

Information and Research Comrade 253a
(Y.Potyomkin)

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COMMUNIST UNITARY POLICY: AIMS, LESSONS, IMPEDIMENTS

Joint actions by progressive, democratic forces are the guarantee of success in the struggle for the interests of working people, against imperialism and reaction. The WIR Commission for Scientific Information and Documentation has studied the stand and practical actions of a number of Communist and Workers' parties on this question. It has used data provided by representatives of the various parties on the journal¹ and other materials for its survey. Attention was given mainly to the following aspects:

- aims of joint action by progressive forces;
- experience of such action;
- obstructive factors.

The history of the international Communist and working-class movement shows that from the day of their foundation most of the Marxist-Leninist parties have bent their efforts towards ensuring the maximum mobilisation of the working class for the struggle against capitalism and securing broad unity

¹ The Commission extends its gratitude for information received to representatives of the Communist or Workers' parties of Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Guyana, Honduras, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Jordan, Paraguay, Philippines, Sudan, Turkey, and the USA.

among socially heterogeneous forces for the attainment of specific national, democratic aims (for instance, the liberation, anti-fascist struggle in Western Europe during World War II, the liberation anti-colonialist movement of the Asian and African peoples after the war, the struggle against dictatorial regimes and fascism in Latin America, and the struggle for peace and social progress). Documents of fraternal parties indicate that today the unitary guideline of their policy not only retains its significance but is acquiring growing importance. For instance, the programme of the German Communist Party, adopted at the Mannheim Congress in October 1978, notes society's division into a handful of industrial barons and multimillionaires, on the one hand, and the vast majority of the people, on the other, and stresses "the need for and possibility of joint actions by the working class and a broad alliance of all non-monopoly forces."² There are provisions on joint actions by progressive forces in the documents of the Communist and Workers' parties of other countries.

From these documents it is seen that the unitary policy of the Communists retains its dual orientation: class (unity of the working class) and democratic (united actions by socially heterogeneous forces). Of course, the disparate economic and socio-economic situations determine the diverse correlation of these two aspects of the unitary work of the Communists. Fundamentally, the class aspect, i.e., the unity of
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² Protokoll des Manheimer Parteitags der Deutschen Kommunistischen Partei, 20-22 Oktober 1978, Rosengarten-Mannheim, p. 257.

the working class in the struggle for its direct interests and against the capitalist system becomes more pronounced as the maturity level of that system rises and, correspondingly, its contradictions, including the contradiction between labour and capital, grow more acute. Consequently, the significance of the proletariat's class-political unity, which is vital at any level of capitalist development, is greater where the proportion of workers in society is larger.

However, this pattern changes visibly when the correlation of the class and democratic aspects of the Communists' unitary policy are considered in the context of the entire spectrum of economic, social, political, and other conditions actually obtaining in each country and also of the political situation in the given region and the international situation as a whole. The most crucial of these modifying elements are as follows.

In developed capitalist countries. 1) The concentration and centralisation of capital and production has led to an unparalleled monopolisation of economic and political power. Monopoly policy, backed unconditionally by the state, clashes with the interests not only of the working class but of all other working people, and also of the petty and, in many ways, the middle bourgeoisie, in other words, of the overwhelming majority of the population. 2) US imperialism's foreign policy ambitions, its attempts to halt and nullify progressive political changes in the world with all possible means, including military force, the involvement in this policy of some other capitalist countries (for

instance, through the NATO mechanism), and the efforts of military-industrial complexes to sustain permanent international tension that often creates a direct threat to peace, all this likewise conflicts with the interests of the masses.

In countries with a medium development of capitalism (chiefly Latin American states such as Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile). The economic domination of monopoly capital based in the USA and other imperialist powers, and also of the local oligarchy, and the existence of pro-imperialist and pro-oligarchic semi- or entirely dictatorial regimes retard national progress. This creates the soil for broad anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic alliances with the participation of the workers and other classes and segments of the population.

In developing Asian and African countries. In these countries the situation is characterised by socio-economic backwardness and heavy economic dependence on industrialised capitalist states. Imperialist monopolies, chiefly transnationals, pursue an undisguised neocolonialist policy, there are centres of national and racial oppression formed or supported by imperialism (Palestine, South Africa), and direct assaults and subversion are conducted against progressive regimes. In these countries the solution of the problem of backwardness, the struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism, and the consolidation of national independence require the active participation of all patriotic forces.

In the unitary policy of the Communists the prevalence of the class or democratic aspect depends on the character of the main social contradiction at the given stage. Party documents show that in practically all the nations in the non-socialist world the principal contradictions are now those in which the interests of the working class objectively harmonise with the interests of the great majority of the population. However, it is only in developed capitalist countries that the confrontation between labour and capital can be and frequently is the core of the principal social contradiction.

Of course, this by no means belittles the need for working-class unity in all situations, including in situations where economic weakness makes the capitalists seek ways and means of quickly ending this weakness by stepping up the exploitation of the working people. The prevalence of democratic aims does not imply the dissolution, the abandonment of the class struggle of the proletariat. This struggle is part and parcel of the broader struggle for economic, social, and political progress. This means that the democratic and class aspects of the Communists' unitary policy are closely interrelated. In this connection the political manifesto adopted by the Communist Party of Denmark at its 26th Congress in 1980 notes that "our goal is to unite all the forces opposed to the assaults of big capital and the dangerous intrigues of the cold war proponents. Unity of action is the key to unfolding the militant might of the working class and the people".

This is essentially the approach to this question by all the Marxist-Leninist parties. For instance, the programme theses of the Third Congress of the Communist Party of Bolivia (1971) state that "the future of the Bolivian revolution lies in the unity of the people" and that "this unity can be achieved on the basis of the inner cohesion of the working class, its alliance with the peasantry, and the formation of a broad front embracing these social classes and also all the non-proletarian masses, students, progressive intellectuals, and other segments of the petty urban bourgeoisie". The programme of the Communist Party of Bangladesh, adopted its Third Congress (February 1980), stresses that at the stage of the national democratic revolution the cardinal aim is to achieve unity between the workers, the peasants, the middle strata, and sections of the national bourgeoisie and create a national democratic front. The People's Party of Iran, to quote the First Secretary of its Central Committee Nureddin Kiyanouri, "sees its most important task in creating a close-knit united front. We want to unite all revolutionary, anti-imperialist, democratic, and other forces serving the people under the banner of struggle against reaction and counter-revolution. We are propagating scientific socialism among the working people, popularizing and our political program, and working to enhance the strength of the masses" ²

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³ Horizont, No. 10, 1980.

The unitary policy of the Communist parties, as parties of the working class, does not bring its class aims into conflict with its democratic aspects: these are mutually complementary elements. Where the proletariat is united it is much easier to work for unity of action by all democratic, progressive forces. This is a factor of no little significance in facilitating the cohesion of the working class. This interrelation between the class and democratic aspects is natural and vital.

However, it is evident that the actual political conditions in most countries of the non-socialist world and the overall international situation are now bringing democratic aims into the forefront--naturally, with distinctions depending on the socio-economic development levels of these countries and also on regional and national specifics.

Let us examine these aims.

In their general form they boil down to the following:

The strengthening of peace. The specific orientations of the struggle of progressive forces differ in this sphere: against increases in military spending, the arms race, various foreign policy actions generating international tension, and military bases on foreign territory, for progress towards detente, the settlement of disputes by negotiation, disarmament, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the prohibition of such weapons, and cutbacks of armed forces.

Struggle against imperialism. In developed capitalist countries this is a struggle to limit the domination of monopolies, to prevent big capital from infringing upon the

social gains of the working people. In developing countries this is a struggle against neocolonialist oppression, inequities in international economic relations, and military and political interference by imperialist powers.

Socio-economic and political progress. Extension of democratic rights, improvement of social conditions, and safeguarding the people's living standard; consolidation of all aspects of national independence; removal of pro-imperialist regimes and counteraction to neofascism.

While they put forward democratic aims and make every effort to draw all progressive forces into the struggle for these aims, the Communists do not conceal their ultimate goal of effecting the transition from capitalism to socialism and building a society free of exploitation of man by man. But it is obvious that the attainment of democratic aims, which comprises the content of the anti-imperialist, democratic stage of the revolutionary process, is of immense significance in itself.

II

The composition of the political forces with whom the Marxist-Leninist parties can take joint action is determined by the character of the most urgent tasks of each given period. As mentioned earlier, at the present stage democratic aims are of great importance in all or almost all countries of the non-socialist world. The actual content and orientation of the aims of this subdivision that are not

linked to problems affecting all mankind, for instance, the struggle for peace, are largely determined by the socio-economic development level and the political conditions in one or another country or group of countries. For instance, there is a certain distinction between the democratic tasks in the centres and in the "outskirts" of the capitalist world system, in other words, in developed and developing nations. In the former the principal target--monopoly capitalism and its domination--against which the progressive forces are acting or endeavouring to act, comprises the underlying element of the existing social system. In these countries there is a certain intra-orientation of the struggle waged by the democratic forces. In developing nations, on the other hand, the extra-orientation of democratic tasks is more important, because their target--the selfsame monopoly capital and imperialist policy--is extraneous. Needless to say, the anti-imperialist struggle waged by the democratic forces of these countries is indissolubly linked to the struggle against the local big bourgeois where such a bourgeoisie exists, for example, in India, or against the local oligarchy (in many Latin American states).

This distinction has a direct bearing on unity of action by progressive forces in the two main groups of countries, directly influencing the forms and organisational frameworks in which it is possible to coordinate such actions. "Front" slogans are widespread in Asian, African, and Latin American

countries,⁴ and are to be met with rarely in developed capitalist nations. The possibility of forming fronts depends on specific socio-political conditions. A front presupposes an alliance, a coalition of various national parties. Given all other equal conditions, the larger degree of extra-orientation of democratic tasks conforms to the broader objective possibilities for such a coalition.

In developed capitalist countries the situation is different. In these countries it is, more than not, extremely difficult to form broad inter-party alliances: bourgeois parties of all orientations--conservative, liberal, or clerical--in fact serve big capital even in cases where the latter's predominance in society hardly dovetails with their traditional view; the "anti-monopoly stand" of the Social-Democrats is, regrettably, in much too many cases purely verbal, and correspondingly a "front" or alliance between Communist and Social-Democratic (Socialist) parties has been, wherever it came into being in the postwar period, short-lived.⁵

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⁴ Slogans of this kind have been adopted by, for example, the Communist or Workers' parties of Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cyprus, Guyana, Honduras, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Sudan, Turkey, and Uruguay.

⁵ The Communists have taken this circumstance into account without modifying their fundamental positive attitude to cooperation with the Socialists.

Hence the distinctions in the methods used by the Communists of various countries to pursue a unitary policy. In particular, this policy depends on the place held by "upper" and "lower" channels of coordinating actions, i.e., agreement of a Communist party with other parties and joint actions at grassroots level in the absence of inter-party alliances.

The Communists seek to utilise all possibilities for ensuring unity of action by progressive forces. But the correlation of the various ways of achieving unity depends on specific political conditions, including the stand of the leadership of the parties and organisations to which the Communists proffer cooperation. Experience indicates that, by and large, the practical possibilities for the Communist parties of developed capitalist countries using "upper" channels are very small indeed. This enhances the significance of united action at grassroots level--at factories, the shopfloor, universities, residential neighbourhoods, and so on.

This is, for instance, the stand of the Communist Party of Greece. At its 10th Congress in May 1978 it was noted that with the Party seeking the unity of the anti-monopoly "majority of the nation" both at grassroots and the top "the basic orientation of the struggle... is to achieve unity at grassroots, unity of action by members and supporters of each mass organisation and movement, coordination of the efforts of the various mass organisations and progressive movements, and their fusion in a single stream".⁶

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⁶ 10th Congress of the Communist Party of Greece, Moscow, 1979, pp. 59-60, 177 (Russian translation).

The Portuguese Communist Party, which is active in parliament and urges unity among progressives in the struggle against reaction, constantly stresses the decisive role of mass action in defence of the democratic system and the gains of the revolution.

While noting the enormous strength of the mass trade-union movement and the fact that in some trade unions the Communists hold posts of national significance, the 35th Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain (November 1979) underscored the significance of the high level of unity among workers at the level of enterprises where many Communists are shop stewards or members of committees of shop stewards.

While the German Communist Party does not deny that elected bodies, including parliament, are an important field of work by progressive forces, it attaches paramount significance to the "extra-parliamentary struggle, to the struggle of the working class at factories and in trade unions, to actions by young workers and students, and to democratic civil initiatives",⁷

This is also the attitude of the Communist Party of the USA. At its 22nd Convention in August 1979 the General Secretary Gus Hall spoke of the significance of these changes, describing them as a new base for the Party's policy of forming a mass united front.⁸

⁷ Protokoll des Mannheimer Parteitags der Deutschen Kommunistischen Partei, p.

⁸ Gus Hall, Labor Up Front In the People's Fight Against the Crisis, New York, 1979, p. 93.

A clear-cut stand was defined for the French Communist Party by its 23rd Congress in 1979. The French Communists urge the development of an alliance and agreement especially with the Socialist Party. But a powerful grassroots unitary movement is vital to this alliance. This movement, which is expressed in the struggle of the working people for their basic interests, increasingly brings them the awareness of the need for deep-going revolutionary changes. "It must be our continued concern that this alliance (of progressive forces.--Ed.) should increasingly become a matter of the working people themselves," Georges Marchais, the FCP General Secretary, said recently. "Summit meetings, compromises between leaders, and joint statements by them are definitely not the road that can take the people's movement to success."⁹

The Communist parties of Belgium and the Netherlands (23rd Congress of the CPB and the 25th and 26th congresses of the CPN) attach paramount importance to united concrete actions at grassroots level.

In the developing countries the situation is not so uniform in this respect. We have already noted that the objective possibilities exist in these countries for the formation of alliances (fronts) of national parties and mass organisations on the platform of struggle against imperialism, against the segment of the local bourgeois coalescing with it, and against

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⁹ L'Humanité, April 22, 1980, June 28, 1980;
L'Humanité-Dimanche, May 30, 1980.

the forces supporting international reaction and Macism (in some Latin American states this platform includes one more vital element--struggle for the overthrow of pro-imperialist military dictatorships buttressed by US monopolies). Here the Communist parties press for the creation of national-democratic fronts uniting workers, peasants, the middle strata, and a segment of the local bourgeoisie.

Experience shows, however, that in Asia and Africa the politico-organisational formation of such fronts is extremely rare. The basic reason for this evidently lies in the gradual and irreversible growth of internal socio-class contradictions. A political expression of this process is the reluctance of bourgeois and nationalist petty-bourgeois parties to cooperate with the Communists. Society's class differentiation in capitalism-oriented countries will most likely proceed in the same direction, despite the objective need for unity among patriotic forces. Hence the growing significance of an alliance of left, anti-capitalist organisations, as is now seen, for instance, in Turkey or in India (true, in India the anti-imperialist aspects of development, particularly the problem of economic independence, are not as acute as in most African and Asian states because of the fairly rapid economic growth during the years of independence and the country's size).

The predominantly negative attitude of bourgeois, pro-bourgeois, and nationalist petty-bourgeois parties to alliances with the Communists gives the need for unity actions by grass-roots progressive forces growing significance. The scale of

such actions depends on how far the masses understand the aims of the struggle. A vivid illustration is the anti-monarchist revolution in Iran in 1979. Despite the repeated unitary appeals of the People's Party of Iran to other national organisations, no united front was formed on an inter-party level. However, at the level of the masses unity of action grew steadily. During the decisive days of February 1979 the armed interaction of all the anti-imperialist and anti-dictatorial forces led to the historic victory of the Iranian revolution.

Subsequently, the need for a united front of progressive forces grew even more pressing, especially in the face of US imperialism's designs and actions against Iran. A statement issued by the Central Committee of the People's Party of Iran on April 31, 1980 declared that "today, more than ever before, the revolution stands in need of an alliance and unity among all forces in order to frustrate this dangerous conspiracy (of US imperialism.--Ed.). Let us therefore unite and activate all our forces for the sake of this aim..., for the preservation of our revolution's achievements".¹⁰ But this was not followed by any inter-party agreement.

The absence of a united front at inter-party level, which is a characteristic in African and Asian countries, is not all typical on the Latin American continent. There the opposition parties and organisations, including the Communist parties, in many cases agree on a united front (the Patriotic Front of

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¹⁰ Mardom, April 5, 1980.

Honduras, uniting more than 60 political and public organisations; the Broad Front of Uruguay; the Unity of Left Forces bloc in Peru; the National Opposition Alliance and then the Democratic Front in Colombia; the Democratic and People's Unity Front in Bolivia). It seems that this Latin American primacy in the realisation of the principle of unity of action among progressive forces is linked to, among other things, more deep-rooted traditions of political organisation than in the Afro-Asian world and to the Church's positive role in socio-political life.

III

The main factors hindering or limiting unity of action among progressive forces are closely interrelated. The data at the Commission's disposal makes it possible to identify the following elements.

Anti-Communist views and prejudices. The reference here is not, of course, to such natural exponents of anti-communism as imperialist circles or the bourgeoisie and its political organisations. In many instances, these views and prejudices, especially in developed capitalist countries, are held by forces that by their class and political character could be allies of the Communists, notably the Socialist (Social-Democratic) parties. However, the possibility of cooperating with them in the struggle for democratic aims is left largely untapped because of their leadership's negative attitude to the Communists. The Communist Party of

Great Britain, for instance, has repeatedly made offers of cooperation to the Labour Party Executive, but all these offers were rejected.

Anti-Communism is to be met with in the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties of many developing nations. This often goes to the point of denying Communist parties the right to legal existence (for example, in Sudan, Iraq, Turkey, and Tunisia). Moreover, this denial sometimes takes the shape of a claim of a ruling revolutionary-democratic party to a monopoly of political power.

The People's Party of Iran found itself in a difficult position soon after the triumph of the anti-imperialist revolution. "The shah's dictatorship," Nureddin Kiyanouri, First Secretary of the PPI Central Committee, said in an interview, "and the unbridled anti-Communist propaganda directed against the nation's progressive forces and against the socialist community, sowed prejudice and even hatred in the minds of people. Moreover, the ruling circles have always skilfully counterposed religious people to the popular forces oriented toward social progress. It took a considerable effort to combat this heritage effectively and achieve at least partial success in overcoming prejudices. Since the Shi'ite religion has democratic roots and frequently entered into an alliance with national and anti-imperialist forces, we are increasingly finding a common language with many Muslim leaders, who, in their turn, know of our dedicated struggle for the interests of the people, regard us as a major political force, and value our constructive role."¹¹

¹¹ Horizont, No. 10, 1980.

The influence of social-reformism on the working class.

The countries where social-reformism is particularly widespread include Austria, Belgium, Canada, and the FRG. In other countries these ideas encounter the strong politico-ideological influence of the Communists (France, Italy, Spain). The spirit of social-reforms is quite tenacious also in some developing countries, for example, Turkey and the Philippines.

Social-reformist influence saps the political militancy of the working class, leaves it largely at the mercy of the monopolies and, in the long run, is a major obstacle to unity

among the working class itself and among all other democratic forces. Under these conditions, in order to avoid magnifying contradictions the Communists usually offer to act jointly with other parties of the working class on issues where there is agreement. The growing crisis phenomena in developed capitalist countries and the accompanying offensive of monopoly capital against the socio-economic gains of the working people are intensifying the trend towards unity among the latter. As was noted, for instance, at the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium, this does not, of course, free the Communists from the need to work tirelessly for the deliverance of the main forces of the working-class and democratic movements from the influence of reformist ideology and practices.

The problem of relations between parties and organisations in a united front. This is a crucial problem. The durability of an alliance, the prestige that a united front enjoys among the people, and the capacity for effective political actions depend on the extent the parties and organisations are equal and on how far the relations between them are democratic.

We have noted the broad realisation of the slogan of a national-democratic front in Latin America and the weak support it gets in African and Asian countries. One of the reasons for this Latin American "phenomenon" is unquestionably the long-standing traditions of political organisation and struggle, traditions that help to maintain the equality of the parties in united fronts. Traditions of this kind are non-existent or weak in African and Asian countries. It is not accidental that a negative example of "inner-front" relations is given by the Afro-Asian zone, specifically Iraq. Because this is a particularly instructive example, the Commission felt it would be expedient to discuss it in some detail.

Ever since its foundation, i.e., in the 1930s, the Iraqi Communist Party has worked consistently for unity of action among national progressive forces. In 1969 it proposed a draft charter of a National Front to all of the nation's political organisations. The Party's 2nd Congress, held a year later, noted that "a vital aim of our Party is to set up a united progressive front and a coalition

government." At the close of 1971 the ICP began talks with the Baath Party on this question, and two years later the formation of a National Front was announced.

The Iraqi Communists have always stressed that it was necessary to respect the political, ideological, and organisational independence of all the sides in the front, ensure freedom of concrete comradely criticism within the front, and also the freedom of its participants to propagate their principles and aims provided these do not conflict with mutual commitments. Further, the ICP insisted on a democratic settlement of possible disagreements in a spirit of cooperation. Relative to leadership of the front, its stand was that such leadership should be exercised by the party enjoying the greatest confidence of the people.

The activities of the governing Baath Party came into conflict with all these principles. Its purpose was not to ensure equal and democratic cooperation within the front but to abolish national parties, to absorb them, to impose its policies and ideology on them. Its reply to any criticism was to have recourse to violence and then to acts of terror up to the execution of Communists and progressive nationalists--both Arab and Kurd. This brought about the disintegration of the National Front. The ICP was forced to go over to opposition as a consequence of the rapid backslide in the policies of the governing party, of the

anti-Communist campaign started by the authorities, the repressions, the executions, and the closure of Party centres and the Party press. Lately the ICP has been conducting preparatory work aimed at setting up a national-democratic front for a struggle to remove the dictatorial, repressive regime and form a democratic coalition administration.

The example of Iraq eloquently shows the incompatibility of the line towards trampling elementary norms of democracy and the equality of participants in a front with the very idea of unity of action by progressive forces.

Sectarianism. This disease, which hinders unity of action, is particularly dangerous to small parties.

Here the Commission will confine itself to quoting the above-mentioned report by Gus Hall to the 22nd Convention of the Communist Party of the USA. The Communists should, he said, shed the syndrome that they were being pushed aside, rejected, and driven into a corner, or that they were a tiny minority. They should drop the complex of political orphanage. They should swim better in a big pond. At the present the main weakness preventing them from keeping abreast of the times could be defined as sectarianism... This sprang from underestimating the upsurge of the masses and of the Party's role in that upsurge... The struggle against sectarianism required conscious, consistent, and tireless quests for allies and a solicitous attitude to them, especially to those prepared to cooperate with the Communists as such.¹²

¹² Gus Hall, op. cit., pp. 93-94.

The negative impact of all these factors cannot be overcome without persevering, patient, and diversified work by the Communists. One of its key orientations is the strengthening of the Communist Party. Speaking last spring of the French Communist Party's good health, George Marchais noted at the same time that its further strengthening was a key question of the political struggle, the decisive condition for progressive changes in France.¹³ The same may be said of other Communist and Workers' parties: the strengthening of their ranks is the principal condition for cohesion and unity of action among the progressive forces.

¹³ L'Humanité, April 22, 1980; L'Humanité-Dimanche, May 30, 1980.

Draft Survey

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UNITY FOR SUCCESS

Communists and Unity of Action of Progressives

Unity of action of progressive, democratic forces is an earnest of success in the struggle for the working people's interests, against imperialism and reaction. The WMR Commission for Scientific Information and Documentation has studied the attitude of a number of Communist and Workers' parties to this problem and their relevant activity. Using information supplied by party representatives on the journal¹ and other material, it has prepared an analytical survey of the problem, above all its following aspects:

- the aims of united action by progressive forces;
- the experience of joint action;
- obstacles.

I

The history of the international Communist and working-class movement shows that ever since they came into being, Marxist-Leninist parties have generally worked to mobilise

¹ The Commission thanks the fraternal parties of the following countries for the information made available by them: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, FRG, Great Britain, Greece, Guyana, Honduras, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Jordan, Paraguay, Philippines, Sudan, Turkey, Uruguay, and USA.

the working class for struggle against capital and to unite socially heterogeneous forces on a broad basis for definite general national and democratic goals, such as the anti-fascist liberation war in Western Europe during World War II, the anti-colonial liberation movement of Asian and African peoples after the war or the struggle for peace. Fraternal party records indicate that at this stage the unifying trend in their policy is not only as valid as ever but is becoming still more relevant. The programme adopted by the Mannheim Congress of the German Communist Party (October 1978) notes the division of society into a handful of corporations and multimillionaires, on the one hand, and the majority of the people, on the other, and stresses "the necessity for and possibility of joint action by the working class and a broad alliance of all non-monopoly forces".² Records of the Communist and Workers' parties of other countries likewise contain provisions for the unity of action of progressive forces.

These records show that Communist policy for unity still has a twofold trend: a class trend (unity of the working class) and a general democratic trend (united action by socially heterogeneous forces). Needless to say, the diversity of economic and socio-political situations predetermines different ratios between these two aspects of

² Protokoll des Mannheimer Parteitags der Deutschen Kommunistischen Partei, 20-22. Oktober 1978. Rosengarten-Mannheim, p. 257.

the Communist parties' effort for unity. We may say-- somewhat tentatively--that the greater the maturity of the capitalist system and hence the depth of its contradictions, including that between labour and capital, the stronger on the whole the function of the class principle, that is, the principle of unity of the working class in the struggle for its immediate interests and against this system. This invites the conclusion that the significance of working-class unity objectively follows what may be described as an ascending line, from most of the Afro-Asian countries (a relatively underdeveloped capitalism) through the Latin American republics (medium development of capitalism) to North American and West European countries plus Japan, which have attained the highest, state-monopoly stage of capitalism.

However, this pattern changes substantially if the relation between the class principle and the general democratic principle in the Communists' effort for unity is examined in connection with the whole range of economic, social, political and other conditions existing in the country concerned as well as with the political situation in the region and the overall international situation. The main modifying factors may be listed as follows:

Developed capitalist countries. 1) The process of concentrating and centralising capital and production has resulted in an unprecedented monopolisation of economic and political power. The policy of monopolies, which are fully

backed by the state, runs counter to the interests of the working class and other working people, as well as the petty and largely the middle bourgeoisie,^{to} the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population. 2) The foreign policy ambitions of US imperialism, its attempts to "prevent" or "nullify" progressive political changes in the world at all costs, including armed force, a certain complicity of some other capitalist countries in this policy (through NATO, for instance), and the tendency of military industrial complexes to permanently keep up international tensions, which often poses a direct threat to peace, are also contrary to the interests of the masses.

Medium-developed capitalist (mostly Latin American) countries. The economic grip of the monopoly capital of the United States and other imperialist powers,^{and} the existence of pro-imperialist and pro-oligarchic dictatorial or semi-dictatorial regimes hold back social progress. This offers opportunities for the formation of broad anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic alignments involving the working class and other classes and strata of society.

Developing countries of Asia and Africa. The situation in these countries is characterised by socio-economic backwardness and strong economic dependence on developed capitalist countries. Imperialist monopolies, primarily transnationals, carry on full-scale neocolonialist activity; there exist seats of national and racial oppression

created or maintained by imperialism (Palestine, South Africa); progressive regimes are an object of direct attack and subversion. To solve the problem of backwardness, fight imperialism and neocolonialism and strengthen their national independence, these countries need active effort by all patriotic forces.

The primacy of the class element or the general democratic one in the Communist parties' unity policy is determined by the nature of the chief social contradiction in the given country at the given stage. Party records show that today the main contradictions in virtually all non-socialist countries are those on which the interests of the working class coincide objectively with those of the overwhelming majority of the population. And it is only in developed capitalist countries that confrontation between the working class and capital can be, and often is, the core of the main social contradiction.

To be sure, this does not in the least reduce the need for working-class unity in any situation, hence also when economic weakness prompts capitalists to try to overcome it as early as possible by overexploiting labour. The primacy of general democratic goals does not at all imply "dissolution" or "abolition" of the class struggle of the proletariat, which is part of the broader struggle for the general democratic and **class** aspects of economic, social and political progress. This means that the general democratic and class aspects of the Communist parties' unity

effort are interconnected most closely. The political manifesto adopted by Denmark's Communists at their 26th Congress (1979) points out that they "seek a direct unification of the forces resisting the attack of big capital and the dangerous intrigues of 'cold warriors'. Unity of action is the key to developing the fighting power of the working class and the people".

All Marxist-Leninist parties approach the problem in much the same way. The programme theses of the Third Congress of the Communist Party of Bolivia (1971) stated that "the future of the Bolivian revolution lies in popular unity" and that "this unity can be brought about through internal cohesion of the working class, its alliance with the peasantry and the formation of a broad front comprising these social classes as well as all non-proletarians, students, progressive intellectuals and other sectors of the urban petty bourgeoisie". The programme adopted by the Third Congress of the CP of Bangladesh (February 1980) stresses that at the stage of national democratic revolution the chief task is to achieve unity of the workers, peasants, middle strata and a section of the national bourgeoisie and establish a national democratic front. The People's Party of Iran "now sees one of its most important task in forming a solid united front," says Nouredin Kianouri, First Secretary of the PPI. "We want to unite all revolutionary, anti-imperialist and democratic forces as well as other forces serving the people's interests in struggle against reaction and counter-revolution. We advocate scientific socialism among the

working people and publicise our political programme to help build up the strength of the masses".³

The unity policy of Communist parties as parties of the working class does not pose the workers' class objectives against general democratic ones, for these objectives are mutually complementary. Where the proletariat is united the struggle for the unity of action of all democratic, progressive forces is made much easier. And united action is a notable factor in unifying the working class. This interconnection of class and general democratic goals is logical.

At the same time, it is obvious that actual political conditions in most non-socialist countries of the world and the overall international situation bring general democratic goals to the fore, with differences due to very strong distinctions in the socio-economic development levels of these countries as well as to regional and national characteristics.

What are these goals?

Speaking very generally, they are as follows:

Promoting peace. The specific lines of struggle of the progressive forces in this sphere are most varied; they are directed against greater military spending, the arms race, foreign policy moves breeding international tensions, and military bases on foreign soil, and are

³ Horizont, 10/1980.

favourable to greater detente, the settlement of disputes by negotiation, disarmament, non-proliferation and prohibition of nuclear arms, and cuts in armed forces.

Struggle against imperialism. In developed capitalist countries this means seeking curbs on the monopolies' excessive power and resisting encroachments on the working people's social gains by big capital. In developing countries this struggle is directed against neocolonialist exploitation, inequality in international economic relations, and military political interference by imperialist powers.

Socio-economic and political progress. This means extending social rights, maintaining the working people's standard of living, strengthening every aspect of national independence, eliminating reactionary pro-imperialist regimes and resisting neofascism.

In advancing general democratic goals and striving to bring all progressive forces into struggle for them, Communists never conceal their ultimate goal, which is to build a society without the exploitation of man by man, to effect the transition of society from capitalism to socialism. Providing actual conditions for this transition is a "function" of general democratic tasks. But while their fulfilment constitutes the content of the anti-imperialist, democratic stage of the revolutionary process, it also has tremendous independent significance, of course.

II

The composition of the political forces with which Marxist-Leninist parties can act together depends on the character of the most pressing tasks of the given stage. We have said that at this stage general democratic goals are very important in all or nearly all non-socialist countries. The content and trend of these goals depend largely on the socio-economic level of the country or group of countries concerned. There is a certain difference between general democratic goals in the centres and on the "periphery" of the world capitalist system, that is, in developed and developing countries. In the former, the dominant feature of these tasks is their being directed inwards; the main "object" against which progressive forces operate or try to operate, namely, monopoly capital and its omnipotence, is a component of the social system. As for developing countries, including those of Latin America, it is particularly important that general democratic tasks are directed outwards, since their "object"--monopoly capital and imperialist policy--is external to these countries. (The only exception is probably India, where the struggle against the domestic bourgeoisie, primarily the big bourgeoisie, is prominent in CP policy.)

This distinction has a direct bearing on the progressive forces' unity of action in two main groups of countries, where it influences the forms and organisational framework within which united action can be coordinated. The slogan

of "fronts" is widespread in Asian, African and Latin American countries⁴ unlike developed capitalist countries, where it is rarely advanced nowadays. This is understandable. A "front" implies an alliance and link-up of diverse national parties. The fact that general democratic tasks are directed outwards offers objective opportunities for a link-up of this nature. The situation in developed capitalist countries is different. Forming broad inter-party anti-monopoly fronts there is mostly unrealistic, for all bourgeois parties, whether conservative, liberal or clerical, virtually serve big capital even where the latter's domination over society is at variance with their traditional world-view. As for the "anti-monopolism" of the Social Democrats, it is unfortunately verbal only too often, with the result that in the postwar period a "front", or alliance, of Communist and Social Democratic (Socialist) parties, if any, never lasted.⁵

Hence the differences in the methods of pursuing a unity policy used by the Communists of different countries. What we mean is, in particular, the place held by the "upper" and "lower" levels at which action is coordinated

⁴ It is advanced, by among others, the Communist and Workers' parties of Bangladesh, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cyprus, Guyana, Honduras, Iran, Jordan, Panama, Peru, the Philippines, the Sudan, Turkey and Uruguay.

⁵ Communists are compelled to take this circumstance into account without revising their basically favourable stand on cooperation with Socialists.

(agreements with other parties, joint action at grass roots in the absence of inter-party alliances).

The Communists do their best to use every opportunity of achieving unity of action of the progressive social forces. But the relations ^{between} diverse methods of achieving it depends on political conditions, including the attitude of the parties or organisations which the Communists invite to cooperate. Experience suggests, as a rule, ^{that} the actual opportunities of the Communist parties of developed capitalist countries using the "upper" levels are very limited. This makes united action at the level of the masses--in factories, shops, universities, residential neighbourhoods, and so on, all the more important.

Such is, for instance, the position adopted by the CP of Greece. The Tenth CPG Congress (May 1978) pointed out that when the Party is seeking unity of the anti-monopoly "majority of the nation" from both below and above, "the main line of struggle ... is to achieve unity from below, unity of action of the members and supporters of every mass organisation or movement, coordinated activity of diverse mass organisations and progressive movements, and their fusion in one stream".⁶

The Portuguese CP, which is active in parliament and champions unity of progressive forces against reaction, constantly stresses the decisive role of action by the masses to defend the democratic system and the gains of the revolution.

⁶ X syezdz Kommunisticheskoi partii Gretsii. Moscow, 1979, p. 59-60 and 177.

The 35th Congress of the CPGB (November 1979), noting the great strength of the mass trade union movement and the fact that Communists hold a number of trade union posts of national significance, stressed the importance of the high level of working people's unity achieved in the enterprises, where Communists had been elected as shop stewards or members of shop stewards' committees.

The German CP programme "attaches decisive importance to extraparliamentary struggle, the struggle of the working class in the enterprises and within trade unions, action by working youth and students, and to democratic civic initiatives".⁷

US Communists hold a similar view. At the 22nd CPUSA Congress (August 1979), Party General Secretary Gus Hall underscored the importance of increased Left-Centre currents in the country which he described as "the new framework for our mass united front policies".⁸

The French CP takes a perfectly explicit stand, which was defined by its the 23rd Party Congress (1979). It is in favour of alliance and agreement, especially with the Socialist Party. But a powerful movement for unity at grass roots is needed for this alliance to come into being. It is a movement expressing itself in the working people's

⁷ Protokoll des Mannheimer Parteitages (see footnote 2), p. 225.

⁸ Gus Hall, Labour Up-Front in the People's Fight Against the Crisis. New York, 1979, p. 93.

struggle for their vital interests, a struggle in which they increasingly realise the need for far-reaching revolutionary changes. "We must persevere in the effort to ensure that the alliance (of progressive forces.--Ed.) becomes increasingly a cause of the working people themselves," FCP General Secretary Georges Marchais stressed recently. "...Meetings between headquarters, compromises between leaders or joint statements by them are positively not a road likely to lead the popular movement to success."⁹

The Communist parties of Belgium and the Netherlands (23d CPB Congress and 26th CPN Congress) attach the greatest importance to concrete united action at grass roots.

As regards developing countries, the situation varies in this respect. We have spoken of the existence in these countries of objective opportunities to form alliances (fronts) of national parties and mass organisations on a platform of struggle against imperialism, the domestic bourgeoisie making common cause with it, and the forces backing international reaction and Maoism. (In some Latin American countries this platform includes a further important element, namely, struggle to overthrow pro-imperialist dictatorial military juntas backed by US monopolies.) The Communist parties there advocate the formation of national democratic fronts uniting the workers, peasants, middle strata and part of the national bourgeoisie.

⁹ L'Humanite, April 22 and June 28, 1980;
L'Humanite--Dimanche, May 30, 1980.

Life shows, however, that the political and organisational formation of such fronts in Asia and Africa is a very rare phenomenon. The root cause is evidently the gradual and irreversible growth of internal social class contradictions. One of the political expressions of this process is the refusal of bourgeois and nationalist petty-bourgeois parties to cooperate with the Communists. It is in all likelihood a further social class differentiation of society in capitalist-oriented countries that will operate in the same direction in spite of the objective need for patriotic unity. This means that the significance of alliances of left-wing, anti-capitalist organisations will increase, as is the case in, say, Turkey or India. (True, the anti-imperialist aspects of development in India, particularly the problem of economic independence, are not as acute as in most Afro-Asian countries owing to fairly rapid economic growth in the years of independence and to the very dimensions of the country.)

The predominantly negative attitude of bourgeois, pro-bourgeois and nationalist parties to blocs with Communist parties makes united action by progressive forces from below more and more indispensable. The more specific the goals of the struggle and the more understandable they are to the masses, the greater the scale of this action. The 1979 revolution against monarchy in Iran is a vivid case in point. In spite of calls of the People's Party of Iran for unity directed to other national organisations, no united front at inter-party level materialised. As for the level of the

masses, unity of action grew stronger and stronger. In the decisive February days of 1979, armed interaction by the forces fighting against the monarchy led to the historic victory of the Iranian revolution.

Subsequently the need for a united front of progressive forces increased, especially in view of the aggressive schemes and moves of US imperialism against Iran. A statement released by the CC PPI on April 31, 1980 stressed that "more than ever, the revolution needs an alliance and unity of all forces to frustrate this dangerous conspiracy (of US imperialism.--Ed.). Let us, therefore, unite and set in action all our forces to attain this goal ... to preserve the achievements of our revolution".¹⁰ However, no inter-party agreement ensued.

The absence of an inter-party united front is common in Afro-Asian countries but is by no means typical of Latin America. On that continent opposition parties and organisations, including the Communist parties, often reach agreement on a united front (Patriotic Front of Honduras comprising over 60 political and other organisations; Broad Front, Uruguay; Left Unity bloc, Peru; National Opposition Alliance and then Broad Democratic Front, Colombia; Democratic and Popular Unity Bloc, Bolivia). This Latin American "primacy" in applying the principle of unity of action of progressive forces is probably due to older traditions of political struggle and to the lesser role of religion in socio-political life than in Asia or Africa.

¹⁰ Mardom, April 5, 1980.

III

The main factors preventing or limiting united action of the progressive forces are closely interlinked. The evidence available to the Commission makes it possible to single out the following points:

Anti-Communist views and prejudices. What we mean is, of course, not such natural exponents of anti-communism as the imperialists, the bourgeoisie and its political organisations. Occasionally these views, especially in developed capitalist countries, are held by forces who can by virtue of their class political nature be allies of Communist parties; these forces include Socialist (Social Democratic) parties. However, the opportunities for cooperation with them in the struggle for general democratic objectives are not used fully due to the negative attitude of the leadership of these parties to the Communists. The CP of Great Britain, for instance, has repeatedly proposed cooperation to the Labour Party EC but its proposals have invariably been turned down.

With the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties of developing countries, anti-communism is no rare phenomenon. In some cases it goes to the extreme of denying Communist parties the right to legal existence, as in the Sudan, the Philippines, Turkey or Tunisia. There is also a variety of this denial which expresses itself in the ruling revolutionary democratic party's claim to political monopoly.

The People's Party of Iran found itself in a difficult situation shortly after the triumph of the anti-monarchic revolution in that country. "The shah's dictatorship and violent anti-Communist propaganda against the progressive forces of the country and the socialist camp poisoned people's minds with prejudice and even hatred," said Nouredin Kianouri, First Secretary of the CC PPI, in an interview. "Besides, the ruling circles have always known how to set religious people against popular forces oriented to social progress. It took considerable effort to combat this legacy effectively and make at least partial gains in overcoming prejudice. As the Shiite religion has democratic roots and has often acted in alliance with national and anti-imperialist forces, we come to terms with more and more Muslim leaders who, in turn, know of our devoted struggle for the people's interests, see us as a political force to be reckoned with and appreciate our constructive role."¹¹

Social reformist influence on the working class.

The countries where social reformist ideas are particularly widespread include Austria, Belgium, Canada and West Germany. In other countries, such as France, Italy or Spain, these ideas influence only some working people whereas the rest follows the Communist party. Social reformism is strong enough in some developing countries as well, including Turkey.

¹¹ Horizont, 10/1980.

Social reformist influence affects the political efficiency of the working class, unarms it to a degree vis-a-vis monopoly and ultimately makes it quite difficult to bring about unity of action of both the working class and other democratic forces. To avoid unnecessary emphasis on contradictions, Communists generally propose to other working-class parties joint action on all issues on which they agree. Growing crisis phenomena in developed capitalist countries and the resultant attack of monopoly capital on the socio-economic gains of labour foster trends towards unity among them. Of course, this does not exempt Communists, as the 23rd Congress of the CP of Belgium stressed, from working hard to rid the main forces of the working class and the democratic movement from the influence of reformist ideology and methods.

Relations between parties and organisations belonging to a united front. This is a problem of vast importance. The strength of the alliance, the prestige enjoyed by the united front among the masses and its capacity for effective political action depend on how equal the parties and organisations involved are and how democratically relations between them shape.

We have noted the widespread application of the slogan of national democratic front in Latin America and its very limited application in Afro-Asian countries. Whatever the reasons for this distinction, it is the Afro-Asian area, specifically Iraq, that sets a negative example of "intra-front" relations.

The Iraqi CP has championed unity of action of the nation's progressive forces ever since the 1940s, when the Party began to operate. In 1969, it proposed a draft National Front Charter to all political organisations. The second ICP Congress, which met a year after, pointed out that "forming a united progressive front and a coalition government is an urgent problem whose solution our Party seeks". Late in 1971, the ICP began talks on this issue with the Baath party and two years later the formation of the National Front was announced.

Iraq's Communists have always underlined the need to respect the political, ideological and organisational autonomy of all front members, guarantee freedom of constructive comradely criticism within the front and freedom for its members to advocate their principles and objectives provided these do not conflict with mutual commitments. The ICP also insisted on applying the principle of settling differences democratically, in a spirit of cooperation. As regards leading the front, this function should be assigned to the party enjoying the greatest confidence of the people.

The activity of the ruling Baath party contradicted all these principles. What Baath sought was not to guarantee democratic cooperation on an equal footing within the front but to do away with national parties by absorbing them or imposing its own political and ideological line upon them.

Every criticism was countered with force and afterwards there came terroristic methods to the point of executing Communists and progressive nationalists, both Arabs and Kurds. All this resulted in the disintegration of the National Front. The ICP was compelled to become an opposition party due to rapid retrogression in the ruling party's policies, the anti-Communist campaign of suppression and execution mounted by the authorities and the shutdown of ICP centres and the Party press. Lately the ICP has been preparing for the formation of a national democratic front that would fight for the abolition of the dictatorial, repressive regime and for a democratic coalition government.

The case of Iraq shows clearly enough that the policy of flouting elementary democratic standards and suppressing the equality of front members is incompatible with the very idea of unity of action of the progressive forces.

Sectarianism. This malady, which prevents united action, is particularly dangerous to small parties.

The Commission will confine itself to a further excerpt from Gus Hall's report to the 22nd CPUSA Congress. "We must," he said, "get out of the 'we are excluded', 'we are rejected', 'we are pushed into the corner' and 'we are a small minority' syndrome. We must forget and reject the political orphan complex. We have to become better swimmers in the big pond... For the present period the nature of the main weakness that holds us back from measuring up can be characterised as sectarianism... This deficiency ... is both

an underestimation of the mass upsurge and the Party's role in it... The struggle against sectarianism requires the conscious and consistent, never-ending seeking out and nurturing of allies, especially allies who are ready to work with us as Communists.¹²

There is no offsetting the negative impact of all these factors without persevering, patient and diversified effort by Communists. One of the main lines of this effort is to build up the strength of Communist parties. Last spring Georges Marchais, saying that the PCP's "feels fine", added that to keep it so was a key issue of the political struggle, a decisive requisite of progressive changes in France.¹³ This is also true of other Communist and Workers' parties; reinforcing the ranks of Communists is the chief prerequisite of the progressive forces' unity and united action.

¹² Op. cit., p. 93-94.

¹³ L'Humanite, April 22, 1980; L'Humanite-Dimanche, May 30, 1980.

