other public organizations, and the strengthening of socialist legality and order.

Taking account of the growing demands made of the party's leading role by life, by the practice of communist construction, the congress gave special attention to questions related to the development of the CPSU and its political, organizational, and ideological work. The principal conditions enabling the party to discharge its leading role in society are its fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the unbreakable unity of its ranks, and its inseparable link with the people. At the congress it was noted that the role of society's leading force does not come of itself. This role has to be earned, it has to be won in constant, unceasing struggle for the interests of the people. The party is successfully fulfilling this task. "The cause of the party," A.Y. Kolesnikov, a miner, said at the congress, "is our cause, and the party's plans are our plans. We follow, as we

*Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Works, Vol. 46, Part 1, p. 476 (Russian translation).

have always done, the road of Lenin, we follow the party as we have always done, and nobody will ever divert us from that road."* The CPSU is an inalienable part of the Soviet people, its political leader. It is dependably carrying out the role of society's guiding force and confidently leads the people along the road to communism.

The Leninist principle underlying the inner-party life of the Soviet communists, the principle of democratic centralism, was further enlarged upon. The congress mapped out the ways and means of strengthening the links between the center and the localities, between the party's leading organs and its rank and file. In this area prominence is given to achieving a further strengthening of all-sided links with the people, of upgrading the work with letters and suggestions from them, of improving inner-party information, and extending publicity in the work of party organizations. The congress unanimously approved the Central Committee's line toward asserting a spirit of constructiveness, self-criticism, and intolerance of shortcomings in all party organizations.

The party's successful implementation of its leading role depends in large measure on the level of its ideological and politico-educational work. This work was considered substantively and critically at the congress. Note was made of the need to restructure many sectors and spheres of this work in order to bring it into conformity with the new internal and external conditions in which Soviet people live and work. The congress set party committees, ideological workers, and the party as a whole the task of making the content of ideological and educational work and of information more topical and bringing their forms into harmony with the people's requirements and needs.

The proceedings at the congress and its results reaffirm that the CPSU, a party of scientific communism, is giving its unflagging attention to the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory. Of what has been accomplished in the field of theory the congress made special mention of the elaboration of the concept of developed socialism. On the basis of this concept the party specifies and concretizes the ways and time-table for the attainment of its program aims and defines long-term strategy and tactics.

The congress approved the proposal, made by comrade Leonid Brezhnev in the CC report, on the drafting of a new wording of the party program. The operating program, on the whole, correctly mirrors the laws of social develop-

ment. But during the two decades since it was adopted, considerable experience of socialist and communist construction has been accumulated, major changes have taken place on the international scene, and the treasury of Marxist-Leninist thought has been enriched with new conclusions and propositions. The congress noted that the most important changes in the life of Soviet society and in world social development should receive a profoundly scientific reflection in the CPSU program, and that the Program cannot and should not forecast particulars. Taking this into account the congress instructed the party's Central Committee to introduce additions and amendments in the program and prepare the newly-worded draft for the next congress of the CPSU.

By giving the party clear-cut orientations in socio-economic policy and enriching the forms and methods of its work among the people, the 26th congress created firm guarantees for the CPSU's successful fulfillment of its leading role also at the new stage of communist construction.

III

The 26th Congress of the CPSU will enter history as a peace forum that gave the peoples a clear and consistent program of struggle against the threat of war, for the consolidation of peace and security. This program is especially important and urgent today when, having staked on an escalation of the military confrontation with the socialist world and the liberation movement, the most aggressive imperialist circles are using the "Soviet military threat" myth to whip up the arms race.

Energetic attempts are being made to halt détente, revive the cold war atmosphere, and return to the doctrine of "rolling back socialism." Trying on the uniform of world policeman once again, U.S. imperialism is obstructing the settlement of explosive situations in different parts of the world and creating new flash-points of tension in the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean. An ever denser network of its military bases is enveloping our planet. The USA is openly forming an interventionist rapid deployment force to back up its policy of diktat and high-handed interference in the internal affairs of sovereign nations.

Its plans for the accelerated development and deployment of new kinds and systems of weapons of mass destruction and its brainwashing of the people with all sorts of "doctrines" and "directives" arguing that nuclear war is permissible, are particularly dangerous.

*Pravda, February 27, 1981.

In this alarming international situation people in all parts of the world waited tensely for the reply that the 26th congress of the CPSU would give to the questions worrying humankind. They linked to it their hopes for new initiatives and proposals for cutting back the arms race and for promoting peaceful cooperation among nations. *The congress justified these expectations of the peoples.* The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee comrade Leonid Brezhnev declared at the congress: "... at present nothing is more essential and more important for any nation than to preserve peace and ensure the paramount right of every human being — the right to life." These words were heard and there was a warm response to them in all parts of the world.

Creatively applying the Leninist approach to its analysis of world social development, the congress formulated objective, profoundly scientific assessments and conclusions, and mapped out the party's course that *directly continues and concretizes the Peace Program of the 24th and 25th congresses of the CPSU.* World public opinion and realistically-thinking personalities throughout the world could compare two foreign policy lines for themselves: peace and cooperation, offered by the 26th congress of the CPSU; and bellicose adventurism, diktat, and nuclear blackmail, conducted by imperialist circles. For the overwhelming majority of people the results of this comparison are obvious: their sympathies and growing support are for the Peace Program, for the continuation of détente, for peaceful coexistence and cooperation among states and peoples.

Our party's 26th congress not only reaffirmed the CPSU's firm adherence to the policy of peace. In a situation marked by an exacerbation of international tension, the CPSU reiterated its readiness for constructive dialogue and cooperation on a wide spectrum of measures to consolidate the positive results of détente in the 1970s, and make it possible to take further steps toward improving the international climate.

The congress advanced new important initiatives complementing the peace proposals made earlier by the Soviet Union. World opinion has warmly welcomed the proposals on working out coordinated measures to prevent new hotbeds of military conflict and extend the frontiers of confidence zones, talks on confidence-building measures in the Far East, the readiness to discuss the international aspects of the Afghan question together with questions concerning security in the Persian Gulf, a moratorium on the deployment of new

medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, the formation of an international committee of scientists to study the consequences of a nuclear war, and the convocation of a special session of the Security Council with the participation of the top leaders of the Council's member-states in order to explore ways of preventing war.

The congress defined the task of limiting and reducing strategic armaments as being of the highest priority. It backed up its serious practical approach to the fulfillment of this task with concrete proposals for limiting the deployment of new submarines and prohibiting the modernization of existing and the development of new missiles for these submarines.

Political leaders of different schools noted with satisfaction that the calm, considered approach taken by the congress to appraising the state of and prospects for Soviet-U.S. relations was in glaring contrast to the bellicose calls and declarations of the politicians in Washington. From the rostrum of the congress it was stated firmly that the Soviet Union does not seek military superiority over the USA, but neither will it permit the building up of any such superiority over it.

Taking into account that to a large extent the international situation depends on the policies pursued by the USSR and the USA and guided by the interests of the peoples of the two countries and of all humankind, the congress declared in favor of an active Soviet-U.S. dialogue, including at summit level, with the purpose of establishing normal relations with the USA. This approach to acute international issues is regarded in the world as a manifestation of wise statesmanship.

The Soviet Union takes peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial cooperation as the departure for its relations with other capitalist countries as well. The immutability of this line was authoritatively reaffirmed by the congress.

The ruling circles of capitalist powers give various assessments of the initiatives put forward by the congress. Bourgeois propaganda seeks to belittle their significance. However, serious political leaders see their importance and urge their close study and a constructive reply. Moreover, many of them appreciate that the present military-strategic parity between the USSR and the USA and between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO objectively helps to preserve peace. The new Soviet peace initiative enlarges the springboard for productive talks and the adoption of constructive decisions. It is now up to the governments of the USA and other NATO states.

The congress closely examined questions

concerning the development of the world socialist system. The fraternal socialist countries, their aggregate potential, and their coordinated policy of peace have been and remain a dependable guarantee of the preservation and consolidation of peace. They are the ones who are blazing the road for mankind to the building up of truly just, equitable relations among nations.

Having given a broad picture of socialism's confident advance in all areas, the congress stressed the need for a more profound study of the rich and diverse experience accumulated by the socialist countries and for expanding political and economic cooperation.

The CPSU has always attached cardinal significance to strengthening the unity and cohesion of the fraternal countries. The delegates to the congress and the foreign guests hailed comrade Leonid Brezhnev's words to the effect that last December's meeting of leaders of the Warsaw Treaty countries in Moscow had rendered socialist Poland important political support. "It showed clearly," he said, "that the Polish communists, the Polish working class, and the working people of that country can firmly rely on their friends and allies; we will not abandon fraternal, socialist Poland in its hour of need, we will stand by it."

The CPSU's attitude in the question of Soviet-Chinese relations was stated at the congress. We denounce the Chinese leadership's dangerous policy, which is aimed at inflaming international tension and coalesces with the policy pursued by imperialism. But the Soviet Union does not seek confrontation with the People's Republic of China. We consistently advocate the normalization of relations with China on a good-neighborly basis.

The vivid picture given at the congress of the Soviet people's achievements is particularly impressive against the background of the economic convulsions, socio-political instability, and the dismal spectacle of economic depression in capitalist countries. The difficulties encountered by capitalism are the result of the further aggravation of its general crisis. The relentless rise of the cost of living, the 19 million unemployed, the decline of production, the aggravation of imperialist contradictions, and the energy and ecological crisis are the effects of the vices of the capitalist system itself.

State regulation of the capitalist economy and the attempts to blunt class contradictions with partial social reforms are failing. The bankruptcy of the "welfare state" and "people's capitalism" myths is now acknowledged officially. We are observing an increasingly more

undisguised and imperious transition to an anti-people policy of direct assault on the vital interests of the working people. How else can one assess the statement by the U.S. President Reagan that since the monopolies are shifting the burden of taxes to the working people anyway, they should be exempted entirely from direct taxation? The British Conservatives are acting with similar cynicism in "improving" the economy on the principle of "let the rich grow richer, and the poor poorer." Is this not evidence that the policy of the bourgeois state has been and remains a class, exploitative policy? As was shown by the speeches at the congress by representatives of communist and workers' parties, the working class of capitalist countries responds to this policy in a proletarian way, by fighting perseveringly for its rights and interests.

The congress reaffirmed the CPSU's *immutable allegiance to the ideas and practice of internationalist solidarity* with the struggles of the working class of capitalist countries, of all peoples for national liberation and social progress. No blackmail by imperialism can shake this stand. The Soviet Union will continue to develop cooperation with countries that have freed themselves from colonial dependence and enable them as sovereign states to play a prestigious role in world politics. The congress documents contain a probing analysis of the development of countries that have adopted a socialist orientation, show the significance of the non-aligned movement, and map out precise ways and means of achieving a just political settlement of the situation in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, the Persian Gulf and southern Africa. There was a wide response in the world to the stand formulated by the congress showing the CPSU's respect for the religious feelings of believers generally, and for Islam in particular.

The congress gave a determined rebuff to imperialism's slander campaign, which is conducted under the specious slogan of fighting "international terrorism." The arguments about "international terrorism" are insulting to tens of liberated states that have won the right to shape their own destinies in a hard struggle.

A major role in furthering the internationalist unity of the communist movement will, unquestionably, be played by the propositions in the CC report showing the growth of the prestige and influence of communist parties and of the importance of contacts with them. Considerable interest was aroused among the communists of different countries by the propositions dealing with the correlation of general

laws and the specific ways of revolutionary transformations and socialist construction, showing the complexities of the tasks being tackled by them, and discussing the ways and means of surmounting differences of views between communist parties. All the participants in the congress gave an enthusiastic reception to comrade Leonid Brezhnev's statement expressing the CPSU's warm solidarity with communists subjected to repression. The congress reiterated and enlarged upon the CPSU's principled policy of cooperating with all democratic forces, including the social democrats, in the struggle to avert war and consolidate peace, against fascism and reaction.

The participation by an unprecedented number of representative foreign delegations in the 26th congress was convincing confirmation of the prestige enjoyed by the CPSU in the revolutionary-liberation movement. It was attended by 123 delegations from 109 countries: 12 from the communist and workers' parties of socialist countries, 74 from communist parties of the non-socialist part of the world, and 36 from revolutionary-democratic parties, and also a delegation from the Socialist Party of Chile. More than 70 delegations were led by General (or First) Secretaries or Chairmen of the respective parties.

At the congress itself, at numerous meetings, at sittings of party activists and at rallies at various enterprises, the delegations could see for themselves that internationalism and feelings of friendship and fraternity with the peoples of other countries are implicit in the Soviet people. The working people of the USSR are well aware that by their dedicated work they are not only ensuring the security and prosperity of their country but also creating the material foundation for the consistently peaceful and internationalist foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government, a policy that accords with the vital interests of all peoples.

Foreign guests were unanimous in speaking highly of the work of the congress, of its decisions and conclusions on basic issues of the struggle for peace, against imperialism and reaction, and stated their confidence that the congress would give a new impetus for strengthening the unity of the communist and entire revolutionary movement. They stressed that participation in the work of the congress by representatives of essentially all the continents of the world liberation movement, their active discussion of the ideas put forward by the congress on fundamental problems of the day, and the constructive contacts that were made between foreign delegations gave the

congress a truly international scale and significance.

The congress strikingly demonstrated the steady strengthening of the socio-political and ideological unity of Soviet society, the unbreakable fraternal friendship among the nations and ethnic groups of the Soviet Union, and the indivisible unity between the party and the people. In this lies the main guarantee that the party's plans will be put into effect.

Throughout the world people of good will had a further opportunity to see for themselves that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been and remains in the vanguard of the struggle for social progress, for the consolidation of world peace.

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The lessons of our way

Gustav Husak
General Secretary, CPCz CC,
President of Czechoslovakia

For our country, 1981 is the year of the 16th congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and also of the 60th anniversary of its foundation. The coincidence of these outstanding events is an expression of the link between the stirring and eventful initial stage in the history of our party and the vibrant reality of our day, and — through the plans mapped out by the 16th congress — with Czechoslovakia's immediate future.

Between 1921 and our present-day socialist reality lie six decades of the CPCz's struggle for the working people's social emancipation and national liberation, for the establishment of a just social system, for sound positions in the international political arena, and for the independence of the Czechoslovak state. In the course of these decades, the working class and all the other working people, led by the party, overthrew the power of the bourgeoisie, established their own power, and took the road of socialist construction. On that basis was ensured the all-round and unprecedented development of the country's nations and ethnic groups within the framework of the common state. The CPCz has fulfilled its historical mission with flying colors, and has implemented the commitments it has undertaken since its foundation.

At the turn of the 1980s, Czechoslovakia is a developed modern socialist state with a powerful economic and spiritual potential. It is characterized by dynamic social development, a mature economy and high living standards, close ties between the party and the people, profound democracy, sincere friendship, alliance and all-round cooperation with the USSR, and a solid place within the family of the socialist community. All of this creates the basis for well-founded certainties in the present and reliable guarantees of our future.

We take pride in summing up the results of the CPCz's six decades, for it has shown itself to be the most progressive, revolutionary force in the history of our nations. It has loyally served and continues to serve the cause of the working class, of all the other working people, and of the nations and ethnic groups of our country. The

CPCz's policy has always expressed their true and genuinely vital interests. That is the main source of the tremendous trust and high authority the party has in the whole of the Czechoslovak society.

Marking the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, we recall with respect the names and examples set by the revolutionaries who stood at its cradle, who shaped and tempered it as a Leninist type of party, making the greatest sacrifices without hesitation for the attainment of the goals set before them. We shall never forget comrade Klement Gottwald, a remarkable revolutionary leader and an outstanding leader of the international communist and working-class movement. For almost a quarter-century comrade Gottwald stood at the head of the CPCz, and led it in crucial class and national battles; his was an outstanding contribution to the establishment of the power of the working people and the construction of socialism.

The six decades have brought out even more clearly the importance of the historic step taken by the most conscious representatives of our working-class movement in establishing the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. In sharp class battles, on the strength of their own and very costly experience and the experience of the revolutionary struggle of other peoples they were convinced that there is no other way to eliminate exploitation and build a new society except the revolutionary way mapped out in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the way first traveled by the Land of Soviets since the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The establishment of Lenin's party — the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — was a historic act that had an influence on all the subsequent development of the working-class movement in the world and on the choice of the way along which it advanced in Czechoslovakia. It was an example of the formation of the new type of revolutionary party without which successful struggle against the bourgeoisie would have been impossible.

On the eve of the First World War, our social-democratic movement, partitioned

along national lines, fell under the influence of reformism, revisionism and nationalism, as did most of the other parties of the Second International. The social-democratic leaders departed from Marxism and proletarian internationalism and, in effect, put their parties' policy at the service of the bourgeoisie.

That act of betrayal was the main reason for the defeat suffered by the revolutionary forces in Czechoslovakia in 1918-1920, when at issue was the character of the fledgeling Czechoslovak state, which emerged after the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian empire. However, the bitter experience of that period, above all the defeat of the general strike in December 1920, was not in vain. It showed our revolutionary proletariat that in order to defeat the bourgeoisie it had to make a complete political, ideological and organizational break with the opportunism of social democracy and to set up a new and truly revolutionary party, as the Russian Bolsheviks had done.

In Czechoslovakia, this historic task was undertaken by the left Marxist forces which the Communist International, the Soviet communists, with their rich revolutionary experience, and Lenin personally helped crucially to shape and mature. Our left Marxist movement was formed and strengthened in the powerful ideological and political tide generated by the Great October Socialist Revolution. Attitude to the Great October Revolution, to its ideas, and to the first workers' and peasants' state was the touchstone of the strength of conviction of these forces everywhere, and in our country as well.

On the crest of the postwar revolutionary tide, there was a wide spread in Czechoslovakia of Lenin's theoretical ideas and conclusions — a creative development of Marxism — and an acceleration of the political and ideological growth of the left forces. From the December general strike, and especially from it, to the establishment of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its constituent and unity congresses ran a straight road.

In the course of this struggle, a large majority of politically active rank-and-file social democrats were won over for Marxism-Leninism. This means that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia emerged as a mass party with a clearly expressed working-class character. It declared its programmatic adherence to scientific communism; it countered the idea of a reconciliation with the bourgeoisie by putting forward the slogan of the class struggle for the purpose of a revolutionary transformation of society; in contrast to narrow nationalism, it

raised aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism. Within the multinational state, the CPCz was shaped as a united organization of the revolutionary proletariat of the entire country, and as an inalienable part of the international communist movement.

The founding of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1921 brought to a close a long period of domination of reformism in our country, and marked the starting point in the development of our revolutionary working-class movement. A new force entered the arena of class and political battles with the historic mission of ending the domination of the bourgeoisie in Czechoslovak society and installing the working class in the leadership of our nations and ethnic groups.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia did not at once become a genuinely Leninist type of party. It had to test itself in the class struggle and in the battles, and to advance from a recognition of communist principles to giving them a concrete content, and to win over for its policies the working masses and other strata of society. To the CPCz fully applies what Lenin said at that time: "The proletarian vanguard has been won over ideologically. That is the main thing. Without this, not even the first step toward victory can be made. But that is still quite a long way from victory. Victory cannot be won with a vanguard alone" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 92).

Since its foundation, the CP Czechoslovakia has advanced along the intricate way of mastering Marxism-Leninism in theory and in practice. In its political and ideological development there was a contest between the forces directing the party along the consistent revolutionary way and the forces of opportunism and revisionism. The crucial battle on the character of the party had to be fought above all against right-wing opportunism, which took shape in the 1920s as a political trend, and which, under the temporary and partial stabilization of capitalism, symbolized a loss of the revolutionary perspective.

The party's development ran through a protracted process of Bolshevikization, a necessary phase in the shaping of its Marxist-Leninist character. The revolutionary nucleus, whose core consisted of a group of young party functionaries led by Klement Gottwald, dedicated themselves to this task.

The struggle for the Marxist-Leninist character of the party reached its high point at the fifth congress in February 1929, which marked the turning point in the history of the CPCz. Gottwald's election as party leader and the general

line taken by the congress for struggle against capitalism, determined the basic prerequisites for the CPCz's transformation into a truly Leninist type of party — organizationally, ideologically and politically. The congress marked the victory of Leninism in the Czechoslovak working-class movement, and heralded the future triumph of the proletarian revolution in our country.

The import of the changes in the life and activity of the party effected by the fifth congress became clear when the CPCz led the struggle for the proletarian alternative in breaking out of the grave economic crisis which hit Czechoslovakia along with other capitalist countries. Consistently standing up for the interests of the industrial and agricultural proletariat, the jobless, the landless and the land-hungry peasants and other exploited people, especially among the young generation, the party deepened and extended its ties with the masses. It also won political sympathies among the working people who were not politically organized or who belonged to other parties.

The CPCz's growing influence among the masses was even more pronounced during the struggle against the fascist danger and the war, and in defense of democracy and the Republic. In the new conditions, resistance to the offensive by internal fascism and defense of the country against the threats of nazi Germany, a merger of this meaningful struggle with an advance toward long-term goals became a task of primary importance. Here, the party relied on earlier experience in bringing about joint action by the proletariat, which showed that the working class could involve broad masses of working people in an alliance if it led a movement not only for socio-economic demands, but also for democracy, peace and national independence. Consequently, the CPCz's experience was a contribution to the shaping of the Comintern's new strategy and tactics formulated at its seventh congress, something that was of great importance to the international communist and working-class movement.

The Popular Front idea, put forward by the seventh congress, was creatively applied by our party in Czechoslovak conditions. The line of uniting all the anti-fascist forces in a Popular Front, with a united working-class front as its core, became the basis of the party's policy in the period of the defense of the Republic and democracy against the fascist danger.

In that period, a difficult and troubled one for our people, the CPCz, a consistently patriotic and internationalist force, crucially helped the anti-fascist movement (especially in the critical

year of 1938) to develop action by the working people that was unparalleled in scope since the emergence of the Czechoslovak Republic. While the bourgeoisie and the reformists, manipulating patriotic slogans, steadily retreated in the face of fascism, eventually to capitulate and mostly to end up in betrayal; the Czechoslovak communists showed themselves to be the most consistent patriots and resolute defenders of the Republic and democracy.

The party mobilized the masses against the ignominious betrayal by the Western great powers and the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie, which in Munich in 1938 and in March 1939* — despite Soviet proposals on joint actions and aid to Czechoslovakia in the face of aggression — left our peoples and country to be savaged by German imperialism. From the first day of the fascist bondage, with the state lying in ruins, the CPCz roused and organized the masses to resist the fascist invaders and their Czechoslovak satraps. In the long and hard history of our people and the Communist Party, the anti-fascist national-liberation struggle is among the hardest and most heroic.

The fiery patriotism, the battles, the sacrifices and the example set by the communists inspired our resistance movement at home and abroad and turned it into an important component part of the broad international fight against fascism. At the tragic crossroads of history, when the issue for our peoples was to be or not to be, the CPCz fulfilled its class and national responsibility with honor.

In the national-liberation struggle, whose main stages are lit up by the Soviet Union's heroic fight against nazi aggression, the communists received the most extensive support from masses of people. Under the leadership of the CPCz, the proletariat became the leader of all the liberation forces united in the National Front. The party, the working class and the rest of the working people came out not only for a re-establishment of national freedom and state sovereignty. For the communists and broad strata of the working people it was simultaneously a battle for a new, popular and democratic Czechoslovakia, in which power would belong to the working people, and whose internal condition and international orientation would guarantee that Munich and March 15, 1939, would never recur. Our party's revolutionary line triumphed, gaining the upper hand over the bourgeois hopes of restoring the pre-Munich order, and this had a resolute effect on

*On March 15, 1939, the nazi army crossed the post-Munich border and occupied the country. — Ed.

the character of the final stage in the Czechoslovak people's national-liberation struggle.

The Slovak National Uprising in August 1944, which marked the start of the national-democratic revolution, and later the May Uprising of the Czech people in 1945, the struggle against the national and social fetters fired the working people with resolve to take the destiny of the liberated state into their own hands and to prevent a restoration of the power of the bourgeoisie.

Our national and state freedom were restored through the heroism of the Soviet Army, which played the main role in the liberation of the peoples in Central and Southeastern Europe. It triumphantly ended the Great Patriotic War in the European theater of operations with the liberation of Czechoslovakia. A new, people's democratic system was established in the country. For us, May 9, 1945, is the greatest holiday in our modern history, the apotheosis of the Czechoslovak people's national-liberation struggle, the Soviet Army's feat of arms, and the beginnings of the new life.

The emergence of the people's democratic system in Czechoslovakia gave full scope to profound political, economic, social and cultural changes. The communists initiated the establishment of a National Front government, the first government in the country's history in which they were broadly represented. The party looked to the consistent implementation and development of the national-democratic revolution and its gradual growth into a socialist revolution. This strategy was based on the struggle for unflagging fulfillment of the Kosice government program,* which had been worked out on the communists' initiative and which was a complex program for the building of a new Czechoslovakia.

Theoretically, that policy relied on Lenin's doctrine on the development of the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution and on the CPSU's experience in three revolutions in Russia; the CPCz used all of this in creative application to Czechoslovak conditions. Our party's

*Named after the town of Kosice, where the National Front government began its activity on April 4, 1945, and where the program was officially promulgated. As the basic principle of its foreign policy, it asserted solid alliance and cooperation with the USSR and establishment of friendly relations with all the democratic states. In domestic policy, it declared that the national committees were to be the organs of the people's power in the localities. It envisaged the introduction of universal and equal suffrage, provision of all the democratic freedoms for citizens, full equality of the Czechs and the Slovaks, and implementation of priority socio-economic transformations. — Ed.

experience in pursuing this policy from 1944 to 1948 confirmed the general nature of uniformities determining the transition to a socialist revolution and its realization in various countries, including those which are relatively well developed in economic terms.

The communists' struggle for the fulfillment of the tasks of the national-democratic revolution exposed the duplicity of that part of the bourgeoisie (whose spokesman at that time was chiefly President Benes) which had belonged to the anti-Hitlerite coalition during the war and after liberation still participated in the government. It claimed to have accepted the joint program of the National Front, a program for building a new Czechoslovakia. Actually, however, it had not abandoned its plans for a return to the pre-Munich order. Because of its destructive policy, it plunged ever deeper into political isolation and, fearful of a defeat at the election scheduled for the spring, in February 1948 stooped to an attempt at a counter-revolutionary coup.

The February events were the crucial class and political battle for the subsequent destiny of our peoples and the Czechoslovak state, and its further progressive development. These events determined Czechoslovakia's place in the class-divided world, and our people's contribution to mankind's struggle for progress, democracy, peace and socialism.

The working people's victory in February 1948 had far-reaching consequences. It was not only the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie, but also the imperialist forces which incited, inspired and directed it that suffered a defeat. Political power passed fully into the hands of the working class and its allies. We maintained the progressive behests of the national-liberation struggle and strengthened and consolidated our country's alliance with the USSR.

The historical experience gained by our party from 1944 to 1948 was a considerable contribution to the treasury of the international communist and working-class movement. Throughout this entire period, and especially during the February 1948 days, the party's activity confirmed its maturity as a Leninist type of party and testified to its skill in matters of strategy and tactics. Thanks to its principled and creative policy, the CPCz succeeded in implementing Lenin's idea about the organic connection between the struggle for democracy and for socialism, and in awakening the revolutionary initiative of the masses and educating them in the light of their own revolutionary practice. This success sprang from the high activity, energy and dedication of the com-

munists and their Marxist-Leninist unity. The socialist revolution in an economically developed country triumphed without civil war or bloodshed, advancing along a peaceful and consistently revolutionary way.

Following the February victory, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia entered upon the most outstanding period of its history. Enjoying the support of broad strata of the working people, who put their trust in the party, it became the recognized leading political force of the society. The consolidation of its leading role was an assurance of realization of the great ideals of socialism and communism.

In working out the general line for building socialism in Czechoslovakia, which was adopted by the ninth congress in 1949, the CPCz proceeded from the general uniformities of socialist construction, which were epitomized in the experience of the fraternal Leninist Party and the Soviet people, uniformities summed up by the doctrine of scientific communism. That was of invaluable importance for successfully tackling the tasks of the next stage in the revolutionary struggle that then lay ahead of us: the transition from capitalism to socialism. In defining the lines of advance, the party took account of the country's conditions and traditions, the existing pattern of class forces, the experience of the masses and the development of international relations.

It is safe to say that the practice of socialist transformation in Czechoslovakia has fully borne out Lenin's view of the dialectics of the general uniformities and the specific features inherent in each country during the building of socialism. This was recalled at the 26th congress of the CPSU by Leonid Brezhnev. "All nations will arrive at socialism — this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life" (V.I. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 69-70). It is this idea of Lenin's that is embodied in the policy of the CPCz. The consistent realization of this Leninist approach has produced the most important successes of the Czechoslovak people and our party in the building and development of a socialist society.

Despite the complexity, greatness and novelty of the tasks that had to be tackled in the short historical period, despite the complexities of the international situation and the cold war started by world imperialism, in spite of

some blunders and mistakes in that period when the working class and the other working people were just mastering the art of government, socialist transformations were put through in our country. The working people became the true masters of their homeland. The party was able to mobilize broad masses of people for socialist construction and, with their active support, to translate into life the ideals of social and national justice, to develop socialist democracy, to educate the new man and to secure acceptance of the new social values.

The total triumph of socialist relations of production was achieved in every sphere of the national economy. We have built a powerful material and technical basis for the new system. There was a rapid quantitative and qualitative upswing in our industry, so that today it turns out more in less than a month than it took the bourgeois republic a year to produce. The socialist restructuring of agriculture on the basis of large-scale cooperative production is one of our most important achievements. The triumph of socialism in the countryside, the emergence of a class of cooperative peasants, and the gradual introduction of industrial methods into agriculture created the basis for a radical change in the farmers' living and working conditions and for overcoming the historically rooted distinctions between town and country. All of this is the result of the Czechoslovak people's selfless and honest labor; it is also the product of the development of the international division of labor within the CMEA framework, and especially of our all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union.

The constitutional right to work and full employment, well-developed social security for the working people and pensioners, free health care of a high standard, the stable growth of real wages and incomes, the steady increase in personal and social consumption, the genuine equality of women, the generally accessible and high level of culture and education, the broad concern for families and their children, for the rising generation and the aged, the support for the growth of the population, the extensive construction of housing, marketing, school, hospital, cultural, sports and other facilities — all of this provides convincing evidence that the policy of our party and the socialist state brings to the fore concern for the people's well-being and its sense of social certainty, concern for true respect and security of the working people's rights, interests and requirements.

The solution of the nationalities problem is

one of the cardinal achievements of socialism in Czechoslovakia. The historically rooted distinctions between the levels of economic, social and cultural development of the various regions have been overcome, and relations of equality, brotherhood and solid unity between the Czechs and Slovaks and other ethnic groups were established, and this is expressed in the federal structure of the Czechoslovak state.

The social structure of society has undergone radical changes. The working class, which, by right, has the leading position in our society, is the chief force, mainstay and guarantor of the development of socialism. The class of cooperative peasantry is its reliable ally. A considerable contribution to multiplying the material and spiritual values and to scientific and technological progress is being made by our intelligentsia. Our society has gone a long way in gradually bringing the classes and social groups closer together and in consolidating the moral and political unity of the Czechoslovak people.

Czechoslovakia is a solid component part of the socialist community. Together with the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty countries, we have solved — once and for all — the age-old and vitally important problem of providing guarantees for our people's freedom, independence and international security. Sound friendship, alliance and cooperation with the USSR are the cornerstone of socialist Czechoslovakia's foreign policy.

Over the past decades, we have gained the conviction that the radical changes resulting from the construction and development of socialism require an effort to overcome the inevitable obstacles and to produce creative solutions of newly arising problems. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has always found the strength, energy and boldness to make a critical analysis of the actual situation, to choose the right course and to lead the people along the Leninist way. That is evidence of its maturity.

