

Checklist of Communist Parties and Fronts, 1980

EDITORS' NOTE: By arrangement with Richard F. Staar, Director of the International Studies Program of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA, we present for the first time in these pages the latest in an important series of documentation on Communist affairs. The "Checklist of Communist Parties and Fronts," which regularly appears in the *Yearbook on International Communist Affairs*, published by the Hoover Institution Press under the editorship of Mr. Staar, is one of the few systematic and regular sources of information available to scholars working in this field. The text of the Checklist published below represents a slightly modified version of that which is shortly to appear in the forthcoming 1981 edition of the *Yearbook*. Contributions to future annual Checklists in the form of corrections, additions, or amendments will be appreciated. Such contributions may be addressed to The Editors, *Problems of Communism*, 1776 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC, 20547, USA, or to Richard F. Staar, Director, International Studies Program, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA, 94305.

By Richard F. Staar

The "Checklist of Communist Parties and Fronts" for 1981 printed on pages 90–92 takes as its point of departure the "more than 90" countries in which there exists a Communist party or similar movement recognized by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.¹ Included also are parties of several subnational entities the Faroe Islands, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Puerto Rico, Réunion, and West Berlin.

The Checklist gives January 1, 1981, national population estimates, claimed or estimated membership figures for the Communist party (parties), the legal status of the party, its results in the latest election (percentage of votes and/or seats in the legislature), and how the party orients itself in the Sino-Soviet dispute.

The Checklist reflects splits within the Communist movements of a number of the countries in which there is a Moscow-recognized party. In most cases, data are for the pro-Moscow party of a given country. However, in others (noted in footnotes), data are for either (1) an independent or pro-Beijing party, or (2) the totality of Marxist parties in the given country. Generally, where parties have published membership data, the figures have been accepted (one exception is Afghanistan). Most membership figures are estimates from the profiles of individual parties provided by contributors to the 1981 *Yearbook*.

The total estimated worldwide membership of the Communist parties derived by the above methodology is 76.7 million, up 1 million from estimates for 1979. This is guite close to authoritative Soviet estimates.²

¹The "more than 90" was cited in Vadim V. Zagladin, "The Great October and the Communist Movement: Past and Present," *Voprosy istorii KPSS* (Moscow), November 1980, p. 26.

²Zagladin, loc. cit., p. 27, gives the total for Communist party members throughout the world as "more than 75 million."

Estimates for Africa and the Middle East remain essentially unchanged. This is due, in part, to the paucity of information available.

Claims or estimates for many movements in Latin America registered substantial changes during 1980. The largest increases were in Costa Rica (an estimated gain of 200), Cuba (a gain of 200,000 members claimed), El Salvador (an estimated gain of 575), and Honduras (an estimated gain of 850). Decreases occurred in Chile (55,000), the Dominican Republic (3,350), Guyana (400), Peru (1,500), and Venezuela (5,500).

Turning to Asia and the Pacific, we find the ruling movement in Afghanistan continuing to claim 100,000 members, but the Checklist accepts the lower Western estimates of some 50,000. The Chinese Communist Party announced in 1980 new membership figures representing an increase of only 1 million members over 1979, a smaller year-to-year increase than in recent years. The estimate for the Communist Party of India (150,000) is well below the highly inflated 546,000 claimed in 1979.

Modest gains in membership since 1979 have been claimed by most ruling parties in the USSR and Eastern Europe. The exception was Albania, which did not release any new figures.

Among the most important movements in Western Europe, only the Italian Communist Party (PCI) claimed a gain from 1979 to 1980; most other parties in the region suffered significant decreases. The faction-ridden Spanish Communist Party (PCE) is estimated to have suffered a sharp decline (from 200,000 to 140,000).

During 1980, some 17 of the Moscow-approved parties held party congresses (see Table 1).