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ALLIANCE POLICY: NEW STAGE

Harilaos Florakis

CC General Secretary,
Communist Party of Greece (CPG)

The Communist Party of Greece is faced with the need to reappraise the theoretical and practical aspects of the alliance policy by the changes now taking place in the Greek society and, to an even greater extent, by our society's acute need of change which still remains unmet. The point is to have the alliance policy more fully accord with the present conditions and the current and long-term tasks of the Communists' struggle, to help know as exactly as possible with whom one can go into battle, which of the allies is unreliable, and who is the real enemy.¹ Another inducement are the international current developments, which are having an ever more profound influence on the country's internal situation, the alignment and activity of its political forces, and the nature of their relations with one another.

When formulating and when implementing the alliance policy, our party consistently looks to the fundamental principles for such a policy as elaborated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, principles which, the CP Greece is convinced, have been and continue to be a reliable foundation for developing cooperation with other left-wing, progressive forces. That is why we seek to respond on alliance issues to the slightest shifts in the social and political situation and in the social consciousness and mentality of the masses. In doing so we are guided by the

creative spirit of our doctrine and the demands of life. We seek to apply flexible tactics, to improve the old and to produce new forms of relations with actual and potential allies of the working class and its revolutionary party.

Democratic Gains: the Crucial Factor

On its long historical way, the CP Greece has gained a wide range of experience in the struggle for uniting the revolutionary and democratic forces. It is vitally important to draw inspiration and energy from the historical lessons of our popular movement, now that the country is faced with serious choices and we want and must take major strides along the way of progressive change.² The content of the alliance problem and the forms of its solution in Greece tended to change with the peculiarities of each historical period and have borne the mark of our national specifics. But these changes relate to the particulars of the problem and not to its substance. Our experience, like that of the other Marxist-Leninist parties, including the ruling parties, shows that the winning of allies by the proletariat remains the key problem of revolutionary strategy, a problem that needs to be solved at the stages of the bourgeois-democratic and people's democratic revolutions, in the national liberation movement, in the socialist revolution, and in the building of the new society.

The role of the subjective factor--the role of the Communist Party itself--is brought out in boldest relief precisely

in the sphere of alliance relationships. In the early decades of its activity, the CP Greece already succeeded in awakening among broad strata of the working people a sense of working class solidarity and an urge for unity of action against reaction and the fascist threat. Unification of all the sound forces of the nation within the National Liberation Front (EAM), which led the armed struggle against the invaders during the Second World War, was one of our party's historic achievements. EAM not only ^{secured} / the liberation of Greece, but towards the end of the war effectively became the sole centre of real power in the country. Since then, the Greek Communists have invariably acted as the chief proponents of the tendency towards the unity of the popular masses and progressive movements and organisations fighting against the dictatorial regimes, against the country's subjection to imperialism, and for freedom, democracy and national independence.

Striving for such unity, the party came out for Greece's economic independence, industrialisation and modernisation, and for an independent development of its economy for the benefit of the people, all of which now have a close bearing on the demand for genuine change. It initiated the struggle for the equality of women, and for the rights of the young generation, while its activity helped to consolidate the working people's gains, among them the eight-hour working day and social insurance, higher incomes, longer holidays, and a five-day working week. The CPG has led the struggle for a distribution of land

among the peasants, a struggle to provide them with pensions, and also to establish fairer prices for agricultural produce. It was in the vanguard of the struggle for the working people's rights and freedoms, against violence and outlawry, authoritarianism and terrorism in any form. Indeed, the Communists have made what was the crucial contribution to every single democratic gain, and that is the basis for our alliance policy and ever stronger ties with the masses.

There are, of course, not only successes in the annals of the development and consolidation of the people's democratic unity, for it is an intricate and often contradictory process. Mistakes have also been made in the course of it, and for some of them we have had to pay a high price. But we would not be revolutionaries if we were afraid to admit them or tried to delete them from our record. CP Greece documents say, for instance, that after the invaders had been expelled from the country, there was an underestimation of social factors and an overestimation of political factors in the alliance strategy. Having failed to make due use of the potentialities created by the cohesion of the overwhelming majority of the people round the Communist Party and the EAM, the party leadership of the day decided to make unnecessary but serious political concessions to the rightists, as a result of which the latter managed to take power and thwart a social revolution the objective prerequisites for which had been created in the course of national resistance. The opposite mistake--underestimation of political

alliances--was made during the civil war (1946-1949), which reaction thrust on the people, a mistake that put the party into a state of some isolation from the other democratic forces.

What then are the lessons to be learnt from our experience of alliance policy? What conclusions have we drawn from that experience in the context of our current tasks?

Objective Analysis of Reality: the Basis

Considering the main and the most essential, one has to emphasise above all that the working class and its party can fulfil their revolutionary mission successfully only with skilful use of any possibility, however slight, to win a mass ally. We say together with Lenin: "Those who do not understand this reveal a failure to understand even the smallest grain of Marxism, of modern scientific socialism in general."³ The broader the alliance basis of the working class, the more solid are its positions in the society, and the better the prospects for the changes for which it is fighting.

Experience shows, furthermore, that the rallying of the masses and the other democratic forces round the working class never takes shape spontaneously. It has to be purposefully fought for every day. Our party believes that it is necessary to look more boldly and resolutely to the working class, the peasantry, the artisans, the handicraftsmen, the intelligentsia, and all the other working people, sensitively perceiving and

comprehending their wants and attitudes, and scrupulously taking account of the general level of their political consciousness and militancy whenever it gets down to defining its positions. When entering into a dialogue with other democratic forces, we believe that it is highly important to collate our ideas and policies with public opinion and strive to make known to ever broader masses of people the fact that deep social transformations cannot be effected without the CP Greece. We also seek to make people regard the Communists as champions of all their wants and hopes.

The Marxist-Leninist strategy of alliances shuns any kind of subjectivism. It is a science based on an objective analysis of the concrete historical reality and national specifics, and a summing-up of the experience of the international anti-imperialist movement. That is the basis for a correct formulation of the long-term and current problems in the struggle for alliances, and the forms and methods of their solution, for the assertion of principle and continuity in unity policy, while making it dynamic and capable of flexible response to the changing conditions. The Communists' strategy and the tactics which follow from it call for a constant reckoning with the whole range of factors in social development and their interaction at every given moment, starting from "a precise analysis of the position and interests of the various classes".⁴

How does the CP Greece, in the light of these demands, assess the objective conditions which now determine the content and the main lines of our alliance policy? What effect are these

conditions having on the composition and condition of the working class and of its social allies?

The Greek Communists believe that the changes under way within the structure of the society with the development of the country's productive forces and scientific and technical progress are highly important. They have primarily affected the working class, which has markedly grown in quantitative and qualitative terms in recent years. Skill and general education standards have risen, it is more organised and there are more industrial, especially factory, workers who are least susceptible to petty-bourgeois influence and constitute the most revolutionary part of the working class.

The relative industrialisation and intensification of agriculture have been pushing some of the peasants into the urban areas, where they join the ranks of the industrial proletariat. At the same time, the working conditions and social status of wage-earners, engineers, technicians and salary-earners are being gradually evened out, as the latter--their lowest strata, at any rate--lose their erstwhile material and status advantages and increase the number of those who are oppressed by the monopolies, and thereby also the ranks of active participants in the democratic movement. Young people and women are being intensively involved in production, and this stimulates their role in the struggle for the working people's democratic, anti-monopoly unification.

Policy Focus: Genuine Change

The CP Greece strives to shape its unity policy in accordance with these shifts. On the one hand, this line is differentiated in the light of the peculiarities of the situation and the specific interests of the various groups of the working people within the working class and the rest of the labouring population as a whole. On the other, it takes account of the areas in which all these groups are drawn closer together and which make it possible to bring out their common wants and tendencies, and to develop concrete forms of social and political alliances. The party's attention remains focused on the struggle for the cohesion of the working class itself, as the core and vanguard of the movement to unify the forces of democracy and progress, but if it is to be able to play such a role politically, its revolutionary party needs to conduct a consistent class line and to have the capacity to find the ground and forms for agreements with other democratic movements so as to shape a left-wing majority, at the grassroots in the first place.

When tackling the new tasks, we bear in mind yet another telling lesson of history dictated to us by the above-mentioned mistakes: in alliance strategy and tactics it is exceptionally important to have the right combination of the social and the political factors. Experience shows that political alliances without a social base are not worth much. They are, as a rule, weak and short-lived. But then, social alliances, which remain unformalised politically--as front, bloc, agreement, etc.--and which are not expressed in joint action by the various forces have little effect and present a potential, rather than a reality

of unity. In practice, alliance policy is not realised in direct cooperation between classes or strata, however profound the community of their condition and interests may be objectively, but in social movements and in socio-political coalitions bringing together the representatives of these classes and strata on a relevant struggle platform.

There are no cut-and-dried recipes for the establishment of such platforms, which always take shape according to the concrete situation and the requirements of the given moment. What, in this context, do we feel to be especially significant in Greece today?

There are, first of all, the consequences of the acute economic crisis, which have long been fettering economic life in the country, inflicting social calamities on the working people and inducing them to take joint action for their social rights. There is also a sphere of the progressive forces' identical interests determined by the need to fight against the system of the country's economic, military and political dependence on the United States, NATO, the Common Market and international imperialism as a whole. After many years of rule by reactionary regimes, democratisation problems are also of wide significance. Social life has only been partially democratised by the defeat in the parliamentary elections of the right-wing New Democracy (ND) party, and the assumption of office by the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) in 1981. Moreover, this process has shown a tendency in the recent period, to wane, and even to run in reverse along some lines.

In short, the Greek society is now acutely in need of radical economic, social and political transformations, and this, for its part, produces the need to unify all the progressive forces. That is why we centre our alliance policy on the problem of change, the programme for whose solution effectively constitutes the CPG's popular-unity platform. In concrete terms this means unifying all the social groups, parties and public movements desirous of real change for the pursuit of a progressive policy aimed to rid the country of US-NATO dependence, to strengthen national sovereignty, fundamentally democratise state institutions, eliminate the monopolies' domineering acts, and create the conditions for Greece's free social development.

No Dialogue Without Good Will

In the period of struggle against the reactionary regimes, many of its participants assumed that the political alliance dynamics would be determined by successive stages in the democratic process, running from right-of-centre to centre, then on to left-of-centre and, finally, to the triumph of the left-wing forces. The assumption was that a New Democracy right-wing government was better than the military junta, from which it followed that its policy should in the main be accepted and that there should be cooperation with it; the PASOK government is better than the ND government, which means that it should be given unconditional support. On the strength of such logic, one would have to keep trailing in the wake

of every successive, more liberal or reformist regime within the framework of the capitalist system, a procedure that would inevitably lead to a denial of the Communist Party's independent political role and to an abandonment of its tactical and strategic intentions.

The solution of the problems considered above implies a totally different course of events: utmost use of all the potentialities for attaining the goals of the working class, and as these are attained, formulation of new and deeper demands alternative to the monopolies' policy. In other words, it means stepped-up struggle for a continuous process of change, for a further growth of the working people's activity, faster maturing of mass political consciousness and unification of the masses on a platform of democratic and social transformations. We assess the situation which has taken shape in the country not only as compared with what happened in the past, under rightist governments, but above all with an eye to the long-term, real change being the criterion for such an assessment.

The CPG programme requires our constant presence in the forward positions of every front of the class struggle, and consistent efforts to unify the forces in a direction leading to the confluence of several streams demanding the solution of the people's economic, social and general democratic problems into a single anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly tide. Our party has always been willing and ready to use every opportunity for cooperation within that tide both on particular and on

more general issues at every level with all the forces opposing reaction, including, of course, PASOK as well.

However, we have not met with any positive response on the part of the latter. PASOK preferred a line of "reliance on one's own forces", or, in other words, a policy of one-party government. It has gone back on its erstwhile promises, and has confined itself to modernising the management of the affairs of state-monopoly capitalism. The government has pandered to the monopolies' dictatorial acts, it has maintained their privileges, and has shifted the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working people. Some of the positive aspects of its foreign-policy line do not go beyond the framework of Atlanticism. Instead of helping to unite the masses and forming a balance of forces necessary to overcome the obstacles thrown up by the ruling class and imperialism, PASOK has pointed to these obstacles as justification of its policy of deferring real change to the Greek Calends.

The government has recently stepped up its attacks on the trade unions, seeking not only to force through its anti-people measures, but also to settle scores with the monolithic, militant and mass trade-union movement, one of the basic barriers in the way of an even more conservative government. The authorities have mounted a juridical offensive against the majority within General Confederation of Greek Labour for the purpose of establishing total control of the trade-union leadership. The courts and the public prosecutor's

office are being used for anti-democratic measures against the trade unions and the strike movement.

In March 1986, still maintaining such a stand, the PASOK CC invited us to "a dialogue and cooperation". A plenary meeting of the CPG CC discussed that initiative in detail, but found it impossible to give it a positive assessment. Why not?

The PASOK proposals are much too general and contradictory, defining neither the framework nor the purposes of the dialogue and, most importantly, failing to indicate whether, in its view, the government's policy could be revised. Nor did they clarify PASOK's attitude to cooperation on particular problems and on grass-roots unity, or the general nature of the ties between the two parties that are to enter into a dialogue. On the one hand, they say that "the differences between our assessments, which are of strategic significance, make it impossible to work out a coherent left forces' programme in the foreseeable future". On the other, they speak of a united front on the basis of a minimum programme for the solution of national problems and of the prerequisites for unifying the progressive forces. There is, therefore, no suggestion of an establishment in practice of new forms of relations between the ruling party and the Left, but rather a political manoeuvre in the run-up to the October municipal elections designed to present PASOK to the voters as a "party of left unity".

The CPG CC stressed in its reply that our party has always stood and continues to stand for dialogue and cooperation between the democratic forces not only on particular issues, but also as a whole, so as to pave for the country a new way leading to change. But that implies identity of positions on at least the basic burning problems confronting the broad popular masses. A discussion of these problems would be of great importance for the country. We are, in principle, prepared to join PASOK and other public circles in reviewing the government's incomes policy, getting down to restoring democratic practices in the trade-union movement, introducing a system of direct and proportional representation, and democratising the laws and decrees which curtail the rights and role of the working people. The Central Committee's constructive proposals have, therefore, outlined the concrete framework for a discussion of tangible matters, and a dialogue benefitting the people and the country, irrespective of differences between the participants on other problems. We believe that some concrete acts by the ruling party in a spirit of good will could help to create a climate of trust that would make a dialogue possible and effective.

Towards a United Front of Left Forces

The Communists have not confined themselves to a general critique of the government's policy. They have set forth the goals of real change closely associated with the solution

of the vital problems in the life of the people, and they support any democratic reform, any sign of disagreement with the policy of imperialism, and any act aimed to preserve peace. The CPG has criticised the negative aspects of the government's policy, and has opposed every impediment to the country's progressive development.

We cannot fail to reckon with the contradiction between PASOK and the rightists or to consider that in certain conditions the popular movement will make use of it in one way or another to bring about change. The Communists emphatically reject the totally groundless assertions that there is some kind of cooperation between our party and the New Democracy party. Those who make such assertions are perfectly well aware that there is no basis for political cooperation with the ND leadership, which has deliberately twisted the idea of any possible joint activity by the Communists and the left-oriented working people with the supporters of New Democracy and other bourgeois parties within the mass movement for anti-monopoly objectives. The CPG has invariably kept its front deployed against the right-wing forces, the main proponents of the monopolies. But we do not regard the struggle against them as any kind of sharp demarcation, hostility, bias or barrier with respect to the conservative-minded section of the popular masses--those who follow New Democracy. We do not rule out the possibility of a positive differentiation in their midst, or joint action on concrete issues in the struggle for peace, democracy and national independence.

Our party has kept stressing the need for the working people's unity on a class basis, and has opposed any artificial division of them into diverse factions. We insist that both wage-earner and salary-earner, regardless of political credo or size of income, are wage slaves of capital. Peasants, artisans, handicraftsmen, researchers, and all other working people have common interests and unite in their mass organisations for the purpose of satisfying these interests. They are not divided into "rightists", "centrists" or "leftists", but find themselves, regardless of their convictions, in roughly the same position in the face of monopoly capital, their common enemy. It goes without saying that views differing from our own do exist within the working class and among the other working people. In carrying on a constructive and democratic dialogue, we insist on our own ideas, our political positions and our right to criticise other views. But we seek to do this in such a way as to help find a common idiom, to strengthen the working people's unity, and to establish relations of trust and equality with them in the struggle for a solution of our common problems.

The policy of popular grass-roots unity is the main content of the CPG's line of uniting the democratic forces. The foundation of this unity consists of the organisations carrying on action by the working people for their daily needs and an improvement of the economic situation, and against the attacks by the government and the monopolies on trade-union and democratic rights. We want this struggle to be closely

tied in with social issues, to spread the militant spirit among the working people, helping them to raise their political consciousness and understand the need for unity in the popular movement to get rid of the power of the monopolies, and for democracy and progress.

The way to solving the pressing problems now lies through the establishment of a united front of left-wing and progressive forces, a front that could rally the popular majority demanding change, win government power, and put through a programme of social transformations for the benefit of the people, for national independence and genuine democracy.

Do such forces exist?

Of course, they do. There is, first, the Communist Party of Greece, the most active generator of change, whose vanguard and unifying policy has the key role in shaping and widening the political space for transformations.

There are the groupings which have broken away from PASOK, are moving along their own way, and opposing the conservative trends in government policy. There are also considerable progressive circles within the ruling party that disagree with its policy, and are capable of altering their stand and joining the struggle for change.

There are the new mass trends--anti-war and ecological, among others--which have emerged outside the traditional political parties, and which have substantially invigorated the strength of the popular movement and its dynamic development.

There is no doubt that the upswing in popular action, the crisis of the two-party system, and of the parties within it, will also let loose other radical strata and stimulate the emergence of new left-wing forces. This is evidenced, for instance, by the fact that various political groupings, whose ideological positions are a long way from ours, are beginning not only to overcome the anti-communist preconceptions, but are also beginning to feel, in their own way, the need for cooperation with the CPG for the purpose of democratising the country and improving the life of the people.

Dialectics of Cooperation and Struggle

For the Communists, the united-front policy is not a short-term expedient, but a long-term and constant strategy aimed to rouse all the left-wing forces to the struggle against capital and for democratising the society, a struggle which helps to create favourable conditions for socialist transformations. But we take a realistic view of the potentialities of cooperation. Practice shows that while inter-party agreements help to solve one package of problems, they tend to exacerbate others, and to produce new issues connected, in particular, with the attempts to foist alien conceptions of cooperation on the Communists and make political capital at their expense.

Community of democratic interests is the most important unifying factor of political alliances. Preservation and development of democracy within their framework also serves

as a necessary condition for bringing out the centripetal and centrifugal trends among the participants of any coalition. But it is also obvious that internal contradictions which spring from the antagonisms of the capitalist society are bound to remain within such coalitions. Cooperation entails ideological and, frequently, also political, differences, and this requires constant efforts to overcome them and to concert positions and approaches to new problems. Unity and contest are not mutually exclusive, but complementary factors in the formation of any front of left-wing and progressive forces.

We are, therefore, faced with the formidable task of mastering the dialectics of a situation in which the party is required, on the one hand, to act as spokesman for the common interests of the popular majority and, consequently, to develop ties with other political forces, and on the other, to remain independent in the struggle for democracy and social progress. When conducting the unity policy, one needs always to be prepared for polemics with one's partners, and to conduct it in the light of principle, without destroying the basis for joint action or weakening cooperation.

Class and political alliances necessarily imply compromises, but of a kind that do not tie the Communists' hands or limit the possibilities of their own activity or independent political initiatives. In this context, Lenin says: "In the interests of the revolution our ideal should by no means be


that all parties, all trends and shades of opinion fuse in a revolutionary chaos."⁵ That is why we are not carrying on a struggle for coalition in general, but for a common front explicitly oriented towards progressive change, a coalition that is to act as the organising element in the popular movement. Our party's independence consists not in keeping a distance from other left-wing trends, but in a capacity to influence them and the general tenor of activity of the emergent alliances. The contradiction between coalition unity and party independence should be resolved not mechanically--through mutual exclusion--but dialectically, in the process of dynamic interaction between the two elements.

For all their differences, Greece's left progressive forces are united by an urge for change. That is why they can find common ground and bring their positions closer together so as to create the conditions for formulating a common programme for transformations. The main and most pressing thing now is to continue hammering out a common approach to the fundamental problems of the situation and the struggle of the working masses. The forthcoming municipal elections could be an important step in this direction. Last May's plenary meeting of the CPG CC stressed that the key task in the electoral campaign is for the party to do more in activating the municipal movements and in drawing up broad electoral rolls to express and deepen the consolidation of the progressive forces. There has already been a unification

of the Left supporting common tickets for mayoral elections in the big cities. Our party will do its utmost to turn them into the beginnings of a united front campaigning for change.

We regard the struggle for peace and against the danger of war as a constant and highly effective factor in the establishment of such a front, for it brings together ideological different parties and organisations and teaches them to act together to avert a nuclear catastrophe, thereby having a positive effect on the other spheres of cooperation between the democratic circles.

Our party has come forward with the initiative of forming a front of left-wing and progressive forces in the hope of creating an atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding in their relations, and the conditions for going on from cooperation on particular issues to political alliances on the basis of a common programme. Together we must overcome the mutual suspicion and ill-will, abandon the obsolete stereotypes of political thinking and behaviour which hamper unity and use every opportunity to carry the country along the way of democracy and social progress.



¹ See V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 18, p. 473.

² See records of the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of Greece, December 12-19, 1982.

³ V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 31, p. 71.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 366.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. 8, p. 165.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI
TÜSTAV

National-liberation movement
in Latin American countries
(A. Sukhostat)
Tr. Sdobnikov/NM

Comrade ... 253a
Please send your remarks to the
Secretariat by June 26.

Rolled off June 24.

THE LATIN AMERICAN PROLETARIAT AND ITS
ALLIES IN THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE

Below are the proceedings of a theoretical conference on "The Class Structure of Latin American and Caribbean Countries" held in Havana (see WMR, No. 7). Raul Valdes Vivo, CC member, CP Cuba, and a participant in the conference, shares his impressions of and thoughts about the discussion.

We think that the Conference was highly important. First, its topic is a central one in the study of problems in our region, and second, it coincided with a highly important moment in the Latin American revolutionary process. The peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean have now moved to the front line of the struggle against US imperialism, the most dangerous enemy of peace and mankind. Our continent has always been called volcanic. This is even truer today than it was in the past, because in the present situation the "eruption of two or three volcanoes" could produce a chain reaction--a "continental explosion".

The representatives of 33 Communist, Workers', Socialist and other left-wing parties and movements who took part in the Havana Conference, were unanimous in assessing the relations which have taken shape between US imperialism and the majority of Latin American countries. They gave concrete examples to show that it is impossible to advance to radical social change--a historical imperative--without abolishing foreign imperialist oppression.

At the Conference, no one asked the question of whether such changes were at all possible. The October Revolution speakers emphasised, has already provided a positive answer to that question. Under its immediate impact, revolutionary proletarian parties emerged on the continent. Confident in their ultimate victory, they did not assume--up until the revolution in Cuba--that liberation could be won in a short historical period. The Cuban revolution showed the broad masses (and also their enemies) that the epoch of national liberation and social emancipation had also arrived for the Latin American countries. That is the main conclusion of the Havana Meeting of Communist Parties of the region held in June 1975, a few months before the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba. That was the starting point for the participants in the Havana forum, which met on the eve of the Second Congress of the CP Cuba.

Of course, our present conference cannot be compared with the 1975 Meeting. This has been a purely scientific meeting to consider the position of the individual classes and strata of the population within the social structure of the Latin American society. Its task was to analyse the situation in which the struggle proceeds between the two main forces on the continent: imperialism and the local oligarchy, seeking to preserve the old, reactionary, historically doomed social system, on the one hand, and the rising revolutionary class, the proletariat, seeking to destroy it, and also its allies, on whom the outcome of this struggle largely depends, on the other. The presence at the Conference of the delegations from the three countries which have won national liberation

and social emancipation--Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada (and not just Cuba alone, as it was at the 1975 Meeting), shows better than any theoretical reasoning which side will win. The future belongs to the revolution, and its way runs through the anti-imperialist stage.

Archenemy of the Peoples

For a long time progressive public opinion has been focussed on the question of Latin America's dependence on the main imperialist centres. There are two diametrically opposite approaches to this question. Some scientists and politicians believe that many of its key processes, both economic and political, are determined by internal factors, and others by external factors, above all the influence of imperialism, notably the United States. Here, the participants in the Havana Conference were unanimous in their assessments, that US imperialism ~~has become an internal factor of the social structure of Latin American countries~~. This became especially evident after the Second World War, when the United States managed to oust its chief imperialist rivals from the region. Evidence of this comes from the emergence and then the growing role of trans-national corporations (US corporations in the first place) in Latin America's economic and political life, and the appearance of a phenomenon on the continent like dependent capitalism.

Some scientists have opposed the term itself, claiming that dependence is projected to the political sphere, which is at odds with the realities of political independence. Indeed, Latin American countries have political sovereignty and in

acting ever more vigorously against imperialism, but they have a dependent position within international economic relations, within the world-wide system of the capitalist division of labour. However that may be, the governments have to reckon with this fact when pursuing their domestic and foreign policy. And this applies both to relatively developed and to economically backward countries.

In the past few decades, Argentina has ceased to be an agrarian country and has become an agrarian-industrial country. But, Diego Sanchez, representative of the CP Argentina, declared, it continues to be dependent on imperialism, and economically backward country with an unevenly developed economy. Its main industries are still under the control of imperialist monopolies, the land-holding oligarchy and big compradore capital. Forty percent of the Gross Domestic Product, one-third of it in industry, is controlled by foreign capital, a figure which gives an idea of the sway of imperialism only in the main spheres of the Argentinian economy; actually it is much higher. That is why a closer look shows that the United States--and other imperialist powers to a lesser extent--get nearly 70-80 per cent of the earnings of the monopolies.

Jose Soares, CC member, Brazilian CP, said that imperialist capital is also engaged in a full-scale invasion of Brazil, the biggest country in the region, whose industrial growth rate until recently was among the world's highest. Foreign monopolies first penetrated into Brazil in the 1930s, when an attempt was made to meet the growing demands of the domestic market. In the 1950s, especially since the reactionary military coup of 1964, imperialism has further bolstered its positions,

mainly through take-overs of national firms by transnational subsidiaries, the purchase of a controlling interest in or merger with local private and state capital, and more intense exploitation of the masses.

One could have assumed that countries with rich natural resources would be able to escape from neocolonial dependence. But that did not happen. In the 1950s and 1960s, the United States received two-thirds of the oil it needed from Venezuela, but its real suppliers were not the national enterprises, but the monopolies controlled by Rockefeller. The nationalisation of oil which followed in 1976 merely altered the form of dependence. Pedro Ortega Diaz, CC Political Bureau member, CP Venezuela, said: "The oil industry, the main sector of the country's economy, has been nationalised, but we continue to be tied to the same old trusts through their control over technology and marketing. In 1979, Exxon and other imperialist oil trusts had their highest profits ever. It was officially exposed and admitted that one barrel of oil, sold in Venezuela for \$20-22, fetched \$40-44 abroad, i.e., exactly double the price".

The case of Ecuador shows beyond any doubt that the start of the "oil boom" in 1972 enabled it for a short time to rise from its place well down at the bottom of the continental economic league. From 1973 to 1977, its GDP grew at an average of 11 per cent. Ecuador has become Latin American's biggest oil supplier after Venezuela. But who has benefitted from this accelerated development? Efrain Alvarez Fialo, CC executive member, CP Ecuador, emphasised that "because the relations of production have remained virtually unchanged, the economic growth

merely helped to strengthen dependent capitalism and further to consolidate the imperialist positions, on the one hand, and the local ruling classes, the financial, industrial and commercial bourgeoisie above all, on the other."

We find the same situation in Colombia, which has Latin America's fourth biggest GDP, and which comes close to the countries that have attained the middle level of capitalist development. Jaime Quaisedo, CC Executive Committee member, CP Colombia, made it clear that the rapid development of the past decades is connected with a switch in the main direction of foreign investments: they now go mainly into industry, notably, chemical and petrochemical enterprises, paper production, coal mining and engineering. The imperialists seek to intensify the country's dependence not only by establishing control over the new dynamic industries, but also by strengthening their ties with the big landowners, notably the growers of coffee, who use the land and the labour-power to set up modern capitalist enterprises working for export. He added: "In this way the imperialist monopolies have penetrated into the very heart of the industrialisation in Colombia and, operating from inside, are trying to secure control of the whole Andean Pact."²

At the same time, in countries with fascist regimes

² The Andean Pact or the Andean group is a subregional commercial and economic association including Bolivia, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru and Ecuador. The relevant treaty was signed in 1969. Until the fascist coup in 1973, Chile was also a member of the Pact.

dependence has come as an organic element of the whole economic system. There, the ruling classes either put up very little resistance or none at all. There are not only political but also social reasons for this.

Julietta Campusano, delegate of the CP Chile, recalled in this context the assessment which Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the CP Chile, gave to the alliance that has taken shape between the big bourgeoisie of the Latin American countries and imperialist capital: "A section of the local bourgeoisie, chiefly the financial bourgeoisie, has become an element of the system of imperialist exploitation, while imperialism is increasingly becoming an 'internal' factor in many countries of the continent. Thus, a new class basis for fascism has emerged in Latin America, namely, an alignment of imperialist monopoly capital and internal clans."³

Chile, which is ruled by a fascist junta, shows better than any other country what such an alignment is. The speaker said that the gates which the Allende governments sought to close are now again flung wide open to imperialism. Investments of imperialist capital go mainly into the key sectors of the economy, in particular, the copper industry; the country is being exploited largely through its growing external debt. In the seven years of the fascist regime, Chile's external debt more than doubled, to \$8.5 billion, which is equal to virtually the whole value of the exported copper, or 40 per cent of total exports. The "new" economy has been distorted to the utmost, and its goals do not at all meet the national

³ Luis Corvalan, New Battles Ahead. Selected Articles and Speeches, Moscow, 1978, p. 479 (in Russian).

interests.

The situation which has taken shape in Uruguay differs little from that in Chile. A model of dependent fascism has also been established in Uruguay. Luis Fernandez, delegate of the CP Uruguay, reached this conclusion: "Imperialism is no longer an external factor, but is a component part of the country's internal structure, and an organic element of our internal contradictions".

The social structure of Mexico deserves special analysis. Carlos Shaffer, CC member, Mexican CP, explained: "In the foreign-policy sphere, our government has pursued a line which is independent of the United States and is aimed to maintain relations with socialist Cuba, and support liberation movement in Central America, but in domestic politics it seeks to impose a reformist, "national-revolutionary" or Social Democratic project (on Mexican lines)". Since the Second World War, there has been intensive centralisation of capital and the rise and consolidation of ^{the} local bourgeoisie in the country, which has laid the foundation for its association in the 1970s with the international monopoly bourgeoisie and with the state for the purpose of increasing investments in industry. Industrialisation, having exerted a tremendous influence on economic relations and accelerated monopolisation, eventually resulted in a new technological and financial dependence on imperialism. This kind of industrialisation, Shaffer emphasised, was made possible by the sharp increase in external and internal indebtedness, a growing deficit of the state budget and the trade balance, a high rate of inflation and the country's conversion from

an exporter to an importer of food."

Even the countries that have attained a relatively high level of development and advanced in their industrialisation have been unable to escape from or, at least, sharply to reduce their dependence on imperialism, countries without rich reserves of strategic raw materials are in a truly critical situation. There, the land continues to be the basic means of production.

That does not mean, of course, that capitalism has retreated in face of semi-feudal survival. The capitalist mode of production has been established on the continent, and its development--distorted but steady--is the dominant trend, despite the fact that latifundism, survivals of feudalism, and small-scale commodity production exert a strong influence on the system of social relations.

Having become an internal element of the structure, imperialism tends to step up its intervention in Latin America's political life. When the struggle for independence goes beyond the line that bourgeois apologists regard as acceptable, imperialism resorts to external economic coercion. The activity of the CIA and the transnationals coalesce and are increasingly coordinated. The tragedy of Guatemala is evidence of this," said Antonio Castro, CC member, Guatemalan Party of Labour. "Over the past 25 years, 25,000 persons have fallen victim to the fascist-minded regime installed by the United States with the aid of mercenaries. The Guatemalan people has been subjected to savage reprisals, even despite the fact that the 1944-1954 revolution was designed to put through bourgeois-democratic transformations".

Imperialism does not seek to do away with the land-owning oligarchy, but prefers to bourgeoisify it and to involve it in mixed capitalist enterprises, so as to turn it into an internal social basis. In its efforts to step up its association with local bourgeoisie, it leaves under its control some secondary industries and sectors of the economy. In agriculture and industry it has to be the junior partner.

Within the framework of dependent industrialisation, which is being implanted in Central America and the Caribbean countries, only those goods can be turned out which for various reasons the imperialist monopolies do not wish to produce and which are intent on developing the new industries connected with the scientific and technical revolution. As a result, the industrialisation goes only half-way, but the factor of dependence is most pronounced.

In Salvador, Jorge Martinez, a member of the leadership of the Popular Liberation Forces named after Farabundo Marti, said that development along this road has led to the emergence of a local bourgeoisie, and unquestioning partner of imperialism. It does not have even a minimum capacity for conducting an independent national policy. "There are two groups within it: the bourgeois-land-owner oligarchy (14 families control 60 per cent of the land area and have investments in all sectors of the economy: agriculture, trade, industry, the banks and finance), and the non-oligarchy circles (whose influence is confined to one or two industries)." It is not surprising, therefore, that for a half-century now the country has been saddled with a reactionary pro-imperialist regime.

We find the same picture in the Dominican Republic.

Carolos Dore, CC Political Bureau member, Dominican CP, said:

"Dependent capitalist development and a low level of agricultural production have determined the emergence of the social domination bloc consisting of the foreign or imperialist bourgeoisie, the local big bourgeoisie (industrial, commercial, financial and agrarian), landowners, the senior administrative and technical personnel, and the ecclesiastical and military hierarchy. This bloc is dominated by imperialist capital, which, directly or indirectly, expresses the interests of the international financial oligarchy, notably, the largest US corporations.

Orlando Nunez (Sandinista National Liberation Front) said that the regime overthrown by the Sandinistas was pro-imperialist. "In countries like Nicaragua, capitalist development imposes forms of production and reproduction which are not necessarily connected with the accumulation of national capital. If bourgeois-democratic transformations have not been put through for some reason, the contradictions between labour and capital have an effect not only on relations between workers and employers".

There was a peculiarity about imperialist domination in Grenada, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, and Surinam, a fact which merely re-emphasises the need, while bringing out the common features, to bear in mind the specifics of this or that country.

While the Latin American and Caribbean countries have a number of common and even largely similar features, the concrete historical, social, and political and geographical distinctions do exist and make themselves known. It could be said that one and the same type of dependent capitalist society has been established everywhere, but at different levels of development.

Brazil or Argentina having reached the monopoly stage, they could, of course, theoretically become imperialist powers, but this their senior imperialist partners will hardly allow. At the same time, a country like Guatemala, has no prerequisites for this. There, alongside the capitalist order, which has undoubtedly become the dominant one, diverse archaic forms of economic activity tend to exist side by side. This small state does not have a large domestic market, its natural and manpower resources are limited, while its socio-economic development is rigidly controlled by the bourgeois-landowner oligarchy and US imperialism.

The 1975 Meeting of Communist Parties emphasised the dialectical connection between national liberation and social emancipation, and noted: "Workers, peasants and all the other working people in Latin America will not find solutions for the problems of unemployment, poverty, low wages, illiteracy, lack of land and social inequality merely by doing away with the foreign exploitation of their country. Ultimate solutions for these problems will gradually be found only when exploitation by latifundists and bourgeoisie is eliminated."

At the theoretical conference, this proposition was reaffirmed and it was shown that dependent capitalism is going through a crisis in absolutely every sphere.

Development in the conditions of dependence merely leads to a saturation with cheap manpower of the industries which are not the leading ones (and which are, besides, controlled by foreign or mixed capital), and to the provision of cheap raw materials for the industrialised capitalist countries, the United States in the first place. In addition, Latin

American countries have to buy the means of production and the goods they require at high prices and to sell theirs at low prices. All of this leads to a growth of the external debt, which in 1979 came to \$100 billion. Foreign monopolies continue to be the chief investors in the region, making \$4.5 in net profits on every invested dollar.

Within the framework of dependent capitalism, it is impossible to ensure full national independence. The region's production potential could be used only to the full extent if it is released from the neocolonial division of labour, and if its countries take the road of social justice, equality in international affairs, and balanced and rational economic development.

That dependent capitalism is historically unviable becomes totally clear in the light of the following data presented by UN experts: one-third of Latin Americans live in "extreme poverty", while 100 million people go to bed hungry, live in wretched huts or in primitive dwellings, and are doomed to privation, ignorance and disease.

The backwardness of Latin American countries does not depend either on the size of territory or population. This is confirmed by Brazil, whose people are still awaiting the "miracle" which bourgeois propaganda has advertised for so many years. The policy of stepped up concentration of profits in the hands of the monopolies, especially foreign monopolies, the Brazilian delegate said, has doomed tens of millions of working people to dire poverty and has produced areas of absolute poverty. Nearly 40 million people roam the country in search of land, work or better conditions.

Hopes of a "miracle" were also entertained in Peru, after the take over by the military in 1968. However, Pedro Maita, CC Political Commission member, Peruvian CP, said, US imperialism, the oligarchy and the government are conducting an economic policy which is designed to shift the hardships of the crisis onto the working people, and which increases the cost of living, unemployment and partial employment, that affect 54 per cent of the economically active population.

The participants in the Havana Conference noted that dependence does not rule out development, but it does extremely hamper and even, as a rule, makes impossible the effort to overcome the "barrier of backwardness", which tends to grow in view of the growth of the productive forces under the scientific and technical revolution. Dependence produces dependence. To be more precise, it is being reproduced at the new twist of the spiral of the evolution of capitalism as a world system. The forms of subordination change, but not its substance, because the basis of dependence, namely, the vast gap in the level of development of the productive forces in the economically backward and highly industrialised countries is objectively preserved.

The main thing is to put an end to the domination, Jose Marti wrote, "of the brutal and insatiable North which despises us". Latin America must become the "homeland of free men", for which many revolutionaries have fought and given their lives.

Leading Social Force in Society

The participants in the Conference showed that the evolution of Latin American countries along the capitalist road leads to the development of the working class. It has grown in numbers, and its class self-consciousness and militancy have increased. Ever more frequently, its demands have a political tenor. In other words, there is a struggle for power. On the whole, ^{at} the present stage this struggle tends to be on an upgrade, although it is especially complex and abound in ups and downs. The peoples of the region have successfully withstood the onslaught by external and internal counter-revolution, and have gone over to the counter-offensive themselves. The three victorious revolutions--in Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada--have steadfastly beaten back all the moves by US imperialism and the oligarchy working hand-in-glove with it. Washington's strategists are alarmed at the prospect of Latin America slipping from their hands. Events in Salvador show that this could happen in a fairly short historical period. The new balance of forces in the international arena in favour of peace (despite the desperate effort of the United States and China to return mankind to the cold war period and to push it to the brink of a nuclear conflict) in favour of the world revolutionary process, the Soviet Union, the whole socialist community, the national-liberation and the international working-class movement provides a reliable bulwark for the fighting peoples which enables them not only to win but also to defend their victory.

A special situation has been taking shape in Latin America which differs markedly from Asia and Africa, where a struggle for national liberation and social emancipation is also under way,

because most Latin American countries are at a higher level of socio-economic development. They have a much larger proletariat, with a greater concentration and higher level of political consciousness. Our region has more than 50 million workers, with an aggregate population of over 300 million.

The actual strength and potentialities of the working class can be brought out only by analysing its concrete condition, as speakers, in fact, suggested. In 1920, the whole of Brazil had only 294,000 workers concentrated in a few states, with a total population of 30 million; by 1967, the number of workers was ten times greater: 3 million across the whole territory. Meanwhile, the total population had only trebled. Add to this figure the 5 million workers engaged in agriculture.

Argentina also has 8 million wage workers. The specific feature there is that a quarter of the proletariat is concentrated in manufacturing, and nearly 700,000 are agricultural workers. There are 85,000 enterprises employing nearly 60 per cent of all industrial workers, in Greater Buenos Aires, the federal capital.

In Colombia, where the economically active population totals 7 million, there are 3 million workers in town and country, the industrial proletariat comes to 900,000, and its industrial core to 500,000.

The centralisation of capital in Chile inevitably leads to the concentration of the working class, and its share in society has been steadily growing.

There is also a marked growth of the working class in Ecuador. In five years alone--1972-1977, the number of workers in industry went up by 22.8 per cent, to over 330,000, with the

economically active population totalling 2, 190,000.

In Uruguay, there is also an accelerated growth in the numerical strength of the working class. In Montevideo alone, 25,700 enterprises employ 362,000 wage workers, i.e., 68.7 per cent of the economically active population.

The revolutionary transformations effected by Velasco Alvarado's military government in Peru have led to a virtual disappearance of the landowner class and a strengthening of the positions of the two main hostile social groups: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Let us note that the latter now has a more conscious and organised ally in the peasantry.

A growth of the class struggle and further social differentiation are also in evidence in countries with a relatively low level of capitalist development. Thus, in Guatemala, the events of the 1944-1954 revolutionary decade, followed by the development of capitalism after the victory of the counter-revolution have led to a growth of the working class in quantitative and qualitative terms. In 1964, there were 30,629 factory workers, and in 1976--65,000. On the other hand, former farmhands who are day-labourers, have become agricultural workers, and there is no doubt about their class affiliation.

Similar processes are under way in other countries. This was described by Arturo Valdes Palacio, member of the leadership of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of Peru, Enrique Albarengo, CC Political Commission member and secretary, CP Honduras, Don Raboten, Political Bureau member, Workers' Party of Jamaica, and others.

The little island of Guadeloupe appears to be the only exception. The reason, Serge Pierre Justin, CC Political

Commission member, Guadeloupe CC, said, lies in the French colonial myopia, the factories are no longer receiving any investments to renew their production assets. In the past few years, the number of proletarians has sharply dropped, and now comes to 6 per cent of the population (317,000 in 1977), or 20 per cent of the economically active population.

Speakers at the Conference made it clear that the Latin American proletariat tends increasingly to set itself tasks which go beyond the framework of narrow class and economic demands, and are oriented upon deep-going social transformations. The dialectics of this process consists in the fact that as the class struggle deepens, the working class is brought to the fore as the force capable of leading the movement for radical changes in society, and creates the conditions for rallying round it broad sections of the population. Of course, historical potentialities cannot in themselves raise the proletariat to the role of leading force in a broad social coalition. Much here depends on the concrete conditions, on the balance of forces, but mainly on the revolutionaries' capability and skill in making the utmost use of favourable opportunities for rapidly converting the proletariat in the leading class, for releasing it from the still strong influence of bourgeois ideology. This becomes especially important now that an acute contest is mounting in the region between revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary forces, between the forces of democracy and the fascist-minded reaction. The tragic experience of Chile and a number of other countries shows that reaction inflicts its most savage blows at the working class and its political vanguard, the Communist, Workers', Socialist and other revolutionary

organisations. Simultaneously, the ideologists of the counter-revolution have mounted an extensive propaganda campaign in an effort to smear the proletariat's class struggle and present it as a dark and destructive element. The participants in the Havana meeting said: "There is need not only to rebuff these moves and to draw on the historical experience of the working-class struggle for convincing arguments to refute the bourgeois ideologists' slanderous attacks, but also to assert one's revolutionary ideology."

External and Internal Allies.

The proletariat is not engaged in its difficult struggle for emancipation alone: it has its natural external and internal allies. Its external allies, as the 1975 Meeting emphasised, are the socialist community countries, the national-liberation movement and the international working class. A noteworthy feature of the theoretical conference in Havana was the unanimous recognition of the role and importance of the chief revolutionary forces of our epoch.

This is a natural approach. After all, many Communist Parties, and not only they, have realised from their own experience that these three forces—the socialist community, the international working class and the national-liberation movement—are, to paraphrase the well-known saying, the firm spot by means of which the old world can be moved on. The Cuban revolution provides the best evidence of this. To the alarm of the imperialists, Maoists and reactionaries of every stripe, this truth is now being realised, together with the Communists, by other revolutionary contingents of Latin America fighting for national liberation and social emancipation. On the question of external

allies, the representatives of Socialist Parties and guerrilla organisations in the region voiced the same view as the Communists.

But who are the internal allies? Speakers at the conference said that no detailed answer could be given to this question by any international forum, for that is the business of every national contingent of the proletariat. And not only because of the question of "sovereignty". The main thing is the correct understanding of the problem, as otherwise it is impossible to break with dogmatism.