The revolutionary socialist transformation of a society makes ever greater demands on the research, programmatic, political-organizational and ideological activity of the party. What is especially important is to formulate correctly the strategy of social development, to define correctly the individual stages of socialist construction and their specifics, not to lose sight of the continuity of policy over the long-term perspective, to reckon with the real potentialities and requirements, and

not to allow subjectivism or voluntarism.

In the 1960s, after the foundations of socialism had been laid in our country, the party leadership of the period abandoned the consistent consideration of these requirements. The shortcomings in meeting the requirements of social and economic development, the blunders in ideological work — especially in the fight against right-wing opportunism — produced a grave and growing crisis.

The conclusions concerning that period were summed up by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the well-known document "The Lesson of the Crisis Development of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Society After the 13th Congress of the CPCz," and also in the resolution "On the Important Questions of Party Unity." These documents reflected the conviction, which springs from experience, that the party can fulfil its mission of defending and developing the gains of socialism only when the whole of its activity proceeds from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, only when it carries on a consistent struggle against revisionism and opportunism, when it has close ties with the people and has a firm, united and resolute leadership.

The political defeat of the right-wing and anti-socialist forces, and the consolidation of the society enabled the CPCz at its 14th congress to lay down a general line for building a developed socialist society, which was subsequently continued by the 15th and the recent 16th congresses. The theoretical foundation for this line is Lenin's idea concerning the long duration of the phase of development along the road to communism.

It is not only Czechoslovak experience but also that of other fraternal parties of the socialist countries that bears out the conclusion that the stage through which we are now passing is a period of necessary, law-governed and, historically, a relatively long period of transition to communism, the stage of building a developed socialist society. Its main content in Czechoslovakia, as in other countries, is the all-round growth to maturity of the socialist social system as a whole and of its elements, and the ever fuller and more profound expression of the uniformities of socialism and the use of its potentialities.

The experience of the past decade shows that the party's approach and activity in overcoming the consequences of the crisis development are correct and shows very well that the general line of building a developed

socialist society well serves the Czechoslovak people's national and international interests and provides a scientifically grounded response to the requirements of our continued advance.

We have also realized that the interests of each of the countries building socialism require vigorous effort to increase their cooperation with each other, international socialist economic integration, and the bringing of our states closer together. This process, a most important aspect of the present stage in socialist construction, multiplies our forces for the benefit of the common cause. It unfolds on an objective basis and reflects the dialectical connection between the general features and advantages of socialism, on the one hand, and the national specifics and historical peculiarities of the individual socialist countries and peoples, on the other. The ideas expressed in this context by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th congress of the CPSU are an outstanding theoretical contribution which broadens our understanding of this process. Our party will continue to pro-

mote such development through the whole of its activity in the future as well.

The overall results achieved by the socialist-community countries toward the close of the 1970s indicate a strengthening and deepening of all the basic values of socialism. The past decade is among the most important periods in the life of the CPCz and in the whole history of socialist construction in our country.

The successes achieved over the CPCz's 60 years of struggle show that it has always been aware of its historical responsibility to the Czechoslovak society, to our nations and ethnic groups, and to the international revolutionary movement. It regards this historical responsibility as its highest commitment and simultaneously as the ever vibrant legacy of its fine history. It turns to this history, to the events of the class and national struggle, to its best traditions above all for the purpose of learning the lessons and drawing inspiration and strength for tackling the difficult tasks of the 1980s set before Czechoslovak communists by the 16th congress of the CPCz.

The Portuguese Revolution repulses reaction's onslaughts

Alvaro Cunhal

General Secretary, Portuguese Communist Party

Seven years have passed since the military rising that sparked the Portuguese revolution. These years witnessed uneven development, with the first stage marked by major advances by the revolutionary forces and the second, which continues to this day, by a counter-revolutionary offensive in a bid to retrieve lost positions and nullify democratic gains.

The Portuguese people's heroic resistance to this onslaught and the constantly changing political situation are evidence that the destiny of the revolution has not yet been decided. The struggle goes on. The working people and other progressive forces in Portugal are confident that reaction will be crushed and that the April Revolution will prevail.

The nation's new image

Far-reaching changes took place in Portuguese society as a result of the anti-fascist revolution that erupted after nearly half a century of dictatorial tyranny. The overthrow of the dictatorship was not confined, as some quarters

hoped it would be, to a change of the form of the political power wielded by monopoly circles linked to imperialism and by the landowners — the two governing classes in fascist-ruled Portugal. From the very beginning the revolution cut short their political power and then, as it developed, put an end to their economic domination as well, smashing the monopoly associations and dealing telling blows at the system of landed estates.

Nine years before the fascist dictatorship was deposed, the Portuguese Communist Party declared at its sixth congress, the last to be held underground, that the winning, defense and consolidation of democratic freedoms in Portugal were inseparable from the removal of monopoly and landowner domination, from the nationalization of the main sectors of the economy, and the implementation of an agrarian reform. The revolution bore out this thesis of the communists.

Immediately after the fall of the fascist government, as a result of the military rising of

April 25, 1974, and the consequent people's uprising, the big capitalists and landowners began a war against the newborn Portuguese democracy, using every possible pretext: they started a drain of capital, transmitting huge sums to foreign countries; they reduced exports and increased imports; nor did they confine themselves to economic sabotage — orchestrating, supporting, and funding conspiracies and attempts to bring down the government (in 1974 and 1975).

The abolition of monopoly associations and landed estates became a condition not only for delivering the nation from economic ruin and building up the economy in the interests of the people but also for crushing the counter-revolution and safeguarding the democratic freedoms that had been won. Nationalization covered 24 banks, 36 insurance companies, 16 electric power companies, five oil and eight large fishing companies, and entire industries, for instance, ferrous metals, ship-building, chemical fertilizers, cement, window glass, tobacco, pulp and paper, beer, the railways, and sea, air, and automobile transport. Moreover, together with these industries and companies the government took over their share in hundreds of other operations, with the result that nearly 200 large production units were additionally nationalized. The government thus gained control of nearly 300 enterprises, and at approximately 1,000 other factories the workers established a system of control and self-management.

An agrarian reform was enforced in parallel. Set in motion with the revolutionary actions of the masses, it led to the expropriation of 1,140,000 hectares of land¹ and the formation of 500 producers' cooperatives with over 50,000 members.

The leadership of the Socialist Party and some democratic quarters abroad said that these and other revolutionary gains were a "mistake." They charged that the Communist Party was "moving too fast." Some went so far as to assert that nationalization and the agrarian reform were threatening political democracy. But that is not true. Had the socio-economic structures not been reshaped, democratic freedoms would have been extinguished long ago and the Portuguese people would have found themselves oppressed by a new ruthless dictatorship of monopolies and landowners prepared to commit more heinous crimes than ever in order to take revenge.

A new reality thus took shape: post-April Portugal, freed from political rule by fascism and economic domination by monopolies and

landowners, became a land of freedom and revolutionary transformations. The new reality conforms to the specific conditions and requirements of economic and social development, the vital need for national independence, and the most cherished aspirations of the working masses. This explains why the Portuguese people are tireless in their heroic defense of their democratic gains.

Reaction on the offensive and resistance from the revolutionary forces

As soon as the April Revolution was accomplished it became clear that the revolutionary forces could prevent the overthrow of the fascist government from leading to nothing more than a replacement of the political system without affecting the social system. The socialist orientation received massive support and was put forward as the strategic aim of the revolution and subsequently enshrined in the nation's constitution.

For that reason, on the very day the dictatorship fell, the reactionary and conservative elements planned to reduce the revolution to simple "liberalization" or, if that plan failed, to snuff out the new democracy that the revolutionary masses and armed forces had begun to build. The plans for restoring fascism and setting up a new dictatorship were closely tied in with attempts to preserve, defend and restore the positions and privileges of big capital and the big landowners. On the other hand, the program for far-ranging economic and social changes and the efforts to carry out these programs were linked to the defense of the democratic freedoms that had been achieved.

Without outside help, the reactionary and conservative forces would have been unable to hinder revolutionary changes. But powerful support and encouragement from imperialism and the assistance of pseudo-revolutionary ultra-"left" forces enabled them to provoke a serious split in the democratic camp and bring the revolutionary process to a halt. After forming a "holy alliance" of political forces (from ultra-rights to the Socialist Party) and a "holy alliance" of military circles, ... they aggravated political and social contradictions, launched a wave of terror against the communists, and destabilized the situation in the armed forces by precipitating conflicts and collisions. All this culminated on November 25, 1975, with the defeat of the revolutionary wing of the armed forces and the subsequent dissolution of the Armed Forces Movement.

From that moment, the reactionary and conservative forces began an assault on revolution-

ary gains, but these were nevertheless recorded in the constitution adopted in 1976 by the Constituent Assembly. The next governments saw the restoration of the power of the capitalists and landowners as their central aim. For five years there has been an uninterrupted offensive on the Portuguese people's revolutionary gains, and for five years the people have staunchly and heroically defended them. Use has been made of various forms of struggle and people's democratic intervention.

First, a *mass struggle* with its traditional forms of protest — rallies, street demonstrations, and strikes.

Second, *direct intervention in the decision of issues concerning the country and its population*. This is realized chiefly through municipal councils and agricultural cooperatives, through assistance for the efficient operation and management of nationalized and self-managed enterprises, and also through close studies of national problems and the elaboration of constructive solutions. Communist assistance in resolving problems is of special significance: the communists hold the majority of seats and leading posts in 50 major municipal councils, their position is strong in many other municipal councils, and they enjoy considerable influence in the agrarian reform zone and in industrial districts.

Third, *joint action with and in organs of authority*, especially in the Assembly (in which there is a large group of communist deputies), and also contacts with the President of the republic and the Revolutionary Council.

All these are vital and mutually complementing forms of struggle and pressure. But the mass movement remains the basic form, contributing to the further advance of the revolutionary process and helping to repulse the counter-revolutionary offensive.

The organized force of the working-class and people's movement firmly counters the reactionaries entrenched in the government and consistently defends the gains of the revolution. Therefore, while acknowledging that the assaults by reaction have struck heavy blows at the democratic gains of the Portuguese people it may be said that the counter-revolution has fallen far short of its aims. Let us consider this in some detail.

The aim of the offensive against nationalization and state control is to denationalize key enterprises and at once restore the power of the big monopoly associations dissolved by the revolution.

The governments that replaced one another were able to place people supporting the plans

for the restoration of the monopolies at the head of banks and many other nationalized enterprises. Most of the 300 factories put under temporary state control were returned to their former owners. A law on the "demarcation of the public and private-capitalist sectors" was passed with the support of reactionary parties and the Socialists. This made it possible to set up capitalist-run factories in the nationalized sectors of the economy and, as compensation, give big capitalists a share in "indirectly nationalized enterprises by its prices, credits, and investment policy and its discrimination against nationalized enterprises and industries. The authorities transferred to the accounts of capitalist enterprises the surplus value created in the nationalized sector and did everything in their power to facilitate capitalist accumulation. However, despite the efforts of reaction, the monopoly associations were not restored. Nationalization was, in the main, safeguarded. Not a single nationalized enterprise has so far been returned to its former owners.

The offensive against the agrarian reform pursued the objective of abolishing all cooperatives and restoring the landed estates.

The governments have deprived the cooperatives of 500,000 of a total of 1,140,000 hectares of expropriated land. They have taken from the cooperatives more than 200,000 head of livestock, over 7,000 farm machines and implements, and hundreds of installations and irrigation structures. They have confiscated sown areas and harvests. This has destroyed or paralyzed many cooperatives. Over 100 landed estates have been restored, and thousands of people have found themselves jobless. However, the militant spirit of the people has not been broken and the attempts to abort the agrarian reform have failed. More than 400 producers' cooperatives continue to function on 600,000 hectares of land. These are independent, entirely autonomous units and are confident that lawlessness will come to an end, that the stolen land will be returned, and the agrarian reform will be continued to its full realization.

The attacks on freedoms are aimed at drastically limiting these freedoms.

The various governments have flouted democratic laws, had recourse to harsh repression, allowed order to be violated, gave reign to discrimination at elections, and monopolized state-run mass media. However, none of them has been able to curtail the right to strike and the right to form political parties and trade unions — had they succeeded it would have

been a serious blow to the gains of the revolution.

The offensive against the rights of the working people was started in order to revive the ruthless exploitation of fascist times.

The governments caused a deterioration of the working and living conditions of the people and at many factories they restored the system of intimidation. But resistance from the people forced the authorities to abandon their intention of "freezing" collective agreements, agree to consider higher wages, and abolish the practice of declaring "a difficult economic situation" at factories. To this day the working people enjoy many of the social rights and privileges brought by the revolution.

Obviously, with the preservation of a democratic regime reaction has been unable to suppress the resistance of the masses and destroy all the democratic gains of the Portuguese people.

Plan for the abolition of the democratic regime

In 1976-1978 the governments were still trying to conceal the offensive by reaction with a screen of spurious legality. But they soon began violating the constitution and democratic laws and conducting subversive activities in an effort to accomplish a coup.

The dissolution of the Assembly and the intermediate elections in 1979² made it possible to bring the offensive mounted by reaction to a halt and create the conditions for a turn toward democracy. However, the discrediting of the Socialist Party's policy and the sharp decline of its influence on account of its links to reaction and refusal to form an alliance with the Communist Party enabled the counter-revolutionary forces united in the Democratic Alliance to win most of the mandates. At that election the Socialists, who polled 1,886,932 votes (35 per cent) in 1976, collected only 1,625,479 votes (27.5 per cent), i.e., a shortfall of 261,453 votes.

The Communist Party gained considerable headway. In 1976 it polled 785,594 votes, but at the 1979 elections the Alliance for Unity, in which it plays the leading role, polled 1,122,231 votes. In parliament the PCP-AFU representation increased from 40 to 47 deputies (of these 44 are communists). However, this important political success of the communists did not compensate for the decline of the Socialist Party's prestige.

Having won the majority of the seats in parliament for the first time, the bloc of reactionary parties formed the Sa Carneiro-

Freitas do Amaral³ government and, relying on it and the Assembly, intensified and broadened their offensive. They made no secret of the fact that their purpose was to seize all political power, restore the domination of the monopolies and landowners linked to imperialism, abolish the democratic regime, and establish a dictatorship.

On the threshold of new elections to the Assembly and the presidential elections in 1980 the reactionary parties planned: (a) the adoption of an electoral law guaranteeing them an overwhelming majority regardless of the results of the voting; (b) the holding of a referendum, an outwardly democratic form of adopting important decisions enabling them to go beyond the constitution, which was fettering their subversive activities; (c) an unlawful revision of the constitution; (d) a confrontation with the President of the republic and the Revolutionary Council in order to create an impasse facilitating the coup they were openly contriving.

In order to safeguard the democratic regime it was imperative that the Sa Carneiro-Freitas do Amaral government resign at once. A mass movement demanding Sa Carneiro's removal swept across the country, accompanied by big strikes and demonstrations.

The Portuguese Communist Party demanded the resignation of the government because it had attacked the democratic gains recorded in the constitution, transgressed laws, and openly engaged in subversion with the purpose of staging a coup, and also because under that government, which did not stop at abuses, transgressions of the law, and foul play, elections could not be conducted democratically.

Joint actions by the Communist and Socialist parties under the conditions prevailing at the time could bring about the downfall of the government. Neither was the resignation of the President of the republic ruled out. However, the Socialists declined to act with the Communists. Some of their leaders favored the preservation of the government of reactionary parties, believing that it would "outwear itself" and lose at the elections.

The President of the republic, who was sharply attacked by the government parties and the cabinet itself, likewise failed to take the only correct decision in response to the increasing assaults of subversive elements and demand the resignation of Sa Carneiro and the government.

The situation in which the elections to legislative bodies took place on October 5, 1980, and the results of the voting confirmed that the

communists had grounds for anxiety. The reactionary Democratic Alliance, which monopolized the state-run mass media (television, radio and principal newspapers), launched a demagogic campaign and stepped up its policy of intimidation and harassment. The state apparatus was placed in the service of reaction. During the preparations for and at the elections their lawlessness and duplicity grew increasingly more brazen.

In this situation the reactionary parties preserved their majority in the Assembly for another four years. Despite this anti-democratic situation, the Communist Party and the AFU were relatively successful, polling more than a million votes and winning 41 seats in the Assembly.

As a result of the parliamentary elections, the subversive plans for abolishing the democratic regime acquired new dynamism and new potentialities. A greater danger than ever threatened democracy in Portugal.

Democracy triumphs at the presidential elections

Confident that at the presidential elections of December 7 it would make the same gains as at the October elections to the legislative bodies, reaction did not conceal its intention to win all power. The immediate objective of the subversive designs of the reactionary parties, which are out to destroy the democratic regime, was to replace the President of the republic with one of their own people.

The presidential elections thus acquired decisive significance. In order to halt the designs of reaction it was vital to ensure the defeat of the Democratic Alliance candidate — the fascist general Soares Carneiro — but this could not be achieved without unity among the democratic forces.

On the eve of the elections to the Assembly the Socialist Party took an active part in naming the candidature of General Ramalho Eanes. But after the elections to the legislative bodies and the signal defeat of the Socialist Party, its leader Mario Soares unexpectedly announced that he would not back the Eanes nomination and called upon his party to subscribe to his decision. This announcement was a heavy blow to the Eanes nomination and direct support for the candidate of the reactionary forces.

This stand was hailed by the right. *Tempo*, a fascist-oriented newspaper, was certain that the reactionary candidate would win and lauded Mario Soares for his "decisive contribution to the defeat of General Eanes and the victory of General Soares Carneiro."⁴

However, for the first time in its history the Socialist Party did not follow the lead of its General Secretary and decided to go on supporting the Eanes candidature.

As regards the Communist Party, after a broad discussion involving many thousands of members it held a national conference on October 28, 1980, which drew the following basic conclusions:

1. The cardinal task of the party and all other democratic forces at the presidential elections was to defeat the candidate of the reactionaries — General Soares Carneiro.

2. General Ramalho Eanes was the only candidate who could defeat Soares Carneiro in the race for the presidency. Many aspects of his activities were criticized at the PCP national conference, but it was noted that the President's part in defending the democratic regime and the constitution had, on the whole, been positive.

3. In order to conduct an explanatory campaign and mobilize voters for the defeat of reaction, the Communist Party decided to nominate its own presidential candidate — comrade Carlos Brito, member of the CC Political Commission and President of the Parliamentary Group of the PCP.

All the reactionary forces, the government, the parliamentary majority, Mario Soares and a segment of the Socialist Party, and also Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho and all the leftists went against Eanes, calling him Enemy No. 1. In order to use anti-communist feeling and prejudice against him, reaction spread the rumor that he was the "PCP candidate." Five days before the elections Prime Minister Sa Carneiro⁵ and Vice-Premier Freitas do Amaral held a press conference on the subject of the "significance and consequences of the PCP's support for General Eanes." At the press conference they charged that the general had "signed a secret agreement with the Communist Party." They stated the view that an Eanes victory would lead to the resignation of the government, the dissolution of the Assembly, and the creation of the objective conditions for the formation of a people's front government.

The reactionary parties identified the candidature of Soares Carneiro with a Democratic Alliance government, with a parliamentary majority, and with the Alliance as such. They held that Eanes' victory would be a defeat not only of their candidate for the presidency but also of the Alliance and its government.

On December 1, after a broad explanatory campaign, the PCP Central Committee decided

to rescind Carlos Brito's nomination and called on constituents to vote for Eanes.

The results of the presidential elections were a crushing defeat for the reactionary forces, for their Democratic Alliance and government, and a stirring victory for democracy.

Ramalho Eanes polled 3,248,831 votes (56 per cent) and the candidate of the reactionaries — 2,317,140 votes, i.e., 474,000 less than the Alliance got at the parliamentary elections of October 5. The leftists, too, suffered total defeat. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, who had received 800,000 votes at the 1976 presidential elections, now hardly collected 80,000. The other leftist candidate got only 12,612 votes.

The voting in the agrarian reform zone and in industrial districts showed that the workers and the masses of the people understood the political situation and the danger that was threatening democracy. In these districts Eanes polled the largest number of votes. In the agrarian reform zone he received: 69.9 per cent of the vote in Portalegre, 70 per cent in Evora, and 74.5 per cent in Beja; while in the industrial districts of Porto, Lisbon and Setubal he received 53.3, 60.9, and 74.3 per cent of the votes respectively.

The defeat of the Democratic Alliance candidate and Eanes' victory led to a significant change in the nation's political situation in favor of the democratic forces. The offensive on the freedoms and rights of the working people, on the agrarian reform and nationalization began to subside. The Democratic Alliance's subversive plans failed and its attempt to seize all the organs of power fell through. It became more difficult for reaction to secure an unlawful revision of the constitution.

The threat to the democratic regime was thus averted, for some time at least. The democratic forces and the whole Portuguese people acquired new, more favorable conditions for their struggle.

Strength of the working-class and people's movement

The Portuguese revolution exemplifies the revolutionary energy of the masses, their ability to carry forward social transformations.

One of the features of our revolution is that the revolutionary forces were able to implement deep-going democratic changes and reforms (dissolution of monopoly associations and nationalization of basic industries, an agrarian reform, and abolition of landed estates) without having either political power or control of the state apparatus.

These revolutionary forces — the people's movement and the movement of the military — were in an advantageous position and for a short while exercised the predominant influence on various organs of power — the Revolutionary Council and the government. However, it must be noted that political and military power were always divided.

After the defeat inflicted on the left-wing of the military on November 25, 1975, and the subsequent disbandment of the Armed Forces Movement there was a sharp exacerbation of the contradictions between the changes that were put into effect mainly as a result of the mass struggle supported by revolutionary military men, and the hostility of the political power for these changes. All the governments that replaced one another pursued a policy of abolishing the most important achievements of the revolution. The fact that the working class and the people as a whole were in the main able to preserve them is evidence of the conformity of these gains with the nation's true need, with the interests and aspirations of the Portuguese people, and also of the enormous strength of the working-class and people's movement, of the high level of its organization, of its militancy, and of the unity between its aims and actions.

The working-class and people's movement rests on strong trade unions that champion their interests and uphold revolutionary gains.⁶ It also rests on the workers' commissions set up democratically at factories; on the peasants' movement headed by the National Agricultural Confederation; on the movements of women, youth, intellectuals, small and medium businessmen and industrialists, pensioners, disabled persons, and others. The broad people's front embraces collective producers' associations set up in the course of the agrarian reform, and hundreds of cooperatives and self-managing enterprises, whose economic activity is closely linked with social and political activity.

The decisive role in the struggle of the working class, of the masses, is played by the Communist Party. It is unquestionably their political and ideological vanguard, their motive force. Ever since the emergence of the Portuguese revolution there have been critics of our party's revolutionary course; the principled, class course toward active participation in the struggle that has brought the Portuguese people significant revolutionary gains and tireless defense of these gains; a course toward an alliance with all democratic forces without concessions on central issues, a course toward

constant contact with the working class and resistance to ideological pressure from enemies and their allies; a course toward internationalism and unflagging, effective solidarity with all the revolutionary forces of the world — with the USSR and other socialist countries, with the working-class movement in capitalist countries, and with the national liberation movement. This course, our critics prophesied, would, after the period of revolutionary upsurge passed, doom the PCP to a rapid dwindling of its ranks and influence. Reality proved to be quite different. What in the opinion of critics could lead to a reduction of the party's numerical strength and influence, became the *decisive factor of its growth*.

The PCP's organized strength and influence are steadily increasing. Whereas in 1974, two months before the overthrow of fascism, it had 15,000 members, in 1975, during the revolutionary upsurge, its membership rose to 100,000; in 1976, at the eighth congress, 115,000 members were registered. In 1979, at the time the ninth congress was held, it had nearly 165,000 members, and in June 1980 its strength stood at 187,000 members (not counting the 36,000 members of the Portuguese Young

Communists). Life has shown that in Portugal the Communist Party together with the working-class and the people's movement has the mission of playing the paramount role in safeguarding, consolidating and developing the democratic regime.

The battle over whether there are to be revolutionary achievements in our country, whether the democratic regime will remain intact, continues. This is the substance of the conflict between the strong people's movement that wants Portugal to progress along the road opened in April, and the reactionary government, which commands a majority in parliament and seeks to restore not only the political but also the economic domination of the monopolies and landowners, to establish a new dictatorship.

As was noted at the ninth congress of the PCP, this conflict situation cannot last forever. Either the working-class and people's movement together with all democratic forces remove the reactionaries from power and ensure the consolidation of the revolution's aims, or reaction will seize all power and destroy the revolution's gains and the democratic regime. A particularly sharp struggle is raging over the question of revising the constitution. The Portuguese people are defending the constitution, which records their revolutionary gains. Last year there was the danger that the conflict would end in favor of the reactionary coalition. The results of the presidential elections have moved this danger aside, for a time at least. New possibilities have appeared for resolving the conflict in favor of the forces of democracy.

In Portugal, democracy has yet to be stabilized. Reaction is planning new strikes. In turn, our people are preparing to repulse these strikes. The Portuguese Communist Party, which this year marks its 60th anniversary, will do everything it can to measure up to its glorious historic mission in the coming battles of the people.

1. Portugal has a territory of 9,200,000 hectares.

2. Under the Portuguese constitution, in the event the Assembly is dissolved the newly-elected deputies fulfil their functions until the expiry of four years from the day the previous Assembly was elected. For example, after the intermediate elections of 1979 the regular elections to the Assembly were held in 1980 (exactly four years after the elections of 1976).

3. Sa Carneiro was Chairman of the Social-Democratic Party. Freitas do Amaral is Chairman of the Social-Democratic Center.

4. *Tempo*, November 6, 1980.

5. Sa Carneiro died a few days later in a plane crash.

6. The trade unions have a membership of two million. Of these, 1,700,000 belong to organizations of the National Intersindical.

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The military-political trend in the strategy of neocolonialism

Yusuf Dadoo

Chairman, South African Communist Party

The historical changes which have taken place since the Second World War in Asia, Africa and Latin America are among the basic factors underlying the present sharp aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism. This crisis has hit the raw materials, energy, monetary and financial spheres, and the foreign policy of imperialism, resulting in the collapse of a whole set of successive military and strategic doctrines. It has been spreading to more and more structures of the state-monopoly system. There are growing symptoms of crisis also in relations with the newly-liberated countries, which imperialism wants to harness with the chains of neo-colonial dependence.

In the Afro-Asian world and in Latin America there is a growing awareness of the fact — now even on the state level — that the winning of national sovereignty does not automatically remove imperialist domination and exploitation, and does not in itself ensure peace and social progress. There is a need for action in order to defend and stand up for one's right to dispose of one's own natural resources, to carry on industrialization, and to change the international division of labor which took shape in the colonial period.

The mass nationalization of imperialist oil and other raw materials extracting companies in more than 40 developing countries served to re-establish control over natural resources. Imperialist exploitation is also resisted by countries exporting raw materials, whose activity tends to weaken the positions of the Western monopolies. An event of historic importance is the developing countries' resolute demand for a radical restructuring of international economic relations with the imperialist world and for the establishment of the principles of equality (program for a new international economic order).

The anti-imperialist edge of the national liberation movement is growing more pronounced. Starting out mainly as an anti-colonial movement, and setting itself the task of getting rid of the concrete colonialist bondage, it is now aimed against the whole system of imperialist bondage, both in the old and in the

new forms. Collective acts of solidarity for the attainment of common liberation ideals are a broadly accepted principle of this movement, as will be seen from the policy of non-alignment.

Fresh possibilities are emerging for strengthening the fight for liberation and for effectively solving anti-imperialist problems. But one should not ignore the opposite factor: imperialism's reaction to the national and social struggle, which it regards as a challenge and a threat to its very existence. Recently this reaction has been marked by a heightened aggressiveness. The adversaries of international détente have stepped up their activities, and the struggle over the capitalist powers' main foreign policy lines has been sharpened.

The dangerous build-up of tensions has continued. It is not only Moscow, but also Tehran, the socialist-community countries and the newly-liberated states that are being threatened with the nuclear Big Stick. Evidence of this comes, for instance, from the recent secret airlift of weapons to the large U.S. military base Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. Echoing the former Carter administration, the present U.S. leaders have also tried to get the world to accept the idea that a "limited" nuclear war is thinkable. The South African racists have also resorted to this kind of intimidation ever more frequently. In a message to UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, the Pretoria regime declared that its army intends to continue staging its punitive operations against the "terrorists," that is, the national-liberation movements in the south of the continent, and the front-line states. Almost immediately after this, the South African Deputy Defense Minister reaffirmed the regime's "right" to use nuclear weapons against neighboring countries displaying solidarity with these movements.

All of these are links in a single chain, a common conspiracy against the freedom-loving peoples. The facts incontrovertibly show that imperialism itself and racism, its fosterling, have not abandoned the use of force in fighting the forces of national liberation and

social emancipation, and that they continue to think in categories of domination and coercion with respect to other states and peoples. At the 26th congress of the CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev gave a lucid explanation of the motive behind the imperialists' behavior in the international arena: "The monopolies need foreign oil, uranium, non-ferrous metals — and so, the Middle East, Africa, and the Indian Ocean are declared to be a sphere of U.S. 'vital interests.' The U.S. war machine is actively breaking through into the area and intends to settle there for a long time. (my italics — Y.D.). The island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, Oman, Kenya, Somalia, Egypt — what next?" It remains merely to emphasize the exceptional importance of rebuffing these sinister schemes. An analysis of the present trends in the imperialist neo-colonial policy appears to be highly important and timely.

Let me start by characterizing most concisely the basic methods of neo-colonial strategy. It lays special emphasis on the economic instruments of enslavement and subordination of other countries and peoples. In order to stimulate their monopolies' expansion, the imperialist powers have set up and maintain a system of protective measures in the developing countries, allocating vast amounts of money from the budget for so-called aid, which serves to entrench their oppressed position in the world capitalist economy. "Aid" is now more frequently made available through international financial bodies controlled by the capitalist states, for in this way it is outwardly less associated with imperialism. Alongside the various types of "aid," imperialist transnational corporations have become an effective neo-colonialist instrument, for in many developing countries they control virtually the whole of industry and foreign trade.

These figures testify to the scale of economic neo-colonialism. From 1970 to 1977, total export of capital from the developed capitalist to the developing world increased by 220 per cent. From 1970 to 1974, the annual total was \$20 billion, from 1975 to 1977, it was \$43 billion, and according to the IBRD it had to reach \$74.6 billion in 1980.¹ The profits made by the foreign monopolists are 3-10 times higher than the capital they export; and the annual outflow of funds from the developing countries to the imperialist countries as a result of neo-colonial exploitation totals more than \$100 billion. According to the OECD, from 1971 to 1979 the foreign debt of the African, Asian and Latin American states increased by more than 300 per cent, from \$87 billion to \$391 billion, with

the annual payments on various credits and loans in that period going up by 600 per cent, from \$10.2 billion to \$72 billion. By the end of 1980, their debt was expected to reach \$450 billion, and its servicing \$88 billion. According to IBRD forecasts, by 1990 the developing countries will use four-fifths of the annual loans, which are expected to reach a total of \$218 billion, to service the existing debts.²

The neo-colonialist influence is also exerted through a large staff of advisors, experts, semi-governmental and private capitalist institutions, bourgeois political parties, mass media, trade unions, charities, employers' associations, propaganda and cultural organs, and clerical institutions. Through all these channels, the imperialists attempt to influence the policy and behavior of certain social strata and groups in the developing countries.

Finally, the use of armed force or the threat of it and the staging of subversive acts against what is considered unsuitable regimes continue to be, wherever possible, part and parcel of neo-colonialist policy. What is the relation between the various neo-colonialist methods? Which of these elements tend to prevail in this or that phase of historical development? The more flexible economic and political ones, or the military pressure, blackmail and downright violence? These are highly meaningful political questions from the standpoint of the cause of peace and international détente which become most important in the light of the overall weakening of the positions of imperialism, and above all of the loss of its monopoly of the developing countries' energy and raw material resources. The prospect for a further limitation of access to the sources of raw materials and higher prices for them, together with the success of the Asian, African and Latin American countries in the struggle for their right to dispose of their own natural resources, has greatly alarmed the imperialist circles.