In 17 cases, the party recognized by Moscow is currently in power, although not necessarily allied with Moscow.³ During 1980, only 27 of the Moscowrecognized parties found themselves proscribed by local authorities; of these clandestine organizations, 10 are in Latin America, 9 in Africa and the Middle East, and 8 in Asia.

Excluded from the Checklist are a broad range of radical "liberation movements" encompassing some Marxist elements and manifesting pro-Soviet tendencies, e.g., the African National Congress and the South-West African People's Organization. Also omitted are a variety of self-proclaimed "Marxist-Leninist" ruling parties that, according to Moscow,

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Table 1. Communist Party Congresses in 1980

Country	Number of congress	Dates	
Austria	24th	Dec. 6-8	
Bangladesh	3rd	Feb. 24–28	
Colombia	13th	Nov. 7–11	
Costa Rica	13th	June 14-17	
Cuba	2nd	Dec. 17-20	
Denmark	26th	Apr. 4–6	
Egypt	1st	Early Sept.	
Guadeloupe	7th	May 16-18	
Hungary	12th	Mar. 2427	
Japan	15th	Feb. 26-28	
Luxembourg	23rd	May 31–June 1	
Martinique	7th	Apr. 12-13	
Netherlands	27th	June 6-8	
North Korea	6th	Oct. 10-15	
Panama	6th	Feb. 8-10	
Poland	8th	Feb. 11-15	
Réunion	5th	July 12-14	

have only a "socialist orientation" and hence are not considered full-fledged Communist organizations. Such is the case with the Socialist Party in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), Movimento Popular de Libertação para Angola-Partido de Trabalho (MPLA-PT), Partido Africano de Indépendence de Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), Parti Congolaise du Travail in the People's Republic of the Congo, and the Parti de la Révolution Populaire du Bénin.⁴ Most of these one-party governments follow an "Afro-Marxist" ideology, while relying on the USSR for military and economic assistance.⁵

At the conclusion of the Checklist is information on international Communist front organizations. All 13 of these organizations continue to represent important instruments in the USSR propaganda effort, estimated to cost the Soviet Union more than \$63 million a year (see the breakdown in the chart).⁶

³The figure of 17 includes the ruling movements of Afghanistan and Kampuchea, which are not openly acknowledged by the CPSU as pure Communist parties.

⁴Moscow has referred to such regimes as "revolutionary democracies," or governments that have chosen to follow the noncapitalist path. Radio Moscow on January 16, 1980, listed regimes in 12 African countries as having a "socialist orientation": Algeria, Angola, Benin, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Congo, Madagascar, Mozambique, Cape Verde Islands, the Seychelles, Tanzania, and Ethiopia.

⁵The 26th Congress of the CPSU held in late February 1981 may provide fresh evidence regarding how the Soviet party views these political organizations.

⁶There were no new membership data released by these organizations during 1980, although at least four of them have increased the number of their affiliates. These are the International Union of Students, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the World Federation of Trade Unions, and the International Organization of Journalists.