Although the assessments of the ways of struggle and of allies were not always unanimous, all speakers concentrated on Lenin's idea that at the stage of imperialism, when the bourgeoisie becomes a reactionary class, the proletariat has to play the role of leading force not only in the struggle for socialism, but also in bourgeois-democratic, national-liberation and anti-imperialist movements. The shaping alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, and all the other working people is not a slogan but living reality. The all-embracing system of capitalist exploitation leads to a situation in which apart from the peasantry, other diverse strata of the population, numerous groups of small-holders, officials, intellectuals, and students move closer to the working class.

German Sanchez, a member of the Cuban delegation, said in this connection: "The worsening living conditions of the working people, together with the spread of wage-labour among strata not directly involved in the creation of value but promoting the reproduction of capital bring out the proletariat among all the classes and groups and enlarge the possibilities for

its material interests coinciding with the interests of other sections of the people, especially with those of the impoverished middle strata, the radicalised petty bourgeoisie, the peasant population and the marginal strata. Thus, the 1975 Meeting of Communist Parties says; "The proletariat seeks to become the chief factor in rallying all the other democratic and anti-imperialist social strata".

These diverse classes and sections, which have similar living conditions and are subjected to exploitation, constitute a majority of the people, and this majority objectively acts as historical subject of the proletarian revolution. For the Marxist-Leninist parties, the concept of people acquires its true significance precisely in just such a context. In his famous speech, "History Will Vindicate Me", Fidel Castro said: "By people we mean, when speaking of struggle, the vast and deprived mass which is promised everything and which is deceived and betrayed by everyone, but which yearns for a better, fairer and more fitting homeland. We have in mind those who have striven for justice for ages, and has suffered from injustice and insults from generation to generation. We have in mind those who want wise and great transformations in every sphere, those who are prepared to give their all, to the last drop of blood, for the cause in which they believe and which they cherish."

The only exception is a small group of the bourgeois-landowner oligarchy and its servitors in the bureaucratic state apparatus, and this provides the objective basis for a broad policy of working-class alliances. This idea was reaffirmed at the Conference. It was noted, in particular, that the attainment and consistent consolidation of economic

independence--the basis of full national sovereignty--is one of the important goals of the working-class struggle. This does not mean that the door is closed to members of other classes and sections of the population who, while pursuing their own interests, are moved by patriotic feelings and protest against oppression by imperialism and the oligarchy.

Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, CC Political Bureau member, CP Cuba, called on the conferees to devote special attention to some new questions. What, for instance, is the impact on the social structure and the activity of classes in Latin America of the fact that highly concrete forms of monopoly capital have already taken shape in some countries? By its very nature, monopoly capital is known to be reactionary. However, when formulating a programme of struggle against imperialism, there is a need to establish to what extent it is possible to use the contradictions, however short-term, which spring from the subordination of our economies to foreign monopolies and activity of the transnationals.

"The presence of monopoly capital", the speaker said, "has impelled some members of revolutionary organisations to suggest that its emergence is a sign that the class struggle is sufficiently well developed, that the period of the national-liberation revolution has passed, and that the proletariat must go over directly and finally to a socialist revolution, discarding all intermediate stages of revolutionary struggle. In this context, we must ask ourselves: "Is this an inevitable conclusion? On the correct solution of this problem depends the adoption of a correct or incorrect strategy, which is why the answer to it is not a speculative one, but a vital necessity

The participants in the Havana meeting emphasised the need for unity within the framework of the existing differences. Whereas the cohesion of the Communists and other revolutionaries in Europe in the struggle for peace is as necessary (and it is developing successfully) as it is difficult (because the required degree of unity has yet to be achieved), in the Latin American and Caribbean countries the alliance of Communists, Socialists and young contingents of left-wing forces is being forged step by step. It is a prime task of all revolutionaries to clear the way for it.

Creation of the Political Army of Revolution

How is one to win over allies?

Analysing the class struggle in France in the mid-19th century, Marx emphasised that it was not only a matter of the proletariat's understanding of who its allies are, but also of the latter likewise realising that the proletariat can be their vanguard. And that comes only from practice, the great teacher of the masses. Marx wrote: "The French workers could not take a step forward, could not touch a hair of the bourgeois order, until the course of the revolution had aroused the mass of the nation, the peasants and petty bourgeois, standing between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, against this order, against the rule of capital, and had forced them to attach themselves to the proletarians as their protagonists."⁴

While there was definite unanimity assessing the place of the proletariat and the peasantry, there were different approaches in analysing the role of the so-called middle strata

⁴ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Collected Works, Vol. 10, p. 57.

and the national bourgeoisie.

Alberto Munos, representative of the CP Salvador, expressed his view as follows: the bulk of the working class of Salvador (or the industrial proletariat) took shape recently; it mainly consists of former peasants; the level of its class consciousness has grown, but it is still inadequate. On the other hand, apart from the existing traditional middle strata, new middle sections have arisen. They are connected with industry, trade, the services and state administration.

The country's development within the framework of dependence has led to a rapid proletarianisation of masses of peasants and an accelerated growth of marginal groups. Despite the crisis, the higher education system continued to expand, which led to the appearance of a large number of students, specialists and members of the liberal professions, without any prospect of getting a job under the existing system. All these large sections are not satisfied with their condition. Their protest has been growing from day to day, accelerating their involvement in the struggle together with the proletariat. Munos further emphasised that unity in the joint struggle against dependence on imperialism, and for freedom, justice and social progress could be attained "only if revolutionaries belonging to different political organisations understand that that is precisely the social basis on which the new left movement has emerged and exists in Latin America.... We believe that the reason for the fairly wide-spread phenomenon, when Communist Parties in backward, dependent countries do not rise to the role of revolutionary vanguard will be found not only in the fact that

the social basis in these countries favours the emergence of "new left" forces, but also in the fact that it promotes the growth of populist and bourgeois-reformist trends which now and again have deep roots.

The same point was made by representatives of the Costa Rica revolutionaries who presented a common paper on behalf of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica (Communists) and to two other organisations: the Costa Rican Socialist Party and the People's Revolutionary Movement. The paper says: "Some assume that the middle strata have always--in the action in Latin America over the past 20 years at any rate--followed in the wake of the bourgeoisie, and that their revolutionary potential virtually equals zero. The advocates of this thesis refer to the experience of the revolutionary movement in the course of which the working class, because of its weakness, was unable to secure the leadership, and it passed into the hands of the bourgeoisie, which carried along with it the middle strata as well, because of their 'two-fold' social nature.

It was noted in this context, that the problem is most acute in Costa Rica, where the middle strata are very large, for it is largely due to their struggle that the country has developed ~~dem~~ democratic traditions and social gains. The working class and its organisations must, as they did in the past, take this into account, maintaining constant contacts with the middle strata and preventing them from being manipulated by the ruling classes.

Gheddy Jagan, General Secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, declared, for his part, that "Guyana's experience shows up the weak aspects of petty-bourgeois

nationalism and confirms the two-fold feature of the petty bourgeoisie as a class. At some stage it accepts the leadership of the working class and has a progressive role to play, acting from anti-imperialist position, and standing up for an independent national economy. But the other trend comes to prevail at the following stage. The state, controlled and directed by the petty bourgeoisie, becomes not only an instrument for the accumulation of capital for the benefit of ^{the} petty and middle bourgeoisie, but also an instrument for oppressing and putting down the mass of the working people".

The Panama delegation made a contribution to the discussion of this question. Cleto Manuel Souza, CC Political Bureau member, People's Party of Panama, said that "At the present stage of the revolutionary process in Panama, which is anti-imperialist, a sizable section of the national bourgeoisie has acted together with popular forces: workers, peasants, representatives of the middle strata and the petty bourgeoisie. If the working class fails--at the culmination period of the national crisis--to spread its ideology extensively enough, to assert its policy of alliance with the peasantry, this, on the one hand, has an effect on the revolutionary acts of the military, i.e., a "revolution from above", which is carried out in isolation from the masses, and on the other, induces some sections of the national bourgeoisie to join to the bloc of forces taking shape at the given moment. But its influence is expressed so strongly that the process is given a bourgeois content, although the military, who come from the people, continue to play the role of leader.

Workers, peasants, students and all the other working people take an active part in the revolutionary process, acting as its support and mainstay, but not as its chief motive force. At the same time, the middle strata and the petty bourgeoisie, vacillating between the ideology of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, have a sense of uncertainty, indecision and fear of any deepening of the transformations."

On this question, the Argentinian Communists' stand was expressed as follows. The problem of alliances is of vital importance for the working class, because its vanguard must pursue the right strategy and choose the correct tactics in the light of each concrete moment. The CP Argentina has long since worked out a clear-cut strategy envisaging the attainment of the broadest unity, including both the working class and the bulk of the national bourgeoisie, a unity whose central core is a worker-peasant alliance, in which the proletariat acts as the leading force.

There have been periods in the country when it seemed that such a unity was close or actually achieved. But even when that was true to some extent, it was the bourgeoisie that played the role of leader and demonstrated its inability to deepen the incipient process. Many erroneously believed that Peronism, which rooted in the working-class movement was capable of playing this leading role. But they failed to take into account the bourgeois-nationalist character of his ideology. That is why it is right and important to draw the conclusion that the reason why reaction has maintained its domination, despite the breadth and power of popular action is that it had ideological and political control of the masses.

Attainment of the desired goal--a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution developing along the road to socialism--requires the infliction of a final defeat on fascism, establishment of a broad public dialogue without any conditions, unification of civilian and military forces round a joint minimum programme, and the creation of a military-civilian coalition government seeking to renew democracy.

The question of the place of the national bourgeoisie in the anti-fascist front was also raised by the Chilean Communists. It was noted, in particular, that imperialism seeks, with the aid of fascism, to implant state-monopoly capitalism in the country. Local financial clans impose their will on some strata of the bourgeoisie, while ruthlessly ruining others. The growing competition under fascism cuts across the interests of the bulk of the bourgeoisie and even of some of the small groups of the financial oligarchy, which have no key positions within the dictatorial power system. Speakers emphasised this idea of Corvalan's as expressed in the document Our Democratic Project: the alternative is not to create a socialist or a bourgeois state in place of the fascist state, but to replace it by a new, democratic popular system that would make possible changes dictated by the objective necessity of social development. The main thing is to bring about, following the overthrow of fascism, a general revival of the economy, as this will make it possible to restart the production facilities now lying idle in industry and agriculture, while simultaneously providing jobs for the proletarians, employees, specialists and members of the liberal professions, and also for millions of Chileans in exile.

This is in the interests of the working class, the unemployed, the employees, the semi-proletarians, the artisans, the vast majority of the rural population, the traders, the owners of transport facilities, members of the liberal professions, and broad strata of the national bourgeoisie. That is undoubtedly one of the key issues in the establishment of an anti-fascist alliance.

However, some speakers cast doubt on the possibility of the national bourgeoisie taking part in an anti-imperialist front. Those who held this view, notably, representatives of some Chilean organisations, came out in favour of a purely anti-capitalist programme in the fight against imperialism.

It was also noted at the Conference that the Indian population, which is fighting for its right to have communities and land and to safeguard its cultural values, could also be involved in the struggle against reactionary, racist and pro-imperialist oligarchies. This was suggested by speakers from Chile, Guatemala and Peru.

The alliance of the working class with other exploited strata of the population tends to arise, as a rule, as a result of an agreement between two or more political or social organisations on the basis of a joint programme providing for more or less long-term cooperation. The progressive forces of the Latin America face a number of common tasks: liberation from imperialist dependence, nationalisation of foreign companies, control of local industry, a radical agrarian reform, modernisation of technologies both in industry and in agriculture, a genuine restructuring of the system of education and elimination of illiteracy, the raising of the people's material and cultural

standards, democratisation of public life, etc. Today, such a programme could be signed by sufficiently influential political circles in many countries of the continent, forces representing the working class, the peasantry, the middle urban strata, the intelligentsia, the petty bourgeoisie and a section of the middle bourgeoisie. It is possible for them to set up an alliance provided the struggle has reached a level when the clearly formulated idea of unity goes home to broad (even if not all) sections of the population which are objectively allies of the Communists and other revolutionary forces.

The proletarian party is faced with the task not of brushing these aside, not of entertaining the hope that in the concrete conditions the difficulties of the alliance will make themselves known, but to prepare for their emergence and their overcoming so as to muster all the progressive forces.

This crucial importance of the unity of the progressive forces, in the first place, of their revolutionary contingents, was noted by the delegates of Cuba on the strength of their own experience. There was good reason, they said, why Fidel Castro's Report to the First Congress of the CP Cuba, was symbolically entitled "Unity Has Led Us to Victory", for this reflects the positive contribution made by the Cuban revolution in solving this problem.

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Every figure of speech is conventional, but there is still good reason to compare the Latin American continent with a zone of volcanic activity. It implies that every volcano has an explosive substance, although the eruption of one volcano

does not necessarily have to lead to the eruption of others. The differences should also be borne in mind. One must realise that they are expressed within the framework of one and the same historical process. The Latin American region contains about 30 countries. They all have a similar past, a kindred culture and geographical proximity. They are faced with a common enemy-- for the second time in their history: first, the colonialism of the European powers, and now US imperialism. A bitter struggle is under way everywhere. Strikes break out, guerrilla units fight battles, the masses are mobilised, protests are issued, coups are staged and bloody repressions mounted. More major upheavals lie ahead.

The social structure of Latin American and Caribbean countries is such that it is not only the Communists that think that the revolution is inevitable. It is on the agenda, although no one, of course, intends to set a precise date.

The theoretical conference summed up the importance of socio-economic factors determining the revolutionary struggle at the centre of which stands the proletariat. It also showed that this struggle cannot be suspended. If the vanguard is capable of correctly directing the action of the masses, no reaction can stop them. Direct armed intervention, Fidel Castro says, would merely produce more Vietnams.

While the theoretical conference was under way in Havana, Salvador's fascist-minded gang assassinated Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, the head of the country's Catholic Church, known for his courageous statements against the oligarchy and imperialism, in the presence of his parishioners, while he was officiating

at mass. This has happened for the first time in history of the continent. Could there be more convincing evidence of the great intensity of the class struggle? There is growing division in the Church and the army, two social institutions which have traditionally catered for the interests of the ruling classes. Neither the Church, nor the army are at all united about doing the will of the exploiter minority.

Even the big bourgeoisie is split into various groups and factions. It begins to understand that the silence of the graveyard established by the fascist regime is short-lived. The fascist "solution" tends to sharpen the contradictions even in the upper tiers of the social pyramid, a fact which creates the conditions for winning new allies for the masses.

The participants in the conference stated that these constant changes and clashes intensify the internal tensions, signalling, like volcanic smoke, the looming social eruptions. The process has brought out the factors which prevent the proletariat from using the "explosive substance" of the conflicts that arise (these cannot be solved within the framework of dependent capitalism) to carry out the people's democratic and liberation revolution paving the way for a new society without exploiters and exploited. For that is the only society capable of successfully realising the strategy of allround development.

The subject of the conference, Pavel Auersperg, CC member, CP Czechoslovakia and WMR Executive Secretary from Czechoslovakia, said at the final session, is of great interest for the revolutionaries not only in Latin American and Caribbean countries, but also of other regions of the world, for all those who want

their countries to be free, sovereign and independent, equal and enjoying the benefits of peace, democracy and social progress.

The Havana Meeting was itself a manifestation of the profound sense of solidarity connected with internationalism, the proletariat's most important weapon. It is internationalism that enables one to take the advanced stand of genuine patriotism. All delegates, pointing to the numerical growth of the proletariat and its potential allies, who make up the vast majority of the population, noted that the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean have an invincible revolutionary force that has been growing extremely fast. In the epoch of the general transition from capitalism to socialism, this force is able to break the fetters of foreign oppression and its local henchmen in a historically short period.

The participants in the Conference at Havana were unanimous in believing that the revolutionary forces of Latin American and the Caribbean as a whole were prepared to advance from an explanation of the world to its revolutionary change. It is the growing role of the working class in every sphere of social life, its political maturity and much higher fighting efficiency that warrant such an optimistic conclusion.

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UNITY AT THE GRASSROOTS: BASIS FOR ALLIANCES

Donis Christofinis

CC Political Bureau member,
Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL)

The policy of class and political alliances is a major component of the activity, strategy and tactics of AKEL. In pursuing it, the party invariably adheres to Marxist-Leninist principles, doing its best to use in the conditions of Cyprus the vast experience gained by the international communist movement. We consider that both the present domestic situation and the tense world situation, which is fraught with nuclear disaster, necessitate the formation of the broadest possible coalition of forces to eliminate the dangers threatening our people and the whole of humanity.

We attach primary importance to working class unity, to strategic alliances of the working class with poor peasants, progressive elements of the middle classes and intellectuals, and to tactical, short-term agreements with other class forces and their parties. AKEL proceeds from Lenin's proposition that the ultimate, strategic goals of the working class do not contradict general democratic goals and are mutually complementary. While giving priority to tasks imposed by this or that stage of the struggle in the country, we Communists never renounce the class objectives determining the nature of our party.

Communist policy couples the defence of peace, national independence and democracy with mobilisation of the working class to fight for better living and working conditions and to accomplish its historical mission, which is to build socialism. The interests of the proletariat coincide with those of the majority of the people. And while the patriotic section of the national bourgeoisie remains opposed to the proletariat in the social sphere, it allies itself with the latter in resisting aggression and in fighting for peace.

Marxism-Leninism and the Communists' international experience have shown that cooperation with other forces in defending peace and democracy require patience and tact in order to achieve closer cooperation on these issues and, where possible, to spread it to other issues, for instance, economic development in the interests of the majority of the people. In seeking unity of action of the working people on these issues, the party works to draw as many of them as possible into the fight for peace and into international solidarity actions.

The policy of alliances as conceived by Lenin is an art. It encounters major roadblocks, primarily in the form of tenacious anti-communist prejudices among prospective allies and partners. When national fronts are set up, nationalists often discriminate against the Communists, considering groundlessly that Marxists cannot be patriots because they are internationalists. AKEL has proved its patriotism by deeds. No amount of slander can refute the fact that during British colonial rule our party led the people's political struggle for liberation

and that afterwards it was the mainstay of Cypriot independence and made numerous sacrifices in resisting the conspirators and Turkish aggressors¹ and in defending democracy and national independence. We must admit, however, that cooperation is occasionally handicapped by our own sectarian mistakes, by our making too high demands on partners, such as are out of keeping with their interests and the level of their ideological and political maturity.

In carrying on our activity, including our policy of alliances, we attach special importance to correctly combining the national with the internationalist. We do this with due regard to both the existence of two communities--Greek and Turkish--in our state and the fact that Cyprus lies in the Eastern Mediterranean, one of the "trouble spots" of the planet.

Cypriot Communists fought in the ranks of the Spanish International Brigades in the 1930s, and now they join actively in every international campaign of solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Cuba, Algeria, Vietnam, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Palestine, South Africa, El Salvador, Nicaragua and other countries. In turn, this solidarity makes for stronger international support of our people's patriotic struggle.

The dialectical unity of the national and the internationalist also expresses itself in the Communist-led movement of Cypriot public opinion against the foreign bases on our soil. The movement is patriotic, since real freedom, security and independence will be impossible for as long as the bases are there. Besides, the bases serve imperialism as a bridgehead

for aggression throughout our region, and this lends the fight for their abolition an internationalist character.

The Communists of Cyprus have been pursuing their policy of alliances on an inter-national basis ever since the beginning of the revolutionary movement on the island. As far back as the 1920s, the Communist Party of Cyprus called on all Greek and Turkish Cypriots, on all working people, to act together within a united liberation front against British colonial rule. An article published in its newspaper, Neos Anthropos, on January 8, 1927, said that "all the parties which realise the need to free Cyprus must direct their efforts" towards forming this front and ^{that} / "all anti-British elements, whether they side with the bourgeoisie or the proletariat and whether they are Greeks or Turks, must cooperate in the struggle against foreign domination".

Ours is the only party having hundreds of Turkish Cypriots in its ranks. Dervis Ali Kavazoglu, a member of the AKEL CC killed by Turkish terrorists, was a hero of all progressive Cypriots and a symbol of friendship among members of different nationalities. Thousands of Turkish Cypriots belonged to the Pancyprian Federation of Labour (PEO), the largest national trade union of the country, an organisation led by the Communists until 1974, when the island and its population were partitioned.

The party and the mass organisations led by it always strive for close relations between the two communities. A broad-based Commission for Closer Relations set up on AKEL's initiative carried on work to this end, and recommended the go-

vernment to issue a Declaration on the Rights of Turkish Cypriots, which it did.

In spite of the difficulties and obstacles created by Denktas, head of the regime imposed on the Turkish-occupied part of the island, PEO and Devis (progressive trade union of Turkish Cypriots) as well as right-wing trade unions of the two communities--SEK and Türksen--maintained contacts between themselves. At a conference held in London (November 1984), six trade union organisations of Greek and Turkish Cypriots jointly discussed social security problems. In 1985, national trade unions concerned themselves in Nicosia with the problems of a social security fund, the dockers and fruit-packing workers.

Large delegations of the two communities attended world peace forums in Sofia and Prague, where they issued joint statements in favour of peace and an independent, sovereign, united, federal, non-aligned and fully demilitarised Cyprus. These statements were signed by AKEL and the Democratic Party (DP) led by President Spyros Kyprianou and operating on the free territory of the island, the Turkish Republican Party and Party of Communal Liberation active in the occupied area, by trade unions, youth organisations and peace committees of both parts of the country, as well as by many other organisations. Until recently, intellectuals representing both sides met in Nicosia and outside Cyprus.

Ever since it was founded (1941), AKEL, successor to the Communist Party of Cyprus,² has been striving for the formation

of an alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the middle strata. As a result of its efforts and the mobilisation of youth and women, the party laid the groundwork for a united Communist-led front of working people known as the Popular Movement. This is the most powerful social and political alignment on the island, and while it does not yet speak for the majority of the population, it is a major factor of peace, social progress, and the independence of Cyprus.

Along with left unity, unity of action on current issues was achieved by trade unions of different political affiliation. Efforts by the Communist leadership enabled PEO to cooperate with SEK, the nationalist trade union, on a permanent basis and at every stage from the examination of a problem to the advancing of demands, the organisation of strikes and collective bargaining.

This unity of action, which is based on common economic and social problems, is all the more important since the proportion of organised wage and salary earners ranges from 80 to 85 per cent. This explains why nationalist unions cooperate with us in the defence of peace, the fight against racism in South Africa and other international actions.

A distinctive aspect of the working class movement in Cyprus is that, unlike other capitalist countries of Europe, Cyprus has no social democratic movement of the classical type. Whereas the communist movement in Cyprus has a record of nearly 60 years, the "socialist" / ^{party} known as the Unified Democratic Union of Cyprus (EDEK) came into being only 16 years

ago. EDEK enjoys hardly any influence among the workers and its peasants. The petty-bourgeois intellectuals are / main social base.

AKEL has always aspired to tactical maturity. In upholding class demands under British colonial rule, it gave priority to liberation from that rule. During World War II, the party saw the paramount task in fighting against Hitler fascism, and on June 16, 1943, its CC urged its membership to join in this fight. By combining principle with flexibility and following a policy of alliances in the struggle against colonial rule and fascism, the party increased its influence and won stronger positions among the people.

The anti-fascist war, the heroic offensive of the liberating Red Army and the Greek Resistance provided favourable conditions for implementing a decision of the Third AKEL Congress (April 1944) which called for the formation of a united front to carry forward the liberation struggle. In October of that year, a conference of parties and mass organisations signed a protocol on cooperation and reached agreement in principle on establishing a National Council. However, resistance from anti-communists and the civil war that broke out in Greece in December 1944 made it impossible to set up the council.

Nevertheless, our party kept up its effort to achieve unity, especially through contacts with progressive members of the national bourgeoisie and diverse democratic elements. During the 1946 municipal elections, AKEL and the National

Front, which comprised various left-wing mass organisations, formed in common with other democrats a National Cooperation Bloc that won the elections in most cities. Communists became mayors of Limassol and Famagusta.

The people's liberation struggle went on gathering momentum. In January 1955, the AKEL CC called for the formal institution of a United Patriotic Front calling in its minimum programme for the full and unqualified self-determination of the Cypriot people. The party saw this as the fundamental and most pressing task. It urged all the Greeks and Turks of the island, regardless of ideological or other differences, to unite in struggle against the repressive policies of the colonial authorities, against the foreign bases and for the demilitarisation of the country.

In 1960, our people won limited independence, and the Republic of Cyprus was founded. But the national liberation movement went on. The three guarantors--Britain, Greece and Turkey--imposed their diktat. British imperialism retained its bases on the island. Curbs on independence hampered unfailing enforcement of the Constitution.

Rightly defining that period of the struggle as a national liberation stage, AKEL declared for the formation of a Pancyprian United Front on the basis of a minimum programme and for the broadest possible anti-imperialist unity of the people. It backed the efforts of Archbishop Makarios, the first president of the republic, towards consolidating the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus and

defeating chauvinist attempts to set the two communities against each other and the subversive activity of EOKA .2, the fascist organisation executing imperialism's will under the nationalist slogan of enosis.

After the 1974 events and the Turkish invasion, we raised our sights to the formation of a national unity government. However, differences between other parties prevented the achievement of this goal. Thereupon a National Council embodying national political unity was formed, with Makarios as Chairman. The unifying centre at the grassroots was the Coordinating Committee of Parties and Organisations. On the initiative of our party, the Committee Secretariat was also proclaimed Cypriot Committee for European Security and Cooperation, a move reflecting a combination of the national with the internationalist and the connection between the struggle for national independence and the struggle for peace.

We Communists have always done all in our power to strengthen anti-imperialist unity and make it more active. In fighting against Turkish occupation, we spared no effort to bring the two communities closer together in a joint struggle against imperialism, for the restoration of the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and for its non-alignment and full demilitarisation.

The political platform for achieving unity to save the country was worked out by the National Council, with the Communists participating. The platform provided for a peaceful settlement ruling out an armed struggle unless it was imposed on the

people; a negotiated solution of the ethnic problem within the framework of the UN, in line with the resolutions on Cyprus and the agreement signed by Makarios and Denktas in 1977;³ closer relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots as a necessary step to facilitate and finalise a fair settlement.

Our party continued championing unity of the people after Makarios' death as well. A consistent policy for unity plus influence among the people⁴ enabled it to take the initiative, with the result that, following consultations in April 1982, AKEL and the DP signed an agreement on democratic cooperation. It was not an ordinary inter-party agreement but an inter-class political alliance under a minimum programme.

The minimum programme and the agreement on democratic cooperation were assailed by reactionary imperialist forces, which refused to stop plotting with a view to making the whole island their base. Operating from Greece and Turkey, they secured in Cyprus the support of the head of the church, the right-wing Democratic Rally party and EDEK. However, the people subscribed to the minimum programme. It became the electoral platform of President Kyprianou, who won re-election in February 1983.

The programme met the requirements of the national liberation stage. It provided for the restoration of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, a policy of non-alignment and complete demilitarisation. It was also aimed at perfecting democratic institutions, carrying out social and economic changes in the people's interest and re-establishing

mutual confidence and cooperation between Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

The agreement on democratic cooperation was a compromise alliance. Although AKEL enjoyed great influence, it laid no claim to assuming leadership of the alliance by nominating its own presidential candidate, nor did it demand to be represented in the future government. Its only aim was to help fulfil the programme.

The ability to compromise and make necessary concessions is an important part of the policy of the working class party if it is to bring about cooperation with heterogeneous class forces. This ability, Lenin pointed out, is absolutely necessary to the vanguard of the working class, which can defeat a stronger adversary only if it carefully uses under all circumstances "any, even the smallest, opportunity of winning a mass ally, even though this ally is temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional".⁵

We made numerous compromises with and concessions to the DP and, indeed, refrained from openly criticising its discriminatory attitude to the Communists. But when, in 1983, the President allowed transit through the country's territory of a so-called multinational peace-keeping force to Lebanon, AKEL organised mass protest demonstrations. How could it be reconciled to the fact that while the governments of Greece and Turkey, both members of NATO, refused to help that force, the President of non-aligned Cyprus, elected with the support of AKEL, allowed it to use the Larnaca civilian airport and seaport?

That step marked a turning point in our relations with the President. We also criticised with good reason his stand on the constructive proposals of the UN Secretary General for the solution of the ethnic problem of Cyprus. Kyprianou neither rejected nor accepted those proposals. In violation of the policy of establishing a federation of the two communities as stipulated by the minimum programme, he actually contributed to division and to the formation of a separatist state in the occupied north of the country.

However, AKEL considered even then that the existing differences over the most important aspects of the minimum programme required discussion that could result in agreement. The party was aware of the importance of democratic cooperation for the future of Cyprus, for the extension and consolidation of the unity of the forces interested in a just settlement of the Cyprus question.

Although our party showed goodwill and readiness for talks while reserving the right to criticise wrong moves and positions of the President running counter to the very spirit of the agreement, Kyprianou unilaterally ended democratic cooperation in December 1984. Our Political Bureau released a statement on this matter which said: "AKEL considers that this unity of action in the name of genuine national interests should be based on a common approach to the Cyprus question, firm democratic principles, equal rights, collectivism, and collective responsibility."⁶

The Communists appealed to all political forces to unite in order to save their sovereign country, stressing the need to

work out a common line for the solution of the Cyprus problem and re-emphasising the importance of closer cooperation with the Democratic Party. The AKEL leadership called for the formation of a national unity government representing all political forces.

Our party perseveres in this basic line, regarding all patriotic, democratic and anti-imperialist forces of the country as its allies. It takes account of the possibility of reviving the National Council which existed under President Makarios. Although we are understandably disillusioned with the discontinuance of democratic cooperation, we will go on seeking joint action under an acceptable common programme in the interest of the country and the struggle of its people for a peaceful, just and viable solution of the Cyprus problem.

AKEL prepared for the mid-term parliamentary elections in December 1985 under the slogan of forming a national unity government. It worked to mobilise the masses for joint action. The elections and preparations for them proceeded in an atmosphere of anti-communism and attacks from the Right, from certain sections of the Democratic Party, the church and EDEK. International imperialism did much to whip up a slander campaign. All this told inevitably on the outcome of the elections.⁷

The AKEL leadership asked all its branches to discuss the results of the elections and submit their opinion on the causes of our setback. The criticisms and judgements offered by the party rank and file were generalised at the level of regional committees and then at a plenary meeting of the CC.

This collective discussion made possible a free exchange of views in the spirit of constructive criticism and self-criticism. It strengthened our ranks and contributed to inner-party democracy. And while an occasional participant in the discussion voiced too categorical a judgement, it definitely helped the CC in promptly working out measures needed to normalise the situation and overcome difficulties.

The discussion showed that there were no defeatist sentiments in the party and that the membership was set on regaining lost positions and strengthening party unity. We now make a special effort to improve organising work and ideological education, train cadres and carry on agitation and propaganda among the masses.

Our experience of alliances confirms, first of all, the need to consolidate unity at the grassroots. It is unification of the masses and their mobilisation for the application of the principles of the alliance that enable the working class party to play an important role in it and to help preserve and strengthen its unity. AKEL now seeks precisely this kind of united action by the masses and their organisations, primarily unity of the workers, peasants and urban middle strata.

Our experience bears out Lenin's thesis that a workers' party in an alliance with organisations representing the interests of other classes and social strata must be independent politically and ideologically. We must dissociate in good time from an ally's steps and positions at variance with the interests of the workers, of the people as a whole, must prevent

their implementation. This is the only line enabling the party to preserve its identity in the eyes of the masses, and is particularly important in the case of ^{inter-class} / cooperation, such as we had in our country. Although the working class party did not enter the government, the people tended to believe that AKEL was also responsible for all the ill-advised moves and miscalculations of the government and for its failure to keep its promises. Our experience also invites another important question: When is it advisable to withdraw from a political alliance? The problem of stepping out in time cannot be solved without mastering the art of political struggle.

The struggle for peace and disarmament necessitates a flexible and principled policy of alliances on the Communists' part. This is an internationalist and national problem in Cyprus. The presence of foreign military bases on our soil is a threat to our national security and as for the direct presence of imperialist forces on the island, it plays into the hands of the Right, prevents a peaceful and just settlement and tends to aggravate the socio-political situation.

US imperialism wants to safeguard its military presence and to turn the island into a powerful strategic base in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. With the authorisation of the Cypriot government the Americans began to build a further monitoring station in our country, in addition to the three stations already in operation. Western press reports connect the project with "star wars" plans. Besides, the United States has spent hundreds of millions of dollars on building an Air

Force base to be used by a rapid deployment force in the Turkish-occupied northern part of the island.

In this menacing situation the struggle for peace concerns all Cypriots: workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, traders, scientists, writers, members of the older generations and youth--women and men alike. It offers objective opportunities for the development of the broadest mass movement. AKEL contributes actively to the growth of the movement. At the same time, we are on our guard against imperialist attempts to neutralise the peace movement through its agents, using anti-Sovietism, the concepts of so-called impartiality and independence, the theory of the "equal responsibility" of the Soviet Union and the United States, and so on.

The Pancyprian Peace Council is at the head of the peace forces of the island. It is committed to an explicitly anti-imperialist orientation which demands made by bourgeois elements have failed to shake. We do not accept the argument that it is better to have 50,000 conscious peace fighters than 100,000 supporters who have but a vague notion of what they want. It is our view that it is vital to carry on an ideological struggle and at the same time bring all opponents of war into joint action and cooperation during campaigns over specific issues.

"The struggle ^{for peace} opens up before the Communist Parties the greatest opportunities for creating the broadest united front. All those interested in the preservation of peace should be drawn into this united front."⁸ This passage from a resolution

of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, approved more than five decades ago, is still so relevant that it mobilises us to form a powerful anti-war front of the people capable of keeping reaction and militarism out of Cyprus.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI
TÜSTAV

¹ The author means the attempt at a coup which right nationalists made in 1974 with an eye to effecting enosis (annexing Cyprus to Greece) and the subsequent occupation of 37 per cent of Cypriot territory by Turkey.—Ed.

² The British authorities banned the Communist Party of Cyprus in 1931, following the anti-colonial revolt of the Cypriot people. In 1941, the CPC formed AKEL as an organisation operating legally. The two parties existed for a time side by side. After AKEL had become established as a Marxist-Leninist party, the CPC merged with it.

³ Added to these documents afterwards (1979) was an agreement between Kyprianou and Denktas.

⁴ In the 1981 general election, AKEL polled 33 per cent of the votes, or more than any other party.

⁵ V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 31, pp. 70-71.

⁶ Haravghi, December 23, 1984.

⁷ The rightist Democratic Rally won the largest number of votes (33.56 per cent), AKEL and the DP collected 27.43 and 27.64 per cent respectively and EDEK, 11.07 per cent.—Ed.

⁸ The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. Resolutions and Decisions, Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935.

NEW EXPERIENCE

Our Interviews

TOWARDS A LEFT-DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE

Ardhendu Bhushan Bardhan

Central Executive Committee member,
National Council Secretary, Communist
Party of India

How has the situation developed in India since your party's latest congress in March? What are now the CPI's priority tasks?

Developments have confirmed the analysis and conclusions of the 13th Congress, and the tasks now facing the party are threefold.

First, to defend the national unity, integrity and security of the country against the secessionist, divisive and communalist forces. "Khalistani" secessionism in Punjab, the politics of assassination and murder, the outburst of communal violence, mostly in the industrial centres, are features of India's life today. They are manifestations of imperialist intervention in our subcontinent, and of attempts at destabilisation. Imperialism utilises and instigates the internal reactionary forces. All this tends to endanger national security, affects our people and working class, and ultimately weakens left forces and our struggle.

Second, to struggle and reverse the "new economic policies" of the government, of whittling down the public sector, opening

the doors wide for the monopolies and transnational corporations, of import liberalisation, and of indiscriminate introduction of imported high-tech, regardless of the consequences. In essence, they constitute a drive towards "privatisation" and harm our self-reliant growth. We also have the task of defending the workers' hard-won rights and privileges, and of fighting for land and agrarian reform.

Third, to struggle for the defence of peace, for India's progressive foreign policy, to resist attempts by the reactionaries to shift this policy, and guard against any vacillations in pursuing this policy.

Unity and cooperation among the left and democratic forces are an essential condition for accomplishing the above-mentioned tasks. Only that can help mobilise the vast democratic masses and ensure a leading role to the working class in this process.

The Congress documents emphasised the key importance of working class and trade union unity. What has the party been doing in this context?

We think that the unity of the trade unions has to be tackled at various levels. There is the development of joint and common actions from the factory to the national industrial level. The party is carrying forward the platform of the present National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions (NCC), which brings together eight central trade union organisations and more than 60 industrial federations. We are also alert / ^{about} the activities of certain rightist elements who are today a part of the NCC,

and seek to activise the role of the left-led unions within it.

We have been working for closer unity and joint action between the All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), the Centre of Indian Trade Unions¹ and other left trade unions, leading to their eventual unification. We have also worked to broaden the unity of all the trade unions, including even the Indian National Trade Union Congress (the labour organisation led by the ruling party) on common issues like peace, national unity, anti-communalism, anti-apartheid, etc. That fact alone shows that unity is possible. Several conventions and marches at different levels have taken place under the joint auspices of these trade union organisations.

Alongside the mass peace movement, involving broad working class strata, there is the common rejection of the government's economic policy. Hence, the demands to safeguard the public sector and to democratise it. The organised working class is putting up a strong fight against reaction. In Punjab, it has become the main force in the struggle against the Khalistani extremists' terrorism.

Joint strikes were recently staged by various trade unions at a number of enterprises. That is most significant, since the trade union movement has long been plagued by fragmentation, with rival unions vying with each other. Our party is working hard to overcome the divisions among the trade unions and to achieve cooperation.

However, there also remain some negative aspects in the development of the working class movement. These arise above

all from the effects of caste conflicts and the influence exerted on the working people by separatist and communalist forces. Besides, the significance of the tasks before them has not been comprehended by the mass of the workers fast enough, while the left trade unions, with the exception of the AITUC, are not yet prepared for the degree of unity demanded by the situation.

Your party has put forward the idea of a left-democratic alternative to bourgeois rule. How are the Communists building up the political base for such an alternative? What is the present state of relations between the CPI and the CPI (Marxist)?


There is growing cooperation between the left and democratic forces in the course of significant political campaigns in which the Communists have been most actively involved. There are the mighty peace marches, the struggle in defence of democratic rights and against breaches of parliamentary norms (such as the arbitrary dismissals of state governments by the central authorities), the all-India general strike in February 1986 against the hike in the administered prices of several commodities, and the excessive powers of the executive, and the present campaign in defence of the public sector.

The experience of the past several years warrants the following conclusion: the unity of the left and democratic forces gives the masses confidence and mobilises them for militant action. Unfortunately, not all the left-wing parties and organisations have yet taken a consistent stand. The Communists

intend to multiply their efforts to give greater stability to joint action.

Achieving stable cooperation with the CPI (Marxist) is a long and difficult task, and it will take time. We appreciate that there will be zigzags along the path. Our party stands for left unity, left and democratic unity, and communist unity. We visualise the eventual reunification of the communist movement on a principled basis. Till that is achieved, there will be joint actions and also dialogue on our differences, so as to pave the way for narrowing them.

One must confess to a certain degree of disappointment in the results achieved so far. Nevertheless, the objective situation and our efforts for joint action are enabling us to undertake joint actions at party level and the level of mass organisations. The direction is towards more joint actions.



¹ The former is under the influence of the CPI, and the latter, under that of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).---
Ed.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI
TÜSTAV

AN ALLIANCE MORE ESSENTIAL THAN EVER

VLADIMIR LEONIDOV

The present-day world developments corroborate again and again Lenin's words that in the revolutionary struggle, in the revolutionary movement the Eastern peoples "will be called upon to play a big part and to merge with our struggle against international imperialism."

The break-up of colonialism proved a severe blow to imperialism. Auspicious conditions for that were created by world socialism. It may be recalled that in 1960 the United Nations adopted on the Soviet initiative the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples. Today, after 20 years, the historic significance of this initiative is particularly evident.

A big contribution to the national liberation struggle has been made by the working-class and the Communist parties of the industrial Western countries. Its effectiveness is directly linked with the Communists' principled class policy in their own countries. A convincing example was provided by Portugal where the overthrow of the fascist regime created conditions for an early achievement of independence by the former Portuguese colonies.

A courageous struggle for national liberation and social progress is being waged by the Communists in the newly-independent countries. The Communists support the anti-imperialist measures of the national governments, simultaneously opposing measures detrimental to the working people's interests. Their goals are inseparable from the aspirations of the masses. That is why attempts to isolate the Communists and, all the more so, repressions against them weaken the national liberation forces in their struggle against reaction and imperialist designs.

The processes under way in the developing countries affect the destinies of over half the world's

population. The countries of our vast and changing world have different political, social and economic conditions, different levels of development and national traditions. However, most of the newly-independent states are united by their anti-imperialist stand and determination to abolish the colonial legacy and neo-colonialism, racism and national oppression in every form.

An effective solution of world problems and the safeguarding of international peace and security are today practically impossible without the newly-free states. This explains why the mutual understanding and joint action of these states with all the anti-imperialist forces are acquiring exceptional significance not only for the present, but also for the future of mankind.

An ever more active role in the Third World and in international affairs is played by the newly-free socialist-oriented countries which have taken, or are gradually taking, the road to laying the groundwork for the transition to socialism. The number of such countries has increased in the past ten years, this proving once again the Marxist conclusion that the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale is inevitable.

It is because socialist orientation is proving its viability that it is fiercely attacked by imperialism which seeks to undermine progressive regimes. Attempts of this kind are very dangerous. Suffice it to recall the alignment of Egypt and Somalia with the reactionary forces. The imperialists do not scruple to use any means in their fight against the socialist-oriented countries, including subversion, plots, open intervention, exploitation of economic difficulties and backwardness, and provocation of national and tribal strife.

Of course, imperialism can no longer act with impunity. The

existence of the socialist world enables the newly-independent states effectively to oppose imperialist interference and aggression, make use of the experience of building a new society, and have broad access to modern scientific knowledge and technology. A relationship based on the identity of interests and aims is taking shape between the socialist-oriented and socialist countries. It is a relationship of solidarity, mutual assistance and mutually beneficial co-operation.

However, favourable external conditions do not automatically ensure success. In his report at an international symposium held in Berlin last month Boris Ponomarev, Alternate Member of the CPSU Political Bureau and CC Secretary, named the factors necessary for the maintenance and consolidation of progressive regimes. It is important, he said,

- to have a revolutionary party which directs society and is guided by scientific socialism;

- to strengthen the bodies of democratic government from top to bottom;

- to train and educate party and government cadres dedicated to the working people and to socialism;

- to build up the national armed forces capable of defending the people's gains;

- constantly to expand the party's and the government's ties with the masses and draw the working people into the administration of public affairs;

- to pursue a sound economic and social policy that would strengthen the country's independence, raise output and improve the living standards;

- to develop ties with the socialist countries, the most loyal and reliable friends of the independent and freedom-loving nations.

Tangible revolutionary changes have occurred in Asia, Africa and

NEW LEADER FOR LABOUR

their candidatures, and the following day the Shadow Foreign Secretary Peter Shore followed suit.

It seemed that these three would be the contenders, for Michael Foot at first declined to enter the contest. However, a broad movement developed in the Labour Party in support of his candidature. Foot was urged to stand for election by the delegates to the Scottish and London Labour Party conferences which were in session at the time, and he was showered with letters and petitions from Labour M.P.s, constituency organizations of the Labour Party and trade union leaders. On October 20 he announced that he would enter the contest. What actually prompted him to do so, he said, was the need to place problems of disarmament in the focus of British politics.

The capitalist press, from the respectable Times to the tabloid Sun, gave vigorous support to Denis Healey, the spokesman of the Labour Right wing, insisting that only under his leadership could Labour expect to win the next parliamentary election.

This concern for future Labour electoral victories was curious indeed, considering that in the past general elections the mass media as a rule massively sided with the Tories. The fact is, however, that it was not by chance that Fleet Street, that mouthpiece of the Establishment, broke into eulogies to Healey. Indicative is this comment by Lord Thorneycroft, the Chairman of the Conservative Party and hence a political opponent of Labour: "Actually Denis Healey is my candidate.... There is an enormous common ground between Denis and the Tory party. He is a great protagonist of defence.... He doesn't believe the country ought to be governed by the trade unions."

While giving every support to Healey, the bourgeois press was dead set against the three other candidates: Peter Shore, as an ad-

vocate of Britain's withdrawal from the EEC, John Silkin, who was described as inexperienced and, moreover, was a representative of the Left wing of the Labour Party, and especially against Michael Foot, who by virtue of his popularity in the party was regarded as Healey's main rival. He was accused of incompetent performance in government posts he had held and of being soft on the trade unions ("the unions' poodle"). Heavy fire was



Denis Healey looks worried and Michael Foot cheerful in these photos of the two contenders for the Labour Parliamentary leadership published in the London Morning Star.

levelled at Foot's repeated statements in support of Britain renouncing nuclear weapons and against the deployment of the U.S. cruise missiles on its territory.