Here, we believe, the operation of two main trends needs to be reckoned with. On the one hand, there is the urge among imperialist circles to resort to the "strength policy" and even to outright armed force with respect to existing socialism and national liberation movements. On the other, there is the realism which necessitates the consideration of the overall situation in the world, recognition of the rough parity between the states of different social systems and the growing international influence of the newly-liberated countries. This suggests a flexible combination of military, political, diplomatic, economic and ideological methods,

without pushing the military factor into the foreground.

Of course, neither of these trends operates in a pure form, and the transitions between them are smooth and the distinctions tactical rather than strategic. That is quite understandable: international monopoly capital is held together by a common class concern for maintaining the imperialist system, ensuring marketing outlets and uninterrupted supplies of raw materials, i.e., for maintaining the very foundations of imperialist exploitation. The switch from a "flexible" neo-colonialist tactic to a "tougher" one and vice versa is usually effected by the situation in the world and in the developing countries themselves. The contest between the two trends within the ruling circles of individual imperialist powers and the imperialist camp as a whole is influenced by diverse political and economic interests. Thus, the advocates of the "strength policy" are closely allied with the military-industrial complex, that of the United States in the first place, and also with influential raw materials monopolies.

In June of 1980, the House of Representatives voted for giving the Pentagon \$153.7 billion for direct realization of military programs.³ As a result, the total U.S. military appropriations for the current fiscal year are being increased to the record figure of \$172.7 billion. Nor is that a limit in any sense. In March, President Reagan signed the draft state budget for fiscal 1982, providing for another sharp increase in such expenditures. They are to be raised to the astronomical figure of \$226.3 billion.⁴

The vast military preparations are for aggressive purposes. They are designed to intimidate the peoples both of the socialist and of the developing countries. This will be seen from NATO's intention to extend its military and political activity beyond the boundaries of the European continent, to revive in a new form the policy of axis and blocs with the participation of imperialist and developing countries, and to deploy U.S. bases and armed forces in strategic areas of the Indian Ocean, the Caribbean and the Middle East, for which U.S. plans include a third center of "U.S. military presence" abroad, in addition to Western Europe and the Far East. In addition to the large base on Diego Garcia, there is to be a series of bases on Oman, Kenya, Egypt and Somalia.

Of special danger are plans for growing cooperation between NATO and racist South Africa. At the close of last year, its Foreign Minister Roelof Botha met Joseph Luns, NATO Secretary-General, in Brussels. This meeting was a new and glaring violation of the officially

proclaimed stance concerning NATO's geographical "sphere of influence," which, as is well known, does not include the South Atlantic and Africa. But Luns and Botha discussed the possible ways and means of drawing the racist regime into the activity of NATO military schemes. The latter is much attracted by the prospect of using South Africa's strategic position and resources. NATO would like to use South Africa's Advocaat communications system for surveillance of the South Atlantic. The testing of a nuclear device by Pretoria and Tel Aviv was a signal indicating the enormous danger hovering over the peoples of our region. It is the duty of world progressive opinion to prevent South Africa and Israel from acquiring that lethal potential. Africa must become a nuclear-free zone.

The Carter administration during its period in office, not content with building a chain of springboards in the developing countries, formed a 'rapid deployment force' initially numbering 110,000 men for the purpose of suppressing revolutionary movements in areas remote from the United States. A West German magazine says: "The new force is to be capable of occupying areas subject to pacification within a matter of days and to maintain its positions without additional supplies or reinforcement for 60 days."⁵

The importance of arms deliveries to reactionary regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America has always been a significant aspect of the military-political arsenal of neo-colonialism. In return, they are required either to submit or tie in their policy with Washington's global plans. Nearly 80 per cent of the \$13.5 billion worth of U.S. weapons sold abroad goes to the young national states. Over the past two years, arms exports from the FRG have doubled to more than DM2 billion. From 1970 to 1977, France's military supplies to developing countries multiplied 6-fold and Britain's 3.6-fold. The "most favored nation treatment" in obtaining weapons is naturally held out to reactionary governments in the first place. The present U.S. administration plans to increase such deliveries even further.

Thus, by handing over the "weapons of death" to its satellites, imperialism seeks to create seats of domination and influence in the Third World itself. Not long ago it was Iran under the shah which had such a role to play in the Middle East. Now it is other countries that are being groomed for the role. Similar efforts in stepping up the activity of reactionary forces are being made by the imperialists in Southeast Asia and the Far East, where their stake is in

Japan's growing power and the incorporation of the ASEAN countries in the geopolitical plans of the United States. Thus arms deliveries to Thailand have been increased.⁶

In tropical and southern Africa racist South Africa has been allotted the role of bulwark of neo-colonialism. Continuing to commit barbarous acts of aggression against its neighbors, primarily Angola and Mozambique, the racist regime seeks to bring the states of southern Africa under its influence. The Botha regime has advanced the imperialistic plan of a "constellation of states in southern Africa." Through such a "constellation," which would obviously be under the tutelage of the South African regime and monopolists, they hope to draw into their neo-colonial orbit the neighboring states and to isolate the revolutionary forces of our country led by the ANC and SACP. However this scheme has been firmly rebuffed by the front-line and other states in the south of Africa which have also taken the initiative to more closely coordinate their respective economies in order to reduce their economic and communications links with apartheid South Africa.

More frequently than before, imperialism resorts to subversive acts in developing countries with the aid of mercenaries, acts of sabotage and plots against progressive and democratic governments. A whole new line in subversive policy known as destabilization has taken shape.⁷ The experience of Chile, Afghanistan, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Jamaica, El Salvador and many other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America shows that this policy is now being conducted on a large scale. In southern Africa a new dangerous impulse was given to it by the Reagan administration of the USA, which openly supported the racist regime in Pretoria and the gangs of Angolan counter-revolutionaries.

The military-political trend in neo-colonial policy is being intensified by the growing cooperation between the United States and China. Although Washington and Peking have moved closer together, particularly on the basis of anti-Sovietism, their schemes are undoubtedly much more extensive. This has become clear in the recent period following the direct armed aggressions against Angola and Ethiopia in Africa, and socialist Vietnam in the south of Asia. This is also evident by the subversive acts against independent India and the undeclared war against democratic Afghanistan.

Consequently, there is a deep basis for the "tough" line of neo-colonialism, and it is

rooted in the aggressive substance of imperialism. There is good reason why the most reactionary section of imperialist circles, above all in the United States, fears the new situation in the world, and the major victories scored by the forces of national liberation and social emancipation in the late 1970s and early 1980s. They responded by reviving the old "strength" policy and attempting to return mankind to the cold war period and by involving their most trusted old and new allies in their aggressive line. This line has been endorsed by Peking and a number of politicians in Western Europe.

However the "strength approach" to international affairs is meeting with growing resistance, not only on the part of the socialist states, the working class, democratic and national liberation movements; it has also aroused grave doubts among realistic-minded circles in the imperialist countries themselves. The line of returning to the cold war, like the line of expanding the use of the military-political methods of neo-colonialism, so avidly adopted by Washington, does not enjoy unquestioned support in the capitalist world. It is highly indicative that the realistic-minded quarters on the whole displayed a positive response to the Soviet proposals for a radical improvement of the international situation, which were made from the rostrum of the 26th congress of the CPSU.

This realism is also reflected, for instance, in the stand of the West European social democrats who publicly declare their approach to the questions of war and peace and to the problems of the developing countries. They want to avoid a confrontation between the imperialist powers and the newly-liberated countries and to carry on a dialogue with the latter, even meeting some of their demands. At the same time, social-democratic policy, which equates the interests of the neo-colonial exploiters and the exploited, cannot offer any real and lasting solutions for the economic and social problems facing the developing countries. Objectively, this policy is rather an attempt to secure the long-term vital interests of the capitalist system and to stabilize it. The advocates of this line fear the further strengthening of the national liberation movement and the growing influence of the ideas of scientific socialism, for many of them have deep-seated anti-communist views and prejudices. That is why these forces cannot take anything like a consistent stand against the reckless policy of force being conducted by the right-wing government leaders of the imperialist countries.

One of the chief goals of neo-colonialism is to

provoke a split within the anti-imperialist alliance of the forces of social emancipation and national liberation. They hope to separate the liberation movements from their natural ally, the socialist community, led by the Soviet Union, the international working-class and communist movement. Here, the most aggressive neo-colonialists coalesce with circles in the imperialist countries which take a more realistic view of other issues and even vie with each other in the ideological and political arenas to prove to each other whose policy is more effective.

For several years now an unprecedentedly intensive flood of anti-communist, anti-socialist and anti-Soviet propaganda has been directed from the capitalist centers to Asia, Africa and Latin America. The new ideological counter-offensive is imperialism's response to the major revolutionary changes which took place in the world in the 1970s. That is why the myth of "Soviet expansionism" and the "threat from the East" has been revived yet again.

This wild anti-Soviet campaign has been used by the imperialist circles as a screen for starting another round in the arms race, for adopting NATO's long-term program for the all-round build-up of armaments, and for the decision to site new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe.

Parallel with these acts, which pose an exceptional danger to peace, tensions are being built up in some regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Thus, on the eve of the non-aligned conference in Havana in the summer of 1979, the United States mounted a slander campaign against socialist Cuba and the Soviet Union. There is good reason to say that Washington was then preparing a major political and ideological act of subversion against the non-aligned movement in order to split it, to divert it from its anti-imperialist stand and to erect a great wall between that movement and the socialist community. Fidel Castro, socialist Cuba's leader, said that the United States had contacted roughly 40 countries in an effort to put pressure on them by every possible means.

Another turbid tide of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism flowed from the imperialist camp, following the fiasco of the plans to destabilize revolutionary Afghanistan and people's Kampuchea and also after the rebuff of Peking's aggression against Vietnam. Imperialism regards its every defeat, be it in Angola or Mozambique, Ethiopia or Benin, Syria or the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen,

Nicaragua or Grenada, in the context of the overall world situation and in recent decades these events have not been in their favor. That is precisely what worries the imperialists, and is the reason for their increased belligerence and their strong inclination to use armed force in international affairs. The new Reagan administration has now moved up to that dangerous point in connection with the events in El Salvador and the revolution in Nicaragua.

In the face of these dangers from aggressive imperialist circles, tremendous importance is attached to the unity of all those who are working for progress and democracy throughout the world. In our day the range of general problems facing the peoples of the socialist, capitalist and developing countries has sharply increased. The problems in defense of peace, against hegemonism and expansionism as well as the domination by the monopolies and by neo-colonialism, are indissolubly interwoven. The solution of these separately and jointly calls for concerted and cohesive action in every sector of the anti-imperialist front.

Now more than ever before the oppressed masses of our country and their revolutionary movements led by the ANC and SACP require the utmost political, moral, diplomatic and material solidarity of all anti-racist, anti-fascist forces in the world. We should intensify the campaign to isolate apartheid South Africa from every sphere of international life.

Successes in the battles against imperialism are being scored today because of the growing might of existing socialism and the consistent peace policy pursued by the socialist community; the united action by the international working-class and communist movement; and the new and major anti-imperialist drive by the liberated countries. Extensive interaction and joint efforts by all these forces are the guarantee that the major achievements in the revolutionary liberation struggle will be firmly consolidated in the new decade.

1. *Financial Times*, August 18, 1980.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *International Herald Tribune*, June 14-15, 1980.

4. *Ibid.*, March 11, 1981.

5. *Der Stern*, October 4-10, 1979, p. 226.

6. In the course of 1980, the United States gave Thailand a \$50 million credit. The Pentagon is to step up deliveries of the latest military equipment to that country. Following the clashes along the border with Kampuchea in June 1980, provoked by the Thai side, the United States organized an urgent delivery of weapons to Bangkok.

7. See Round Table discussion in *WMR*, September 1978.

Leninism and the cognition of the ways of revolution

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Our party has been discussing its draft program. It is to be adopted by an extraordinary congress in early 1982. One of the sections of the draft contains a theoretical backup of the party's ideas about Austria's road to socialism. Among other things, it says: "There are no uniformities 'in themselves,' outside the context of the concrete historical and national specifics, just as there are no national specifics independent of uniformities. In every instance, there is a need to reckon with the one and with the other. Consequently, any kind of 'model of socialism' is unsuitable because in every 'model' one of these aspects is bound to be limited."

One would imagine that all of this goes without saying. However, it took us long years of sharp polemics with illusory conceptions to assert the conviction that in the transformation of a capitalist society into a socialist society, it is necessary to take account not only of contemporary conditions and national peculiarities, but also the general uniformities which are revealed in historical experience and Lenin's theory of revolution.

In this connection, our party has already had to overcome interpretations of Lenin's theory which contested its relevance to contemporary conditions, while recognizing its relevance to turn-of-the-century and early 20th-century conditions. The fact that the post-October experience has yielded fresh confirmation bearing out Lenin's theory shows just how groundless that kind of approach is. But it is not only a matter of the experience of past revolutions. Generally speaking, to reduce Leninism to the theory and practice of one or even several socialist revolutions would be to impoverish it. Historical experience has not depleted Lenin's conception of revolution, because its framework consists of the general uniformities governing mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism. And that is a process which is still on, and which constitutes the basic content of the present epoch.

Hence the conclusion that Lenin's theory is scientific, and that it has historical relevance to the revolutionary battles that have created the

world in which we live. Consequently, it is an effective method for analyzing concrete social realities, and simultaneously an ideology, which helps organically to blend the scientific approach and the consistent revolutionary spirit in the transformation of social life.

One curious aspect in the activity of the revisionist forces in our party was that they tried to play down the importance of the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and claimed, among other things, that it was only a guide to action. They quoted Marx as saying: "I myself am not a Marxist." They strove to show Lenin's modesty and drew the conclusion: recognition of Marxism-Leninism as a coherent scientific worldview and theoretical basis for the policy of the working class, that is, its revolutionary party, allegedly conflicts with the views of the classics of our theory.

But that did not prevent them from criticizing, in the very next breath, and to declare obsolete that which they had just admitted to be a guide to action. The changes in the world since Lenin's day, they argued, were so important that today one had preferably to look to contemporary thinkers. Trying to appear modern, they quoted, in and out of context, the writings of Roger Garaudy, Che Guevara, Theilhard de Chardin, Marcuse, Mao Tse-tung, etc. All of this went to produce an eclectic picture of the world that was allegedly consonant with contemporary requirements. Eventually, the only thing that they did not question in Lenin's writings was his "method of thought."

In this context, it is necessary to examine how the analysis of conditions of the revolutionary process and formulation of policy are to be effected today, on the basis of summed-up contemporary experience and consideration of the latest problems.

Let us bear in mind that Lenin's conception does not suggest that the cognition of socialist revolutions is complete. But we do not think that the above-mentioned alternative to its further development — the substitution of an eclectic theoretical system for Leninism — can be substantiated by the actual requirements of

present-day revolutionary practice, something that would make it fruitful. What is more, such an alternative is simply unrealistic. Let us assume that the method embodied in Lenin's theory of revolution is, in effect, accepted, while the content is ignored. What, in that case, would be the result of the use of this method for analyzing present-day realities? Evidently, it would be identical to that which Lenin produced. Any other result would be impossible precisely because the content of Lenin's theory consists of scientific truths obtained through the use of the same method in cognizing the uniformities of the very same process, namely, mankind's transition to socialism. Conversely, any attempt to create another theoretical system, as a substitute for Lenin's theory, eventually turns out to be an abandonment of the method and the world-view of Marxism-Leninism, a break with scientific truth. Consequently, a denial of Lenin's theory with a simultaneous recognition of its method is an intrinsically incompatible and futile exercise.

Our experience shows that the effectiveness of Lenin's conception of revolution is now and again denied, either because of a lag in analyzing new and original situations, or in consequence of mistakes in practical work, or even because of dogmatic or infantile perception of the theory, and perhaps for all these three reasons together. But is it not an absurd idea that our backwardness, our mistakes, our insufficient skill in handling theory amount to some kind of evidence of its "limitations," of its "depletion," and even of "crisis?" There is no alternative to the continued cognition of the revolutionary process, and this, we believe, is impossible outside the context of Marxism-Leninism, apart from the risk of wallowing in pragmatism, when the immediate here-and-now advantage serves as adequate ground for neglecting the scientific truth or adopting a selective attitude to it as determined by a majority of votes.

Today, with socialism existing over a large part of the world and operating as the definitive factor in mankind's progress, the accent in the theory of revolution has naturally been moved from the need to find out the possibilities for the first breakthrough to socialism in history to the conditions for the further advance of the world revolutionary process. But it was Lenin who brought about this turn to the broader spectrum of problems.

Let us bear in mind that a sizable part of Lenin's studies deals with the characteristic features not only of the epoch of imperialism, but also of the new historical reality created by

the Great October Revolution. One need merely recall that after the October Revolution and on the basis of its gains, Lenin made an all-round examination of the perspectives of the world revolutionary process. He emphasized the importance of such of its factors, in particular, as the transformation of socialism into an international force capable of exerting the crucial influence on world affairs, as peaceful co-existence, which advances mankind's progressive development so much more effectively than war, and the fact that the fortunes of the revolution in the developed capitalist countries are contingent on the successes in the working people's struggle in the oppressed colonial countries, etc.

Of course, the theory of revolution in the form in which Lenin formulated it contains a number of propositions relating exclusively to the possibility of effecting the first breakthrough of the imperialist chain. Thus, after the October Revolution, Lenin withdrew the circumscription of the historical arena in which such a breakthrough could occur to a *capitalist* country, and showed that pre-capitalist countries, relying on the support from socialist states, could advance to socialism bypassing capitalism, in a people's revolution.

But that is, after all, not the main thing, for the point is the epochal importance of Lenin's theory, which, in virtue of its historic character, is constantly oriented toward the present and is incompatible with the view of revolution as something that is static, monotonous or stereotyped, and that proceeds in accordance with a pre-set timetable or approved scheme. The historical approach, which orients toward the consideration of a factor like the unexpectedness with which a revolution is capable of enlarging the boundaries of the possible, to execute a leap into the unknown and to create a "historical miracle," warns against absolutizing not only the available experience and forms of struggle, but also the most thoroughly considered hypotheses concerning the probable course of social transformations.

Of abiding importance are Lenin's conclusions on the uniformities of the revolutionary process and the conditions for breaking through the imperialist chain. It is generally recognized that tremendous difficulties had to be surmounted in the first breakthrough. But Lenin's critics displayed an urge to speculate on this fact, to reduce Lenin's theory to the solution of revolutionary problems in the conditions of a civil and imperialist war. Their readings of Lenin suggest that the "revolution without war" (whether internal or

external), a conception which is meaningful in our day, allegedly lies outside the context of Leninism.

But the point is that Lenin set forth a coherent conception of the peaceful development of the revolution which, in particular, was realized in the political practice of Bolshevism after the February 1917 Revolution in Russia. What were the objections to Lenin's conception? It was asserted, first of all, that Lenin allegedly set up civil war as a universal principle, while regarding peaceful development of revolution as an accidental sideline arising from a coincidence of short-term factors. Here we have a one-sided and extremely limited view.

First, Lenin's conception contains no contrast of civil war and peaceful way as principal and secondary. On the contrary, it determines, quite unambiguously, the conditions in which the Marxist must take the standpoint of armed uprising and civil war. As Marx and Engels before him, Lenin prefers the peaceful way, which may turn out to be adequate not only for a takeover of power and realization of the goals of the socialist revolution, but also the necessary and the only available way. Here, there should be no confusion concerning the word "peaceful." Its incorrect interpretations in our country are refuted in the new draft program of the CP Austria. The way to socialism is always connected with the class struggle, with mass action. That is why our document says: "The way to socialism without civil war does not in any sense mean a way without struggle, a smooth, 'parliamentary' way, even if great importance may be attached to the use of parliamentary positions by the working-class movement."

Second, the problem of the peaceful way is formulated by Lenin as the problem of the development of the revolution. It is important to emphasize his approach because it is a warning against identifying the peaceful way with the revolutionary work and class struggle which is also peaceful, but which is carried on in conditions in which there is no revolution as yet, without a revolutionary situation.

From this also follows the understanding of the genesis of the very possibility of the peaceful way, which is "an opportunity that is extremely rare in history and extremely valuable" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 306-307). It does not arise as a result of some natural evolution of capitalism, of its political superstructures or the structures of the "civic society" toward an ever fuller democracy. It results from the class struggle of the masses. Thus, the period of peaceful development of the rev-

olution from February to July 1917 in Russia was ushered in by the overthrow of the tsarist regime. Subsequently as well, the possibility of a peaceful takeover of power (for instance, in September or October 1917 — three weeks before the October uprising) emerged as a result of the important successes scored by the working class. Today, the possibility of a peaceful way is above all the result of radical changes in the balance of class forces brought about by the gains of existing socialism, the international working class and the national-liberation movement.

Another common objection is that Lenin's conception of revolution does not rule out the need to be prepared for the eventuality of armed uprising and civil war. The suggestion is that this conception does not provide for any other alternatives. But we think that this line of argument tends to switch the problem from the sphere of the realistic to the sphere of wishful thinking. The choice of way for Lenin was not just a matter of subjective preference. It was objectively determined. Among the conditions paving the way for and ensuring the peaceful development of revolution, Lenin brought out the following, in the light of the experience of the Russian revolution: the ruling circles, the bourgeoisie have lost control over the organized instruments of mass coercion; there is no violence over the people on the part of the government; a maximum of legal freedoms, a level in democratic development have been attained at which it is possible for a specific political organization to exist as the embryo of a new state power relying on the support of the majority of the people, and not only moral but also armed support (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, pp. 42-54).

In such conditions, resistance on the part of the bourgeoisie to a takeover of power by this majority cannot develop into a civil war, because the bourgeoisie is not strong enough. In other words, there is no vagueness in Lenin's formulation of the peaceful-way problem like the one we find, for instance, in the discourses about the ruling class, in possession of the instruments of violence, "not daring" to use them, that "the rules of the game" of bourgeois democracy are binding on the ruling class as well, and that "common sense" will carry the day and that, in view of the unfavorable balance of forces, the doomed class will prefer to resort to the most extreme resistance in every sphere, except armed resistance.

However, Lenin does not merely consider the choice of way, the peaceful or non-peaceful way. He defines the peculiarities of the situa-

tion in which there is no other way to power except the peaceful way. The peculiarity is that the power of the bourgeoisie rests on the confidence of the masses in the government, on what is known as a "consensus of the majority." Or, considering the social anatomy of this concept, it rests on the class cooperation of the majority of the people (consisting of the workers and the middle strata) with the bourgeoisie. But in the course of the revolution's peaceful development this "consensus" outlives itself as an unconscious trust or tolerance of the masses with respect to the state power expressed in the policy of class collaborationism between the parties representing various strata of the workers and also of the petty-bourgeois parties. In Austria, this kind of "social partnership" system includes, alongside the representatives of state-monopoly capitalism, the workers who are under the influence of the social democrats.

The development of the revolutionary party helps to win a majority of the people for socialism. The tasks of transferring power to a majority of the people and of winning it over for socialism can be solved in one sequence or another.

For instance, as Lenin showed, power could pass to a majority of the people after it has already broken with the policy of collaborating with the bourgeoisie, as conducted by the above-mentioned parties, but before it has accepted socialist goals, before it has become convinced of the necessity of socialism. Here is another possible variant: first, the Marxist-Leninist party wins over a majority of the people to its side, and then power is transferred to that majority. Evidently, the class nature of power in the former and the latter instances cannot be the same, and this is a point I consider in greater detail below.

Another argument being put forward against Lenin's conception is that it is confined to a consideration of the possibility of a peaceful takeover of power, but does not solve the problem of a peaceful transition to socialism.

Indeed, the Soviet power had to go through the ordeal of a long civil war and foreign intervention in order to ensure the transition to socialism. Indeed, a peaceful transition to socialism after the takeover of power was first effected in history in other countries and in another situation, which resulted from the rout of the nazis only some three decades later. But the critics of Leninism do not evidently have in mind this transition, whose uniformities were formulated by it in the short peaceful breathing space which the Soviet power in Russia managed to secure. What they mean is transition to

socialism not after but before the takeover of power by the working class, without that power.

It is the social democrats who spread such views in the first place. Thus, the Socialist Party of Austria extolled the extensive nationalization in Austria as the buildup of positions for socialism, although in actual fact it inaugurated the shaping of a state-monopoly system. The SPA's 1978 program is also full of illusions about a gradual realization of social democracy which is ultimately identified with "democratic socialism." It says: "Social democracy will be realized as more and more spheres of society are permeated with the ideas of democracy."

On this score, Lenin's conception contains a very definite answer: so long as the bourgeoisie continues to be the ruling class, there can be no transition to socialism. That is not a mere theoretical proposition, first substantiated by Marx and Engels. It has been proved by the years of practice under the social democrats in all the capitalist countries without exception. Nowhere have the social democrats managed to start a transition to socialism, even when they sincerely wanted to do so. They failed to do so precisely because of the class collaborationism with monopoly capital.

As I have said, Lenin showed the variant of the peaceful development of the revolution, when the state power passes from the capitalists to the workers and the middle strata (peasants) with a majority of the people rallied round general democratic and not socialist tasks. In that case, "steps toward socialism" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 356-360) are possible in the economy, constitutional development and ideology. Once the main obstacle in the way of acceptance of the socialist ideas by the sizable section not only of the workers but also of the middle strata has been eliminated, it becomes possible to attain the necessary condition for transition to the new system: the conversion of socialism into a demand of the majority of the people.

In such conditions, the fortunes of the revolution and its continued peaceful development largely depend on the agreement between the various democratic parties concerning the right of each of them freely to pursue an independent class line. The class basis of agreement is the identity of the vital interests of the workers and the middle strata in consolidating and advancing the gains of the revolution. In the Austrian context, the CPA's draft program considers the probability of a stage of anti-imperialist democracy on the way to socialism:

"This will be achieved as a result of revolution . . . A necessary prerequisite for achieving it is the break-up of the system of social partnership, a new militant role for the trade unions, a substantial strengthening of the Communist Party, and alliances with other socialist and consistently democratic forces."

Lenin believed that the new state — which has ceased to be capitalist but is not yet socialist — makes it possible peacefully, through political and ideological struggle, to overcome the disagreement among the parties with respect to transition to socialism, the possibility of "peacefully eliminating the struggle between classes and parties" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, p. 253). Consequently, Lenin showed the possibility not only of a peaceful overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie, but also a peaceful transition to socialism, implying further changes in the nature of the state power. It goes without saying that the other alternative — a split between the parties, which could disrupt the peace in the country — cannot be ruled out either.

Analyzing the experience of the Russian revolution, Lenin characterized the revolutionary-democratic power of the workers and peasants as "special . . . independent of the bourgeoisie" (*ibid.*, Vol. 24, p. 51), thereby contrasting it to the other power of the same classes, which differs precisely in not being independent, in being subordinate to the bourgeoisie. Consequently, Lenin's conception contrasts with talk about a "government of the majority of the people without dictatorship" given the peaceful development of the revolution. The point is not whether such a phenomenon is at all possible, because it has already occurred in history,* but its class content. In that case, a "government without dictatorship" means nothing but its subordination to the bourgeoisie, and this quite naturally rules out any advance toward socialism.

But "the dictatorship of the proletariat" is also not applicable to a power of workers and middle strata that is not subordinate to the bourgeoisie, because it is characterized by a prevalence of petty-bourgeois interests. The

*Considering the situation which took shape in Russia after the February 1917 Revolution, Lenin wrote: "reality shows us both the passing of power into the hands of the bourgeoisie (a 'completed' bourgeois-democratic revolution of the usual type) and, side by side with the real government, the existence of a parallel government which represents the 'revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.' This 'second government' has itself ceded the power to the bourgeoisie, has chained itself to the bourgeois government" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, p. 50.)

"dictatorship of the proletariat" implies a revolution in which power passes from the bourgeoisie directly to the working class relying on broad class alliances with other working people. Of course, the proletarian dictatorship can also be the ultimate result of mediated revolutionary changes resulting in a predominance of socialist interests. In other words, in Lenin's conception, the question of the class character of the power replacing bourgeois rule is decided concretely, depending on the development of the revolution.

The claim that with the peaceful way "dictatorship" allegedly becomes irrelevant does not amount to an abandonment of that word. Such an abandonment could be easily understood in the light of the need to express political slogans in language understandable to the masses, because the use of this or that term is largely determined by political appropriateness and in the light of the concrete state of the social mentality of the masses. Thus, in the 1840s, the Paris proletarians demonstrated under a slogan that everyone understood: "Dictatorship of the working class!" Only later did the term "proletarian dictatorship" become a scientific concept in Marxism.

However, the point is what stands behind a particular word or term in the attitude of the revolutionary power to its adversaries, to the class coercion of the bourgeoisie, and to the need to justify such coercion on the plea of organized violence by the people. Some speak, for instance, about the possibility of realizing the goals of the revolution "by law instead of dictatorship." This contrast ignores the fact that even through law, revolution dictates its will to those who disagree with it. To insist on confining the revolution to the framework of bourgeois legality is tantamount to saying that the capitalist society is capable of producing juridical grounds for its own replacement by socialism. Can one, after all, imagine a law enacting the transformation of the class nature of the bourgeois state? But if what is meant is the observance of the revolutionary legality, is that not, after all, one of the key principles of the new legal order? Incidentally, the "legal way" and the "peaceful way" are not one and the same thing. Thus, the ceding of power on the part of the government to satisfy an ultimatum from the people which is not provided for in law, can hardly be qualified otherwise than as peaceful.

Lenin's conception does not in any way underestimate the "bloodless" means for political and legal coercion of the adversaries of revolution, or seek to confine it in every case to

armed suppression. But it does consistently assert the peaceful takeover of power and peaceful transition to socialism as a process implying the imposition of the people's class will on the adversaries of the revolution, in defiance of their convictions and desires, in defiance of their vital interests.

Without the class coercion, "peaceful revolution" becomes an empty and purely speculative concept irrelevant to the contemporary realities of the class struggle. Nothing remains in it except the illusion that the ruling class of the bourgeoisie can be induced voluntarily to leave the stage of history. Such views return us in theoretical terms to the pre-Marxian utopians who had hoped to introduce socialism by persuading the powers that be. They are also not a far cry from the "parliamentary cretinism" which makes advance contingent on consent with the "will of a majority." In that case, one would assume disagreement with it must necessarily result in a backward movement. This likens the historical process to a pendulum which keeps swinging from capitalism to socialism and from socialism back to capitalism. It would appear that this oscillation could be stopped only by unwillingness for restoration on behalf of a "minority." It turns out, then, that this "minority," i.e., the bourgeoisie, has the crucial say in the transition to socialism.

The violent aspect of revolution and revolutionary power naturally relates only to the class adversaries and not to allies in the struggle to whom the working-class party gives assurances that no violence will be allowed by one part of the people against the other. There is no ground for the interpretation of Lenin in the sense that "dictatorship" means violence of a "minority" over a "majority." On the contrary, on the strength of the experience of the Paris Commune and the struggle for power of the Soviets in Russia, Lenin formulated the rule on which both the peaceful and the non-peaceful development of the revolution must rest: "the direct, immediate and unquestionable rule of the majority and the activity of the masses only to the extent that the majority itself acts consciously" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, p. 49). This stand is in contrast to any of the views which allow some kind of domination over a majority and the implementation of socialism "by coercion" and not in virtue of the activity of the masses, who carry on a conscious struggle for it. That does not rule out the need, of course, for cutting short attempts by counter-revolution and anti-socialist forces to draw the masses over to their side.

Another aspect of "revolution without war" is the international one. Lenin saw the socialist revolution as a radical swing in world politics to a just and democratic peace. He formulated the fundamental idea of the peaceful co-existence of states with opposite social systems, as a condition and result of the further advance of the world revolutionary process. Nevertheless, Lenin's conception is now and again said to imply that it regards revolution as a way out of war.