Checklist of Communist Parties and Fronts

Africa and the Middle East	January 1, 1981, population (est.)	Communist party membership1	Percentage of vote; seats in legislature ²	Status	Sino-Soviet dispute
Algeria	19,026,000	400-500 est.	-(1976)	Proscribed	Pro-Moscow
Egypt	42,636,000	500 est.	—(1979)	Proscribed	Pro-Moscow
ran	39,097,000	1,500 est.	-(1980); none	Legal	Split (3)
rag	13,596,000	2,000 est.	-(1980); none	Allowed	Pro-Moscow
srael	3,814,000	1,500 est.	4.6 (1977); 5 of 120 ("Democratic Front")	Legal	Split (2)
Jordan	3,158,000	-500 est.	No elections since 1967	Proscribed	Pro-Moscow
_ebanon	3,059,000	2,500 est.	—(1972); none	Legal	Pro-Moscow
_esotho	1,305,000	Negligible	1970 elections nullified	Proscribed	Pro-Moscow
		,500–3,000 est.		Allowed	Pro-Moscow
Morocco				Proscribed	Pro-Moscow
Nigeria	73,382,000	Unknown	(1976)		
Réunion	494,000	2,000 est.4	32.8 (1978); none in Paris	Legal	Independen
Saudi Arabia	10,112,000	Negligible	No elections scheduled	Proscribed	Pro-Moscow
Senegal	5,757,000	2,000 est.	0.32 (1978); none	Legal	Pro-Moscow
South Africa	28,697,000	Unknown	—(1977)	Proscribed	Pro-Moscow
Sudan	19,02 8 , 000	1,500 est.	<u> (1980)</u>	Proscribed	Pro-Moscow
Syria	8,955,000	5,000 est.	—(1977); 6 of 195	Allowed	Pro-Moscow
Funisia	6,554,000	100 est.	<u> (1974)</u>	Proscribed	Pro-Moscow
TOTAL	299,495,000	24.800			
	January 1, 1981,	Communist party	Percentage of vote;		Sino-Soviet
The Americas	population (est.)	membership '	seats in legislature ²	Status	dispute
Argentina	27,874,000	70,000 est.	No elections scheduled	Proscribed	Split (3)
Bolivia	5,420,000	3,500 est.⁵	—(1980) elections voided	Proscribed	Split (7)
Brazil	123,388,000	10,000 est.⁵	<u>-(1978); 5°</u>	Proscribed	Split (4)
Canada	24,033,000	2,000 est.5	0.1 (1980); none	Legal	Split (3)
Chile	11,091,000	20,000 est.	Elections promised	Proscribed	Split (4)
Colombia	27,025,000	11,000 est.5	1.9 (1978); 3 of 311	Legal	Split (4)
Costa Rica	2,269,000	3,200 est.	2.7 (1978); 3 of 57	Legal	Pro-Moscov
Cuba	9,796,000	434,000 claim	91.7 (1976); 44 1 of 48 1	In power	Pro-Moscov
Dominican Republic	5,762,000	1,650 est.⁵	—(1978); none	Legal	Split (13)
Ecuador	8,124,000	2,000 est.⁵	3.2 (1979); 1 of 69	Legal	Split (2)
		800 est.		Legal	Split (2)
El Salvador	4,879,000		-(1976) (1976) 7 of 26 legally	-	
Guadeloupe	317,000	3,000 est.⁴	(1979); 7 of 36 locally	Legal Proceribed	Independer
Guatemala	7,166,000	750 est.	(1974) 20.4 (1980): 12 of 65	Proscribed	Pro-Moscov
Guyana	850,000	100 est.	20.4 (1980); 12 of 65	Legal	Pro-Moscov
Haiti	5,878,000	350 est.	-(1973)	Proscribed	Pro-Moscov
Honduras	3,838,000	1,500 est.		Proscribed	Split (3)
Jamaica	2,255,000	400 est.4	—(1980); none	Allowed	Split (2)
Martinique	312,000	1,000 est.⁴	—(1979); 3 of 36 locally	Legal	Independer
Mexico	68,236,000	100,000 est.4	5.1 (1979); 18 of 300	Legal	Split (2)
Nicaragua	2,465,000	1,200 claim ^s		Uncertain	Split (4)
Panama	1,939,000	550 est.	—(1972); none	Allowed	Split (2)
Paraguay	3,230,000	3,500 est.⁵	—(1973)	Proscribed	Split (5)
Peru	17,843,000	3,200 est.⁵	2.8 (1980); 4 of 607	Legal	Split (7)
Puerto Rico	3,300,000 ^e	125 est.	0.3 (1976); none	Legal	Split (2)
United States	223,186,000	20,000 claim	0.05 (1976); none	Legal	Split (3)
				~	
Uruguay	2,934,000	7,500 est.	Elections promised by 1981	Proscribed	Pro-Moscov

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'Arrived at by taking the midpoint when the estimate is given as a range.