In the first ballot of the leadership vote Healey received 112 votes, Foot 83, Silkin 38, and Shore 32. In keeping with the agreed procedure, Silkin and Shore dropped out from the second ballot inasmuch as their total vote was less than that of the candidate ahead of them. Both gave their support in the second ballot to Foot, who received the absolute majority of votes.

The new Labour parliamentary leader was born in 1913 into the family of a prominent Liberal. After graduating at Oxford, he went in for journalism and at various times was commentator and editor of the Tribune and the Evening Standard. Even his political opponents concede that he is one of the best public speakers in the country and a brilliant journalist. He entered the Labour Party in 1934 and in 1945 was first elected to Parliament, where he joined the Labour Left

wing. He played a big part in the organization of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and repeatedly took part in the Aldermaston marches of protest against nuclear weapons.

In 1974-76 Foot was Secretary of State for Employment, and in 1976 was elected Labour deputy leader.

After his election to the leadership, Foot said he proposed to concentrate on the problems of unemployment and nuclear disarmament, and stressed that he would wage an active fight against the reactionary policy of the Tory government in Parliament and outside it. He intends to lead a mass demonstration of protest against unemployment in Liverpool at the end of this month. The demonstration, he said, would be an integral part of effort towards an early general election. "If she [Mrs Thatcher] wants to carry on with policies throwing people out of work by the hundreds of thousands, then she should be ready to call an election, because she has got no mandate for this," he said.

Michael Foot voiced the hope that the Labour Party would make a worthy contribution to the ending of the arms race and to disarmament, emphasized that disarmament should hold the centre of British public attention and declared in support of the decisions taken by the special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament.

The election of Michael Foot to the Labour parliamentary leadership undoubtedly is evidence of a notable shift to the Left in the party. However, the Right-wingers have not lost hope of being able not only to halt this process, but also to reverse it.

The Right wing will of course try to get as many of its members as possible into the Shadow Cabinet when it comes up for election at the end of this month. In this way they count on being able to impede to no small extent and in some cases even to block the implementation of the most important resolutions adopted at the recent Labour Party conference.

Will the Labour Left wing be able to hold the ground it has won? The outcome of the struggle under way in the Labour Party will be of vast importance not only for the party itself, but also as regards the overall alignment of political forces in the country.

V. PAVLOV
Our Own Correspondent

London

Latin America. With the broad support of progressive forces the world over the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have won a victory over the aggressors and domestic reaction. People's regimes have become firmly established in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and South Yemen. An end has been put to tyrannical rule in Afghanistan, Iran and Nicaragua and to racist rule in Zimbabwe. The liberation struggle in South Africa and Namibia and the anti-fascist movement in El Salvador, Bolivia, Chile and South Korea is gaining momentum.

Such a powerful force as the non-aligned movement, which strengthened its positions especially after the Havana summit conference in 1979, plays an ever greater role in the peoples' unrelenting struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and for peace and international co-operation on an equal basis.

Contrary to the predictions of bourgeois ideologists, the class struggle in the capitalist countries is growing in scope and scale. The working people led by the Communists are fighting for their vital rights, for broader democratic freedoms, for peace and disarmament. The working class is acting ever more clearly as a force uniting the entire people.

In an attempt to stem the revolutionary process, preserve the sphere of its domination and exploitation, and regain its lost positions—in short, to reverse the course of history—imperialism mounted a fierce counter-offensive in the late 1970s.

Imperialism's neo-colonialist strategy presents a serious danger to the newly-independent states and the liberation movement as a whole.

Neo-colonialism has developed the most ramified and subtle system in the economic sphere, with transnational corporations as its main striking force. The power of these octopuses can be judged from the figures cited by Pieter Keuneman, deputy chairman of the Sri Lanka Communist Party. Of the 100 strongest "economic units" of the world, 48 are transnational corporations, or almost as many as nation-states (52).

In the drive for cheap manpower they transfer the most labour-intensive industries and industries heavily polluting the environment to newly-independent countries. And this at a time when unemployment has reached record levels in the industrial capitalist states. The struggle against the transnational corporations' policy is vitally essential both for the national liberation

"This is an epoch of radical social change. Socialism's positions are expanding and growing stronger. The victories of the national liberation movement are opening up new horizons for countries that have won independence. The class struggle of the working people against monopoly oppression, against the exploiting order, is gaining in intensity. The scale of the revolutionary-democratic, anti-imperialist movement is steadily growing. Taken as a whole, this signifies development of the world revolutionary process."

[From the report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th Congress of the CPSU]

movement and the working class of the West.

The newly-independent states are actively opposing the economic enslavement. However, it would be a struggle with long odds if they were not constantly supported by the international working class and, primarily, the socialist countries. The latter help the developing nations to build the key industries, tap the natural resources, plan the economy, and train skilled manpower. It should be noted that co-operation between the newly-independent and socialist countries compels the imperialists to moderate their appetites.

The developing nations increasingly realize the falsity of the "rich North" and "poor South" concept and of the claims that the socialist countries, which have nothing to do with colonial exploitation, should bear "equal responsibility" with the former colonialists for the plight of the Third World states. These concepts are being used by imperialist and Peking propaganda to isolate the developing nations from the socialist community, to isolate and subjugate them.

The aggressive neo-colonialist schemes and the mobilization of world reactionary forces against the liberation movement make the unity of the socialist countries, the national liberation movement and the international working class even more essential. Co-operation between the three main forces of the revolutionary process has not lost its former significance with the achievement of the immediate tasks of the national liberation movement. There is also no ground for claiming that it is hindered by the specific national interests of the socialist and developing countries.

Such co-operation becomes particularly necessary in the present complicated situation when the imperialists, in league with the Peking hegemons, have launched a direct attack on détente. They are escalating the arms race in an attempt to gain military superiority over the

socialist world and have mounted an unbridled anti-Soviet propaganda campaign to mislead the developing nations and world opinion in general.

Under cover of the false "Soviet military threat" thesis, imperialism is increasing its military presence in different parts of the world which it has arbitrarily proclaimed spheres of its "vital interests." These are above all the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf area, a zone of the national liberation movement. This creates a real, not imaginary, threat to the gains of the newly-independent nations, their sovereignty and their right to decide their own destiny.

The militarization of developing states and the incitement of armed conflicts, such as that between Iran and Iraq, have become a distinctive feature of imperialist tactics. Imperialism seeks to retain the newly-free states in the sphere of its influence. At the same time, establishing new bases round the Soviet Union and boosting the arms race, it diverts for defence considerable material resources that could be used for the welfare of the developing and all other peoples. Lastly, the huge military expenditure is exhausting the economy of the capitalist states themselves, intensifying the crisis and inflationary processes in the West, and increasing the tax burden of the working people.

The struggle against the danger of a new war which holds out the threat of mass annihilation is therefore the main link of united action by the anti-imperialist forces.

In spite of the complexity of the international situation created by imperialism, the June 1980 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee noted, there are ample and real possibilities of preventing a cold, and the more so, a hot war, of ensuring peaceful coexistence, and of retaining détente as the dominant trend of world politics. However the reactionaries may rage, the cause of peace and social progress will triumph.

THOSE "CHEMICAL" LIES

How much printer's ink and newsprint has been used up, what floods of words have been spilled out by radio transmitters, and how many thundering speeches made by political manipulators to put across the big lie that "the Soviets have drenched Afghanistan with chemical toxic agents"! No matter that there is no proof. It is not needed, for the West's psychological warfare machine goes on the assumption that there is nothing the public will not swallow if it is purveyed by most of the mass media.

The U.S. journal *Counterspy*, however, tried to dig down to the truth. "Accounts about the use of chemical weapons in the Afghan countryside have, so far, come almost exclusively from Afghan refugees in Pakistan," it writes. "The refugees have not been able to provide any hard evidence."

"In contrast," the journal goes on, "the Afghan government has been very careful in its attempt to provide documentation that the 'rebels' are using U.S. chemical weapons.... The Afghan authorities are ready to let experts from any part of the world examine these finds of U.S.-produced chemical weapons

and discover how they came into the hands of counter-revolutionaries."

"Such an examination," the *Counterspy* writers conclude, "undoubtedly has the potential of becoming very embarrassing to the U.S. government, and in order to cover any hint of U.S. involvement we can expect the rumour mill to grind out still more accounts of 'Soviet chemical warfare in Afghanistan.'"

What is the basic purpose of this psychological warfare operation? *Counterspy* answers the question thus: "First, repeated reports of chemical warfare discredit the Afghan government and are easily blamed on the Soviet Union.... Secondly, these allegations of Soviet chemical warfare have been used effectively to push for enhancement of U.S. chemical warfare capabilities."

This hardly calls for comment.

A. SEMYONOV



LUCRATIVE FEA

"Invaders from outer space, the Chinese, Communists, bloodthirsty rebels — terrorized by these spectres, some Americans have gone into training in order to survive the total chaos ahead," reads the caption to this photo in the Italian journal *Panorama*.

The victims of the paranoia cultivated by the press, radio and television are installing armour-

plate shields in t
dows and doors
bunker dwellings,
to set booby tra
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with phosphorus
that can be deton
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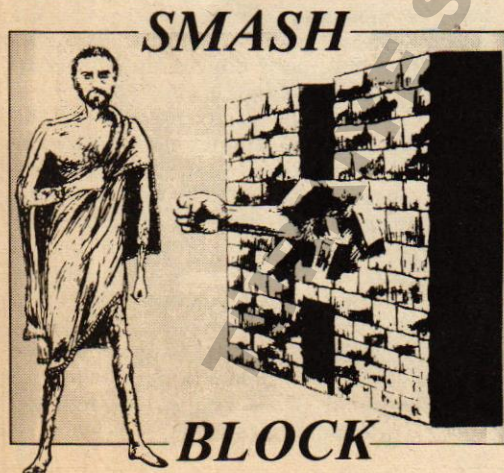
These people ha
doubt that dooms
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CHILDREN AT RISK

Children need tender care and attention. However, according to reports from West Germany, the axiom has not reached everybody in the Federal Republic, and least of all speed fiends behind the wheels of Mercedeses, Volkswagens and Opels.

The *Jugendpresse* bulletin reports that every year more than 2,000 children are killed and 60,000 injured, 30,000 of them seriously, on West Germany's roads. The

Federal Republic has set an unenviable world record for the number of road accidents involving children. The *Jugendpresse* attributes this to a shortage of playgrounds in residential neighbourhoods, lack of a considered system of traffic safety instruction in schools, and, last but not least, to the fact that "we are more interested in engine horse power than protecting human life."



NO CAUSE FOR CONCERN

"Smash H-Block!" is the message of this poster sent in by some Northern Ireland civil rights fighters. The H-Block is a section of the Long Kesh internment camp notorious for the brutal treatment meted out to Ulster patriots imprisoned there for waging a struggle against the official violence practised by London. For years now they have been demanding the status of political prisoners; but British justice prefers to label them as ordinary criminals.

No better is the lot of the inmates of the Armagh women's prison. Many of the civil rights fighters held here have been put behind bars on trumped-up charges. Pauline McLaughlin, for instance, was given a prison sentence on the strength of a confession allegedly signed by her, although she happens to be totally illiterate. The Armagh prisoners are constantly terrorized. There have been cases of inmates being beaten up by male warders.

However, for London, where striking theatrical poses over imaginary human rights violations in other countries is the fashion, the fate of the H-Block inmates is no cause for concern.

V. KSENIN

11/1979
Data kartmanlar
²Az MSZMP határozatai és dokumentumai 1956-1962. Budapest, Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1973, old. 87.

³Az MSZMP határozatai és dokumentumai 1956-1962. Budapest, Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1973, old. 270.

Exchange of Views. Discussion

The Middle Strata and the Revolutionary Movement

ERNST WIMMER

CC Political Bureau member,
Communist Party of Austria

The Working Class and Bourgeois Democracy

WHY are the most diverse forces—from the bourgeoisified elite of the working-class movement to reactionaries—today resuming their efforts to clothe the bourgeois state in the toga of “pure democracy”? Why are they transforming it into an incantation against socialist ideals, against existing socialism? Engels noted that when the moment of revolution comes “pure democracy” may acquire an importance “as the extreme bourgeois party” and as the final sheet anchor of the whole bourgeois economy. “At such a moment,” he wrote, “the whole reactionary mass falls in behind it and strengthens it; everything which used to be reactionary behaves as if it were democratic”¹. The unity of reaction behind the shield of “pure democracy” (i.e., the form of bourgeois rule that evokes the greatest confidence under given circumstances) in order to win time for reorganising and regrouping its forces and mounting counter-attacks—a phenomenon shown by Engels when he analysed the revolutions of the 19th century and to be observed in the national revolutions of the 20th century—has today become international.

It would be futile to try and find in developed capitalist countries economic processes and social changes that could lead to a “resurgence” or “rejuvenation” of bourgeois democracy, and to a relaxation or even surmounting of its “all-embracing contradiction”. This contradiction between political equality and economic inequality (in other words, between universal suffrage and capitalist power, which, with citizens formally enjoying equal rights, ultimately gives preference to those who are economically stronger) is compounded under the impact of growing monopolisation. It has been confirmed time without number that monopoly capitalism tends towards reaction, towards unchallenged domination. Monopolisation, the combination of economic and political power and bureaucratisation, that is linked with it, are more and more insistently setting the question: In what manner can one obtain protection against the ubiquitous power of the state and monopolies, which strive to entangle the entire body of society in a web of diverse relations of dependence, depriving it of the possibility of moving?

The two-fold nature of bourgeois democracy has never been more obvious than it is today. On the one hand, it remains a form of domination by capital. On the other, the class struggle and the actual balance of strength compel capital to exercise its political rule in the framework of democratic norms. This explains what otherwise might have appeared to be nothing less than hypocrisy: the selfsame forces that support bourgeois democracy as a form of

capitalist class domination and counterpose it to the other democracy, to socialist democracy, lean over backwards in their effort to undermine, limit, and nullify bourgeois-democratic rights.

The stronger the working class and the influence of existing socialism, the more the bourgeoisie and monopoly capital are forced to make do chiefly with the "second method of rule" (i.e., maintain their power by concessions, verbiage, and promises), and the more hazardous become the attempts to employ the "first method of rule" (i.e., denial of reforms), the more obvious is reaction's striving to make a virtue of necessity. In blowing its own trumpet the bourgeoisie uses even the democratic gains wrested from it. It seeks to benefit by the successes of the working-class movement, using them to nurture the illusion that bourgeois democracy gives adequate scope for a just order worthy of men, that the only thing wanting is somewhat to extend and transform it. The greater the threat to bourgeois domination, the more tenaciously those who hold power and benefit by it endeavour to subordinate the working-class movement to the bourgeois rules of the game. For itself, reaction does not feel bound by any rules. It not only cheats constantly but, where possible, ignores the rules altogether.

Under these conditions the place and role of the struggle for democracy in the fight for socialism becomes the key question, although it is not "fundamentally new" as some quarters try to portray it. Beginning with the *Communist Manifesto*, the keynote of the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin is that the working class can approach the socialist revolution, win allies, lead them to the revolution, and triumph only if it links every step of its movement and further development to the democratic demands enunciated most resolutely and most consistently. This is borne out by the history of movements that have actually remade the world. The way to the socialist revolution lay mostly through democratic reforms: anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, or national-democratic. The further development of the revolutionary movement and the steady radicalisation of its demands has made it possible to traverse a longer road with allies that the latter were initially prepared to embark upon, win new allies, and pave the way for socialism. Anti-imperialist strategy is likewise aimed at arriving at the socialist revolution through the stage of democratic reforms in order to speed up the movement to socialism with the aid of democratic demands implemented in their most radical and consistent form.

How is the question of the role of the struggle for democracy in the fight for socialism put in the context of the need to win the middle strata as allies of the working class? Lenin wrote: "One should know how to *combine* the struggle for democracy and the struggle for the socialist revolution, *subordinating* the first to the second" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 35, p.267). Is this still a pressing task? Or is the struggle for democracy now becoming almost identical with the struggle for socialism, turning into a self-contained "strategy of democratisation"? From this follows the question: Has the stand of the working class, of its revolutionary movement, undergone a fundamental change relative to bourgeois democracy?

It is said that even in bourgeois society the working class fights most consistently for democracy. This is indeed the case. It will be borne in mind that bourgeois democracy owes its cardinal achievements, including universal suffrage, to the working-class struggle. However, the substance of what we are saying lies not only in this. Since capitalism turned from a progressive into a reactionary system and brought the monopolies to power, the destiny of bourgeois democracy has proved to be closely bound up with the working class. It is none other than the working class that defends its achievements against various forms of bourgeois reaction. It is none other than this class that defends

and develops the finest traditions of democracy, traditions that are now alien and even burdensome to the reactionary bourgeoisie.

However, the reverse does not follow from this: the destiny of the working class itself is in no wise linked to bourgeois democracy. On the contrary. Its liberation, the abolition of exploitation of man by man presupposes the extirpation of the relations of property and power on which bourgeois democracy rests, no matter what shape it takes. Consequently, the liberation of the working class presupposes not the preservation or "perfection" of bourgeois democracy through the addition of "new freedoms", but a qualitatively new democracy, for the first time a democracy of the ruling majority and, thereby, a revolutionary advance in social development.

Here, too, the basic issue is that of property. It is the key to understanding the functions and prospects of democracy. In the course of its struggle the working class comes to understand that although the level of democracy and freedom in the selfsame bourgeois social system depends on many factors, chiefly on its own strength, on its ability to safeguard its interests, on its influence among the middle strata of society, it is determined in the long run by the relations of property and power. Possible distinctions in the extent of democracy in the bourgeois system are by no means inessential; they are of the utmost significance for the conditions of the struggle and life of the working people. However, qualitative distinctions arise only when fundamentally new relations of power and property are established.

The task, set by Lenin, of linking the struggle for democracy to the struggle for socialism remains urgent in revolutionary practice, but in the following subordination: "the first to the second". It is topical because the present condition of the working class poses it with a dual task: first, to defend bourgeois democracy against the reactionary bourgeoisie, and second, to move beyond the bounds of that democracy, for the roots of evil and oppression lie in bourgeois relations. Any deviation from this subordination of democratic to socialist tasks ultimately leads to the subordination of the working-class movement to bourgeois relation, to adaptation to these relations. More, experience shows that rights and gains can be consistently upheld within the framework of bourgeois democracy only to the extent that a consistent struggle is waged against capitalism which falsifies, emasculates, limits, and imperils democracy.

Two Approaches to the Alliance with the Middle Strata

But is this formulation of the question of subordinating the democratic to the socialist not pregnant with harm for alliances with the middle strata, in which petty-bourgeois notions of democracy predominate? Experience shows that the possibility for durable alliances springs from objective contradictions in society and depends on how acute these contradictions are. In other words, the concrete question always arises: For what purpose and how far can somebody advance side by side with the working class under diverse conditions?

In this context let us briefly review the present situation in Austria. For a growing section of the peasantry (its proportion in the total population has dropped to 15 per cent) the material conditions of life depend on allowances from public funds, i.e., from the state and its various institutions. However, decisions on allowances are passed without the involvement of the bulk of the peasant population but with the participation of the agricultural monopolies, whose representatives not only hold key positions in the highly-organised cooperatives but also subordinate these cooperatives to the interests of the monopolies.

For most of the peasant population the question of democracy has mainly

two specific aspects: (a) safeguarding the interests of the small and middle peasants in the cooperatives and, (b) defending and developing the autonomy of rural communities against pressure from the state-monopoly finance apparatus. Obviously, both these aspects can be resolved only by ousting the monopolies and ultimately depriving them of political and economic power, in other words, by acting together with the working-class movement, which has broken with all forms of class collaboration and "social partnership" and acts resolutely against the state-monopoly system.

There are no common interests among the intelligentsia worth speaking of, for it is itself not a social entity. The condition of each of its groups is fundamentally dissimilar. One of them, which supplies most of the bureaucratic elite, is integrated into the state-monopoly system and seeks to limit (and does limit) democracy as far as possible. The condition of a numerically much larger but heterogeneous group is entirely different. It is oppressed and impinged on by the state-monopoly system and suffers from that system together with the working class, but in many respects differs from the latter. Lastly, there is a distinct large and numerically growing group of white-collar workers, whose objective condition and place in the process of production are drawing closer to those of the working class, with whose interests it is most closely linked but has many interests of its own. However significant these distinctions may be in details, the greater part of the last two segments of the intelligentsia faces the same situation as the working class: a wide gulf between its actual role in the social process of reproduction and its real influence on decisions that in various ways, directly or indirectly, affect it and concern the evaluation of its labour and use of its qualifications, the results and social purport of its activity, and frequently even the meaning of its life. These decisions are taken by a few, more often anonymous agencies. However, they are influenced by the struggle which, in the first place, the working class wages against the existing system. Hence the coincidence of interests, and the possibility and need for joint action by the intelligentsia and the workers, which by no means signifies that these segments of the intelligentsia "inevitably" accept the socialist consciousness. Many activists of so-called civic initiative groups belong precisely to these strata, and it is precisely in these strata that debates are going on about "new forms of day-to-day democracy", "basic democracy", and the formation of "democratic cells". All of this and also the "irritation with politics" widespread in intellectual circles are evidence of their disenchantment with society. The intelligentsia painfully feels its undemocratic essence, although more often than not it fails to see the roots of its undemocratic substance.

In my country a growing number of intellectuals is coming round to the conclusion that far-reaching social changes are needed. One cannot fail to see this as a symptom of the crisis of capitalism. At first they often succumb to various pseudo-socialist fads: the illusions that society can be changed gradually without any leap and without any risk; desperation breeds anti-authoritarian anarchist aspirations to destroy everything within sight; ultra-radicalism, which today preaches that revolution is necessary, and tomorrow—because that revolution has not been accomplished—urges betrayal of the working class, its "integration" into the system.

A mistaken understanding of the functions and substance of the state is the common denominator underlying these misconceived ideas. To some the state seems to embody evil that should be removed immediately. Others ignore the character of the state as the organised vehicle of coercion by the ruling class. The ultra-radicals cannot understand that the state-monopoly system has deeply echeloned armour-plated defensive lines; the "elite" can do nothing

against it; its elimination involves a persevering, position and mobile, struggle by the working class and its allies up to a decisive outcome.

The crucial element of our formulation of the problem is that the state is a force that uses diverse means to regulate, discipline, discriminate against, and oppress not only the working class but also the bulk of the people belonging to the middle strata. It is a sort of heart-and-lung machine of big capital, in the interests of which all the other classes and strata are subjected to blood-letting. True, the extension of the state's social functions makes it possible to camouflage its class character. But, at the same time, situations arise more and more frequently that bring large segments of the population into conflict with the state in one way or another. As a matter of fact, many of the specific problems linked to this, for instance, the crisis of the system of education or culture, the miserable state of public health, the conversion of dwellings into a commodity, the disparity in prices of farm produce, are seen solely as individual social problems until systematic "all-round exposure" by the revolutionary party of the working class and their own experience bring the masses round to understanding the major inter-relations in society and the mainsprings of these inter-relations. Consequently, at each stage of the development of social contradictions the issues must be raised, in line with specific requirements and interests, in such a manner as to lead to a decisive conclusion: the need for abolishing the state-monopoly system and changing the state's class character. This implies that in any situation the working class should uphold its common interests with its potential ally against the common adversary.

An antipodal stand leads to a growth of petty-bourgeois influence. It cannot be denied that on this basis, too, it is possible to form relatively broad and durable alliances, but only at the price of a weakening of the forces able to transform society. An example of this is the Austrian social-democratic movement. During the lifetime of two generations it spoke of winning over the absolute majority of the population to socialism and the solution of the basic problems of the nation's social development. For almost ten years it has had the support of the absolute majority, but it has not kept its promises. Today the Social-Democrats declare that they cannot take any steps towards socialism and must rest content with a somewhat broader social democracy, for otherwise, they claim, they will lose the majority. Such is the price, they say, of alliance with the middle strata.

How to Dispell Petty-Bourgeois Illusions

Does this mean that in all cases the alliance with the middle strata negatively affects the aims of the working-class movement? By no means.

Without an alliance with the middle strata the working class unquestionably cannot break the state-monopoly system. But it is also indisputable that one of the mainstays of this system among the masses consists of petty-bourgeois illusions about the possibility of resolving society's basic problems and fundamentally renewing and extending democracy without changing the relations of property and power, without eliminating the domination of monopoly capital. The history of the working-class movement teaches us one and the same lesson time and again, namely, concessions to these illusions do not ensure a more prolonged or a more tranquil and safe road to the socialist goal. They give rise to a different goal: correction and patching up of flaws in the existing system. The working class has been able to cope with its class adversary only when a considerable section of the middle strata shed its delusive hopes for a "compromise", for the settlement of social problems "in the interests of everybody".

The working class can lead a large proportion of the middle strata along the road to socialism only if its party can dispel the petty-bourgeois illusions that lead away from the class struggle and the revolution. Petty-bourgeois influences constantly affect the working-class movement in countless ways. The proletarianised middle strata add their own prejudices to it. Illusions can be created even by the concessions wrested by the working-class movement. For instance, the winning of universal suffrage is known to have generated the belief that power can be won only through elections.

Highly organised state-monopoly capitalism can be brought down only by circumspect, inventive, and flexible struggle for institutions and organisations, for bridgeheads and for every possible position. When we speak of the struggle for the institutions of bourgeois democracy we should not forget the following. From the indisputable fact that to some extent they mirror the balance of class forces the mistaken conclusion may be drawn that as a result of further changes in the balance of strength all these institutions without exception can be changed fundamentally by giving them "other functions". From the circumstance that in resorting to undisguised coercion, reaction is compelled to be more circumspect, the conclusion is sometimes drawn that coercion has already played its role in society's life. This conclusion disregards the situation, which Antonio Gramsci described with the formula: The state—dictatorship + hegemony². The working class must establish its hegemony, its political, ideological, and moral leadership in order to put an end to dictatorship. However, it cannot be ended if it is imagined that it does not exist at all.

The sham alternative of "bourgeois democracy or no democracy" is advanced and imposed in order to prevent the middle strata from adopting the socialist ideal and force the working class to adapt itself to bourgeois notions. This is not only a sham alternative; it has been falsified because bourgeois democracy is not called by its proper name—they prudently prefer to speak of "democracy generally", "simply of democracy". To illustrate how this method is used, let us quote the words of Bruno Kreisky, Chairman of the Socialist Party of Austria, spoken at that party's latest congress: "Today everywhere in Europe, with the exception of the Communist East, democracy has triumphed again, becoming the dominant form of state power"³.

What does it mean to succumb to the pressure of those who smear existing socialism as "undemocratic" and take for democracy only the unbroken domination of capital? Those who make such concessions gloss over or conceal only one "minor point": the actual historical alternative is capitalism or socialism. They obscure or ignore the distinctions between bourgeois democracy, which, however "perfect" it may be, is marked by a tendency towards bureaucratisation and monopolisation, and socialist democracy which, however "imperfect" it may be claimed to be, is marked by an ever more direct and all-embracing exercise of power by the working people. As a result, it becomes easier fraudulently to elevate bourgeois democracy to the pinnacle of "pure democracy", to contrapose it to socialist, genuine democracy, and depict it as a "model" for the latter.

The glossing over of democracy's class character creates the soil for all sorts of illusions, for instance, that it is possible to build a "thoroughly democratic" superstructure on the reactionary, state-monopoly basis, or to give the bourgeois state a "broad, massive democratic basis", or that the advance towards socialism under bourgeois democracy by means of gradual changes does not require a stringent curbing of bourgeois influence, including the influence of the big bourgeoisie.

In the long run any adaptation to bourgeois democracy leads to the invention of a "fundamentally new socialism" that is fitted into its narrow bed. In this

framework there is no room either for the experience of existing socialism, the actual conditions for building the new society to replace the old, or for the objective factors determining what freedoms and what degree of democracy are possible in each specific case. In the final analysis, "pure democracy" requires a pure ideal.

Dialectics of Class Alliances

All models of capitalism's evolutionary, gradual transformation into socialism have one and the same specific: the theoretical assumption that it is possible constantly and gradually to enlarge the alliance of the working class with the middle strata without any convulsions, crises, or serious setbacks. In the history of genuine revolutionary movements this theoretical assumption has never been confirmed in practice. More, it comes into conflict with the fundamental law of capitalism—uneven economic and political development—a law which governs not only the relative dynamic of development of different capitalist countries but also the processes taking place in them. Further, this assumption is contested by the fact that among the middle strata there is no shortage of examples of utter devotion to a just cause, self-sacrifice, selflessness, and courage, but more frequently there is irresolution and an inclination to side with and adapt to the strong.

Since in their present quest for a "fundamentally new", "more democratic" way to socialism some theorists are returning also to Austro-Marxism, it would be useful to recall that when the "way to gradual democracy" in Austria ended in failure after the civil war of 1934, Otto Bauer wrote: "To secure the transition from the capitalist to the socialist mode of production it is vital to crush the resistance of the capitalists and big landowners to expropriation. It is necessary to smash the entire economico-ideological mechanism of domination by which the capitalist class influences and subordinates to its interests the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants, intellectuals, and even some segments of employees and factory workers"⁴.

The idea that in their totality the middle strata automatically submit and are linked to capital is unquestionably wrong. It is an element of the fatalism implicit in even the best variants of Austro-Marxism. Further, it is self-evident that complete unity of the working class and its firm hegemony relative to other segments of working people may be achieved only under socialism. All this suggests the important conclusion that the winning of the middle strata to the side of the working class or their neutralisation depends largely on the extent to which it becomes possible to counter the diverse forms of coercion exercised through the mechanism of class domination, and on the extent to which it becomes possible to weaken and break the existing relations of dependence, lay bare and paralyse the covert functions of the apparatus of coercion and then smash it.

Thus, there are no guarantees that the middle strata already acting together with the working class to achieve specific aims will not somewhere and at some time stop, turn away or even defect to the side of the adversary, to the side of the "strongest". One thing is certain and it is that if at any stage of its struggle the revolutionary party moves away from the socialist ideal, relaxes its work in explaining to the middle strata—on the basis of their own experience—the class character of democracy and the state and also the limits which capitalist rule places on democracy and the implementation of their interests, if it renounces these efforts it will become impossible to go beyond these limits, and stagnation and vacillation will become inevitable. Precisely this vast experience is summed up in the key propositions of the classics of Marxism-Leninism: the working class can approach the revolution, lead its allies to it, and triumph only in the

event that it links every step of its advance along this road to the most resolute and consistent democratic demands.

It is sometimes asked whether further development, in particular, the transition from democratic, anti-monopoly reforms to the socialist revolution and the "social regrouping" this requires will not inevitably narrow down the alliances? History shows that this is not so. In the period from February to October 1917 in Russia the Bolsheviks advanced along the path of politicisation and activation of the "lower strata", stirring formerly "apolitical" groups, radically advocating the interests of the intermediate strata, and, at the same time, emphatically dissociating themselves from petty-bourgeois ideology. This enabled them to avoid the danger of the petty-bourgeois wave swamping the revolutionary movement. The growing strength of the most determined, vanguard elements carried with it those who lingered or vacillated. The proletarian line paved the way for itself into the middle strata who had begun to move. In an entirely different situation, in Czechoslovakia at the close of 1947 and in early 1948, when reaction attempted to intimidate the middle strata by alleging that "civil freedoms" were threatened, to pull them over to its side, and push the nation onto the capitalist road, the Communist Party responded by accelerating the advance towards socialism. It appealed directly to the masses, to direct democracy, demanding from openly class positions further nationalisation and a land reform and putting forward democratic demands in their most consistent form.

In view of the great diversity of the democratic traditions of political institutions and of the specifics of the social structure in one country or another it would be absurd to expect to give any ready-made recipe for the conduct of the struggle for democratic rights. Nothing can relieve the revolutionary party of the obligation to work out, together with the masses and with account of national specifics, concrete slogans calling for a further advance towards socialism. A further advance in the direction of socialism is possible only to the extent that a solution is found for the problem formulated by Lenin—combining the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism, and subordinating the first to the second. "In this," Lenin wrote, "lies the whole difficulty; in this is the whole essence" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 35, p.267).

¹Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p.381.

²Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*.

³*Arbeiter-Zeitung*, May 20, 1978. Dokumentations-sonderbeilage, p.2.

⁴Otto Bauer, *Zwischen zwei Weltkriegen?* Bratislava, 1936, p.194.

Present-Day Imperialism: Theory and Practice

International Theoretical Symposium

THE WMR Commission on Class Struggle in Developed Capitalist Countries together with the Polish Institute for the Study of Contemporary Problems of Capitalism has held an international symposium in Warsaw to consider some specifics in the development of imperialism at the present stage. Those who

Emp. illelende sumf sawasi, Agosto 1979

Desarrollo, No. 45, 1978, p.97.

¹²Alonso Aguilar Monteverde, "Capitalismo monopolista de Estado, subdesarrollo y crisis."

Estrategia, No. 10, 1976, p.67.

¹³Listin Diario, August 12, 1978.

¹⁴Orlando Millas, "El capitalismo monopolista de Estado en Chile." Principios, No. 126, 1968, p.49.

¹⁵Alonso Aguilar Monteverde, *La fase actual del capitalismo en Mexico*, p.102.

Deepening of Social Antagonisms

Some Trends of the Class Struggle in Imperialist Countries

TIMUR TIMOFEYEV

Director, Institute of the International Working-Class Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Sciences

THE invigoration of working-class struggles, the growing influence of working-class organisations, and the stepped up democratic actions of the masses characterise present-day social life under state-monopoly capitalism. In different countries these processes have their own specifics and they develop with dissimilar degrees of intensity, but everywhere they stem from one and the same source, namely, the social contradictions of capitalism. The rising tide of social tension in the capitalist world is now noted not only by Marxist scholars; it is acknowledged in their own way by many Western analysts, who are far removed from scientific communism.¹

However, while acknowledging this fact, bourgeois and reformist spokesmen usually interpret it as a phenomenon unrelated to the basic antagonisms of capitalism, as due to transient situation changes. Some of them are evidently aware of the discrepancy between these interpretations and the actual situation and prefer to refrain from generalised assessments, asserting, for example, that a credible explanation cannot be given of the causes of the present upswing of the strike struggle, and holding that the accumulation of extensive material on this struggle is accompanied by a "crisis of its interpretation".²

It is not difficult to understand this confusion: the present strike movement in the industrialised capitalist countries does not fit into traditional apologetic interpretations of the class struggle. Today it is influenced by a wide spectrum of new, non-transient, long-term factors linked to the aggravation of capitalism's general crisis.

When one analyses the socio-economic and political situation in the imperialist countries one finds solid grounds for believing that the economic crisis of the mid-1970s in these countries was the commencement of a long period witnessing the deterioration of the conditions of reproduction, currency and financial disorder, and social convulsions. Some of capitalism's acute contradictions range beyond the cycle framework, intensifying the structural crisis and creating unceasing tension in the capitalist world economy. This situation is marked by the intertwining of many crisis processes: cyclic, currency and financial, energy, minerals and primary materials, and so on. The mounting crisis of neocolonialism is to some extent narrowing down the possibilities for easing these processes through the exploitation of the

developing nations, which are upholding their political and economic independence with growing determination.

State-monopoly regulation has proved unable to curb the crisis processes. All its mechanisms are in serious disorder. This is seen most strikingly in the currency-financial sphere and in the labour market. The fusion of inflation with mass unemployment, a phenomenon unusual for any post-crisis phase of animated business activity, is becoming chronic. In 1978 alone consumer prices in developed capitalist countries rose by 8 per cent and the unemployment level topped 5 per cent. The deterioration of the condition of the working people caused by growing unemployment and inflation continues to deteriorate as a result of the "anti-crisis" measures taken by the state to increase direct and indirect income taxes of the working people, freeze wages and salaries, extend tax and other benefits to the monopolies, and cut back state expenditures on education, the health services, housing construction, and so forth. Moreover, the condition of the masses is affected negatively by the arms race and its consequences.

The conversion of mass unemployment into a permanent factor in the period following the cyclic crisis is seen in practically all the developed capitalist countries. Moreover, in some of these countries unemployment has grown substantially, as the following table illustrates:

Dynamics of Unemployment in Leading West European Countries*
(^{'000})

	1970	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979 February
Britain	640	615	978	1,359	1,484	1,475	1,452
Italy	609	560	654	732	1,545	1,571	1,632
France	262	498	840	934	1,072	1,163	1,342
FRG	149	582	1,074	1,060	1,030	993	1,134

* *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, September 1976, April 1979.

Altogether, in January 1979 there were 6.5 million registered unemployed in the EEC states, 6 million in the USA, and 1,240,000 in Japan. The growth of the number of totally unemployed is accompanied by an upward trend towards a growth of partial unemployment. In the Common Market states the number of partially employed fluctuates from 4 per cent of the total number of employed persons (Ireland) to 17 per cent (Denmark); in the USA it amounts to 20 per cent of the entire workforce. The condition of this category of working people is unstable, they have flimsier guarantees of employment, their wages are smaller, and they have fewer possibilities for drawing upon social funds than permanently employed workers.

In the pattern of unemployment a more visible place than before is held, alongside groups of skilled industrial workers, by wage workers of non-physical professions, some of whom have the highest qualifications (engineers, teachers, managerial and office workers, and others). The demand for labour has diminished in the services industry.

The aggravation of the problem of employment is largely linked to the attempts of monopoly capital to use scientific and technological achievements to step up the exploitation of the working people, to capitalist forms of rationalisation. In summing up the views of researchers into the problem of employment in the FRG, the West German weekly *Der Spiegel* writes that the

joined by education and cultural workers, employees of the radio and television network, and even by parliamentary employees. Many post offices in Spain and Britain ceased work time and again in 1978. In Portugal 300,000 civil servants staged a huge nation-wide strike.

One of the significant factors enabling the working people to secure the satisfaction of their demands is that better tactical ways and means of class struggle are used. The increased interdependence of various branches of the economy of developed capitalism, on the one hand, and the widening coordination of the actions of professional and branch contingents of working people, on the other, are giving workers' organisations broader possibilities for employing new methods of strike action. For instance, a strike in a key sphere of the economy allows the trade unions to step up pressure on capital and the government on a national scale. This role was played, for example, by, among others, the steelmakers strike in the FRG at the close of 1978 and early 1979, and the strike of transport workers in Britain in 1979.⁴

The working-class movement is counterposing its own, proletarian system of safeguarding the socio-economic rights of working people more and more effectively to state-monopoly regulation of the relations between labour and capital. The experience gained by the working-class movement in the imperialist countries in the 1970s indicates that as it reaches a certain level the strike struggle, in combination with action by the masses under political slogans, leads to definite results in the socio-economic and legal condition of the working people and, most importantly, to noteworthy changes in the alignment of class forces and ultimately to a weakening of the positions of state-monopoly capitalism.

As it translates the new possibilities into reality the working-class movement grows numerically, becomes more active, renews its forms and methods of struggle, makes greater demands, and exercises a growing influence on the working people and their organisations and on socio-political life. An analysis shows that of these phenomena the principal one is the mounting tendency towards making demands whose satisfaction weakens state-monopoly capitalism.

This tendency is seen distinctly in all the key areas of the working-class struggle. A new content is being acquired by the actions of the working people against unemployment. Under conditions where they have become stable, where the ruling circles cannot cope with their growth, these actions are spearheaded not only directly against concrete manifestations of unemployment but also against the socio-economic mechanisms that constantly reproduce it. Extremely indicative in this respect is the struggle for the working-class movement's active incursion into the processes of adopting decisions on the regional and branch distribution of investments, i.e., into an area to which only recently it had no access whatsoever. In Italy, for example, the trade unions are bringing increasing pressure to bear on entrepreneurs in order to compel them to channel new investments into the nation's southern regions, which suffer most from unemployment.

Not resting content with fighting for the solution of current social problems, the working people of France, Italy, Britain and other countries are having increasing recourse to measures such as the occupation of factories whose owners roll up production and discharge workers. In some cases these are not merely acts of protest against dismissals and difficult working conditions, but also an expression of the striving of workers to take production into their own hands.⁵ More and more frequently this is linked to the demand for the nationalisation of various factories and entire industries.

The broadening of the spectrum of socio-economic demands is a

distinguishing feature of the class battles of the proletariat today. This trend is reflected, for example, by the leadership of Sohyo, Japan's largest trade union centre, which stresses that the Japanese workers should fight not only for higher wages but also for an improvement of their condition in all spheres, that they should insist on an improvement of the system of social insurance, price controls, environmental protection, and the uninterrupted operation of public transport.⁶

In the industrialised capitalist states the workers' organisations are demanding a linkage of automation and rationalisation to measures to halt the growth of unemployment, namely, measures such as transferring redundant workers to kindred enterprises, their retraining, and so forth. In the USA and some West European countries the trade unions are demanding a shorter working week that would compensate for redundancy of labour power in automated industries.

While making socio-economic demands, the organised working-class movement seeks to give them a scientific foundation. In many countries the Communist parties and the trade unions have experts and research institutes analysing social processes knowledgeably and conducting sociological, economic, and other research that provides such a foundation. For example, the purpose of these analyses at the French General Confederation of Labour, Georges Seguy, General Secretary of the GCL, said, is "to obtain a better understanding of the changes that have taken place in the organisation of work and to ascertain the effects of the changes that may occur within the next ten years".⁷

The deepening of the working class' socio-economic demands is closely linked to the intensification of its struggle for the participation of working people's representatives in decision-making in all areas of economic, social, and political life. Depending on national conditions and the political orientation, workers' organisations put forward various aims and programmes for this struggle and conduct it in different forms. Bourgeois spokesmen and the right social-reformists are attempting to approach the question of workers' participation in economic management from the standpoint of "social partnership". The Communist parties and the left-wing trade unions counter these attempts with their own alternative, the essence of which is to fight for the actual democratisation of managerial structures in the economy and other spheres of social life.

We are now observing a growing accent on the political aspects of the struggle of the working people not only against specific social calamities (unemployment, soaring prices, and so on) but also against the existing political apparatuses that cannot cope with these calamities. The working-class movement is bringing to bear direct and constantly growing pressure on the parliaments and governments of a number of countries. Indicative in this respect are the developments in the 1970s in Britain, where the fall of the Conservative (1974) and then of the Labour (1979) governments took place in a situation witnessing an aggravation of the class struggle and was largely due to the fact that the policies of these governments came into conflict with the interests of the working masses.

The significance of this tendency is all the greater today when the political system of state-monopoly capitalism, which mirrors the deepening of social antagonisms, encounters symptoms of crisis, when contradictions rise to the level where the administrative mechanism of the state loses its ability to control more or less significant areas of social life and cannot check the mounting political activity of the working people.

The growing political instability in developed capitalist countries is seen in

the steady erosion of the centrist electorate, which has for many decades been the principal bulwark of the "moderate" bourgeois parties. This is leading to a more clear-cut polarisation of the political orientation of the bulk of the electorate. Between the left and right blocs, which are more distinct than ever before, there is an unstable equilibrium under which the change of political forces holding the instruments of power depends on the vacillations of a relatively small group of the population maintaining an intermediate stand in the "grey zone". In recent years this situation has in various ways affected the twists and turns of the socio-political struggle in Italy and France, and also in some ways in Britain, the FRG, and other capitalist countries.

It should be borne in mind that political instability holds out the possibility for various development. Under specific circumstances, the temporary equilibrium may be upset in favour of reactionary bourgeois circles with all the ensuing internal political and international consequences. However, this balance of political forces may tilt in favour of the working-class movement, the left-wing parties and organisations. The struggle for the realisation of this possibility is now one of the major orientations of the efforts not only of the political parties of the working class but also of many trade unions demanding the democratisation of state political institutions as a vital condition for the satisfaction of the present-day demands of the working people.

There are, I believe, grounds for stating that the deepening of social antagonisms in the imperialist countries is inducing the working class to rise to new levels of confrontation with state-monopoly capitalism. As the Communist parties of developed capitalist countries have noted in their documents, this trend is unfolding under complicated conditions and encounters many difficulties: the growing resistance of the class enemy, a lack of unity in the trade union movement in some cases, the attitude of some right-wing leaders of social reformism, and so on. However, it continues to develop under the impact of capitalism's objective laws and the purposeful anti-monopoly actions of the left forces.

This tendency springs not only from the aggravation of imperialism's internal contradictions but also from the internationalisation of these contradictions, a process that increases the need for coordinating the efforts of the various contingents of the working class and all the anti-imperialist forces on an international level. Today this is an exceedingly important task because the prospects for world development and the ways and means of resolving the question of war and peace and other global problems will depend largely on what class forces are predominant on the international scene.

New possibilities are opening up for the working class and its allies also in this area of social confrontation. These possibilities are linked chiefly to the changes in the alignment of class forces in the world under the growing influence of socialism, to changes that create favourable international conditions for the struggle of the working people in capitalist countries.

The proletariat of these countries uses counter-measures, based on proletarian solidarity, to fight the internationally coordinated policy of the multinational corporations and governments. The struggle against unemployment is ranging beyond national boundaries. The arsenal of the means of this struggle is augmented with a weapon such as the international strike. Such strikes have taken place in the 1970s at the Solvay and Saint-Gobain multinational chemicals trusts, the Dunlop-Pirelli rubber monopoly, the AKZO multibranch corporation, and some other corporations.