The extreme view in such a reading of Lenin is that revolution can grow only out of war. This leads to the monstrous "theory" which proclaims the desirability of war and rejects Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence as a "deal" with imperialism blocking the way to revolution.

Another interpretation of the thesis concerning the connection between revolution and war is put by those critics of Lenin's conception who do not consider peaceful coexistence as an obstacle to revolution. Their reasoning runs roughly as follows: war or peace has an influence on the way the revolution is effected. For instance, in the event of war the course of the revolution is determined by the fact that a sizable part of the population finds itself in arms. However that may be, even if the revolution runs a peaceful course, it is always the "armed way." And because Lenin's theory of revolution was formulated in the light of that circumstance it is, allegedly, inapplicable to any other situation in which the people have no weapons.

We find the emphasis in this case on the assumption that the state of peace among nations is consonant with a special type of revolution — "unarmed way" which is allegedly not provided for by theory, for theory had allegedly probed in the opposite direction seeking to establish the tendencies and conditions for arming the masses. This brings us to the question of whether it is possible to base the theory of revolution on pacifism.

The first thing to note is that present-day capitalism is not at all "a society without weapons." On the contrary, never before in peace-time has the role of militarism in the political, economic and ideological life, in the very structure of the capitalist society and the state, been as great as it is today. With respect to the question of power, which is fundamental for the revolution, militarism, like the repressive state machine, is not a neutral formation, obediently doing the will of any class, so long as it comes lawfully from a legally constituted

government. In virtue of this circumstance alone, the revolution cannot but have an anti-militaristic edge, it cannot but seek to disarm the counter-revolution and the bourgeoisie, while necessarily trying to secure the weapons for its own defense.

Of course, in a society which has bridled militarism, which has paralyzed and broken up the repressive machine of the bourgeois state, the non-armed way is fully conceivable. No one will deny that in abstract terms a revolution without arms is possible. But the reality of our day is not such at all. And not only is that so in the individual countries. Even where militarism, the military-police bureaucracy, and terrorism have been eliminated, the question of the success of an unarmed revolution would remain a moot one because of the danger of imperialist intervention dictated by military-strategic, to say nothing of class, interests. The only thing that could ensure the success of such a revolution is, evidently, universal disarmament, and the elimination of all kinds of military-strategic interests from the

political map of the world. The arming of the people is a necessary condition for the victory of the revolution before universal disarmament is achieved. Any other approach is tantamount to denying any possibility of revolution in individual countries until such times as disarmament is effected in the world.

What is more, the urge in theory to tie in revolution with pacifism, with self-limitation, whatever the conditions, to acts not relying on armed force, dooms the revolution to impotence even in the event democracy is jeopardized in the capitalist society, say, in consequence of armed action by the reactionaries or terrorism by fascist bands. All the more so, this kind of self-limitation does not accord with the prospect of a transition to socialism which entails a struggle, instead of a class peace. Until such time as violence with respect to the masses on the part of the state is ended, until such time as militarism is eliminated, an unarmed revolution remains a comforting dream which diverts from the concrete issues of actual revolution.

May Day keynoted by class battles in the citadels of capital

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This year, May Day is not quite usual: this day of international solidarity of the working people is the first in the 1980s. Being marked at the beginning of the decade it, in a sense, opens a new page in the chronicle of the working-class struggle for the revolutionary reconstruction of society, for peace, progress and socialism. It gives a vantage point for taking a better view of many of the key problems now faced by the working-class movement.

It is, of course, only for the sake of convenience that the decade yardstick is applied to social phenomena, for the milestones of progress do not at all coincide with the succession of round figures in the calendar. In history, some years are frequently more important than a whole string of years, and short intervals of time may encompass more changes than entire epochs. Still, an assessment of the results and prospects in terms of decades may help to discover in general form the features of historical development which are sometimes hard to

bring out against the background of day-to-day events.

Considering the on-going changes in the socio-economic and political life of the bourgeois society in the late 1970s and early 1980s from this angle, one will discover an obvious sharpening of social relations in the capitalist world.

In nearly all the industrialized countries, the citadels of present-day imperialism, the start of the 1980s was marked by an unprecedented extension and intensification of strikes and other working-class action. Here are only a few examples from the daily chronicle of the strike struggle. France was the scene of large-scale strikes by workers in the gas and electro-technical industry, miners in Lorraine and transport workers. Britain was rocked by a powerful strike of 130,000 steel workers. In Italy, 2.5 million working people went on strike in protest against the dismissal of workers by the FIAT company. In the United States, strikes

were staged by oil workers, by miners in West Virginia, and by transport workers. In Japan, millions of working people took part in the "autumn" and "spring" offensives. In Belgium and Canada, Portugal and the FRG, Spain and Denmark, everywhere workers are coming out in defence of their rights, and against pressure from the monopolies.

In our country, Charilaos Florakis, General Secretary of the CPG CC, emphasized in his speech at the 26th congress of the CPSU, the working class and all the other working people "respond to the policy of subordination to U.S. imperialism and NATO, integration with the Common Market, the policy of belt-tightening and unemployment, by stepping up the strike struggle."

All these battles reflect a trend which has been most pronounced over the past few years. As Leonid Brezhnev said in his report to the 26th congress, the attempts to damp down the intensity of the class struggle in the capitalist countries by means of some kind of social reforms are futile. The number of persons involved in strikes over the past decade has increased by over a third, coming to a quarter-billion people, according to official data. Together with the proletariat of the "old" capitalist countries, the rapidly growing working class of the newly independent countries has been actively coming out with its own demands. Its voice rings ever louder and its role in the solution of socio-economic and political problems is ever more important in the countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa.

Not very long ago, many bourgeois scientists predicted that the working-class struggle in industrialized capitalist countries would "fade out" as a result of the "transformation" of capitalism, the easing of class contradictions and the "disappearance" of the proletariat itself. Nor has the vogue for such predictions quite disappeared even today. "No Proletariat, No Socialism," such was the caption in a French newspaper over a survey of the latest works by French politologists, one of which was, in fact, entitled: "Farewell, Proletariat."¹

But there are no grounds for bidding farewell to it, to say the least. Far from disappearing, the proletariat in the bourgeois society has, in fact, continued to grow, and while the development of production, the advance of the scientific and technological revolution, and the ongoing social shifts have altered its face, it remains an exploited and oppressed class. Its interests clash with those of monopoly capital, and this is reflected in the mounting social-protest movements now rocking the capitalist world.

A characteristic feature of our day is that these movements tend to involve people from the new social strata whom the development of the capitalist society, and the growing oppression and exploitation by the financial oligarchy make more akin to the industrial working class. Today, one will find many engineers, technicians, employees, office workers, doctors and teachers in the ranks of strikers and demonstrators.

The growth of discontent and indignation among numerous strata of the population suffering from the arbitrary acts of the monopolies, from the crisis, the inflation, the unemployment and the social injustice increases the objective potentialities for joint action by all those whom capital stifles and oppresses. The 1978 program of the CP Greece stresses that one feature of the present situation is the "growing intensity of the social-class battles and clashes . . . the creation of a broader social base for the expansion and strengthening of the working-class and the whole popular movement." This helps to produce favorable prerequisites for the formation of anti-monopoly alliances of progressive, democratic forces, and for their unification in the common struggle.

But it is also obvious that these potentialities cannot be realized without effort. The CC report to our party's 10th congress in May 1978 said that "the achievement of such an alliance is not an easy task. The way to it abounds in obstacles, and it will take persevering efforts to overcome these."

Using its old "divide and rule" method, the bourgeoisie and its supporters have spared no effort to divide the working people and, above all, to deepen the split in the working class. In many instances, this policy still yields its poisonous fruits. We have witnessed again and again that the absence of unity, aloofness of different groups of working people from each other and failure to coordinate their action have frustrated the attempts to win, and have resulted in setbacks and retreats. That is why the struggle for uniting all the social forces opposing big capital continues to be a necessary condition for the success of the proletariat's class battles.

Another important problem also arises from the involvement of new groups and strata of the population in the social struggle in the capitalist countries. While the growth of ranks of the anti-monopoly movement does give it greater scope, it also has a reverse side. The influx of people from other social sections into the working class tends to promote the spread of reform-

ist views among working people. This was a phenomenon to which Lenin drew attention, noting that "the enlistment of larger and larger numbers of new 'recruits,' the attraction of new sections of the working people must inevitably be accompanied by waverings in the sphere of theory and tactics, by repetitions of old mistakes, by a temporary reversion to antiquated methods, and so forth" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 16, p. 348). "It is clear that the passing of certain individuals, groups and sections of the petty bourgeoisie into the ranks of the proletariat is bound, in its turn, to give rise to vacillations in the tactics of the latter" (*Ibid.*, Vol. 16, p. 351).

This process has a considerable influence on the tenacity of the conciliatory illusions in a part of the working class, and creates the ground for the abandonment by some of its members of the consistent class stand. Apart from everything else, this is reflected in the fact that now and again the calls for class peace meet with a response in some sections of the working people in the capitalist countries. It is not right to underestimate the fact that the monopoly bourgeoisie has a powerful apparatus of ideological influence and diverse instruments for pressure and intimidation. It strives to weaken the working class and to integrate it within the system of state-monopoly capitalism by means of time-tested methods of demagoguery and fraud, bribery and blackmail. Strikes and other action entail considerable privation and sacrifice on the part of the working people and their families, and the advocates of conciliation capitalize on this by urging "restraint" and "moderation" and calling for a "social partnership" between labor and capital.

But as the living conditions worsen, as wages lag behind the runaway growth of prices, and as unemployment becomes a universal calamity, while the profits of the monopolies soar and ordinary people are made to shoulder the burden of the crisis, in such a situation it is ever harder to spread the myths about "equal partners" in the bourgeois society.

The illusions of those who believe in "equal opportunities for all" in the capitalist world are shattered by the harsh reality. The growing awareness that social relations under capitalism are unfair and inequitable tends to undermine the basis of the policy of "accord" which the monopoly bourgeoisie and its servitors seek to impose on the working class. Take Sweden, which was, until recently, set up as the show-window of "social harmony and peace." This show-window has been somewhat tarnished by the strike which spread almost across the whole country in early 1980, and bourgeois

propagandists now find it harder to discover oases of "social tranquillity" to point out as social models.

It is quite clear that the results of the proletariat's class battles in the period ahead, and of its struggle for better living conditions, for its rights, and for social emancipation will largely depend on the extent to which the conciliatory views and notions are overcome, and the working people come to realize that their interests cannot be reconciled with those of capital.

When standing up for its rights, the working class is now confronted not only with the national bourgeoisie, but also with foreign monopolies, with international associations and alignments of capitalists. The working people daily feel the harmful effects of the policy pursued by the transnational corporations, of that "new international division of labor" within the framework of the capitalist world which leads to a fold-up of entire industries, a deepening of many crisis phenomena in the economy, the growth of unemployment, a decline in living standards, and so on. In Greece, for instance, these problems are especially acute. The CC report to the 10th congress of the Communist Party of Greece said that altogether foreign capital has control of over one-third of the country's industrial production, this being its most modern and productive sector. Greece's entry into the EEC on January 1, 1981, makes its economy more dependent on foreign monopolies.

In our day, there is special meaning in what Lenin said about capital being an international force and about the need for "an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood" in order to beat it (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 293). Present-day reality provides many instances of the working people's international solidarity and their joint action against the policy of monopolies. When 130,000 steelworkers went on strike at British Steel, the state-monopoly company, steel workers in other EEC countries, notably the FRG, Belgium and Holland, refused to work on orders from Britain. The situation was similar earlier on, during a strike at Ford plants in Europe and at many other enterprises of transnational corporations.

The need for such solidarity is bound to grow, considering that the monopolies coordinate their policy of intensifying the working people's exploitation and attacking their organizations on an international scale. Life itself requires a strengthening of the international unity of the working class. There was good reason, therefore, why speakers at the

Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of European capitalist countries in Brussels in October 1980 devoted so much attention to various aspects of joint action against the baneful policy pursued by the transnationals.

The peculiarity of the working-class struggle today consists in the fact that, while resisting the growing exploitation and trying to reduce the burden of social and economic oppression, it is increasingly confronted not only with individual capitalists or groups of capitalists, but with the whole system of capitalist domination, a fact which tends to make the working people's action more political. Characterizing the key features of the strike movement in the late 1970s, a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CP Greece emphasized that "this struggle acquires important political importance, because it is frequently carried on not against this or that employer, but against the pro-monopoly economic policy of the government as a whole."²

The state-monopoly nature of the present-day bourgeois society itself tends to turn the working people's economic demands into political demands. The state does not in any sense act as an impartial judge, as bourgeois and reformist politologists would have us believe, but invariably supports capital against labor, the rich against the poor, the exploiters against the exploited. This is daily exemplified by anti-labor legislation and "wage freeze" policies and the "anti-inflationary measures," which boil down to cut-backs in the consumption of large masses of people and boosts to monopoly profits.

Consider also the judicial practices. Last year, more than 200 trade-union activists in Greece were prosecuted on the basis of anti-labor legislation. Last summer, The Federal Court for labor conflicts in the FRG ruled, even if with some reservations, that lockouts were "lawful," and upheld the firing by employers of 120,000 steelworkers who went on strike. The court's motivation of its verdict was that the "litigants" must have "equal rights," so that if the workers have the right to strike, why should the employers not be entitled to fire them? It is perhaps hard to find a more crying instance of the hypocrisy and falsehood of bourgeois justice. The exploiter is "equated in rights" with the exploited; the big owner is set on a par with the wage-worker; the rich man who is out of pocket because of the strike is presented as a "victim," like the steelworker, whom the lock-out deprives of the means of subsistence.

These and many other lessons which the working people learn from the everyday reality

of capitalist society show very well that in order to defend their vital interests they must fight for greater trade-union, civil and political rights and freedoms, against the urge of the bourgeoisie to set up authoritarian regimes, and against the whole political system which protects the privileges of the exploiters.

Today, essential changes are under way in the very content of the demands of the working class. Wages, employment, working hours, labor protection, and similar other issues naturally continue to be a central concern. But growing attention is also being given to other problems which go beyond the framework of immediate and purely economic interests, and which are political. In June of last year, the European trade-union institute published a survey of the demands made by trade unions in the course of collective bargaining. It says that in the near future, "democratization of the economy will be one of the major goals of the trade unions,"³ alongside the defense of the working people's material interests.

As is known, "joint management" of enterprises, "workers' representation" on administrative councils, etc., have been introduced in some West European countries. But the actual practices frequently showed that, while creating a semblance of working people's participation in management, employers actually seek to leave intact the whole mechanism of capitalist domination, and to retain their grip on the key financial, economic and management instruments of power. An indicative example is the application in Sweden of the Joint Management Act passed in 1976. The Swedish Center for Labor Studies says that "the representatives of trade unions, constituting a minority on the administrative councils, cannot assert their views, so that the decisions are still being taken by the employers."⁴

The monopolies and the organs of state power in the capitalist countries want to curb and curtail the rights of trade unions in every possible way, so as to deprive them of any possibility of exerting an effective influence on economic processes and preventing their "interference" in industrial management. A broad range of methods is used for these purposes, from direct pressure, reprisals and anti-labor laws, like the ones adopted by the British Conservatives last year, to various tricks of social demagoguery, paternalism, etc. The bourgeoisie and its aids try to establish control of trade unions and use them as vehicles for their influence on the working class. At their 36th congress in November 1979, the British communists stressed that "the decisive arena of the right/left struggle in the labor

movement continues to be in the unions."⁵

This conclusion applies not only to Britain. The ruling classes in capitalist countries seek to use in their own interest the "yellow" trade unions and their reactionary leaders.

While trying to get the trade unions to "cooperate", and implanting and maintaining reformist and syndicalist views in their ranks, the bourgeoisie also uses "more cunning" tactics, the dangers of which were noted by Lenin. Considering the soil feeding such views in the working-class movement, he wrote: "A part of the workers and a part of their representatives at times allow themselves to be deceived by seeming concessions. The revisionists declare that the doctrine of the class struggle is 'antiquated,' or begin to conduct a policy which is in fact a renunciation of the class struggle" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 16, p. 351).

The fundamental differences reflecting reformist and revolutionary attitude to the substance and goals of the working-class movement stand out most boldly in the approach to the "participation" problem. A journal of the French Communists, *Cahiers du communisme*, recently said: "We come up against the reformism or revolution issue at every turning point in the way. Relentless struggle at every bridgehead to undermine the forces of capitalism and score a complete victory over it, or adaptation to its needs and minor reforms covering up the actual management of the crisis — there is no other alternative in this epoch, when the peoples are able to win out everywhere, including the industrialized capitalist countries."⁶

Communists, the true champions of the working people's interests, regard production democracy as a means of educating the masses and strengthening their positions in the struggle for the proletariat's ultimate goals. They want real, and not fictitious, access for working people to the instruments of management, an enactment of relevant legislation, and expansion of the sphere in which the representative bodies exert an influence on economic processes. Programs of such demands ever more frequently include provisions for the nationalization of some enterprises and sectors of the economy, enhancement of the role of the state in economic development, and economic planning and programming, with unfailing democratization of all these functions as a component part of the general struggle for democracy, for the emancipation of the working people.

The struggle for these reforms could help to solve a number of problems and promote the revolutionary education of the masses. At the

same time, as our party's 10th congress stressed, democratic gains under capitalism are unstable, because of the domination of the monopolies, which strive to nullify them. That is why "our task is to fight for the democratic reforms that are possible under the present regime, and to show the working people the need for radical revolutionary transformations and the ways to bring them about."

The effects of the scientific and technological revolution, which is exerting a profound influence on every sphere of life in society today, have now become a factor which induces the working class to make political demands. Developments have not in any sense justified the hopes of the heralds of some "post-industrial" and "technetronic" era, who predicted, and in fact continue to promise, that scientific and technological progress will help to iron out the social contradictions of capitalism. Only last year, a mouthpiece of French big business published a study entitled "Enterprises in the 1980s," asserting that the introduction of new hardware and technology would allegedly produce "new social relations . . . The operation is most easily carried out especially because the classical worker, the trade unions' favorite client, will turn out to be a disappearing species by the year 1990."⁷

Indeed, the rapid automation of production, and the application of the advances in electronics, cybernetics and other technical discoveries entail many changes, so much so that the "robots," the substitutes for men of which the Czech writer and democrat Karel Capek dreamed up 60 years ago, have now in a sense come to personify the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. Like many of its other products, which but yesterday seemed to be the fruit of a runaway imagination, they are now becoming part and parcel of practical production. But does this result in a social pacification of life in the capitalist society? No, the scenario seems to have been taken from Capek's drama *R.U.R.*, in which the following exchange occurs: "All the factories burst like acorns or hasten to acquire robots so as to reduce their costs . . . That's true — and the workers are being thrown out into the street."

The West German Ministry for research has estimated that in the near future from 40 to 50 per cent of the FRG population will suffer from the unfavorable effects of the introduction of robots and microelectronics. The Swiss Prognos research organization says that by 1990 the number of unemployed in the EEC countries could go up to 13.5 million, and this largely because of the use of new technology. Because

its use is geared only to the drive for profit and not to the interests of the people, the result is always the same: growing unemployment, mounting nervous and mental stress among the working people and, eventually, their more intense exploitation.

Consequently, far from easing, scientific and technological progress under the exploitive system, in effect, sharpens its antagonisms. It leads to a worsening of the living and working conditions of broad masses of people, leading to a growth of social discontent and protest. For that reason, the use of scientific and technical achievements in the capitalist economy has become a factor which goes to intensify, instead of relaxing, the working people's struggle. It spreads to new spheres of social development, bearing on new problems posed by the scientific and technological revolution. Many of these can be solved only on the scale of the state, within the framework of a national policy, and this also makes for a growth of political demands by the masses. The communist parties and class trade unions in the capitalist countries increasingly turn to these problems, believing that their solution is connected with the struggle for profound socio-economic and political transformations.

The close interdependence between the socio-economic and political tasks of the working-class movement today is most evident in the fact that the defense of the working people's rights and interests is inseparable from the struggle for peace, détente and international cooperation, for an end to the arms race. Nor is this so merely because the preservation of peace is a prime prerequisite for the realization of all the other hopes and aspirations of the working people. The unprecedented militarization of the economy has a most fatal effect on the condition of the masses. Even in a country like Greece, which does not in any sense stand out among the other NATO countries in level of military spending, the government's draft budget for 1981 envisages military outlays of 22 per cent of the total, which means more than the figure for public health, education and social security taken together.

The militaristic line of imperialism is one of the basic causes for the spiraling inflation and the growing unemployment, the fold-up of social programs, and the monetary and financial upheavals in the capitalist world. Take any key problem in the life of our society, and you will find that its solution frequently runs up against this dilemma: guns or butter? That is why, in standing up for their immediate interests and

socio-economic rights, the working people ever more frequently come out against militarism, against imperialist foreign policy as a whole.

The ruling classes of the capitalist countries still manage to maintain their spiritual influence on a sizable part of the population and to maintain their domination through a mix of methods in social maneuvering, demagoguery, manipulation of public opinion and methods of direct coercion and suppression of the working people's struggle. But the logic of the class battles carries the masses to an awareness of the fact that the capitalist system is anti-humanistic and exploitive, that it is deeply hostile to their aspirations, and that it is incapable of solving the problems of our day in the interests of the peoples.

Developments show that the 1980s will certainly not be a period of "accord" in social relations in the capitalist countries, as the advocates of capitalism hope. The deepening of the crisis, which has gripped the old world, leads to a sharpening of all the contradictions, a heating up of the class battles.

The May Day celebrations in 1981 have again reminded the communists, all the fighters for the liberation of the masses from capitalist oppression, of the need to build up their unity for the triumph of ideals of peace, democracy and socialism.

1. *Le Monde diplomatique*, October 1980.
2. *Rizospastis*, November 4, 1979 (in Greek).
3. See, ISE: *Negociations collectives en Europe occidentale, 1978-79, et perspectives pour 1980*. Bruxelles, 1980.
4. *Bulletin d'informations sociales*, Geneva, No. 1, March 1980, p. 36.
5. *Morning Star*, November 12, 1979.
6. *Cahiers du communisme*, September 1980, p. 56.
7. *L'Expansion*, January 11, 1980.

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Vanguard of builders of a new society

Virgil Cazacu
Member of the Political Executive Committee,
Secretary, CC RCP

In Romania the revolution and socialist development confirm the fundamental tenet of the theory of scientific socialism regarding the historic mission of the working class, which is society's most advanced class. Romania owes its material and cultural progress and its advances in building socialism and communism to the enormous effort of the heroic working class, which acts steadfastly and in organized fashion as the nation's leading social force.

Having entrusted their future to the Communist Party and added a provision on its leading political role to the constitution, the Romanian people finalized a qualitative leap, the fact that the vanguard of the working class had become the ruling party and integrated itself organically into the structure of society. The RCP is composed chiefly of workers; it has over three million advanced workers, peasants, and intellectuals in its ranks and thus expresses the interests of all social classes and strata.

Our party follows the traditions of the age-long liberation struggle for national independence and the formation of a nation state. It has asserted itself as an advanced political force with deep roots among the people. Its formation was the outcome of the objective development of the Romanian working-class and socialist movement, whose finest traditions it carries forward and constantly multiplies.

Immediately after appearing on the social scene in the second half of the 19th century, our working class found the strength to unite, form trade unions, and stage strikes and political demonstrations. In 1893 the Social Democratic Party of Romanian Workers (subsequently the Socialist Party) was formed and adopted the ideas of scientific socialism. Its program called for the building of a new society in Romania. The working-class and socialist movement traveled an uphill path that led to the reconstruction of the Socialist Party into the Romanian Communist Party.

This historic event in the life of the working class and the people occurred on May 8, 1921. As a new and higher stage of the struggle for revolutionary and democratic change, it stem-

med naturally from the growing ideological and political maturity of our working-class movement and the radicalization of the masses under the influence of the big class battles in Romania between 1918 and 1920, and under the impact of the inspiring example of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia as well as the revolutionary upsurge throughout the world.

The founding of the RCP gave the struggle of the proletariat and the masses in town and countryside a new powerful impetus and opened the prospect of victory over the exploiting classes. The party became a consistently revolutionary force equipped with the world-view of scientific socialism, of dialectical and historical materialism. It showed that it could be depended upon to champion the people's vital interests and bear the standard of the movement for the country's freedom, independence and prosperity.

In the heroic class struggles the RCP demonstrated its devotion to the communist cause, its readiness for sacrifice, and its ability to remain equal to its historic mission. Winning the support of ever wider social forces, it was in the forefront of actions against the ruling classes and their policy of subordinating Romania to imperialist powers, against the nation becoming a fascist state and being drawn into the orbit of Hitler Germany. When a military fascist dictatorship came to power and the nation came under nazi domination, the party assumed leadership of the resistance movement and called upon the largest possible patriotic forces to unite in an integral national front to overthrow the Antonescu dictatorship, drive out the fascists, and align Romania with the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

The social and national anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution that began on August 23, 1944 ushered in a significant stage in the history of our country. The way was opened for the people to attain the ideals of justice and freedom, win national independence and sovereignty, and assert Romania as a dignified nation enjoying equal rights with other coun-

tries. For the first time ever, the Romanian people became masters of their country, its wealth, the fruits of their labor, and their destiny.

After victory in August 1944, the party confidently led the masses on a course toward far-reaching revolutionary changes that transformed the country and the lives of its people, encompassing every sphere of public life and economic activity. The economic development proceeded at a rate never known before. Underlying these achievements were the people's unity and cohesion around their tested and far-sighted leader, the Communist Party.

"Life shows that throughout its existence our Communist Party has been the most faithful exponent of the interests of the working class and other working people in town and countryside irrespective of nationality, and that it has served the cause of the people's freedom and happiness with unshakable loyalty. The party's policy has fused with the people's most progressive aspirations and expressed the objective requirements of our social development, of Romania's material and cultural advancement. This is why, thanks to its vast political and organizational work in order to promote the building of socialism, the Romanian Communist Party has, in fact, established itself as society's leading political force, recognized as such by the entire nation."¹

The party assumed this role in the course of the struggle for political power, for the establishment of people's democracy, and the abolition of exploitation of man by man. The RCP also stood the test in the struggle to industrialize the country on socialist lines, establish the cooperative system in agriculture, build up a modern economy, solve the nationalities problem, raise the people's living and cultural standards, and mold the new man.

In performing its function as leader, the party proceeds from the premise that the building of socialism is something that the working people are doing consciously, that it is the result of mastering and applying the laws of social development. All of the nation's progressive forces follow the lead of the party. Socialist Romania's experience reaffirms that the party's leading role in building a new social system is an objective law. In this lies a distinguishing feature of socialism, its fundamental superiority over other socio-political systems. The ascertaining of the operative mechanism of objective laws and taking thoughtful account of them in the policies of our party, enabled the nation to quicken the pace of its progress. The RCP far-sightedly geared the state's economic

activity to achieving the main economic goals, making maximum use of the advantages of the new system, and mobilizing all material and manpower resources.

A comparison of indices for 1980 (the closing year of the previous five-year plan) with those for 1950 (the year immediately preceding the first five-year plan) shows that gross output increased 34-fold in industry,² and nearly four-fold in agriculture. The population bought 16 times more goods than in the past.

Thanks to the effort of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, of working people of all nationalities, noteworthy advances were made under the party's leadership in the latest five-year period in building up and modernizing the nation's material and technical basis. The productive forces grew harmoniously, the national wealth increased by a considerable margin, and the standard of living improved. Deep-going changes involved the whole of society. Thus our country passed through a particularly important stage of many-sided socialist development.

It is worth stressing that whereas the world economy shows an annual industrial growth increment of between 2 and 5 per cent and that this rate has dropped to nearly zero in many capitalist countries under the impact of the crisis, the annual growth rate of Romania's net industrial output in 1976-1980 averaged 10.1 per cent. In the years ahead we plan to keep the growth rate at 8 or 9 per cent, which should enable us quickly to shorten the distance still separating our country from economically developed countries.

The party's role was more manifest than ever after its ninth congress (1965). Ever since then, it and the state have been headed by Nicolae Ceausescu. Under his leadership the policy of encouraging all that is new, steadily promoting socialist democracy, strengthening the party's links with the masses, enlisting their increasing participation in the discussion of problems of social significance, and firmly eliminating narrow-mindedness and subjectivism has become firmly established. The nation's dynamic advance has grown pronounced. The people are displaying their energy and creative ability more fully and a larger effort is being made to improve quality indices in every sphere of socialist construction. In framing home and foreign policy a more careful account is being taken of the general laws governing the development of socialism and the specific conditions prevailing in Romania.

The past 15 years have seen the country enter a new stage, the stage of building a many-sided-

ly developed socialist society. This is an immense historic task, a wide-ranging process in which the principles of socialism are applied more than ever in all spheres: in developing the productive forces, perfecting socio-economic relations and the state structure, improving living standards and raising the level of the people's social consciousness and general culture. Conspicuous progress has been made in these years by the arts and letters. Society's cultural life has gained in content thanks to new artistic works. In parallel, the finest works of the cultural legacy of the past have been widely disseminated after they were assessed from scientific positions. The great cultural values of other peoples have likewise been made accessible.

In terms of breadth, diversity and significance, the economic and social achievements of the 1965-1980 period are unmatched in our history. These years are rightly considered the most productive period of socialist construction. As the result of deep analyses of realities, the elimination of anachronisms, the elaboration of new options and steps to perfect society's life as a whole, the pace of development has quickened and there have been qualitative changes for the better in labor productivity and the standard of living. The communists and society as a whole associate the major achievements of this period with Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP, President of the SRR, an ardent patriot and party leader and statesman, who has won the nation's affection; an outstanding personality of our times, he is making a large contribution to the shaping and implementation of home and foreign policy.

It is the party's economic policy to allocate a substantial part of the national income on development. This has accelerated socialist industrialization and the expansion of the productive forces as an assurance of the growth of the national wealth. Over the past 15 years, gross output has increased more than five-fold in industry and nearly two-fold in agriculture. In 1980 it took industry only 69 days to produce as much as it did in the whole of 1965.

Big capital construction programs are an important element of the party's economic policy. Their systematic implementation assures continuous growth and the steady modernization and judicious distribution of the productive forces. About 7,000 major industrial projects have been completed in the past 15 years alone: of the fixed assets in industry at the beginning of this year, 83 per cent became operational between 1966 and 1980.

The fruits of this policy of the RCP, which regards rapid economic progress as the basis for raising the standard of living, are exemplified by the following facts.

Compared with 1950 the working people's real earnings have grown four-fold and incomes derived by the population from public consumption funds have risen nearly 21 times over.³ Upward of 15 million people, or approximately two-thirds of the population, are living in homes built in the past 30 years.

Our people are marking the 60th anniversary of the RCP in close unity around the party and its General Secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, and are resolved to carry out the decisions of the 12th RCP congress, which are of programmatic significance in building an all-sidedly developed socialist system and advancing Romania to communism.

The congress defined the principal target of the current five-year plan (1981-1985) as still more vigorous effort toward building up and modernizing the productive forces by widely introducing scientific and technological achievements into industry, agriculture and other economic fields. We devote special attention to science as a prime factor of modern progress. Application of scientific and technological achievements lies at the basis of building an all-sidedly developed socialist society. We see scientific advancement as one of the main instruments for upgrading the economy and raising economic activity to a new and higher level more rapidly.

As our economic advance has proceeded along a very broad front in the past decade, we now intend to consolidate our achievements. We are putting the emphasis on intensification of the economy and on more efficient use of the country's material and labor resources.

Importance is attached to the new fiscal and economic mechanism, which envisages an extension of workers' and economic self-management and a growth of efficiency and profitability in production. This new mechanism will give personnel a greater incentive to reach plan targets and make them more aware of their responsibility for the intelligent use and growth of the people's property.