" indicates that either the party did not participate in the election or the percentage was not available. <A dash

³ A distinct in the party during party during party find in the electron in the percentage was not about the party during party during party find in the percentage was not about the percentage was not abo

"The membership figure is a combined total for all Marxist parties.

"At least five Communists were elected under other party labels.

The percentage of votes and the number of seats cited represent the total of those received by Left Unity (UI), which included the Peruvian Communist Party and the Socialist Revolutionary Party.

*The Puerto Rico population estimate is for April 1, 1980.

+Overall, the Venezuelan Left garnered 9.0 percent of the vote in 1978. The Movement to Socialism (MAS) won 11 seats; the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), 4; the People's Electoral Movement (MEP), 3; the Venezuelan CP, 1; and the Communist Vanguard, 1.

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Asia and the Pacific	January 1, 1981, population (est.)	Communist party membership ¹	Percentage of vote; seats in legislature ²	Status	Sino-Soviet dispute
Afghanistan	15,193,000	50,000 est.	No elections scheduled	In power	Pro-Moscow
Australia	14,676,000	2,000 est.		Legal	Split (3)
Bangladesh	91,700,000	2,500 est.3		Legal	Split (11)
Burma	34,842,000	3,000 claim⁴		Proscribed	Pro-Beijing
China	1,034,364,000	38,000,000 claim4	Indirect elections	In power	Pro-Beijing
Hong Kong	5,156,000	2,000 est.4	None in city council	Legal	Pro-Beijing
India	6 8 6,131,000	100,000 CPM est. ⁵	-(1980); 35 of 525	Legal	Neutral
	000,101,000	150,000 CPI est.	-(1980); 10 of 525	Legal	Pro-Moscow
Indonesia	152,754,000	1.000 est. ³		Proscribed	Split (2)
Japan	117,266,000	440,000 claim ⁵	10.4 (1980); 29 of 511	Legal	Split (4)
Kampuchea	5,565,000	Unknown	Elections "forthcoming"	In power	Pro-Moscow
Laos	3,499,000	15,000 est.	No elections scheduled	In power	Pro-Moscow
Malaysia	14,179,000	3,425 est.⁵ ³		Proscribed	Split (2)
Mongolia	1,681,000	67,000 claim	99.9 (1979); all 354	In power	Pro-Moscow
Nepal	15,153,000	6,500 est.3	-(1959)	Proscribed	Split (3)
New Zealand	3,152,000	400 est. ³	0.2 (1978); none ⁶	Legal	Split (5)
North Korea	19,627,000	2,000,000 claim⁵	100.00 (1977); all 579	in power	Neutral
Pakistan	87,720,000	Several 100 est.	1979 elections postponed	Proscribed	Split (2)
Philippines	49,481,000	3,000–4,000 est. ³		Proscribed	Split (2)
Singapore	2,406,000	350 est.⁴		Proscribed	Pro-Beijing
Sri Lanka	14,973,000	6,000 est. ³	1.9 (1977); none	Legal	Split (6)
Thailand	48,328,000	1,200 est.⁴	(1979)	Proscribed	Pro-Beijing
Vietnam	54,382,000	1,533,000 claim	99.0 (1976); all 492	In power	Pro-Moscow
Vietnam			99.0 (1970); ali 492	III power	FTU-INIUSCUW
TOTAL	2,472,228,000	42,387,175			
Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union	January 1, 1981, population (est.)	Communist party membership	Percentage of vote; seats in legislature ²	Status	Sino-Soviet dispute
Albania	2,705,000	101,500 claim	99.9 (1978); all 250 to	In power	Independent
Bulgaria	8 805 000	821 600 alaim	Democratic Front	In power	Pro Massour
Bulgaria	8,885,000	8 21,600 claim	99.9 (1976); all 400 to Fatherland Front	In power	Pro-Moscow
Czechoslovakia	15,375,000	1,532,000 claim	99.7 (1976); all 350 to Na- tional Front	In power	Pro-Moscow
East Germany (GDR)	16,759,000	2,130,671 claim	99.9 (1976); all 500 to Na- tional Front	In power	Pro-Moscow
Hungary	10,730,000	811,833 claim	99.3 (1980); all 352 to Patri- otic People's Front	In power	Pro-Moscow
Poland	35,746,000	3,040,000 claim	99.5 (1980); all 460 to Front of National Unity	In power	Pro-Moscow
Romania	22,303,000	3,003,164 claim	98.5 (1980); all 369 to Front of Socialist Unity	In power	Neutral
USSR	266,754,000	17,193,376 claim	99.9 (1979); all 1,500 CPSU approved	In power	Pro-Moscow
Yugoslavia	22,451,000	2,006,000 claim	—(1978); all 308 to Socialist Alliance	In power	Independent
TOTAL	401,708,000	30,640,144			