Unlike the former solidarity campaigns, when the militant initiative of the workers of one country was supported by the working people of other countries (short-term strikes, demonstrations, collection of donations to an aid fund, and

so on), these were joint actions prepared in advance and they took place simultaneously under a single plan. These strikes are the first test of strength in an area that is largely new to the working-class movement. However, the direction given by this first experience is of the utmost importance; the logic of struggle for one of the most pressing demands—guaranteed employment—inevitably brings the workers and their organisations into direct confrontation with the multinational monopolies.⁸

The fact that capitalism uses immigrant labour in Western Europe poses the working-class movement with acute problems of an international character. In the FRG, Britain, France, and other countries millions of permanent and temporary immigrant workers are employed chiefly on arduous, low-paid jobs. Discrimination and racism are widely used by the ruling circles to split the working class and stir up national prejudices among the working people. The workers' organisations are countering this policy with international solidarity, with coordinated actions in defence of the rights of immigrant workers.

The conditions are now taking shape for unitary action by trade unions of different political affiliation on any urgent problems facing the working people, including the problem of fighting mass unemployment, bridling the arbitrary rule of the multinational corporations, and ending the arms race. As was noted at the 30th session of the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the attitudes of the main international trade union centres—the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and the General Confederation of Labour—have many points in common.⁹ This is evidence that despite some differences there are growing possibilities for invigorating joint action by various contingents of the trade union movement in the struggle for the settlement of urgent problems facing the working people.

In order to coordinate action on an international scale and work out a common platform in the struggle against international capital a number of trade unions have set up permanent secretariats. Better organisation in the working-class and trade movements has opened the way to large-scale internationally coordinated actions. For example, in 1978 working people acted against unemployment, in defence of the right to work simultaneously in 18 West European countries in response to a call from the trade unions.

These actions are an extremely promising and rapidly spreading tendency, whose significance is made all the greater by the fact that it is developing in interdependence with analogous tendencies in other areas of the class struggle.

Thus, the aggravation of the antagonisms between labour and capital on both the national and international levels is today generating tendencies and prospects of the class struggle that despite the activation of rightist, reactionary forces in some capitalist countries may ultimately strengthen the positions of the working class and give its organisations new possibilities of an advance.

¹For instance: *The Resurgence of Class Conflict in Western Europe Since 1968*, Vol. 1. *National Studies*; Vol. 2. *Comparative Analyses*, The Macmillan Press, Ltd., 1978. Ed. by Colin Crouch and Alessandro Pizzorno.

²This is dealt with in detail in a joint publication brought out by the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Marxist Studies in Frankfurt on Main: *Western Europe: Class Battles of the Proletariat*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1978.

³*Der Spiegel*, April 17, 1978, p.80.

⁴The forms of the strike struggle are now growing more varied: "chessboard" or "shifting" strikes (consecutive short stoppage in individual factory departments that disorganise the production cycle in the entire factory), "sudden" strikes (organised without giving the management prior notification), "zeal" and "work to rule" strikes, "reverse strikes" (when striking workers occupy factories and continue production), and so on. This question is dealt with in an analytical survey

unions of socialist and other countries. It is affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Of course, the national trade union centre still has its weak points. To raise its efficiency, it is indispensable, in particular, to achieve full respect for democratic principles, especially in electing leading bodies. It should not be forgotten that violations of democracy and other shortcomings are exploited by reaction, which tries to discredit and undermine the GFLU, block the activity of the unions in various ways and reduce their organising, mobilising and educational function with regard to the working people. To resist these attempts is a standing task of all who, like the Communists, set great store by what is at once a class and patriotic role of the working-class movement and who are doing their best to strengthen it.

The revolutionary forces of Syria, including the Communists, are working to preserve and carry forward its progressive gains. They want Syria to be firm in its stand against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, to put up effective resistance to their pressure, always to uphold friendship and co-operation with the land of the October Revolution and with other countries of the socialist community, persevere in its advance to socialism and continue playing a progressive role in the Arab liberation movement. This struggle is steadily increasing the leverage and influence of the working class as the main social force with a vital stake in socialism. In firm alliance with all the labouring people, it will fulfill its historic mission of achieving a social system free of all forms of exploitation.

¹ See Naim Ashhab, "For an Overall Settlement in the Middle East", in *WMR*, December 1976.—Ed.

Exchange of Views, Discussion

Latin America: Current Tasks in the Anti-Imperialist Struggle and International Solidarity

International Exchange of Opinion in Prague

The recent period has been marked by an upswing in the Latin American peoples' struggle for stronger national sovereignty, social progress and democracy, against the fascist threat, for anti-imperialist changes aimed to eliminate foreign-monopoly domination, and for an independent foreign policy for their countries. This struggle has gone forward at a time of radical change in the balance of forces in the world arena in favour of peace, democracy and socialism, and with growing unity of the main revolutionary streams of our day: the world socialist system, the international working class, and the national liberation movement.

An international exchange of opinion was arranged by the *World Marxist Review* in Prague on the subject: "Current Problems in the Latin American Peoples' Struggle and Solidarity in Face of the Present Strategy of Imperialism". Among those who took part were: Rubens Iscaro (Argentinian Communist and public leader), Luis Padilla (CC member, Communist Party of Bolivia), Marcelo Santos (CC Executive Commission member,

Brazilian Communist Party), Orlando **Millas** (CC Political Commission member, Communist Party of Chile), Francisco **Gamboa** (member of the CC Political Commission, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica), Manuel **Menendez** (Representative of the Communist Party of Cuba on the journal), Rene **Mauge** (CC Executive Committee member, Communist Party of Equador), Dunieres **Talis** (Political Bureau member, CC Secretary, Guadeloupe Communist Party), Otto **Sanchez** (CC member, Guatemalan Party of Labour), Janet **Jagan** (Executive Committee member, head of International Department, People's Progressive Party of Guyana), Milton **Paredes** (CC Political Commission member, Communist Party of Honduras), Maurice **Juston** (Martinique Communist Party), Salvador **Gonzalez Marin** (CC Secretariat member, Mexican Communist Party), Ricardo **Garcia** (Nicaragua Socialist Party), Felix **Dixon** (alternate CC member, People's Party of Panama), Carlos **Maciel** (CC Political Commission member, Paraguayan Communist Party), Pedro **Mayta Zapata** (CC Political Commission member, Peruvian Communist Party), Miguel Enrique **Melendez** (Puerto Rican Communist Party), Enrique **Rodriguez** (Executive Committee member, CC Secretary, Communist Party of Uruguay), and Pedro Ortega **Diaz** (member of the CC Political Bureau, Communist Party of Venezuela).

THE meeting was opened by C. Nunez Anavitarte, the Peruvian Communist Party's representative on the Journal and Chairman of its Commission on problems of the national-liberation movement in the Latin American countries. The current exchange of opinion, he said, reflects the urge of Latin America's Communists constantly to enrich and develop our theory and to acquaint themselves with the practical experience and political approach of fraternal Parties to various phenomena and events. The task of the participants in the meeting is to discuss problems in the peoples' struggle in each of our countries in connection with the latest expressions of the structural and political crisis in Latin America and to clarify the scale and actual content of the present strategy of imperialism, notably US imperialism, which has met with major reverses in other parts of the world and now seeks to re-establish at any price the positions it has lost on our continent. As its contradictions sharpen, imperialism becomes more dangerous to the peoples.

The Conference of Communist Parties of Latin American and Caribbean countries (Havana, 1975) said that "the exacerbation of the overall crisis of capitalism and its total inability to find a way out of the situation has induced the most aggressive circles of monopoly capital to turn to fascism". That is why it is so important to study and sum up the diverse forms of the heroic struggle against fascism, which is being carried on in highly difficult conditions in Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay and other countries. Convincing evidence of the power and importance of international solidarity and proletarian internationalism can be seen in the constant and allround support which our people are getting from the progressive forces, the socialist community in the first place.

Such exchanges of opinion are a form of living contact which helps to broaden and deepen the approach to the common problems and makes it easier to understand the intricacies of the changing reality.

Gonzales Marin. Faced with growing difficulties, imperialism has sought to work out a new policy. It has sought to shift the burden of the consequences of the overall crisis of capitalism on the countries which are dependent on it, especially on its southern neighbours, and evidence of this will be found in the activity of typical instruments of imperialism, like the International Monetary Fund. Here, imperialism has relied on the local oligarchy and the monopolies,

whose economic and political interests are closely bound up with the interests of the "metropolitan country". Judging by the measures being taken by the new Mexican government, the local oligarchy has succeeded in achieving its aims. The "alliance for Production", which the Mexican government has concluded with representatives of the most reactionary circles of the oligarchy, and the calls on the people to contain their requirements have actually resulted in a freezing of wages, cut-backs in government spending on social security and education, and growing profits for the oligarchy.

At the same time, there is evidence of a crisis in the methods used to run the state, which the political bureaucracy has been using over the past few years. The Communists allow of the possibility that the present economic crisis can be overcome. However, it is not a matter of indifference to us what kind of measures are used to do this. They must not harm the mass of people. What is more, mindful of the lessons of the crisis, we have put forward demands whose fulfilment will help to reduce the dependence of the national economy on imperialism. On the political crisis, our main efforts are aimed to overcome it in a democratic way. Complete legalisation of the Mexican Communist Party would provide evidence that this is the way the ruling circles have taken.

Gamboa. For years the imperialists have advocated a Central American alliance that would meet their interests. There is an awareness among our peoples that a Central American Alliance is an objective requirement of economic development, but they do not want it to be sponsored by imperialism. The United States has managed to set up a "common market", a system of economic integration in Central America, and, on the basis of a military treaty, a Central American Defence Council (CADC), which is empowered to send one country's army to operate on the territory of others. This military treaty has most of all affected the Costa Ricans' interests, because our country is the only one in America without an army, although it does have a civil guard with repressive functions, a public order force.

We have no military institutions or military caste. A bourgeois democratic system has been established in Costa Rica, which is the only Central American republic to maintain diplomatic and trade relations with the socialist countries. After 27 years in the underground, the Communists and Left-wing forces have won complete legality and the trade-union movement has been developing in relative freedom, although it does have to face many difficulties. Together with other Left-wing forces, we have been working persistently for unity.

Iscaro. Following its reverses in Asia and Africa, imperialism has concentrated on safeguarding its positions in Latin America. The temporary defeat of the democratic process with a socialist perspective in Chile, like the establishment of diverse dictatorships in other countries in the southern part of the continent does not mean that the Latin American peoples are in retreat, or that fascism is on the offensive, winning new positions everywhere. It is true that the revolutionary movement in some Latin American countries has been dealt heavy blows, but its achievements are also unquestionable. We believe that in evaluating these one should not be guided only by whether we have or have not succeeded in attaining power. We must take account of the extent to which the masses are involved in the anti-imperialist struggle, of the growth of the revolutionary movement in Latin America as a whole, the changing frame of mind among individuals in the armed forces, the attitude of the Catholic Church to the democratic movement, the action started by some circles of the bourgeoisie opposing the policy of international monopolies, and so on. All of this testifies to the development of the anti-imperialist and revolutionary movement on the continent. Every country has its own specific problems, and these are taken into account by each Party in working out its line and tactics. Of course, we have one common enemy—imperialism—and one common weapon—internationalist solidarity.

That is why we Communists must act in concert both in Latin America and all over the world.

The contradictions between US imperialism, on the one hand, and the masses of people in the Latin American countries and some governments, on the other, have become so acute that a complete break is a possible prospect. As for Argentina and other countries of the continent, among the causes of their friction with the United States one must note the problems of "defence" of the South of the Atlantic, nuclear treaties and human rights. Our task is to use these frictions to develop the anti-imperialist movement.

We believe that there is only one way to unity and liberation, the way of mass struggle. The peaceful, like the non-peaceful way, must always be connected with mass action, instead of reckless action by a minority out of touch with the masses. In our countries, the struggle for socialism is closely bound up with the struggle for democratic changes. We Argentinian Communists have carried on an ideological struggle against every form of ultra-leftism, which has done so much harm to the Communist and anti-imperialist movement.

We feel that more attention should be given not only to the activity of political and social organisations and mass action, but also to processes taking place in the armed forces. In Argentina, there is a wide spectrum of views among the military, ranging from progressive-minded groupings to reactionary elements. Some military men reject communism but take an anti-imperialist and democratic attitude. We feel that much importance should be attached to the problem of the military.

The struggle in Argentina is aimed to prevent the dark cloud of fascism and reaction in the service of imperialism from covering the sky of the Southern Cone. Success in ensuring respect for the Argentinians' democratic rights and freedoms would inevitably tell on the neighbouring countries, because Argentina obviously exerts an economic and political influence on them. If democracy in Argentina is strengthened—and we regard such a perspective with optimism—the situation in the Southern Cone could change.

Enrique Melendez. A few days before leaving the White House, President Ford announced the US intention to turn Puerto Rico into yet another state. This did not come as a surprise for the Puerto Rican Communists. For years, the US oil companies had been conducting geological exploration on the territory of Puerto Rico and in its off-shore waters. An official announcement said that large deposits of oil, copper and other minerals are located in the area of the country's northern coast. Politically, Puerto Rico is beginning to be source of serious alarm for the United States. The Puerto Rican Communist Party wants to see the establishment of a broad patriotic front to tackle the problem of the country's legal status in the national interest, that is, to eliminate the colonial regime with the participation of all patriots, regardless of party affiliation. International solidarity has enabled us to give broader scope to the struggle at home.

Talis. The people of Guadeloupe have been carrying on a hard struggle for decolonisation. Despite the fact that we have not yet induced all the working people to display concern for winning autonomy, this question continues to be one of the most important for Guadeloupe. French imperialism and the French government, which protects its interests, regard autonomy as a threat to colonial rule in our country. But as the 1974 elections showed, a majority of voters came out in favour of abolishing the colonial regime. There is no doubt that it is now possible to unite the forces in Guadeloupe fighting against colonialism. Like all the other peoples, our people take an optimistic view of the struggle against imperialism.

Mauge. Since the takeover by the armed forces government, our Party has formulated a tactical line of supporting all the positive elements in its activity. It

has also indicated the need to combat all the negative aspects of its policy, which harm the interests of the people and the country. A variety of approaches to the political situation in the country will be found among the military. There are the pro-fascist elements which attempted to stage a coup in 1975. There are also the democratic forces which fought arm in arm against the fascist grouping. In these conditions, we have been working to strengthen the progressive and democratic attitudes among certain circles of the armed forces, although we do not have any illusions about the army as a whole being able to support progressive and revolutionary aims. Just now a polemic and a polarisation of forces is under way in the armed forces government.¹ Our Party has been working for the establishment of a broad Left-forces front to unite the Socialist Party, Christian circles, a section of the army, the working class and peasant movement, and progressive forces in general.²

Rodriguez. Our starting point for analysing the situation on the continent is the Declaration of the Conference of Communist Parties of Latin American and Caribbean countries, whose overall evaluations have been borne out by time, and this is of great importance, considering the changes that have taken place and Latin America's political instability. The fact that we are faced with a counter-offensive by imperialism is being confirmed. To be more specific: this is not an offensive that has allegedly left us routed, but a response, a counter-offensive, mounted in view of the very grave political process going forward in Latin America. Make no mistake about it: the counter-offensive has brought US imperialism some success, but it was achieved at the price of a considerable overall weakening of its positions. Nevertheless, a worsening of the strategic perspective does not necessarily mean that at this tactical moment the consequences of imperialist policy have been nullified. The counter-offensive has cost our peoples much sacrifice and suffering.

It is impossible to describe everything that has occurred in Latin America from 1964 to 1977. It is no longer possible to use the old yardstick, because we now have to deal with fascism. Still, despite the monstrous crimes of imperialism, it is a fact that it has failed to destroy the Communist Parties. Nor has imperialism managed to split the trade-union movement or to set up yellow trade unions. In strategic terms (also taking account of present potentialities) the balance of forces in the world is shaping in our favour. In these past few years, Latin America's Communist Parties have done a great deal, and this has not been easy anywhere. In Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Brazil and other countries the fraternal parties have lost many of their leaders and rank-and-file members.

US imperialism has sought to present itself in a new guise, conducting an international campaign against the socialist countries and seeking to split the international Communist movement over the human rights issue; it has also made use of various moves over the terms of military aid. But ultimately this policy has engendered fresh contradictions and has further worsened its positions in Latin America. This is a very intricate process including elements of the inter-imperialist struggle (like the nuclear-energy agreements between Brazil and the FRG). We must use these contradictions, without harbouring any illusions or losing our political independence.

Imperialism will seek to prevent Latin America from returning to the 1970 situation (the year of the Popular Unity victory in Chile), or the one which took shape after the collapse of the dictatorships in the fifties and the victorious Cuban Revolution. The most it can hope for is to accept some "institutionalisation" on the Brazilian model. But it will not abandon fascism and will not suppress the pro-fascist elements in the army. This will have to be done by the peoples themselves (however tremendous the price in sacrifice) through the broadest possible struggle and unity of all the patriotic forces: civilians, military, atheists

and believers. In this struggle no opportunity must be overlooked, however insignificant or indirect, so as to bring about an upswing in the struggle of masses of people and their unity in the battle against fascism to breach the enemy camp.

It is four years since the dictatorship was established in Uruguay. Bordaberry has done down, the contradictions between those who are holding onto power illegally have been growing, and the economic situation is catastrophic. Weakened by internal resistance and international solidarity, the dictatorship finds itself in ever greater isolation. The leadership of the Communist Party of Uruguay has never ceased its activity inside the country. It has continued to issue underground publications and has helped to advance the struggle of the masses, above all the preservation of the organisational structure and sustained activity by the trade-union centre (Working People's National Convention) and various workers' trade unions. Despite the threats and fierce struggles May Day was publicly celebrated in 1974 and 1975.

Since October 1975, the fascist forces' offensive has been waged with unprecedented savagery. Our movement had to go deep down underground to preserve its cadres. The struggle goes on, and that is the main thing for us. International solidarity has been of tremendous assistance. We realised the great strength of the forces that can extend support to a fighting people. We are aware of the direct connection between the resistance movement in the country and international solidarity, and realise the importance of the heroism of our leaders, like Jaime Perez, Jose Luis Massera, Alberto Altesor and other comrades, for the Party's ideological cohesion and elevation of its morale. We are proud of them, and their political prestige is incontestable. Their behaviour in the torture chambers has won them the right to be called national heroes of the anti-fascist struggle.

We do not advocate a "care-free optimism". Our struggle has been, is and will be hard. It is part of the struggle in the international arena in which the balance of forces is tilting in favour of the people's struggle. Fierce battles will continue to be fought in Latin America, in which successes may alternate with defeats. We in Uruguay have been concentrating our efforts to achieve unity of action and set up a front of all the anti-fascist forces, seeking not only to liberate our own country, but also to make a contribution to the cause of wiping out the fascist and reactionary dictatorships on the continent as a whole.

Menendez. Imperialism has been forced to abandon its "cold war" policy because of the victories scored by the forces of peace and socialism, the advance of the struggle by the working class and the progressive forces in the capitalist world, and also of the peoples' successes in the fight against colonialism and neocolonialism.

The recent period has been marked by a succession of defeats for US imperialism all over the world. First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, Fidel Castro, said in his Report at the First Congress: "Our people may feel proud of having in some measure contributed to that historic defeat of US imperialism, proving that only 90 miles away, a small nation, relying on no other strength than its moral determination to resist to the very end, and on the solidarity of the international revolutionary movement, was able to beat back the imperialist onslaught by the world's most oppressive power. The existence of revolutionary Cuba, its successes in every sphere of social life and the defeats of the imperialist aggressors give our people hope of a radiant future despite the still existing difficulties.

Nowadays, the ideological struggle tends to become ever more acute, with the imperialists resorting to ever subtler methods. With socialism scoring more and more successes, and capitalism paralysed by an economic crisis, the apologists of imperialism have been conducting a broadly organised campaign to denigrate

existing socialism. US ruling circles have vainly tried to present themselves as champions of freedom, sponsors of a genuine peace policy, and initiators of "just" general disarmament. Having been forced to take such a stand because of the changing balance of forces, imperialism has sought to slow down progressive transformations leading to a further strengthening of the revolutionary camp. Following the election of the Democratic Party's candidate, Jimmy Carter, extensive effort has been made to present the new Administration as an advocate of a new order in Latin America, with profuse talk about human rights. Imperialist propaganda says that US military aid will be withheld from Latin American governments violating these rights. However, this is no more than a screen because so-called direct aid is very insignificant as compared with indirect aid going to the repressive regimes. What is taken from them by one hand, is being abundantly supplied by the other.

By means of this campaign, the imperialists seek to create a climate of mistrust of the socialist-community countries, the Soviet Union in the first place, and to switch the attention of the peoples to the question of so-called lack of freedoms, democracy and human rights in the socialist world, including Cuba. But the fact is that only under socialism can a truly humane society be set up, free of all exploitation, a society in which all men are brothers. How can there be any human rights in a country like the United States in which people are being discriminated against for reasons of colour or origin? How can they talk about human rights while supporting colonial domination in Puerto Rico and prosecuting and incarcerating fighters for that country's independence? How can they talk about human rights while resorting to subversion and sabotage, efforts to destabilise governments, continuing their aggressions against Latin American peoples and conducting a criminal policy of blocading our country? How can the imperialists hold forth on human rights while making use of all the means at their disposal to maintain the fiercest exploitation on our continent? How can they claim to be the leaders of the fighters for human rights while pursuing aggressive aims, with dozens of military bases established all over the world, including the territory of our country, and manufacturing every conceivable type of destructive weapon?

Following the events in Angola, imperialism has tried to fan a campaign designed to discredit the Cuban revolution. To drum up support for this campaign, prevent some Latin American and Caribbean countries from defending their natural resources, establishing fair prices for their basic exports and safeguarding their national sovereignty, imperialism has spread rumours about the "threat" of a Cuban invasion.

US government spokesmen recently announced the US intention to modify its policy with respect to Cuba. At our Party Congress, First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Cuba, Fidel Castro, said: "We are ready to negotiate, and we reiterate this also at our Congress, before the entire Cuban people, that official negotiations cannot be carried on, unless the US government rectifies the substance of its blockade policy. . . . It is a question of negotiating on equal terms, and we have already said that for us the blockade is a knife at our throat; it creates an atmosphere for negotiations that we will never accept." With the world now developing towards detente, Cuba, which has always based its policy on the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality of states and respect for national sovereignty and independence, will not take a position of negative intolerance in the matter of settling its contradictions with the United States. This is our position: if a policy of peace and friendship is taken with respect to Cuba, we pursue the same policy. The lifting of the blockade would mean a defeat for the policy which has been pursued by imperialism with respect to Cuba for over 15 years. It would mean a victory for the peoples and for the international revolutionary movement. However, it will not shake our solidarity with the Latin

American peoples and with the revolutionary and national-liberation movements in all countries.

Ortega Diaz. Our country is going through a politically complicated period: elections for the President of the Republic are at hand. The parties are preparing to nominate their candidates. Never before has Venezuela had such a rise in prices and such a shortage of foodstuffs as it has today. That is the result of the failure of the "agrarian" reform, which has, in fact, served the ruling circles as a screen for conducting a bourgeois agricultural reform. As a result, the present level of agricultural output does not meet the country's requirements. On the other hand, as this will be seen from official data, the major economic groupings linked with imperialism have been enriched and have increased their power. In the recent period, despite the nationalisation of oil and iron ore, foreign capital has markedly strengthened its positions in the country's economy. There is a rapid growth of foreign investments in industry, finance and banking, in defiance of the Andean Pact's decision "No 24". The condition of the masses continues to be extremely grave. The working people's real wages have declined, and in the past few years the bourgeoisie, the employers have increased their share of the national income.

The mass movement has been developing despite the role of the top trade-union bureaucrats, who depend, on the one hand, on the Inter-American Regional Organisation of Workers (ORIT), and on the other, on the Social Christian movement supported by the United States and the FRG. From 1970 to 1976, the number of illegal strikes increased considerably (let us note, that all were declared illegal). This is an indication of the growing fighting efficiency of the masses. Our Party's participation in organising the trade-union movement has grown, and we have continued to consolidate our positions within it. The Party's line on the electoral campaign consists in elaborating a common programme and nominating a single candidate for all the Left-wing forces. We have no illusions on this score: a hard struggle lies ahead, and we may possibly not achieve success. The important thing, however, is that in the course of this struggle the Party will be able to consolidate its ties with major political forces.

Millas. Fascism emerged in Chile in response to the development of the revolutionary process which was led by the working class and which scored considerable successes that the Chilean people cannot forget. For a correct evaluation of fascism, one must make a profound analysis of the changes that have taken place in the economic, social and political development of Chile and other Latin American countries. The Chilean Communists devoted special attention to a study of this problem in the 1950s while working out our Party's programme, and pointed to the formation of a local financial oligarchy. Its most aggressive groups, which we call the great clans, practise open terroristic tyranny, making direct use of fascist military commanders for these purposes. They were set in motion by imperialism, the CIA and the Pentagon in the first place. Today, they are being helped and supported by the Carter Administration.

The main feature of the fascist tyranny is that it is practised as a system of state-monopoly capitalism. Some analysts have debated the point of whether it was right to define as state-monopolist a regime that is dependent on international finance capital, that has yet to reach a considerable level of economic development, and whose most dynamic branches of the economy depend on the metropolitan country. We feel that in analysing such regimes it is indeed right to lay emphasis on their dependent character. But one should take account of the fact that that is a type of dependence which is also a type of state-monopoly capitalism. In casting about for support from all the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois sections, fascism in Chile resorted to demagogic propaganda against the role of the state. But that was no more than another of the numerous fascist

tricks. Actually, the major Chilean enterprises continue to be owned by the state, while the whole intricate system of production and state administration of the economy as a whole, like the development of these enterprises, serves the interests of the most avid groups of the financial oligarchy.

Under fascism, new forms of state-monopoly capitalism are expressed above all in the consolidation of the mechanism of financial domination in the areas where the most active monopoly groups coalesce with imperialist finance capital. We regard the fascist economic "model" as a component part of the international division of labour in the capitalist world set up by the large international enterprises. In Chile, this has led to the destruction of a sizable section of traditional industry. At the same time, mining, the pulp industry, agro-industrial complexes, forestry and the fisheries have been given a fresh impetus for development. To become competitive in these industries, the international monopolies have established control over the provision of technology and financial resources. The local financial oligarchy also has to secure the accumulation of capital and high profits, and this cannot be done without continued fascist terror.

We have on our side, on the side of the working class, tremendous forces whose interests have been affected by the current situation in the country. It is our duty to work out not only the slogans for the immediate demands and resistance, aimed to mobilise the masses, but also a patriotic, anti-fascist programme for the country's further development. That is what we have been doing.

Maciel. There are two main factors in Paraguay which hamper the development of the productive forces, of industrial and agricultural production: latifundism and imperialism. Their domination results in stagnation and a narrowing of the domestic market. Masses of people in the country are impoverished and unemployed. Over a period of many years, Stroessner's dictatorship has systematically sold out the national resources to international monopolies. In an effort to stem the development of our people's struggle, the dictatorship has resorted to threats, persecutions, tortures, kidnapping of political and trade-union leaders and violence against them. The situation in the country clashes not only with the vital interests of the working class and the peasants, but also affects the interests of the national industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, including the nonprivileged sections of the ruling classes. There is now a universal growth of discontent with the backwardness, poverty and reprisals. The working class is extending its struggle. At the same time, the peasants have been fighting for their land, for fair prices for their produce and guarantees of free activity for their organisations, and the students, for better conditions to study. There is a broadening movement to secure the release of political detainees, against tortures, persecutions and so on. The church has an important role to play in the struggle of the anti-dictatorship forces.

The dictatorship has repeatedly announced the destruction of the Paraguayan Communist Party, but it is still operating within the country. Though we have lost many of our comrades, though CC Secretary, like Miguel Angel Soler was arrested at the end of 1975, and like Derlis Villagra has disappeared without trace, and though many Communists are in prison, the Party leadership is in Paraguay and has been strengthening the Party's bonds with the masses. It has maintained contacts with various political circles on the need for joint struggle by all forces opposing the Stroessner tyranny. Their unity is the main condition for overthrowing the regime.

Zapata. The revolutionary process in Peru, which was anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic, and had an anti-capitalist orientation, is facing grave difficulties. The economic crisis, a reflection of the world crisis of capitalism, has had an extremely negative impact on the ongoing transformations. In seeking a way out,

the armed-forces government had ideological illusions because of its class make-up. Its activity was based upon allegedly original theories, notably the conception of "self-governing socialism", rejecting the need for a revolutionary party, and for the doctrine of the class struggle, and emphasising the attainment of national unity. All this prevented the armed forces government from taking the path of deepening the revolutionary process. This would mean a break with dependence and an advance towards the socialist way of development. Failing to do this, it was powerless in the face of reaction. Exploiting the economic difficulties, the reactionary forces managed to change the government's character, secure the removal of its revolutionary wing, revision of the basic programme goals and a gradual emaciation of the progressive content of the affected transformations. We feel that the present government is no longer revolutionary. But then it is not fascist either, and we believe that it is trying to work out its own policy in accordance with its conceptions. People's organisations, our Party in the first place, believe that the main thing now is to formulate a policy for pulling out of the economic crisis. In so doing, the whole burden should not be thrown on the masses of working people. This policy should be aimed to deepen the revolutionary process, instead of slowing it down. The Communists have proposed a programme for solving the economic problems that would help to unite all the revolutionary forces. Despite the systematic attacks on the part of reaction and the ultra-leftist elements, the efforts to sow dissent in our ranks, the Communist Party has steadfastly maintained its unity. Even faced with the present serious position, there are still opportunities to advance the revolutionary process, enabling the democratic and popular forces to prevent any further shift to the right or the establishment of a fascist regime in Peru.

Juston. The people of Martinique acquired national self-awareness a relatively short while ago. Our struggle for national liberation has gone forward in a country where, despite all the difficulties, the working class has won considerable gains. The class struggle has forged organisations in our country which prevented a neocolonialist solution of the problems, as has been the case in some African countries. All of this makes our struggle original and explains why it is democratic autonomy and not independence that is our slogan. The Martinique Communists attach exceptional importance to greater international solidarity and stronger cohesion of the international revolutionary movement.

Santos. As General Secretary of the CC of the Brazilian Communist Party Luis Carlos Prestes said, imperialism has failed to alter the tendency on our continent towards a strengthening of the progressive forces. Still, we should not forget that over the past two years since the Havana Conference, imperialism has concentrated its utmost attention on Latin America. One must also note at present the existence of a fascist threat on the continent. Reaction's resort to fascism is evidence of its weakness, of a strengthening of the working class and of exacerbation of the class struggle in Latin America. Materialisation of the fascist threat is not in any sense inevitable. The threat can be eliminated through concerted action by our peoples and by our Parties, but always with international solidarity.

We believe that the question raised by Comrade Millas about state-monopoly capitalism on our continent is highly meaningful. It has a bearing on the countries which have not yet attained a sufficiently high level of capitalist development and which largely depend on imperialism.

In April of this year, the Brazilian dictatorship dissolved Congress for a few days when the opposition resisted the approval of a reform of the judicial system. Thereupon, the reform, along with others, was imposed on the country, and, like many other measures, cut across the Constitution and was designed to limit

the potentialities of the electoral system. The changes made in it are intended to prevent the opposition from winning a majority in the Senate and in the state governments in the elections next year. By means of Institutional Act No 5 the dictatorship has, in effect, invalidated the importance of the legislature and the judiciary. Having analysed the regime's policy in the current period, as it is losing its strength and relying on an ever narrower base, a Plenary Meeting of our Party's Central Committee said that fascism tends to become ever more aggressive precisely because it was weakening and facing an impasse. However, the opposition movement against the existing system has yet to attain sufficient scope. We feel it is only being revived. As yet, there have been no major mass actions. Our Party's stand is to promote the unity of all the forces acting against fascism or entering into contradiction with it, even if they may turn out to be no more than fellow-travellers. This will help to take joint action with all the forces now opposing fascism. We have been working hard to prevent any juxtaposition of the civilians and the military, and have put forward as the basic issue the winning over or, at least, the neutralisation of a sizable section of the armed forces. We also believe that to win in the struggle against fascism there is a need to develop international solidarity, which is already there, and which has been giving us crucial assistance.

The arms race has continued in our country, involving an expenditure of something like \$2,000 million a year. Tanks, planes and warships are being built, and the nuclear treaty with the FRG is being implemented. The struggle against plans to set up a South Atlantic Pact is an urgent problem and a main element in extending the detente to our continent. Problems like the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, noninterference in the domestic affairs of other countries, an end to the arms race, and inviolability of borders are also of much importance for Latin America.

Garcia. Our Party has proposed the unity of all the anti-dictatorship and anti-imperialist forces. As a first step, the programme of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party contains the proposal for democratising our society. This requires the unity of all the sections whose interests have been affected by the dictatorship and imperialism. They make up an overwhelming majority of the people. Disillusionment with the Somoza regime even among the bourgeoisie, the work done by our Party among the masses and the middle sections of the population, and the defeat of imperialism in Cuba, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have all helped to set up an anti-dictatorship and anti-imperialist front. It includes right-wing, centrist and Left-wing trends. The struggle of the revolutionary forces of Nicaragua has gone forward in an atmosphere of fierce reprisals. But despite the difficulties faced by our Party, it has been organising the working people, and providing leadership and guidance in advancing their class consciousness.

Jagan. Since the time when the Guyana government took an anti-imperialist stand, the situation in the country has had positive and negative aspects. One could note a number of positive steps taken by the government in foreign policy, notably the establishment of relations with the socialist countries. The two main industries—bauxites and sugar—have been nationalised. But there is also a negative aspect. The nationalised industries have remained largely in the same state as they were before, but the nationalisation has produced a parasitic stratum, a bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

The Burnham government declares that it has done much in the sphere of ideology. But despite its lip-service to Marxism-Leninism, it has still continued its line of so-called co-operative socialism, and this is causing ideological confusion in the country. The absence of unity among the Left-wing forces has also produced serious problems.³ Our task is to strengthen the People's Progressive Party to enable it to exert an influence on the government and play a leading role in political life.

Padilla. Bolivia's present government is no different from the fascist and fascist-minded regimes established in the southern part of the Latin American continent in the recent period. The "new order" is more of a terroristic dictatorship of Bolivia's pro-imperialist bourgeoisie than a state mechanism for the domination of the right wing of the armed forces, just as "Pinochetism" is a mechanism of the Chilean chauvinistic oligarchy. The "new order" is the face of fascism in Bolivia. We emphasise the similarity of these processes because, although present-day Latin American fascism cannot be regarded as something totally identical in all the countries, it is the common and similar features of fascism, and not the national specifics that determine its danger and possibility of its further extension. For that reason, and also for various others, anti-fascist and democratic goals are now paramount in Bolivia's life. In order to attain these, the Bolivian working people and other social forces have mounted large-scale mass action. Strikes, manifestations, protests and hunger strikes by the wives and children of those arrested and deported testify to the continued struggle of the working people and other sections for democracy and freedom. The Banzer dictatorship has no social support, and the discontent is growing. Progressive circles reject the dictatorship's concessions to the monopolies of the USA, the FRG and Japan, demand protection for national natural resources, and condemn the criminal project for resettling in Bolivia 150,000 racists from Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa, which the Banzer regime seeks to impose under the pretext of resettlement in the country, while it is pursuing a policy of genocide against the Indian population. One of the key results of this struggle is the formation of a broad democratic movement in defence of civil rights and freedoms on which numerous public figures and leaders of the opposition parties, including former ministers of the Banzer government are represented. The Communists have taken an active part in this movement. They are working hard to establish a democratic, independent and progressive regime in Bolivia.

Paredes. There is no doubt at all that the incumbent armed forces government in Honduras has abandoned the National Development Plan, with whose announcement on December 4, 1972, this bourgeois-reformist government began its rule. The takeover in 1975 by Melgar Castro, who headed the lieutenant-colonels' action, was the first phase in the political plot organised by the ultra-rightist forces and the monopolies. The new government abandoned all structural reforms and got down to pursuing its economic policy, whose main purpose is to attain nominal indicators of accelerated growth without carrying out any deep-going social transformations. Increasingly ceding to pressure from domestic and external reaction, the present government has mounted reprisals against the democratic forces on the pretext of combating a "communist threat".

Considering that the reformist bourgeoisie's potentialities have been spent, while the objective need for social reforms has remained, our Party's Third Congress reached the conclusion that there was a need for modifying our political line without delay. Without abandoning the strategic goal of the anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchy, democratic and popular revolution, we have to work out an alternative for the immediate future to ensure a solution of the political crisis and to enable the people of Honduras to prepare themselves for even more meaningful and resolute battles in the future. We have put forward a demand for general democratic elections that would make it possible, through direct consultations with the people, to introduce a system that would not only consolidate the social gains of the recent period, but also to show a way out of the current political crisis and block the way of reaction which seeks to spread fascism in the country. We insist on the need for an electoral law to enable participation by all the political forces, including independent candidates. We demand abolition of the repressive laws, and elections without violence and

rigging, and also respect for the results of such elections. We call on all the democratic forces in the country to seek unity within a broad political front. In view of the complexity of the political situation and the attempts to spread fascism in Central America, there is a need to enhance the solidarity of our peoples and movements to counter the plans of reaction and imperialism with a powerful and united anti-imperialist movement capable of securing victory for the democratic forces in the whole region.

Sanchez. Guatemala's government and oligarchic circles are trying to make the people bear the brunt of the catastrophic consequences of the crisis of the capitalist system. In international terms, the policy of the Laugerud Garcia government imposed on Guatemala is to join the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua to become a shock-force of imperialism in fighting peace, democracy and social progress in Central America. The Garcia government is now trying to use force to annex the territory of Belize in order to promote the attainment of the economic, political and strategic goals of the Guatemalan oligarchy and US imperialism. There is a grave threat of armed intervention by Guatemala against that fraternal people if Belize succeeds in winning its long-awaited release from British colonial domination. The most characteristic feature of the present regime, as of its predecessors, is a policy of reprisals and terror aimed against the people. Over the past 10 years, this criminal policy has cost Guatemala 30,000 dead or missing.

Despite the reprisals, the Guatemalan people have continued to put up resistance in the most diverse forms. Since 1973, the mass movement has been gradually re-established and the people's struggle for the satisfaction of its demands has grown. This process was intensified in 1976 following major strikes by the working people and the establishment of a National Committee of Trade-Union Unity, which has become the basis for the formation of a single working people's trade-union centre. The popular movement has been further invigorated this year with the involvement of more sections of the population. This upswing has taken place in the conditions of hardened struggle against the terroristic regime, which has no alternative but to make some concessions to the masses against its will. The Guatemalan people are not alone in this struggle. Relying on powerful international solidarity, they will be able to frustrate the fascists' plans.

Dixon. In the past few years, in its efforts to prevent the conclusion of a new Canal treaty and to frustrate the process of change in Panama, US imperialism has used diverse methods, including the tactic of artificially dragging out the negotiations on a new treaty, seeking to destabilise the country, and prevent any further deepening of the revolutionary process led by General Omar Torrijos. In order to paralyse implementation of the government's social programme, imperialism has resorted to a sudden freezing of credits, threatened landings of mercenaries and intervention by US troops stationed in the Canal Zone.

Thanks to the Panamanian people's struggle, the unity of the patriotic forces, broad international solidarity and the government's anti-imperialist policy, an agreement has been reached with the United States on the principles of a new treaty on the Canal Zone and the Canal itself. The struggle for Panama's total national liberation has entered a qualitatively new phase. The new treaty, which has been fiercely attacked by aggressive imperialist circles in the United States and by both right and ultra-leftist elements in Panama, contains the basic elements helping to decolonise the country and eliminate US jurisdiction of the Canal Zone, establishing a fixed date for the withdrawal of all US armed forces from the country.

The government's policy and the new treaty will certainly continue to be a target of attacks and subversive activity by international and local reaction. The People's Party of Panama has called on all the democratic and mass

organisations of the country to give resolute support to the Torrijos government, to strengthen unity in the struggle for final liberation, and to work for the further deepening of the transformations which the Panamanian people need.

Alberto Kohen, member of the Editorial Board of *World Marxist Review*, who spoke in conclusion, expressed gratitude to all the comrades who took part in the exchange of opinions. The problems dealt with in the course of the exchange, he said, could become the subject for fresh discussions. There is good reason why all the participants focused their attention on the need for mutual information and mutual assistance in all our activity. Without this, it is very hard, one might even say impossible, to develop the struggle which we have carried on in different conditions in each country. All the speakers noted the great importance of the 1975 Conference at Havana. The discussion also centred on the need for broader development of international solidarity. Our solidarity is an instrument of struggle in support of the bulwark of the revolutionary process in Latin America, our heroic and well-beloved socialist Cuba.

All the comrades said that in the recent period imperialism, reaction and fascism have sought new and more efficient ways of defending their interests in Latin America and of maintaining the relations of dependence and domination. On the other hand, they emphasised the growth of the anti-imperialist forces, the aggravation of contradictions with imperialism in each country and the stratification within all the social and political forces which have traditionally provided a reserve for the imperialist camp.

All this shows the need further to strengthen our unity and mutual solidarity and indicates the growing importance of co-ordinating this solidarity and using it in accordance with the situation in each country and on the continent as a whole.

¹ Speakers at a Plenary Meeting of the CC of the Communist Party of Ecuador in July 1977 noted the "toughening up of reactionary government measures" aimed to suppress the working-class and peasant movement. A communique on its results said that action on numerous occasions by workers, peasants and students showed that all Ecuadoran democrats and patriots resolutely reject the regime's reactionary policy.—*Ed.*

² A broad Left-forces front was formed in 1977 with the task of setting up a popular government.—*Ed.*

³ In August 1977, The People's Progressive Party of Guyana (PPP) proposed the establishment of a National Patriotic Front to ensure the country's successful advance along the path of non-capitalist development.—*Ed.*

Problems of Democracy in the Theory and Practice of the Socialist Party of Austria

ERNST WIMMER

CC Political Bureau member, Communist Party of Austria

DISCUSSIONS on programme questions are always instructive. They usually reveal certain points of departure that help us to tell whether the practices of one political movement or another tally with its theory, to appraise its activities in a given social situation and assess the prospects of its development. This is true even if it is only a case of a given movement exaggerating, distorting or keeping silent about certain aspects in its estimate of the actual state of affairs, or being unable to keep silent about them.

This fully applies to the current discussion in Social Democratic circles on changes in the programme of the Socialist Party of Austria (SPA).

7/1979

Boğlasıklac

Nations, meeting in Moscow from June 6 to 10, 1977, included representatives from seven faiths and 107 countries.

There are more and more dialogues between Marxists and Christians. Since 1965, Marxists have held a series of discussions with the Internationale Paulus Gesellschaft, led by Dr. Erich Kellner, a noted theologian. The International Institute for Peace and the Vienna University Institut für Friedensforschung have recently promoted a series of dialogues with the North American Institute for International Understanding and Christians Associated for Relationships with Eastern Europe. Such dialogue and cooperation in the last two decades are in part the consequence of the initiative from both Marxists and Christians, in part the results of the shift in the balance of power in favour of the socialist countries and the non-aligned world.

All Christians, all people of good-will should join in this necessary and sublime task concerning the whole of mankind. To this end we must not only mobilise our will but express it politically through joint action.

Continuing our series on dialogue and cooperation between Communists and Believers. The author, a member of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council, lecturer at the University of Bridgeport, discusses universal values as seen by Marxists and Christians, and states his own view on this important problem.

¹On the political messianism of America, see J. William Fulbright, *The Arrogance of Power* (New York, 1967).

²*The New York Times Magazine*, July 30, 1978, p.18.

³S. G. F. Brandon, *Jesus and the Zealots*. New York, 1967.

⁴Among its exponents were the millennialist Brethren of the Free Spirit (see Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millenium*, 1957), the Cathari and Waldenses, the apocalyptics who followed Joachim of Floris, the Lellards, John Ball, the peasant revolts of Europe, the Hussites and Taborites, Munzer and the Anabaptists, Winstanley and the Diggers.

⁵Howard L. Parsons, *Marx and Engels on Ecology*. Westport, Conn., 1977.

⁶*Society and Environment: the Coming Collision*. Boston, 1972.

⁷*Ecology and Religion in History*. New York, 1974, pp.60-75.

⁸M. Anderson, *The Empty Pork Barrel*. Lansing, Mich., 1975.

⁹*Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 32, No. 9 (November 1976), pp.11-18.

¹⁰Enrico Berlinguer, "Communists and Catholics: Clarity of Principles and Bases for an Understanding", in *The Italian Communists*. Foreign Bulletin of the PCI, No. 4, October, December 1977. This bulletin contains Bishop Bettazzi's letter to Berlinguer.

¹¹Gustavo Gutierrez. *A Theology of Liberation*. New York, 1973.