Our people can discern the outlines of tomorrow's Romania. When the current five-year plan is completed Romania will become a country with a medium level of economic development, with science, education, health care, culture and the standard of living rising to a new level.

The magnitude and complexity of these tasks necessitate a further enhancement of the party's

leading role. When social problems come up for solution, the party relies on close cooperation with the workers, peasants and intellectuals. It does not operate outside society, as a center issuing directives, but inside society, within the various social, political and economic structures, and joins its efforts to the creative effort of the masses. The RCP constantly takes steps to perfect management and social relations, keeps abreast of new phenomena, and strives to pinpoint and resolve contradictions as they arise. All this makes for a close connection between the party's performance of its function of leader and the deepening of democracy as inseparable aspects of a single process, in which the role of the masses in public life is asserted.

As part of the people, the RCP sees its chief mission in serving their interests and integrates itself more and more into the social structure. Consequently, far from narrowing the framework of democracy, the growth of the party's leading role is an imperative ensuring that the people are active in the management of public affairs. Practice confirms the correctness of the concept of the RCP and its General Secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, that socialism is inseparable from democracy and the fact that the continuous deepening of democracy is an essential motor of social and economic progress and the free and full development of the individual. It is from this position that the party also interprets the growing role of the socialist state in close connection with the development of socialist democracy. It steadfastly takes measures to strengthen the links between the state and the people and ensure that government bodies always rely on the people for support and firmly defend revolutionary achievements, socialist property, legality, civil rights, and freedoms.

Large-scale measures to perfect the functioning of democratic representative institutions and enhance the prestige of local and central government bodies are coupled with steps to develop direct democracy by creating institutions through which the workers, peasants and intellectuals can take a direct part in the discussion of social problems and in decision-making. Working people's councils have been set up at every enterprise, in every research or designing institute, in other echelons and at the national level. The general meeting of enterprise staffs is empowered to decide economic matters. In industry, agriculture, and the cultural and educational spheres there are working people's councils and other public bodies enabling the masses to participate directly in

the forming, discussion and implementation of party and state policy.

The Front of Democracy and Socialist Unity plays a particularly important role. It is led by the RCP and unites trade union, women's and youth organizations, unions of cooperatives and creative workers, and the working people's councils of ethnic groups living together, as well as its own organizations, which include non-party people. Being the most broad-based and representative institution of our socialist democratic system, the FDSU helps unite the masses around the party.

With a 60-year history, the RCP is now stronger and more closely united than ever. It has united the people around itself and leads them in building a many-sidedly developed socialist society and advancing Romania to communism, in a cause embodying the ideals and aspirations of all working people.

The RCP has developed a democratic workstyle. It systematically submits party decisions and draft laws to the people for discussion. Its General Secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, and other members of the party and state leadership undertake tours of various localities, attend conferences and meet constantly with working people.

To be sure, the existence of democratic institutions at the local and national level does not in itself solve either the problem of the party's organic integration into the social structure, or the problem of implementing democracy. The important thing is that they should all function at full capacity. The responsibility for this rests with party bodies, which see to it that the masses take the initiative and apply their creative energy, and that democratic standards are applied and respected.

The party's activity is characterized by careful, realistic analyses of the domestic and international situation, analyses based entirely on dialectical and historical materialism, on scientific socialism, and taking into account the characteristics of our country. A notable factor for the success of the party's policy is that it rejects theoretical narrow-mindedness and dogmatic rigidity. The RCP considers that "while studying the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin and striving to apply it, we must constantly take account of the concrete historical, social and national conditions in which we live. This is the only way if we are to draw correct theoretical and practical conclusions for the revolutionary struggle and the construction of a new society; only thus can we operate according to the general laws of social development, according to reality."⁴

The period between the ninth and 12th party congresses — a most significant one in Romania's history — proved most productive in regard to building a new life and was marked by a creative approach to the shaping and implementation of our policy. This is largely due to the party's leading core and personally Nicolae Ceausescu. Special note must be made of the theoretical and practical contribution which he makes to the creative application of dialectical and historical materialism and the principles of scientific socialism in our national conditions, to the working out of solutions for the difficult problems posed by life.

A creative spirit also marks the program adopted by the 11th RCP congress for the construction of a many-sidedly developed socialist society and Romania's advance to communism. An ideological, theoretical and practical charter of the party, the program takes a well-founded stand on major problems of international relations and the development of the country and lays a solid groundwork for the party's home and foreign policy and for its activity in promoting the economic, social and cultural development of the new society. Furthermore, it defines the principles of political education, makes a substantial contribution to its content, and directs the communists' efforts toward molding and fostering the socialist consciousness of the people. An important component of the program is the code of principles and standards of the life and work of party members and of socialist ethics and justice. The program is a guide to the day-to-day political and professional activity of communists, Communist Youth League members, and other citizens.

Political education, which follows the provisions of the program, is aimed at deepening the scientific worldview of communists and other working people, helping them understand the party's policy, educating them in the spirit of patriotism and international solidarity, and inducing them to combat all that is outdated and adopt what is new and progressive. One of the basic duties of party members and everybody else active in the ideological sphere is to carry on an unrelenting offensive against bourgeois ideology and backwardness in thinking or behavior. In the party's view, agitation and propaganda must be militant, must show revolutionary determination and élan.

The solution of the nationalities problem according to the principles of scientific socialism is a historic achievement of the RCP. Romania is a nation state guaranteeing all citizens complete equality irrespective of nationality and

offering them equal opportunities for participation in political, economic, social and cultural activity. The fruits of the party's policy in the nationalities question find expression in the growing unity and cohesion of our society and people around the RCP.

Our party bases its home and foreign policy on the programmatic concept that there is close dialectical unity between national and internationalist tasks, between patriotism and internationalism. It regards these tasks as inseparable aspects of the revolutionary cause. Invariably loyal to this concept, it approaches socialist and communist construction in Romania as part of the world revolutionary process.

Throughout the 60 years since it was founded, our party has coupled its struggle for social and national liberation, for the triumph of socialism on Romanian soil, with internationalist solidarity with the working class, communist movement, and revolutionary forces of all countries, with a policy of promoting mutual understanding and cooperation among nations and serving to preserve lasting peace on earth. When, after the victory of the revolution, the RCP became the ruling party, this programmatic policy formed the basis for the international activity of the SRR as a state.

The party, the state, and personally Nicolae Ceausescu, who is the most authoritative exponent of our nation's aspiration for peace and progress and an outstanding champion of friendship and cooperation among nations, pursue a dynamic foreign policy and take the initiative in proposing solutions. Their aim is to settle conflicts by peaceful means, eliminate seats of tension, bring about détente and disarmament — primarily nuclear disarmament — and ensure national independence, security and cooperation in Europe and the world.

A major aspect of our foreign policy is to seek closer friendship, cooperation and solidarity with all socialist countries. We give priority to friendly relations with our socialist neighbors. Romania meets its commitments as a member of the CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. Our party and socialist Romania also promote relations with developing and non-aligned countries and seek cooperation with all countries regardless of their social systems.

In world politics Romania consistently champions the principles of respect for national independence and sovereignty, complete equality, non-interference, mutual benefit and renunciation of the use or threat of force. It champions the right of every nation to choose its social and political system freely, without

foreign interference. We are convinced that unfailing respect for these principles paves the way for a climate of confidence and cooperation in harmony with the desire of all nations for peace and progress.

The problem of ending underdevelopment and establishing a new international economic order are one of the important foreign policy issues on which our party and state concentrate. The new order should be based on equitable relations and the right of every people to be masters of their country, use their national wealth as they see fit, and shape their destiny by choosing this or that path of development.

A fundamental aspect of our party's foreign policy is solidarity and unity with all anti-imperialist, progressive and democratic forces. The RCP has deep-rooted revolutionary traditions and is in the international communist and working-class movement. It develops extensive and varied cooperation with all communist parties and favors wider contacts and exchanges of opinion. We proceed in this respect along the following lines: we are making every effort to strengthen solidarity, unity and cohesion of the communist and working-class movement; achieve a new, qualitatively higher and voluntary unity; consolidate the principles of equality, mutual respect and autonomy in inter-party relations; and acknowledge the right of every party to frame its own policy, revolutionary strategy and tactics, with due regard to the actual historical conditions.

The RCP is expanding relations with socialist and social-democratic parties and with the national liberation movements and democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist

forces of the world in the struggle for social progress, independence, détente and peace.

The foreign policy of socialist Romania is designed to help ensure that all countries act together, irrespective of their social system, to solve global problems. Romania welcomes joint efforts for disarmament, peace, international security and progress on the part of the most diverse social and political forces, revolutionary, anti-imperialist and democratic currents and spokesmen of public opinion regardless of trend or political, philosophical and religious convictions.

The activity of our party has invariably been characterized by an unfailing combination of patriotism, international solidarity and revolutionary militancy. The RCP will go on devoting all its energies to furthering the prosperity of socialist Romania and fighting in close unity with other socialist countries and the whole of progressive mankind for a better and more just future enabling free and equal nations to achieve their noble aspirations for peace, security, independence, social progress and international cooperation.

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, *Romania pe drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate*, Editura politica, Bucharest, 1971, vol. 5, p. 902.

2. Specifically, production of electric power increased more than 32-fold, steel 22-fold, tractors more than 20-fold, chemical thread and fibers 106-fold, and fabrics six-fold. — V.C.

3. In the same period, about 5,200,000 new jobs were created; per capita consumption of sugar grew 300 per cent, meat 270 per cent, and vegetables more than 100 per cent. — V.C.

4. Nicolae Ceausescu, *Romania pe drumul construirii societati socialiste multilateral dezvoltate*, Editura politica, Bucharest 1970, vol. 4, p. 785.

Political alternative in Argentina

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The heterogeneous military government, now five years in power in Argentina, represents conflicting groups. Although representatives of the fascist current, the so-called Pinochetists, hold important positions they have been unable to impose their will on the government.

In September 1980, after sharp internal collisions, the military junta designated General Roberto Eduardo Viola,¹ the next successor to the presidency. Once more it thus ignored the people's right to state their will.

However, the situation in the country is changing. Public life is rejuvenating against the background of the socio-economic and political crisis. A new stage is opening: its main tendencies are predetermined (to a larger extent than by the influence of various persons or groups in the government) by the ability of the democratic and patriotic forces of the Argentine people, chiefly the working class, to rally, mobilize and coordinate their efforts.

Development over the past few years, which

have been an ordeal for the nation, have confirmed the correctness of the course toward unity adopted by the Communist Party of Argentina in March 1976² and backed up on its basic points by democratic and anti-imperialist circles. The implementation of this course aimed at achieving unity among the people and mustering forces made it possible to concentrate fire against the main enemy (Pinochet-type fascism) and continue the demarcation among the military who had come to power. They include not only Pinochetists, agents of the imperialist monopolies and the finance-landowner oligarchy, but also moderates: representatives of currents that may be characterized as liberal-conservative and popular-nationalist, proponents of military professionalism and the growth of the national industrial potential.

The tactics adopted by the communists do not clash with the party's strategy aimed at revolutionary transformations of a democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-landowner character with a socialist perspective. On the contrary, these tactics have been an element of the strategy that takes account of the actual situation springing from the steep shift of the ruling circles to the right (a shift that began as early as mid-1975) and the new alignment of forces.

In order to understand the conditions for political activity in the period of the change that led to the 1976 coup one must soberly assess the strength of democracy and anti-imperialism at the time, particularly of the working-class movement, and the people's disenchantment, the attainability of unity, and the preparedness of the masses for struggle.

The setbacks for democratization in 1973-1975³ could have telescoped into a crushing defeat demoralizing and disorganizing the people. This had to be prevented. At the CPA's eight conference in November 1975 Geronimo Arnedo Alvarez⁴ lucidly pointed out the consequences of turning down the program of reforms proclaimed by the Peronists⁵ in 1973. He warned of the dangerous effects of the policy pursued by imperialism and the oligarchy, and spoke of the authorities' connivance at economic sabotage and political terror. A serious threat was created by the infiltration of fascist elements into the Peronist government, by the undisguised preparations for a coup and for military operations that, under the pretext of fighting terrorists, were used to suppress the working-class movement and actions by the people. This situation was compounded by the activities of the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance and the provocations by ultra-left adven-

turists. To halt the advance of the Pinochetists meant using all available legal means, exploring new potentialities for mass action "from below," and creating the conditions for genuine democratic development.

The party's experience of concentrating forces in the direction of the main thrust and fidelity to the teaching of Lenin, safeguarded us against voluntarism and subjectivism. Let us recall Lenin's oft-repeated words that "politics is a science and an art" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 80). As a science it demands an understanding of its inner logic, unbiased and independent of the interests of individuals or parties, and as an art it implies the fullest possible account of the actual balance of strength and the needs of the concrete moment.

As always, we see our duty in helping the working class, all the Argentine people (especially groups linked to the Peronists) to understand the reasons for the chronic socio-political instability and the continued setbacks of the democratic movement. To this end it is necessary to draw upon experience and carry forward ideological work so as to open people's eyes to the fact that the bourgeois nationalists are directing the process of transformation into a dead-end and that victory can be won only under proletarian leadership.

During the past five years the democratic movement, chiefly of the workers and young people, has been the target of vicious blows, repression and harassment. However, reaction failed to paralyze its capacity to fight, much less use it in its interests. Despite the bans and restrictions, the democratic parties and organizations did not cease the struggle for a single day. And at the beginning of the 1980s their activities were perceptibly invigorated.

Meanwhile, reaction found no support among the masses and was unable to form its own party or at least win a favorable consensus. The Pinochetists failed to impose their will on the government, which remains a conglomerate of conflicting groups. Their aims do not coincide; each of these groups is determined to establish its own forms and methods of rule.

This contradictoriness also affects foreign policy. For example, despite pressure from imperialism and the local reactionaries linked to it, Argentina continues to promote relations with the USSR and other socialist countries. It has refused to join in the wheat boycott demanded by the USA and has signed a new five-year agreement for the sale of cereals to the Soviet Union. In spite of pressure and blackmail, Argentina remains a member of the non-aligned movement. The most adventurist,

chauvinistic elements have been unable to provoke a fratricidal war with Chile. Nothing has come of the plans to form an aggressive military bloc in the South Atlantic, a strategic zone which the imperialists are trying to turn into a flashpoint. To be sure, it is still too early to say that in both cases the danger has been averted.

Acting through the right-wing forces in Argentina, bellicose circles in Washington are bringing more pressure to bear in order to compel our country to pursue a reactionary, aggressive policy on the international scene and fold up relations with the socialist community and the non-aligned movement. They want Argentina to join in suppressing the liberation struggle of fraternal Latin American peoples, to support reaction where this struggle grows acute (as was the case in Nicaragua and Bolivia, and is now the case in El Salvador), and to clamp down on political emigrés finding refuge in our country.

The working class and the entire people of Argentina now face two main obstacles, namely, the absence of democratic rights and the anti-people, anti-national economic policy. Both factors are crucial to the present regime, which has brought about an aggravation of the crisis in the economy, politics, education and all other spheres of society's life. Moreover, the situation crisis has intertwined with the crisis of internal socio-economic structures, with the general crisis of capitalism. The dissatisfaction of the majority of the Argentine people is becoming increasingly evident. They are demanding the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of political prisoners, information about the thousands of missing persons, the normalization of the work of the trade unions on a democratic basis, the lifting of the ban on political parties, a return to constitutional order, and a fundamental change of the economic policy.

The question arises of enhancing the organizational and coordination level of mass protest actions and of the demands of all democratic, patriotic and progressive forces. These have to be directed into the channel of a broad movement, in which the principal role will be played by the working class. Of course, passiveness is incompatible with the attainment of this goal. Today, as yesterday, we have to use all means to obstruct the intrigues of the Pinochetists, boldly give battle to reaction, explain the need for unity among democrats, expose pernicious ideas, and bolster the role of the working class and the Communist Party.

With the support of the masses everything can be achieved. Without that support nothing

is dependable or lasting. This is borne out by the lessons of history. We do not tire repeating that actions against the masses lead into the mire of counter-revolution. This is precisely why, despite the attacks on the working-class and people's movement, the communists have always urged unity and organization among the masses and their active participation in political life.

During the past five years thousands of communists have been imprisoned, 30 have been killed, and 105 have been (and still are) listed missing. But we continue our struggle for unity, for the preservation and consolidation of our organizational structure from top to bottom on a national scale, for a numerical, ideological and political growth of the Communist Party and the Communist Youth Federation.

Throughout these years the mass struggle (with broad coverage in the press, especially in the democratic press) has been on the ascendency, the range of economic and political demands has broadened, and the forms of protest have grown more diversified. These include "partial" strikes, "slipshod" work, refusal to work overtime, strikes in rural communities, signature collection campaigns, publication of criticism in newspapers, civic deputations to army barracks and military and government institutions, and, of course, big strikes, street demonstrations and the seizure of factories. These actions are supported nationwide.

Also a distinctive feature of the present stage is that zones with the largest concentration of factory workers have become centers of struggle. It is conducted by the main trade unions: steelworkers, railwaymen, machine-tool builders, textile, port, transport and farm workers, oilmen, power industry workers, and employees of the public sector.

Resistance to the regime's economic policy is stiffening in rural areas. This movement includes large organizations such as the Argentine Agrarian Federation and cooperative associations. Rural workers stage strikes. The peasants hold mass rallies. Everywhere there is growing readiness to enlarge the range of struggle: this is seen in the refusal to pay taxes, the roadblocks, and other protest actions.

The economic policy pursued by the military junta and inspired by the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development leaves the landed estate system intact. This leads to increasing class polarization in the countryside. Farm laborers and poor and middle peasants suffer most from this policy. It benefits only a handful of landowners and big bourgeois closely linked

to local finance circles and the imperialist monopolies. The junta's policy is imperilling the very existence of small and medium producers.

The reformist groups of the national bourgeoisie, who in 1973 were represented in the Peronist government, have now been removed from power by the big capitalists and landowners. For a long time these groups, as most of the Argentine bourgeoisie and middle strata, could not shake off the demoralization generated by the chaos created by the oligarchy and imperialism in 1973-1975. But today they too are demanding a reassessment of the economic policy and the restoration of democracy.

The tenacity of the bourgeois-nationalistic ideology of Peronism is a feature of the mass movement in Argentina. For 35 years it has been influencing a considerable proportion of the working class, of the working population. However, recent years have been witnessing the intricate process of political awakening. The Peronist masses are drawing lessons from their experience. They are impressed by the CPA's ideological work and agitation. As a result, this large contingent of the Argentine working people is increasingly adopting left positions. It is beginning to cooperate with the communists and take part in the struggle for common interests. Despite their wavering, the rank-and-file Peronists and some of their leaders are drawing ever closer to proletarian ideology and beginning to realize that the main thing is to work vigorously for changes, and that to hinder the revolutionary process means to serve reaction.

Since unity is the logical imperative of the times, the movement for democracy in Argentina is inconceivable without a broad popular front against the oligarchy and imperialism. It is also obviously a part of the class struggle waged by the Argentine proletariat.

The powerful trade union movement (which was formed and grew strong in Argentina at the turn of the century) is strongly influencing the nation's political life. This is causing alarm in the camp of reaction. The class enemy is trying to disunite, neutralize, fragment and then destroy this movement. It would like to emasculate the trade unions of their class content and deprive them of the ability to rally the people. To this end the right has undertaken a series of dangerous actions (on its insistence, a decree was promulgated forbidding the formation of sectoral federations and national trade union centers). But there has been no

let-up of the proletariat's struggle for trade union unity.⁶

In the immediate future we see the paramount task in extending the possibilities for action, meeting the vital needs of the masses, and securing a political settlement of present problems on the basis of national democratic concord. The factor uniting the nation consists in the joint demands of all political and public movements seeking progressive democratic changes.

Regrettably, the process of uniting, mobilizing and coordinating mass actions is not developing quickly enough, and this in a situation in which it is increasingly evident that none of the political forces can resolve the nation's problems alone, independently of the other forces. However, the potentialities for a turn toward progressive change are growing: there is increasing agreement among democrats, in other words, the opportunities are appearing for creating the organizational basis of unity. The present situation demands broader, more rapid and more resolute actions. But this is hindered by disunity among the democratic currents, a disunity that in some cases reaches the point of hostility.

Nonetheless, after the difficulties of the past five years, the first results of the regrouping of forces and the accumulation of experience in all areas — political, social and cultural — are surfacing. Of course, this process is still far from consummation. Many difficulties remain because some democratic groups are not quite ready and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois circles still hope that problems can be resolved without the participation of the masses. A struggle has to be waged against anti-communist prejudices, against the bourgeois-nationalist concepts of class collaboration, and against conciliatory feeling in the working-class movement.

What has resulted from the activation of political life? There has been a series of conferences of representatives of the nation's principal political forces (Peronists, radicals, Communists, Irreconcilables, Desarrollists,⁴ and people's and Christian democrats) at which important declarations have been adopted separately or jointly. There has been an intensive exchange of views in order to define ways and means of countering the transnational corporations and restoring the legal foundations of the state. The Association of Politically Active Women and the Association of Politically Active Youth — organizations in which a wide spectrum of currents is represented — have joined in this effort.

At the close of 1980 the upswing of the struggle for democracy and the growing trend toward unity led to two significant events. A forum in defense of sovereignty, democracy and national wealth was important politically. It was attended by political, religious and public organizations. The second event, which was of great significance for the trade union movement, was a broadly representative meeting of trade union associations, chiefly the General Confederation of Labor, rejuvenated (although not entirely) through the efforts of the advanced segment of the working class. This meeting appealed to all national forces "to reach agreement on major issues with the purpose of enhancing their militancy" and to work out "recommendations to the nation conforming to the aspirations of the people." Both these events were highly appraised by the Peronists, radicals, Desarrollists, Communists and other political currents, and also by organizations affiliated to the GCL.

The Argentine democrats are firm in their support for the peoples of Nicaragua, Bolivia and El Salvador. They protested immediately, resolutely and — this must be stressed — jointly against the abduction in Buenos Aires of Antonio Maidana, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Paraguayan Communist Party, and Emilio Roa, CC member of the Paraguayan Communist Party and a workers' leader, a crime that shocked the entire nation.

In Argentina, where the population's public organization level is very high, an important role is traditionally played by associations of lawyers, doctors, engineers, architects, artists and writers, cultural and sports associations, neighborhood communes and so on. Five associations of workers in culture and art launched a powerful movement for the abolition of censorship. The University Federation of Argentina, which embraces more than 200 students' committees and associations, has been restored organizationally. A National Congress of Entrepreneurs, which at the time of its foundation united 450 entrepreneurial organizations in agriculture, industry and commerce in all the 22 provinces, the National Territory of Tierra del Fuego,⁸ and the federal capital, was formed in the course of the struggle against the economic plans of the transnationals. The Church's stand on the question of the border conflict with Chile contributed to the holding of mass rallies and demonstrations demanding a diplomatic settlement, and facilitated the initiatives of the Argentina Peace Council, and of the pacifist and democratic movements on either side of the Cordilleras.

The Argentine Human Rights League (which has been in existence for more than 30 years), the Ecumenical Council, and the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights (set up before the 1976 coup) are becoming more active. Large segments of the people, trade union militants, and cultural and Church personalities are participating in their work.

The mass democratic movement is influencing the army, which, as in many other Latin American countries, is the force that holds real power and takes part in the solution of socio-economic problems. Our stand is that we reject the concept of a "neutral" army and differentiate between the various currents among the military.⁹

It is extremely important to draw thinking soldiers and officers into the people's struggle for democracy, in defense of national sovereignty. Here we take many conflicting factors into account — the reactionary doctrines being sown in the army in order to turn it into a mainstay of imperialism, the errors and delusions among democrats, and the provocations by the leftist proponents of vulgar anti-imperialism, who are helping reaction in its efforts to preserve and strengthen the wall of alienation between the people and the armed forces.

One of the most painful and complex problems of Argentina (ever since 1930, ever since the first of the series of coups) has been to ensure political stability and democratic government. This can be achieved by various methods of struggle, provided they rest on united action by the working people.

Today the Argentine people consider that the political process in which the armed forces have been playing the principal role since 1976 has exhausted itself and that a way out must be found. In the reactionary circles of the army and in the military government there are many who want the status quo. They want no risk, are opposed to changes and, with the approval of right-wing civilian politicians, intend to set up an elitist and autocratic regime championing the interests of foreign monopolies, the landowners, and the Argentine big bourgeoisie. However, in and outside the government and the army there are people who recognize that there is an impasse. They feel that the time has come for change, but seek to effect this change in their own way before the masses reorganize, achieve unity, and bring to bear their entire revolutionary potential.

The Pinochetists are likewise seeking to crush the people's movement before it reconsolidates itself and assumes wide proportions.

They are continuing their efforts to implement their criminal plans, even if it means accomplishing a coup. Reaction is determined to prevent or narrow to the minimum a political way out of the present crisis. With this purpose in view, the extreme right wing has started a malevolent campaign against the communists, against all adherents of Marxism, against democrats.

The main reasons why Argentina cannot extricate itself from the political impasse are in the crisis of its socio-economic structures. Proceeding from this premise, the Communist Party proposes an option that can free the nation from the fetters of the past, from everything that is preventing it from taking the road of progress, by breaking the vicious circle of coups bringing to power military and military-civilian regimes, and also of constitutional regimes with "built-in" limitations. This alternative cannot be the property of solely one political party, social force or, say, the army, however strong they may consider themselves to be. It can only be realized if there is a freely expressed common approval of the minimum program (in the economy, public life and politics), solely on the basis of *national democratic concord* — a sort of pact on mutual obligations concluded in accordance with the constitution. But precisely this requires an extension of freedoms.

This basis would allow setting up a military-civilian government supported by a broad popular, democratic movement. This government would determine the priorities for the solution of political issues, define the terms of its powers, and also the time and procedure of elections, and the procedure and conditions for the transfer of power.

This is the only way — with reliance on a clear-cut program, on democratic and patriotic principles — to achieve a military-civilian consensus and put an end to coups.

Although imperialism stepped up its offensive in Latin America in the 1970s, it failed to quench the torch lit by the Cuban revolution.

This torch continues to inspire the growing liberation, anti-imperialist and democratic movement in Latin America. As the 1980s commenced, Latin America saw the people's triumph in Nicaragua and the victory of the Sandinistas won thanks to the participation of the masses and broad international support. A powerful campaign in solidarity with the heroic people of El Salvador is now unfolding.

Our party and other organizations of the working people, in fact all the democratic and anti-imperialist forces of Argentina, have entered this decade with new prospects before them. In the popular movement there is growing understanding of the link between the struggle for democratization in the south of the continent and the struggle against the creation of new centers of tension and war, for unity among anti-imperialist forces.

Imperialism is out to split the fighters for peace, democracy, national independence and social progress. It is trying to subvert the movements merging into a single revolutionary current, undermine the influence of existing socialism, the class struggle of the international proletariat, and the national liberation movement, engineer collisions between them, and thereby neutralize the positive changes that have taken place in the world. By advocating the broadest democracy and our country's independence and acting against imperialism, the Argentine communists are discharging their internationalist duty to the peoples of Latin America and the whole world. We greet their victories and declare our solidarity with their selfless struggles.

1. At the close of March of this year Viola took over from General Jorge Videla as President. — Ed.

2. This is a reference to the stand taken by the communists immediately after the military coup of March 24, 1976. It is discussed in Alberto Kohen, "Argentina: Light and Shade in the South Atlantic," WMR, December 1976. — Ed.

3. The period of rule by the Justicialist Party headed by Juan Domingo Peron, when some democratic reforms were enforced. — Ed.

4. General Secretary of the CPA from 1938 to his death in 1980. — Ed.

5. Supporters of Juan Domingo Peron. Peronism is discussed by Rubens Iskaro, WMR, July 1974. — Ed.

6. The situation in the Argentine trade union movement is examined in Rubens Iskaro, "Concerted Action: Assurance of Success," WMR, December 1980. — Ed.

7. Irreconcilables are members of the bourgeois Party of Irreconcilability. The Desarrollists (from *desarrollo*, meaning development) are proponents of accelerated economic development by bourgeois-reformist methods. — Ed.

8. Tierra del Fuego is a special administrative unit. — Ed.

9. This subject is too big to be analyzed here and merits independent examination.

Détente and Anti-Communism

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Course toward unity

Vitali Dymarsky,
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WMR Staff Members

BELGIAN WORKING-CLASS UNITY AND WHAT THE COMMUNISTS ARE DOING TO ACHIEVE IT

Strike

The night shift had left the cable factory — the letters CDC¹ were inscribed over the gates — at six in the morning. There is usually a bustle at this time: voices at the gates, a crowd at the bus stop: some people going from work, others going to work. But now there was emptiness.

The only people there were strung along the entrance.

The picket had been blocking the factory for 24 hours. This stoppage was costing the owners at least 15 million Belgian francs; besides, any action by workers was always fraught with militant repercussions. As a matter of fact, they were not found wanting. We had hardly made the acquaintance of the picket than news came of another strike — this one at the neighboring pump factory.

On the previous day it was known that 1,600 CDC workers would go on strike. We were invited to see the strike committee in action. The official rule is that notice of a strike has to be given a week in advance, but the management had arrogantly brushed aside the workers' grievances. This had broken the workers' patience, and at a meeting they had decided to act as one man on the very next day, without any postponement.

This determination was what caught our interest.

In the class struggle the significance and topicality of the question of coordination and unity of action is growing steadily. In the discussion of this subject in WMR² the communists stressed the urgent need for joint action against big capital, for cooperation among the left, democratic forces. We gratefully accepted an invitation from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium to visit that country, for we wanted to take a closer look at this need, to see it in the context of a live situation.

That morning we spent a few hours with the picket at the CDC gates. We had grown accus-

tomed to the alert nearness of plainclothes police. We made friends among the strikers. There was talk that people got dismissal notices while they were ill, that workers of the older age groups were given no opportunity for retraining, that working conditions were unhygienic, and, this was said with embarrassment, strikes had to be staged to make the management exterminate fleas. There was no mistaking that the strikers were organized and disciplined. The trucks that drove up were halted: those that carried food for the canteen were allowed to pass, others had to move aside for a day. Also, it was obvious that the strikers were united: non-party people, communists, Christians and socialists.

Of course, it is a long way from unity in a single action at a single enterprise, to broad day-to-day cooperation. But there is no alternative to moving toward unity step by step. The communists constantly make this point to their partners.

Who are they, these partners?

Partners

"To understand the present situation," said Joseph Turf, Deputy Chairman of the Communist Party of Belgium, "we have to look back over the events of the past 30 years. We had a very large workers' socialist movement. But it was countered by a strong anti-socialist, bourgeois Christian-Democratic movement.

"A lot of time has passed, but these currents exist to this day. True, they have undergone some changes. The General Federation of Labor of Belgium is mostly controlled by the reformist Socialist Party, but the left wing of the Federation cooperates with the communists. Visible changes are taking place in the Christian current as well. In Wallonia a section of the Christian working people in fact refuse to recognize the Social-Christian Party as their political representative. This is a new and significant development, because the bourgeoisie relies on the strength of the SCP, on its links to the Belgian working-class movement.

"The problem of unity in Belgium has another aspect linked to the country's national

structure: Wallonia has its own parties, and Flanders has its own. The Communist Party, whose structure takes this regional pattern into account, is the only political organization that has retained its national character. It has remained a united revolutionary vanguard of the working class.

"Our policy is to take concrete action to facilitate unity or, to be more correct, an alliance of all the component parts of the working-class movement in the actual struggle against monopoly power. Under the impact of the crisis situation this alliance is now increasingly crystallizing. Measures aimed at unity are being conducted, and all the forces of progress are taking part in them."

Claude Renard, Deputy Chairman of the CPB, spoke in greater detail about the socialist movement in Belgium.