'Arrived at by taking the midpoint when the estimate is given as a range; "several hundred" was arbitrarily taken as 300.

*A dash "-" indicates that either the party did not participate in the election or the percentage was not available.

*The membership figure is a combined total for all Marxist parties.

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*The membership figure is for a pro-Beijing party.

*The membership figure is for a group that either takes a neutral position in the Sino-Soviet dispute or is generally independent.

*The total is a combined total for parties of the Left. The pro-Beijing Communist Party of New Zealand boycotted the 1978 elections.

Checklist of Communist Parties and Fronts

Western Europe	January 1, 1981, population (est.)	Communist party membership ¹	Percentage of vote; seats in legislature ²	Status	Sino-Soviet dispute
Austria	7,506,000	25,000 est.	0.96 (1979); none	Legal	Split (3)
Belgium	9,861,000	9,000 est.	3.25 (1978); 4 of 212	Legal	Split (2)
Cyprus	629,000	12,000 est.	30.0 (1976); 9 of 35 Greek Cypriot seats	Legal	Pro-Moscow
Denmark	5,133,000	7,750 est.	1.9 (1979); none	Legal	Split (4)
Faroe Islands	44,000	Negligible	(1977); none	Allowed	Split (2)
Finland	4,784,000	45,000-48,000 est.	17.9 (1979); 35 of 200	Legal	Independent ³
France	53,853,000	600,000 claim	20.6 (1978); 86 of 491*	Legal	Split (3)
Great Britain	55,966,000	20,599 claim	.05 (1979); none	Legal	Split (5)
Greece	9,556,000	27,500 est.⁵	9.0 (1977); 11 of 300	Legal	Split (3)
Iceland	229,000	2,200 est. ⁶	19.7 (1979); 11 of 60 People's Alliance (AB)	Legal	Split (4)
Ireland	3,431,000	600 est.	(1977); none	Legal	Pro-Moscow
Italy	57,089,000	1,814,740 claim	30.4 (1979); 201 of 630	Legal	Split (9)
Luxembourg	365,000	600 est.	4.8 (1979); 2 of 59	Legal	Split (2)
Malta	348,000	100 est.	(1976); none	Legal	Pro-Moscow'
Netherlands	14,182,000	13,000 est.	1.7 (1977); 2 of 150	Legal	Split (5)
Norway	4,092,000	2,500 est.*	5.2 (1977); 2 of 155	Legal	Split (2)
Portugal	9,915,000	164,713 claim	16.7 (1980); 41 of 250	Legal	Split (10)
San Marino	21,000	300 est.*	21.1 (1978); 16 of 60	Legal	Independent
Spain	37,610,000	140,000 est. ⁶	10.4 (1979); 23 of 350	Legal	Neutral
Sweden	8,322,000	17,000 est. ^e	5.6 (1979); 20 of 349	Legai	Split (5)
Switzerland	6,328,000	5,000 est.	1.5 (1979); 3 of 200	Legal	Split (2)
Turkey	46,139,000	Negligible	-(1977)	Proscribed	Split (5)
West Germany (FRG)	61,388,000	40,000 est.	0.2 (1980); none	Legal	Split (5)
West Berlin	2,100,000	7,500 est.	1.1 (1979); none	Legal	Pro-Moscow
TOTAL	397,257,000	2,956,602			
Grand total	4,178,754,000	76.714,546			