The Party

Policy of Alliances and the Bourgeoisie

ANTONIO MAIDANA

First Secretary, CC, Paraguayan CP

HISTORICAL experience shows that an effective policy of alliance pursued by the working class is a crucial factor in the successful development of revolutionary processes. Lenin said that the working class could fulfil its historical mission only by the most thorough, careful, attentive, skilful use of any, even the smallest, opportunity for winning a mass ally (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p.70). This also applies to Latin America, where the proletariat is a

tremendous social force with long-standing traditions of struggle. That is why the arrangement of contacts and cooperation by the proletariat and its vanguard with other forces and organisations involved in the struggle for democracy and social progress, and against imperialism, together with the discovery of appropriate forms of relations with them require that Latin American Communists should skilfully combine a principled class stand with flexible tactics:

This journal has considered the problem of the working-class policy of alliances on many occasions,¹ with special emphasis on the attitudes of the classes and groups which, in virtue of their economic condition, can become allies of the working class at the present stage of struggle: the peasantry, the urban middle strata, the intelligentsia and salaried employees.

Here I should like to consider the problem which, I think, has not yet been adequately examined on the pages of this journal, but which is of paramount importance for the struggle waged by the proletariat and all the other democratic forces for Latin America's national liberation, namely, the question of the place of the bourgeoisie in the anti-imperialist struggle, meaning the bourgeoisie's commitment to democratising the political system, eliminating tyrannical and military-fascist regimes, protecting the nation's natural resources, averting war, and establishing lasting peace.

But before looking into the question of whether the Latin American bourgeoisie is capable of taking part in the struggle against the domination of imperialism and its local henchmen, I want to take a short look at history.

At the beginning and in the middle of the 19th century, the bourgeoisie was the leading force of the Latin American peoples in their fight for national independence and for the setting up and strengthening of their own states. The winning of political independence and the establishment of national states were the key prerequisites for Latin America's development along the capitalist road. In the late 19th century, the local bourgeoisie, which began to take shape in the colonial period, gained in strength, but the relative narrowness of the national markets and the presence of heavy pre-capitalist survivals in agriculture and in the political structure made the bourgeoisie in Latin America somewhat weaker than it was in Europe and the United States.

That is why, when world capitalism entered upon the monopoly stage of its development at the turn of the century, foreign monopolies began their financial exploitation of most Latin American countries. The imperialist powers, the United States in the first place, even tried to deprive many Latin American countries of their state independence, and to convert them into colonies like Puerto Rico.

In response to the external expansion, a broad anti-imperialist movement led by the proletariat got under way in Latin America. Its revolutionary tenor will be seen from the powerful strikes staged by workers in the Chilean saltpetre mines in 1907, by the Mexican miners in 1906 and 1907, and many others. The middle strata, including the intelligentsia, took an active part in the anti-imperialist movement. It was then that stratification first began within the local bourgeoisie. Its top stratum and the landowners allied themselves with the foreign monopolies against their own people, and took an anti-national stand. Meanwhile, patriotic-minded leaders of the local bourgeoisie sought to stand up for their country's interests (President Jose Manuel Balmaceda in Chile, President Jose Santos Zelaya in Nicaragua, and President Francisco J. Madero in Mexico).

Under the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the national-liberation movement in Latin America rose to a new stage. The Anti-Imperialist League of America, set up on the initiative of the Communist

International, united the most diverse strata of Latin American society in struggle against the external enemy, and gave moral and material support to the patriots of Nicaragua, led by Cesar Augusto Sandino, and to the Dominican, Haitian and Panamanian freedom-fighters.

As a result, US imperialism was forced to make some concessions and to pull out its occupation troops from Nicaragua, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic (leaving its satraps in charge) formally to abandon the "Platt Amendment"² and to adopt the principle of "goodneighbourliness" in place of the "big stick" policy. While making these concessions, US ruling circles aimed to split the ranks of the anti-imperialist resistance movement on our continent. To some extent, they managed to do so. Intimidated by the "red threat" myth, which was spread by reactionary ideologists, some bourgeois circles rose to the imperialist bait and agreed to a compromise with them.

The changes in US imperialist tactics with respect to the Latin American bourgeoisie were also dictated by objective factors, including the development of the Latin American markets, which became much larger and so more attractive to the US monopolies. This was connected with the technical re-equipment of the light industry and the emergence of some sectors of the modern heavy industry. Besides, the United States had to reckon with the aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions in the region on the eve of the Second World War.

But the chief reason which induced US imperialism to make concessions was the growing self-awareness of the Latin American nations under the impact of the rising anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggle all over the world. The decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern to some extent helped to establish national fronts in some Latin American countries with a pronounced anti-imperialist edge. This enabled the revolutionary working class and the forward-looking contingents of the peasantry to re-establish the disrupted political and social alliances and compromises not only with the urban middle strata but also with the circles of the local bourgeoisie which wanted to maintain civil liberties, opposed the fascist danger, urged an agrarian reform and campaigned for protection of natural resources and of the still fledgling local industry from foreign competition. Such a bloc of forces with the participation of the working class took shape in Chile, where it led to the victory of the Popular Front; in Mexico under the Cardenas government, in Colombia under the Lopes government, and in Bolivia and Costa Rica for short periods in the thirties and forties.

At the height of the cold war, US ruling circles managed to win over a stratum of the Latin American bourgeoisie not only by playing up the "red threat" myth, but also by holding out promises of profitable deals, deliveries of raw materials and foodstuffs to war-ruined Europe, and the prospect of making fortunes on the bloodshed of another world war. That was the origin of the military-political bloc between US imperialism and the ruling classes of Latin American countries within the Organisation of American States and its military institutions and bilateral military pacts.

Meanwhile, the coalescence of foreign monopolies and the local oligarchic elite (bankers, latifundists, and military and civilian bureaucrats) went on apace, giving rise to a great many so-called mixed companies expressing the state-monopoly tendency. But in contrast with the developed capitalist countries, this tendency was expressed in a coalescence of US monopolies and local governmental and semi-governmental (so-called autonomous and decentralised) establishments. This process produced a whole stratum of local managers and senior governmental military and civilian bureaucrats closely collaborating with the foreign monopolies. Institutes were set up to train such

bureaucrats and formulate "development strategies" for the benefit of imperialism and the local oligarchy.

The formation of local monopolies and monopoly groups operating as junior partners of US, West German, British, Japanese, Swedish and other monopolies (the Matarasso group, Banco Real, Banco Simonsen, and others in Brazil; the Edwards and Matte Larrain groups in Chile; Follmer-Sulohaga in Venezuela, and similar groups in Mexico and Colombia) was accelerated. The declaration issued by the Meeting of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean (Havana, June 1975), says: "The economic process under way in Latin American countries has produced a situation in which the top stratum of the local bourgeoisie finds itself so tightly tied to imperialism and so dependent on it for its own growth and strengthening, that it has, in effect, become a component part of the mechanism of imperialist domination in its own countries . . . This denationalised bourgeoisie defends dependence and acts against the anti-imperialist process". These are the groupings, closely allied with the military-industrial complex of imperialism, that inspired and staged the military coups in the sixties and seventies as a result of which military-fascist regimes were set up in some Latin American countries. Elsewhere, they helped gradually to implant fascism, as they did in Paraguay, where the old Stroessner tyranny has become a fascist dictatorship catering for the imperialist monopolies, mainly US and Brazilian capital, and the local bourgeois-landowner oligarchy.

Now and again, differences arise between some circles of the local pro-imperialist oligarchy and this or that imperialist power over the division of the spoils, or over a discrepancy between the methods of government used by this or that regime with the global strategy of imperialism. But these are differences within the framework of one and the same class or classes which are akin to each other, and these are settled on the basis of their common anti-communist line. It is against this bloc of imperialism and the local oligarchy that the edge of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement is directed.

Under the impact of the changing balance of forces in the international arena in favour of socialism, and the heroic Cuban people's victory, a fresh upswing in the anti-imperialist struggle and a spread of revolutionary, anti-monopoly processes are in evidence in Latin America. At the head of these processes is the working class, which makes up almost 45 per cent of the economically active population in Latin America. Its most important allies are the peasantry (23-25 per cent), and the urban middle sections (27-30 per cent).

Within the bourgeoisie there are also some circles whose interests clash with those of imperialism and its local allies. Accordingly, they tend to take up positions which are close to those of the anti-imperialist sections of the population, and display readiness to join in the common struggle for economic independence and for stronger national sovereignty of the Latin American countries. These circles constitute the national bourgeoisie, i.e., that stratum of the local bourgeoisie which is connected mainly with the domestic market, where it stands up for its positions in face of intervention from the multi-nationals, most of which are US corporations.

What is the Communists' attitude to this stratum of the bourgeoisie? Can this bourgeoisie be a participant in the anti-imperialist front? The declaration of the Meeting of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean says that "these bourgeois strata can take part in joint democratic and anti-imperialist action alongside the popular forces".

At the same time, the Communist Parties of Latin America, which attach much importance to the possibility of involving the national bourgeoisie in the anti-imperialist struggle, are aware that the opportunities for doing so differ

from country to country. The Communists reckon with the fact that, first, these strata have a different clout in their countries' socio-political life, and that, second, Communists cannot ignore their vacillations and inclination to make deals with imperialism and the local oligarchy.

That is why the Communists have again and again to redefine their attitude to the bourgeoisie, both in theoretical and practical political terms, within the framework of the whole region and of the individual countries. The Communist Parties of Latin American countries give individual answers to this question in their programme documents, and the collective answer, at regional meetings. The recent collapse of the military-fascist government in Bolivia and the revolutionary process in Nicaragua have once again put this question on the agenda as a component part of the policy of alliances pursued by the Communist Parties in their fight against foreign imperialist oppression, against the fascist tyranny, and for democracy, for the Latin American nations' right to determine their own future, and for social progress.

The mounting crisis of military-fascist regimes, as an expression of the upswing in the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples under international detente is being ever more strongly felt in Paraguay as well. In our country, some headway has been made in uniting the forces opposing Stroessner's fascist dictatorship. The chief bourgeois parties of the legal opposition—the Authentic Liberal Radical Party, the Revolutionary Febrerista Party, the Christian-Democratic Party, and the MOPOCO group, which split away from the ruling Colorado Party, and which operates in the underground and in exile³—in February 1979 signed a National Accord in order “to pool efforts and promote the establishment of a democratic regime”. The Accord has made 14 demands, including the lifting of the state of siege on the whole territory of the Republic, release of all political and trade-union leaders from detention, passage of a broad amnesty law, and repeal of Acts 209 and 294, which wiped out civil liberties.

The Paraguayan Communist Party (PCP) gave a positive assessment of this fact and emphasised in a special statement that the establishment of the coalition was an important step towards the formation of a broad national anti-dictatorial front. It also noted that the Accord should include not only the four signatories but also the Communist Party and all the other democratic forces, because their absence from the coalition merely helps imperialism and the dictatorship. In its underground newspaper, *Adelante*, the PCP also pointed to the limited nature of the Accord platform. Although it says that “our people are exploited and oppressed”, there is nothing in it about the economic and social demands made by the working class, the peasantry and other sections of the population, like higher wages, a lower cost of living, transfer of land to the peasants, extension of credits to them and fair prices for farm produce, freedom of association, etc. Nor does it include the demands of the students. It says nothing about the need for elections to a free and sovereign National Constituent Assembly.

The PCP believes that the coalition platform should provide for an independent and peaceful foreign policy, and establishment of relations with all countries on the basis of non-interference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage. That is a necessary condition for protecting national sovereignty and liberating Paraguay from the domination of foreign capital. We believe that inclusion of such a plank in the platform is all the more justified because Stroessner's foreign policy, aimed against detente and dictated by the United States, has been condemned throughout the country.

Among other things, the platform proclaims “unflinching defence of national sovereignty in face of threats on the part of camouflaged ultra-leftist

and ultra-rightist imperialism". Let us recall that the slogan of defending national sovereignty and fighting imperialist penetration, which the Communists put forward, has won over greater support among various public circles. It is quite logical, therefore, that this slogan is reflected in the said platform. But the formula of "camouflaged ultra-leftist and ultra-rightist imperialism", apparently written into the coalition document for fear of reprisals on the part of the dictatorship, is groundless. When exploiting our countries' natural resources, imperialism does not at all resort to camouflage. One cannot seriously consider "ultra-leftist imperialism" either, because there is only the one imperialism that exploits our nations. This refers primarily to US imperialism, which supports the most hated and reactionary regimes on our continent.

In the recent period, Paraguay's democratic and progressive forces standing up in defence of national sovereignty have insistently demanded a review of the treaty for the construction of the Itaipu hydro-power plant under which the Brazilian monopolies (backed by US corporations) have become the co-owners of our national asset: the vast source of energy on the Parana River; they demand the nationalisation of REPSA, the US octopus, and abrogation of a number of agreements with the United States which harm the country's interests. All these demands of the democratic forces must be written into the coalition programme.

The Communists fully approve of the chief purpose of the coalition, which is to establish an "effective democratic republican system of government". But, as we see it, it would be wrong to hope, for instance, that free elections could be held in accordance with "new electoral legislation excluding vote-rigging and ensuring respect for the people's will", while the country is ruled by Stroessner's fascist dictatorship. Long experience shows that the Communists are right when they say that "Stroessner's regular election farces will never bring about a democratic change, so that our people have only one way of ending the political oppression and the economic crisis—by overthrowing the dictatorship in a common effort by the masses, employing all the necessary forms of struggle . . ."⁴

For many years now, the PCP has been campaigning for a national anti-dictatorial, anti-imperialist, and anti-latifundist front which "from the class point of view should, above all, be a front of the working class, the peasants, the petty-bourgeoisie, and the middle sections of the urban population."⁵ As the struggle by these forces grows, the front should draw the national bourgeoisie, though it does not have a clear-cut position, into the movement against the dictatorship, imperialism, and latifundism. One should not overlook the fact that a part of the latifundists and big intermediary bourgeoisie are at odds with and therefore opposed to, Stroessner's fascist camarilla.

For all the differences between our Party and the parties of the bourgeois opposition, which signed the National Accord, and despite the class limitations of the opposition's platform, the Communists will continue to do everything they can to enlarge the new coalition, urging it to set more radical goals. They will continue the search for more diverse forms of joint action by all the forces opposed to the Stroessner dictatorship. As a first step, at least one of the tasks could be accomplished by joint effort, for every advance along this path would help solve the problems to which we attach great importance, namely, the setting up of unitary committees fighting for common economic and democratic demands. These committees are of primary importance, because the national anti-dictatorial front—whose mission is to set the stage for toppling the dictatorship and replacing it with a provisional military civilian government formed by a bloc of democratic and patriotic forces, which will get

down to effecting deep-going socio-economic transformations⁶—cannot emerge as a result of agreement among the party leaders alone. Such a front should “result from a coordinated, organised struggle of the working class, peasants, students, teachers, employees, the technical and artistic intelligentsia, merchants, industrialists, and other sections of the population.”⁷

The revolutionary energy of the masses, Lenin wrote, is the only effective transformative force. The PCP follows a policy of broad alliances. It does not allow sectarianism with regard to non-proletarian parties and realises the potential harm of trailing behind events, as in both cases there is a real danger of the Party’s drifting away from the masses.

At the anti-fascist stage of struggle, joint action may become possible not only with the national bourgeoisie, but also with other sections of the local bourgeoisie opposed to the fascist methods of running the country. The events in Portugal show that these opportunities should not be underrated, considering the long-range strategy of the anti-imperialist struggle. But at the subsequent stage, during the struggle for transition to socialism, joint action could also be taken with some sections of the national bourgeoisie, provided its other sections are neutralised. In this action, the main bloc should be levelled against the monopolies, foreign or local. Attempts to skip this or that stage in the revolutionary process may push the national bourgeoisie, and even a part of the middle strata, into the arms of reaction.

Drawing the national bourgeoisie into a broad front of anti-fascist, and then anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic struggle may tip the balance in our countries in favour of the proletariat. But this must never be done at the expense of the main alliance, the alliance of workers, peasants, and the middle strata, to say nothing of doing this at the expense of the proletariat’s class independence. We remember very well what Lenin once wrote on that score: “The Communist International must enter into a temporary alliance with bourgeois democracy in the colonial and backward countries, but should not merge with it, and would under all circumstances uphold the independence of the proletarian movement even if it is in its embryonic form” (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 41, p. 150). It should be borne in mind that on the whole the proportion of Latin American bourgeoisie in the economically active population is relatively small (about 3 per cent).

The policy of alliances we have been discussing here requires a differentiated approach, with due account of national specifics, since there is a big difference between the various Latin American states. In some of them, as in Argentina, the percentage of the bourgeoisie is bigger, and in others it is much smaller. In some of the countries relatively large sections of the local bourgeoisie are openly opposed to the dominance of foreign and local monopolies; in others they are neutral in relation to the anti-imperialist movement, and in still others, intimidated by tales about a “communist threat”, they temporarily side with reaction. This accounts for the differences in the tactics employed by the Communist Parties in various Latin American countries with regard to the national bourgeoisie, though the principled approach, based on Marxist-Leninist theory and common political conclusions suggested by the practice of the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle, remains unchanged.

¹WMR, Nos. 7, 9, 10 and 11 for 1975; Nos. 1 and 2 for 1976; No. 11 for 1978; and No. 5 for 1979.

²The enslaving obligations imposed on Cuba in 1901 by the US Administration.

³These parties are characterised in editorial footnotes to the article by A. Maidana and A. Alcortó, *Problems in Setting up an Anti-Dictatorial Front in Paraguay*, WMR, June 1978.

⁴*Manifiesto del CC del PCP de junio de 1978*.

⁵*Tesis Politicas aprobadas por el III Congreso del PCP.*

⁶Apart from the programme for deep-going revolutionary democratic and anti-imperialist agrarian transformations, with socialism as the ultimate goal, the PCP has proposed a minimum programme providing, in particular, for protection of the country's sovereignty, an end to the rapacious activities of foreign monopolies, ascertaining the whereabouts of the patriots reported "missing", release of all political prisoners, lifting of the state of siege, abrogation of repressive fascist Acts 209 and 294, full freedom for all political parties and other public organisations, meeting the vital needs of the working class, the peasants and the students, and providing better living and working conditions for the people. Many of these demands could be supported by the progressive sections of the national bourgeoisie.

⁷*Manifiesto del CC del PCP de junio de 1978.*

The Role of Culture in the Building of a Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society

VIRGIL CAZACU

Political Executive Committee member and Secretary, CC RCP

IN ITS general strategy and policy, the Rumanian Communist Party proceeds from the premise that the moulding of communist consciousness, the steady promotion of the people's cultural level, and the development of the individual are a most important component of the process of building a comprehensively developed socialist society and the country's advance to communism.

Striking revolutionary changes effected since the war underlie the evolution of the Rumania's cultural life. These include the abolition of exploitation of man by man, the establishment of socialist relations of production, the creation of the material and technical basis for socialism, and the building of a new state embodying working people's power.

At the same time, the two aspects of public life, material and intellectual, interact closely in social practice. From this point of view, both the tendency to make an absolute of the thesis that social consciousness lags behind being and the notion that changes in society's material life lead automatically and spontaneously to corresponding changes in the social consciousness should be regarded as an anachronism.

Under socialism, the role of the subjective factor increases considerably and the conscious activity of the people becomes a major lever of an unprecedented historic process coinciding with the building of the new system. "The reason why we Communists study the objective laws of society is not to take a fatalistic stand on them but to understand their meaning and act in the interest of society's progress, in the interest of people and the victory of socialism and communism," Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP, points out. "Without in the least denying the significance of the productive forces in the development of society, we proceed from the Marxist thesis that social consciousness can, in turn, powerfully stimulate the onward march of society and that progressive ideas accepted by the people become a tremendous material force of progress."¹

In line with these premises, the RCP has adopted a far-reaching programme for improving ideological work for educating the people in a socialist and

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anti-empiricist Cephx

"Fidelity to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, unremitting struggle against right and 'left' revisionism, and consistent proletarian internationalism," wrote *Rabotnichesko delo*, organ of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, "were strikingly embodied in all the work accomplished by the Third, Communist International." "The Comintern's service to history," *Rude Pravo*, organ of the CPCz Central Committee, wrote in an editorial, "is that it created the conditions for turning young Communist parties into strong revolutionary contingents capable of leading the working class and large masses of other working people to ultimate victory. One of the Comintern's unfading behests is the orientation set towards proletarian internationalism, which spells out the ideological and political unity of the international Communist movement and the joint struggle for common aims." *Weg und Ziel*, theoretical journal of the Austrian Communists, noted in an anniversary article that the Comintern was at the "cradle of the present-day mighty international Communist movement. Its founding expressed the need for organisational demarcation from opportunism in the working-class movement on an international level."

N.A.

Exchange of Views, Discussion

Restructuring International Economic Relations and the Peoples' Anti-Imperialist Front

In the past several years, the developing countries' movement for restructuring international economic relations has become urgent and very acute politically. The relevant problems have been studied by an international research group set up by the *WMR* Commission on National-Liberation Movements in Asian and African Countries. The group consisted of Amath **Dansoko**, CC Political Bureau member, African Party of Independence of Senegal; Naziha **Duleimy**, CC member, Iraqi Communist Party; Jaakoub **Garro**, CC member, Syrian Communist Party; Jose **Lava**, CC member, Communist Party of the Philippines; Ali **Malki**, Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria; and Professor Georgy **Skorov**, D.Sc. (Econ.) (USSR).

Below is a summary of the discussion held by the research group.

The seventies were marked by a fresh upswing in the national-liberation anti-imperialist movement. The basis for this upswing was provided by the broadening of the national-democratic revolution and the deepening of the revolutionary process in individual countries, and the struggle of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to do away with their unequal status within the system of external economic ties set up and maintained by imperialism. This struggle is being actively supported by the socialist community, the international Communist and working-class movement, and all the other progressive and democratic forces. The imperialist states have also recognised that the existing system of international economic relations must be reformed, but they have frustrated this under various pretexts.

The movement for restructuring international economic relations has gone

In Tribute to the Comintern

(60th Anniversary)

THAT day in March 1919, when representatives of 35 Communist and Left-Socialist parties and groups from 21 countries of Europe, America, and Asia proclaimed the founding of the Third, Communist International, is one of the most notable dates in the history of our revolutionary epoch. The 60th anniversary of the founding of the Comintern has been broadly marked in the international Communist and working-class movement.

In Moscow a scientific conference was held to commemorate that anniversary. Sponsored by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the Academy of Social Sciences, and the Institute of Social Sciences, it was attended by prominent scientists, veterans of the CPSU, and representatives of the Moscow public. "The Comintern," said Academician Boris Ponomarev, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "gave a powerful impetus to the struggle for unity of the working class, of the working people, on a principled class, anti-imperialist foundation. It not only united all the finest, internationalist forces of the working-class movement, but from the very outset it took steps, on Lenin's initiative, to establish interaction between the Communist and the Social-Democratic trends of the working-class movement and started a drive to unite the ranks of the working class. . . . Individual shortcomings or miscalculations cannot nullify this fundamentally significant work of the Comintern in the period between the two world wars. Many of them were rectified by the Comintern itself, which approached its own work self-critically, analysed and assessed its actions soberly and realistically, and applied Marxism-Leninism creatively in mapping out new guidelines for the future." A paper headed "The Work of the Communist International Was a Major Phase of the Development of the International Communist Movement" was presented by Academician Anatoly Yegorov, director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism at the CPSU Central Committee.

In Prague the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist International was marked by a symposium sponsored by the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the CPCz Central Committee and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPCz CC. It was attended by Jan Fojtik, Secretary of the CPCz Central Committee, officials and lecturers of the CPCz Central Committee, Party functionaries, representatives of the scientific community, and Party veterans. Ivan Krempa, deputy director of the CPCz Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism, spoke of the Comintern's influence on the emergence of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its organisation as a Marxist-Leninist party.

In Ulan-Bator the anniversary was marked by a scientific conference sponsored by the MPRP Central Committee's Institute of the History of the Party, the Suhe-Bator Higher Party School, and the combined editorial staffs of the Party journals. It was attended by N. Luvsanravdan, member of the CC Political Bureau, Chairman of the Party Control Committee. A. Minis, Deputy director of the Institute of History of the Party, presented a paper headed "The Communist International and the Communist Movement Today".

Functions commemorating the 60th anniversary of the Comintern were organised by other Communist parties.

The work of the Third, Communist International was appraised highly in anniversary articles carried in the central organs of the Communist and Workers' parties.

forward under the slogan of establishing a "new international economic order". This is not a Marxist concept, for it artificially separates the economic order from the social order, and external economic relations from internal economic relations. But considering that it has been widely accepted throughout the world and has been written into many international documents, and has, in that very form, become one of the chief programmatic demands of the Group of 77² and the non-aligned movement, the research group has used it alongside the more precise concept of "restructuring international economic relations" in order to use the same idiom with the spokesmen of various political trends and forces involved in the common struggle against the diktat of the imperialist monopolies, neo-colonial exploitation and every other form of discrimination in international economic relations.

What is the economic and social-class content of the programme for a "new international economic order"? Is it feasible under capitalism, and if it is, in what form? How will the proposed change in the external economic sphere influence the relations between the imperialist and the developing countries? Will it strengthen or weaken the world capitalist system? What effect will the restructuring have on the balance of forces between the two opposite social systems? What is the common interest of the main revolutionary forces of our day in restructuring international economic relations? On what basis is it possible to strengthen the peoples' anti-imperialist front in the fight for this goal? What are the most important tasks facing the international Communist and working-class movement in this context?

That is roughly the range of problems the research group set itself in studying the attitude of the various groups of states.

1. Developing Countries' Programme

The programme for restructuring international economic relations, formulated by the developing countries in 1974 in their declaration and action programme, covers a broad range of economic problems relating to international trade, the monetary and financial sphere, the development of the productive forces, and economic co-operation.³ In these documents, the developing countries first raised the question of significantly limiting their exploitation by international monopoly capital and securing a more equitable status within the system of world economic ties. Some of these demands had been put forward before in a different and less forcible form. But brought together into a single package with the other demands, they had a different ring and a qualitatively new content: instead of amounting to partial reforms and changes relating to some aspects of the developing countries' status within the system of economic relations in the capitalist-world economy, they became a programme for restructuring that system in the interests of these states.

As far as its social content is concerned, the programme for a new international economic order envisages anti-imperialist, general democratic changes. It is based on two key ideas: (1) the need to democratise international economic relations, and to put an end to the actual inequality of the developing countries, and (2) establishment of an international mechanism for the political regulation of world economic relations to correct the operation of spontaneous market forces.

To translate the former idea into reality, it is necessary to apply such principles in international relations as the sovereign equality of states, self-determination of nations, inviolability of foreign territories, non-interference in the internal affairs of states, freedom to choose the economic and social system and inadmissibility of any consequent discrimination, absolute sovereignty of every state in the use of its economic resources, including the right of nationalisation, and condemnation of colonialism and apartheid.

The latter idea is expressed in a set of proposals for practical measures designed to change the piratical nature of capitalist-world trade, to ease the developing countries' external-debt burden, and to extend their participation in reforming and managing the international monetary system, to improve the terms for the "transfer of technology", to control the multinationals, and to promote the extension of trade and economic ties among the liberated countries.⁴

All of this could markedly reduce the discrepancy between the developing countries' new, independent political role in the world, and their continued subordinate status in international economic relations within the capitalist-world economy. That is why realisation of their demands would be a serious defeat for imperialism.

The movement to achieve this is socially heterogeneous. Its participants do not see eye to eye on ultimate goals and tasks. Some want no more than a redistribution of the gross world product through a deal with imperialism at the top. Others want a truly radical change in the existing relations, and genuine equality of states, regardless of their economic potential and level of development.

At the present stage of the struggle, the prevailing tendency is to concert different aspirations, and the common anti-imperialist interest as a whole tends to overcome the difference in approach to restructuring external economic relations. But with the growing economic differentiation of the developing countries and satisfaction of their individual demands, the centrifugal trends may intensify. It is possible that some states which are in an especially advantageous position because of the changing structure of world prices, more rapid industrial development and influx of capital from outside or for a set of other reasons could decide to settle with imperialism. Much will also depend on the policy of the imperialist powers, and on the concessions they will be prepared to make in order to avoid an open confrontation with the developing countries.

The collective platform of the movement for restructuring international economic relations is a compromise between the various attitudes of the participating countries, which is why some of its planks are contradictory and inconsistent. The research group has illustrated this with the following examples.

One of these springs from the "North-South" concept. The developing countries are known to suffer from neo-colonial imperialist exploitation, from the grave effects of economic crises, the disordered state of the monetary system, the continuing inflation and other expressions of the anarchy of capitalist production. One would think that their just demands for compensation for their losses should be addressed to capitalism. However, some political leaders in the developing countries take an undifferentiated approach to the capitalist and the socialist states, artificially bringing them together in the "North" concept, and presenting them with virtually similar claims on behalf of all the developing countries brought together under the "South" concept.

In this respect, the demand for an automatic transfer of a fixed percentage of the GNP to the developing countries by way of international assistance is characteristic. On this point, a Soviet Government Statement, "On Restructuring International Economic Relations", said quite explicitly: "There are no grounds whatsoever, nor can there be any for making the demands on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which the developing countries have made on the developed capitalist countries, including the demand for the obligatory transfer of a fixed share of the GNP to the developing countries by way of economic assistance." In substantiating this stand, the statement emphasised that assistance from the socialist states to developing countries was not atonement for past sins, nor compensation for inflicted damage; it was assistance from friend and ally in the struggle against the common enemy: imperialism,

colonialism and neocolonialism. It was given with due regard to the socialist community's actual potentialities, which were by no means unlimited.

Furthermore, the spokesmen of some developing countries, going back on the principle of universality of their demands, believe that it is possible to combat discrimination in international trade and economic ties, without applying this to relations between countries with different social systems. But the point is that any new economic order can be just and truly international only if it covers the relations of all groups of states and is built in the light of their legitimate interests. Any departure from the principle of universality, any expression of tolerance of any type or form of discrimination is fraught with the grave danger of undermining the developing countries' whole struggle for equality in international economic relations.

Tremendous resources are required to boost the liberated countries' economic development and raise their living standards. A limitation and then a gradual reduction of armaments, and disarmament, could provide the largest potential source for such resources, alongside direct reductions in the neocolonial tribute levied by the capitalist West on its former colonial periphery. This would amount to a materialisation of detente, and would make it possible to use some of the resources thus released to increase international assistance to needy countries. Despite this obvious truth, some members of the Group of 77 adopted until recently a clearly artificial slogan: "First development, then detente". The UN General Assembly special session on disarmament held in May and June 1978 showed that there has been considerable progress in understanding the interconnection between detente, disarmament and expansion of development assistance, although there are still many obstacles to going over from word to deed.

The inner contradictions of the concept of a new international economic order backed by many Group of 77 members ultimately spring from the fact that virtually all the innovations they suggest are conceived exclusively under capitalism and within its framework. Most of the liberated countries opposing neocolonial imperialist exploitation have yet to become aware of its organic connection with the capitalist system and have yet to draw the necessary conclusions from the incontrovertible fact that imperialism is a direct continuation and development of the basic features of capitalism. That is why the developing countries' reorganisation programme provides only for a *reform* of the capitalist system of international economic relations and a curb on the operation of spontaneous market forces, instead of an elimination—at however a distant future—of the very basis of neocolonial imperialist exploitation.

The total detachment of the programme for a new international economic order from the economic situation in the developing countries is an important omission. With the exception of the group of countries taking the socialist orientation and some national-democratic states following the way of progressive democratic reforms, most developing countries have failed to establish the necessary connection between external and internal transformations. But the experience already available in the developing countries leaves no doubt at all that a mere increase in the influx of funds does not in itself help to solve any of the basic problems of development—age-old backwardness, mass poverty, unemployment, partial employment, and illiteracy—and fails to help establish a system of modern productive forces. Unless there are deep-going progressive social transformations, an increase in foreign revenues can merely intensify social inequality in the developing countries, and lead to the enrichment of their privileged elite and the coalescence of their interests with those of international monopoly capital, in the same way as this is taking place in some countries exporting oil and mineral raw materials.

2. Imperialist Powers' Stand

Having analysed the official statements and practical acts of the leading capitalist states, the research group reached the conclusion that imperialism takes a complicated and contradictory attitude to the idea of a new international economic order. On the one hand, the imperialist powers want to maintain the favourable rates and terms of international economic exchange, and to safeguard the positions of their monopolies in the economy and foreign trade of the liberated countries. On the other, they must see that in many respects the present system of international economic relations under capitalism no longer meets the realities of the modern world and fails to withstand the growing pressure from the liberated countries. This will be seen from the growing instability of capitalism, the deep crisis of its monetary and financial system, the periodic flare-ups of trade war between the various centres of imperialism, the acute energy crisis, the aggravation of the raw-materials, food, ecological and some other global problems. The 1974-75 economic crisis, which rocked the whole capitalist world, revealed more glaringly than ever before the discrepancy between the existing international economic order—rather, economic disorder, to put it more correctly—and the interests of the overwhelming majority of mankind.

In these conditions, the industrialised capitalist states cannot afford simply to reject the idea of a new international economic order, but they seek, by all means, fair and foul, to delay its restructuring and to reduce the long overdue changes to a minimum. The basic cause of this policy lies in the fact that the present system allows international monopoly capital to funnel off a sizable part of the national income created in the former colonial periphery. It is impossible to establish the exact volume of capital flowing back from the poor countries to the rich. It is estimated at between \$50 billion and \$100 billion a year, and this has an important role to play in the growing gap between the two parts of the capitalist world economy.

The imperialist powers' tactical approach to restructuring international economic relations boils down to making concessions on partial issues so as to avoid another open confrontation with the developing countries, like the one during the oil crisis in the winter of 1973-74, and to retain as large a part as possible of the present system of world economic ties.

The imperialist powers believe that this kind of limited remodelling could help to provide more stable external conditions for the development of the capitalist economy and simultaneously to tie the former colonial periphery more tightly to the industrial centres of the capitalist world. At the same time, they want to reduce the influence of world socialism in the liberated states, and in particular, to make the countries taking a socialist orientation depart from their chosen way. The imperialist strategists' main concern here is to prevent, at any cost, the movement for a new international economic order from growing into a drive against the very basis of imperialist exploitation, and to continue the "North-South dialogue" within the framework of capitalism.

Those are the considerations which determine the capitalist powers' attitude to the concrete demands of the developing countries. Although there is a substantial difference in the attitude of individual capitalist countries, these have been markedly smoothed over in the recent period, and on the whole one could now speak of a definite evolution of imperialist policy on the establishment of a new international economic order, from open resistance and attempts at diktat to more flexible diplomatic manoeuvring and a search for compromise. The imperialist powers' new tactics is exemplified by the 1975 Lome Convention,⁵ which gave the developing countries concerned some economic privileges in exchange for closer economic integration with the EEC. This tactic is also exemplified by the Paris Conference of 27 (7 industrialised states, the EEC and

19 developing countries) on international economic co-operation, which was held from December 1975 to June 1977.

The Conference of 27 had several purposes. First, there was the need to transfer the discussion from the broad forum of the United Nations, where the West invariably found itself in the dock, to a narrow separate conference with a select number of participants. Second, there was the need to keep the socialist states out of the negotiations, and in that way not only to remove a number of fundamental questions relating to a future world order from the agenda, but also to deprive the developing countries of the necessary support in settling outstanding problems in their relations with the West. Third, there was the need to reduce the talks to the one and only problem which is of interest to the capitalist powers, namely, stability of raw-material supplies for the capitalist-world economy, primarily oil supplies, and a mutually acceptable level of oil prices.

As could have been expected, the Conference did not reach an agreed decision on any of the main issues on the agenda, and ended in a statement of the differences. From the developing countries' standpoint, it was a fiasco. But from the standpoint of the capitalist powers, it did its job, for it enabled them to effect a fundamental co-ordination of their positions on key economic problems like energy and raw materials, and to formulate a common approach to the question of settling the developing countries' financial indebtedness. It also gave them an opportunity to shake the liberated countries' unity, to reduce their pressure on imperialism and, metaphorically speaking, "to let off steam".

The policy aimed at dividing the developing countries began to yield fruit: a decision was adopted to freeze oil prices in 1978 by the votes of five OPEC members (Saudi Arabia, Iran, Kuwait, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates) against eight. In this way, the imperialist powers managed to sow the seeds of discord in the OPEC ranks, and so markedly to weaken it.⁶

Characteristically, the countries which acted as "strike-breakers" in this case were those which pursue a pro-imperialist policy and which have close financial and military ties with the United States.

There is no doubt that the capitalist powers will continue to play up the contradictions between the developing countries, to use the difference between the economic interests of individual countries and groups of countries, and to deepen the political disagreements between them in order to split the movement for a new international economic order and to prevent the liberated states from taking effective and concerted action.

The research group reached the conclusion that the industrialised capitalist countries' policy on remodelling international economic relations in the years ahead will, apparently, result from two trends: efforts to block the most radical and far-reaching demands of the liberated states, and partial concessions and privileges, together with some measures—put through under pressure, incompletely and with delay—to eliminate the most odious expressions of inequality in relations with the developing countries.

3. Socialist Community's Support

The research group's study of the socialist community's policy and its influence in changing the overall climate in international relations was an important aspect of its work. One of its main conclusions is that the prospects in the further struggle for a restructuring of international economic relations and, in particular, for affecting the developing countries' concrete demands will largely depend on further changes in the balance of class forces in the world, on the growth rate of the socialist community's economic strength, on the extension of its co-operation with developing countries and co-ordination of action on individual issues relating to the establishment of a new international economic order. Real advances in detente, and agreement on problems in limiting the arms

race and going over to disarmament add up to the most important condition for positive changes in international economic relations.

The socialist community has been and continues to be a reliable bulwark of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle for liberation from every form of exploitation and oppression. Everyone now knows that it was the fundamental shift in the balance of forces between the two systems in favour of socialism that enabled the developing countries to issue an open challenge to imperialism in 1973 and 1974, and to demand the establishment of a new international economic order. The imperialists, who had until recently ruthlessly stamped out any attempts to infringe upon their economic interests, did not this time risk resorting to conventional methods, and had to sit down to the conference table.

There is a need to give a reminder of this because some political leaders in the liberated countries have clearly overestimated the changes in the relative strength between the developing and the capitalist countries. But a sober analysis of the realities in the modern world shows that, despite some undoubted successes for the liberated states in establishing effective national sovereignty over their natural resources, and despite the important achievements in industrialisation and strengthening the national economy, the real instruments of economic pressure within the capitalist world economy are still held by the imperialist powers. These instruments include: industrial power and scientific and technical superiority, the international banking system and the bulk of the world financial resources, control over international trade, transportation and insurance, and the bulk of the world's export-food stock. It was only due to the above-mentioned fundamental change in the balance of world class forces, to the fact that socialism is exerting the crucial influence on the whole of world development, while capitalism has lost the historical initiative, that the countries released from political, colonial and semi-colonial dependence are able successfully to withstand the diktat of the imperialist monopolies and to secure more just, that is, more equitable economic relations, despite their growing lag in military, economic and technical potential.

The socialist states supported the liberated countries' collective demands aimed at democratising international economic relations at the Sixth Special UN General Assembly, at UNCTAD-IV in Nairobi, and at other international conferences which considered general and particular aspects of a new international economic order, and their conviction in doing so was all the greater because the socialist community, since its establishment, has invariably advocated normalisation of international trade and economic ties, eradication of neocolonialism, elimination of every form of politically and socially motivated discrimination, establishment of genuinely equitable and mutually advantageous relations between states with scrupulous observance of the principle of noninterference in each other's domestic affairs.

The USSR and other socialist-community countries not only supported such basic planks of the programme for a new international economic order as adoption of a system of measures to stabilise trade in raw materials and ensure stable export earnings for the developing countries, facilitation of access for their manufactures to the markets of industrialised countries through the lifting of tariff and non-tariff restrictions, promotion of the liberated states' industrialisation, elaboration of a "technological transfer" code, establishment of effective control of the activity of multinational corporations, extension of preferential regimes for the least developed countries, and support of measures for extending co-operation among the developing countries themselves, but also put forward, in a joint statement issued at UNCTAD-IV, a number of constructive proposals aimed at realising these as soon as possible.

The socialist states' attitude to the developing countries' programme for

establishing a new international economic order is determined by its anti-imperialist tenor, and by the fact that it helps to unhinge the present system of neocolonial exploitation and fetter imperialism in its moves. The crucial consideration here is that even an incomplete and partial realisation of this programme would mean a substantial advance in developing international economic relations as compared with their present state, and would provide a strategic bridgehead for carrying on the fight against imperialism.

An important feature of the socialist states' approach to a new international economic order is determined by the fact that they regard any restructuring of external economic relations in close connection with the overall changes in the international political situation in the present epoch as a component part of the historical process of democratic transformations of inter-state relations. That is why they attach primary importance to the task of further deepening international detente and ending the arms race as a necessary condition for ensuring peace. The socialist-community states believe that fulfilment of this task, with its exceptionally important and diverse consequences, will provide real opportunities for discovering additional resources for transfer to the developing countries, because only in time of peace is it possible productively to seek ways of solving the problems which agitate mankind, including the practical tasks of establishing a new international economic order.

4. Union of All Democratic Forces in a Broad Anti-Imperialist Front

A basic assumption of the socialist community, the world Communist and working-class movement and all the other progressive and democratic forces in determining their attitude to the programme for a new international economic order is that transformation of the system of inequitable economic relations in the capitalist-world economy is an objective historical process. It appears on the surface as a series of state acts and political initiatives by liberated-country governments. Their acts, quite naturally, pursue national and class goals. But behind the subjective form in which this is expressed lies the objective content, which is the requirements of the development of the world productive forces that have little room in the procrustean bed of capitalism's international economic relations. This objective content of the struggle for economic equality turns the conflict between the liberated countries and the imperialist powers into a deep-seated antagonistic contradiction.

When assessing the programme for a new international economic order the Communists also take into account the fact that it is neither rigid nor final. It is enlarged, augmented and made more precise and clear-cut in the course of discussion and, especially, in the actual struggle for implementing these demands. On the whole, this struggle has advanced together with the world liberation movement. Its goals and principles reflect, even if not quite adequately, the aspirations and interests of billions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America, their urge to escape the grip of hunger, backwardness and the existing forms of dependence. Elimination of the traditional forms of neocolonial exploitation, even if the struggle did not go beyond this, would be a major stride forward from the present situation, a stage of progress for the developing nations and for mankind as a whole.

Finally, the Communists are fully aware that while the programme for a new international economic order is indecisive and not always consistent, there are real potentialities for transforming the broad democratic movement for its realisation into a factor intensifying the revolutionary struggle against international monopoly capital both in the centres of capitalism and on its periphery.

The objective logic of the struggle for a new international economic order could, in some conditions, carry beyond the ultimate goal of this movement, while the movement itself could become an even more important factor of progressive changes than can now be imagined.

What are the conditions in which this can take place, and how? In part, this will depend on the policy of imperialism. The greater the stubbornness with which it clings to its privileges, the tougher its stand on satisfying the liberated states' legitimate demands, the stronger its resistance to the long overdue changes, the more probable it is that the movement for economic equality, initially aimed to reduce the degree of imperialist exploitation, will develop into the struggle against its very basis.

But the main thing will depend on the policy of the revolutionary-democratic forces in the developing countries, the Communist and Workers' parties in the developed capitalist countries and, of course, on the active stand of the socialist community.

Here, the research group believes, four interconnected tasks can be traced.

First, the need to ensure closer ties between the movement for a new international economic order and the struggle for detente, an end to the arms race, and cuts in strategic armaments and for disarmament. The way to solve this problem is tirelessly to explain that the developing countries' demands can be met only in conditions of peace, by eliminating the danger of war, and that a reduction of military expenditures is the largest, if not the only, real reserve for increasing international financial assistance to the developing countries.

Second, the need to enhance the objective anti-imperialist content of the programme for a new international economic order, by shifting the centre of gravity in the struggle from a transformation of the distribution sphere to a restructuring of the sphere of production and a change in the developing countries' status in the international division of labour, and to intensify the anti-monopoly tenor of the movement by working ultimately to convert it into a struggle against the capitalist order. In other words, it is the need to convert "anti-imperialism", seen as a struggle against neocolonial exploitation, into "anti-capitalism".

Third, the need to tie in the struggle for restructuring the external economic sphere with the mass movement for deep-going internal social transformations, for a radical renewal of the forms of social life. It is important to work for this in the developing countries so as to prevent the replacement of one goal in the struggle (restructuring the multi-sectoral society and overcoming backwardness) by another (transformation of international economic relations and elimination of dependence on imperialism), or contraposition of the two goals. In the developed capitalist countries, the awareness of the need for such a tying-in helps successfully to resist the monopoly bourgeoisie's drive on the living standards of the people under the pretext of a worsening of international economic conditions, allegedly in consequence of satisfaction of the developing countries' demands.