"This movement," he said, "is still very influential in the working class and it is quite militant. In the Belgian Socialist Party's base, chiefly in the large industrial centers, there are fairly sharp contradictions between the aspiration of the rank and file to resist capital and the traditional reformism of the apparatus 'élite.' This is an important factor, and we take it into account in our policy of cooperation."

"There are distinctions between the Socialist parties of Flanders and Wallonia. The former's worldview is closer to that of parties of the German social-democratic type; the latter is more to the left, more consistently adhering to positions of the class struggle, but it does so only in certain aspects. In the movement against Euromissiles, the Flemish party is more radical, and its stand is closer to ours. But the Wallonian socialists act with greater determination in the socio-economic struggle."

"In a country like ours the working class can be united only if large numbers of workers are weaned away from reformism. Precisely reformism and not the Socialist parties. This is a point that must be emphasized. Similarly, from reformism and not from the Christian movement. The unitary anti-crisis policy suggested by the communists will have no credibility without reliance on broad forces capable of putting it into effect."

Permit us to interrupt this talk and return to it later. In the meantime let us continue our acquaintance with the partners of the communists. In Charleroi we had the opportunity of taking a look at the relationship between the communists, socialists, and Christians, to witness an exchange of views on cooperation and interaction.

Three-way exchange

Some ACEC functionaries gathered in the small room. They were the communist Robert Dussart, chief delegate of the factory trade union committee (which is affiliated to the General Federation of Labor), the socialists Jean Cattalini and Robert Henoux, deputy chairmen of the local branch of the Socialist Party, and the Christian Daniel Leali, chairman of the Christian trade union committee at the ACEC factory. This meeting was prompted by a suggestion from us, and the resultant three-way exchange proved to be important to the participants themselves. It began with the question of political representation in the working-class movement.

Dussart. The socialists and the communists are united in clear-cut political organizations, while the Christian movement embraces diverse streams and it cannot be said that it is a specific political entity. Belgium has a large Christian community, and there are many people in it, like comrade Leali here, who do not identify themselves with the Social-Christian Party. We should like to have an integrated, politically organized family (whatever it may be called: an alliance of the left as the French do, or, to use our terminology, an association of progressive forces) uniting all working people, including Christians — lefts, of course.

Cattalini. At the close of the 1960s we began forming branches of our party at factories, on the model of the communists who have had them for a long time. When we started on this work I at once got in touch with Robert Dussart — if I remember correctly this was in 1970. But already then there were difficulties in contacting the third current — the Christians. We tried to reach agreement on the political level, but this was not easy at all. We are continuing these attempts. There have been bilateral contacts over the past five or six months, but we have so far fallen short of a tripartite union. I'll tell you why.

We do not find the Christians a politically organized and committed partner. I should like to explain. For example, the socialists and the communists can draw their MPs into their work, but the Christians can't: they have only a few people, and these have been elected as candidates put up by the Social-Christian Party.³ For that reason we socialists are somewhat apprehensive of cooperating simultaneously with the communists and the Christians.

There are members of Christian trade unions in the Communist and Socialist parties, and

also in the Wallonian Association and in the Social-Christian Party. We find communist policy relatively acceptable. In the case of other parties, we do not regard their policy suitable.

As a matter of fact, you can ask Daniel Leali what he thinks.

Leali. As I see it, trade union locals must be the starting point. Our trade unions differ from the socialist unions. I believe they are more pluralist. Among us there are people who belong to the Wallonian Association and to the Social-Christian Party. This creates some difficulties. It is much harder to unite Christians ideologically. Although this pluralism has its drawbacks, it also has advantages. By giving more leeway, it allows conducting the struggle quite effectively. I hope what I say offends nobody. It is understandable when our behavior displeases the communists or socialists. But I believe that we can react more quickly to developments and back the demands of the workers successfully without being listed as supporters of one political party or another.

Cattalini. The Socialist Party apparatus does not hold meetings such as this. There is some incompatibility between the upper and lower echelons of the party — this is also felt in the formation of locals at factories. We have now persuaded the party leadership of the importance of locals. The situation can change, of course. There is no certainty that the locals hold a proper place in the Socialist Party. The idea of locals does not go down very well. Although a struggle is raging in the party, the swing is rather to the left than to the right. As a matter of fact, in my party I'm called a communist.

Dussart. Then I'm in a difficult position — who am I (laughs)? At our factory even workers who have little to do with political organizations know who their common enemy is. Unity can be achieved at once — take tomorrow's strike, for example.⁴ All the workers are of one mind — Christians, socialists, communists, and uncommitted: all strike together. Why? Because all have one and the same enemy. My political opposite numbers — the socialists and the Christians — have for many years comprised the policy-making coalition in Belgium. They undertake to represent the interests of the majority of the people — they should, in any case. Don't you agree?

We have passed the period when the working people enjoyed some of the fruits of progress. In that period the image of the capitalist system, represented politically by the socialists and Christians, looked acceptable to most of the workers. There was some social advance, in terms of the living standard. The mass of the

workers believed that it would always be like that. But today Belgium is in the grip of a crisis, a crisis that has lasted for five years. The workers now see a totally different image. A phase of social and material regression has set in. Yet both political organizations remain in power.

Leali. I should not like us to be identified with the Social-Christian Party, as comrade Dussart has just done.

Cattalini. But who represents you at the national level? Would you answer that?

Leali. In Wallonia — the Social-Christian Party.

Dussart. There are difficulties. Jean Cattalini is right in believing that there is a distance between ministers sitting in conference somewhere and people like him. The Christians, as we can see, have the same dilemma.

The problem is one of a strategic option. This option is of the type of society. The socialist comrades have been speaking of it for the past four or five years, and the Christians say — with various shades of meaning — that they are likewise opposed to dominance by big capital. We communists, as everybody knows, have formulated our views long ago. The problem of an option is both difficult and easy. Everybody agrees that the present political and economic system in Belgium must undergo structural changes. The question is what changes?

The communists have their alternative, and the socialists have theirs, which differs from that of the communists. Today it is not even a question of whose proposal is better. The main thing is that there is agreement that the present society cannot remain immutable, that it is necessary to act. There must be a front consisting of all our three currents. But to form such a front would mean choosing and proposing an alternative in the name of all three — neither mine nor his, but a common alternative. There must be a program that can end the chaos Belgium is experiencing today.

Henoux. We are oriented on a socialist society. For a long time the socialists were content with the sops given to the people to shut their mouths. In the party there are different trends, which reflect the divergent views about the means for achieving a socialist society. Ever since the crisis broke out there has been a growing acceptance of the ideology of socialism in the party.

Leali. The Christians do not see themselves bound to the political past. In any case, we are not inheritors of this past. Let me explain.

Take a concrete example — the struggle for a 36-hour working week. Our center, the Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, was not at

the time of the same mind as the militants at the factories. But we pursued a line which we believed to be correct, regardless of what the center thought.

The CCTU leadership has its own view about this dissent and regards us as "leftists." The point is not in the name, of course. As I have said, the fact that pluralism exists allows us to dispute the decisions of the center, to stand on our own views. Very often our stand is closer to that of the communists than of the socialists. We make no secret of the fact that if the communists propose a good program we will accept it entirely. As far as I am concerned, I am for a different kind of society, a society better organized than the one we're living in. This is not necessarily the society envisioned by the Socialist Party or by the Communist Party.

I agree with Dussart that what we need is a common program.

Dussart. There was a case when I was almost expelled from my trade union. I asked the Christians if they would accept me. They said they would. This meant that while being a member of a Christian trade union I would have continued voting communist. The Christian trade unions are indeed big and powerful organizations.

Cattalini. Yes, indeed.

Dussart. It seems to me that they often accept people who have nowhere to go, who do not feel comfortable in other trade unions. I know many people who went over to them from socialist trade unions. This gives the GFLB leadership food for thought. The point is that the rank and file are more critical of it than the Christians in their own trade unions. The GFLB thus reaps the fruits of its own policy, which has not always met the demands of the workers.

Leali. There's another thing I'm quite convinced of. In the GFLB there are many people who see themselves first as politicians and then as trade union activists. In our organization the militants are above all trade union activists.

I've attended many workers' meetings, and on no occasion have I heard workers bring up the subject of politics. If they do speak of politics, it is only to deplore the politicians in power. Yet we, trade union functionaries, always have politics in our minds.

Henoux. The socialists and the communists feel that society needs political leadership. We openly speak of our affiliation to political parties. But the Christian comrades believe that politics is a rotten thing. So far as I can see, to get the people to understand the society they are living in we should make it clear that we are politicians, that we belong to political parties

and are determined to politicize the masses.

Leali. I have just said that we are often closer to the communists than to other currents. The communists usually initiate social actions, a social struggle, and work out political positions that we, independents, can support. For instance, when the budget bill was published the Communist Party assessed it more accurately and cogently than the Christian or Socialist parties. The communists are much more radical than those who deliberate in the government. That is why we join hands with them on many issues. I shall go so far as to say that often this unity compels the socialists to take a more progressive stand, even though they are not always consistent to the end. I am sure that the time will come when we will act as stimulators of the Socialist Party in Wallonia. Whether the people here like it or not, this is what I think.

Although there is an ideological watershed between Christianity and communism, this does not prevent us from being in the same ranks tomorrow. We do not accept communist ideology as such, but some of its elements are not alien to us. What particularly compels respect is the spirit of struggle that the communists always display.

Cattalini. Among the parties in Belgium there is a Communist Party, which — unhappily or happily, one can agree or dispute this — gets something like 5 per cent of the votes. With this modest election clout it is very active at the factory level. Let me remind you of the Collard appeal,⁵ and it seems to me that he was right. To win at elections we must think in terms of an alliance.

Although the Christian comrade here said that he does not feel any bond with the past, I should like to remind him that in Belgium we have two large communities: Flanders and Wallonia. Flanders is not merely Catholic. I would say it is clerical. The Flemish workers are influenced by clerics. In Wallonia we have a common trade union front. We have been able to form that front with the Christian trade unions, but not a word about it is to be heard in Flanders. Here in Wallonia we have a predominantly right-wing civilian authority and a left-wing trade union leadership. This is what makes the question of politics so sharp in the trade unions.

Dussart. It is my view that in Belgium the climate is more favorable for left unity than in other European countries. Our country can play a historic role in the changes that are inevitable in Western Europe.

Take the question of why the people's actions against Euromissiles were so significant in Bel-

gium. They were not so strong in Italy, France, and Britain as in Belgium. Why? The answer lies in the efficacy of the movement in which Christians, socialists and communists are represented. The conditions for far-reaching changes exist in our country.

Much has been said today about difficulties. There are difficulties but, I repeat, there also are opportunities for promoting cooperation.

Cattalini. Just one more word. After setting up locals at factories we were able to come into contact with the chairman of our party, and with socialist ministers. Andre Cools⁶ met with 50 delegates at our factory, and we told him bluntly what we thought of the austerity policy. We do not agree with it. We said the same thing to other ministers. It now remains to be seen what this will bring on a national scale.

Dussart. The main thing is what unites us. We want to build the new society not against but together with the workers.

By way of comment

Let us say at once: the three-way exchange impressed us strongly. Much of what we heard was significant.

Is it not significant that despite the diversity of ideological orientations the Belgium communists enjoy the respect of their partners? This is due, as was said specifically, to their militancy, to the vanguard character of their stand, to their ability to look ahead.

Is it not noteworthy that in the maze of the present-day struggle there are many points, much more than we thought possible, on which the stand of the socialists and the Christians is similar or close to that of the communists?

Is it not striking that these similarities and affinities nourish a linkage, if one may use the term, that arises out of different attitudes? Take the remark that agreement on definite issues between the communists and the Christians induces the third side — in this case the socialists — to adopt a more progressive stand.

Then again, is not attention merited by the unanimity with which all the partners denounce the efforts of the authorities to resolve the problems of the crisis at the expense of the working people? They denounce them despite the fact that criticism is aimed at persons holding their political mandates in the parliament and the government. Then, can one fail to ignore the common confrontation with the existing system, the desire for change?

What is at the back of all this? How far was the exchange exceptional and how far was it symptomatic and characteristic?

The special part of it was unquestionably due to the venue itself: Charleroi. A traditional proletarian center, it is a city where artists go to paint industrial scenes; it is a city of miners, steelworkers, machine-builders and chemical workers — the flower of the Belgian working class.

The mention of the struggle for a 36-hour working week was not accidental. It was here that the CDC workers won this right two years ago after a strike of 13 weeks. They are so far the first and the only workers in Belgium and the whole of capitalist Europe to enjoy that right.

The political affiliation of the workers is also significant. While in Belgium most of the working people belong to Christian trade unions, here, concretely at the CDC, only about one-third of the workers belong to these unions: the majority are members of socialist trade unions, in which the communists are also active. In Charleroi their influence is conspicuous. Suffice it to note that since 1957 the main trade union delegate has been Robert Dussart, a communist, member of the Political Bureau of the CPB Central Committee. After he was elected to the Senate, Dussart flatly refused to give up his factory post, saying: "Businessmen deliberate and continue to run companies, so why should I leave my place among the workers?"

Of course, the atmosphere and tone of the exchange left no doubt about the affiliation of the participants to one of the most conscious and militant contingents of the Belgian working class. Nevertheless, in our view, this does not obscure what is symptomatic and characteristic; on the contrary, it brings it into relief.

The crisis embraces the whole of Belgium. Big capital and the government pursue a policy of impinging on the interests of the working people nationwide. Democratic institutions are being attacked to give the monopolistic, supranational decision-making centers freedom of action. More funds are being allocated to support private capital and, naturally, less and less go into education, public health, culture and other social needs. Unprofitable industries are being closed, and capital is being taken out of the economy and exported with mass dismissals and growing unemployment as the result. The unemployment rate fluctuates around the 10 per cent mark, and this makes Belgium a rival of Britain in setting a European record.

Our tour took us to big and small towns in Wallonia and Flanders. We found anxiety everywhere. Civil servants returning from their annual leaves learned that the government had decided to cut their salaries. It is suggested that

the allowances formerly received by all unemployed should be granted only in "special cases," that women whose husbands have happily retained their jobs should be ineligible. Sacrifices are demanded also from pensioners, who have the right to free medical attention: it is suggested that they should pay a part of their medical expenses.

Sparing nobody, the policy of social regression — the communists say that this is the only name for it — is evoking growing opposition from the people. Dramatic changes are taking place in the public mind, in the mood of trade-union militants and functionaries. These changes are also affecting reformist views. This is significant.

Social-reformism is finding itself between the hammer and anvil. Driven against the wall by the crisis, capital is demanding that it should go back on its word, and this means acting against the rising tide of the working-class movement. Many people now personally feel the hour of truth mentioned in the exchange. A section of the conciliatory forces is more closely aligning itself with big capital, departing farther not only from the left currents but also from the mass base of its own orientation. Here, in the "lower echelons" there are, on the contrary, healthy forces, growing sober self-criticism, and an awareness of the true interests of the working people. We believe that the communists' partners in Charleroi do not stand aloof from this new tendency. In any case, to their credit they are, we believe, sincere in their stand that the future should be built "not against the workers but — how well it was put! — together with the workers."

From Charleroi we returned with Robert Francis, the CPB representative on WMR. On the way we naturally discussed the three-way exchange. We spoke of our impressions and tried to sum up what we saw and heard, to draw some conclusions.

First — and this is most evident — unity is paving the way for itself more successfully in the lower echelons, although cooperation solely on this level is fragile, being linked chiefly to aims and also to the forms and time of action. After every action, even if it is successful, everything has to be started from the beginning. In order to become established, cooperation at the "lower" level must be augmented by interaction at the top — at the political, inter-party level. This is the imperative of the day.

Second, the development of "bottom-to-top" unity is not blocked by any of the partners. A wide spectrum of democratic forces in all the main currents of the Belgian working-class

movement advocates unity. But this in no way signifies that everybody is prepared to cooperate, that the need for cooperation is seen by socialists and Christians at all party levels. This inner resistance, even if it is only in thought, hinders interaction, making it sporadic, inconstant. The Communist Party is the only political force in which the idea of unity is supported at every level, from bottom to top. By its energy and initiatives it induces possible allies to look for ways of effective cooperation in order to defend the interests of the working people.

Third, the shift to the left in the social base of mass currents creates the conditions allowing the democratic forces to draw up a joint action platform with the aim of ending the crisis, restricting domination by big capital, and thereby opening up the prospect for a fundamental restructuring of society.

Party of initiative

Unity holds out the promise of perhaps a 10-fold growth of the strength of the working-class movement, but it requires a considerable effort. How do the Belgian communists define their role in this process?

As we have seen, the Communist Party seeks to act in all spheres. Of course, this concerns mainly mass and large arenas like the trade unions, the communal bodies and prestigious democratic movements. In Liege, we were told, there are over 70 peace, youth, women's and other organizations in which the communists cooperate. In Belgium, ubiquitous civil action groups are springing up everywhere: committees of unemployed and urbanists, neighborhood, medical (doctors together with patients), public transport, Third World problems, environmental protection, and other committees. This is a vast, far-flung field of work. Many new forces are coming into public life through these committees. Contacts are broadening between people who, despite differences of views, are uniting democratically and prizing this unity. "The civil committees," Robert Francis noted, "bring us round to the thought of a new political culture and help us see the party's new role in the fabric of that culture."

According to the communists, cooperation in communal councils leaves much to be desired. But even in this field there are good examples.

Ronald Jacobs, political secretary of the party's Brussels federation, told us of the fight over the destiny of an electronics equipment plant in Anderlecht that was only a hair's breadth away from closure. The communist deputies — Louis

Van Geyt in the parliament and Jean Blume in the communal council — took action together with political colleagues in other currents and saved the factory.

In Turnhout the communists, motivated by their experience of cooperation with socialists and Christians in the communal council, said they hoped to act in a bloc with other progressives at the next elections.

However, it is precisely elections with their atmosphere of rivalry that frequently compound differences. More, there are not enough places where the Communist Party polls the necessary number of votes allowing for cooperation in communal bodies. Nevertheless, the communists find a prospective direction for action. They speak openly with constituents, induce them to appeal to all holders of political mandates to demand the fulfillment of promises and commitments freely made at election meetings. This is what the communists accentuate in putting forward the slogan of "politicizing the mass struggle" mentioned at the exchange in Charleroi.

"We offer cooperation with all democratic forces," said Albert Juchmes, political secretary of the Liege Federation of the Communist Party, "but we never imply unity at any price; we do not trade our ideals and principles. We do not reject the struggle against the illusions and distortions to be observed in the working-class movement. We offer the masses our analyses in order to raise the level of their political awareness. While working with other democratic organizations we are particularly careful about the tone of behavior." This may also be interpreted as respect for the internal rules and customs of other public associations living according to their own norms; concern for concord, including between partners with differences on many issues; the ability to make one's point; the surmounting of sectarian tendencies; and readiness to set concrete examples of honest cooperation.

There was an episode that we'd like to recall.

We were being acquainted with the national objective-82 movement. This is a movement to win suffrage for immigrants⁴ at the 1982 communal elections. The Flemish committee for work among immigrants, VOCOM, undertook the role of national secretariat in the campaign.

In the movement's national secretariat we were received by Lode van Loock. The communists, we learned, had been among the first to raise the question of work among immigrants. The Communist Party had been the first to submit a bill to parliament on granting suffrage to immigrants.

Mention was then made of a letter in which the secretariat stated that it would participate in the demonstration announced by the Christians and regretted that the latter had not invited other participants of the movement. We asked whether VOCOM often came across these, let us use the word, jealous attempts to utilize the movement for "one's own" ends?

"Sometimes," Lode van Loock replied. "But never by the communists. One does not feel any sectarianism among them. Of course, they strive to take our movement to the left, but it is everybody's prerogative to seek influence. As allies the communists cannot be reproached with anything. In my view they have the skill and experience for organizing actions on a national scale. I am speaking not only of our Belgian comrades, but of communists generally. It seems to me that more than anybody else they sense how to work for a national front, for national programs."

Van Loock noted that he did not belong to any party. There were no onlookers at our talk. The atmosphere was one of objectivity.

The question that we put to many people was how they assessed the manifold activity of the communists, their contribution to achieving and developing cooperation. The Communist Party, we were told, wants its members to initiate and constantly maintain interaction, to play the role of the cementing force of unity. By combining sober realism with the ability to approach matters constructively, it is finding the key to results that exceed efforts. One of the people we talked to coined a meaningful image. The communists, he said, should play the role of a "ferment." Precisely — neither above nor below what is possible.

To quote Claude Renard again: "We must find forms of cooperation in the working-class movement that would make it possible to put forward an alternative democratic policy." Some major elements of such a policy already exist. On the international level attention is attracted by the fact that compared with the past the socialist parties have substantially altered their stand. They have established relations with the majority of the communist and workers' parties in power in socialist countries. Much of the credit for this and also for the fact that the Belgian socialists have taken a clear stand for détente and against the deployment of new nuclear weapons in Europe must be attributed to the communists.

In other areas the elaboration of a common policy is not proceeding smoothly. In particular, this concerns the trade unions.

Under the present alignment of forces and in the present situation there are three key elements around which unity of action is taking shape.

First, resistance to the government's austerity policy. Some concrete proposals have been made for fiscal policy, namely, to mobilize resources at the expense of big capital for animating the economy and increasing employment.

Second, a democratic reorganization of state structures through the nation's federalization.

Third, a more independent foreign policy, specifically support for initiatives like the movement for détente and disarmament and the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe.

On these issues the views of all the main currents of the working-class movement coincide entirely. Consequently, the task is perhaps not only and not so much in elaborating pro-

grams as in uniting forces in these three main directions.

What shape can cooperation and unity take in the future? It is abortive to devise structures in advance. "When the masses join in a major movement," Claude Renard said in conclusion, "they display ingenuity. They will show us what forms this broad alliance should take."

1. Câblerie de Charleroi is part of Ateliers de constructions électriques de Charleroi.

2. WMR, January, February, June, September, October, November, 1980, January 1981.

3. In Wallonia.

4. A reference to the strike mentioned at the beginning of this report.

5. In 1969 Leo Collard, who was then Chairman of the Belgian Socialist Party, appealed for unity among the forces of progress. The BSP congress, held in the same year, endorsed this line unanimously.

6. Former chairman of the Socialist Party (French-speaking).

7. There are roughly a million immigrants in Belgium.



Mass ecological protest in the class struggle

We present a review of the proceedings of an international symposium "The Environmental Movements and the Communists" held in Prague by WMR.*

Character and role of movements

What are environmental movements? What is their role in the socio-political life of the capitalist countries today? What is the communists' attitude to these movements? Those were some of the major questions considered at the symposium.

The need to draw a distinction between the types of ecological movements according to their role in the class struggle and to give a differentiated assessment of them in the light of the specific national conditions was urged by Patrick Alfare of the French Communist Party Central Committee, who heads the commission on environmental protection.

In the early 1970s, because of the great

scope of the crisis, the goals of traditional bourgeois economic policy — growth of production, full employment, monetary stability — turned out to be unattainable. That is when in France and in other industrialized capitalist countries there emerged and developed ideological trends condemning economic growth and progress generally, and declaring them to factors behind the decline and worsening of life. The "zero growth" idea, which means adaptation to the trends of state-monopoly capitalism, was put forward. It was this crisis-rooted ideology that inaugurated in France the "political ecology" movement which claims to be an alternative to a traditional policy. The "political ecology" movement is an effective instrument in the hands of the capitalists in power. It takes shape as an association of those who are directly linked with the big bourgeoisie, which seeks to direct the people's urge for improvement and protection of the environment into the desired channel.

*See WMR, March 1981.

Q. Which way is the ecological movement in France going? What are the prospects before it?

A. The "political ecology" movement has no future because it does not propose any alternative to the crisis. The authorities had hoped that this movement would deprive the left forces of some of their votes, when the Joint Government Program was put forward. That is exactly what happened. The movement diverted a part of the working people, notably women, who could have cast their votes for the candidates of the Joint Government Program. There is no longer such a program, while the "political ecology" movement is following in the wake of the Socialist Party in moving to the right. During the presidential election, the "political ecologists" expect to win 5-7 per cent of the poll, hoping, in the present situation, to win some of the young people away from the communists. The fact that the movement has moved to the right is much too obvious. In order to maintain its "apolitical face" — something that suits the interests of the ruling circles very well — politically "neutral" persons, like scientists or persons reputed to be scientists, are being involved in the leadership of the organizations making up the movement ("Europe and Ecology," "SOS Environment," "Friends of the Earth").

The heightened sensitivity of ecological problems, especially among the young, is of greater interest of the FCP in its efforts to organize the working people for environmental protection and in deepening its ties with the masses. This is expressed in sharpened response on the part of the population to everything connected with the environment, the aspiration for a better life, and rejection of the social mechanism which oppresses man. Such attitudes are especially pronounced in the tens of thousands of mass associations set up to tackle concrete problems. The communists are, of course, not always in agreement with some of the statements and acts of their participants, but we regard this as a valuable diversity. Moreover, we feel that the party and the working people will stand to gain from a comparison of ideas.

Q. What is the concrete manifestation of the dual attitude of those involved in mass ecological movements?

A. They have very vague notions about the causes behind the situation that has taken shape, and about the responsibility of the ruling circles and big capital for the crisis.

But most participants are convinced that struggle alone can help to secure satisfaction of their demands.

The fortunes of the mass movement unfolding today depend on the extent to which the Communist Party helps to spread it, to direct it to the anti-monopoly and anti-capitalist way, against the structures of the existing society. In view of the great scope of mass associations in France, it would be wrong for a revolutionary party to deprive itself of the opportunities provided by this movement for explaining more clearly to the masses the causes of the present situation and the ways out of the crisis. We used to underestimate somewhat the dimensions of the movement, but we now intend to help strengthen the associations, while helping each to maintain its individual identity. In so doing, the FCP does not fold up its banner, but makes a point of fully clarifying the goals and methods of achieving them. The idea is not to convert the environmental associations with their broad pluralistic character into something like a communist organization.

The main thing in environmental protection and other matters is direct participation by masses themselves, their support and action. Cooperation and even loyal confrontation between parties taking a class stand with ecological associations help to enrich the discussion and to win over a larger majority for the struggle against capital.

Kurt Steinhaus of the Board of the German Communist Party considered the trends in the development of the ecological movement. In the FRG, he said, the movement has become an important and truly democratic force. It has no clear-cut structure. It consists of hundreds of civic initiative groups springing up in the various localities to resist concrete threats to the environment. In these groups, there is cooperation among social democrats, Christians, communists, non-party people, trade unionists, and people of the most diverse political and ideological persuasions. On the national scale, there is a Federal Association of Civic Initiative Groups for the Protection of the Environment, which to some extent coordinates the activity of local groups.

In this broad extra-parliamentary movement there is a trend to go beyond the framework of ecological problems as such and to take an active stand on a wide range of political and social problems. The par-

ticipants in the movement are, of course, above all concerned with the state of the environment, but ever more frequently voice discontent over the political and social order in the country.

Q. How do the FRG communists regard the "green" party?

A. As a party with a predominantly ecological orientation, the "greens" have largely taken shape as a result of environmental discussions in the FRG. The GCP had warned that the establishment of such a party would hamper the movement's activity by splitting off a part of its forces. These apprehensions have been confirmed. But the "green" party does exist today. It took part in the elections with its own candidates and scored some success. It has its own deputies on some local organs of administration and also in the parliaments of two federal Länder (Bremen and Baden-Württemberg).

The political stand taken by the "greens" is a reflection of the great diversity of views held by those who constituted that party. The "greens'" fundamental document deals virtually with all the key issues: foreign and military, economic and social policies, questions of democracy, women's rights, problems of culture, education, public health, etc. The GCP, the speaker said, takes the opportunities for a dialogue and cooperation with the "greens" whenever they take a progressive stand.

Hideo Sakamoto, the representative of the CP Japan on WMR, told of the Japanese communists' initiatives on environment protection, their ecological program and the methods used in working to realize it.

At their 11th congress in 1970, the Japanese communists determined the causes of the ecological crisis and reaffirmed the importance of action against destruction of the environment which became nationwide in Japan in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The CP Japan put forward a number of concrete programs, notably a complex plan for preventing pollution of the waters of the inland Seto-naikai Sea and Lake Biwa.

That same year, popular pressure led to an extraordinary session of parliament to consider a review of environmental laws. At that session, the CP Japan put forward the following proposals: one of the basic rights of the people is a healthy, tranquil and pleasant life in a good environment; its protection signifies protection of the people against encroachments on that right. The key aspect of environmental protection is estab-

lishment of the responsibility of enterprises which are a source of environmental destruction; for that purpose, it was proposed to establish stringent control over their operation in every sector; and strictly to abide by environmental protection norms in putting through governmental programs for economic, scientific and technological development, and construction. There was also the proposal that victims should be paid compensation at the expense of the enterprise at fault; whenever possible, the municipal councils should be vested with powers of control over the state of the environment and popular control procedures should be strengthened by the means of commissions elected by the population.

The people support the communists' proposals. As a result, the government was forced to take a number of measures to prevent pollution of the air and water, and to improve the procedures governing the payment of compensation to those who suffer from diseases caused by industrial waste poisoning. The development of the popular movement for a clean environment was also largely promoted by the establishment of progressive municipal councils in Tokyo, Osaka and other major cities. In the 1960s, there were 30 such municipal councils, and in the 1970s — 200. They have done much for environmental protection.

The speaker noted that the anti-crisis policy being pursued by the Liberal Democratic Party government in alliance with the business circles has meant a broad counter-offensive on the environmental movement. This counter-offensive was closely connected with anti-communism and attacks on the CP Japan, which is at the head of the struggle for protection of the people's vital interests. In parliament, the CP Japan was accused of allegedly seeking to use environmental problems for its political purposes. The Liberal Democratic Party, together with the anti-communist opposition parties, stepped up its attacks on the progressive municipalities, and there arose the danger that the gains in environmental protection would be lost. But even in this atmosphere, the people have continued the struggle. Every year there is a "day of common action by victims of environmental destruction," and a "Japanese conference on the environment." Relying on a broad popular movement, the CP Japan has intensified in parliament and outside it, its action against the government's attempts to relax

ecological control. It wants the passage of an effective and scientifically grounded law ensuring the people's participation in such control.

Considering the further development of the movement in Japan, the speaker drew attention to the fact that environmental action was an important component of the general struggle against the economic and social policy of Japanese monopoly capital, which is dependent on U.S. imperialism. It is also a part of the struggle for the people's life and rights; it needs to be continued until the successful solution of problems like the country's independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and the raising of mass living standards.

Involving, as it does, the common vital interests of the population, this struggle is inconceivable without broad unity of action by various sections of the population, without the establishment of a united front. Accordingly, the CP Japan has been working for unity, rejecting the activity of some ultra-leftist forces intent on sectarianism and narrowing down the social basis of the movement. The representative of the CP Japan also pointed to the importance of tying in popular action with the struggle in parliament, where the communists, standing up for the people's interests, expose the machinations of monopoly capital and the government. While giving a lead to the nationwide movement against the counter-offensive by reaction, the CP Japan is always prepared to display initiative in tackling environmental problems.

The general democratic line

Continuing the analysis of the communists' activity on the problems posed before them by the environmental movement, the participants in the symposium considered the forms for organizing the ecological protest of the masses, its social basis, and a deepening of its general democratic content.

Torben Holm Jørgensen, CC Secretary, Communist Party of Denmark, spoke of the contradictory character of the movements, the continued process of their political vagaries, and the Danish communists' experience in this field. Our party, he said, is now discussing the most appropriate forms of its participation in the ecological movement, whose characteristic feature is loose organization. It is true that at the local or regional level, environmental action is frequently highly vigorous and becomes an

important political factor. Various parties have displayed an interest in it. The participants in the movements put forward broad demands on the environment, energy policy and extraction of raw materials. But the practical results are disproportionately small as compared to the effort expended. An exception is the action by trade unions in cooperation with scientists for improving the production environment, i.e., working conditions. Together with labor safety problems, ecological issues tend to become a component of trade union work. Our experience shows that this helps to make it more purposeful and politically oriented.

