

willing tools of counter-revolutionary theories and influence into Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

RECENT EVENTS THAT PUSHED CPs TO RIGHT

What accounts for this shift by the West European CP leaders? We have, of course, indicated earlier the broad, basic causes which have lasted over several decades and which have culminated, logically and inevitably, in the development of this anti-working class phenomenon. But there are also the immediate causes. These should be fresh in the minds of those who have followed events of the very recent past. Berlinguer did not invent his "historic compromise" out of thin air.

It is the result in the first place of the catastrophes suffered by the Chilean working class. Berlinguer absorbed from this tragic experience of the Chilean workers and peasants precisely the lesson that the Pentagon and the CIA wanted to teach, not only to the West Europeans but to all others who seek to rebel against the domination of Wall Street imperialism. The counter-revolutionary coup in Chile struck fear into the hearts of the CP leaders.

The experience of the Portuguese Revolution was another factor. There too the U.S. bribed, cajoled, infiltrated, and then enlisted the social-democratic parties of all of Western Europe to support the counter-revolutionary struggle of the rightists and the Socialist Party against the revolution.

Then there was of course the worldwide capitalist economic crisis which hit so hard in Italy, southern Europe, and even France. In fear of an unfolding militant struggle by the workers, the leaders moved under the impetus of the capitalist crisis precisely as the social democracy moved in the early 1930s—to the right—and offered their services to the capitalist class to help solve **their crisis** and save **their system** at the expense of the working class. This is precisely what the PCI leaders are doing, but with a vengeance.

Finally, there is the factor which overshadows all other considerations. **It is the fierce and unrelenting pressure of American imperialism in full collaboration with the European ruling class to enlist all sections of the population in an anti-communist crusade against the Soviet Union. This is the most important, the key and the central fact of the contemporary world struggle.** It has to be understood that this objective orientation of imperialism has been present ever since the birth of the Soviet Union.

The irreconcilable character of predatory imperialism and its mortal hatred of the Soviet Union and all other socialist countries is the one most abiding element in the struggle between the two world social systems. Come Lenin or Stalin, Khrushchev or Brezhnev, the objective orientation of all imperialist politics is toward struggle against, if not destruction of, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as the fundamental obstacle to imperialist encroachment.

BOURGEOISIE HAS DOUBTS

Eurocommunism is not solely a European product. It has been cultivated for many years and promoted by imperialist politics and aggression. Eurocommunism, however, while it raises enormous problems for the working class in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, is not the formidable weapon, is not the great realization of their dream that the liberal arm of the imperialist establishment in the U.S. believes it is.

The more sober elements of the ruling class are not all that sure of Eurocommunism's effectiveness in the struggle against the workers on the European continent or of its counter-revolutionary ideological export to the socialist countries.

More than anything else, the ruling classes are fearful that the Eurocommunists, once entrusted with the authority of running the state on behalf of the ruling class, would inevitably and inexorably encourage the masses to take things into their own hands. They are in reality fearful that the Eurocommunists would not be able to control the masses and that mass spontaneous developments, such as the May 1968 uprising of the French workers, could sweep right over the heads of the leaders.

Finally, Eurocommunism, unlike the reformism of the social democracy, **lacks a stable materialist basis for a durable existence.** The reformism of the Bernstein and Kautskyan era was based on flourishing capitalist expansion. It was the heyday of imperialist piracy and its expansion with relative impunity.

That era has come to a close. The crumbs from the table of the bourgeoisie left over after its orgy of imperialist super-profits and handed to the upper echelons of the labor bureaucracy are rapidly dwindling as the bourgeoisie long ago realized. Capitalist austerity is on the order of the day.

Retreat on the part of the working class is the strategy of Eurocommunism. The reformism of the earlier era, of the Bern-