Fourth, the need effectively and consistently to tie in the struggle of the socialist community, the Communist and Workers' parties in the industrialised capitalist countries, and the revolutionary-democratic forces on the periphery of capitalism for concrete goals in restructuring international economic relations on democratic principles.

The monopoly bourgeoisie is sure to try to split the peoples' anti-imperialist front, by contrasting the economic interests of the working people in the industrialised capitalist countries and of the former colonial periphery, and by claiming that satisfaction of the liberated countries' legitimate demands would inevitably result in a lowering of living standards in the developed capitalist states. Actually, the solution of the restructuring problem consists not in

lowering the living standards of the working people in the developed countries so as to raise living standards in the developing countries, but making the exploiters give up their privileges, wherever they may be, in limiting the uncontrolled growth of the profits of international monopoly capital, and in creating conditions for reducing the gap between the advanced and the economically backward countries.

The internationalism of the working people of all countries and the unity of their vital interests require tireless efforts to strengthen solidarity in the struggle against the common enemy—internationally coalesced capital—and to solve the problem of democratising international economic relations so that they would meet the true interests of the working class and all the other working and exploited people.

In working for this goal, primary importance attaches to the choice of the main line of struggle. It is suggested that, for all the importance of establishing fair prices for raw materials and energy resources, or of the question of relocating labour-intensive lines of production to the developing countries, or the payment to these countries of an equivalent of the indirect import taxes levied on their products, none of these can be such a main line.

It is the view of the research group that the main blow should be directed at the multinational corporations.

These giant international monopolies are the most powerful exploiters of the working people in the whole capitalist-world economic system. Struggle against them creates a real objective basis for pooling the efforts of broad masses of people in every sector of the capitalist-world economy for the purpose of checking their uncontrolled operations.

That this is the right approach was fully shown by the advance of the energy crisis and the emergence of relative shortages of raw materials as a global economic problem. The multinationals used the increase in the prices of oil and raw-materials commodities, which was determined not only by short-term but also long-term objective factors, in order to step up the plunder of broad masses of people in the industrialised capitalist countries and in the developing countries by getting the ultimate consumer to bear the increased costs of production. That is precisely why the profits of the international oil and raw-materials monopolies have invariably grown in the past several years, despite the establishment of state control of most of the sources of raw materials in the developing countries, and despite the substantial change in the structure of world prices.

The fact that monopoly capital has managed to adapt itself to the new conditions of raw-materials supply for the capitalist economy shows that if the new type of international monopolies—the multinationals—are to be held in check, it is not enough to take measures at the one pole alone—in the developing countries—and that there is also a need to establish effective democratic control over them at the other pole—in the industrialised states. Otherwise, international monopoly capital, which provides the direct impetus to internationalisation of production and exchange in the capitalist-world economy and which operates as intermediary and connecting link between its poles, will continue, in alliance with other exploiting forces, to plunder the working people wherever they may be, in the centres of capitalism or on its periphery.

At the same time, even a partial check on international monopoly capital in the course of the struggle for a new international economic order would be an important gain, because it would open up the prospect for a further offensive on the positions of the monopolies, and for eventually eradicating all the forms of diktat in international economic relations.

At one time it appeared that imperialist exploitation would be limited only with the transition of more and more liberated countries to the actual building of

socialism or—as an intermediate stage—their adoption of the road of non-capitalist development opening up a socialist perspective. Even today, these social forms are the most radical means for eliminating the economic dependence on imperialism and overcoming age-old backwardness.

At the same time, in present-day conditions, the strengthening of the world socialist system, the total collapse of the colonial system, and the radical change in the balance of world class forces have opened before all countries the possibility of curbing, to a lesser or greater extent, imperialist and neocolonial exploitation even before the abolition of the capitalist system in the chief centres of imperialism. This opportunity must be used, and the curbing of imperialist exploitation envisaged in the programme for a new international economic order carried out consistently and to the end.

The Final Document of the 1976 Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe says that "the democratisation of international relations and the development of international co-operation on the basis of equality and of mutual benefit to all peoples are aims of great importance in the struggle for the establishment of an international community free from imperialism and neocolonialism wherein the great disproportions between developed and developing countries can be overcome, and which will be based on the full independence of each and every nation and on their active participation in the solution of mankind's problems."⁷

No wonder the industrialised capitalist countries have stubbornly refused to accept the developing countries' demands, seeking to confine the whole matter to a compromise at the top, and to insignificant concessions in some spheres, so as to reject the main proposals for restructuring international economic relations. After all, this is a matter of changing the very principles of international economic activity, of a more or less important restriction of the freedom of action by international finance capital, and of a substantial reduction in the neocolonial tribute they levy. That is why state-monopoly capitalism seeks, on the one hand, to kill the progressive content of any restructuring of economic ties and in this roundabout way to preserve its privileges, and on the other, to get the working class and broad masses of other working people in the developed capitalist countries to bear the inevitable cost of such a restructuring.

All of this calls for vigilance with respect to the moves by imperialism, and a multiplication of efforts by all the democratic forces to strengthen the peoples' anti-imperialist front and mount an offensive on the positions of international monopoly capital, and to purge international economic relations of every form of inequality and discrimination.

If this struggle is to succeed, there must be a connection between external economic democratic transformations and internal economic transformations, the use of concessions wrested from imperialism to boost the national economy and raise the living standards of broad masses of working people and realise the ideals of social justice. Without important changes in the alignment of class forces in the developed capitalist states and in the developing countries, it is hard to imagine the establishment of a truly new, equitable and just international economic order.

How world development will actually proceed, how deep the restructuring of world economic ties will be, and whether it will truly lead to the establishment of a new international economic order or will be confined to a top-level refurbishing of the old, will depend on many factors. An important one among these is concerted action by all the progressive movements of our day and strengthening of the broad anti-imperialist front of the peoples.

⁷The term "developing countries" is here used in the sense accepted in UN practice and documents.

10/1980

Beplasklar

⁴Families whose members come from different classes, sections or groups of society.—Ed.

⁵The main part of the production and non-production assets of cooperatives which is not subject to distribution among their members and which is used in a balanced manner for the purposes of extended reproduction and the raising of the standards of cultural and everyday services available to members of cooperatives.—Ed.

⁶There are different sources of this inequality: these could be connected with labour (the degree of its complexity, society's preferential attitude to some types of labour activity as being especially important ones, etc.), or these may not be connected with labour (size of family, number of children, etc.).

⁷At present, the ratio between the gross wages of the top 10 per cent and the bottom 10 per cent of wage-workers in Hungary now comes to 1 to 6, and the ratio for family incomes, to 1 to 4.5. For the bulk of those working in the national economy, the differences are even smaller. The study of the material condition of individual classes and sections on the strength of several parameters shows that contrary to the widespread notion the average differences with the working class are higher than they are between skilled workers and the intelligentsia. Roughly 80 per cent of the intelligentsia live in better material conditions than workers, but for their part, nearly 20 per cent of the workers live better than some groups of the intelligentsia.

Class Alliances and Political Blocs

This subject has been reviewed—in the context of today's class struggles in capitalist countries—by a research group composed of *Zaki Heiri*, CC Political Bureau member of the Communist Party of Iraq, *Kemal Kervan*, representative of the Communist Party of Turkey on the journal, *Hugo Fazio*, CC member of the Communist Party of Chile, and *Grigori Vodolazov*, Ph.D. (Soviet Union).

The review was conducted under a research programme drawn up by the Commission on General Problems of Theory under the heading "Strategic Ideas of Leninism and the Present Day".

The group concentrated on some controversial issues¹ relating to the involvement of new social forces in the revolutionary process today, the uneven growth of the socio-political activity of disparate classes and strata of capitalist society, and the changes that have taken place in the alignment of classes and political parties at this stage of the struggle. These issues include changes in the social structure of capitalist society and the problem of working-class hegemony, the dynamics of class alliances in the revolutionary process, the possibility of agreements with a segment of the bourgeoisie, party alliances, and the mass movement.

The following are some results of the review.

Concepts of "Anti-Hegemony"

The group examined the changes in the composition and condition of the middle strata in capitalist society over the past quarter of a century:² a lower rate of employment in agriculture; the growing proportion and influence of workers by brain, primarily scientists, technicians and engineers; the new character and new public role of the urban middle strata, and so on. It considers that these changes make it necessary to specify some theoretical propositions on class alliances. First among them is the proposition on working-class hegemony.

Historically, the idea of working-class hegemony in the revolutionary process was advanced by Marxism at a time when the peasantry was still the

and individual—should one strive for in the immediate future?

From the standpoint of socialist interests, an optimal scale of mobility between sections can be created only when there is a change in parents' views of what they want their children to be. This cannot be done by convincing arguments alone. The objective conditions of the work and life of social sections must be drawn closer together in practice, and that is the only condition of which social mobility based on individual capabilities in the first place can be made to prevail.

As a result of the radical changes in society's social structure, the problem of equality is increasingly considered in application to social sections and groups, with its socio-economic aspects coming to the fore. From the standpoint of the Marxist-Leninist theory, this is a largely new approach to the problem, because it goes beyond the framework of the problem of eliminating classes and attaining equality.

When determining the main lines of its policy, and the pace and priority of social transformations, the HSWP makes a systematic study of public opinion, in particular the working people's assessment of the level of social equality attained. A study carried out in Hungary in 1977 showed that broad sections of the working people have accepted the ideals of social equality. Although they do take the critical attitude to many specific phenomena and aspects of social life, satisfaction with the existing socio-political relations on the whole prevails. The establishment of this favourable atmosphere resulted from a number of factors, including our economy's dynamic development in the 1960s and 1970s, the noticeable growth of living standards and the tangible democratisation of social practice.

Our studies warrant the assertion that most working people firmly identify themselves with their social section, are satisfied with their condition and seek to maintain it.

It has been established that there is no close relation between the assessment of the justice of the existing social relations and a man's place within the system of the social division of labour. Assessments of the objective degree of the equality attained are determined largely by the structure of individual consciousness, the specifics of individual labour activity, personal impressions and experience in life, that is, by secondary factors which are more differentiated than the sphere of social-class relations. Only a very small part of the Hungarian working people believes that the inequality in our country is much too great. The majority (nearly 70 per cent of those polled) believe that the bulk of the people live in average material conditions, and only a minority—markedly better or worse than the rest. Roughly 30 per cent of those polled naturally refer themselves to this average group.

* * *

The attainment of social equality is a protracted and complicated historical process. It is an endeavour for several generations of working people, it calls for boldness and circumspection, innovation and consistency and an ability to solve current problems without losing sight of the long term. The peoples of the socialist countries have entered upon the road leading to full social equality, and under the leadership of their Communist parties, are successfully tackling, for the first time in history, the tasks of creating a new entity of men.

¹Frederick Engels. *Anti-Dühring*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow 1959, p. 147.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 147-148.

³A recent sociological study showed that 28-30 per cent of workers over the age of 30 years were unskilled, whereas only 9 per cent were unskilled in the 15 to 30 age group.

most numerous class of bourgeois society. By virtue of their objective position in the social production system the peasants could not sustain a consistent drive for progressive changes, which were imminent objectively, nor could they defend their class interests by themselves; their mode of production kept them isolated from one another, the relations between them were only local and not national, and they had no political organisation (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p.478). The proportion of peasants in the capitalist world has dropped sharply by now. Moreover, they are themselves changing. Many are working people who form organisations to defend their rights, use modern techniques, are educated, and so on. This gives rise to doubts as to whether the issue of working-class hegemony in regard to this social stratum is as important for the revolutionary process as before.

To be sure, there is no reason for doubts of this kind globally or in the foreseeable future, for the peasants still make up the majority of the economically active population of many countries or are a large body of working people second in numerical strength to the working class alone. Nevertheless, the substantial decrease that has occurred in the proportion of peasants in a number of countries must be borne in mind when we consider the problem of working-class hegemony.

However, the peasants' role in the class struggle does not at all diminish in step with their decreasing numbers. In fact, this role is acquiring a new quality. The principal change in the peasants' social role is their further transformation from an anti-feudal, anti-landowner force into an anti-monopoly one. This is a result of increasing monopoly capitalist control of agricultural production, of growing direct and indirect exploitation of the countryside by the town through credits, the supply of technical facilities and fertilisers, the marketing of farm produce, and so on, all of which are in the hands of big capital. The qualitatively new orientation of the peasant movement offers the working class greater opportunities to exercise its leading role in the struggle against monopoly. Now, as in the past, and irrespective of the numerical strength of the peasants, the worker-peasant alliance is, in the opinion of the research group, an important condition for success in the fight against monopoly in view of the peasants' distinctive role in socio-economic life.

The question of working-class hegemony has never been limited to the worker-peasant alliance even in countries with an absolute predominance of peasants. Today it encompasses the whole revolutionary movement in town and countryside alike, at all its stages, whatever the character assumed by the movement (national liberation, anti-fascist, anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist, bourgeois democratic, etc.), with all its diverse interconnections. However, its actual substance in terms of the social composition of potential participants in the movement, who see the working class as their natural partner and the most advanced force, does not remain unchanged. With the development of modern capitalism, especially where countries are becoming "peasantless" at a particularly high rate, the emphasis of the problem shifts because the towns are gaining in importance as factors determining the orientation and pace of political life in capitalist society, and hence the trend of the revolutionary process. Socially, however, the towns are centres of both workers and intermediate strata, which are more numerous in some countries than the peasantry.

Hugo Fazio. The numerical strength, and socio-political role of the urban middle strata have grown extraordinarily. They are increasingly becoming a vital factor in the proletariat's policy of alliance. In countries like Chile, worker-peasant unity retains its importance. However, in itself it is not the core of the alliance to be formed, for there must be mutual understanding between

the working class and the peasantry as well as the urban middle strata and the semi-proletariat. "Some postulates of the past," Luis Corvalan said, "no longer apply or are not equally valid everywhere. The problem of the worker-peasant alliances, for example, cannot be posed in, say, Mexico in the same way as in the United States or in Spain in the same way as in France . . . The essence of Marxism-Leninism is precisely its content, not formulas; in this case it is the necessity for the working class to ally itself with those sections of society that can be drawn into struggle for justice and social progress."³

The middle strata are not homogeneous. Wage workers not belonging to the working class have a considerable revolutionary potential and so do the intellectuals and students. Witness, for example, the triumphal experience of Cuba and Nicaragua.

Group members noted that the increased proportion of workers by brain, of intellectuals, technologists, and other white-collar workers in capitalist society is used by contemporary critics of Marxism as the starting point of a further series of arguments to dispute the objective role of the working class as leader of the revolutionary movement. The question is asked whether there can be hegemony in regard to this social group, most of whose members are more educated than the workers. It is argued that since they are not private proprietors but wage workers unlike the peasants, they do not have to be "led" to socialism, for they aspire to it anyway. Furthermore, it is held that in the past quarter of a century the middle strata have become much more active politically than the working class. From this it is inferred that the revolutionary potential of the workers and that of other sectors opposed to monopoly capitalism are "levelling up" and so there are no further grounds for singling out the proletariat as the leading force and it would be more reasonable to speak of forming a front of classes against the monopoly bourgeoisie.

That the revolutionary potential of many categories of middle strata is growing is indisputable. It is an important and lasting trend of the economic and political struggles. Hence, it would be wrong to underestimate the mounting opposition to a substantial part of the middle strata to monopoly capital.

However, the growing protest against monopoly capital domination in various sectors of capitalist society in no way undermines the objective standing of the working class as the chief socio-political force and leader in the anti-monopoly struggle and the revolutionary movement. The facts show that never before has the working class been so well organised or so strong as today. Its political attitude and action decisively predicate the success of the anti-monopoly struggle and the destiny of the revolution. Unless the working class exercises its leading role in the class struggle there can be no serious question of socialism.

The leading role objectively implicit to the working class and the exercise of this role are not one and the same thing. The latter depends on many factors, among which a factor of decisive significance is to ensure that revolutionary sentiments prevail over reformist ones and that the workers become aware of their class interests and adopt the scientific, Marxist-Leninist worldview. As for the growth of revolutionary feeling among the workers and other classes and strata of capitalist society, it is an uneven process. Revolutionary initiative can also come from non-proletarian strata. To see the role of leading class as implying passivity, inaction and lack of initiative on the part of other participants in the anti-monopoly struggle has nothing to do with a really revolutionary stand.

Nor is the growing socio-political role of workers by brain, of intellectuals and white-collar workers, a challenge to working-class hegemony. They become exponents of socialist aspirations, not as a traditional intermediate

stratum of capitalist society (which, incidentally, is becoming more and more differentiated), but only when they join the working class and become subjectively aware of their new social status. By drawing close to the working class (objectively and subjectively) and by accepting its interests and ideology, workers by brain come to play a bigger role in revolutionary changes.

Zaki Heiri. The problem of exercising hegemony is not simple for the proletariat even in developed capitalist countries, where there are strong working-class parties. But it is infinitely more difficult in developing countries, where the proletariat is numerically weaker. Some people say that in this situation the Communist Party should join in the movement of the progressive forces of its country and seek more than to work within the measure of its ability.

Cooperation is necessary, of course. It is important to support a revolutionary petty-bourgeois government or the government of a patriotic bourgeoisie as well as their political parties as long as they consistently fight imperialism, even if there is no formal bloc or coalition government. But under no circumstances can the right to fight the class narrow-mindedness and inconsistency of our allies be sacrificed, nor can the struggle for class hegemony and political leadership be discontinued. For our Party the experience of ten years of political alliance with the Baath Party (1968-1978) and the experience of cooperation with the regime proved again that when it comes to the realisation of the basic aims and tasks of socialism no political alliance between the Communist Party and a petty-bourgeois (let alone a bourgeois) party can survive if the petty-bourgeois party dominates the alliance and the government.

The people owe their growing revolutionary strength to the proletariat's exercise of its leading role in the class struggle. The role of outsider, to say nothing of losing an independent policy line, tends to weaken the Party, to reduce the revolutionary potential of the political bloc, and ultimately to slow down the revolution as a whole or even reverse it.

The "Big Riddle" of Strategy

The involvement of new social forces belonging to the middle strata in the revolutionary process raises certain questions relating to the exercise of the role of leader that belongs objectively to the working class. One of the most important of these questions is the possibility of a solid and lasting alliance with the middle strata. Its solution encounters considerable theoretical difficulties arising from the fact that while the working class and the middle strata have interests in common there also are very important differences of attitude. This produces a problem occasionally called the "big riddle" of the strategy of alliance. The problem may be stated as follows: the middle strata are oppressed by monopoly and so can make common cause with the proletariat on the basis of anti-monopoly, general democratic demands. But what is the outlook for this alliance? Will it still be there when general democratic problems have been solved?

It is no easy matter to ascertain this outlook. The middle strata vacillate when it comes to consistently carrying out a socialist programme providing, in the final analysis, for the abolition of private property in the means of production. What stand is the working class to take on these strata when developments bring society to the threshold of a direct struggle for socialism? To answer this question is important, and not only for the future. The solidity of an alliance depends largely on the clarity of the outlook for the future.

To be sure, a realignment of class forces is inevitable when the revolutionary

process moves from one phase to another. It is said that in these circumstances it will be necessary not merely to realign ranks but to join in a resolute struggle against an ally of yesterday, the middle strata. An ally today, an enemy tomorrow. This is said to be the logic of the revolution. But will the middle strata accept alliance with the proletariat if this is the prospect?

Some people imagine that the difficulty can be overcome by providing for the preservation of small-commodity production, private property, competition, and so on, under socialism. This situation would be possible in the early period after the victory of the working class and its allies but is utopian in the long term.

So how should the "riddle" be solved? Are the middle strata only a temporary ally whose revolutionary potentialities become exhausted at the anti-monopoly stage of the struggle?

In *Theses on Feuerbach* Karl Marx noted that by changing circumstances, people simultaneously change themselves, and that the process of people changing the social environment in the course of revolutionary practice is at the same time a process of their self-change (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p.13). This thesis is the methodological key to the "riddle". By joining in the revolution, social strata and groups change their social being and themselves in the course of the revolution, ceasing more and more to be what they were when it began. After putting an end to domination by monopoly capitalism, the middle strata allied with the working class will participate in creating a new system of social relations, in which their own status, condition, and nature will change. In the new society the bulk of the middle strata will have fundamentally new opportunities.

Far from ruling out, this implies that a differentiation could come about among the middle strata themselves and that those of its members who rejected socialist change would drop out of the alliance. But then the greater part of the middle strata would free itself from the economic, political, and spiritual influence and tutelage of forces determined to stop the anti-monopoly struggle half-way, and would rise to the independent making of history. In this way the alliance of anti-monopoly forces would develop further at the stage of socialist revolution, which is objectively the only means of delivering the middle strata from exploitation by big capital and putting an end to its socially underprivileged condition. The concept of transition from anti-monopoly to socialist changes could apparently be worked out only with account of the changes and differentiation among the middle strata, which not only take place due to objective causes but are prepared by a series of transitional measures and concessions to these strata.

Vodolazov. The strategy of Russia's revolutionary proletarians towards the middle peasants in October 1917 is indicative in this respect. The proletariat, Lenin pointed out, "is obliged, in the interests of the victory of socialism, to yield to the small working and exploited peasants in the choice of these transitional measures . . ." (Vol. 26, p.334). During the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks accepted a proposal for equal land tenure, that is, adopted a bourgeois democratic measure on which the peasants insisted while the proletarian party made "a declaration of dissent" (ibid., p.335). The Bolsheviks proceeded from the assumption that only experience could open the peasants' eyes to the benefits of socialist changes. "We have not the slightest intention of expropriating the middle peasants," Lenin stressed. ". . . We shall not tolerate any use of force in respect of the middle peasants" (Vol. 29, pp.151, 205).

The experience of the October Revolution gave the lie to the thesis of the Second International's reformist leaders, who affirmed that "the majority of

the exploited toilers can achieve complete clarity of socialist consciousness and firm socialist convictions and character under capitalist slavery, under the yoke of the bourgeoisie" (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p.187). It also revealed that the non-proletarian masses can shed their illusions and remould themselves in the course of revolutionary changes in alliance with and aided by the working class" (ibid.).

In step with the development of the socialist revolution, the working class and other working people (the middle strata of one-time capitalist society) drew closer together. This means that instead of shrinking the social basis of the revolution expanded.

On the other hand, members of the research group noted that between the working class and the middle strata whose process, especially when they are taken into account only superficially.

Fazio. Under the Popular Unity government in Chile, one of the sharpest struggles between revolution and counter-revolution was over the middle strata. In the end, part of these strata sided with the working class, while the majority, relatively neutral at first, ended by defecting to the counter-revolution. On analysing this fact, some Popular Unity leaders found it inevitable, arguing that whenever the middle strata detect the possibility of fundamental changes, they end by deserting en masse to reaction. This conclusion is wrong, for the condition of a substantial segment of the middle strata is similar to that of the proletariat and, in some cases, even worse, which means that they can only find a real solution for their problems in common with the proletariat. As for the petty bourgeoisie, its principal contradiction tends to be—ever more markedly—with monopoly although it has certain contradictions with the working class. This creates the objective conditions for agreement with the proletariat in the struggle against monopoly.

One of the lessons drawn by our Party from the defeat sustained by it is that we must form a broader alliance than the one which triumphed in 1970. This is demanded not only by the priority task of ending the dictatorship but by the fact that we see the requisite changes in Chilean society as a continuous process involving all democratic forces. "Nothing could be further from our intentions," Luis Corvalan pointed out, "than to look for allies today only to discard them tomorrow."⁴

Bourgeois-Proletarian Coalitions

Compromises with some sections of the bourgeoisie against monopoly capitalist intrigues, a fascist threat, imperialist intervention, and so on, do not contradict Lenin's advice not to scorn even a temporary, unstable, and unreliable ally. In the revolutionary processes going on in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, where the problems of national political and economic emancipation have yet to be fully solved, some segments of the local bourgeoisie play a progressive part in the struggle against imperialism and the biggest magnates of local financial monopoly. This is certain to affect the attitude of the working class to the local bourgeoisie.

Kervan. Turkey's monopolies are out to assume full control of state power and to take a leap into state-monopoly capitalism. The alternative to this is an advanced democratic revolution that can pave the way for socialism in our country.

In the overall context of the class struggle in Turkey action against foreign capital and neocolonialist methods of exploiting our people, as well as against the present government's repressive policy, is very important. The range of social forces that could join a national democratic front against the reactionary forces allying themselves with foreign capital is very wide. This front could also

be joined by a section of the bourgeoisie unassociated with monopoly.

The Republican People's Party, which is backed mainly by the middle strata as well as by the big and middle non-monopoly bourgeoisie, is among the opponents of the repressive policies of the present Turkish government. While the leadership of this party is in the hands of rightists, who support the policies of imperialism and the collaborationist monopoly bourgeoisie, democratic aspirations are strong among the rank and file. Indeed, there is a "left wing" in the RPP that has yet to adopt an explicit political orientation, but advances some anti-fascist and anti-imperialist demands. This "left wing" can be won over by the forces seeking the overthrow of the regime.

Fazio. A visible differentiation process is going on among the bourgeoisie of countries like ours; a higher stratum is forming—a finance, monopolistic capital commanding the greatest economic power. The increasingly strong positions of this sector spell out the subjugation and exploitation in various ways of not only the proletariat and other wage workers but of some segments of the middle and petty bourgeoisie. Moreover, this subjugation is effected through diverse channels. In this context the democratic revolution is anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic (meaning, in our case, primarily struggle against finance capital). Local finance capital is both closely associated with and dependent on imperialism without, however, losing its identity or relative autonomy. It is this alliance, in which imperialism is becoming an increasingly "internal" factor, that constitutes the class basis of fascism.

The differentiation under way among the bourgeoisie and the contradictions generated by the power mechanism set up to give support to the alliance between local and foreign capital provide a real basis on which to draw part of the bourgeois forces into the struggle against monopoly and imperialist capital. This was demonstrated again, not only in one country (I mean the ample experience of Nicaragua, where the Sandinista National Liberation Front proved equal to bringing bourgeois elements into the fight against Somoza), but at regional level as well, most governments of Latin America (dominated by bourgeois forces) rejecting imperialism's bid for armed intervention. The facts bear out the correctness of the conclusion of the 1975 Havana Conference of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean about the possibility of united democratic and anti-imperialist action involving, along with popular forces, some sections of the Latin American bourgeoisie. According to the Havana Declaration, this agreement "will never be achieved in the interest of transient compromises, at the expense of the essential alliance of workers, peasants, and other working people and the middle strata or at the expense of the class independence of the proletariat".

Cooperation between the working class and the bourgeoisie in the national interest, with a view to ending the economic crisis and eliminating its effects, the group members pointed out, is also advocated by reformists. The working class certainly has a stake in loosening the crunch of the crisis. But the problem is how to end the crisis, whether at the expense of the working class and other working people (wage freeze, austerity, a ban on strikes, and so on) and without detriment to monopoly interests, or at the expense of the profits and privileges of the monopoly bourgeoisie, the class that bears all the responsibility for crises.

In other words, "saving the nation" from the crisis has nothing to do with strengthening the positions of state-monopoly capitalism. "It is not enough to say, 'Let us first end the crisis and then we shall see'," Luigi Longo, Chairman of the Italian Communist Party, said. "We must find out how we are to overcome it and in the name of what purposes and prospects. The working people want to be certain that when we come out of the tunnel of the crisis we

shall not meet . . . leaders of the past who are willing to try everything all over again."⁵ Ending the crisis and eliminating its effects do not provide a basis for a coincidence of the interests of the working people and monopoly bourgeoisie. On the contrary the antagonism between them grows sharper.

Vodolazov. The fact that a coalition somehow harmonising the aspirations of the workers and part of the bourgeoisie occasionally takes shape in a developed capitalist country is explained by the necessity and importance of nationalising banks and large-scale industries. Measures of this nature are seen from the theoretical standpoint as "steps towards socialism", of which Lenin spoke. However, counting on steps towards socialism through a bourgeois-proletarian coalition would seem to be wrong both in theory and in practice.

To begin with, the social content of measures such as nationalisation is determined by power relations. Lenin pointed out that these measures may mean "a step, and more than one step, towards socialism" on the important condition that there will arise "a revolutionary-democratic state" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, pp.357-358). Under a bourgeois state, however, they are not steps towards socialism, any more than other forms of concentration and centralisation of capital. Nor is there any reason to identify the creation under capitalism of the material prerequisites of a new system with steps towards socialism. Besides, these prerequisites have objectively matured already. In this sphere the interests of the workers and the bourgeoisie are in direct conflict, since the working class wants nationalisation of a kind that would undercut and not strengthen the positions of capital.

Alliance of Parties and Radicalisation of the Masses

In present-day capitalist society with its developed and highly differentiated structures, at a time when political parties influence virtually every population group, the principles of class alliance are applied largely through coalitions and blocs of political parties. An alliance of class forces also develops in the course of direct struggle by the masses, without acquiring the character of a political agreement between parties, and through action by the trade unions and other mass organisations. But it is precisely blocs and alliances between political parties that assure coordinated action by the masses and make that action durable and productive.

As the researchers see it, political blocs are not a direct projection of class alliances at party level. Most of the political parties, while objectively expressing the interests of definite classes, strive nominally to operate as "national" parties or parties of the people as a whole. Quite often a party that is bourgeois in character is followed by numerous working people belonging not only to the middle strata but to the working class. This contradiction between the class nature of bourgeois centrist and reformist parties and the objective interests of a substantial part of their social base, their electorate, must not be discounted. Underestimation of these contradictions gives rise to sectarian prejudices, which may prove to be a serious obstacle to anti-monopoly action.

The problem of political blocs with reformist and certain bourgeois parties has the following two basic aspects if account is taken of the class substance of these blocs in the broad context of the anti-imperialist struggle and not of temporary political considerations: achieving unity of action with the middle strata, and unity of the working class itself. This is why political blocs are not an opportunity that it would be a pity not to use at this or that stage of the class struggle for scoring a momentary gain. They are a necessity arising from a coincidence of class interests, an expression of the objective need for unity among different classes, strata, movements, and currents in the anti-monopoly struggle.

Compromises on practical policy issues between parties adhering to different class positions or currents in the working-class movement do not extend to the ideological sphere, that is, they do not involve a change in a party's attitude to its class, a renunciation of the goals of its struggle, and so forth. However, the Communists do not see this as a pragmatic deal on the principle of "support in exchange for support". The criteria of a political alliance of parties are to win new positions (or defend positions won) in struggle against socio-political forces that are particularly reactionary at the given moment, on the one hand, and enlighten, organise, educate, and radicalise the masses, on the other. These tasks, which are far from coinciding in every respect, can be accomplished on the principle of dialectically combining unity and struggle within the alliance.

Class alliances have their development stages and milestones. A bloc of parties may result in one gaining much greater influence than others. This is not necessarily due to mistakes or miscalculations on the part of an ally. What is sometimes at work is a certain regularity in the development of an alliance of left-wing, democratic forces and in the radicalisation of the masses. It is not surprising, for instance, that when a swing to the left begins numerous electors generally side with the moderate forces of the left front. What is much less common is an immediate swing of the masses to the revolutionary wing of the movement. Lenin showed that the masses generally go over from Scheidemann and others like him (that is, from bourgeois parties and parties cooperating with the bourgeoisie) to the revolution through "intermediate stages" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p.74).

The class alliance policy implies a differentiated approach to different political forces.⁶ Besides, the form of political bloc mentioned earlier, i.e., agreement between a revolutionary and a reformist party, there is the inter-party alliance such as cooperation among kindred revolutionary currents.

Kervan. Operating in the working-class movement of Turkey are, besides the Communist Party, the Workers' Party, and the Socialist Workers' Party. They are not affiliated to the Socialist International, nor are they reformist; they are oriented on socialism and revolution and inspired by the ideas of scientific socialism. The Turkish Communists regard alliance with these workers' parties (its significance goes far beyond the framework of general democratic tasks) as an objective of the first importance. Such an alliance could become the centre of attraction for all workers ensuring their unity of action, a core equal to uniting around it a wide range of democratic forces, and subsequently, a decisive factor for going over from general democratic to socialist changes. The Communists of Turkey contribute their share to the international experience of forming alliances of kindred revolutionary currents. Not long ago efforts by circles supporting us, the WP and the SWP, as well as by Kurdish revolutionary democrats resulted in an agreement to evolve a common action platform. We consider that also worthy of special attention is the possibility of joint action with political groups that are devoted to the idea of revolution even though they are not proletarian.

Fazio. The process that has led to political division within the West European working class cannot be duplicated in Latin America. We cannot look on the activity of many Socialist parties of our hemisphere, including the Social-Democrats, from the standpoint of the line prevailing among the Social-Democrats of Western Europe. It is also important to remember that there exist non-Communist forces which are unquestionably revolutionary. I mean various currents and parties which are arriving at Marxism-Leninism or are influenced by it. This is a result of both an evolution of these forces and the influence won by Marxist-Leninist forces in Latin America and the world. It is

creating a reality which we must consider open-mindedly and creatively in the interest of the revolution.

The research group came to the following conclusions:

The policy of class alliance shows increasing variety and originality. The unique peculiarity of this policy is typical of countries on different or identical levels of capitalist socio-economic development, countries having different political regimes or regimes of one and the same type, and dissimilar historical and cultural traditions or traditions that are similar to multifariousness. All this makes the key methodological principle of Marxism-Leninism in investigating the problem of class alliances and blocs of political parties—the specific analyses of concrete situations—all the more important.

For all its national distinctions, the working-class policy of alliance reflects and must take into account principles common to all and worked out as a result of studying the regularities and distinctive characteristics of the world revolutionary process, as well as of generalising the experience of the class struggle in one's own country and elsewhere. The "wind of this age" is blowing in one direction, namely, revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism, which is effected through a number of stages or directly. In this lies the common social root of the policy of class alliance, its essential unity, which manifests itself in the most diverse conditions.

Experience has confirmed the vitality of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on class alliances, whose core is the working class, as the socio-political basis for revolutionary change. Under contemporary capitalism, structural changes and the further exacerbation of its crisis extend the range of real and potential allies of the working class in the struggle for peace, democracy, national freedom, and socialism. The exercise by the working class of its leading role in this struggle—a role that belongs objectively to it—is a decisive condition both for the success of the struggle and for eventually imparting a socialist character to working-class alliances with non-proletarian working people, with the middle strata.

The Communist movement has gained considerable and varied experience of using every opportunity to win an ally enjoying massive support. It will be much easier to ascertain such opportunities by further research into the dialectics of class alliances and blocs of political parties with the use of scientific methodology, which means that the principles of working-class revolutionary policy evolved by Marx, Engels, and Lenin should be applied in accordance with the peculiarities of the country concerned.

¹In 1975 and 1976 there was an international discussion in *WMR* on "The Working Class and Its Allies" to which there were 35 contributions. (Discussion records were brought out in book form under the same title in 1977 by Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague.) Subsequently, the journal resumed its discussion of the subject of allies of the working class (*WMR*, July 1977, May, August, and December 1978, July and December 1979, and June, July and August 1980). The research group took account of these publications, which made it possible to single out some of the problems now being debated in the Communist movement.

²Marxist scholars do not always define the term *middle strata* identically. Some only refer to *urban middle strata*, leaving out the peasants and intellectuals. We believe it is more reasonable to apply the term *middle strata* to all the social groups that objectively do not belong to either the bourgeoisie or the working class but hold an intermediate place between them (*Zapadnaya Yevropa v sovremennom mire*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1979, p.274). It is from this angle that Lenin described the class composition of capitalist society, listing "three main groups, or classes: exploited, exploiting, and intermediate" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 39, p.453/in Russian).

³*Boletín del Exterior*, No. 37, 1979, pp.40-41.

⁴*Boletín del Exterior*, No. 37, 1979, p.32.

⁵*L'Unità*, October 20, 1976.

⁶See *Joint Actions: Aims, Lessons, Difficulties*.

Anti-Sovietism—Core of Anti-Communism

BJØRN GRØN

CC member, Communist Party of Denmark

This article continues the discussion on the subject "Present-Day Anti-Communism and Ways of Countering It" begun in *WMR*, June 1980.

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THE LATEST opinion surveys in Denmark have shown that 58 per cent of the people believe another war is inevitable. The people do not want war, of course. But imperialist propaganda is doing its dirty business, knowing that the potentialities of the forces of aggression grow with the spread of the feeling that a military catastrophe is inescapable. The main arguments in the struggle for public opinion, which is a crucial sphere of the class confrontation in the modern world, are today based on an endless string of inventions by the bourgeois mass media about "Soviet aggression", the danger emanating from the "growing Soviet military capability" to the peoples of Western Europe, and so on. The mass character of these arguments and their formidable geographical dimensions, and also the results registered at the level of the mass consciousness are indicative of the scale of imperialism's propaganda campaign.

The inspirers and executors of this campaign are depicting their charges against the USSR as actions confined exclusively to relations between states and to safeguarding "Western civilisation" against the "Red aggressor". Actually, this is neither more nor less than another wave of *anti-Sovietism* spearheaded not only against Soviet foreign policy but also against the Soviet state as such, against the economic and political foundations of triumphant socialism, against the new society's very nature and basic characteristics.

The present anti-Soviet campaign is timed to the substantial strengthening of the political and ideological position of the military-industrial complex in the principal imperialist countries, the visible swing to the right on the part of the leaders of these countries, and also (as part and parcel of an integral process) the general intensification of anti-Communist activity by the political spokesmen and ideologues of state-monopoly capitalism. This campaign bears out that anti-Sovietism has been and remains the main component, the main orientation of the world-wide strategy of anti-Communism.

This is due to the operation of many objective factors. Of these the most important are that the Soviet Union was the first country to break the chain of world imperialism and blaze the road for mankind to the new, communist era; that it is the acknowledged vanguard of all progressive mankind and heads the broad front of struggle against imperialism; that it is a major power with a huge economic and military potential, has for over six decades opposed all the aggressive ambitions of imperialism, and is the principal guarantor of peace on the globe, the bulwark of the struggle for detente, for the security of all nations.

Of course, the fact that anti-Sovietism is the core of anti-Communism does not at all signify that bourgeois political and ideological leaders look with favour on socialism in countries such as, for example, Hungary or the GDR, or tone down their lies about other socialist-community countries. By no means! Despite their "differentiated approach" doctrine designed to undermine friendship and cooperation among socialist countries, the anti-Communists are

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horizon, harmoniously to combine personal interests and those of the labour collective and the whole of society, and to enhance the moral incentives for vigorous labour activity.

Consequently, the social aspects of improvement of the system of management consist above all in consciously regulating the changes in the status of workers at the enterprises. This does not bear on the quantitative aspect of the development of democracy, but on its qualitative content, which is connected with the realisation by the working class of its historical mission.

But the democratisation of economic management is not only of profound political import but also of tremendous economic significance. The more massive the participation in management, the better and fuller the use of reserves for boosting and improving production and the faster the growth of the productive forces. One could say, therefore, that the mechanism of the socialist economy would be imperfect without the mightily lever of massive participation in management. In this sense, the working people's creative activity, initiative and self-administration constitute a key motive force of the socialist economy. Involvement of masses of working people in the management of production is effected through various organisational forms, like workers' self-administration conferences in Poland, standing production conferences in the USSR, and so on.

Summing up what I have said, I want to stress that the growing unity of social and economic policies reflects the objective conditions proper to the period of building and perfecting the developed socialist society. In this context, it is important to note that the competition between the two opposite social systems must not be reduced to economic indicators alone. The superiority of socialism over capitalism lies above all in the sphere of labour, and also in the guarantees it provides for the spiritual development of the individual. Of basic importance is the people's way of life under the two socio-economic systems, for the development of the individual is the most general expression and chief touchstone of socialism's superiority over capitalism. Realisation of the strategy of social development put forward by the ruling parties of the fraternal countries creates ever new conditions for shaping the fully and harmoniously developed individual, the ideal person of the communist future.

¹See, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works in Three Volumes*, Vol. 1, p. 14.

²Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, Moscow, p. 488.

The Basis for Uniting Left Forces in Mexico

ALEJO MENDEZ GARCIA

CC member, Mexican Communist Party

FOR over six months now, our Party has been working to implement the decisions of a joint meeting in December 1977 of the Central Committees of the Mexican Communist Party (MCP), Mexican People's Party (MPP) and Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP). The meeting was an important event in national politics and is bound to yield useful results. The three parties adopted a Declaration of Unity under which they commit themselves to set up the mechanisms needed to bring about their early merger; to conduct joint mass activities; to develop a common programme for a way out of the economic,

social and political crisis; to promote united action with other left-wing forces and campaign for a mass working-class party capable of uniting broad sections of the people as a counterweight to the bourgeois parties, and organise the struggle for much-needed anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist and democratic change.

The documents discussed at the joint meeting were drafted collectively by the leaderships of the three parties. The main report was presented by Gilberto Rincon Gallardo, Executive Commission member of the CC MCP. Manuel Stephens Garcia, member of the MPP National Leadership, presented the draft political declaration.

The meeting was preceded by preparatory activities. Even before the 18th National Congress of our Party (May 1977), the CC MCP and the CCs of each of the two other parties held joint meetings at which they collectively worked out and approved theses on the struggle for political reform and a way out of the crisis. These were a strong feeling for organisational unity of the three parties. "This meeting," said a declaration adopted by the joint meeting of the CCs of the MCP and MPP², "is an important step towards integration that would rally together all the Marxists-Leninists and supporters of socialism in Mexico."³

The 18th MCP Congress set out its attitude towards this significant and new development among the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces of the left. Its position found reflection in CC General Secretary Arnolando Martinez Verdugo's report, which the congress approved. The main Congress resolution contains these principles: "Unification presupposes identical goals and principles and an intensive common experience of struggle... Our position in this respect is clear: we advocate a working-class party that would fight against capitalism and for socialism guided by the theory of scientific socialism and, in its internal life, by democratic centralism. We also support the thesis that a revolutionary working-class party must in clear terms formulate the theory of the transition to socialism in Mexico, work out a programme defining the objectives and the means of achieving them, and evolve tactics for the everyday defence of the interests of the proletariat and other working people.

"At the same time, a revolutionary working-class party must be based on the principles of proletarian internationalism and of solidarity with the peoples of the world."⁴

The Declaration of Unity adopted by the three parties at the joint meeting of their Central Committees, and their identical approach to Mexico's main economic and political problems are not accidental developments. They are expressive of their closer ideological relations and firm resolve to work for a single Marxist-Leninist working class party. "The party needed by the working class," the Declaration says, "must be guided by Marxist-Leninist theory as applied to national reality. It must combat everything that hampers its growth, as well as such harmful trends as sectarianism, opportunism, revisionism and dogmatism. It must always take into account the historical conditions prevailing in our country, as well as the Mexican people's customs and characteristics, never abandoning its internationalist positions. It must base its internal life on democratic centralism, free discussion, and strict discipline in carrying out decisions. It must have a democratic, anti-imperialist and socialist programme envisaging democratic development for the good of the people, providing for the people's participation in the management of every sphere of economic, political and social activity, and showing the people the way to socialism.

"Having committed itself to discharge its historic responsibility, this party will have to form the broadest possible alliances with all the parties favouring democratic development, with the population groups interested in independence, social progress and freedom."⁵

The parties that signed the Declaration pledged themselves to promote not only action unity, but also ideological unity, so as to arrive at common views on the main problems agitating the people and the country.

Prompted by these principles and the desire to forge unity in the course of struggle, the MCP, MPP and RSP agreed on the following:

- set up unity committees of the three parties at all organisational levels;
- promote collective research as the basis for cadre training in schools and study groups, through seminars and conferences, etc.;
- co-operation at all propaganda levels as the prelude for the publication of a common newspaper in the near future;
- set up commissions to analyse key political problems and draft documents according to a common conception; these documents to be circulated, by consent of the Party leadership, to the membership as discussion drafts, so that a common policy may subsequently be worked out;
- demand that all political parties be allowed to participate in elections.

A certain amount of collective work on some of these points had been done earlier. Shortly before the three-party meeting, for instance, the first joint classes for mid-level cadres were held, with students and lecturers drawn from all three parties.

It was decided to hold a further joint meeting of the three CCs to study united action in the 1979 general election.

Revolutionary and democratic circles responded favourably to the Declaration of Unity. This is natural, for the left forces had been looking forward to a break-through, or at least to agreement on united action, without which there is no solving the country's difficult social, political and economic problems. These steps towards unity are needed to end the crisis on an anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist and democratic basis, in contrast to a solution at the working people's expense and in favour of state-monopoly capitalism, which the ruling bourgeoisie is so anxious to impose. They are also needed to stave off the dangerous situation that could arise in an acute internal crisis caused by the present government's inability to cope with the towering problems of declining national income and mounting unemployment.