In Denmark, ecological movements originated mainly from honest protest and mass concern over the harmful environmental effects of capitalist economic operations. But this protest does not spring from an understanding of the basic social conditions in which the situation has sharpened, and is frequently directed at big capital. Although the growing ecological consciousness of the participants in these movements implies social criticism, they are hard put to draw the right conclusions because of their lack of class approach. It is not easy to discern the mechanism of state-monopoly capitalism. In practice, the actions of many amount to sporadic attacks on the existing system and do not endanger it in any way. Such people easily fall prey to extremist, radical and social-democratic trends. A part of the ecologists in Denmark has lost its way.

However, in the recent period there has been a development of another type of ecological activity, which the Danish communists actively support mustering the urban population for purposeful action. Together with action for improving the production environment, there is also a broad movement of tenants, who have actively cooperated with the newspaper *Land og Folk* in demanding an end to the "ecological swinishness" of industry. The specific aspect of our experience is that in our practical work with those who come out in defense of the environment we also rely on the trade unions. While the consciousness of the participants in the ecological movements may develop along tortuous paths, they could become an important factor in the class struggle and a force to be reckoned with in anti-monopoly action.

Considering the social basis of ecological movements, the participants in the symposium said that they represented above all

the middle strata, the intelligentsia and the young people. This is a common phenomenon in the industrialized capitalist countries. This appears to produce something like a paradoxical situation, said José Lava, CC Political Bureau member, CP Philippines: it is the working class that suffers most from the worsening of the environment (in home and on the shop floor) but members of other strata are the most active in ecological movements.

It was noted at the symposium that under capitalism there is an objective contradiction between employment and the workers' living and working conditions. The employers use this contradiction in order to turn the workers' discontent against the ecologists. Another reason for the low activity of the working class in ecological movements is that it already has its own organizations, notably the trade unions, which are capable of standing up for its ecological interests as well, and of doing this successfully, as will be seen from the experience of the Danish communists described by Jørgensen. In this context, Felix Dixon, CC member, People's Party of Panama, said it was important to enhance the role of the trade unions in defense of the environment, and this was supported by other speakers. James West, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, CPUSA, emphasized that the U.S. communists believe that their task is, in particular, to develop joint action with the trade unions, many of which fight for ecological health and safety in the work place and environs. It would be wrong to say, Alfare remarked, that at the enterprises the working people do not deal with environmental matters altogether. But that is not enough considering the scale of the offensive being carried on by big capital against the environment and living conditions. The FCP urges the working people and the trade unions to take an active part in mass associations. The FRG communists, Steinhaus said, have brought to the fore in the environmental movement that which unites them with the other participants. The GCP calls on all the democratic forces to take joint action against the destruction of the environment and the causes behind it; it stands for broad participation by the trade unions in environmental protection, and for joint action by the ecological, democratic and working-class movement for peace, and for social and democratic rights.

Aulis Lappänen, the representative of the

CP Finland on WMR, drew attention to the fact that immediate economic interests were frequently the cause of the fierce clashes on economic problems in local government organs and parliament.

Indicative in this respect, he said, is the stand taken by the Finnish peasants. Depending on their concrete economic requirements, they either insist on the protection of nature, siding with the environmental movement, or, on the contrary, sharply clash with them.

Q. What are the issues in the conflict between the peasants and the ecologists?

A. Here is a concrete fact. A fairly large lake which is highly sensitive to the flow of water lies in southwestern Finland. In spring, hundreds of hectares are flooded. In order to avoid the floods, the peasants have decided to lower its water level. Having obtained permission from the authorities, they began to lay a canal. When the participants in the environmental movement learned of this, they camped near the canal and erected a dike. This led to clashes. The police intervened and the environmentalists were dispersed. Eventually, they staged a hunger-strike before the House of Government in the center of Helsinki. The case has gone to court, and the trial looks like lasting a number of years. Meanwhile, the canal is in operation, the water level in the lake is dropping, and a unique nesting spot for many birds will soon disappear in Finland. Here is another example. A hydropower plant was to have been erected in the north of Finland. It turned out that the storage lake would have flooded several villages. The peasants objected to the project. Mass meetings were held in defense of the environment and many peasant delegations went to the capital. The struggle is not yet over, but the motive force behind it is quite clear.

When considering the social basis of the environmental movement, one must take into account, alongside the interests of the population, the nature of the problems, the speaker went on. Finland has always had organizations of lovers of nature engaged in the study of it or in the creation of conditions for holidays. But now they are developing into a socio-political movement with the task of protecting nature. Some advocate the conservation of flora and fauna, and the purity of air and water; the main thing for others is to combat the defects of urbanization, the negative consequences of industrial development, the irrational use of land, consumerism and waste. Of course, behind all of this lies something that is common to both, namely, a sharp worsening of the state of the environment and — most importantly — the

inability of the capitalist society radically to improve the situation.

Jerzy Wajszczuk, sector head at the Institute of the Main Problems of Marxism-Leninism of the PUWP CC, agreed: ecological movements emerge and actively develop only at a fairly high stage of technological progress as the general crisis of capitalism sharpens.

In the light of the U.S. communists' experience, James West also emphasized the possibility and necessity of uniting environmental movements and other progressive, general democratic forces. U.S. communists have given attention to work with such movements since their origination. Many have read these books by Gus Hall: *Ecology: Can We Survive Under Capitalism?* and *The Energy Rip-off: Cause and Cure*. Resolutions on the party's policy in this important sector of the struggle have been passed by its congresses.

When working with the ecological movements, U.S. communists seek to help their participants to gain a deep understanding of the origins of environmental problems and ways of solving them. The monopolies spend millions of dollars to prevent the passage of laws for the protection of the environment and labor safety or to rescind such laws when they have been passed. Some ecologists say that corporation leaders' resistance is due to poor information, so that the whole problem boils down to "enlightenment." Many find it hard to believe that someone could deliberately harm the health of other people through acts like "operation Smoky."*

We have found many Americans resisting the construction of atomic power plants. While emphasizing that the main responsibility for the incorrect dumping of atomic waste falls on the military-industrial complex and the Pentagon, the Communist Party calls for concentrated efforts to stop the manufacture of atomic

weapons and to prevent the use of nuclear energy for military purposes. At the same time, it supports the demand of ecological movements for the immediate close-down of all nuclear plants in the United States so long as there is no guarantee that their operation is safe.

Despite ideological differences, U.S. communists cooperate with environmental movements, taking part in demonstrations on the Day of the Earth, in picketing nuclear power plants and dangerous places of dumping of radioactive waste, etc. We feel that these actions are aimed against the power of the monopolies, even if all those involved do not realize this. U.S. communists emphasize the struggle for peace and disarmament, notably nuclear disarmament, and believe that their task is to help the participants in these movements to find the right political orientation.

Several other speakers also dealt with the possibility of participation by ecological movements in the struggle for peace.

In the FRG, the environmental movement began above all on the basis of action against construction of nuclear-power plants, Steinhaus declared. If one is correctly to assess these actions, one needs to take into account that the country has rich and easily accessible coal deposits; that is why there was no need to realize the government's gigantic program for the development of the nuclear industry. Besides, the capitalists' habitual neglect of safety techniques in operating nuclear-power plants poses a threat to the life of people. But the main thing is that the program for developing the nuclear industry, as elaborated by the ruling quarters, is closely bound up with the urge of the FRG's imperialists to obtain access to nuclear weapons in one way or another. The construction of 30,000-50,000 megawatt nuclear plants in the country and of installations for the enrichment of uranium and the re-use of nuclear fuel would enable FRG imperialism to start the mass production of materials for nuclear weapons. The movement against Bonn's nuclear program has importantly hampered the realization of these dangerous plans, which is a definite achievement.

In the recent period, there has been a marked growth within the environmental movement of attention to various aspects of the struggle against the use of nuclear energy for military purposes, and for peace and disarmament. The FRG communists, together with all the other peace fighters, the speaker emphasized, regard as a positive phenomenon the fact that in this movement there are now sizable forces taking an active stand against the nuclear arms race.

*A secret operation staged by the Pentagon and the Department of Energy to study methods of survival in a nuclear war. A group of 3,224 servicemen were taken to the Nevada desert, given Geiger counters and told that they would take part in harmless experiments. After a nuclear blast, the Geiger counters did not record any danger. What is more, the Pentagon was supplied with evidence of the sound state of their health. However, later on 63 men died, 120 developed cancer and one half are suffering from painful respiratory and skin diseases. Following a tide of protest, it was discovered that the Geiger counters had been "adjusted" so as not to record the radiation, while the clean bill of health issued to the soldiers was false. The U.S. Defense Department admitted that the experiments were staged for the purpose of establishing the ratio of lethal cases caused by nuclear blast diseases. That was a case of deliberate murder for the sake of "science."

What is especially important is that in the struggle against the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles on the territory of the FRG, action by the Federal Association of Civic Initiative Groups for the Protection of the Environment is ever more pronounced. Action against the deployment of these missiles is a central aspect in the political activity of the "green" party as well.

In Denmark, Jorgensen stressed, the Organization for Enlightenment Concerning Atomic Energy, a kind of center for many activists from other ecological movements, also opposes nuclear energy. Fear of the nuclear arms race, which could lead to nuclear war with terrible consequences for mankind, that is what induces thousands of Danes to take an active part in the work of this organization. But its activity boils down mainly to action against the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The Communists of France reproach the "political ecologists," Alfare emphasized, for protesting against the development of the atomic industry, while simply "forgetting" to protest against the use of nuclear energy for military purposes. Specifically, they do not oppose the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe. When they say "no" to nuclear energy, this means "no" in terms of its production, and not its use for military purposes.

In the matter of mass associations, there is a different situation in France from that of several other countries, and that is not surprising. They act on very concrete environmental problems on the local or regional level. In France, there is no truly nationwide mass movement for the protection of the environment.

The preservation of peace is a task of primary importance, said Girgin Girginov, CC member, Bulgarian CP, D.Sc. (Philos.). Without this, concern for the environment would be virtually meaningless. In view of the devastating power of modern war, one could say that its prevention is a social and historical task dictated by the need to preserve life on our planet. Peaceful coexistence, détente and disarmament are the condition and guarantee for the solution of the global problems facing mankind. This requires concerted efforts by all states and nations, by all organizations and movements, including ecological movements, by all people in the world.

I. Laptev, Cand. Sc. (Philos.), of the USSR considered the interconnection between the problems in the defense of peace and preservation of nature and emphasized yet another aspect of the matter. Ecology tends to become a peculiar factor conducive to the expansion of

international cooperation. Ideally, the best thing would evidently be to preserve nature on a global scale, and this implies peace and international cooperation.

Over the next few years, the speaker went on, environmental movements could acquire considerable scope, as will be seen from the ever more complex nature of the ecological problem itself: ahead lie energy, raw materials, food and other problems which will not lose any of their edge. The ecological movement will evidently be further politicized, and not only because of the growing attention being given to it by various political parties but also because the movement itself naturally tends to deal with social problems, and increasingly so with the passage of time: after all, protection of the environment largely depends on the socio-economic order in society, and on the forms of human activity which is closely bound up with nature and depends on the state of it.

It was noted in the course of the discussion that the less developed countries and the communist parties working in them have not stood aloof from ecological problems, but there these tend to have a different socio-political aspect, being directly woven into the fabric of the anti-imperialist struggle.

In the last few years, the industrialized capitalist countries and the transnational corporations, said Lava, have capitalized on the newly liberated countries' urge to have a modern industry of their own, by switching "dirty" industries to these countries. But the environmental problems in these countries have other origins as well. These are closely connected with defense of natural wealth against encroachments by imperialism. That is why from the standpoint of the peoples which have thrown off the fetters of colonialism, the concepts of "environment" and its "protection" appear to be narrow when they do not include the sovereign right to possess national resources. Such is the most important demand of the young states campaigning for the establishment of a new international economic order.

In our country, Dixon said, environment issues are connected above all with the future of the Panama Canal. The United States has had to sign the treaty on the transfer of the Canal to Panama in the year 2000. Meanwhile, imperialism has carried out an unscrupulous operation: the forests in the Canal Zone were felled and this resulted in a drop of the water level in Lake Gatun. The purpose of this operation has become clear: to make the Canal unfit for navigation by the year 2000. This shows that

environmental problems tend to become a component part of the struggle for national liberation. The Panamanian communists are working actively to organize resistance to the acts of imperialism and are fighting against those who sabotage the government's progressive measures for the protection and rehabilitation of the environment, spreading their ideas through the press, notably the newspaper *Guayaquil* (named after a valuable species of wood common in Panama).

Ideological platform

The symposium devoted considerable attention to the ideological attitudes of the ecological movements. It discussed the class content of so-called ecological ideologies and attempts by ecologists to oust Marxism, and the main lines of the debates between Marxists and those involved in the struggle for protection of the environment.

Considering the ideological platform of ecological movements, Jorgensen noted the vagueness and confusion in the views of their participants, indifference to politics and the class struggle, and lack of faith in the future. He also said that they have obscured and distorted notions about the Communist Party's approach to environmental problems and frequently have anti-communist and anti-Marxist prejudices.

At the same time, these movements characteristically reject some traditional bourgeois social values. This duality and contradictory character of ideological views are a reflection of the frame of mind among the middle strata in the present crisis situation, which tends to generate petty-bourgeois ideologies which also contain elements of anti-monopoly protest.

Ecologists, Girginov said, have failed to find an adequate form for ideologically expressing their goals, tasks and methods. There is pluralism and differentiation of ideological and political positions. The platforms of these movements reveal elements of the most diverse views of society: abstract humanism, technocratism, and so on. Indeed, they can hardly have a common ideology. The action program can be formulated regardless of the participants' ideological stand.

Ecological ideologies, speakers said, are a blend of progressive and reactionary positions. On the one hand, they want to protect nature as the asset which belongs to the whole of mankind against abuse by individuals and industrial enterprises, the plundering operations of the monopolies and capitalist methods of

economic management. On the other hand, the sources of ecological danger are considered outside the socio-economic context, as a product of "industrial civilization" or of inadequate technological and administrative measures for the protection of nature. Hence the different approaches to the central problem of averting ecological crisis. Some hold that it is insoluble as such, and that mankind is allegedly doomed, so that the only thing that remains to be done is to substitute a slow waning of life on the planet for the looming explosive ecological catastrophe. Others preach a flight away from "industrial civilization" into "eco-communities" based on a vegetative existence. Yet others want a stop at the level of consumption achieved by the capitalist system, abandonment of economic growth and stabilization of the size of the population. Finally, partial measures are proposed for improving the procedures governing the use of nature, leaving capitalism intact, which is the root of the ecological evil.

Speakers emphasized that far from all the conceptions adopted by the ecological movements contain elements of anti-monopoly protest. One must also see the pro-capitalist class content which will be found precisely in the most influential and most developed forms of the ecological ideology. Wajszczuk said that there was evidence of a direct connection between the views spread in the ecological movements and the most elaborated bourgeois ideological conceptions, like the "theory of the industrial society." Alfaro said that the ideological platform of the "political ecology" movement in France is designed to cover up the root causes of the crisis of state-monopoly capitalism. He showed some of the lines along which the "political ecologists" carried on their ideological activity.

First of all, there is the urge to switch the center of political discussion from the question of power to that of technology and way of life. The "political ecologists" claim that technology, of itself, either alienates or frees man, so in a way ecologizing social problems, with social ties being substituted by ecological ties, or derived from these.

Furthermore, the theorists of ecologism propose, for the purpose of "economizing on energy," which is "ever more expensive," that coal mines and pits should be shut down, blast furnaces extinguished, steel production halted, car output folded up, etc., so provoking the country to plunge into a decline. The ecologists are also involved in the employers' blackmail, suggesting this dilemma: "unemployment or

environmental pollution?" They insist that there is common responsibility on the part of everyone for the sharpening of the ecological situation, and they have attacked politics which, they claim, tends to split society and prevents the establishment of a "holy alliance" of all the strata and classes in order to save nature. In short, this is an ideology of reconciliation with the crisis, from which there is allegedly no way out, because it is a fatal and global phenomenon. (That, incidentally, is also a favorite idea of the social democrats). It is also the ideology of non-resistance to the monopolies' drive on the working people's living conditions. Big business in France has even tried to prevent the establishment of an alliance of the victims of the crisis, in which the working class would act as the motive force. The FCP resolutely opposes the ideology of the "political ecologists," because the party rejects everything that serves big business, that could cover up the causes of the crisis, and that prevents people from realizing that capitalism is responsible for the destruction of the environment. The policy worked out by the 22nd and 23rd congresses of the FCP has helped to create conditions for a breakthrough in the ideological positions of the "political ecologists."

The specific aspect of the question of the communists' cooperation with the environmental movements, it was said at the symposium, is that it does not imply ideological neutrality. On the contrary, they will inevitably combat some conceptions, both those which reflect the deviation of the movements to the right, where they coalesce with the policy of big business, and against ultra-leftist views of the problem. The latter, like a peculiar valve, help the ruling classes to regulate the pressure of the ecological protest in the capitalist society. The goal of this ideological struggle waged by the communists is to elaborate and establish in the mass consciousness the democratic alternative for the solution of the ecological problem.

Speakers said that ecology was being ideologized in sharp confrontation with the theory and policy of the communist parties. One line of this confrontation is the attempts to subject the Marxist conception of socialism to an ecological revision and to substitute for it another system of views.

Analyzing such claims, Yevgeny Panfilov, Cand. Sc. (Philos.), representing WMR, said that their starting point was the idea of an "ecologically balanced production" whose functioning would be tied in with the potentialities of the biosphere and prevention of the immediate and remote negative consequences

of man's intervention in natural processes. Logically developed, this idea led to the comprehension that the capitalist economy was incompatible with the laws of the evolution of nature and to the conclusion that if an ecological disaster was to be averted, a different socio-economic system had to be instituted, a system that enables society rationally to regulate relations with the natural environment. The novelty and peculiarity of this approach consisted in the fact that such a transition was now motivated by a biological imperative which developed under the present level of consumption of natural resources and the size of the world's population: unless there is a break with capitalism, it is impossible over the long term to ensure the mere survival of the human race. But on the basis of non-Marxist views, this idea gave an impetus to the formulation of a conception which — in contrast to historical materialism — gives an ecological substantiation for socialism.

The eco-socialists base their projected social organization on "harmony" or "global equilibrium" between society and nature. But this "harmony" is achieved at a high price: mankind submits to the demands of the functioning of an eco-system which rigidly lays down men's material requirements and population size, and dictates an end to the growth of material production, the basis of social progress. The result is a pessimistic perspective: eco-socialism, while claiming to show the way to men's biological survival, abandons the ideal of material abundance in the future, in consequence of the "limits to growth" which the biosphere and the globe's resources allegedly establish.

That is the point at which eco-socialism coalesces with the other trend which does not run from ecology to socialism but arises from the attempts at an ecological revision of the Marxist conception of socialism itself, as a system assuring the working people of rising living standards. The main goal of socialist production is declared to be a false reference point which fails to reckon with the limitations of planetary "biological capital" (another concept that has been invented!). It is said that the negative impact of the growth of the productive forces on nature does not substantially depend on the social goals of production. Be it profit under capitalism or satisfaction of the people's growing requirements under socialism, the devastating effect is said to spring from the level of material and technical development mankind has already

attained. Hence the conclusion that the key problem before a socialist economy oriented upon the preservation of nature is not the satisfaction of man's requirements through expanded reproduction, but a curb on these requirements. In short, according to these notions, socialism means precisely a halt to the growth of production. This depicts the lot that is in store for mankind: egalitarian starvation rations, instead of social, communist equality under an abundance of material goods. In theoretical terms, this revision of the principles of mankind's future social organization is surrender to the conceptions of "zero growth."

The eco-socialists' "economic growth or life" dilemma is a false one. Scientific socialism rejects economic growth through the erosion of the natural conditions of human vital activity. The socialist society appropriates an ever growing part of the resources it produces for the effective protection of the natural environment, but not at the expense of the people's growing well-being. Both problems can be solved only by constantly expanding the sphere of material production and accelerating scientific and technological progress. And that is possible only under socialism, which develops the productive forces in a balanced manner for the benefit of man.

Of the utmost importance in the communists' ideological work, speakers said, is the need to explain various aspects of scientific and technological progress, the place and role of science in the capitalist and the socialist society, the energy and other global problems. Steinhaus noted that there are discussions among the participants in the environmental movement about so-called social alternatives. In the process, the blame for the aggravation of ecological and social problems is frequently put on "technology" and the "industrial society," discounting the relations of production and class relations. Hence the unrealistic stand taken by many participants in the movement: the solutions they propose are incompatible with the requirements of social progress. The speaker noted other tendencies which, in his opinion, could grow in the future. There is a spreading awareness that the monopolies are the chief culprit in the destruction of the environment, and that it is the capitalist system as a whole that is primarily responsible for aggravating the ecological situation. That is evidence of the anti-monopoly tenor of the environmental movement.

The FRG communists seek to explain that if the ecological difficulties are to be overcome, there is a need, above all, to fight the capitalist system, the monopolies. The capitalist use of science and technology cuts across the people's interests and does harm to the present and the future. What, for instance, is the state of affairs in the FRG? The level of its economic development and its scientific and technological potentialities make it possible to prevent any further pollution of water and air. But the monopolies declare that they are incapable of setting up purification installations. Their favorite argument is: if the state forces them to do this, they will lose their competitiveness and will have to reduce the number of jobs and switch production to countries whose governments do not make such "unreasonable" ecological demands. That is blackmail pure and simple, but it frequently helps the monopolies to have their own way — to the detriment of the environment and human beings.

The GCP shows the masses the real way of solving the ecological problems: it is an effort to curb and eventually to eliminate the power of the monopolies. The party has put forward a truly consistent alternative: socialism. In this context, the speaker said, it is highly important for citizens in the capitalist countries to know how socialism tackles its ecological problems.

This view was supported by James West, who emphasized that a knowledge of the laws, the concrete measures and achievements of existing socialism in environmental protection could help the participants in the movements to overcome the influence of the anti-Sovietism and anti-communism.

I. Laptev drew the attention of the participants to the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and the Period up to 1990. It contains a special section urging the need to improve environmental protection and extending the effort to preserve farmland and combat soil erosion. It also provides for the protection of water sources against depletion, perfection of technological processes to ensure a reduction in the emission of harmful substances into the atmosphere and an improvement of the purification of emitted gasses from harmful admixtures. In the USSR, environmental protection is a matter for the state and the whole people.

V. Kasalicky, Dr. S. (Arch.), director of the Research Institute for Construction and Architecture, told of the experience in tackling

the ecological problem in socialist Czechoslovakia. The constitution of Czechoslovakia, he said, says: "The state shall display concern for the improvement and all-round protection of nature and the preservation of the natural beauties of the homeland, so as to create ever richer sources for the people's well-being and favorable conditions for the health of the working people and their rest and leisure." Concern for the environment is one of the main duties of the socialist power. The people are taught to take a socialist, non-egoistical and non-consumer approach to nature. Scientific and technological progress helps to surmount many difficulties that crop up in the struggle for the preservation of the natural components of the environment.

Much attention in Czechoslovakia is being given to the state of the production environment. Management and the trade unions work to improve the sanitary and hygienic conditions for work and safety techniques; at the same time, improvements are made in the prevention of disease and medical services

for the working people. There is further development of the aesthetic and cultural design of the production environment, and an improvement of industrial design. But much remains to be done. In particular, a scientifically grounded re-evaluation of the qualitative aspect of the working conditions needs to be made with an eye to its impact on productivity, etc. This problem has been included in several research programs.

The country has a highly effective system for the protection of nature. The government has set up a commission, and the governments of the Republics, environmental councils. Special commissions also work under the national committees in the districts, regions and cities, involving thousands of activists and deputies to local organs of power. In elections to the national committees, programs for the improvement and protection of nature are always canvassed. Electors study these and make their own proposals. It can be said that virtually the whole population is involved in environmental protection.

Alfare, the last Chairman at the symposium, delivered the summing up speech. He emphasized that the exchange of opinion had been a fruitful one. In the class struggle, he said, the role of the environmental movement is determined by the fact that it no longer advocates only concrete ecological questions. Global problems, problems of social development are also involved. The solutions that need to be found for these problems are also the solutions for the crisis of the state-monopoly system of capitalism.

Big business has failed to solve various environmental problems. This has brought about a response on the part of the peoples, but it is not the same in the various countries and depends on the influence of the revolutionary parties of the working class, on their capacity to explain the need for change, their view of the crisis and its causes and effects, and the possibilities for finding a way out of the existing situation. For the less developed countries, environmental problems are connected with the consolidation of national independence and the right to dispose of their own natural resources.

In effect, there is a need to make the following choice: either the crisis and its further aggravation, or a policy of moving toward a socialist society. There is no other solution. Any third way is a covert form for supporting capitalism, and a departure from the policy which reckons with the working people's aspiration for a better life.

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The broadest sections of public opinion, concerned with the present state of the world situation, are agitated by the problems of peace and security of nations, disarmament and détente. There is profound and justified alarm over the reckless line being pursued by the aggressive circles of imperialism in foreign policy and their urge to get the peoples to accept the idea that there can be a "limited" nuclear war, which would inexorably lead to the destruction of European and world civilization. In these conditions, more and more social forces representing the most diverse social and political trends are joining in the struggle against the danger of war. There is broad approval and support among these forces for the comprehensive program for strengthening peace, security and confidence, as set forth at the 26th congress of the CPSU. While the views of the fighters for peace may not always coincide on various international issues, they are unanimous in believing that the arms race, the militarization of the economy, the return to the cold war tend to undermine the basis of international cooperation, spread mistrust among states with different social systems and, ultimately, increase the danger of a thermo-nuclear conflict. These are the issues being considered in the following articles.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE LEFT FORCES FOR THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD

Ib Norlund
CC Executive Committee and
Secretariat member, CP Denmark

Those who take a realistic view of the development of the present international situation have no doubt that the world has entered into a highly responsible period: the future largely depends on the course of development today. Mankind stands at a crucial crossroads: either preservation and consolidation of détente, which has had such a beneficial influence on the international climate, or a re-

turn to the cold war, with its threat of a world conflict and the danger of a thermonuclear disaster.

In the recent period, the policy of détente has been put to a serious test. It is being attacked by powerful organized forces led by the most aggressive imperialist circles of the United States. Their step-up of international tension, enlargement of militaristic preparations, an urge to secure military superiority over the socialist countries, and a psychological war against the socialist world, all of this has crystallized into a kind of anti-détente policy.

That is why today there is an ever greater need for joint action by peace forces, which are capable of resisting the imperialist circles' dangerous policy and of preventing a resumption of the cold war and a growth of the danger of war.

In their appeal to the peoples of the European countries "For Peace and Disarmament," the participants in the Paris Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties welcomed any initiatives within whose framework "the widest contacts could be made and the broadest possible dialogue could be held." They emphasized that the communists are ready for any sort of joint action when it comes to the struggle for peace and disarmament. "To this end, we want all the peace-loving forces to join together. We say to all, whatever our national origins, our convictions, our way of life — communists, socialists, social democrats, Christians and believers of other faiths: 'Peace is our common heritage!'"

The call for cooperation among all social trends desirous of strengthening détente once again rang out at the 26th congress of the CPSU, where Leonid Brezhnev said: "With the present complication of the international situation, we attach importance to cooperation with social democrats, with trade unions, with religious circles, and with all the democratic and peace-loving forces in the matter of preventing war and strengthening peace."

The social forces coming out against the danger of war do not, of course, work in the same conditions, they represent different social strata and political trends, and may have differ-

ent views of various international issues. Their stand is influenced by the diverse factors of national political life and ideological differences, which are ultimately rooted — if one considers the West European countries — in the class contradictions of the capitalist society. But then there is no doubt either that the struggle for peace, for détente and for an improvement of the international situation can unite the representatives of the broadest strata of the population within the framework of an anti-war coalition. This possibility springs from the common concern of the masses in averting a military conflict, and in having our continent develop in peace. The fatal consequences of a nuclear-missile war, should it break out, are being ever more clearly realized by people in all the countries. That is why there is such tremendous indignation, for instance, over the Pentagon's plans which start from the admissibility of a "limited" nuclear war, and over its intentions to deploy new nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

But despite the danger of an aggravation of the international situation and the growth of tension, not everyone by far has yet realized the need for vigorous action to prevent the world from sliding into the abyss of a thermonuclear holocaust. One cannot but see that in recent months in many capitalist countries there has been a spread of pessimism, frustration, and notions that a nuclear conflict is inevitable, because it is allegedly coming to a head through a combination of "elemental" factors. That there is such a frame of mind will be seen from some public opinion polls in various countries, including Denmark. It is obvious that this kind of fatalism gives a free hand to the opponents of détente who use it to achieve their goals.

That is why, in fighting against the danger of war, the communists seek above all to show the real possibility for the social forces to influence developments and the foreign policies of parliaments and governments, and help to strengthen the prospects for peace and international cooperation. We emphasize the importance for everyone to take part in the movement against the policy leading to a growth of the war danger. Quite clearly, the broader and more massive the public action, the stronger and more effective will this influence be.

The left forces, the political and public bodies acting on behalf of the working people have a primary role to play in mounting anti-war action. Whatever the differences of sociopolitical issues that may divide them, the task of averting war and eliminating the danger of war is the primary one for all, because unless

this danger is eliminated and if the irreparable happens, no other problems will matter at all. Whole nations could be incinerated in the flames of a modern war.

In calling on the other left forces to take joint or parallel action against the war danger, against the arms race and against the militarization of social life, the communists do not have any axe to grind. Of course, they do have their own views on the sources of this danger, and their own opinion concerning what should be done to do away with it and strengthen peace. But they are prepared to hear other views as well and consider any proposals aimed to consolidate international security, and to maintain and deepen détente. Only in the course of such a dialogue, in a comparison of different approaches and arguments can common positions be hammered out to meet the interests and aspirations of all the working people and to offer a joint platform for the struggle against war.

Unfortunately, now and again one still finds spokesmen for some left-wing organizations refusing to engage in such a dialogue and to agree on united or concerted action. The right-wing forces, the bourgeois propaganda media and all the other instruments of ideological influence used by the ruling class to influence the masses in the capitalist countries have been working hard to implant anti-communism and to spread and cultivate anti-communist prejudices. This frequently has an effect on the positions even of those trends which are on the left flank of political life and which claim to express the working people's opinions and aspirations.

Anti-communism is doing tremendous harm to the interests of the masses, it divides and separates the ranks of those who oppose monopoly capital, and weakens the left forces as a whole. The policy of anti-communism lightens the tasks of the reactionary imperialist circles in every way, and not least importantly their conduct of a militaristic foreign policy.

Rebuttal of anti-communism and exposure of the anti-communist myths and prejudices are among the key lines in the struggle for the unity of the left forces, the unity of the working people, which is so necessary for defending their immediate interests and for solving broader problems. Of course, there is also the need to exert an influence on the foreign policy of one's own country in order to orient it toward peaceful cooperation among nations.

When considering the profound concern of progressive opinion in continuing détente and in fighting against its enemies, one cannot ignore the impact of détente on the political cli-

mate in the capitalist countries, a fact of primary importance. The exacerbation of the international situation obviously plays into the hands of the right-wing forces, who use the spread of chauvinistic attitudes and war hysteria to bolster their positions, attack democratic freedoms and the working people's gains and put down their political opponents. Let us bear in mind that if the right-wingers should triumph, no one who favors democratic ways of development and speaks on behalf of the working people will be immune to their blows.

Divisions in the democratic movement in the struggle for détente eventually mean losses for each of its participants and gains for the reactionary circles. Conversely, successes in joint action to improve the international climate and relax tensions create the prerequisites for giving greater depth to democracy in our countries, and strengthening the ranks of the progressive organizations.

That is why the struggle to strengthen peace and détente is inseparable from the struggle for the left forces' political goals, for democracy and for progressive social development. Only by acting together against the reactionaries and the opponents of détente can these forces hope to attain their own goals.