International Communist Front Organizations	founded	membership	Headquarters	affiliates	support
Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization	1957	No data	Cairo	No data ^a	\$1,260,000
Christian Peace Conference	1958	No data	Prague	Ca. 48	210,000
International Association of Democratic Lawyers	1946	Ca. 25,000	Brussels	Ca. 65	100,000
International Federation of Resistance Fighters	1951	5,000,000	Vienna	22	125,000
International Institute of Peace	1958	No data	Prague	9	260,000
International Organization of Journalists	1946	Over 150,000	Prague	Ca. 111	515,000
International Radio and TV Organization	1946	No data	Prague	Ca. 28	50,000
International Union of Students ^a	1946	Over 10,000,0001°	Prague	Ca. 118	905,000
Women's International Democratic Federation	1945	Over 200,000,00011	East Berlin	Ca. 115	390,000
World Federation of Democratic Youth [®]	1945	Over 150,000,00012	Budapest	Ca. 111	1,575,000
World Federation of Scientific Workers	1946	Ca. 450,000	London	Ca. 31	100,000
World Federation of Trade Unions [®]	1945	Ca. 190,000,00013	Prague	Ca. 71	8,575,000
World Peace Council [®]	1949	No data	Helsinki	Over 130	49,380,000

\$63,445,000

TOTAL

'Arrived at by taking the midpoint when the estimate is given as a range.

²A dash "---" indicates that either the party did not participate in the election or the percentage was not available.

³The Finnish Communist Party does have internal factional differences but not divided over the Sino-Soviet dispute.

*The PCF vote is that registered on the first ballot; the seats resulted from the second stage of balloting.

^sThe membership figure is a combined total for all Marxist parties.

^eThe membership figure is for a group that either takes a neutral position in the Sino-Soviet dispute or is generally independent.

⁷The fact that fraternal greetings were sent to the 11th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (August 1977) suggests the existence of pro-Beijing elements.

*AAPSO-affiliated committees exist in most countries of Asia and Africa.

⁹Has official status with United Nations organizations.

¹⁰The bulk of membership comes from Communist-ruled states.

"Figures are for 1966; none have been issued since then.

¹² Most members live in party-ruled states; others generally represent small groups attached to local Communist parties.

¹³Some 90 percent live in party-ruled states, including 107 million in the USSR. China is not a member.

SOURCES: The population data are from US Central Intelligence Agency, *World Factbook, 1981*, Washington, DC., and from the Bureau of the Census, US Department of Commerce. Figures on membership claimed during 1980 are from party newspapers or journals. Membership estimates, vote percentages and seats in legislatures, and information on party legal status and orientation in the Sino-Soviet dispute are from the individual party profiles provided by contributors to the 1981 Yearbook on International Communist Affairs; World Factbook, 1981; US House of Representatives, Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. Subcommittee on Oversight, Soviet Covert Action: The Forgery Offensive, Washington, DC, Committee Print, No. 6, Feb. 19, 1980, pp. 79–80; and US Central Intelligence Agency, Soviet Covert Action and Propaganda, Washington, DC, Feb. 6, 1980, pp. IV/11A–11D. The last-mentioned report documents Moscow's financing of international front organizations.

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Annual indices for Volumes IV-to-date appear in the November-December issue (No. 6) for each year. A combined index to the first three volumes is contained in Vol. III, No. 6 (November-December 1954).