Speaking of the outlook for a mass working-class party, Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo stressed in his report to the 18th Party Congress that the purpose of the historic efforts made by the Party leadership and rank and file over the past 50 years had been to create an organisation combining scientific socialism with the working-class movement. This task is carried out in each period according to the given situation.⁶ It is now possible to found a big revolutionary party of the working class. This is a result, not only of direct efforts by the MCP, but also of the contribution of other socialist parties and organisations,⁷ and of the very development of the revolutionary movement. It is the duty of Communists and of all who realise this to find proper solutions and "found a party that would raise the working class to a leading position and would be able to lead it into action to destroy capitalism and build a society without exploiters and exploited".⁸

The report said that there is a substantial area of coincidence between the views of the Communists and those of other fighters for socialism from parties and trends that have not yet taken the road of unification, namely, the Mexican Party of Working People, the Democratic Trend of the Amalgamated Union of Electrical Engineers, whose leaders represent one political current, the Marxist intellectuals who publish the journal *Estrategia y Punto Critico*, as well as views of numerous noted public leaders, cultural figures and politicians, who are motivated by socialist ideas and contribute to left unity.

Expressing the same idea, the joint meeting stated: "Our tasks in achieving

unity and our effort for organisational integration do not exclude unity of action with the Mexican Party of Working People or the Democratic Trend. On the contrary, we propose to persevere in this work, and we leave the door open for discussing with them steps towards organisational unity or other forms of unity in which each organisation would preserve its structure and independence.

"We must also seek joint action with other left-wing organisations and democratic trends and leaders with whom our co-operation is still limited. The time has come to forge united action by all supporters of socialism."⁹

In line with the agreed clauses of the Declaration of Unity, the three parties are now concentrating on the following:

First, the struggle against the economic crisis, for a democratic way out.

The economic situation continues to deteriorate, though the government regards the decline in the trade and payments deficit (a result of reduced import of plant) as a gain. Economic deterioration is exemplified by the growth of full and partial unemployment throughout 1977 (over 1.5 million unemployed and about eight million partly unemployed); the use of only 60 per cent of available capacities, with the result that the national product increased by only 2.9 per cent, less than the year's 3.4 per cent population growth; the fact that between January and August 1977 the standard of living declined by 20 per cent (apart from the consequences of the devaluation of the peso); an increase in the number of ruined small and medium businesses and of a much larger number of handicraftsmen and small proprietors.

The joint meeting pointed out that responsibility for this state of affairs rests entirely with the government. All capitalist countries, it said, were going through economic upheavals, "but the government alone is responsible for an economic policy that puts the consequences of the crisis on the working people while stimulating the growth of big profits and making the country still more subservient to US imperialism."¹⁰ The people must not reconcile themselves to the crisis and its consequences, speakers at the meeting said, for these are not a result of the operation of irresistible blind forces. The crisis can be cut short by fighting for economic, social and political change. The three parties stress that "the task today is to achieve the unity of all groups affected by the crisis and overcome what is still disconnected action; to strive to bring opinions closer together and give them a common expression in anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist national trends."¹¹

There are now such favourable developments in the mass struggle as demonstrations, rallies and strikes for higher wages and more trade-union democracy. They suggest the likelihood of an early upsurge in trade union struggles. Hence, left unity of action in mass organisations is particularly important for fostering class consciousness, raising the movement's organisational standards, and achieving closer unity and effectiveness of the democratic strata. It is becoming increasingly obvious that "the movement will not benefit by each party maintaining a sphere of influence of its own."¹² The proposal of the MP, RSP and MCP to evolve common tactics in the mass organisations and hold joint meetings of trade unionists, peasants, teachers, young people and women is particularly relevant. The projected national assembly in defence of Mexican Workers in the United States (both those who have entry papers and those who have not) will be an important event and will represent all the forces prepared to uphold a common cause.

Second, the three parties call for real and comprehensive political reform.

The unity parties believe a favourable though limited process of constitutional reforms has begun, affecting primarily political organisations, election campaigns, and composition of the Chamber of Deputies.¹³ It is obvious that this was made possible by the progress of the democratic movement, the strengthen-

ing of the positions of the left and the upsurge in the mass struggle. However, there is no question that this fact reflects to a degree the government's interest in updating the system of political relations in society.

The political reform has the following positive aspects: it stresses the need to grant all Mexicans the right to organise in political parties and to guarantee all parties access to the mass media; it gives constitutional form to the parties' organised participation in national politics and recognises them as organisations representing the public interest; it amends parliamentary electoral principles by establishing a definite system of proportional representation. Lastly, the reform introduces a new element—proportional representation in municipal districts with over 300,000 inhabitants, and referendums in Mexico City, where the authorities are not elected but appointed by the President of the Republic.

At the same time, the parties which signed the Declaration of Unity pointed to the shortcomings and limitations of the electoral reform. It perpetuates government control of elections through a Federal electoral commission on which the government has a guaranteed majority. The reform does not remove the possibility of abuses, such as rigging the votes register, re-carving electoral districts, bias in counting the votes or misinforming the public on election returns. It restricts the introduction of proportional representation through a series of reservations directed against the left parties and complicates election registration of new parties.

The electoral reform is only part of the democratic political reform which the MCP and other left forces are fighting for. They consider, therefore, that if the political reform is to be complete and democratic it must contain the following provisions:

- an amnesty for all political prisoners, all who are being held pending trial, and all persecuted or exiled on political grounds. This would help towards a political situation in which dissenters would not be threatened with arrest and social conflicts would no longer be settled by force, through repression;

- trade union democracy, the unhampered right to strike, and the abolition of government inspection as detrimental to this right; guaranteed personal freedom for the working people to choose a political organisation; independence of the trade unions from any party;

- reform of all provisions of agrarian legislation that enable the state to interfere in the peasants' affairs;

- a ban on repressive methods, torture and spying, which are used by the unconstitutional Federal Security Directorate and other police bodies; an end to the outrageous activity of the FBI and CIA in our country; amending the second chapter of the Federal Penal Code, which makes political offences punishable; renouncing the use of the army as an instrument of repression and restricting its function to what is stipulated by the Constitution;

- full respect for the constitutional right of public demonstration; the elimination from police and traffic regulations of all curbs on these rights;

- guaranteeing complete freedom of the press and constant use by the political parties on an equal and permanent basis of the mass media as vehicles of information and political education;

- electing (and not appointing, as is the case now) government authorities in the Federal District.

Success in the struggle for a political democratic reform, the three parties stress, wholly depends on joint efforts by Mexico's left forces and democrats. This is a task of the first importance requiring participation of the vast majority of political forces, the joint meeting pointed out. This refers, in particular, to democratic public figures who are members of the government or support it and those who belong to the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party or support it.

Their co-operation can be secured only if the left forces are united, strong and influential and if they operate as motors of the class struggle, which we are striving to direct along constitutional lines within the framework of the struggle between parties. "What the democratic movement needs," the Declaration says, "is not the formation of divergent blocs, but unity of the whole Left on the basis of agreement on key political issues. Working out a common platform of Mexico's left in the broadest sense of the term is objectively of great importance. Its attainment will stimulate the creation of a new, alternative political force in the country."¹⁴

Unity of Mexico's left benefits from the following objective and subjective factors: increasing contradictions between the monopoly groups of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and other reactionary forces, on the one hand, and the workers, peasants and urban middle strata, as well as some sections of the petty and middle bourgeoisie and the democratic intellectuals, on the other, a trend which attaches increasing importance to major social problems and challenges Mexico's capitalist road; the growing impact of the example of the socialist countries and Marxism-Leninism on large segments of society, especially the working people; the failure of the ruling bourgeoisie's *desarrollist*¹⁵ plans, which have resulted in a marked structural crisis; the obvious discrediting of the ideology of the "Mexican revolution", which was inculcated for years by the ruling bureaucracy and even reached considerable sections of the left forces advocating socialism (these forces believed in the anti-imperialist, nationalist and even revolutionary capacity of the bourgeoisie in power).

Building a mass Marxist-Leninist party of the working class will not of course, be easy. To achieve this, the three parties which have signed the Declaration of Unity must act in common in the struggle for the interests of our working class and our people and gain appropriate experience. First of all, they must reach final agreement on the main strategic and tactical issues and work out fundamental organisational principles for their merger. All indications are that our parties have a genuine desire to achieve their goal and are operating in a spirit of mutual understanding and concord.

¹The MPP was founded over a year ago, following the split in the Socialist People's Party (SPP), and unites most of its regional committees and members. Its General Secretary is Alejandro Gascon Mercado. The RSP, which has likewise broken away from the SPP, was allied with the MCP in the 1976 presidential elections. It was called the Socialist Organisation Movement at the time and is now led by Roberto Jaramillo Flores. Both parties are guided by Marxism-Leninism.

²Called the Socialist People's (Majority) Party at the time.

³*Oposicion*, May 14, 1977.

⁴*El Partido Comunista frente a la crisis actual*. XVIII Congreso Nacional. Mexico City, 1977, p. 69.

⁵*El Día*, December 10, 1977.

⁶See *El Partido Comunista frente a la crisis actual*, pp. 54 and 55.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁹*El Día*, December 10, 1977.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³At the time of the three-party Declaration, the Chamber of Deputies had begun to discuss a draft law on political organisations and election campaigning. Not so long ago both chambers of Congress made a number of amendments to the Constitution bearing on the electoral reform. President José López Portillo sent both drafts to Congress.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵*Desarrollism* (from Sp. *desarrollo*)—the US policy designed to keep dependent countries under imperialist control. *Desarrollism* is based on the theories of imperialist ideologists who call for economic changes in the underdeveloped countries that would provide more favourable conditions for the penetration of monopoly capital.—Ed.

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Problems in Setting up an Anti-Dictatorial Front in Paraguay

ANTONIO MAIDANA

Chairman, Paraguayan Communist Party

ALFREDO ALCORTA

CC member, Paraguayan Communist Party

THE whole of the Paraguayan Communists' theoretical and practical activity is now pivoted on the vital task of forming a broad anti-dictatorial front. The events of recent years have shown very well that there is a need for the political and organisational consolidation of all the progressive and patriotic forces on the basis of one common platform.

The political isolation of the Stroessner dictatorship has been growing. The extent to which it is isolated will be seen from the attitude of the electorate to the so-called constitutional amendment designed to enable Stroessner to be "re-elected" for yet another term as president,¹ and to institutionalise the tyrant's presidency for life. And while the government did manage to push through the amendment by means of an electoral farce, boycotted by all the recognised opposition parties, it was in fact rejected by all the democratic and patriotic forces in the country.

This fact is undoubtedly of great political importance because the consensus among the opposition circles on such a vital issue as that of power is a necessary condition for shaping the broad national anti-dictatorial front that our Party advocates.²

This consensus among the opposition forces first became evident in 1973, when Stroessner signed a Treaty on the construction of the Itaipu hydropower complex, which is extremely disadvantageous for Paraguay and under which Brazil has become the co-owner of the Parana River's tremendous energy resources³ and has actually been given the possibility of intervention, including armed intervention (naturally, "for security reasons") in our country's domestic affairs.

The whole people was outraged by this act of betrayal of the national interests. The Treaty has become the line of demarcation between the broadest social and political forces, on the one hand, and the Stroessner tyranny, on the other. The Treaty was opposed by the Liberal Radical Party, the main legal opposition force, by the Communist Party, by the Febrerista and the Christian Democratic parties,⁴ and the MOPOCO group which split away from the ruling Colorado Party. The dictatorship was condemned by students, lawyers, economists, two leading dailies, the Catholic Church, intellectuals holding different political and ideological views, and also by wide sections of the Paraguayan business community.

The most important conclusion that we Communists have drawn from these two confrontations—over the Itaipu Treaty and the constitutional amendment—is that the Paraguayan people have come out in a united front. And while this front has not been organisationally formalised and is not the result of an agreed policy of the opposition parties, it does reflect a vital objective trend towards joint action by various social and political circles which are coming to realise that the Stroessner regime can be toppled only by uniting all the anti-dictatorial forces.

The fact that the most diverse forces have come out unanimously against the dictatorship, and that their views are identical on important economic, democratic and anti-imperialist tasks and on the defence of national sovereignty is due to the general upswing in the struggle of the Paraguayan people, to the growing consciousness of the masses and an understanding that the Stroessner clique is the main obstacle in the way of deep-going democratisation.

The experience of other countries shows that the effectiveness of an anti-dictatorial front largely depends on the capability of the working class to exercise the leading role in the popular movement for radical transformations and to rally every broader sections of the population. Considering this capability of the working class, Lenin wrote: "The proletariat becomes revolutionary only insofar as it does not restrict itself to the narrow framework of craft interests, only when in all matters and spheres of public life, it acts as the leader of all the toiling and exploited masses" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 194). That is why the Paraguayan Communists are now actively working to translate into practice the important idea of setting up an anti-dictatorial front, relying on the Marxist analysis of social and political forces which constitute two opposing camps.

The regime of oppression and exploitation, of which Stroessner's treasonous and anti-national dictatorship is the political expression, enjoys extensive financial, political and military support from US imperialism and Brazil's ruling circles and, at home, from the powerful latifundist and bourgeois oligarchy. The plans for "Paraguay's strategic development" framed by the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development envisage the country's conversion into an important area of strategic communications and a base for mounting punitive operations against the peoples' liberation movement on the continent.

Imperialism, US imperialism in the first place, has been reaping tremendous profits from the exploitation of cheap manpower and the plunder of our natural resources. Paraguay is one of those backward countries, of which Lenin spoke, where "profits are usually high, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively low, wages are low, raw materials are cheap" (Vol. 22, p. 241).

Our country is a veritable paradise for foreign companies. In a book, *Paraguay: the Year 2000*, Henry Ceuppens, an economist of the ruling Colorado Party, says that 12 of the 15 leading companies operating in the country are owned by foreign capital. The foreign monopolies control 90 per cent of the bank capital, and 80 per cent of industrial output and export.

In the past few years, foreign companies have set up more than 200 subsidiaries in the country, and over 250 are on the waiting list.⁵ The foreign monopolies enjoy extensive privileges. In 1976, the government issued Law No. 550 on so-called necessary investments, under which capital, chiefly foreign capital, is exempted from taxes and levies on foreign-exchange operations, and from customs duties.⁶

The latifundists are the social mainstay of the dictatorship within the country, and their domination is attested by the distribution of land. In a statement of the press in 1977, Alfonso Resck, leader of the Christian Democratic Party, emphasised that 2.6 per cent of the big landowners control 75 per cent of the land area; of the big local and foreign owners, 25 per cent have estates of over 100,000 hectares each, while some foreign enterprises hold over 2 million hectares of land. This powerful oligarchy exerts the crucial influence in political life and the top government echelons.

In recent years, a top section has emerged within the Paraguayan bourgeoisie, which with financial aid from imperialism has concentrated tremendous economic power in its hands. It openly takes a reactionary, anti-national stance.

The bourgeoisie linked with the multinational companies' operations in foreign trade is also a part of the dictatorship's social base. This is a strong group of local exporters. Their export earnings go into the foreign banks, that is they go into the coffers of the big multinational magnates or are remitted to the bank accounts of these Paraguayan billionaires.

As we have said, the forces within the anti-dictatorial camp are highly diverse. We Communists are striving to make the working class its leading core. This is a difficult task. The authorities have established stringent police surveillance of the working-class movement and the trade unions, including the Paraguayan Working People's Confederation, which is run by well-paid trade union bureaucrats. The Stroessner regime's agents in the trade unions seek to prevent any action for satisfaction of economic and democratic demands and not to allow the working class to lead the struggle of the other patriotic forces for democratic freedoms.

It is clear why the dictatorship has sought by every means to keep the working class away from any political activity or contact with democratic, patriotic and anti-imperialist forces. The Paraguayan working people have repeatedly demonstrated their high level of class consciousness and have gained much valuable experience concerning the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the proletariat is the only consistent revolutionary class and the only leader of the working people as a whole. That is why the re-establishment of trade union freedoms and isolation and removal of the corrupt trade union leaders is becoming an ever more urgent task.

The slogans for trade union unity and the establishment of a single working people's trade union centre, which the Paraguayan Communists have always advocated, are deeply embedded in the consciousness of the working class, and it is also fighting today to realise them. Much united militant action is taken on the shopfloor and in some trade unions: strikes are staged for the satisfaction of immediate economic demands, against dismissals and arrests, against anti-labour laws and other dictatorial acts which invalidate trade union rights.

In the past few years, there has been a relative growth of industrial production. Several new enterprises have been built, others enlarged and re-equipped. The number of those working on the Itaipu hydropower project will soon top 20,000. The numerical growth of industrial workers will certainly help to strengthen the proletariat's influence on the country's political and social life.

The shaping and gradual development of Paraguay's agricultural proletariat resulting from the development of capitalist relations in the countryside, and from the emergence of numerous large-scale agricultural enterprises also help to strengthen the positions of the working class in society.

Of course, the growth of the proletariat's consciousness crucially depends on its ideological and political enlightenment and clarification of its role and strategic goals, that is, on the activity which the vanguard of the working class, the Paraguayan Communist Party, has to carry on. The PCP has been working to strengthen its ties with the working people, especially at the large-scale enterprises, and to set up action committees for higher wages and satisfaction of other demands. The Communists carry to the masses the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, seek to make the trade unions class-oriented organisations once again, expose government and police agents among trade unionists and explain why the working-class movement must be united.

Guided by Lenin's doctrine, the Paraguayan Communist Party seeks to combine underground activity with legal forms of work.

The peasantry is the chief ally of the working class. It has been rising ever more resolutely to struggle against the latifundists and for land. In the recent period, the government has repeatedly sent punitive expeditions to suppress

peasant action and to drive rural working people off the land they had taken over from the landowners. Today, at least 150,000 poor peasants till and "illegally".

The sharpening of the agrarian crisis and the Communist Party's ideological and political work among the peasants help them to escape the influence of the landowner and bourgeois parties. Today, the peasants are ever more consistently guided by the economic and political interests of their own class. This factor undoubtedly has an effect on the present political situation and on the formation of a genuine workers' and peasants' alliance.

Of tremendous importance, we believe, is the official stand of the Paraguayan Church, which has firmly opposed the dictatorial regime, especially in view of the ceaseless reprisals, tortures and political assassinations. The Church has openly come out against the regime's squandering of the national wealth, against the Itaipu Treaty, against administrative corruption and the suppression of democratic liberties. A convincing expression of this patriotic stand is the boycott by the head of the Paraguayan Church of the State Council and his refusal to attend the sittings of this organ of the dictatorship.

For all its ideological differences with the Communists, the Church has resolutely refused to take part in the anti-Communist campaigns, as the regime wanted it to do. The Communists sincerely respect the Church's constructive and patriotic stand, and this helps to promote mutual understanding and joint action in the interests of broad masses of Catholics and other fighters of the anti-dictatorial camp.

Although the dictatorship has spent much money to bribe the university leaders, most students have come out in a united front against any transfer of the national resources to imperialism and against the police reprisals, the tortures and political assassinations. In the recent period, the students have organised mass meetings at which spokesmen for various circles voiced their opinions on the most burning political issues. This action culminated in a large-scale manifestation by the masses and by representatives of various political and business circles. Its participants came out against the pressure being exerted by Brazil, which insisted that Paraguay should adjust its electric-current cycle to conform to Brazil's standard.⁷

The economic crisis has also hit the urban middle sections: government employees, the liberal professions (doctors, lawyers, etc.) and small businessmen. Through their professional organisations, they have been fighting for higher wages and salaries and against the mounting taxes. Acting in defence of their interests, they have moved closer to other categories of working people, and this creates the conditions for agreements on joint action in the struggle for improving their conditions.

Considerable experience of joint action by the workers' trade unions and the broad mass of bank, commercial and transport employees has already been gained. Fraternal relations have been established between working people from all walks of life. All of this shows that the numerous urban middle sections can join the anti-dictatorial camp.

Finally, one should also bear in mind that the dictatorship is not supported by the whole of the Paraguayan bourgeoisie. That part of it which could be called the national bourgeoisie has had its economic interests heavily infringed, and is getting less and less profits because of the privileges that have been accorded to foreign capital: US, Brazilian, West German, and Japanese, and also to the richest local tycoons. Many businessmen have been ruined. The protests and complaints by industrialists, merchants, owners of transport facilities and building and insurance companies have become universal and are expressed in various forms, including exposures of the criminal acts of highly

placed government officials. Quite obviously, this influential section of the bourgeoisie can be drawn into the movement for political and economic change.

Consequently, our analysis shows that the forces of the opposition, regarded objectively, have a strong edge over the forces of reaction.

The Paraguayan democrats and patriots realise that the dictatorship has been able to continue in the country for over two decades not only because of support from imperialism, but also because the opposition forces did not act in concert and because—and this is the main thing—they had failed to set up a national co-ordination centre. That is the main weakness of the anti-dictatorial camp and, consequently, the main strength of the dictatorship.

That is why there is a need to formulate a platform for the country's democratisation and urgent economic measures to ease the condition of the people. This platform should take into account the interests of sizable sections of the national bourgeoisie and even some groups of landowners who are discontented with the dictatorship.

Today, there is, on the whole, complete identity of the economic and democratic demands put forward by the Communists, the Radical Liberals, the Febreristas, the Christian Democrats, MOPOCO, the Catholic Church, the students, a sizable section of the liberal professions, industrialists, merchants and landowners and, of course, the working class and the toiling peasantry, whose alliance is designed to lay the foundation for a broad national anti-dictatorial coalition.

Here are some of these demands:

Democratic liberties for all the people's parties and organisations, without restrictions or exceptions;

release of all political prisoners;

an end to the reprisals, tortures and assassinations of patriots;

lifting of the state of siege;

annulment of anti-democratic laws;

raising of wages;

an end to the layoffs of workers and urgent measures against the high cost of living and the shortage of goods;

full re-establishment of the free activity of the trade unions;

land and low-cost credits for the poor and middle peasants, fair prices and secure marketing for their produce;

abolition and reduction of the burdensome taxes on industrialists, merchants, petty producers and the liberal professions;

re-negotiation of the Itaipu Treaty.

The experience of long years of struggle against the dictatorial regimes has been driving it home to the Paraguayans that the Communists are right: in order to win democratic liberties there is a need to get down without delay to practical measures for mounting joint action by the working people and various other sections of the population on the basis of their common demands so as to set up a national anti-dictatorial front. The PCP believes that in class terms such a front should mainly be a front of the working class, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the urban middle sections. Under the pressure of struggle by these forces, the front can and must involve the national bourgeoisie, between which and imperialism, latifundism and the dictatorship there are objective contradictions. The front can also expect support from a section of the latifundists and the big capitalists whose interests have been hurt by the dictatorship's economic and repressive policy.

The task of such a national anti-dictatorial front would be to create the conditions for overthrowing the military-fascist dictatorship and replacing it with a government that would implement the democratisation programme and would

pursue a peaceable and independent foreign policy of international co-operation on the basis of mutual respect, non-interference of states in each other's domestic affairs and mutual advantage.

The PCP believes that every enterprise, school, district, village, big or small, should set up unity-building committees of struggle. At the same time, the PCP wants the establishment of a national co-ordination centre for the people's democratic struggle.

We think that the Paraguayan Communists' strategic goal should be taken into account. Our programme says that the economic crisis which has gripped the country is a crisis of the old socio-economic organisation based on latifundism and imperialist exploitation, and that "life itself urges the need that it should be replaced by another, higher socio-economic organisation. With the growth of the population and the development of capitalist commodity production, its contradictions are ever more pronounced and there is an ever greater need for revolutionary changes and radical transformations that would eliminate the regime of the military-police dictatorship, latifundist exploitation and imperialist domination and plunder."

Consequently, this implies revolutionary changes of a democratic and anti-imperialist character, something that would enable the country to take the non-capitalist way with a socialist perspective.

Stroessner's military-fascist clique feels that the ground is slipping away from under it. It has not forgotten the powerful general strike staged by the working class in 1958, which rocked the whole country. It has not forgotten the revolutionary political crisis of May and June 1959, which forced it to dissolve even its own "rubber-stamp" parliament. Nor can it forget the numerous other revolutionary political upheavals over a period of more than two decades.

The dictatorial regime is alarmed at the people's urge for unity. That is why it has been making moves designed to prevent the opposition forces from uniting. In particular, a clause has been written into the constitution on Stroessner's orders banning any kind of political coalition.

The regime hit out with police reprisals at the young people's political circles which suggested the establishment of a front for joint anti-dictatorial action. Its leaders were arrested, savagely tortured and thrown into prison for several years.

With its tremendous financial resources, the Paraguayan oligarchy has managed to create a powerful network for spying, bribing and corrupting a great number of senior officials, military commanders and political, trade union and youth leaders.

Another move by the dictatorship, aimed to weaken and disorganise the anti-dictatorial forces, is to split the political parties of the legal opposition, above all the Liberal Radical Party, which operates throughout the country. It has more than 100,000 members, and tens of thousands of sympathisers and allies among the liberal, commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, including some sections of the landowners. Its progressive members have repeatedly addressed Parliament with fiery speeches against the anti-national policy of the dictatorship and demanded the nationalisation of the US REPSA monopoly, which makes a profit of 10 million guarani a day (nearly \$80,000). They demanded the abolition of Law No. 209, which allows the use of repression against democrats. They also exposed scandalous deals, thefts and smuggling, and resolutely rejected the Itaipu Treaty, which they branded as surrender and treason.

Stroessner's camarilla is aware that the PCP is the most consistent fighter for the people's vital interests. That is why it has concentrated its fire, and the whole of its class hatred, on the Communist Party.

In November 1975, Stroessner's bloodhounds managed to track down and arrest Miguel Angel Soler, PCP CC secretary, and Derlis Villagra, leader of

Paraguay's Communist Youth, who together with other patriots were savagely tortured and then disappeared without trace. Fighters loyal to the Party's cause have been kept in the Stoessner dictatorship's torture-chambers for 15 and more years, without investigation or trial.⁸

However, police terrorism will never break our Party's revolutionary morale, and its unflinching loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the fight against various expressions of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism. The dictatorship will never be able to prevent the Paraguayan Communists from working in the midst of the masses, from helping them to organise for joint struggle, from recruiting new members for the Party, from winning over new friends and allies and educating the people in the spirit of solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle of the other peoples, in defence of world peace, in the spirit of fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union, socialist Cuba and the other socialist-community countries.

¹ The presidential "elections" were held on February 12 of this year.

² See, Reynaldo Marin, "The Masses Will Decide the Outcome of the Battle", *WMR*, December 1975.

³ Brazil has administrative control of the whole project, is to receive 75 per cent of the revenues from it, and is to get all the electric power generated there at a fixed price over a period of 50 years.

⁴ The Revolutionary Febrerista Party represents the interests of some urban middle sections, officers and national bourgeoisie. The Christian-Democratic Party expresses those of the petty-bourgeois sections of town and country.—*Ed.*

⁵ In 1976, the Anchutz Corporation of the United States received 40 per cent of Paraguayan territory to prospect and work mineral deposits, under a 20-year concession, with a subsequent option to extend it to 50 years and over.

⁶ It has been estimated that every dollar invested by US monopolies in our country yields a profit of five dollars.

⁷ The movement in protest against changing the electric-current cycle involved not only all the parties of the legal and illegal opposition but also large circles of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie and the liberal professions and even a section of the armed forces. Stroessner was forced to renege on the promise which he had given to the clique of Brazilian generals, so that the struggle of the democratic forces in the country was crowned with victory. For the nazi general Stroessner this was one of his heaviest political defeats.

⁸ The authors of this article and CC CPP member Julio Rojas were kept in prison for 19 years, and were released in 1977 under pressure from international opinion.—*Ed.*

The Way Out of the Economic Crisis

BO HAMMAR

Board Executive Committee member, Left Party—Communists of Sweden

THE 1976 general election in Sweden brought the bourgeois parties to power after an interval of 44 years. This was largely due to the fact that this time the Left Party—Communists of Sweden (LPC) was unable to compensate, as it had done after the 1970 and 1973 elections, for the reduced number of seats won by the Social-Democrats. This time the LPC itself lost two seats and was represented in the Riksdag by only 17 deputies.

During the election campaign the bourgeois parties promised to create

400,000 new jobs, to halt the price spiral, lower taxes and put through social reforms. But their promises amounted to nothing because the victory of these parties coincided with a sharp aggravation of Sweden's economic difficulties. For the first time since the "great depression" of the 1930s Sweden felt the real bite of the crisis of capitalism.

Last year the industrial production index fell for the third time in succession with a corresponding shrinkage of the GNP. Every year the number of people employed in industry is reduced by 40,000-50,000. Inflation is soaring. (In the sixties annual price rises averaged 4 per cent; in the first half of the seventies, the average rose to nearly 8 per cent; more recently it was 10 per cent, and in 1977 it came near to the 15 per cent mark.)

There has been a simultaneous and palpable rise in unemployment. Admittedly this is not always reflected in statistics because there are many ways of hiding it. For example, the deterioration in the labour market has forced about 100,000 people into premature retirement. Today even young people are receiving benefits, having been unable to find work on completing their studies. The more than 100,000 people attending training schools set up by employment agencies are not officially counted as unemployed. About 60,000 people are engaged in "public" works, in records offices, and in jobs created for the partially disabled. All this allows us to conclude that obvious and concealed unemployment accounted for about 325,000 people in 1967, rose to 425,000 in 1972 and crossed the half million mark in 1977. Many observers say the ceiling has not yet been reached.

These data show the scope and depth of the crisis that has gripped all the key branches of the Swedish economy. A shadow hangs over ship-building, an industry where Sweden was recently a world leader. The iron-ore and steel industries are also faced with acute problems. Lumbering and some branches of engineering are hit.

The illusion of Sweden as a stable and crisis-free welfare state is crumbling as the crisis deepens. In 1977, for the first time in many years, real wages actually fell. A further decline in living standards is forecast for the current year. The bourgeois government and the employers are doing their best to shift the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the working people. "This is probably the biggest threat to improved living standards since the thirties," reported the Market Advisory Council.

The range and complexity of the tasks facing Swedish Communists in this new and serious situation can easily be imagined. The Party has had to work out a realistic alternative to the policy of the present government. Such an anti-capitalist programme was drafted and published by the Board of the LPC during the preparations for its 25th Congress, held at the beginning of this year. It was discussed by all Party organisations and in the Party press, and after a debate was approved by the Congress.

Our programme gives high priority to the task of defeating the bourgeois parties at the parliamentary elections to be held in 1979. This, it says, can be achieved only by united action on the part of all contingents of the working-class movement. But the crisis cannot be overcome merely by returning to the line followed by Olof Palme's Social-Democratic government. The new government must be pivoted on the working-class movement and must pursue a policy which will be the first step towards liquidating the power of big capital. Such a policy can become a reality only if the Communists consolidate their positions.

The programme approved by the LPC's 25th Congress defines immediate tasks as well as long-term goals. Raising the workers' living standards and doing away with unemployment are problems that have to be solved at once. Key tasks are to freeze prices of all essential goods and also rents, to pursue a

It was also revealing that the role of the Communist Party grew as the revolutionary situation and the struggle for power developed.

We Communists take self-critical stock of both the achievements and the shortcomings of the revolutionary process in Chile so as to learn its lessons, which is a prerequisite of transforming yesterday's defeat into tomorrow's victory.

¹ See *WMR*, January, February, March, May and June 1977.

² Orlando Millas, "La clase obrera en el Gobierno Popular". *Cuadernillo de Propaganda*, No. 4, pp. 14-15.

³ *Boletín informativo del Comité Central del Partido Comunista de Chile*. Santiago-Chile, 1972, Boletín No. 8, p. 37.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁵ *Desde Chile hablan los Comunistas!* Ediciones Colo-Colo, 1976, p. 145.

A Weapon in the Struggle for Democracy and Socialism

TOMAS TRAVNICEK

CC member, CP Czechoslovakia, and Deputy Chairman, Czechoslovak National Front

AS our experience in Czechoslovakia has clearly demonstrated, co-operation of Communists with other revolutionary and democratic forces in a united—popular or national—front plays an extremely important role in the fight for working-class power and in the building of socialism.

The idea of a United Front was first advanced by Lenin. His analysis of the Russian revolutions, of the development of the labour movement in other countries after the First World War led him to conclude that unity of all the anti-imperialist, democratic, progressive forces, their organisations and parties in the fight for democratic and revolutionary change was of vital importance for the Communists. It would be wrong and dangerous, he wrote, to believe "that a revolution can be made by revolutionaries alone. . . . Without an alliance with non-Communists in the most diverse spheres of activity there can be no question of any successful communist construction" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 227). Lenin's united front concept has been tested in differing historical and national conditions.

This article will deal with the rise and growth of the National Front in Czechoslovakia, particularly its role in the struggle of the working class and all the working people generally against social and political oppression in the pre-war years, in the resistance movement to the nazi occupation, in the democratic and subsequent socialist stage of the revolution. And one of the most important lessons of our experience is that the very formation of the National Front and its conversion into a weapon of consistent democratic and subsequently socialist transformations, is possible only given the leading role of the Communist Party

operating in alliance with parties and public organisations representing the country's democratic and revolutionary forces. In other words, the policy of united action of Communist and other parties of the labouring people within such a front, can be successful, as we have seen, only if the Communist Party is the initiator of a resolute struggle "from the top" and "from the bottom" which leads to the isolation of the more reactionary leaders and elements in the allied parties; only if the Communist Party objectively becomes the leading force of the National Front by virtue of its determined championship of democracy, without, however, shedding its revolutionary-socialist aims and persistently working for their implementation; only if it is capable of correctly assessing the situation, pursuing a correct policy that accords with the interests of the working people, and mobilising them to support and carry out this policy; only if the Party is capable of maintaining and strengthening its leading role, despite all attempts to divert it to reformist or Leftist positions or dilute it in broad electoral blocs, etc.

It has to be said that in the early thirties difference arose in the Party over the nature and purpose of the popular front. There was, on the one hand, unprincipled right opportunist advocacy of co-operation with certain reformist and bourgeois parties and, on the other, left opportunist rejection of any alliance with non-Communist groups as betrayal of the revolution.

The impact of the fascist take-over in Germany, the Seventh Comintern Congress decisions and the Party's mass political work combined to produce favourable preconditions for united action of the working class and other democratic and progressive forces. The desire for such unity was especially strong when bourgeois-democratic Czechoslovakia was faced with the very real danger of losing its national independence. However, in those days we did not succeed in creating a popular front, let alone a popular-front government.

Why? The main reason, the Communist Party declared, was the betrayal by the bourgeoisie which, like Czechoslovakia's capitalist allies, did not hesitate to sacrifice the independence of the Republic in furtherance of its own egoistic class interests. Responsibility also rests with those leaders of parties and organisations (composed mainly of industrial workers and other sections of the working people) who opposed unity of the working class and thereby weakened its political positions.

In other words, though bourgeois Czechoslovakia was a classical example of the pluralistic political organisation of capitalist society (which now, as then, is held up by anti-Marxist as the only real and broad democracy), it was unable to prevent this national tragedy. The pluralist system of the Czechoslovakia of those days, being a form of bourgeois government, deprived the working class and other sections of the labouring people of any opportunity actively to influence home and foreign policy, for by its very nature the system expressed and upheld the interests of only one of the basic antagonists of bourgeois society, the interests of capital. In those tragic days for the Czech and Slovak peoples decisions were made not by the masses, but by those who manipulated the pluralistic system, the big bourgeoisie. The opinion of the opposition—whose existence and rights the bourgeois and reformist advocates of pluralism consider the very essence of democracy—was wholly disregarded. And this despite the fact that the opposition represented the majority of the Czechoslovak population. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union's

offer of assistance, this policy was pursued right up to the Munich sell-out, with its resultant dismemberment and occupation of the country and the threat of mass annihilation of the Czech and Slovak peoples.

In this situation, the only organised force that waged an active and persistent struggle was the Communist Party. Its policy, worked out by the Party leadership and personally by Klement Gottwald, led to the foundation of the widely representative National Front (NF). Its aim was to oust the nazi invader, re-establish the independence and sovereignty of Czechoslovakia, extend the people's democratic rights—in short, work for the victory of the national-democratic revolution. At every stage of its courageous struggle the Communist Party emphasised the decisive role of the working class, never forgetting that the national and democratic revolution would be the prelude to socialist revolution. Even during the nazi occupation, underground National Committees were established throughout the country, composed of representatives of all the patriotic forces—workers, peasants, intellectuals, even representatives of the anti-fascist bourgeoisie.

This concept of the National Front was fully justified by subsequent events. At this crucial period for our peoples, the ideological and political position of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the role and weight of the Communist Party, its mass influence was the decisive factor in the fight for social progress. And the Communist Party formed closer ties with the masses, gave them leadership, took account of their views, set goals that were understood by the people and accorded with their needs. The Communists explained to the people that only alliance with the USSR could defeat nazism, liberate our country and ensure its freedom and sovereignty. The Communists were in the front ranks in the fight for freedom and made the greatest sacrifices. This won the Party the trust of the masses, enabling it to exert a decisive influence also after Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army.

Beginning with May 1945, the Communist Party directed the effort to orient Czechoslovak foreign policy on alliance and co-operation with the USSR. In home policy, our Party advocated consummation of the national-democratic revolution, i.e. nationalisation, agrarian reform, making the National Committees the organs of popular rule and administration, the drafting, and approval of a new Constitution, punishment of collaborationists and war criminals. These tasks were carried out in the hard-fought battles of 1945-48, with the Party consistently pursuing its policy within the National Front and its government. In this period, too, the Communist Party was the most consistent protector of the working people's vital interests, and it was not by chance that it obtained the highest vote in the 1946 elections to the Constituent National Assembly.

The record of the class struggle in the 20th century shows that in every crucial conflict the bourgeoisie does not hesitate to use every available means to prevent the working class from capturing power, prevent the advance of the socialist revolution. That tactic was used in Czechoslovakia too. In February 1948 the reactionary ministers deliberately resigned from the National Front government as part of a counter-revolutionary plot. It was foiled because the Communist Party vigilantly watched over the revolutionary gains of the people, was in close touch with them and was constantly strengthening its alliance with the democratic and pro-socialist forces in the non-Communist parties, the

revolutionary trade unions and the peasants' commissions supervising the agrarian reform. The Communist policy was in the interests of the working class and all working people, and millions responded to its call to defend the revolution. Reaction suffered a crushing defeat.

The events of 1948 reaffirmed anew the Leninist proposition that the transition to socialism through a national, popular front can be accomplished, depending on the concrete situation, through a one-party or multi-party system. Bringing non-Communist parties that support the aims of the revolution to share in running the country does not contradict the interests of socialism. What does contradict them is passivity towards the activities of anti-socialist parties and groups. Our experience made it plain that the leading role of the Communist Party in socialist transformations lies precisely in carrying out a policy that accords with the interests of the masses. And it has to be carried out by proletarian dictatorship to overcome resistance by the opponents of socialism, at the same time relying on the support of the broadest, including non-Communist, progressive forces that subscribe to the programme of the National Front, now purged of reactionary elements.

The coming to power of the working class opened the road to socialism in Czechoslovakia. And it was at this stage that the role of the National Front was fully disclosed as a major instrument of socialist transformations by rallying the masses around a programme for building the new society under the leadership of the Communist Party. The National Front promoted the activity and initiative of the working people in every area of socialist construction. It was instrumental also in cementing the bond between the Communist Party and the masses and in improving co-operation with the non-Communist parties and mass organisations.

At the same time, however, negative factors were exerting an increasing influence within the Party and in society, and this brought about the 1968 crisis situation, which affected also the National Front.

The Statement, Lessons of the Crisis Development in the Party and Society after the 13th Party Congress, noted that long before 1968 the leading role of the Party was being weakened and its alliance and ties with the masses undermined. Naturally, the work of the National Front became more and more formal and its constituent organisations were gradually losing sight of the tasks and aims of our society, from which they were becoming increasingly isolated. This was one of the causes of the 1968-69 crisis situation. And it is highly significant that the anti-socialist forces, supported by the right-wing opportunists and revisionists within the Party and in society, centred their attacks on the underlying principles of the National Front, especially the leading role of the Communist Party. They tried to revive the Social-Democratic Party (which in 1948 had voluntarily merged with the Communists) in order to destroy the political unity of the working class as symbolised by the Communist Party, and cast the Social-Democrats in the role of opposition to the Communist Party. There were frenzied attacks on the Soviet Union, their purpose being to disrupt Czechoslovakia's fraternal friendship with it and other members of the socialist community. The very principles of proletarian internationalism, of solidarity with the forces working for peace, freedom, independence, democracy and social progress, were questioned.

The right opportunists and revisionists, who before 1968 had played down the

importance of the National Front, were now trying to convert it into an instrument of reviving the old, pre-February, even pre-Munich, political system. And to do that, they took measures to weaken the elective and other bodies of state power, undermine the mass organisations, split the trade unions, the youth movement, etc. Behind this "heightened interest" in the National Front was a plan to deprive it of its role as the vehicle of the moral and political unity of Czechoslovak society, as the symbol and embodiment of the alliance of classes, parties and organisations working for socialism under Communist leadership.

The principled stand of the Marxist-Leninist forces within the Party and in society, and internationalist assistance enabled us to cope with the crisis situations. The policy worked out and consistently operated by the new Party leadership headed by Gustav Husak made it possible to consolidate Czechoslovak society, re-establish all the socialist gains of our people, including the Gottwald, socialist principles of the National Front.

The Czechoslovak working class and working people know from experience what is the meaning of pluralist organisation of bourgeois rule and what aim is served by the slogan of pluralism when it is put forward by the spokesmen of capital, opponents of the socialist system, and advocates of petty-bourgeois spontaneity. This experience was gained during the years of the bourgeois republic, in the political battles of February 1948, in the crisis situation of 1968-69. It demonstrated that at any sharp turn of class, political struggle the pluralism advocated by the bourgeoisie either in conditions of its rule or in attempts to re-establish it, invariably proves to be a suitable cover for anti-national, anti-democratic and, certainly, anti-socialist actions. That was why our people categorically rejected both the practice and concepts of pluralism in their bourgeois and reformist varieties.

We consider this practice and these concepts unacceptable precisely because of their content which is inimical to the interests of the working class, of socialism. But, as noted above, we do not reject out of hand a multi-party system, a comparison of views, etc., in a socialist society. On the contrary, we rely on them in our national system of political leadership of the country. But the Czechoslovak working people reject all pluralist models that allow "equal opportunities" for forces opposed to socialism. That is why the clamorous propaganda campaign in the capitalist West about alleged violation of "human rights" in Czechoslovakia has found no support whatever in our society, for the obvious purpose of that campaign is to legalise anti-socialist activity.

Under socialism human rights are something very real and not merely a formality. And human rights are guaranteed by public ownership of the means of production, which precludes exploitation and social inequality. They are guaranteed also by the friendly relations between classes and social groups, all-round perfection of the political system and uninterrupted expansion of socialist democracy to give the working people a fuller and more active share in managing industry, the state, society as a whole. Genuine, socialist democracy is not measured by the number of parties, nor by the "right to oppose" a social system supported by the vast majority of the people. There is no opposition in the political structure of socialist society, and not because the Communists are afraid of it, but simply because there is no place for it, for the social basis of an opposition disappears with the disappearance of the exploiting classes. As for the

specific interests of the various social groups, they are realised through the trade unions, the co-operatives, youth organisations, scientific, creative and other societies, which are an organic part of the socialist political system.

The National Front has now fully re-established its role and functions. This is how the 15th Communist Party Congress defined its functions in the light of the experience of recent years: "The National Front is the political embodiment of the class alliance of workers, peasants and intellectuals, of all the people, of the internationalist community of our nations and nationalities. In future, too, we shall regard the National Front as a tried and tested element of our political system. With its network of participating organisations, it provides ample scope for our people's varied interests, activities and initiatives, their participation in the administration of public affairs, at the same time concerting their efforts in building socialism. Through its political parties and other organisations, the National Front enables every citizen to exercise his political rights and freedom. It offers a broad programme of socialist democracy which we shall expand and develop.

"This programme, which fully reflects the leading role of the working class and the vanguard role of the Communist Party in our society, is the basis of the activity and development of the entire system of representative organs—the National Committees, National Councils and the Federal Assembly—and of the executive agencies of the socialist state."

And so, the National Front, as it has evolved over the years, is a cardinal element of the socialist political system, representing, at one and the same time, an organisation, a programme and a movement.¹ Organising public participation in building developed socialist society and fulfilling the five-year plan is an important aspect of the activity of all its organisations. This finds concrete expression in the socialist work teams, which include members of all National Front organisations.

Another important National Front function is socialist education, which implies cultivating a new attitude to one's work, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism and a new moral outlook.

The National Front is now concentrating on bringing more people into the work of formulating and operating national policy, managing the affairs of state and society, and controlling fulfilment—in short, the things that go into socialist democracy. This is done in many different ways and forms, but the essential feature of this aspect of National Front activity, one that is expressive of its class character, is that all the people, all members of National Front organisations, have a constructive part in framing policy at all levels, from their place of work to national government.

The National Front is consulted on all decisions of the Federal and Republican governments relating to the work of public organisations. As a rule, the question is first discussed with the appropriate National Front bodies or public organisations. For instance, policy statements by the Federal Government and the governments of the two republics, the Czech and the Slovak, were discussed by the National Front before being submitted to Parliament. And since these policy statements were fully in keeping with the political line of the Communist Party and the National Front and accorded with the interests of the people, they were endorsed and supported by all the National Front organisations.