Today, Lenin's idea that "democracy is most clearly manifested in the fundamental question of war and peace" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 319) is more meaningful than it has ever been before. Indeed, there is perhaps no truer touchstone which helps to bring out the true substance of this or that political trend, to determine how close or alien it is to the people's aspirations, and how loyal it is to the ideas of genuine democracy, than its stand on peace. The left forces which are aware of their responsibility to the working people and for whom the word "democracy" is not an empty sound cannot stand aloof from the common struggle to assert and realize the peaceful principles of international life and to keep the warmongers in check.

The positive results of détente, which have had an especially tangible effect on the situation in Europe, promote unity in the struggle against a return to the cold war. Détente has not only helped to push back the danger of war and to strengthen the European nations' hopes for a peaceful future, but it has also brought direct and immediate benefits in the form of an expansion of economic, scientific, technical, cultural, athletic and other ties between states on the continent, regardless of their social systems. Thus, the development of trade with the socialist countries, which tends to expand most

intensively under détente, helps to ease the grave social consequences of the economic crisis for the working people in the capitalist world, to sustain employment and the people's living standards.

That is why attempts by the reactionary imperialist forces to fold up these ties and to resort to diverse blockades, boycotts and other methods of economic warfare against the socialist countries erode important sources of the working people's well-being. Nor does a sizable part of the European bourgeoisie have an interest in pursuing such a policy, because in the conditions of the crisis and the acute competition it has to seek ways of developing its business ties. It is not surprising, therefore, that the U.S. government's calls on its NATO partners to cut back trade with the Soviet Union were not crowned with success.

For Denmark, trade relations with the USSR and other East European countries could be highly important in reducing the negative effects of the Common Market's economic policies. Economic ties with the socialist countries acquire exceptional value in a situation in which whole sectors of industry and agriculture are being sold off and folded up (as in the case of *Burmeister og Vain*, an enterprise bought up by businessmen from the FRG), with unemployment growing and the number of jobless in our small country reaching 160,000. That is why the Danes insist on their preservation and expansion, and on Denmark's non-involvement in any blockades or boycotts mounted by the imperialist opponents of détente. This applies not only to commercial, but also to other international relations.

The struggle for the unity and cohesion of the left forces in the defense of peace is not an abstract one, but rests on the solution of various concrete problems brought to the fore in the course of developments. These burning problems are the subject of disputes, discussions and contests, and could provide the pivot for new political alliances.

One such problem is, undoubtedly, the task of stopping the arms race, a task on which the attention of progressive opinion is centered. The point here is not only that it is impossible to work for an improvement of the life of the masses or to protect their rights with the arms race eroding the prospects of peaceful development, darkening the horizons of the future and jeopardizing the existence of the whole nations. The material preparations for war already fall as a heavy burden on the shoulders of the working people.

The growing scale of military preparations,

which tend to increase in an atmosphere of international tensions and, in turn, exacerbate relations among states, has a most harmful effect on the economic conditions of many countries. Like a malignant tumor, they sap the vital forces of the nations and prevent any rise in the well-being of the population. This burden becomes especially intolerable in view of the worsening overall economic outlook in the capitalist countries and the growth of diverse crisis phenomena.

No wonder the size of the military budgets has become one of the most acute political issues. That is where the watershed frequently runs between the left and the right forces, between those who reckon with and stand up for the interests of the masses, and those who advocate the self-seeking interests of the arms corporations. On the extent to which progressive opinion is united, on how consistently and firmly it comes out against new military preparations largely depends success in the struggle for satisfying the working people's immediate socio-economic requirements, and also for a continuation of the détente policy, and for peaceful development of international relations. In present-day conditions, these two aspects are indivisible.

In Denmark, for instance, as in many other NATO countries, the NATO Council's decision of May 1978 on an annual 3 per cent increase in military appropriations is a highly acute issue. Realization of this demand holds in store additional difficulties for our country, which is going through grave economic, monetary and financial upheavals. The rate of inflation in Denmark has risen above 10 per cent, there is a great balance of payments deficit: and its foreign debt now comes to 20 per cent of the Gross National Product. Although labor productivity has increased, the purchasing power of wages over the past five years has, according to government data, dropped by 8 per cent, and according to the trade unions, to even greater extent. The government's economic policy is based on the expectation that in 1981 the incomes of most Danes will drop once again, with unemployment coming to 6.5 per cent of the labor force.

In this atmosphere of the economic crisis, the authorities have been cutting back on social and cultural spending. Meanwhile, the pro-NATO circles want an increase in the military budget. There is growing public opposition to this demand, not least importantly in the ranks of the social democrats and even of some centrist bourgeois parties. So the government has been forced to declare that it is not prepared to

meet NATO's demand on an annual 3 per cent increase in military appropriations. Meanwhile, referring to the inflation, the government has markedly increased the total military spending in order to maintain, it says, its real scale on the present level.

The Communist Party of Denmark has resolutely opposed the growth of military spending, and has urged its reduction. With the authorities cutting back on social appropriations, economizing on education, housing and public health, and delaying the opening of new hospitals because of a shortage of funds, it would be an altogether intolerable waste to increase the military budget. It would be downright madness, to say nothing of the negative foreign-policy consequences of such a line.

The struggle of Denmark's left forces for peace is not, of course, focused only on the problem of military budgets. Today, anti-war action is being taken on a number of other vital issues on whose resolution the country's destiny depends. Especially sharp and broad protests have been voiced, for instance, over the steps being taken under NATO and Washington pressure to create stores of heavy weapons on Danish soil, and to increase the number of U.S. aircraft based on local airfields. Another source of alarm is the attempts to involve Denmark in NATO's dangerous ventures and to make it depart from its proclaimed line of refusing to deploy foreign troops and military bases on its territory in peace-time.

As Jørgen Jensen, Chairman of the Communist Party of Denmark, said in his speech at the 26th congress of the CPSU, we believe that the activity of the peace forces in our country should run along these main lines: prevention of the deployment on Danish territory of nuclear weapons and the means for their delivery; resistance to the U.S. plans for the manufacture and deployment in Western Europe of neutron and other types of nuclear missiles; struggle for the proclamation and international recognition of a nuclear-free zone in the North of Europe.

There is every prerequisite now for starting a mass popular movement in defense of détente and peace. That was precisely the assumption of the communist parties of four Nordic countries which met in Oslo in the summer of last year. Not all these parties attended the Paris Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, but they did agree that the realization of the concrete proposals contained in the Paris call meets the interests of the nations. The Oslo meeting adopted a declaration "For Détente, Disarmament and Peace," which emphasized

the need to start a "popular movement in each country for the cause of peace." It goes on to say that Scandinavia is 'threatened by NATO's demands for an increase in military spending and the storing of heavy weapons in Denmark and Norway, and also on ships off the Norwegian coast. This is an attempt directly to involve a part of Scandinavia in the global military-strategic policy of strength being pursued by the United States."

The participants in the meeting noted with satisfaction the broad unity among our fraternal parties on the question of what needs to be done in the struggle for peace, détente and disarmament, and called on the peoples of the Scandinavian countries to unite in this struggle.

The Scandinavian communists' call addressed to all the democrats, to all the left forces, and to all those who want peace has met with broad response. The region is a scene of multiplying actions condemning NATO's dangerous policy. The Committee Against Atomic Weapons, which involves representatives of most diverse circles, has published a number of detailed documents exposing the dangers of the arms race. Prominent social democrats have come out against the siting of NATO's munitions dumps in Denmark. Joint demonstrations have been held across the country in protest against the plans to set up foreign military bases on our soil. In the course of a Women for Peace campaign, more than 500,000 Scandinavian women put their signatures to a call for peace and disarmament.

The continued upswing and successes of the anti-war movement will largely depend on the left forces' readiness to take joint action in the interests of broad masses of the population, for the peaceful future of the nations.

STEP BY STEP TOWARD DISARMAMENT

Olof Palme

Chairman, Social Democratic
Labor Party of Sweden,
Chairman, Independent Commission
on Disarmament and Security Issues

At the request of the *WMR* Commission on Problems of Peace and Democratic Movements, Rodny Öhman, *WMR* Editorial Council member and representative of the Left Party-Communists (Sweden), interviewed Olof Palme, a distinguished public figure, former Prime Minister, Chairman of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Sweden, and Chairman

of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues.*

Q. What are the goals of the Commission, which consists of people representing such different schools of political thought?

A. Our long-range goal is to bring an end to the arms race and halt the proliferation of nuclear arms. A continuation of the race would only impair security and increase the threat of war.

Our immediate tasks are, above all, to collect material on the SALT talks with the view to preparing a report for a new special UN General Assembly session on disarmament due in 1982. We deem it important to give the peoples a realistic picture of the state of affairs. A resumption of cold war propaganda methods would lead into an impasse. There should be no illusions in the world today that a nuclear war can be won — there will be no winners, only losers. Such a war would spell death for so many people that a natural question to ask is: would the earth's population be able to recover from such a catastrophe? Therefore today there is, in fact, no alternative for humankind than to keep advancing, step by step, toward disarmament and peace.

Q. You have said that the present task is associated with the SALT talks. But, as everybody knows, for nearly two years the United States has been delaying the ratification of SALT-II. Peace champions are depressed and indignant over the fact that the treaty has not been ratified. Would you comment on that?

A. I believe that under the circumstances SALT-II, a document fully prepared in the course of negotiations, could be ratified. Of course, this would not solve all the problems of the East-West dialogue. But the very fact that the leading world powers sat at a negotiation table to closely analyze questions of mutual security is significant in itself. To break off this work would be a disaster.

There is still another sphere in which results could be achieved quickly. I am speaking of the

*This Commission, an independent international body, was set up in the autumn of 1980. Its members are public figures and political personalities in countries with different social systems. They include Cyrus Vance, former U.S. Secretary of State; Egon Bahr, a leader of the Social Democratic Party of Germany; David Owen, former Foreign Secretary of Great Britain; Academician Georgi Arbatov, CPSU Central Committee member, Director of the Institute of U.S. and Canadian Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Joop den Uyl, former Prime Minister of the Netherlands; Josef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Polish Peace Committee; Alfonso Garcia Robles, former Foreign Minister of Mexico; and Salim Ahmed Salim, Foreign Minister of Tanzania.

negotiations on limiting armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. When I met with the participants in the talks at a sitting of our Commission in Vienna, I got the impression that they had reached a point where it was time to go over to practical moves. What is needed now is the political will on the part of the governments concerned to sign a treaty on the first phase as early as possible. It may be a modest treaty, for it would envisage small troop cuts.* But this would be an important step in the right direction to be followed by negotiations on a far broader basis.

I think that even if SALT-II is not ratified due to U.S. resistance, serious SALT negotiations should continue immediately under any circumstances. If the process is now cast aside, the political implications would be serious and the associated dangers grave indeed.

Q. What exactly, in your opinion, could cause increased dangers?

A. The most direct impact of a failure of the SALT negotiating process would be seen in the weapon programs of the United States and the Soviet Union. In both East and West the shattering of the dialogue and the loss of the economic, technological, and other benefits that had been associated with it would mean that neither side would have much incentive to curtail the arms competition. One may say that unconstrained by the terms of either SALT-I or SALT-II, both nations could be expected to take immediate steps to increase the rate at which they now are modernizing their nuclear forces, replacing existing weapons with larger numbers of even more destructive systems. Each could greatly multiply the number of nuclear warheads on existing intercontinental ballistic missiles. Each could probably also further accelerate deployments of submarine-launched ballistic missiles and perhaps new types of manned long-range bombers as well. Both nations also could be expected to deploy larger numbers of nuclear weapons on medium-range missile launchers in Europe.

Even more serious consequences would follow. Most importantly, the failure of SALT-II and the breakdown of the negotiations would result in a multiplication of pressures for a revision of the 1972 treaty limiting anti-ballistic missile systems, the key element in the effort to reduce the risk of nuclear war.

Therefore, in the absence of SALT, each confrontation between superpowers would carry the seeds of major escalation.

Q. In December 1979 when they decided to

*At the first stage 20,000 Soviet and 13,000 U.S. troops would be withdrawn from Central Europe. — Ed.

deploy U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe, the NATO countries associated their decision with the ratification of SALT-II. Already then the decision generated apprehensions that this could change the balance of strength in Europe. How, in your opinion, would the absence of SALT-II affect the present situation in Europe?

A. I would not like to touch on all the questions related to the NATO measures you have mentioned. But it should be borne in mind that any failure of the SALT talks would jeopardize European détente in the first place. East-West political and economic relations in Europe have been relatively cooperative for more than a decade. Ties between the two sides in Europe have deepened and expanded in scope. This relatively stable situation in Europe would have difficulty surviving a sharp escalation of the inevitable U.S.-Soviet political conflict that would accompany a halt of the SALT process. The most immediate impact would be on the talks initiated last October to limit the deployment of theater nuclear weapons. Prospects for limiting other kinds of nuclear weapons in Europe would also be jeopardized. Attempts to establish control over nuclear armaments, such as, for instance, the Vienna talks on a mutually balanced reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, would also be doomed. Tensions would increase, for each side would start building up its military potential at an accelerated rate.

In the political atmosphere that would accompany the failure of these negotiations, pressures for European governments to boost military spending could be intensified. This could lead to instabilities, which might threaten past arrangements and the mutually beneficial political, economic, scientific, and cultural exchanges that have resulted from these practical arrangements.

Finally, as is always the case when political relations deteriorate, there might be a greater risk of war in Europe. One should realize the fact that as soon as the situation is aggravated, Europe will become a battlefield with tens of thousands of nuclear warheads. In fact, there are very few reasons for war in our part of the world, but the level of preparedness for war is very high. There is a danger that if it may break out in one or another part of the world through anybody's fault, and the leading powers are involved, war will be fought also in Europe. This would mean the continent's destruction, of course. A "limited war," as has been repeatedly stressed by Alva Myrdal when, as a Swedish Minister, she dealt with problems of disarmament, would assume a total character

in Europe. It is only natural that such a prospect should be of great concern for the peoples. This makes any measures promoting détente and disarmament so important today.

Q. The urgency of creating non-nuclear zones has been stressed in the discussions now under way in North European countries. Myrdal believed that, as neutral countries, Finland and Sweden should be the first to speak up on that question in order to win the support of the other nations. Our party — the Left Party-Communists — has proposed that Sweden should display initiative for creating a non-nuclear zone in Northern Europe, which would include also Denmark and Norway. What is your view of this?

A. I share the opinion that non-nuclear zones are an extremely important instrument of détente. Such a zone has been set up in Latin America (Tlatelolco Treaty), which is very gratifying. Here in Europe such a suggestion has been voiced many times. Suffice it to recall the Kekkonen-Rapacki plans. Fortunately, in recent years there has been a heightened interest in efforts of this kind. For instance, when I spoke in Helsinki in April 1978, I suggested the long-term goal of turning the whole of Europe into a non-nuclear zone. Naturally, this will take time. But, for the present, we should try to reach understanding on increasing the number of subregional non-nuclear zones.

Q. A good deal has been said in your Commission about tying in disarmament problems with the effort to establish a new international economic order.

A. Yes, indeed. The greater part of the resources needed for combating poverty in the world can be released by cutting arms spending. If only we could beat the huge numbers of swords into ploughshares, we could gain immense strength for launching an offensive against poverty. How many minds have to be involved in the somber job of manufacturing weapons of destruction instead of helping people to develop and protect the earth and its natural resources? Meanwhile we are still unable to look deep enough into these mammoth problems. This is why at the second stage of the Commission's work we shall examine every aspect of the disarmament problem.

But it is clear already now that lack of progress in nuclear disarmament, that could be caused by a disruption of SALT, would hit the developing countries as well. And an even greater impairment of the prospects for development is likely to ensue with more and more of the resources of the industrialized countries that should be channeled to the alleviation of

poverty worldwide and the modernization of the economies of the less developed countries being pre-empted for the arms race.

Furthermore, failure of SALT would have an adverse effect on the solution of the nuclear non-proliferation problem. The relationship between SALT and nuclear proliferation is quite clear and, in effect, was formalized in the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty. One aspect of that agreement is the pledge by non-nuclear nations not to acquire nuclear weapons in exchange for a commitment by the nuclear powers that they would make progress in controlling the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament.

The non-nuclear states have made it very clear, most recently at the 1980 NPT Review Conference in Geneva, that they take this bargain seriously. For many of them, continued forbearance in the development of nuclear weapons partly hinges on progress toward nuclear disarmament. These nations have already been troubled by the failure of the nuclear powers to reach a comprehensive nuclear test ban and by the considerable time required to negotiate SALT-II. A breakdown of the SALT-II process to the extent that it inhibits nuclear weapons programs would mean that restraint would no longer be operable. In that case a number of countries with aspirations to serve as leading regional powers in South Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America might be tempted to seek a nuclear weapons status.

Q. Last autumn a delegation of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Sweden went to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. At the exchange of views both sides stated that an active dialogue between socialists and communists could be instrumental in the struggle for peace. Is that still your view?

A. This may be seen from the composition of our Commission. It is clear that we have ideological differences with ensuing contradictions. But as we work on problems of disarmament and détente, we see in every separate case what the grounds for such contradictions are and seek the possibility of arriving at common conclusions. Incidentally, our party has invited a CPSU delegation to pay a return visit. As for contacts between the Socialist International and communist parties in general, there are many examples pointing to their advisability, for instance, the campaigns of solidarity with the peoples of Chile and Greece and, now, the promotion of a solidarity movement in support of the people of El Salvador.

In connection with these contributions from Ib Nørlund and Olof Palme, the WMR Commission on Problems of Peace and Democratic Movements notes that in view of the present aggravation of the international situation, the communists attach considerable importance to cooperation with social democrats, with all the forces seeking to prevent war and safeguard

peace. The central direction of the foreign policy of socialist-community countries is to lessen the danger of war and curb the arms race. As was stressed at the 26th congress of the CPSU, "not war preparations that doom the peoples to a senseless squandering of their material and spiritual wealth, but consolidation of peace — that is the clue to the future."

Book review

THE MONOPOLY OCTOPUSES' TENTACLES: REVIEW OF BOOKS ON U.S. TRANSNATIONAL MEDIA

Capitalism, especially the U.S. variety, has never been shy about self-promotion. It never tires of proclaiming its "virtues," such as "freedom of the individual," "equal opportunities," "free press," etc. The less these assertions harmonize with the truth, the more they are intoned by the bourgeois mass media — press, radio, television. A spate of volumes has been published on the media in the last 10 years. In this article we deal with three of these books, published in the USA and Britain.* Written by bourgeois authors these books nevertheless give a broad insight into the activities of the transnational media of the leading imperialist power.

Ubiquitous

The capitalist media produce a commodity that is sold and brings a profit. To make this profit, they have extended their tentacles like octopuses into almost the whole world.

"So pervasive is the foreign dissemination of American commercial mass media," writes William H. Read, "that if one word must be chosen to describe this phenomenon, it is, inescapably, 'ubiquitous'" (p. 3). He cites eloquent evidence. Eight organizations hold the dominant position among the U.S. printed media in

*William H. Read, *America's Mass Media Merchants*, Baltimore and London, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976. Read was East Asia regional director for Voice of America.

Jeremy Tunstall, *The Media Are American*, London, Constable, 1977. Tunstall is a professor at City University, London.

Juergen Arthur Heise, *Minimum Disclosure. How the Pentagon Manipulates the News*, New York, W.W. Norton and Co., 1979. Heise was formerly with the Associated Press in West Berlin. All references from these books will be by author and page.

foreign markets: Associated Press, United Press International, New York Times News Service, Washington Post — Los Angeles Times News Service, International Herald Tribune, Time, Newsweek, and Reader's Digest. Two hundred leading newspapers outside the United States subscribed to two U.S. news services in the 1970s. UPI's output was translated into 48 languages. Reader's Digest's foreign circulation reached 12 million copies a month (pp. 3-4). Some 10,000 foreign newspapers and broadcasting stations in over 100 countries received the AP news and photo services. Time and Reader's Digest are the most widely read magazines in South Africa, while in Great Britain Time outsells The Economist two to one. According to Read, over 1 billion people "make their value judgments on international developments on the basis of AP news" (pp. 97, 99).

These are but a few examples of many showing how ubiquitous is the presence of U.S. media.

Profit, but not only profit

In 1979 the broadcasting and motion picture industries were third in the USA in returns on sales, while the publishing and printing industry ranked fourth highest in the top 500.¹ Turnstall estimates the 1975 revenues from abroad for films, records, tapes, advertising, TV, plus those of AP and UPI at between \$1.5 billion and \$2 billion (p. 43).

Read calls TV a "money machine for the rich monopolists;" the same can be said of all the U.S. media. But making profits, while primary, is not the sole aim of the U.S. media. Where the promotion of the "American Way of Life" is concerned bourgeois greed is outweighed by political considerations.

U.S. half-hour TV programs are sold to Great Britain for \$3,500 to \$4,200, but the same programs are being sold to developing countries for less than \$100 (Read, p. 31), in other

words, far below cost. This is done chiefly to subjugate the peoples of the developing countries spiritually and create the political conditions for imperialism's economic expansion.

Washington encourages and paves the way for the "free and independent" commercial media in penetrating foreign markets. As early as during the Second World War the reactionary *Reader's Digest* started Swedish and Arabic editions (Read, p. 138). The trade commissioners of the U.S. Department of Commerce in U.S. embassies are, in effect, salesmen for the U.S. media also (Tunstall, p. 224).

The government, the CIA, and the Armed Forces

However, the pollution of the minds of foreign readers, listeners and viewers is not left entirely to the privately-owned transnational giants. The U.S. government is itself heavily involved. The U.S. Information Agency was set up by President Truman as an instrument of the cold war "to tell America's story to the world, to combat godless Communism." The U.S. spends \$2.5 billion annually to fund its propaganda.

The principal body churning out political propaganda for foreign consumption is the International Communication Agency, which maintains 200 offices in 126 countries.

The CIA handles covert media operations, to be more exact, psychological subversion. During the cold war years it set up Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty in the FRG, and today has over 40 subversive radio stations scattered almost throughout the whole world. According to U.S. Congress statistics, 30 per cent of the CIA's effort is concentrated on the mass media. Last year at least 400 U.S. journalists had secret links to the CIA.

The U.S. Armed Forces also have their media mills around the world. Tunstall cites evidence of their operation of Transworld Radio out of Monte Carlo, Team Radio out of South Korea, and Far East Broadcasting out of Japan. These stations transmitted in languages of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and the Far East (p. 226).

Let us add that currently the U.S. Armed Forces operate some 400 stations grouped in five main networks. Their broadcasts are by no means solely for U.S. servicemen.

Many of the Pentagon's publications are for foreign readers. Take the Pacific edition of *Stars and Stripes*, the U.S. Army paper. It has a foreign readership of at least a million people in South Korea, Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, Guam and Australia.

Read and Tunstall reveal the close connection between the U.S. government and the media. The "independent" media are in fact controlled by the government, especially by the Department of Defense. The expansion of U.S. television into other countries is part of the military-industrial complex's effort to subject the world to electronic surveillance. In this context, importance is attached to telecommunications satellites (Tunstall, pp. 38-39).

The ubiquitousness of the media, Tunstall writes, is "closely connected with the status of the U.S. as the dominant military power" (p. 137). Military strength, he says, provided a favorable climate for the commercial thrust of the U.S. media (p. 138). To this day this "favorable climate" continues to rest largely on U.S. imperialism's military strength.

Lies to save themselves?

Let us consider the commodity offered by the transnational media. No matter how served, whether as news, information, entertainment or in the name of culture, the rock-bottom essential element of its content consists of lies. Let us recall Lenin's words: "When the bourgeoisie's ideological influence on the workers declines, is undermined or weakened, the bourgeoisie everywhere and always resorts to the most outrageous lies and slander" (*Coll. Work*, Vol. 20, p. 485).

Although Heise's book is more limited in scope than Read's and Tunstall's, it is an exposé of how the Pentagon and the U.S. government manipulate, cover up and distort the truth.

Ten years ago the Pentagon had over a million cubic feet of classified files. One time, writes Heise with irony, "a 1912 document was found, still marked 'confidential' on grounds that its content could be exploited for purposes prejudicial to current national security interests" (p. 59). One may ask, he writes, from whom are all these sinister secrets being kept and what has U.S. imperialism been hiding all these years, the revelation of which would harm U.S. security today? Heise declares that on the pretext of "deceiving the enemy" the government and the Defense Department are deceiving their own people.

The authorities simply close the mouths of those who venture to give people the truth about the dirty doings of the USA in other countries. This was the experience of John E. Graves, a former U.S. hostage in Tehran, who tried to give the story of Washington's policy in Iran. At first, steps were taken to prevent the publication of his reminiscences in the USA. But when he nonetheless arranged to have an

article printed in West Germany, staff members of the propaganda agency of the State Department and the CIA strongly pressured the editors of *Stern*, the West German magazine that was to print Graves' article, forcing them to delete places that did not harmonize with U.S. foreign policy.

In the USA, deliberate lies are built into government policy. It is hardly possible to establish who was the first President to arrogate for himself the right to lie to his people and to world opinion, but the fact remains that this "right" has increasingly become part of the political practice of every President since Truman. In Washington they still wince at the memory of a scandalous statement by Arthur Sylvester, who in the 1960s was Assistant Secretary of Defense for public relations. He said that the "Government has the Right to Lie . . . if you think any American official is going to tell you the truth, then you're stupid" (Heise, p. 63).

The baton of lying at state level has been taken over by leading officials of the new administration in Washington. The bourgeois mass media responded eagerly to Alexander Haig, the U.S. Secretary of State and former NATO commander-in-chief, when he slanderously charged the Soviet Union with orchestrating "international terrorism." It is common knowledge that the USA is flagrantly interfering in the internal affairs of El Salvador, that Washington is giving more and more military and financial aid to the fascist junta which is making war on the people. But this knowledge is concealed from the people of the USA. "The U.S. government is deceiving the American people by concealing the truth about the situation in El Salvador," newsmen were told by Barbara Milkulski, member of the U.S. Congress, who visited that country early this year.²

Sham neutrality

But what, it may be asked, of the media's exposure of such scandals as Watergate, the Pentagon papers, and cases of corruption in high office? The answer is, as Read puts it, that it is also the media's role to enable the capitalist system to adjust to change and to defend it as a whole against the risks involved in such excesses. Moreover, one or another sector of the media also operates on behalf of the interests of competing groups in monopoly control which are not above using such exposures to gain political and economic advantages for themselves.

When credibility in government, politicians and other capitalist institutions declines

among the people, the media step in to shore it up. For this, they must maintain their own credibility. Hence, from time to time, they lift part of the paper and electronic curtain hiding the sordid truth from the people.

In a public opinion poll not long ago, a leading TV evening news commentator was rated the man people could trust the most. Did this personality peddle any wares, any falsehoods less than other media spokesmen? Not at all. One got the same news from him as from all the others. What then was different? His image, his studied "neutrality," his tone of sincerity and blandness. But all this is cosmetic and itself a deception. The most influential of the U.S. media are those which have become past masters of the art of posing as "neutral" and "fair."

Information supremacy

Today, the explosive development of science and technology has brought forward Direct Broadcasting Satellites, which make it possible to broadcast direct into each person's home anywhere. The development of these satellites is nearing completion and the ruling circles of the USA see them as a powerful weapon in the ideological struggle.

These technological breakthroughs put a new dimension on the problem of safeguarding national sovereignty. The governments of many countries have protested against the growing menace of media imperialism. In November 1972, the United Nations General Assembly voted 102 to 1 (USA) to refer a draft convention on DBS to its committee on peaceful uses of outer space.

More recently, a UNESCO commission (known as the MacBride commission) completed a study of global communications and newsgathering. Its report, released in February 1980, calls on governments to take "effective legal measures to circumscribe the action of transnationals" in the information market.³

The report was immediately denounced by a Reuters official, who called it a "monster" that "reflects a hatred of free information."⁴ Mort Rosebloom, editor of the *International Herald-Tribune*, wrote a lengthy diatribe entitled "UNESCO vs. Press Freedom," expressing his anger over the use of the "free flow" slogan by socialist and developing countries to get international action against the tendentious propaganda spread by the transnational media giants. He called the commission's report "an issue where no compromise is possible,"⁵ although the bourgeois media frankly acknowledged that "when a government allows news importation it is in effect importing a piece of

another country's politics" (Tunstall, p. 263). But they attack any effort to limit the imperialist monopoly. The notorious "free flow of communications" which the U.S. media merchants operate on, is a one-way street.

Read illustrates the stand of the bourgeois media on exchanges of information with countries of the socialist world (of course, readers know that promotion of exchanges in this field is envisaged in the Helsinki accords), writing: "Hollywood's TV program producers also have made futile efforts to do business in Moscow. 'We feel there is a great market there.' But, according to MCA vice-president Ralph Franklin, 'unfortunately no American company has been able to crack it, except on an exchange basis, which we are not interested in'" (my emphasis. — J.W., p. 84).

Psychological warfare

The communists believe that the ideological struggle should be based on respect for truth. What the bourgeois mass media are engaged in has more in common with psychological warfare, in which truth is deliberately jettisoned. What this warfare is like can be seen from the numerous propaganda campaigns conducted against socialist countries. When a socialist country comes against difficulties in its development, as is the case with Poland, the tide of anti-communist propaganda rises promptly. The bourgeois press trumpets that the socialist system has "failed" and incites subversion by anti-socialist elements.

At the other extreme, any outstanding event in the socialist world is decried or given a slanted interpretation. This reaction is planned in advance. Just before the 26th congress of the CPSU was held, the Washington Institute for Soviet Studies sponsored a "closed seminar" for handpicked U.S. columnists and radio and television commentators (perhaps those who feign "neutrality" more adroitly than others?). Actually, its sponsor was the CIA, whose officials along with other ideological subversions experts instructed journalists how best to give people a distorted picture of the development of Soviet society. The falsifications concocted under their "instruction" quickly appeared in the press and in the ether. What talk can there be about a "free press," about "independent judgment?"

Why were these lies planned in advance? Was it not possible, even without sympathy for communism and for the Soviet Union, to report

what was said from the rostrum of the congress of Soviet communists with at least bourgeois objectivity to give the "bare facts" (which, incidentally, bourgeois journalism claims it always does: we state only the facts and let the reader draw his own conclusions)? No, the facts in no way suited the mind manipulators, for any thinking American could, after reading an unbiased presentation of Leonid Brezhnev's report to the 26th congress of the CPSU, compare it with what President Ronald Reagan told the U.S. Congress a week before. The pertinent conclusions would have been drawn. As Gus Hall said at the Congress Press Center, the report of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in which the main accent was on doing everything to raise the people's living standard and ensure a peaceful future, was in sharp contrast to the report of the U.S. President, who outlined a program for further reducing the working people's living standard in order to increase monopoly profits and accelerate the arms race. Comparing these two reports, said the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USA, the world could see the advantages of socialism.

These were the conclusions the U.S. rulers feared.

Yes, in the capitalist world possession of the most powerful means of reaching the people remains in the hands of the transnational media imperialists. Nevertheless, the "all-pervasive" influence of the bourgeois media could not prevent revolutionary upheavals in many countries where the anti-imperialist struggle reached white heat. Nor can it abolish the class struggle or nullify the burgeoning demand of progressive mankind for an end to the arms race, for disarmament and durable peace.

Today, in the twilight of capitalism and with the world revolutionary process having become irreversible, lies have short legs and the truth more quickly overtakes and surpasses them. The communists see their duty in tireless exposure of the lies spread by imperialism's media octopuses. The books under review themselves provide the facts confirming this need.

James West,
Political Bureau member,
Communist Party of the USA

1. *Fortune*, May 5, 1980, p. 297.
2. *Daily World*, January 22, 1981.
3. *International Herald-Tribune*, February 23-24, 1980.
4. *International Herald-Tribune*, March 1-2, 1980.
5. *International Herald-Tribune*, February 25, 1980.

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